



THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND  
AUSTRALIA

**A Critical Discourse Analysis of Japanese language textbooks written for Korean primary students during the colonial era (1910-1945)**

Hai Suk Kim

Bachelor of Arts

Bachelor of Arts (Honours)

*A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at*

*The University of Queensland in 2018*

The School of Languages and Comparative Culture Studies

## **Abstract**

The aim of this project is to investigate the political and educational ideologies projected in the Japanese language textbooks written for Korean primary students that were used in Korea during the Japanese colonial era (1910-1945). The Japanese language textbooks used by Korean and Japanese students were compared, in order to discover the different ideologies presented in them. This study examined which ideologies were dominant in each set of textbooks, what different ideologies were embedded in the textbooks used in Korean primary schools, and what possible ideal worlds and qualities of ideal citizens were constructed and promoted through the Japanese language textbooks for Korean students. Previous studies have analysed the differing textbooks used by Japanese and Korean students separately. The comparison made in this study therefore provides new insight into the varying policies that the Japanese government implemented in the different school systems, as well as highlighting the changes that took place in the curricula and textbooks as the political situation changed over time.

This study utilised critical curriculum theory as a theoretical framework, and applied critical discourse analysis (CDA) in analysis of the texts, and visual image analysis (primarily based on Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996, 2006) theory) for the images. Using this approach, both the texts and visual images in the two different sets of textbooks (i.e., for Japanese and Korean students) were analysed item-by-item by specific titles and themes. Story grammar analysis was also used for the narratives of longer stories.

When Korea was colonised, Japanese was imposed as the national language, and Japanese textbooks were used in Korean schools. In order to examine the Japanese language curriculum and the textbooks issued under the Japanese education reforms (called "*Joseon* Education Ordinances") in Korea, three data sets were chosen, based on year, level, appropriateness and publisher. The data for analysis consists of the language textbooks *Kokugotokuhon* (levels 2 and 3), published by *Joseonchongdogbu* (the Japanese Governor-General of Korea) for use by Korean students, and *Shougakutokuhon* (levels 2 and 3), published by *Monbusho* (the Japanese Ministry of Education) for Japanese students.

By comparing the texts and images in *Kokugotokuhon* and *Shougakutokuhon*, this study was able to show how the Japanese colonial authorities projected specific subjectivities onto the colonised, and promoted different versions of ideal worlds and ideal citizens: that is, how the Japanese colonial administration conveyed the Japanese government's ideologies in Korean schools.

The textbooks for Korean students focused more on the promotion of Japanese colonial ideology than did the textbooks for Japanese students. A Japan-centric perspective was highlighted in the textbooks for the Korean students, through references to the Japanese Emperor. Furthermore, different moralities were emphasised for the Korean students in comparison to the Japanese students, in order to promote images of the ideal colonised person, stressing the need to be a good citizen under the Japanese regime. The textbooks for Korean students corresponded with the aims of the *Joseon* Education Ordinances, one of which was to make Korean students worship, respect and show obedience towards the Emperor. In contrast, the textbooks for Japanese students did not include any texts about the Japanese Emperor.

Both sets of textbooks included Japanese history and geography, and references to Korean historical symbols and heroes were omitted. Koreans were depicted as inferior and barbaric people, and portrayed as people who needed to practise better hygiene and who performed primitive physical labour, whilst the textbooks for Japanese students emphasised their advanced Western technology and professions. The textbooks for Koreans seemed to avoid including newly-developed technologies, such as fireworks and cars, and included content related to pro-war material.

The results from this study suggest that the Japanese textbooks for Koreans were a powerful means of manifesting the colonial ideologies that the Japanese government wished to engrave into the Korean primary students' minds during the Japanese colonial era.

### **Declaration by author**

This thesis is composed of my original work, and contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the text. I have clearly stated the contribution by others to jointly-authored works that I have included in my thesis.

I have clearly stated the contribution of others to my thesis as a whole, including statistical assistance, survey design, data analysis, significant technical procedures, professional editorial advice, financial support and any other original research work used or reported in my thesis. The content of my thesis is the result of work I have carried out since the commencement of my higher degree by research candidature and does not include a substantial part of work that has been submitted to qualify for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution. I have clearly stated which parts of my thesis, if any, have been submitted to qualify for another award.

I acknowledge that an electronic copy of my thesis must be lodged with the University Library and, subject to the policy and procedures of The University of Queensland, the thesis be made available for research and study in accordance with the Copyright Act 1968 unless a period of embargo has been approved by the Dean of the Graduate School.

I acknowledge that copyright of all material contained in my thesis resides with the copyright holder(s) of that material. Where appropriate I have obtained copyright permission from the copyright holder to reproduce material in this thesis and have sought permission from co-authors for any jointly authored works included in the thesis.

**Publications included in this thesis**

“No publications included”.

**Submitted manuscripts included in this thesis**

“No manuscripts submitted for publication”.

**Other publications during candidature**

“No other publications”.

**Contributions by others to the thesis**

“No contributions by others.”

**Statement of parts of the thesis submitted to qualify for the award of another degree**

“No works submitted towards another degree have been included in this thesis”.

**Research Involving Human or Animal Subjects**

“No animal or human subjects were involved in this research”.

## **Acknowledgements**

I express my deep sense of gratitude to Dr Isaac Lee, who expertly guided me through my PhD study and for his assistance and guidance in writing this thesis. I am indebted to him for his consistent encouragement, support and advice throughout my studies at the University of Queensland.

I am also very much thankful to Dr Natsuko Akagawa, Dr Akiko Uchiyama and Dr Belinda Kennett for their valuable guidance, keen interest and encouragement at various stages of my PhD study period. I thank them for supporting this study and for giving such thoughtful feedback, always aimed at moving me forward.

I further extend my personal gratitude to Dr Min-jung Jee, Dr Barbara Hanna, Dr Rosie Roberts, Akemi Dobson, and Debra Hamilton for being prompt and supportive at all times.

Finally, I would like to thank my close friends and family. I especially acknowledge my husband and daughter, Steve and You Ri, who have encouraged me at every stage. Without your constant moral support, this research would not have been completed.

### **Financial support**

This research was supported by an Australian Postgraduate Award (APA) Scholarship.

### **Keywords**

Japanese colonial curriculum, critical curriculum, critical discourse analysis, visual image analysis, ideology, Japanese language textbooks, *Joseon* Education Ordinances

### **Australian and New Zealand Standard Research Classifications (ANZSRC)**

ANZSRC code: 200322, Comparative Language Studies, 50%

ANZSRC code: 200312, Japanese Language, 20%

ANZSRC code: 200408, Linguistic Structures, 20%

ANZSRC code: 200405, Language in Culture and Society, 10%

### **Fields of Research (FoR) Classification**

FoR code: 2003, Language Studies, 60%

FoR code: 2004, Linguistics, 25%

FoR code: 2099, Other Language, Communication and Culture, 15%

# Table of contents

<i>Abstract</i> .....	2
<i>Declaration by author</i> .....	4
<i>Publications included in this thesis</i> .....	5
<i>Acknowledgements</i> .....	6
<i>List of tables</i> .....	12
<i>List of Figures</i> .....	14
<b>Chapter 1: Introduction</b> .....	<b>16</b>
1.1. Aims of the study.....	16
1.2. Research questions.....	17
1.3. Rationale .....	17
1.4. Chapter outline.....	18
<b>Chapter 2: Literature review</b> .....	<b>20</b>
2.1. Introduction.....	20
2.2. Curriculum Theory.....	20
2.2.1. The modern Western curriculum.....	20
2.2.2. Critical curriculum.....	21
2.3. Colonial curriculum .....	28
2.3.1. British and French colonial curricula .....	28
2.3.2. Japanese colonial curriculum .....	30
2.4. Chapter summary .....	34
<b>Chapter 3: Methodology</b> .....	<b>35</b>
3.1 Introduction.....	35
3.2 Critical discourse analysis (CDA) .....	35
3.2.1. Techniques of CDA.....	36
3.2.2. Analytic techniques of CDA applied for this research.....	40



3.3. Visual image analysis (VIA): Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2006) .....	46
3.3.1. Ideational metafunction .....	47
3.3.2. Interpersonal metafunction.....	48
3.3.3. Textual metafunction.....	51
3.4. Comparing two sets of texts and visual images.....	52
3.5. Analytical approach and procedure .....	53
3.5.1. Data collection and selection of data sets.....	53
3.5.2. Data analysis.....	54
3.6. Approaches to Japanese translation .....	55
3.7. Chapter summary .....	60
<b><i>Chapter 4: Analysis of the First Joseon Education Ordinance (1911-1919) .....</i></b>	<b><i>61</i></b>
4.1. Introduction.....	61
4.2. The influence of the First Education Ordinance.....	61
4.2.1. The primary school subjects in Korea .....	62
4.3. Textbooks from the First Education Ordinance (1911-1919).....	63
4.3.1. Contents of Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon and Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon.....	64
4.3.2. Organisation of Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon and Shougakutokuhon.....	69
4.4. Categorising the texts and comparatively analysing each theme from each textbook	70
4.4.1. The theme of science and Western technology .....	70
4.4.2. The theme of Japanese history and geography.....	76
4.4.3. The theme of morality .....	89
4.4.4. The theme of school life and play .....	98
4.5. Chapter summary: Comparison of findings.....	105
<b><i>Chapter 5: Analysis of the Second Joseon Education Ordinance (1919-1938) .....</i></b>	<b><i>109</i></b>
5.1 Introduction.....	109
5.2. The changes in the Second Education Ordinance.....	109

5.2.1 The primary school subjects in Korea.....	110
5.3. Textbooks from the Second Education Ordinance (1919-1938).....	111
5.3.1. Contents of Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon and Shougakutokuhon .....	112
5.3.2. Organisation of Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon and Shougakutokuhon.....	116
5.4. Categorising the texts and comparatively analysing each theme from each textbook .....	116
5.4.1. The theme of science and Western technology .....	117
5.4.2. The theme of Japanese history and geography .....	128
5.4.3. The theme of morality .....	132
5.4.4. The theme of school life and play .....	143
5.5. Chapter summary: Comparison of findings.....	152
<b><i>Chapter 6: Analysis of the Third and Fourth Joseon Education Ordinances (1938-1942; 1943-1945)</i></b> .....	<b>155</b>
6.1. Introduction.....	155
6.2. The influence of the Third and Fourth Education Ordinances .....	155
6.2.1. The primary school subjects in Korea.....	156
6.2.2. Wartime colonial education.....	157
6.3. Textbooks from the Third and Fourth Education Ordinances (1938-1942; 1943-1945) .....	160
6.3.1. Contents of Shotou Kokugotokuhon and Shougakutokuhon .....	161
6.3.2. Organisation of Shotou Kokugotokuhon and Shougakutokuhon.....	165
6.4. Categorising the texts and comparatively analysing each theme from each textbook .....	166
6.4.1. The theme of science and Western technology .....	166
6.4.2. The theme of Japanese history and geography.....	173
6.4.3. The theme of morality .....	178
6.4.4. The theme of school life and play .....	189

6.5. Chapter summary: Comparison of findings.....	198
<b>Chapter 7: Conclusion &amp; further research implications.....</b>	<b>201</b>
7.1 Conclusion .....	201
7.2. Strengths and weaknesses of CDA and VIA .....	205
7.3. How this study advances the field of curriculum studies .....	207
7.4. Further research implications.....	208
<b>References .....</b>	<b>210</b>
<b>References analysed.....</b>	<b>231</b>

## List of tables

Table 1: Data sets .....	53
Table 2: The Japanese colonial school curriculum and the number of classes.....	62
Table 3: Content of <i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon</i> ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1915) and <i>Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 &amp; 3</i> ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1917) .....	65
Table 4: The organisation of the textbooks.....	69
Table 5: The theme of science and Western technology.....	70
Table 6: The contents and visual images promoting Japanese nationalism.....	78
Table 7: Sentence patterns (SVO).....	87
Table 8: The contents concerning morality.....	90
Table 9: The content relating to school life and play.....	99
Table 10: The Japanese colonial school curriculum and the number of classes.....	111
Table 11: Content of <i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 &amp; 3</i> ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1930, 1931) and <i>Shougakutokuhon 2 &amp; 3</i> ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1933, 1935) .....	112
Table 12: The organisation of the textbooks.....	116
Table 13: The theme of science and Western technology.....	117
Table 14: The content and images that emphasise labour and cleanliness .....	135
Table 15: The contents describing the difference in school life and play.....	144
Table 16: The Japanese colonial school curriculum and the number of classes.....	157
Table 17: Content of <i>Shotou Kokugotokuhon 2 &amp; 3</i> ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1939, 1940) and <i>Shougakutokuhon 2 &amp; 3</i> ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1939, 1938) .....	162
Table 18: The organisation of the textbooks.....	165
Table 19: The theme of science and Western technology.....	167

Table 20: The content related to Japanese history and geography .....174

Table 21: The content relevant to the theme of morality .....179

Table 22: The content relating to school life and play .....189

## List of Figures

Figure 1: Chestnutting 1 ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1915, p. 6) .....	72
Figure 2: Chestnutting 2 ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1917, p. 21) .....	75
Figure 3: Chestnutting 3 ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1917, p. 21) .....	75
Figure 4: Japanese flag ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1915, p. 49) .....	80
Figure 5: New Year's Day greeting ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1915, p. 49).....	80
Figure 6: New Year's Day decoration ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1917, p. 31).....	84
Figure 7: Guests ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1915, p. 17).....	92
Figure 8: Welcoming a guest ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1917, p. 4).....	93
Figure 9: Serving a guest ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1917, p. 5).....	94
Figure 10: Police officer ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1915, p. 20).....	96
Figure 11: Morning greeting ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1915, p. 4).....	101
Figure 12: Bok-dong's family ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1915, p. 35) .....	103
Figure 13: Sports day ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1917, p. 35).....	105
Figure 14: Chicks ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1935, p. 14).....	120
Figure 15: Feeding chicks ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1931, p. 11) .....	122
Figure 16: Car ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1935, p. 95).....	126
Figure 17: Picking up stones ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1930, p. 31) .....	137
Figure 18: Helping ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1931, p. 33).....	140
Figure 19: Urashima Tarou ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1931, p. 43) Figure 20: Urashima Tarou ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1935, p. 109).....	142
Figure 21: Friends ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1930, p. 39).....	147

Figure 22: Gymnastic games ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1930, p. 7).....	150
Figure 23: Rabbit ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1940, p. 44).....	169
Figure 24: Dancing rabbits ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1938, pp. 6-7).....	170
Figure 25: Car ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1935, p. 95) Figure 26: Modern car ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1938, p. 95)	172
Figure 27: <i>Tenchousetsu</i> ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1940, p. 18).....	177
Figure 28: Rice-reaping day (p. 10) .....	182
Figure 29: Rice plants ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1939, p. 11).....	182
Figure 30: Massage ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1940, p. 96).....	186
Figure 31: War 1 ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1939, p. 16).....	192
Figure 32: War 2 ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1939, p. 17).....	192
Figure 33: Doll's illness 1 ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1938, p. 39) .....	197
Figure 34: Doll's illness 2 ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1938, p. 42) .....	197

### **List of abbreviations used in the thesis**

CDA – Critical discourse analysis

VIA – Visual image analysis

## Chapter 1: Introduction

### 1.1. Aims of the study

The overall aim of this study is to explore and describe the impact of Japanese colonial policy on the Japanese language textbooks published under Japanese imperial rule for use in Korean primary schools.

This study, positioned in the field of critical curriculum studies relating to colonial curricula, investigates the political and educational ideologies projected in the different sets of Japanese language textbooks written for Korean and Japanese primary students during the Japanese colonial era (1910-1945).

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was used to analyse the written texts, whilst visual image analysis (VIA), primarily based on Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996, 2006) theory, was adopted for the visual images. In order to investigate the ideologies presented in the Japanese language textbooks for Korean students, the content of those textbooks was compared with the content of the textbooks for Japanese students. Comparative texts and visual images were analysed item-by-item, according to specific titles and themes.

This comparison and analysis clearly identified the different ideologies presented to the two different groups of students. This study investigated how the Japanese colonisers projected different subjectivities onto the colonised, and promoted ideal worlds and the qualities of ideal citizens, while conveying the Japanese government's ideologies in Korea.

The texts and visual images from all twelve textbooks were grouped according to similar titles, content and visual images and then compared and contrasted within those groups in order to identify which ideologies were dominant and what possible ideal worlds and qualities of ideal citizens were being constructed and promoted for Korean students. Furthermore, I analysed both visual images and written texts in each textbook in light of the four *Joseon* Education Ordinances<sup>1</sup>, which determined the content of the Japanese colonial textbooks. This study analysed the language textbooks *Kokugotokuhon*<sup>2</sup> (levels 2 and 3, for school years one and two)<sup>3</sup>, which were published by *Joseonchongdogbu*<sup>4</sup> for use by Korean students, and *Shougakutokuhon*<sup>5</sup> (levels 2 and 3, for years

---

<sup>1</sup> *Joseon* is the official name for Korea during the Japanese colonial era. The *Joseon* Education Ordinances were an education policy instituted by the imperial government of Japan.

<sup>2</sup> The full titles of these series of books are *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (1913, 1930 & 1931) and *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (1939 & 1940). These textbooks were used in Korea for Korean primary students during the colonial period.

<sup>3</sup> The first-year students used levels 1 and 2 in first and second terms respectively, while the second-year students used levels 3 and 4.

<sup>4</sup> The administration under the Japanese Governor-General of Korea, which ruled Korea for 35 years (1910-1945).

<sup>5</sup> The full titles of these series of books are *Zinzuyo Shougakutokuhon* (1917) and *Shougakutokuhon* (1933, 1935, 1938 & 1939). These textbooks were used in Japan by Japanese primary students in the same period.



one and two), published by *Monbusho*<sup>6</sup> for Japanese students. A total of six *Kokugotokuhon* textbooks and six *Shougakutokuhon* textbooks were analysed.

## 1.2. Research questions

The major research questions to be answered in this study are:

1. Which ideologies are dominant in each textbook?
2. What are the different ideologies embedded in the Japanese language textbooks used in Korean primary schools between 1910 and 1945?
3. What possible ideal worlds and qualities of ideal citizens are constructed and promoted in the Japanese language textbooks for Korean students?

## 1.3. Rationale

Previous studies of education in Korea during Japanese colonial rule have primarily been concerned with how education policy was influenced by the Japanese government (Kwak Jin-o, 2011; Park Soo-bin, 2011). However, by focusing on broad education policy, such studies have provided little examination of the language curricula employed during the colonial era in Korea (Park Young-gi, 2008, p. 4). In order to understand the Japanese colonial curricula, it is essential to investigate the textbooks, since they are tools used to play out the agendas of school curricula, thereby portraying the values of the dominant culture and its practices (Venezky, 1992)<sup>7</sup>. Most scholars who have examined the colonial curriculum, e.g., Suck Ji-hye (2008) and Jeong Jae-cheol (2009)<sup>8</sup>, based their research on *Sushinseo*, the disciplinary training textbook used in primary schools during the Japanese colonial period. However, each of these scholars restricted their research – by looking only into texts (Jeong Jae-cheol, 2009) or pictures (Suck Ji-hye, 2008). Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2006) and Fairclough (2001, 2013), scholars in the field of critical analysis of visual images and texts, state that there are various sociocultural values and ideological messages that are embedded in both texts and visual images. Barthes (1967) argued that images and their meanings are always related to the text. He also identified a relationship between an image and its associated text, stating that the text can be used to further extend the messages presented by an image. Additionally, meanings belonging to and established by the cultures of a society can be expressed by both visual images and texts (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 19). Therefore, it is essential to analyse both visual images and written texts, since both contain ideological messages (Luke, 1988; Heinrich, 2005; Machin & Mayr, 2012).

---

<sup>6</sup> The Japanese Education Department (*Monbusho* in Japanese).

<sup>7</sup> Park Young-gi (2008) further stresses the importance of looking into the textbooks to understand the Japanese colonial curricula.

<sup>8</sup> Kim Sun-jeon (2008) and Lee Byung-dam (2007) have also contributed to the analytical study of *Sushinseo*.

Furthermore, while Lee Dong-bae (2000) analysed both texts and images in Korean language textbooks, the textbooks examined in that study could not cover the colonial period in its entirety – the Korean language subject<sup>9</sup> was removed from the school curriculum by the Japanese government in 1940. Therefore, in order to gain a better understanding of the ideology of the colonial period, it is crucial to look into the Japanese language textbooks throughout the whole period.

As yet, there have not been any studies using critical discourse analysis (CDA) to analyse the Japanese language textbooks used in South Korea. This lack of research is most likely due to the fact that the Japanese colonial educational materials were only opened to the public in 1990, and only since then have scholars been able to pay attention to them. Some Korean scholars (Park Mi-kyung, 2011; Park Je-hong, 2012) have primarily focused their research on the Japanese language textbooks used by the Korean people, while others (Jeong Jae-cheol, 2009; Kim Yoon-joo, 2011) have focused only on the colonial school curricula for the Korean people, with minimal comparison of the respective curricula of the colonisers and the colonised, and without analysis using CDA or VIA.

Japanese and Korean students used different Japanese language textbooks in this period, and a comparison of these can help to uncover what ideal worlds were presented to Korean students and what colonial aims were furthered. Since this study is the first to investigate and compare (using CDA and VIA) the ideologies presented in the different Japanese language textbooks used by Japanese and Korean students, it presents new and significant results.

Additionally, this study will advance the field of curriculum studies, by investigating the differences in ideologies between the textbooks for the colonisers and the colonised. In doing so, it will reveal what kinds of ruling ideologies were dominant in Japanese language textbooks for Koreans, how the school curriculum conveyed the ruling Japanese ideology, and how the curriculum attempted to construct colonial subjects.

#### **1.4. Chapter outline**

Chapter 1 is the Introduction. This chapter provides an overview of the thesis. It outlines its rationale, the research questions and describes the important theories that the thesis will cover.

Chapter 2 is the Literature Review. It discusses previous and current studies relating to the modern Western curriculum, critical curriculum theory, colonial curriculum and the Japanese curriculum in Korea. This chapter also discusses ideology, hegemony and hidden curriculum, selective tradition and textbooks, and their definitions and respective functions.

Chapter 3 discusses the study's Methodology. It explains the analytical methods of critical discourse analysis (CDA), visual image analysis (VIA) and visual grammar analysis, and the purpose

---

<sup>9</sup> Korean language was used and taught alongside the Japanese language until 1940.

of using these methods. This chapter discusses these methods in relation to the textbooks, in terms of how power relationships and ideologies are interpreted through textbooks, and thoroughly discusses the methodologies of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and visual grammar analysis [adopted primarily from Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996, 2006) theory].

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 examine the two sets of Japanese language textbooks (for Korean and Japanese students, respectively) from three different periods of the Japanese colonial era in Korea. These three chapters include analysis of the texts and visual images in the lower-level textbooks: *Kokugotokuhon* for Korean students; and *Shougakutokuhon* for Japanese students. They provide in-depth critical analysis of the data derived from selected texts and visual images from the textbooks used in Japan and Korea.

Chapter 7 concludes the thesis by summarising the major findings and results, and answering the research questions. Additionally, this chapter discusses the limitations of this study and makes recommendations for future research directions. A bibliography and appendices follow.

## **Chapter 2: Literature review**

### **2.1. Introduction**

This chapter covers the theoretical frameworks relating to curriculum studies, including modern Western curriculum theory, critical curriculum theory, and colonial curriculum. By discussing these theoretical frameworks, I aim to discover the dominant ideologies that may be embedded in the textbooks, and the construction of a specific world view for the colonised by applying the ideas of modern Western curriculum theory, critical theory and colonial curriculum to analyse the Japanese colonial curriculum.

### **2.2. Curriculum Theory**

In this section, the theoretical framework of curriculum theories, modern Western curriculum and critical curriculum are discussed. Based on the aims of the study (identifying and analysing the dominant ideologies that are embedded in the texts and the visual images of the early primary Japanese language textbooks from Japan and Korea), this section will generalise the theoretical basis on which this study is situated. In order to establish this framework, ideology, hegemony, hidden curriculum, selective tradition and textbooks are defined.

#### **2.2.1. The modern Western curriculum**

Before one can understand how the Korean education curriculum may have been influenced by Japanese colonial education, it is important to develop an historical view on how ideology, textbook production, and education are linked. The contextual background of the modern Western curriculum can help by providing background knowledge and can highlight the significance of this study. There has been a huge increase in the number of scholars in the field of curriculum studies who specialise in the modern Western curriculum. They have revealed the relationships between ideology and the curriculum (Lee Dong-bae, 2000). As an important part of the curriculum, school textbooks can reflect and construct ideologies. Therefore, it is useful to explore such representations of ideologies in the textbooks.

In the early 18th and 19th centuries, the Industrial Revolution changed Western Europe in many ways, including economic, social, cultural, and educational shifts (Pinar, 2012). These changes were not arbitrary – they represented a response to the failure of the traditional knowledge-based school curriculum to support the new requirements of industrialisation. In this way, the Industrial Revolution provided an impetus to change the content of textbooks, as a reflection of the social changes taking place. The rise of industry spread into school systems, which were forced to develop modern science and technology content for utilitarian education in the interests of business and

industry (Liu, 2003). Hence, the science and technology underpinning manufacturing assumed importance within the education system.

The modern curricula in Western countries, such as the US and the UK, have assisted the expansion of modern science and the efficiency of modern industry, which together have resulted in increasing affluence. The traditional knowledge-based school curriculum changed, and textbooks also had to change to reflect an environment of industrialisation and urbanisation (Apple, 2004). However, due to various problems and issues associated with these curriculum changes, scholars began to view the modern Western curriculum in a more critical manner.

A major change in curriculum was that schools began to focus primarily on science and technology. In particular, the curriculum changed the subjects studied in schools, which were chosen to promote certain sectors of society. This was followed by the spread of dominant ideas about how the school curriculum needed to be regulated to increase national welfare (Tomlinson, 2005). Specifically, changes in schooling in Western countries aimed to support industrial and economic expansion as a means to achieve prosperity through, for example, providing stable jobs and access to higher positions, and individuals and society in general becoming more prosperous.

It is important to understand and examine the ideologies and power relationships which exist in textbooks, as it is these dominant ideologies which are acquired by the learners who use the textbooks. It is therefore crucial to focus on critical curriculum theory as a theoretical framework to investigate what dominant ideologies exist and what selected knowledge is legitimised within the school curriculum. The following section elaborates on critical curriculum theory, ideology, hegemony, hidden curriculum, selective tradition and textbooks.

### **2.2.2. Critical curriculum**

Critical curriculum theory forms the basis of this study's theoretical approach. Critical curriculum theory focuses on the unequal power relations in curricula. Some major critical curriculum theorists include Michael Apple (2012), Henry Giroux (2011), and Allan Luke (2018), all of whom have been particularly interested in the ways in which school curricula are reproduced by schools and what kinds of knowledge students have attained in their education.

In the 1970s, curriculum studies began to focus on the issues of power, equality, and critical politics. Scholars such as Michael Apple (2012), William F. Pinar (2012) and Henry Giroux (2011) maintain that curricula are commonly constructed for the benefit of a dominant group (such as an elite social group, or government employees) and that they marginalise minority groups (such as immigrants) by acting as a barrier to equal educational and social opportunities.

As discussed above, the power relations and dominant ideologies embedded in a curriculum

construct school knowledge and this is transmitted to learners. In developing a curriculum, particular dominant elites control ‘official’ school knowledge to impose their intention. For instance, in the early and mid-20th century, the American labour markets and workplaces relied on immigrant workers from abroad, and the increasing number of immigrants exerted an influence on the direction of curricula. As a result, the curriculum changed, introducing multiculturalism and multi-racial concepts. In such a curriculum change, there were capitalist benefits. However, in spite of the increased focus on immigrants in the curriculum, the rights and needs of immigrants continued to be neglected and they were marginalised from equal educational and social opportunities. Therefore, the study of critical curriculum theory is essential for understanding the connections between the ruling ideology and the curriculum, and it reveals the unequal power relations which manifest the explicit relationships between curriculum, power, and society.

Inclusions and omissions in education systems are revealing, especially those in teaching materials (including textbooks) – concepts of ideology and hegemony relating to the questions of what has been included/represented and what aspects have been omitted have been fruitful areas for research. Althusser (2014) claimed that ideology can be reproduced through the school curriculum, stating that schools ensure subjection to a dominant ideology “or else the ‘practice’ of it; every agent of production, exploitation, or repression ... has to be ‘steeped’ in that ideology” (p. 51).

According to Althusser (2014), it is essential to be aware of what ideology is and the functions it may perform in the curriculum, and especially in the textbooks. Therefore, I will investigate the ideologies, hegemonies and hidden curriculum discovered in the textbooks in the next section.

#### ***2.2.2.1. Ideology, hegemony and hidden curriculum: Definitions and functions***

The term ‘ideology’ is used in various fields, including those pertaining to social, political, cultural and gender issues. Ideology can be reproduced throughout the school curriculum. One implication of the concept of ideology is that it relates to actual and realistic ideas or beliefs that form the basis of humanity, nature, society, the economy and politics, which differentiate one particular group’s goals, expectations and actions from another (Van Dijk, 1998, 2004). Fairclough (2003) states that “ideologies are representations of the world, which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation” (p. 218). Based on this definition, it can be inferred that colonial power, domination, and exploitation are connected to colonial ideology. This study will focus on the norms and values associated with ideology, and the way ideology is used to construct, legitimise and transmit power over the colonised (the Koreans) to achieve the coloniser’s (the Japanese) goals.

In the late 18th century, Destutt de Tracy defined the word “ideology” as a “science of ideas”

or a “philosophy of mind” (Vincent, 2010, p. 2). Marxism, for example, is a set of ideas related not only to a political idea itself, but also to the combination of political, economic and cultural forces, as well as the dominant class and power within society. According to Fairclough (2003), if one social class has “dominant materialistic power”, this class also has “dominant hegemonic domination” in a society. Therefore, to avoid social discontent, society apparently legitimises the social class structure and portrays the ideology as dominant. Power and dominant forces are based on a clear and coherent ideology. This signifies that there is no equality in the interests of any particular group, and only a hierarchal ideology exists.

Hegemony is defined as the domination and influences of one group and identity or a set of ideas over others (Gramsci, 1971; Carlucci, 2013). According to Williams (1989), hegemony is “a whole body of practices and expectations, over the whole of living ... it is a lived system of meanings and values” (p. 57). Therefore, hegemony is beyond a set of meanings and beliefs, and also encompasses the pre-existing ideological models as a “whole social process” (Williams, 1989, p. 56).

The political scientist, Gramsci (1995), who introduced the theoretical conception of hegemony, claimed that the ideal hegemony is enabled through the subordinate group’s consent – it is not a direct coercive force applied to the subjugated group, but rather it represents somebody’s consent. According to Gramsci’s assertion, hegemony has the power to produce a new social system that supports the ruling class’s goals in order to retain a powerful influence on the whole society. For the ruling class, hegemony is the source of their political dominance, and gaining consent is important for maintaining power over the subordinate class.

Hegemony is deeply rooted within our major establishments. In the media, for instance, it is used to perpetuate antiquated common beliefs about subordinate social groups. For example, we often see visual images that display women as submissive and men as dominant, and the media also reinforces stereotypes of women’s desirability being based on their physical appearance.

The ruling class uses hegemony as a tool for maintaining and exercising their power in political, economic, and cultural realms, for gaining other groups’ consent for ruling ideologies, and for controlling their ideology in the production and distribution of culture.

One example of hegemony is the way in which colonial Japan imposed its views of the ‘correct’ way to govern a colonised state. The focus of this study is the Japanese government’s efforts to promote their political ideology, in order to construct, legitimise and transmit their norms and values over the colonised. This study will also recognise how colonial Japan implemented linguistic hegemony over the colonised (Takashi, 2013, p. 48-49). This will be further examined by analysing the Japanese colonial textbooks and their content, including both texts and visual images.

Hegemony, according to Apple (2004, p. 4), “saturates” one’s consciousness in viewing the

relationships and interactions people have with the educational, social, and economic world, which then becomes the norm. Apple (2004) argues that the ‘hidden curriculum’ points to the concept of hegemony, thus shaping the school in many aspects. Scholars such as Apple and Giroux discovered that the “effects of class culture on the ways pupils made sense of and responded to the ideologies and culture of the school” (Whitty, 2017, p. 47) existed in the curriculum, due to certain underlying messages being embedded into the curriculum, and they realised that “the hidden curriculum of schooling was not merely the terrain of social control but also the ground on which ideologies and political struggles were fought” (Whitty, 2017, p. 47).

Underlying ideologies and ideological messages that have been integrated into the curriculum are referred to as “hidden curriculum” (Margolis, 2001; Chao, 2011), and convey important knowledge to the reader (Chao, 2011). Hidden curriculum includes values, intergroup relations and celebrations that enable students’ socialisation processes. Thus, hidden curriculum is “acknowledged as the socialisation process of schooling” (Kentli, 2009). Certain dominant values, attitudes and beliefs, which are regarded as the norm, are taught to students through schools, and schools also teach a distinctive hidden curriculum – one that can be used to maintain the ideological hegemony of the classes with most power within the society. This then contributes to social inequality by the “distribution of the kinds of normative values and attitudes”, causing social inequality to seem ordinary (Apple, 2004).

Although hidden curriculum can be regarded as the socialisation process of schooling, different definitions from individual researchers can also be explored. Apple (1982) stated that interests, cultural forms, struggles, agreements, and compromises were involved in hidden curricula, whereas Giroux (2001) defined hidden curriculum as the underlying rules that structured students’ routines and social relationships within schools and classrooms, implanting and transmitting unstated norms, values and beliefs to the students.

This section has discussed the definitions and functions of ideology, hegemony and hidden curriculum, how they are enacted through school curricula, and how they influence school knowledge.

The textbooks published under the Japanese colonial control for use by Korean students can demonstrate the Japanese purpose through analysis of selected texts and visual images. Thus the process of “selective tradition” will be discussed in the next section in order to frame a stronger context for this study, involving the selection of texts and visual images to emphasise certain ideologies, making them “inevitably ideological” (Heinrich, 2005, p. 215).

#### ***2.2.2.2. Selective tradition***

Scholars such as Apple and Giroux have divided and discussed models of curriculum,



including the “planned curriculum” and “hidden curriculum” throughout curriculum history (Farenga & Ness, 2005, p. 16). Certain omissions and inclusions found within the curriculum were questioned, especially regarding selective traditions and patterns of representations that occurred.

Selective tradition is an “intentionally selective version of a shaping of past and a pre-shaped present<sup>10</sup>, which is then powerfully operative in the process of social and cultural definition and identification” (Williams, R., 1977, p. 115). Based on Williams’s idea of the selective tradition, Apple (2012) states,

(Textbooks) signify, through their content and form, particular constructions of reality, particular ways of selecting and organising that vast universe of possible knowledge. They embody what Raymond Williams called the selective tradition: someone’s selection, someone’s vision of legitimate knowledge and culture, one that on the process of enfranchising one group’s cultural capital disenfranchises another’s. (p. 171)

Yet, according to Apple (2012), the carrying out of selective tradition is conducted by specific groups within the society that has created the textbooks. Apple (2012) questioned whose selection, knowledge and interests are embedded in the textbooks, and this idea led to the analysis of unequal relations of power and dominance (p. 179).

Another study by Liu (2003) investigated the selective tradition which exists and influences Chinese school curricula. Liu (2003) studied the relationship between the pedagogy and curriculum of Western and Chinese traditions from the definition of selective tradition by Williams (1989). Liu’s (2003) study shows how Chinese school curricula construct cultural values and government ruling ideologies by means of selective tradition, specifically through the selection of texts in the Chinese language textbooks.

Through selective tradition, particular selected texts may be included or deliberately excluded with the purpose of stressing a certain dominant ideology. This selection of texts can then be reproduced as a “tradition” (Lee Dong-bae, 2000, p. 35) and the omission of certain texts can further the aims of a particular ideology.

Therefore, it is useful to investigate what examples of selective tradition are seen in the Japanese textbooks used in the Japanese colonial period. More specifically, this study aims to examine the dominant ideology and power relations which were exercised and negotiated within schools and embedded in the Japanese primary language textbooks used in Korea during the colonial era.

The following section will discuss textbooks in terms of the power relationships and

---

<sup>10</sup> “Pre-shaped present” refers to how the present has been influenced by the already-existing traditions that have been shaped from the past.

ideologies identified in them, and how certain textbooks were selected for use in schools during the colonial era.

### **2.2.2.3. Textbooks**

In the previous section, I introduced and defined selective tradition, which exists in school curricula and which is especially evident in textbooks (Apple, 1988), since textbooks are essential to the curriculum (Venezky, 1992). Textbooks are considered officially-sanctioned school knowledge – knowledge which the students learn at school. Textbooks have a more powerful influence and credibility than ancillary materials created by teachers (Lee Dong-bae, 2000; Sheldon, 1988). They have been selected by scholars and teachers, and are then used in schools as ‘school knowledge’ and thus are reproduced in the curriculum. This school knowledge is based on hierarchical status, and imposes ideological perspectives that favour the maintenance of power by those in authority. The school curriculum portrays the values of the dominant culture, and its practices and textbooks are considered a significant part of this (Venezky, 1992). Apple (2004, p. 175) states that the textbook shows the school “curriculum ... as legitimate knowledge”, which includes various power relations and struggles relating to class dominance and ideology. Textbook writers and teachers legitimise the knowledge which is taught to the students, which is then considered as a norm in the curriculum.

School teachers are generally limited in their choices of school textbooks, since they are only published by a few major corporate publishing companies or by national education institutions that aggressively market their products. In the colonial period in Korea, the publication of textbooks was controlled by the Japanese and their purchase was mandatory. As the use of these textbooks was imposed, they could be used to inculcate students with a particular understanding, with the intention of leading students towards acceptance of Japanese ruling ideologies, interests and cultural values. The Japanese ruling ideologies can be found throughout the knowledge, ideas and institutional practices and materials included in the Japanese colonial textbooks.

School textbooks should include diverse classes or different regions and backgrounds, as well as children’s ideal worlds (Lee Dong-bae, 2000). During the Japanese colonial era, Japan subverted “the representation and ideal goals of Korean citizens” (Lee Dong-bae, 2000. p. 172). According to Kang Jin-ho et al. (2007), the language textbooks often portrayed the children in an “ideal” role by projecting traits that the coloniser had developed, in order to ‘infuse’ their “ideal” in the children. Therefore, this study will investigate what possible ideal worlds and qualities of ideal citizens were constructed and promoted in the Japanese language textbooks.

In many past studies, textbooks have been examined and researchers have found how Japanese rule built colonies in Korea. Many previous studies were mostly concerned with how Japan managed

education policy, and most of these studies had limitations due to the various ideological messages embedded in the curriculum (Apple, 2012; Giroux, 2001). Scholars have mostly researched other school textbooks, such as *Sushinseo*, rather than focusing on the Japanese language textbooks used in primary schools. Suck Ji-hye (2008) examined *Sushinseo* and the formation of images of boys in the early modern age of Korea, by analysing the visual images in the texts. By comparative analysis of visual images, Suck Ji-hye (2008) firstly presented the “adopted style”, in which the textbooks used the same visual images as the textbooks used by the Japanese. Secondly, the “adapted style” referred to those textbooks which modified the visual images to suit the Korean context. Suck Ji-hye (2008) discovered that the textbooks’ visual images were changed and modified according to the Japanese coloniser’s aim of domination over the Korean population. However, Suck Ji-hye (2008) only analysed visual images of people and the texts that were presented with the images.

Only a few scholars have analysed Japanese textbooks. Park Mi-kyung (2011) discussed the colonial curriculum’s purpose through an analysis of Korean folktales in Japanese language textbooks from three periods when the Japanese curriculum was in the process of changing. Park Mi-kyung (2011) analysed the title of each chapter in the Japanese textbooks and categorised them based on a Korean folktale. Park Mi-kyung (2011) also analysed a few selected texts related to the title of a Korean folktale that portrayed the relationships between Korea and Japan. Park Mi-kyung (2011) showed that Japanese rulers used the Japanese language textbooks as a tool for training obedient citizens and reigning over Koreans, by emphasising Japanese cultural and spiritual superiority over the West. However, only analysing one particular area of titles, and the selected text analysis had limitations in investigating and defining the wider range of issues and phenomena in colonial aspects.

Lee Jung-su (2004) conducted analysis on texts in language textbooks and found that the textbooks contained limited information about indigenous places in Korea. Lee Jung-su (2004) discovered that the textbooks presented opportunities for Korean students to yearn for Japan, rather than to encourage their affection for their own country. Lee Jung-su (2004) emphasised that this limited opportunity led to Korean students’ spontaneous obedience under Japanese imperialism. An implied intention was to eliminate Korean students’ interest in all other countries, but Japan. That study, therefore, showed how language textbooks were utilised to create a yearning for Japan and to raise faithful citizens of the Japanese Emperor.

In reviewing previous studies of language textbooks, it has been demonstrated that Park Mi-kyung (2011) and Suck Ji-hye’s (2008) studies had clear limitations, i.e., having focused only on titles or pictures for their analyses of the language textbooks. It is also not possible to state that the texts which contained ideological messages (Luke, 1988; Heinrich, 2005) have been examined sufficiently. Scholars, such as Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2006) and Fairclough (2010), have stated that there

are various ideological messages that are deeply embedded in both the texts and visual images in textbooks. Lee Jung-su's (2004) study also had a clear limitation, having only examined texts. Most scholars (Kim Yoon-joo, 2011; Park Mi-kyung, 2011; Lee Jung-su, 2004) analysed the colonial curriculum without having any point of comparison between the textbooks for both the colonised and the coloniser. Therefore, this study is valuable to revealing the different ideologies incorporated into the Japanese language textbooks for Korean and Japanese students.

Colonial curricula will now be discussed, which will explain the contextual background to this study, which analyses the Japanese language textbooks used in the Japanese colonial period.

### **2.3. Colonial curriculum**

In order to better understand the Japanese colonial curriculum, the colonial curricula of other countries, such as Britain and France, were explored. Discussing the colonial curricula of these countries allows for further understanding of the trends and patterns of either similarities or differences. An in-depth discussion of the Japanese colonial curriculum will follow.

A colonial education curriculum often involves asserting control over another nation, and it can play an important role in achieving colonialists' goals. According to Ashcroft et al. (1995), education is a means of accomplishing imperialism and is part of the foundation of colonialist power. In general, colonial education policy has aimed to create harmony and stability for the colonial administration. The intentional use of school curricula for government purposes has been observed in most colonising countries, for example, in Great Britain and France, and this will be discussed in the next section.

#### **2.3.1. British and French colonial curricula**

The British Empire utilised and enforced British education policies on the Indian subcontinent as a major means of exerting political control over India. This was also used to ensure that the Indian people relied on the British Empire economically, further strengthening British domination over India (Carnoy, 1974, p. 83). The aim of British education policy in India was to enforce hegemonic social structures, by training minority elite locals in order that they, in turn, would be able to train the colonised to help them implement policy and to accept their subjugated position within the British Empire.

In this period, Indian students were taught in the English language – it was believed that this would promote conformity. The aim of British education in India was to create Indian sub-administrators for the British government. The British Empire sustained the colonial nation's social and political systems and stressed the necessity of being colonised as a means of coexisting for mutual

benefit, such as Westernisation and industrialisation. In the early stages of British colonial rule in India, there were no educational activities other than those institutions introduced and operated by missionaries (early 18th century). Therefore, it is no exaggeration to state that Indian education was “missionary education” (Bellenoit, 2016). The missionaries constructed schools for Indian children in order to achieve social reforms that aimed to eliminate the customs and habits of the caste system and the existing religious groups.

French colonial education shares a story similar to that of Britain. From the beginning, the aim of the curriculum was to enforce colonial power structures, and use of the French language as the medium of instruction, coupled with the elimination of the colonised peoples’ languages, was used to this end. There are a number of features specific to French colonial education. For example, the schools that were established for the colonised people were basically the same as schools for French nationals. The French rulers believed that colonial education would encourage the colonised people to accept their subjugated role.

Furthermore, the French Empire tried to lower the colonised to the level of second-class citizens, and placed emphasis on training French interpreters to meet their need for domination (Kim Jin-su, 2003). For instance, the French colonial curriculum was modified especially to train Vietnamese students for that purpose. In Vietnam, discrimination was plain in the French colonial textbooks, which aimed to cultivate subordinate citizens; more than 80 percent of job classes introduced in the colonial textbooks were those of lowly-ranked labourers (Kim Jin-su, 2003, p. 112). As a result, French culture was propagated through colonial education, while highlighting the implicit idea that French culture was superior to any other culture. Phillipson (2012) states “French colonial education policy in the French empire aimed at the intensive assimilation of tiny local elites, who were supposed to ‘evolve’ into fully French citizens” (p. 211). However, as a result of changing sovereign power, the French colonial curriculum was changed to assert assimilative ideology (Obed, 2017). Therefore, the French colonial curriculum adopted Westernised education as a camouflage for the French colonial “cooperative ideology” curriculum.

The colonial curricula of the British and French Empires provide useful examples that allow better understanding of the trends and patterns in the similarities and differences in terms of ruling ideologies.

As observed above, the British and French Empires used the curriculum to legitimise their motives. In the following section, I will discuss the Japanese colonial curriculum and how the Japanese used this to achieve their goals.

### **2.3.2. Japanese colonial curriculum**

Similar to the methods used in the British and French colonies, Japanese education in Taiwan also concentrated on the subjugation of the local population, and what some scholars, such as Mason and Lee (2012) and Takae (2010), refer to as the aim to create a “Japanised” version of the Taiwanese. Japanese residents living in Taiwan attended different public schools (Takae, 2010, p. 29), a policy that imposed a different curriculum on each group, and which served to discriminate between the Japanese and Taiwanese. When Japanese was introduced as the national language, the Taiwanese language subject was removed from the curriculum (Tsurumi, 1977; Ts’ai, 2009). The Japanese tried to eradicate the national spirit by preventing the use of Taiwanese, as well as by promoting the diffusion of Japanese in Taiwan (Liao & Wang, 2006, p. 149). Traditional Korean education was affected by the Japanese colonial education system and the Japanese government attempted to eliminate traditional Korean culture (Nahm, 1993). According to Tsurumi (1977), the colonial curriculum portrayed Japan as a powerful nation and emphasised the importance of learning Japanese in Taiwan. Tsurumi (1977) also reported that Japan removed from Taiwanese textbooks any content that described Japan as a less powerful nation than other foreign nations (p. 140).

#### **2.3.2.1. Japanese language curriculum in Korea**

The Japanese language curriculum in Korea was based on a similar curriculum to that which had been successfully used in Taiwan (Jang Mi-gyeong, 2011, p. 218). Having learnt from their success in Taiwan, the Japanese authorities used the same strategy in their colonial language policy for Korea. Similar to the goals in Taiwan’s case, Japanese education in Korea also emphasised subjugation of the colonised. The Japanese government used the Japanese language as a tool to achieve this subjugation, which is a salient feature of Japanese colonisation (Myers et al., 1984, p. 96), and to promote “the colonial dominant ideology”. To maintain power over the colonised, the Japanese government restricted educational opportunities, since they regarded the education of indigenous populations as an obstruction to colonial power (Myers et al., 1984, pp. 375–376).

Evidence of discrimination is clear when considering the different number of years of school attendance at Japanese and Korean schools in the colonial period. Park Mi-kyung (2011) has argued that in order to create lower educational standards for Koreans, the number of years of schooling in the education system for Koreans was reduced to a minimum – the length of public colonial school education in Korea was four years, which was two years less than in Japan. Moreover, in order to replenish the ranks of labourers needed to expand colonial industry in the 1930s, the number of Japanese schools in Korea (the Japanese educational institutions called *Botonghakgyo*) was rapidly increased (Choi Be-geun, 2007). Oh Seong-cheol (2005) claims that the expansion of Japanese

schools was a means to reinforce colonial industrialisation. Kang Jun-man (2008) also asserts that the expansion of Japanese schools in Korea is directly correlated with the Japanese capitalists' need to train more manual workers. When the Japanese capitalists established their factories in Korea, they needed many manual labourers, who were required to perform repetitive tasks and who had to be able to speak Japanese. In other words, the Japanese schools were training institutions for manual labourers, in order to achieve the aims of Japanese capitalism.

### **2.3.2.2. Characteristics of the Japanese curriculum**

Japanese rule over Korea began in 1910. Colonial education policy often created or reinforced imbalanced power relations between the coloniser and the colonised (Phasha et al., 2017; Kim Sun-jeon et al., 2014; Jeong Tae-jun, 2005). Okoth (2012) stated that colonial education was projected “to suit the needs of the colonisers rather than those of the colonised” (p. 135). For the colonised, published textbooks often excluded certain subjects, such as local history and geography, helping to marginalise the colonised groups and prioritise the colonial group. The publishers of the textbooks were usually the colonial government, and they wanted to wield their power over the colonised students. In this case, the powerful colonial government could show its power and the colonised would obey its orders.

The following section will address the changes made in each of the *Joseon* Education Ordinances. These changes will explain the aims of the Japanese colonial curriculum and will draw attention to significant aspects of Japanese colonial policy in relation to the curriculum for Korean students. Through focusing on how the *Joseon* Education Ordinances were reflected in the textbooks, the question of which ideologies are dominant in each textbook (Research Question 1) and whether such ideologies and values were being taken as legitimate knowledge can be investigated.

For this research, the Japanese colonial curriculum was divided into four stages, as the changes in the content of the textbooks were quite apparent. An overview of the four stages of *Joseon* Education Ordinances, looking at the relevant changes and the significant differences in the curricula, may reveal the aims and needs of the Japanese education system.

### **2.3.2.3. Joseon Education Ordinances**

The First *Joseon* Education Ordinance was in effect between 1911 and 1919. During this time, Japan announced that the Korean school system would be treated as equal to the Japanese education system, and that Japan would not discriminate, especially within schools (Kwak Jin-o, 2011). However, different treatment was given to the different systems (for example, the differing numbers of years of public school education), implemented through the use of different curricula, which served

to discriminate between the Japanese and Koreans.<sup>11</sup> There were different education systems and different textbooks used for the Japanese living in Korea and for Koreans.

Japan colonised Korea and aimed to subjugate the Korean population through the Japanese centralised government power, including that within the education system. Japanese was taught as the national language of Korea, with Korean being treated and taught as a second language. The First *Joseon* Education Ordinance did not affect the education of those Japanese students who were residing in Korea – while Japan reduced the duration of primary schooling for Koreans from six years to four years, Japanese students continued to have six years at primary school.

Under the Second *Joseon* Education Ordinance, which was in force from 1919 to 1938, the Japanese colonial curriculum aimed to enforce the subjugation of the Korean populace (Kang Jin-ho, 2011). Following the 1919 [Samil] Independence Movement, Japan made efforts to prevent the rise of another similar movement, introducing *some* press freedom to the Koreans, and allowing Korean newspapers and magazines to be distributed. Artists, such as novelists and intellectuals, were given some cultural freedom. However, the Japanese police and government continued to remain essentially in control (Kim Jeong-ha, 2014).

At this time, Japan attempted to mitigate the discrimination within the education system. However, the number of hours spent on Japanese language classes increased, whilst the time spent on Korean language classes reduced. The average ratio of time spent in Japanese language classes to Korean language classes was 3 to 1 (Kim Sun-jeon et al., 2011). Korean language and Chinese characters became separate subjects, because the Japanese imperialists' aim was to obliterate the Korean language. By conducting this change of curriculum, the Japanese imperialists diminished the Korean language (with the aim of eventually excluding it), whilst retaining Chinese characters (since Japanese used a mixed system of Chinese and Japanese characters).

During the Third and Fourth *Joseon* Education Ordinances, which were in effect from 1938 to 1945, Japan renamed the education institution – from *BotongHakgyo* “普通學校” to *SoHakgyo* “小學校” in 1938, whereby the Korean elementary education institution was officially renamed with the same name as the Japanese elementary education institution. The name of the Korean elementary education institution was changed again in 1941, from “小學校” to *GukminHakgyo*<sup>12</sup> “国民學校”.

---

<sup>11</sup> Schooling for Koreans was four years, which was two years less than the original education system in Japan.

<sup>12</sup> According to Kim Jeong-ha (2013), *Gukmin* “國民” literally means “nation” and also stands for “enthusiastic subjects of the Japanese Empire” (p. 93). Thus, *GukminHakgyo* “國民學校” is the school for training Korean students to become subjects of the Empire of Japan.



The Korean schools taught the same school subjects and curriculum as the Japanese but avoided teaching the Korean language at school (Lee Suk-ja, 2000, p. 17).

At this time, the Japanese Governor-General of Korea instituted emergency measures for the war, and schools were used as military training centres in order to supply human resources and necessities for the war (Kim Young-kwon, 2004, p. 7). Japan introduced different school curricula for Koreans and Japanese, which Park Je-hong (2012) called a “dualistic educational curriculum”, in order to achieve different objectives (p. 442). Based on Park Je-hong’s (2008) argument, Japan displayed hypocrisy in the *Naeseonilche*<sup>13</sup> policy “*內鮮一體*<sup>14</sup>”, and instead discriminated against the colonised people. Under the *Naeseonilche* policy, the Japanese stressed that the Korean and Japanese people were the same race and that they shared the same ancestors. Assimilation was encouraged, with Koreans expected to change their traditions, customs, language, etc., to match Japanese traditions, customs and culture (Lee Myeong-hwa, 2010; Wayne, 2011). During the Second World War, a harsher colonial education policy was enforced, and Korean language and history courses disappeared as school subjects (Kim Sung-jun, 2004; Sin Yong-ha, 2007). The Japanese colonial education policy focused on legitimising the leadership of the Japanese Emperor and encouraging Korean students to devote their lives to him (Sah Hui-young & Kim Sun-jeon, 2011b, p. 247). Accordingly, the Japanese tried to eradicate Korean national spirit by preventing the use of the Korean language. Philipson (1992) has asserted that ‘linguistic imperialism’ derives from the ideology of imperialism and saturates people with learning and training in the dominant language, inducing a dominant social power. Subsequently, schools became a place to train Korean students to become soldiers, and the Japanese government used the *Joseon* Education Ordinances in wartime as a means of preparing for combat.

In this section, the theoretical framework of colonial curriculum (in general) and Japanese colonial curriculum (in particular) were discussed as an aid to understanding the background context to this current study. Japanese colonial curriculum and its goals in introducing the *Joseon* Education Ordinances were examined in order to comprehend Japanese influences over the language curriculum, including textbooks.

---

<sup>13</sup> In 1937, Japan established the governmental policy of colonialism, called the *Naeseonilche* [(to make) Korea and Japan (into) one body] policy, to impose collaboration with the war.

<sup>14</sup> These Chinese characters are pronounced as *Naisenittai* in Japanese.

## 2.4. Chapter summary

Chapter 2 covered the various theoretical frameworks that relate to curriculum studies: the modern Western curriculum, critical curriculum and colonial curriculum, and uncovered the dominant ideologies that have been embedded within the textbooks. Definitions of ideology, hegemony, hidden curriculum, selective tradition and textbooks were also explored to establish the framework.

First, the background of the modern Western curriculum was studied, in order to develop a historical view on the links between ideology, textbook production and education. It was discovered that textbooks in Western countries were used with the intention of supporting industrial and economic expansion, through the means of providing stable jobs and access to higher positions, etc., thus promoting a country's overall prosperity. Critical curriculum was also explored and focused on the unequal power relations in curricula. The study of critical curriculum was found to be essential for the understanding of the connections between the ruling ideology and the curriculum, and it revealed the unequal power relations between curriculum, power, and society.

Defining the terms ideology, hegemony, hidden curriculum, selective tradition and textbooks contributed to understanding their roles in school curricula, and how they influenced school knowledge by giving emphasis to certain dominant ideologies. Understanding these terms was critical to discovering the dominant ideologies within the Japanese colonial textbooks.

The Japanese colonial curriculum was used as an aid to understand the background context of the study and it was revealed that the Japanese used the colonial curriculum to achieve the aims of Japanese capitalism (via training students to become manual labourers), to marginalise the colonised groups (while also encouraging assimilation) and to prepare the Korean students for becoming soldiers in the Second World War.

The following section will discuss the methodology of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and visual image analysis (VIA), which are used in the study. Moreover, the various techniques and procedures of CDA and VIA will be elaborated. The theoretical framework of CDA (and the appropriateness of its use) will be discussed, enabling the investigation of language from a critical point of view.

## Chapter 3: Methodology

### 3.1 Introduction

Critical curriculum theory was used as a theoretical framework in this study, and two research methods – critical discourse analysis (CDA) and visual images analysis (predominantly based on Kress and Van Leeuwen’s (1996, 2006) theory) – were used as analytical tools.

By comparing the two different sets of textbooks, this study highlighted which particular texts and visual images had been separately selected and emphasised for the colonised and the coloniser groups, in order to discover the varying ideologies emphasised for the Koreans.

This chapter also includes theory and notes on translation issues, as texts were translated from Japanese into English and some practical issues need to be explained.

### 3.2 Critical discourse analysis (CDA)

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a valuable technique that promotes a detailed investigation of relations of curriculum discourse to social discourse, power and ideology. It is a method that can explain social interactions as represented in texts that reveal ideological issues. Fairclough (1995) claims that CDA is a method of discourse analytic research that can analyse social power relations, hierarchy and domination through analysis of the language of texts. Wodak and Meyer (2009) assert that discourse analysis can show which power relations are displayed, and for whose ways of talking, thinking and acting (p. 35). Fairclough (2010) claims that CDA is an essential tool in textual analysis, as it deals with social problems that can reveal the implicit or ideological forms and semantics in language (p. 9).

The process of CDA constitutes finding patterns within the text by looking at the words, phrases or reoccurring meanings of words through lexical and grammatical analysis. Critical discourse analysis (CDA), as developed by Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, Teun Van Dijk and others, can provide a framework for analysing the ways in which the language used in textbooks presents a particular view.

The aim of this research is to provide a deeper understanding of the ideological construction of textbook contents and how publishers have justified their ruling ideologies. In particular, the differences between *Kokugotokuhon* and *Shougakutokuhon* will be analysed to better understand whose interests were being served, and what ideologies were embedded. In text analysis, CDA can be useful for viewing social interactions, and the relation between language and society. Fairclough (2016) claims that CDA focuses not only on “semiosis” but on “relations between semiotic and other social elements” (p. 87). According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), “CDA sees discourse ... as a form of social practice” (p. 258) and it can therefore be said that CDA can analyse social power

relations, hierarchy, and domination through the analysis of the language of texts. Thus it can be viewed that CDA is an effective research method, especially for language and texts with the potential to contain various discourses, social and political issues, and embedded ideologies.

Huckin et al. (2012) state that a benefit of adopting CDA as a research methodology is that it can be used to analyse a “large textual corpus”, in order to discover “societal norms and ideology” that may be created, circulated, reinforced, or reflected (p. 119). Therefore, CDA can be effective in identifying underlying ideologies. For this study, CDA allowed for a critical analysis of the large textual corpus of the Japanese language textbooks that were used in Korea and Japan, and thus the research questions (including “What are the different ideologies embedded in the textbooks?” and “Which ideologies are dominant in each textbook?”) were formulated.

The section that follows provides the particular analytic techniques of CDA that were used for examining the textbooks and which uncovered the relations between language, power and ideology.

### **3.2.1. Techniques of CDA**

Although CDA scholars hold similar views on the theory, they are able to select different analytical techniques, depending on preference and the requirements for particular studies. There are various approaches in the analytical techniques of CDA. Even though it is impossible to provide an in-depth discussion of all possible methodological approaches, it is worth reviewing those that are significant to this study. Therefore, I will introduce the major categories in relation to this research: text, intertextuality, discourse, genre and style.

‘Texts’ will provide the primary data for analysis, so it is important to understand the definition of ‘text’, and to be aware of what constitutes a text and where the concept of text is situated in this study. According to Halliday (2014), ‘text’ refers to any written or spoken form in which writing exists (p. 4). Text in use can be defined as discourse, and analysing the text can be a vital part of discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2003). Similarly, Van Dijk (1997) explained that text can be structured and organised in both spoken and written forms, and that it has coded meaning (p. 6). Halliday (2014) has defined text as:

... any instance of language, in any medium, that makes sense to someone who knows the language ... text is a rich, many faceted phenomenon that ‘means’ in many different ways. It can be explored from many different points of view. (p. 3)

Therefore 'text' is able to be interpreted in many different ways, while also being capable of creating many different viewpoints. Thus, it is essential to explore text as a major category in relation to this study.

Text can be situated within all social institutions, such as schools, workplaces, government, the media, and so on. Luke (1995) claims:

Texts are moments when language connected to other semiotic systems is used for symbolic exchange ... Human subjects use texts to make sense of their world and to construct social actions and relations required in the labour of everyday life. At the same time, texts position and construct individuals, making available various meanings, ideas, and versions of the world. (p. 13)

Based on Luke's claim, texts construct significance in defining and interpreting meanings within all social interactions and institutions. This idea is supported by Fairclough (2010), who claims that texts display any relation between language, power and ideology. Fairclough (2010) asserts:

Ideologies reside in texts. While it is true that the forms and content of texts do bear the imprint of ideological processes and structures, it is not possible to 'read off' ideologies from texts. This is because meanings are produced through interpretations of texts and texts are open to diverse interpretations, and because ideological process appertains to discourses as whole social events – they are processes between people – not to the texts which are produced, distributed and interpreted as moments of such events. (p. 57)

Texts cannot be separated from ideological forms, because texts can be interpreted in many ways and can also be construed as a meaning of social perspective. When we read texts, it is possible to discern what the author is writing *about*, but the author's *intention* is not always clearly apparent. The form and content of texts can possibly reveal the embedded perspective and the underlying ideological intention, thereby uncovering the existence of the power relationships (Fairclough, 1993). This is important to this study as it explores the dominant ideologies presented to the Korean students during the Japanese colonial era, and the texts are therefore analysed to uncover the existence of the power relationships between the colonised and the colonisers.

Some CDA scholars, such as Fairclough (2013) and Van Dijk (2014), share the opinion that CDA involves the investigation of variations in language, divided into two levels of analysis: micro-analysis and macro-analysis. Micro-analysis of a text involves investigating its linguistic, semiotic and literary features, whereas macro-analysis of a text is able to investigate its power, political and social relations. CDA is appropriate for critical curriculum analysis as it promotes a detailed investigation of the relationships of curriculum discourse to social discourse, power and ideology.

Therefore, from the Japanese language curriculum discourse, CDA will reveal the relationship between social and political meaning, as well as the power relationship in the curriculum and especially in textbooks.

‘Intertextuality’ refers to a text which defines the “presence within it of elements of other texts” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 218). It describes the determining of a text’s meaning by using other texts. Intertextual analysis focuses on the analysis of texts and patterns of functions which are formed and used in texts (Fairclough, 1995). Therefore, based on Fairclough’s definition, it can be inferred that intertextual analysis is an analytical tool to discover both the text and the intertextual influences affecting the way texts are formed and used. Therefore, intertextual analysis is able to assist the reader to recognise core messages and meanings that were emphasised by authors, who often focus on their ideas and aims through texts.

The word ‘discourse’ denotes ‘conversation or speech’ language, and comes from the Latin word *discursus*. It could be expected that a key area of study in the analysis of discourse signifies conversation analysis. However, ‘discourse’ is often defined more broadly – as both written and conversation language (Gee, 2014; Schiffrin, 1992). Wodak and Meyer (2009) define ‘discourse’ as a form of knowledge and memory, whereas ‘text’ indicates concrete written texts or oral words. Discourse is more than just language; linguistically, the term ‘discourse’ is associated with the structural form and the syntax, which often constitute the structure of word units and phrases that connect to form sentences. Discourse is the kind of language (in text or conversation) that also involves participants in relation to a particular attitude towards areas of a sociocultural activity (Butler, 2003). Another broader meaning of discourse can be described as the function of utterance, such as language in use as social practice, determined by social structures (e.g., social relations and social identity). Fairclough (2016) defines the concept of discourse as “meaning-making as an element of the social process”, “the language associated with a particular social field or practice” and “a way of construing aspects of the world associated with a particular social perspective” (p. 87). Therefore discourse can be expressed as not only relating to the language structures but also to the social structures as well. Thus, discourse is one of the main categories analysed in this study, as it can reveal the social structures between the colonised and the colonisers.

Discourse analysis explores the relationship between discourse and reality (Foucault, 1965), and discourse is made meaningful by the constitution of socially-shaped effects (Jager & Maier, 2009). The analysis of discourse shows how social relations are achieved through the use of language and also relates to how people manage their interactions. Informal spoken discourse, for example, is used to achieve interpersonal goals (within a familiar social relationship), whereas formal spoken discourse is used in less casual interactions (for example, more-professional interactions between doctor and

patient or boss and employee). Discourse is defined by Gee (2014) as “the way that we use language, feel and think, act and interact” (p. 184). Therefore, it can be defined as the feeling and thinking about what is being done with language. Thus, discourse is able to represent wider denotations, such as in terms of feeling and thinking actions presented between speakers in a social interaction, when they take and manage turns in their spoken interactions as ‘language users’ (Van Dijk, 1997, p. 19). Hence discourse can be used in analysis to reveal obscure relationships (in this case, power relationships) between characters through their interactions with each other. Additionally, Wodak and Meyer (2009) assert power relations as discursive:

Discourses are not only mere expressions of social practice, but also serve particular ends, namely the exercise of power. Discourses exercise power in a society because they institutionalize and regulate ways of talking, thinking and acting. (p. 35)

By examining the details of discourse, the power relations displayed can be discovered – for example, one’s ways of talking, thinking and acting. Therefore, the various aspects of discourse give us the ability to investigate how language is structured to achieve a social structure and also to measure the relationship to the social context in which they occur. For this research, I have focused on how participants (in the textbooks) understood and responded to one another, and also on the issue of whether existing power relations were reflected in the textbooks.

‘Genre’ constitutes specific contents (such as themes or backgrounds) and forms (such as style and structure) which are shared by the texts. Thus, a text often includes more than one genre but “follows certain rules” – each genre has characteristic features (Rose, 2016, p. 139). For example, a certain genre will share a detailed set of significant symbols, features and/or methods (in order to classify genres into certain groups that contain certain themes or ideas).

‘Genre’ is defined by Fairclough (2009) as the “semiotic way” of interaction. According to Fairclough (2009), interviews, reports and jobs are all ways of interacting and having discrete genres (p. 164). Moreover, genres are also described as “a socially ratified way of using language in connection with a particular type of social activity” (Fairclough, 1995, p.14). The meaning of genre applied in the text analysis examines how it donates to the interaction within a social event (Fairclough, 2003, p. 65).

Another principle, identified by Liu (2003), is that “genres are generally viewed as schematic structures of texts which consist of certain distinct and alternating stages in the texts” (p. 70). Therefore, there may be different schematic structures depending on the type of genre. For example, the schematic structure of descriptive text is different to that of a narrative text. Hence, Liu reasons:

... genre analysis examines the linguistic and textual conventions or schematic structures of texts in order to find out specific semantic messages, cultural values, social relations, etc., represented in particular texts. These semantic messages, cultural values, social relations, etc., are then examined intertextually as perspectives from which particular discourses are constructed with ideological effects. (p. 70)

Another major concept used by CDA in studying texts is ‘styles’, referring to the “discoursal aspect of ways of being, identities” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 159). In other words, styles may describe how a text characterises identities. Features of styles in textual analysis not only involve phonological means (such as intonation and stress), but also lexical means (such as the selection of a word), which is significant in the analysis of texts. Depending on word choice, something or someone in a text can carry messages of social identity as well as an individual manner of language use. For example, the choice of informal vocabulary can be decided socially (cultural background, age group, occupation), which is relevant here to the comparison between the representation of Korean people in the textbooks as opposed to Japanese people.

CDA is originally based on Halliday’s systemic functional theory (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 7), which shows a link between the forms and content of texts in language. Machin and Mayr (2012) define this as: “The aim of CDA is to draw out ideologies, where they might be buried in text ... ideologies can be found across whole areas of social life, in ideas, knowledge, and institutional practices” (p. 25).

Therefore, CDA can be an effective tool for identifying unequal relations of power and dominant ideology which can be embedded in the textbooks studied here. It is also an effective tool for uncovering what ideologies and hegemonies have influenced textbooks. Using CDA for this analytical study presents a strong possibility of discovering formations of domination and power relationships presented in the textbooks (Luke, 2002, p. 106). As previously mentioned, these categories (including discourse, texts and intertextuality) can display the relations between language, power and ideology. Therefore the following section will analyse the techniques of CDA that were applied for this research.

### **3.2.2. Analytic techniques of CDA applied for this research**

There are three major analytical levels to this study. The first level is word choice, which examines *which* vocabulary items are used, as well as *how* these words are used and for *what purpose*. The second level of analysis is grammatical analysis, which involves the grammar and its structures.



Third and lastly, the textual analysis will concentrate on discovering the overall textual constructions, including the discourse type or the genre of texts and the textual structures.

This study is based on the methods used by Fairclough (1989, 1995, 2001, 2010, 2013) and Halliday (1985, 2004, 2014), Luke (1988, 1995, 2018) and Van Dijk (1998, 2001). There are numerous analytical techniques available in CDA, and this study applies only a selection from the large corpus of techniques. Through CDA, I investigate particularly the choices of vocabulary and grammar, and use textual analysis in order to reveal the hidden and underlying dominant ideologies.

### **3.2.2.1. *Choices of vocabulary***

The selection of words is often made in order to achieve a certain world view, which Fairclough (2010) claims to be ideological. Fairclough (1993) claims that some words, such as “freedom-fighters” or “terrorists” (p. 77) have similar meanings yet suggest opposing ideological values. These two words can present different points of view and denote different ideological meanings. According to Machin and Mayr (2012), the choice of words constructs a specific ideological world, making lexical analysis the most basic analytical technique of CDA (p. 30). Based on Fairclough’s CDA definition, lexical analysis can show which words have been included and omitted in texts, based on the authors’ intentions. The method of investigating lexical choice for this study will use four categories: overwording choices, connotation words, pronoun choices and metaphors.

Firstly, ‘overwording choices’ refers to a high frequency of word use – many words or phrases may be frequently repeated and have similar meanings. Fairclough (2013) defines the term: “overwording shows preoccupation with some aspect of reality ... it is a focus of ideological struggle” (p. 96). The choice to ‘overword’ shows a sense of over-explaining and is evidence related to ideological positions. Therefore, analysing overwording choices in texts, or even texts that are “salient in some way” (Sauntson, 2018, p. 136) enables it to be possible to find an author’s particular purposes and interests, and over-explaining can be recognised as showing emphasis in order to promote ideological positions and intention and thus discover the power relations within the texts (Fairclough, 2013, p. 96).

‘Connotation words’ can invoke positive or negative connotations in a particular culture (this often depends on a cultural and/or emotional association or meaning), such that particular connotation words may change the meaning of a sentence (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 32-33). A connotation word can hint at a hidden meaning, through which it becomes connected to ideological positions or intentions. For example, one can be constructed as being ‘childish’ or ‘childlike’ – both imply that someone is ‘like a child’. However, ‘childish’ signifies a discourse that an adult is behaving

immaturely (negative connotation), whereas ‘childlike’ implies a sense of wonderment (positive connotation). The negative value of connotation associated with the word ‘childish’ can be replaced by ‘childlike’ in order to avoid negativity in an expression, even though both terms have similar meanings. Therefore, through use of these connotation words, specific sentences can create particular versions of the world.

According to Fairclough (2010), by analysing lexical choices, we can uncover levels of authority and the relations between authors and readers. A choice to use formal or informal words can display the power relationships between author and reader. These choices are associated with particular situations – for example, choosing formal words to show respect or higher social status. Equally, by analysing the choice of pronouns, we can reveal how power relations are shown in the texts.

In a broad sense, a metaphor is a word or phrase used to denote an object or concept, which it does not *literally* denote, with the aim of implying a comparison. In a metaphor, two things are compared, but these two things are usually unrelated, aside from sharing some common features. For example, ‘time flies’ is a metaphor, because time is not an object, and thus cannot really ‘fly’. However, it is described like this in order to suggest the association between time and flying. This phrase refers to how time seems to pass quickly. A metaphor is a way of depicting one facet of an experience in the light of another, and different metaphors have different ideological connotations (Fairclough, 1993).

Fairclough (2001, 2013) states metaphors are “a means of representing one aspect of experience in terms of another ...” (p. 99). He states that our reality is constructed in one way or another via signifying things through metaphors, and as stated by Fairclough (1993), metaphors are not only “stylistic adornments of discourse”, but also constructed ways of thinking and acting, and also knowledge and beliefs, in a “pervasive and fundamental way” (p. 194). Using metaphors in texts in the forms of metonymy, synecdoche and personification (Liu, 2003, p. 74), has the ability to portray various “ideological intents”, as stated by Fairclough (1993) above. Metaphors can be used in texts in numerous ways and can form various ideological messages, because metaphors offer and engage the readers’ ways of looking at ideas and suggests a world view held in common. Therefore, by looking into the metaphors used in a text, one can reach a better understanding of the reasons behind the choices made by the author. Using such techniques aids the discovery of thidden ideologies and underlying meanings.

### 3.2.2.2. *Grammar choices*

Examination of grammar choices goes deeper, looking into the sentence structures and the grammatical orientations of the text, in order to uncover the meaning of the discourse and text (Halliday, 1985). Halliday's (2004, 2014) theory on systemic functional linguistics (SFL), an innovative approach associated with grammar through discourse and texts, has become a phenomenon in language analysis worldwide. For this study, I use the techniques of 'transitivity or intransitivity', 'passive or active' voice, 'nominalisation', 'pronominalisation', and 'modality'.

First and foremost, transitivity analysis entails identifying who receives the outcomes of the action, and who plays the more-important role in a particular clause. Therefore, the aim of the patterns of transitivity is to identify which participants are emphasised in comparison to others. Based on the study by Halliday (2014), transitivity is the grammatical aspect of a text that is differentiated by verbs that can take a direct object (e.g., He drives a car). The patterns of transitivity can also be represented in relation to the 'meaning-making' in language brought about by social circumstances (Halliday, 2014). In contrast, the patterns of intransitivity represent no relations between participants; intransitive verbs do not take objects (e.g., He cries). The choice of transitive or intransitive verbs in a certain text is related to the ideological intentions, which Halliday defines as the choice of certain grammar forms that are significant and ideological. Therefore, transitivity analysis is the study of verbs used to reveal who has greater significance in the actions of certain groups.

Additionally, Van Dijk (1991) claims that negative acts performed by in-group members, such as the authorities or the police, may be reduced in their effect by placing them later in the sentence, or by keeping the agency implicit, for instance in sentences framed in the passive voice (p. 215-216). In passive sentences (such as 'This book was written by my daughter'), the subject of the sentence is acted upon by some other agent, or is anonymous (for example 'The educational policy was approved'). In contrast, when using the active voice, the subject and verb relationships are directly connected, meaning that the active form of the verb is used – the subject performs the action. By using the passive voice, the subject or the agent who performed the action is deliberately moved or omitted, often with the aim of obscuring the agent. For example, in a political context, texts can use the passive voice in order to hide the driving force or agent behind an event. In this study, which examines the political background of Japanese colonialism, there are examples of the passive voice being used in the textbooks to implement political ideology into the curriculum.

'Nominalisation' is a significant grammatical factor, in which verbs are converted into noun form. Nominalisation may be used for the representation of processes and events (Fairclough, 2010, p. 360) or when the writer wishes to address the reader to "simplify complex processes" and actions (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 222). For example, the sentence 'The government promotes more jobs for

people' contains the verb 'promotes'. It can be written as 'The promotion of jobs for people ...', using the noun 'promotion'. When the verb 'promotes' is nominalised, it becomes a concept rather than an action. Use of the noun 'promotion' could be for the purpose of hiding the agent ('the government'). The active agent is deleted when the act of 'promotion' is represented as a nominalisation. Therefore, identifying where and why nominalisation is used in texts may help to uncover the hidden agents and the ideological messages portrayed.

'Pronominalisation' refers to the use of pronouns in texts. The most used pronouns are 'we' and 'you'. When using the term 'we', a text may be attempting to include the reader and the writer, by emphasising the whole collective or group, and becoming more 'inclusive'. However, using 'we' also has the potential to be 'exclusive', since it can also disregard other possible groups or people, by referring only to a specific collective as 'we'.

When the identity of the speaker is or should be kept unknown in a conversational text, or when the writer wishes to address the reader (or others) in general, the pronoun 'you' can be used. These pronouns have "relational values" and "contrasting values of solidarity and authority" (Fairclough, 2013, p. 150). Through identifying the instances in which pronominalisation is used in texts, the general use of 'we' and 'you' can provide profound examples showing where ideologically hidden messages are included.

'Modality' in grammar relates most often to the use of modal auxiliary verbs, such as 'will', 'may', 'can', 'must', 'ought', 'should', and so forth. Fairclough (2003) claims that "modality choices in texts can be seen as part of the process of texturing self-identity" (p. 166). The degree of commitment is shown in the use of these verbs, while also realising interpersonal function and expressing social identity between writer and reader, or speaker and listener (Halliday, 2014). Compare 'I will meet you there' and 'I may meet you there'. In the first sentence, 'will' indicates a greater commitment than 'may' in the second sentence. These modal auxiliary verbs provide an indication of the writer's commitment, and show the degrees of probability or necessity in a statement. For instance, the modal verb 'must' implies a stronger demanding commitment, whilst the modal verb 'may' shows a weaker degree of commitment.

An author's selection of certain modal verbs in a text suggests the degree of affinity or commitment, as mentioned (Halliday, 2014; Machin & Mayr, 2012). By highlighting the modal verbs in a text, a writer's intentions regarding ideologies, emphasis, world view, and qualities of ideal citizens can be identified.

The following section will discuss the importance of textual analysis.

### 3.2.2.3. *Textual analysis*

Lastly, through textual analysis, I examine the genres and the textual structures of the texts. Discovering the genre of a text assists the analytic process – identifying the text as a dialogue, an argumentative text or a narrative can provide a deeper understanding of the text’s context (Fairclough, 2003). In this study, I incorporate the theory of genres, based on Fairclough’s (2003) categorisation. This theory argues that texts can be placed into three major categories of genres: argumentative texts, dialogues, and narratives. However, Fairclough (2003) has stated that there can be a “mixture” of these genres within a text. Additionally, the individual genres can be identified based on the features of activity, i.e., what the participants in the text are doing; what are the social relations between participants of certain groups, organisations, and individual people; and the various technologies associated with communication, such as email, lecture, film, face-to-face, internet, etc. (Fairclough, 2003, p. 70). Furthermore, Fairclough (1993) defines ‘genre’ as a type of text which conforms with a particular structure of composition. For this study, I investigate the overall composition or ‘genre’ of the text in order to identify the construction of discourses and the ideologies and power relations in the texts.

Additionally, the narrative texts within the textbooks are thoroughly examined and the analytical approach of story grammar analysis is applied, since this helps to explain different elements, such as the characters, setting, events (introduction, middle, and conclusion) and didactic lessons. As the textbooks used for this study’s analysis comprise primary language textbooks, many of the texts belong in the narrative genre, so story grammar analysis is appropriate. Story grammar is defined by Brewer and Lichtenstein (1980) as a “class of theoretical structures” (p. 2). There are categories that determine which texts are classified as stories. These categories are determined according to: the information regarding the characters that are involved; the actions the characters perform; the nature of the characters’ aims; and whether these goals are achieved. Luke (1988) discussed the importance of critically analysing stories – he claimed that stories constitute ideologies “which rely upon knowledge of culturally and sub-culturally specific patterns of social action, situations, motivation, behaviours and beliefs ...” (p. 36).

Hence, when applying story grammar analysis to narrative texts, the setting which displays the background context, the episode which indicates the events in the story, and the response or resolution of the event can be identified. Luke (2018) argues that didactic or moral lessons are used to teach students and learners through narratives. Therefore, the identification of narrative texts in the textbooks will enable the discovery of the ideologies and representations of certain didactic lessons.

As previously mentioned, this study utilises the analytical levels of word selection, grammar and textual analysis. Moreover, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is appropriate here as it promotes a

detailed investigation of the relationships of curriculum discourse to social discourse, power and ideology.

I now turn to the details of how CDA and visual image analysis (VIA) are applied in this study, by explaining the methodological approaches used to manage the large corpus of texts in the *Kokugotokuhon* and *Shougakutokuhon* textbooks.

Along with CDA, I also use VIA, adopted primarily from Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996, 2006) theoretical framework. The section that follows discusses the various analytical procedures and techniques used for the visual image analysis, and introduces the background theory of semiotics, in order to provide and support the reasons for including VIA in this current study.

### **3.3. Visual image analysis (VIA): Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2006)**

Semiotics is generally described as the study of signs. It is not solely a method of textual analysis, but also involves both the theory and analysis of signs, codes and signifying practices (Chandler, 2007, p. 259). According to Chandler, the study of signs can include "the form of words, visual images, sounds, gestures and objects" (p. 2). Social semiotics is at the centre of this study's process of analysing visual images, since "the genesis of signs lies in social actions" (Kress, 2010, p. 54). Hodge and Kress (1988) emphasise that social semiotics include the study of texts as well as the study of ideologies embedded in semiotic systems, therefore including visual images. Therefore, I define the method for analysing the social meanings and values in the texts as coming primarily from Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996, 2006) theoretical framework. Their visual image analysis (VIA) offers a valuable framework for the understanding of various techniques of image analysis. VIA can uncover the embedded ideologies and values within visual images.

Any visual images included in textbooks are likely to have a great impact on readers' understanding of the topics covered, whether within the readers' area of interest or not, and may stimulate the readers' background knowledge as well as their imagination. Visual images are an important mode of communication, along with written texts. Visual images also effectively support the meaning presented in written language (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 100). A visual image often provokes emotions in the viewer, for example, involvement, separation, intimacy, or unfamiliar feelings. For instance, the participants in an image may engage the viewer face-to-face, with eye contact that invites the viewer to be involved or to become acquainted. Even though the visual image is a form of communication which plays an important role in creating meaning in the text, VIA has been largely ignored in the field of critical discourse studies (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 1; Painter et al., 2013, p. 3). According to Bell and Traub (2015), "young people learn more than half of what they know from visual information" therefore it is important to also analyse any visual images presented

alongside texts for any underlying ideological messages.

Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2006) accepted the meaning of Halliday's (2004, 2014) metafunctions: ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions. Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996, 2006) visual image analysis method has the purpose of providing a better understanding of the content and a critical literacy reading of visual images in order to identify the underlying ideologies. Their 'visual grammar' seeks to broaden the concept of CDA, which has mainly been "confined to language, realised verbal text, or to verbal parts of texts which also use other semiotic modes to realized meaning" (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 14). According to Kress (2010), 'mode' can be a socially-shaped and culturally-given semiotic resource for making meaning. Kress (2010) claims that image, written content, music, gesture, and verbal speech are examples of modes used in representation and communication.

According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), reading images involves investigating how images represent the real social world (p. 116). Hence, VIA examines the ways in which images communicate meaning or, in other words, it allows the examination of not only the reality (or 'true value') but also the ideology and unequal power relations evident in images. Machin and Mayr (2012) affirm that in order to reveal ideology and power, we need to examine not only language but also other semiotic modes, such as visual images (p. 25). Machin and Mayr (2012) define the social semiotic approach of visual communication as being "concerned with the describing and documenting the underlying resources available to those who want to communicate meanings visually and analysing the way that these are used in settings to do particular things" (p. 18). Social semiotics is concerned with in-depth visual analysis, by finding the underlying ideas that are shown visually in the texts.

There are numerous corpora of techniques in VIA, as with CDA, and therefore a selection of techniques are used in this current study. Visual grammar, according to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), is expressed in the analytical procedures in three main categories: ideational metafunction, interpersonal metafunction and textual metafunction, and these are used in this current study. Based on these three metafunctions, I have chosen to analyse the visual images using various techniques and procedures in order to uncover the underlying ideologies and power relations that exist in the visual images. A discussion of ideational metafunction follows in the next section.

### **3.3.1. Ideational metafunction**

Ideational metafunction focuses on the representation of the participants in an image, including objects and people. There are two types of ideational metafunction related to the ideational meaning of the subjects: 'narrative processes' and 'conceptual processes' (Kress & Van Leeuwen,

2006, p. 59). The narrative processes describe the social world in relation to “actions and events, processes of change, transitory spatial arrangements”, whereas the conceptual processes comprise participants being static, but in terms of a “more generalized and more or less stable and timeless essence, in terms of class, or structure or meaning” (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 79).

Narrative processes are used to indicate the connections between participants by invisible lines, called ‘vectors’ (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 74-75). The term ‘vector’ is used to recognise movement or mobility. The vector departs from the characters, the ‘actors’, and moves towards the object, the ‘goal’. According to Painter et al. (2013), the vector forms “a sense of dynamism, process or signifying action” (p. 55). For example, in a picture of a person and a soccer ball, the person is the ‘actor’, acting on the soccer ball, which is the ‘goal’. Therefore it is necessary to consider vectors in visual images in order to identify the action processes between the participants. Additionally, a vector can reveal a narrative relationship and can establish possible verbs from the images. For example, a direct vector places emphasis on a specific object, and may produce verbs such as ‘looking at’.

On the contrary, a conceptual representation involves no vectors or spatial configurations; the participants take equal possession of space, size and distance, and also the same horizontal or vertical orientation from the image. Unlike the process of a vector, a ‘conceptual representation’ does not necessarily emphasise objects to the viewer. Even though there may be no salient vectors, a meaningful ‘conceptual representation’ in an image still depicts the participants’ ideas and concepts, because readers may use their real-world knowledge while interpreting an image. A conceptual representation can display unoriginality or a fixed idea. For example, the colour red indicates hot water whereas blue indicates cold. Thus, in VIA, alongside ideational metafunction, semiotic devices of the actions, the participants and circumstances will be further analysed in terms of interpersonal metafunction.

### **3.3.2. Interpersonal metafunction**

Interpersonal metafunction goes beyond ideational metafunction, and describes the relationship between the ‘represented participants’ (such as the person, place, or thing in an image) and the ‘interactive participants’ (the viewers). Halliday (2014) affirms that interpersonal metafunction can be composed in relationships as “interactive and personal” (p. 30). There can be three kinds of image interactions: contact, social distance and attitude, and Kress and Van Leeuwen state that images “interact to create more complex and subtle relations between represented and interactive participants” (2006, p. 149).

Face-to-face interaction presents a ‘demand’ and the absence of eye-contact with the viewer becomes an ‘offer’. This means that ‘demand’ interacts directly and forms power relations with the



viewer, in contrast to an 'offer'. According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), the 'demand' of the participant is used to demand something of the viewer, but also demands that the participant make the effort to acknowledge the readers' existence. In contrast, the 'offer image' presents no demand or response, and relations between the participants and the viewers are only an invitation to watch (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 124).

The poses presented in an image contain potential meanings of values, ideas and identities and, in turn, the participants' poses have an important role to elicit and evaluate the viewers' interaction (Barthes, 1993). Therefore, the participant is represented with a specific pose, which expresses both potential and connoted values, ideas and identities in an image. For example, a participant's gazing pose signals a 'demand' to the viewer and also invites the viewer to be involved with the represented participant, whereas a participant's gazing-off posture (no eye contact with the viewer) signals an 'offer' where the participant encourages the viewer to conceive what the participant is thinking. Therefore, depending on the participant's eye contact with the viewer, the image sways from demand to offer. According to Machin and Mayr (2012), image form may be comprehended by "mood systems", for example, a gaze accompanied by an open-arms pose (which expresses a 'welcome') can construct a connection with the viewer (p. 71). The potential meaning of gazing up or down articulates the participant's emotions. For instance, looking down has the meaning of abstract ideas (including 'worried', 'no confidence' and 'socially-isolated'), whereas looking up portrays an idea of 'high status' or 'confidence'. Gaze therefore inherently implies the participant's emotions.

The relationship between the represented participants and the interactive participants also depends on the size of the frame, which itself depends on the social relation. In visual images, the distance between the viewers and the participants (called 'close' or 'long' shot) represents the degree of intimacy. A 'close shot', implies that the participants are closer to the viewer, implying an intimate social distance, while a 'long shot' shows that the participants are maintaining more distance from the viewer, suggesting no, or distant, social relationships (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006).

According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006, p. 148), images also portray 'interactive meanings' through using angles. An image with a frontal angle encourages the viewers to recognise the image with a sense of involvement. Thus, an image presenting a frontal angle can be interpreted as 'involved' – the represented participants are shown as "part of our world" (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 136). An image with an oblique angle is interpreted as a position of 'detachment', leading the viewer to reach a detached, alienated position. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) contend that the oblique angle encodes "what you see here is not part of our world; it is their world, something we are not involved with" (p. 136). In addition, something depicted at eye-level might imply equality,

average value, or no polarising power relations. Vertical and horizontal angles carry connotations as ‘subjective’ or ‘objective’. A subjective image has been selected for the viewers and tends to be ‘naturalised’, whereas an objective image shows neglect for the viewers’ involvement (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996, 2006). In this case, the viewers are not included in the represented participants’ ‘world’, which shows detachment from the viewers. In contrast, an image with an eye-level horizontal angle leads the viewers to feel a sense of maximum involvement (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 145).

Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2006) declare that the vertical angle signifies a form of power relations. High and low vertical angles denote power information between the represented participant and the viewer in the visual semiotic. For example, if the viewer looks up at the participants, who are positioned at high-seeming angles, this implies that the participants have the means of exerting power or to act in the role of authority (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). In contrast, if the viewer looks down at the participant, this implies that the participant is positioned as inferior in status or as vulnerable. Moreover, Painter et al. (2013) argues that a participant’s high vertical position impacts the viewers, evoking out a negative emotion, or a feeling of oppression (p. 17). These angles can be seen in the colonial textbooks studied here, often portraying the colonised as inferior citizens, who are looked down upon.

‘Modality’ is the meaning of reality in an image – it is “certainty, veracity and authority” (Machin & Mayr, 2012). According to Machin and Mayr (2012), modality characterises the number of scales that can be used to consider the extent to which an image deviates from “naturalistic modality”, which is used to produce particular set of values, ideas and identities that are more or less than “truth value” (p. 13). Modality also provides an explanation for the sense of power relation and authority, as well as indicating the truth value. Modality-makers include the level of colour (saturation, differentiation, and modulation), level of background detail, quality of material, depth, and illumination (or the level of lightness and darkness) that are distinguished from reality. Colours may induce the viewer to conceive objects, mood and feelings, as well as being used for emphasising certain objects within the visual image. Colours often carry symbolic meanings, although these can differ according to culture. For example, red portrays good fortune in China, whereas in Western culture, red often means danger, heat, or stop (Ware, 2008, p. 84). Therefore, certain colours can be used to symbolise certain kind of ideas or concepts.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) assert that symbolic structures take two processes: attributive and suggestive (p. 105). A symbolic attributive process emphasises one specific represented participant in an image that portrays two participants, whereas a symbolic suggestive process relates to just one participant, representing “the carrier”. One specific represented participant can be

emphasised because of its size, colour or placement (in comparison to other participants) in the symbolic attributive process. However, in the symbolic suggestive process, no objects in the image tend to be highlighted. ‘Mood’ or ‘atmosphere’ can be highlighted through image objects using colour or the level of lightness and darkness, which are important functions for modality-makers, being used to indicate general values, ideas and identities (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 106).

The distinction of colours can be seen as more or less modulated than the ‘real’ colour of the image, due to the level of saturation, differentiation and modulation. An image contains several meanings of modality-makers, for example, the degree of colour saturation. Full colour saturation denotes high modality and no colour (black and white) denotes low modality. Images with saturated colours show a tendency to increase a salient point, while paler colours are less obtrusive. Low modality (no colour) creates simplicity, while high modality creates naturalistic truth, meaning that, depending on the level of modality, a more or less realistic image value is connoted. A high level of background details, with realistic colour (colourful), exercises high realistic value which, in turn, portrays high certainty, veracity and authority. Therefore, the levels of background details (coloured or uncoloured, bright or dark, and backgrounds being in or out of focus) are related to symbolising and expressing the participants’ certainty, veracity and authority.

The interpersonal metafunction concepts discussed above, including ‘demands’ or ‘offers’ and the posing of the participants, will be utilised in this study, as well as textual metafunction, which will be discussed in the following.

### **3.3.3. Textual metafunction**

Textual metafunction is the final part of visual grammar analysis to be examined here. The meaning of composition, based on Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2006), affirms the information value of the ideal and the real as “the way images represent the relations between people, places and things they depict ... placed into a whole important meaning”. ‘Composition’ has to do with relative position (top or bottom, left or right, centre or margin), the salience of the participants, and framing. Salience depends on a wide range of colour degrees: salient colours, richer colours and sharper definition. For example, using low saturated colours indicates low salience, which means no ‘stand outs’, and no fascinating the viewer. The image lying in the foreground or background implies more or less important image values, and positive or negative elements.

According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), visual images are “messages without codes” (p. 24) and these messages are essential for uncovering embedded ideologies and hidden intentions. The placement of certain elements in the structural layout of an image provides clues to ideological messages that can be more or less stressed, and which may be transmitted to the readers of a text.

Therefore, it is important to understand which elements of an image have been given greater focus or have been neglected, in order to understand what is being told to the reader and what ideological messages are present in the visual images.

According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006, p. 181), something placed on the left side of an image is depicted as “given” information (signifies little), while on the right side an image implies “new” information (signifies much). Similarly, the top part depicts “ideal” information (as well as power and superiority), while the bottom part implies “real” (for instance, powerlessness or inferiority). Moreover, people/objects placed in the middle part of an image are depicted as core characters and have significant implications.

‘Salience’ can be shown in images in different ways: size, colour, tone, focus and foreground. The size of a participant can be large or small, and they are perceived with relatively higher salience than other forms in the meaning of composition. According to Painter et al. (2013), the greatest salience can be afforded in images by the sequence of visual focus groups within a high distinction (p. 119). The part of the image in either the foreground or background implies important or less important values, and positive or negative elements, respectively. An image of a participant located at the forefront (therefore having the closest alignment between the viewer and the participant) may take advanced rank (implying greater salience), while its location in the background creates inferior status.

‘Composition’ can be understood as meaning the participants’ disposition, as well as the meaning of the participants themselves. Thus, this analytical utility of compositional meaning accounts for the meaning of texts and visual images. The above aspects of the textual metafunction assisted in the analysis of the visual images for this study.

The next section will discuss how texts and visual images were compared.

### **3.4. Comparing two sets of texts and visual images**

Three sets of Japanese textbooks that were commonly used at primary schools in Korea and Japan have been compared in order to identify the ideologies contained in the textbooks for Korean students. This study involves the comparison of texts and visual images – an item-by-item (‘item’ refers to title, theme, story and image) comparison of two different sets of textbooks. To answer research question 2 (see p. 15), data were selected according to similarity in titles, content and visual images. Moreover, in order to identify the dominant themes (strong descriptive/changed contents and visual images) in each textbook, this study compared similar texts and visual images. The following section provides a detailed overview of the analytical approach and procedure of this study, including how the texts were selected and analysed.

### 3.5. Analytical approach and procedure

The data used for this study comprised twelve Japanese language textbooks, titled *Kokugotokuhon* (levels 2 and 3) (which were published by *Joseonchongdogbu* for use by Korean students), and *Shougakutokuhon* (levels 2 and 3) (published by *Monbusho* for Japanese students). These books were in their original Japanese language form (not English versions).

#### 3.5.1. Data collection and selection of data sets

I visited Japan and Korea early in my candidature, as I needed to access the particular Japanese colonial textbooks to be analysed. The twelve textbooks were obtained and the data gathered. As shown in Table 1, three data sets were chosen, based on year, level, appropriateness and publisher.

**Table 1: Data sets**

Data	Used in Korea and published by <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> (the Japanese Governor-General of Korea)	Used in Japan and published by <i>Monbusho</i> (the Ministry of Education)
First Education Ordinance (1911 - 1919) - Data set 1	<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon</i> 2 and 3 (1913)	<i>Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon</i> 2 and 3 (1917)
Second Education Ordinance (1919 - 1938) - Data set 2	<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon</i> 2 (1930) and 3 (1931)	<i>Shougakutokuhon</i> 2 (1933) and 3 (1935)
Third and Fourth Education Ordinances (1938 - 1945) - Data set 3	<i>Shotou Kokugotokuhon</i> 2 (1939) and 3 (1940)	<i>Shougakutokuhon</i> 2 (1939) and 3 (1938)

I translated twelve Japanese textbooks into English, and had my work proofread by a native Japanese speaker and checked by one of my supervisors. These textbooks were chosen because they were used by educators at elementary schools in Japan and Korea. In order to better understand the differences in the ideologies offered in the Japanese language textbooks for the colonised group and the colonising group, institutional goals, publishers' approach, norms and biases, three data sets were

chosen based on year, level, appropriateness and publisher. The textbooks from the third and fourth *Joseon* Education Ordinances were analysed together, as they are not only covered short periods, but the contents of the textbooks from Japan and Korea were not changed.

### 3.5.2. Data analysis

After completing the translations, I began to analyse twelve textbooks, in force from 1911 to 1945. I selected four common themes (science and technology; Japanese history, geography, and legends; moral education; and school life and play) according to greatest frequency. I summarised and overviewed these themes and identified sub-themes. I then collected samples (representative of sub-themes, or typical of common themes). Visual images and texts were chosen based on the research questions and analysed according to the theories of critical image analysis and critical discourse analysis. Moreover, selection of the texts was conditional on them having accompanying visual images, since these images contain ideological messages as much as the written texts (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 25). Not all visual images and texts could be analysed, as the twelve language textbooks cover a large corpus of texts, and a decision was made to limit the amount of data to be analysed for effective textual analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003).

After this general analysis, a more in-depth CDA (Fairclough, 2003, 2010) was conducted, and Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996, 2006) methodology was applied to the visual images. In analysing the texts, this study investigated particularly the lexical, grammatical and generic levels of analysis in order to reveal the underlying dominant ideologies. The texts and visual images were analysed together as this provided stronger and richer analytical findings. Furthermore, it was difficult to separate the texts and visual images, as they were interrelated in the textbook's content – they could not be separated as the visual images usually supported the texts in the textbooks.

With regard to the visual images, the following components were analysed: 'ideational metafunction' (vectors – narrative relationship and establish possible verbs from image, and no vectors – conceptual process, no stressing objects, fixed idea), 'interpersonal metafunction' (relationship between represented participants and viewers – offer or demand, gazing pose or gazing-off pose, looking up or down, the size of the frame, close or long shot, frontal or oblique angle, high or low modality), and 'textual metafunction' (top or bottom, left or right, centre or margin, salience – size, colour, tone and foreground). Thereafter, each data set was further reduced by after applying the CDA and VIA questions: "Is there rewording or overwording?", "Are there any connotation words?", "Are there markedly formal or informal words?", "What metaphors are used?", "Is agency excluded or included?", "Are sentences passive or active?", "Is there a direct vector or no vector?", "Is there an 'offer image' or a 'demand image'?", "Is the represented participant gazing up or down?",

“Is there distinctly saturated or unsaturated colour?”, and so on. Overall, the data was analysed in accordance with the principles of CDA and VIA to investigate the presence of ideologies, and the data was categorised from the analysis according to the time period of the relevant *Joseon* Education Ordinance, episode/person and ideologies.

The texts and visual images from different textbooks were ultimately compared, to be able to find what different ideologies had been embedded in the Japanese language textbooks used in Korean primary schools (Research Question 2). This study was also able to uncover what different possible ideal worlds and qualities of ideal citizens were constructed (Research Question 3). Story grammar analysis was used for the longer narratives.

Lists of content were compiled from the two different textbook sets. Texts and visual images were then analysed item-by-item by specific titles and themes, and a comparison was made of the two sets of data to determine the different ideologies. The texts and visual images included in all twelve of the textbooks were grouped according to similar titles, content and visual images, and the frequency of these grouped texts, themes and visual images was noted. For example, high-frequency words or texts were calculated to summarise the data. This process allowed the authors’ particular purposes and particular ideological positions to be made clear.

Common themes were used for the analysis, enabling the process to be more precise, and allowing the underlying ideologies embedded in each textbook to be observed. Through comparatively analysing four textbooks, it was possible to find clear similarities and differences in textual and visual representations, with textbooks aimed at the two different audiences containing quite different content and different dominant ideology, hegemony and selective tradition (see Chapter 2).

### **3.6. Approaches to Japanese translation**

This study analyses Japan’s colonial influences on Korea, and the power of the ideological messages embedded in the Japanese language textbooks of the time by comparing two different sets of Japanese language textbooks, used by early primary school students in Japan and Korea respectively. By translating the Japanese texts into English, it was possible to show the original texts in parallel with their ‘word-for-word’ English translations, in order to analyse those texts and provide comprehension for readers who are not familiar with the Japanese language. Therefore, to understand the implicit meaning in the Japanese texts, the accuracy of the translation into English was vital if the study’s aims were to be achieved.

This study not only focuses on the structures of the Japanese language concerned, but also uses CDA as an analytical tool for discovering underlying ideologies and power relations, and it was

important to use the original Japanese texts for this. As mentioned, I translated the Japanese into English, in consultation with a native Japanese speaker, and then had my work proofread by a native English speaker. A text must go through a number of translation processes (like proofreading by native Japanese and English speakers) if it is to retain integrity of meaning, i.e., if it is to avoid generating misconceptions about the original (Ray, 2008).

Rendering some Japanese terms into English is difficult, and some grammatical structures interfere with translating Japanese into English. One-to-one translation can be difficult, so the focus was on capturing the *content* rather than the *form* of each language structure. For example, in the Japanese language, declarative sentences do not always need a subject, while they always need a subject in English. Moreover, honorific expressions (known as *Keigo*) cannot be translated literally into English. In Japanese, there are particles<sup>15</sup>: -ga ‘が’ and -ha ‘は’, which have no meaning in English. Moreover, phatic expression plays a particularly important role in the Japanese language – it is used to create an atmosphere or to maintain social contact in interpersonal reactions (Hasegawa, 2012, p. 59). In Japanese, phatic expressions are frequently found at the beginning of speaking, and show one’s attention during a conversation. It is hard to find equivalent expressions in English, and literal translations of these expressions from Japanese to English do not make any sense.

To achieve intimacy with the reader, a writer can use rhetorical questions (Wakabayashi, 1990, p. 60) and these are commonly seen in Japanese textbooks. A rhetorical question or statement is a figure of speech in the form of a question or statement that is posed for its persuasive effect, without the expectation of a reply. Many Japanese rhetorical questions and statements would end, for example, in ~だろう= ~ダロウ’, コノ マ マデハ、松 ノ 木 ガ ミンナ カレテ シマウ ダロウ。 (*Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* 3, 1931, p. 25) → “If we do nothing, all of the pine trees will die!”

Even though rhetorical questions or statements are used in didactic lessons in English, their frequency is significantly less than in Japanese, because English readers may feel they are being ‘talked down to’ when such questions are used as stated by Terry (as cited in Hasegawa, 2012, p. 190).

The following section will discuss some general and critical issues in Japanese translation that are relevant to this analysis. Some specific grammatical points are important, and have been footnoted or explained in the body of the text. The following list explains these issues:

- In order to provide a deeper understanding of the text, the first step of any translation starts

---

<sup>15</sup> These particles are placed directly after the word. They indicate the grammatical meaning of that word in the sentence or contribute to the meaning of verbs.



with a clarification of the topic, to compensate for the fact that the English-speaking reader may not be aware of the context. Some of the topics are presented with parentheses to give an explanation of the context.

- Japanese and English have some corresponding elements, but the structure of the statement is different in the two languages. Therefore, a direct translation is not always possible because the target language does not have a corresponding expression. For example, 「雪ガフリマシタヨ」ト、オカアサン ガ オッシャイマス ノデ、トビオキマシタ。(Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2-18, p. 45) “It snowed,” my mother said, so [I] sprang out of bed.” (トビ = running, rushing, jumping オキマシタ = got up, stood up). Moreover, throughout the Japanese language, there is not necessarily a grammatical requirement to include personal pronouns in sentences. ‘私’ (I) and ‘私 タチ’ (we) are often omitted (or at least, used less frequently) when they can be understood from the context. Even though they may be omitted in Japanese, they can be translated into English. For example, ‘I sprang out of bed’ can be expressed by ‘トビオキマシタ’ (got up in rush) without any personal pronoun. In such cases, I needed to use oblique translation techniques.
- Traditional Japanese items for which equivalent words do not exist in English (including traditional items of furniture, decorations, clothes, and so on) are written in Romanisation and explained with a footnote.
- Some expressions have no English equivalent. For example ‘国びき’ (Shougakutokuhon 3-11, 1935) literally means ‘nation-pulling’ or ‘land-pulling’, and this terminology is used here because it accurately explains the intended meaning, while there is no exact equivalent in English. In such cases, Japanese is used before the English term (e.g., 国びき - ‘nation-pulling’).
- Some sentences which contain no new information or which repeat something from the preceding one are redundant to translate.
- Phatic expressions, like ‘アノ’ and ‘ヤア’ (Shougakutokuhon 3, 1935, p. 95 & p. 98), are used as conversation starters in Japanese. They are redundant to translate into English because it is difficult to match these expressions. As well, it seems not so important to examine their meaning in the text. In these cases, the Japanese text is described beside the English text, or a

description is added in a footnote if there is no exact equivalent in English.

- Japanese has a large inventory of onomatopoeic words: *Piyopiyo* ‘*ぴよぴよ*’, *Kokokoko* ‘*ココココ*’, *Padapada* ‘*パタパタ*’, and so on. Onomatopoeic words are written using either hiragana<sup>16</sup> or katakana<sup>17</sup> (there is no strict rule) and these words can contain repeated syllables, as in the examples above. In Japanese, this repetitiveness is normal, but in English there is no equivalent. Below are some examples from *Shougakutokuhon* 3 (1935, p.13) and *Shougakutokuhon* 2 (1933, p. 80): *ぼくが見にいくと、ひよこが、おやどりのむねの所から、小さなあたまを出して、ぴよ、ぴよ、とないてゐま*. → “I go out and see that the chicks’ small heads are peeking out from underneath the mother hen’s chest, chirping.” (*Shougakutokuhon* 3, p. 13)  
*ヨソカラカヘッテイラッシャッタオトウサンガ。戸ロデ、パタパタ、マントノユキヲオハラヒニナルト、ドマガ、ユキダラケニナリマシタ*。 → “Early in the afternoon, my father came back from outside and shook the snow off his coat. The entryway of the house was covered with snow.” (*Shougakutokuhon* 2, p. 80)  
As seen in the above examples, the sound showed by the onomatopoeic words may not always have an appropriate equivalent in English, and so the term has been rephrased in the translation for this study. However, the original meaning of these onomatopoeic expressions can be successfully conveyed by using words that describe the meaning in English.
- In Japanese, expressions of respect, i.e., honorifics and humble forms, are used to show respect to a person who is a superior, e.g., a god, a socially superior person (like a customer), or a person older than oneself. No equivalent English expressions exist for these polite forms. For example, both the copula ‘*いる*’ (to be) and the honorific form of the copula ‘*いらっしゃる*’ (to be) are translated into the same meaning in English. In this case, I add a footnote to the translation.
- Depending on the context, and with the use of words like ‘*ドンナ*’ (what kind of) and ‘*聞キマシタ*’ (asked), text without a question mark can be interpreted as an interrogative sentence.

---

<sup>16</sup> *Hiragana* is also a syllabary Japanese writing system

<sup>17</sup> *Katakana* is a syllabary Japanese writing system derived from components or parts of the more complex writing system of Chinese characters.

For example, 「ドンナ コシャウ デス。」ト 聞キマシタ ガ 正雄サン モ  
 ヨク ワカラナイ ト 見エテ、ダマツテ キマシタ。→ “What kind of breakdown  
 (in the car)? I asked, but Masao seemed to not know and he didn’t reply” (*Shougakutokuhon*  
 3, 1935, p. 94). In addition, an interrogative sentence often omits the subject or object in  
 Japanese. Therefore, in cases like this, parentheses are used for presenting the omitted words,  
 and an explanatory footnote has been added.

- Proper nouns, for example, the name of a person, book, or a Japanese institution, are transliterated into Roman letters.
- The impersonal pronoun ‘it’ is used without definite reference. It is the only impersonal pronoun in English, and the following examples are some of the important uses of the impersonal pronoun. For example, “When it is windy, we fly kites” カゼ ノ アル 日  
 二八、 タコ ヲ アゲマス。(Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon, 1930, p. 40), “Mother, [it]  
 must be heavy” オカアサン、オモイ デシヨウ ネ。(Shotou Kokugotokuhon, 1939, p.  
 8) and “Went up, went down, [it]’s fun” アガッタ サガッタ オモシロイ。(Shotou  
 Kokugotokuhon, 1939, p. 93). I have enclosed ‘it’ in parentheses if ‘it’ is used as a subject to  
 an impersonal verb, or also as a provisional subject, when it does not refer to a particular  
 person or thing.

- ‘~サン’ (-san) is a title of respect added to the name of a person or the name of an occupation.

In the English translation, this was omitted, for example, 石田 (Ishida) サン is translated  
 as “Ishida”. The degree of intimacy, and the position of one’s status are often dealt with by  
 using honorific suffixes, like ‘~サン’ (Tanimori & Sato, 2012, p. 67). However, I omitted the  
 English translation of the honorific suffix ‘~サン’ when it referred to young people within  
 the family, and where it showed a high degree of intimacy in relationships.

- The translation of two verbs into an English sentence does not always reveal the message of  
 the original. In this case, some explanation is added in a footnote (if it is critical issue). For  
 example, キノウ ハ、 雨 ガ フツタ ノデ、石田サン ノ ウチ デ、ナイチ  
 ノ エハガキ ヲ ミセテ モライマシタ。(Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon, 1930, p.  
 40). This sentence is translated as “Yesterday it rained, so Ishida showed us some postcards

from his native country (Japan) at his house.” The part of the sentence “ミセテ モライマシタ” displays two verbs, using the テ (te-form) on the first verb (ミセ) and conjugating the second verb (モライマシタ). The action described by the first verb (to be seen) comes before the action (to receive) described by the second verb.

### **3.7. Chapter summary**

Chapter 3 discussed the methodology used for this study, with the two methodological frameworks used being critical discourse analysis (CDA) and visual images analysis, the latter being based primarily on Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996, 2006) theory.

This chapter examined CDA, and explained that it was chosen for use because it allowed for a critical analysis of the large textual corpus of the Japanese language textbooks that were used in Korea and Japan, and was effective in identifying underlying ideologies. The techniques of CDA were explained, and different methodological approaches from various CDA scholars were reviewed. The three major analytical levels of the study were also discussed: word choice, grammatical analysis and textual analysis.

Visual image analysis was also examined as a method used to uncover the underlying ideologies and power relations existing in the visual images presented in the textbooks. The different analytical processes of ideational metafunction, interpersonal metafunction, and textual metafunction were also discussed, as well as the actual process of visual image analysis and data collection, selection and analysis.

The chapter also explored the theory and notes on translation issues.

## Chapter 4: Analysis of the First *Joseon* Education Ordinance (1911-1919)

### 4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, four textbooks that were used in Japan and Korea during the First *Joseon* Education Ordinance (1911-1919) are critically analysed. This chapter starts with discussions of the history and background of the textbooks as well as the influences due to the introduction of the First *Joseon* Educational Ordinance.

In the following, the content and the organisation of textbooks from Japan and Korea are explored to identify the different ideologies that were presented to the Korean students. The four most-common themes (i.e., those appearing most frequently in the textbooks) were selected, categorised, and analysed: science and Western technology; Japanese history and geography; moral education; and school life and play. Finally, there is a summary of findings with comparisons between the textbooks.

### 4.2. The influence of the First Education Ordinance

Japan asserted coercive and authoritative rule over Korea, and this power can be viewed through the policy of the *Joseon* Education Ordinances. On August 1911, the First Education Ordinance was promulgated, and the education of the colonised under Japanese rule started in earnest. In accordance with the *Joseon* Education Ordinance, the Japanese colonial curriculum aimed at training the colonised to use the Japanese language and modelled a loyal Japanese subject<sup>18</sup>.

According to Article 3 of the First Education Ordinance, “Education in *Joseon* shall be adapted to the need of the times and the condition of the people”<sup>19</sup>. The Japanese-governed education policy, enacted by Terauchi Masatake<sup>20</sup>, stated firstly “Imperial rescript on education”, teaching “*deogyuk*”<sup>21</sup> to Koreans<sup>22</sup>; secondly, Korean people must learn the Japanese language and all instruction must use the Japanese language; and thirdly, the education for Korean people is different from that for Japanese people and, based on the Koreans’ situation and the degree of their economic and cultural development, the education ordinance will be applied gradually. As mentioned in Chapter 2, this education policy prescribed a discriminatory school curriculum for Koreans through the use of a different educational material.

Japanese policy was that the Korean and Japanese people were from ‘the same ancestor’ and

---

<sup>18</sup> The Educational Compilation Association (1964) pp. 64-65 (Retrieved from Kim Sun-jeon et al., 2014, p. 14)

<sup>19</sup> Chapter 1, Article 3 of the first Education Ordinance (Retrieved from Russell, 1987, p. 60)

<sup>20</sup> *Terauchi Masatake*, 寺内 正毅, was a Japanese Army Minister, diplomat, and politician. He was the first Japanese Administrator in Korea. (Kim Djun-kil, 2014, p.146)

<sup>21</sup> The literal meaning of “*deogyuk*” is “moral training” but in the textbooks, the moral training for Koreans is concerned with being an obedient and faithful subject to the Japanese Empire.

<sup>22</sup> It is written “the citizens of *Joseon*”.

were one nation, emphasising *Dongjodongkeun* “同祖同根”<sup>23</sup> (Park Hye-seong, 2011, p. 270). However, in practice, there was discrimination embedded in the Japanese curriculum for Korean students. As previously mentioned, there were four years of elementary school provided for Koreans, while the length of public school for the Japanese was six years (Park Mi-kyung, 2011). Before the Japanese colonial period, there had been six years of elementary school in Korea, but this was shortened after colonisation. This different number of years of elementary education is evidence of a discriminatory education system. The aim of reducing the number of school years for Koreans was to produce different (inferior) citizens by providing them with lower quality education (Park Mi-kyung, 2011).

#### 4.2.1. The primary school subjects in Korea

The Korean language and Chinese characters came to be written in a mixed script (Pratt & Rutt, 1999). The following table (Table 2) shows the subjects for the first and second years of public primary school and also presents the number of classes for each course per week.

**Table 2: The Japanese colonial school curriculum and the number of classes<sup>24</sup>**

Subject	Grade 1	Grade 2
Disciplinary training	1	1
The national language (Japanese)	10	10
<i>Joseon</i> language and Chinese characters	6	6
Arithmetic	6	6
<i>Changga</i> (music), Gymnastics	3	3
Total class hours per week	26	26

According to Table 2, the Japanese language was adopted as the national language, and the Korean language was renamed the *Joseon* language (Kim Sun-jeon et al., 2011, p. 24). Japanese language classes were allocated the highest number of class hours, showing that the colonial education policy focused heavily on teaching the Japanese language to the colonised. Japanese language lessons comprised about 38% of the total number of hours spent in school. The Japanese language classes were scheduled almost two times more than the *Joseon* language classes, making the priorities of the Japanese colonial curriculum very clear. By changing an imperial language into

<sup>23</sup> This means ‘same ancestor and the same race’, presenting that the Koreans and the Japanese are one, and that they are from the same ancestor and the same ethnic group/race.

<sup>24</sup> Cited by Kim Sun-jeon et al. (2011), p. 24

a national language, and by stressing the importance of the colonised learning the Japanese language, the Japanese colonial curriculum aimed to deprive the Korean people of their national spirit and identity, and to establish them as imperial citizens of Japan. The colonial curriculum was used to reconstruct Koreans as Japanese imperial subjects, and tried to negate the Koreans' national spirit and identity in order to legitimise Japanese imperial ideologies (Lee Dong-bae, 2012; Peng and Chu, 2017; Kim Sun-jeon et al., 2014).

In general, elementary school textbooks contained a number of visual images to help young children understand the subjects more easily. These visual images helped students to learn in a creative way, gave vividness to the content, and helped to attract the students' attention. However, in almost every visual image in the textbooks, there was an underlying meaning and this encompassed ideological messages, such as conveying the Japanese government's ideologies (Luke, 1988; Heinrich, 2005). The Japanese language textbooks were heavily illustrated, in order to build "an intuitive level of education", as written in the preface of the book, *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915, pp. 2-3).

### **4.3. Textbooks from the First Education Ordinance (1911-1919)**

All teaching methods and materials (including as textbooks) were controlled and published by *Joseonchongdogbu* (the Japanese Governor-General of Korea). The existing Korean curriculum was replaced, in order to confer benefits on the colonisers, while ignoring the needs of the colonised (Pennycook, 2016). According to Pennycook (2016), a language spreads through its connections via colonial exploitation – when people learn it, where learning occurs, and usually involving teaching. Language is profoundly political, and this can be seen in the power struggle between the colonisers and the colonised (Pennycook, 2016, p. 26).

Under the rule of Japanese imperialism, the textbook *Kokugotokuhon* was introduced to teach Korean students the Japanese language. It contained Japanese-centric ideology and omitted Korean themes, such as Korea's great heroes and the *Joseon* kingdom. For example, *Kokugotokuhon* contained much content that related to Japanese nationalism: "The flag of Japan", "His Royal Highness, the Emperor of Japan", "The Empire of Japan", "The Meiji Emperor", "Japanese apricot flowers and cherry blossoms" and "The Japanese Emperor's birthday". These strongly promoted Japanese nationalism, by depicting Japanese flags and flowers, and promoting the worship of the Japanese Emperor. Throughout *Kokugotokuhon*, a Japan-centric perspective was highlighted by presenting the Japanese Emperor, but *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3* (*Monbusho*, 1917) (for Japanese students) did not include any texts on the Japanese Emperor.

Furthermore, throughout *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915),

boys appeared around 90% more often than girls in the textbook's illustrations. Images of Korean students were also presented in a stereotypical way, with them wearing lower-class Korean clothes and shoes, having their hair cut short<sup>25</sup>, and some wearing school hats. A few students carried shoulder bags but most used cloth bags to carry their books.

Both *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 and 3 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)* included some similar stories and visual images as the textbooks used by the Japanese (for example, "Four directions", "Snowman" and "Flower-bearing person").

A number of units (9 out of 31 in the second *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon*, and 11 out of 30 units in the third *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon*) portrayed Japanese features, such as Japanese traditional clothes, flag and buildings. The textbooks particularly highlighted positive ideas of Japan as a developed nation, and Western-developed products were added deliberately.

I analysed four textbooks from the First Education Ordinance, from 1911 to 1919. Japanese *katakana* and Chinese characters were used in the second levels of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)* and *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon (Monbusho, 1917)*. In the third levels of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)* and *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon (Monbusho, 1917)*, some units were written in *katakana* or *hiragana*, and there were added Chinese characters.

Only *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)* contained exercise questions in each chapter and these questions increased and repeated the knowledge of the content, with certain sentences or ideas being highlighted. Practice questions can increase student participation, encourage active learning, refine a statement or idea, prompt students to see a concept from another perspective, or ask students to explore values and beliefs from the content and visual images (Bu Gilman, 2013, p.64).

#### **4.3.1. Contents of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* and *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon***

The following table (Table 3) shows the list of contents of four textbooks: *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)* and *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3 (Monbusho, 1917)*. These textbooks were used by first and second year primary school students in Japan and Korea. *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)* were published by *Joseonchongdogbu* “朝鮮總督府” (the Japanese Governor-General of Korea) and *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3 (Monbusho, 1917)* were published by *Monbusho* “文部省” (the Ministry

---

<sup>25</sup> After the Japanese occupation, Korean students had their hair cut short and wore school uniforms (Lee Gi-gyu, 2015, p. 10-11).



of Education). From these four textbooks, I identified and selected four major themes that were common to all four textbooks: science and Western technology (S); Japanese history and geography (J); moral education (M) and school life and play (P). The texts and visual images presented relate to these four major themes and were sorted into identified sub-themes, such as Japanese nationalism with Emperor-centred ideology, and Japan-centred ideology through Japanese mythology.

The following table displays the contents of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915) and *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3* (Monbusho, 1917), and allocates one of the four major themes to each title (see letter in parentheses), and shows the number of chapters and pages in each textbook. The asterisks next to the titles mark those texts that were selected as examples for analysis. These samples were selected based on the research questions and whether they were typical of common themes or representative of sub-themes. Selection was also conditional on them having accompanying visual images, since the images contained ideological messages of the same significance as the written texts.

**Table 3: Content of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915) and *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3* (Monbusho, 1917)**

	<i>For Korean students</i>		<i>For Japanese students</i>	
Unit	<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2</i> (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)	<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 3</i> (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)	<i>Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2</i> (Monbusho, 1917)	<i>Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 3</i> (Monbusho, 1917)
1.	The morning (S)	Tree-planting (S)	*Sports day (P)	Now (S)
2.	*Morning greetings (P)	A picnic (P)	*Guest play (M)	Getting up early (M)
3.	*Chestnutting (S)	Japanese apricot flowers and cherry blossoms (J)	Chrysanthemums (S)	Chicks (S)
4.	The moon (S)	Flower-bearing person 1 (M)	Mr Ushiwakamaru (Japanese hero) (J)	Our kitten (S)
5.	Chicks (S)	Flower-bearing person 2 (M)	To think (P)	Miss Hana (M)
6.	Leaves (S)	Flower-bearing person (3) (M)	The greedy dog (M)	Names of the fingers (P)

7.	*Guests (M)	Katakana and hiragana (P)	A sunset glow (S)	To think (P)
8.	*The police officer (M)	Carp (S)	The moon (S)	Gathering bracken (P)
9.	Four directions (East, West, South and North) (S)	A way of counting days (P)	*Chestnutting (S)	The bamboo shoots (S)
10.	A kind child (M)	Bamboo trees (S)	Leaves (S)	Siblings (M)
11.	Morning (a.m.) and afternoon (p.m.) (S)	A ruler (S)	A baby (M)	The grandfather, aged 51 (M)
12.	The town (J)	Summer (emphasis on physical labour) (M)	The wise mouse (M)	Right and left (P)
13.	*Bok-dong's family(P)	Lightning bugs (S)	*New Year's Day (refers to Japanese culture) (J)	Run around (the town) and then back to touch (P)
14.	Snow (S)	The foal (S)	The target of rice cake (The target was made of rice cake) (M)	Urashima Tarou (M)
15.	Snowman (P)	Rice-planting (M)	Snow (S)	Four directions (East, West, South and North) (S)
16.	(My) puppy (S)	The scenery from the top of the mountain (J)	Snowman (P)	Our town (J)
17.	The elder and the younger brother (M)	Map reading (J)	Flower-bearing person (M)	The stories (M)
18.	*New Year's Day (includes strong Japanese nationalism) (J)	Swimming (P)	Shadow play (P)	A person called typhoons (M)
19.	*The flag of Japan (J)	The Empire of Japan (J)	Riddles (P)	Cicadas (S)

20.	*His Royal Highness, the Emperor (of Japan) (J)	*The Meiji Emperor (J)	Medicine (S)	The boat made of bamboo (P)
21.	Mother (M)	Miss Hana (M)	Eyes and ears and mouth (S)	The water gun (S)
22.	The way of counting months (P)	* <i>Tenchousetsu</i> <sup>26</sup> (J)	Mother and baby cow (S)	Keep moths away from things (by giving something an airing ) (M)
23.	On the ice (P)	The government office (1) (J)	From now on (S)	Bats (S)
24.	Pigs (S)	The government office (2) (J)	The airplane (S)	The 15th night (S)
25.	Towels (S)	Clock (S)	The big scenery (S)	Mt Fuji (J)
26.	The number of birds (P)	Clock and song (S)		
27.	Kite (P)	The market (opening at dawn) (P)		
28.	A picture book (S)	A brazen-faced fellow (M)		
29.	Momotarou (1) (J)	A train station (S)		
30.	Momotarou (2) (J)	A train trip (P)		
31.	Momotarou (3) (J)			
Total no. of units	31 units	30 units	25 units	25 units
Total no. of pages	91 pages	110 pages	78 pages	90 pages
*These are the examples that I chose to analyse.				

<sup>26</sup> *Tenchousetsu* means the birthday of the Japanese Emperor. The date of *Tenchousetsu* changes whenever a new Japanese Emperor rises to the throne.

As shown in Table 3, the second level of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915) contained 31 units and the third level of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915) contained 30 units. The lists also show that *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3* (Monbusho, 1917) each contained 25 units. The number of pages in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915) and *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3* (Monbusho, 1917) also differed, with the Korean textbooks having more pages than the Japanese textbooks.

By means of content analysis, it appears that *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3* (Monbusho, 1917) contained more science and Western technology than *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915). Content proportions were also analysed, and it was discovered that *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915) included a higher percentage of content on Japanese history and geography than *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3* (Monbusho, 1917). In comparison, *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3* (Monbusho, 1917) included more science and Western technology, and less content related to promoting Japanese history in *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3* (Monbusho, 1917).

Eight units were selected from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915), two from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 3* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915), four units from *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2* (Monbusho, 1917) and none from *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 3* (Monbusho, 1917). The numbers of units selected were uneven, due to the process used to select texts and visual images for analysis (explained in Chapter 2).

The subjects taught in Japanese elementary schools were ethics, Japanese language, arithmetic, Japanese history, geography, science, drawing, singing, and physical education (Numano, 2011). The relatively low number of units for the theme of Japanese history and geography in the Japanese language textbooks may therefore be due to those themes being included in other subject textbooks. For example, the history textbook would contain mainly units on Japanese history, thus limiting the number of units related to that subject needing to be included in a language textbook. In comparison, the subjects taught in Korean elementary schools included disciplinary training, Japanese language, Korean language and Chinese characters, arithmetic, *changga* and gymnastics (in Table 2).

It appears that the Japanese language textbooks were organised differently for Korean and Japanese students, and that the Japanese language curriculum for Korean students related more to the promotion of Japanese colonial ideology. For example, only *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915) introduced the Japanese Emperor and flag. These significant differences may reveal that Japanese language textbooks were used to teach Japanese history, and also as a means of controlling the Korean school curriculum by highlighting Japanese ideologies (such as the Japanese Emperor-centric ideology and the Japanese flag) in order for Koreans to accept an Emperor-centred

ideology and Japanese dominance. Lee Dong-bae (2000), in his analysis of Korean language textbooks from the Japanese colonial era, found that Korean history, historical figures and Korea's famous heroes were deliberately omitted from textbooks, and that colonial education was used as a tool for the indoctrination of Japanese colonialism and ideology.

#### 4.3.2. Organisation of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* and *Shougakutokuhon*

The following table (Table 4) shows the organisation of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915) and *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3* (*Monbusho*, 1917).

**Table 4: The organisation of the textbooks**

Contents	<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 &amp; 3</i> ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1915) - for Korean students	<i>Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 &amp; 3</i> ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1917) - for Japanese students
Cover (Front)	Name of book, publisher and grade	Name of book, publisher and grade
Preface	Yes	None
Table of contents	Yes	Yes
Chapters	Texts, visual images and exercise questions	Texts and visual image
Appendix	Yes	None
Cover (Back)	Date of publication of book, price, place of issue and publisher	Date of publication of book, price, place of issue and publisher

According to Table 4, the front covers of each book contained the name of the book, the publisher and the grade. A preface is found only in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3* – these prefaces show the information that students can use, introduce teaching hours and methods and present a detailed way of teaching in the classroom. For example, as a matter of convenience, teachers should give explanations in Japanese, and explain in Korean (through a translator) only when necessary. The prefaces in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3* mostly contain guidelines for teachers. There are some other differences between *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915) and *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3* (*Monbusho*, 1917) – the prices of the textbooks differed, with *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915) having a price fixed at 6 Jeon, and *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3* (*Monbusho*, 1917) costing 8 Jeon.

The next section discusses the main themes (science and Western technology, Japanese history and geography, moral education, and school life and play) as they dealt with in the texts of

*Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)* and *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3 (Monbusho, 1917)*.

#### **4.4. Categorising the texts and comparatively analysing each theme from each textbook**

Common themes were selected after analysing the two sets of textbooks, since both the texts and the visual images in the books presented material relating to these four main themes. *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)* and *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3 (Monbusho, 1917)* all included different texts and visual images. However, the chosen themes were common to the four books. Through comparative analysis, major differences between *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)* and *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3 (Monbusho, 1917)* were revealed across each of the four themes. Firstly, the theme of science and Western technology is examined.

##### **4.4.1. The theme of science and Western technology**

Many texts and visual images relating to science and Western technology were included in the textbooks for both the Japanese and the Korean students, but they were more evident (48% compared to 30%) in *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3 (Monbusho, 1917)* than in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)*. Although the number of items addressing science and Western technology were the same in both sets of textbooks, they differed immensely in the complexity of the technology shown. The Koreans, i.e., the colonised, were alienated from advanced cultures and new technologies, for example, being introduced to towels as compared to medicine (which was in the books for the Japanese). The aim in educating Koreans was to produce subordinate or working class citizens, and the absence of more sophisticated technology in the Korean textbooks implies that the colonisers aimed to remove any authority Koreans may have previously had in their society and workplace, and instead attempted to convert them into lower-level workers. During the Japanese colonisation, Koreans became mere workers, as a result of the Japanese “deskilling” their Korean subjects. This inequality aligns with colonial ideologies, in that the coloniser degrades the colonised in order to justify their place in society (Carnoy, 1974). The colonisers may have claimed that they played a civilising role in colonial society, but any contribution was limited. To the contrary, the colonisers were not interested in developing the colonised (Bacchus, 1980).

**Table 5: The theme of science and Western technology**

	<i>For Korean students</i>		<i>For Japanese students</i>	
Themes	<i>Hutsuugakkou</i>	<i>Hutsuugakkou</i>	<i>Zinzyoo</i>	<i>Zinzyoo</i>

	<i>Kokugotokuhon</i> 2 ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> <i>u</i> , 1915)	<i>Kokugotokuhon</i> 3 ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1915)	<i>Shougakutokuhon</i> 2 ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1917)	<i>Shougakutokuhon</i> 3 ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1917)
Science	- The morning - Chestnuts - The moon - Chicks - Leaves - Four directions - Morning and afternoon - Snowman - Puppy - Pigs	- Tree-planting - Carp - Bamboo trees - Lightning bugs - The foal	- Chrysanthemums - A sunset glow - The moon - Chestnuts - Leaves - Snow - Eyes and ears and mouth - Mother and baby cow - From now on - The big scenery	- Season - Chicks - Our kitten - The bamboo shoots - Four directions - Cicadas - Bats - The 15th night
Western technology	- Towels - A picture book	- A ruler - Clock - A train	- Medicine - The airplane	- The water gun - Fireworks

Table 5 shows each topic relating to science and Western technology separated into either Science or Western technology, and listed according to the textbook they appear in. The table makes clear that the Japanese textbooks incorporated more-developed technologies and concepts (including “Medicine” and “The airplane”), whereas the Korean textbooks included more simple technologies (e.g., “Towels” and “A picture book”). At level 3, the Japanese textbook again contained higher technologies (“Fireworks” and “The water gun”), whereas the Korean textbook included topics on pre-existing (such as “A train”) or simple technologies (“A ruler” and “Clock”).

There are a few topics that share the same title in both the Japanese and Korean textbooks, such as “Chestnutting”, “Leaves”, “Chicks”, and “Four directions”, but they have different texts and visual images. Among the texts under the same titles, the two stories titled “Chestnutting” were selected from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)* and *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 (Monbusho, 1917)*. These two stories were selected in order to give an example of how the content and visual images aimed at the Korean and Japanese students were different.

*Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2–3 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915, pp. 6-7)* approaches the theme

of science by highlighting physical labour in a story “Chestnutting (クリヒロイ)”:

1. ミナサン、ゴラン ナサイ、クリ ガ タクサン オチテ イマス。

Everyone, look over here. [You can see] many chestnuts are on the ground.

2. サア、ミンナ デ イッシヨニ ヒロイマシヨウ。

Everyone, let’s pick up [collect] the chestnuts together.

3. ソコ ニモ オチテ イマス。

[You can see] chestnuts over there, too.

4. ココ ニモ オチテ イマス。

[You can find] chestnuts here, too.

5. タクサン ヒロイマシタ。

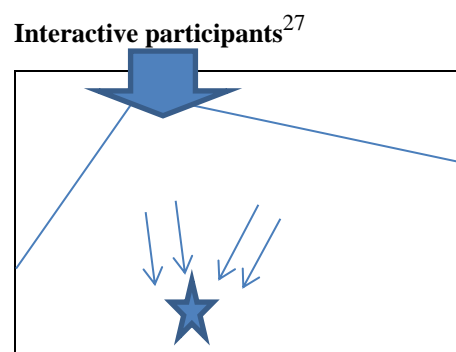
[We] collected a lot of [chestnuts].

6. ウチ エ カエッタラ、オトウサン ヤ オカアサン ニ アゲマシヨウ。

When [we] return home, let’s give [the chestnuts] to father and mother.

7. オトウト ニモ、イモウト ニモ、分ケテ ヤリマシヨウ。

Let’s share [the chestnuts] with [your] little brother and sister.



**Figure 1: Chestnutting 1 (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915, p. 6)**

This story is set in a forest, where many chestnuts have fallen onto the ground. It focuses on the gathering of the chestnuts and dividing them between family members. The story uses word and

<sup>27</sup> The interactive participants described are the viewers (see Chapter 3). The big and small arrows represent the vectors, which are used to recognise movement in the image, and the star acts as the main focus in the image. The lines attached to the large arrow present the viewer’s visual field when they first see the image.



sentence repetition such as “everyone”, “collect” and “chestnuts”, giving emphasis to the title. Homogenising nouns and pronouns, such as “everyone” (lines 1 and 2), “us” in “let’s” (lines 2 and 6), and “we” (lines 5 and 6), are used to stimulate the reader’s participation and to stress the responsibility of gathering chestnuts for the family. This text imposes an adult ideology on students, to encourage gathering chestnuts (lines 2 and 5) as everybody’s role, as well as giving the reason for gathering chestnuts – to share chestnuts with family members (lines 6 and 7). The writer repeated synonymous phrases three times in lines 1, 3 and 4. By using the phrases “look over here”, “(You can see) chestnuts over there, too” and “(You can find) chestnuts here, too”, the story focuses the reader’s attention on concentrating and looking for the chestnuts around them. Moreover, synonymous phrases are also found in lines 6 and 7 – “let’s give (the chestnuts) to father and mother” and “Let’s share (the chestnuts) with (your) little brother and sister”, in order to explain the purpose of picking up chestnuts. However, the reason for everybody to be involved in collecting the chestnuts is omitted. This story may promote a sense of group responsibility in gathering chestnuts to the reader.

In Figure 1, it can be seen that the image clearly indicates the children are Korean students, as they wear lower-class Korean clothes and straw shoes, gathering chestnuts in the woods. Three boys are looking down and picking chestnuts, implying the three boys are hard workers. All three boys have similar postures, bending forward and concentrating on their actions, highlighting to the readers that the three boys are working hard. The boys are seemingly avoiding interaction with each other, but only occupy themselves in picking the chestnuts, and looking only at the chestnuts.

In comparison with the images from *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon (Monbusho, 1917)* (see Figure 2 and 3 below) and Figure 1 from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)*, the tree and the chestnut burrs (Figure 1) are not as important as the working boys – they are emphasised by giving them a large space and size in the image. In Figure 1, the chestnuts on the ground are in a long shot (compared to Figure 3), which implies objectivity, separation and distance, defined by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) as an “imaginary relation” (p. 126). In this case, the image of chestnuts suggests no relation or connection with the viewer, which means that the chestnuts are not the significant object in Figure 1. The image of the three boys occupies  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the image in Figure 1, and the boy facing the viewer is slightly larger than the other two boys. His figure is therefore the most important, and the trees in the background are less highlighted, being located on the side of the image. In general, the large possessive image is more focused and considered than the thing considered insignificant (in this image, the tree and the chestnut burrs). Showing the three people only a short distance from the reader could increase their individuality – from a short distance, more of their appearance is discernible.

The three boys are performing the same action (gathering chestnuts and looking only at

chestnuts), and their centred position highlights them in this image. By presenting a close shot of the three boys (Figure 1), a closer connection with the viewer is suggested, inviting the reader to gather chestnuts as well, as clearly stated in line 2. Moreover, the three boys are looking obliquely out of the frame, the object of the viewer's gaze. Their eyes (vectors) focus on the chestnuts. The range of possible interpretations is not very complicated, because the vector is formed by the three boys, with the strong downward directionality of the vectors emphasising their actions. The vector leads the reader's eyes from the three boys to the action of chestnutting, which is created by the boys' gaze and their extended arms.

The following story is from *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1917), and has the same title as the story from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915), but the content and visual images are not shown in the same way.

*Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2-9* (*Monbusho*, 1917, pp. 20-21) includes the theme of science in a story called "Chestnutting (クリヒロヒ)":

1. 「コノ 山 ニハ、 クリ ノ 木 ガ タクサン アリマス。

There are many chestnut trees on this mountain.

2. ユフベ カゼ ガ フイタ カラ、キツト クリ ガ オチテ キマス。

Surely there should be many chestnuts [on the ground of the mountain] as it was windy last night.

3. サガシテ ミマセウ。」

Let's try to find [them].

4. 「モウ 人 ガ ヒロツタ ノ カ、サツパリ アリマセン。」

Other people must have already picked [them] up, [we] cannot find any chestnuts.

5. 「ソレ デハ ムカフ ニ 大キナ 木ガ アリマス カラ、 アノ 木 ノ 下  
ヘ イツテミマセウ。」

Then, since there is a big tree over there, let's try to go look under that [chestnut] tree.

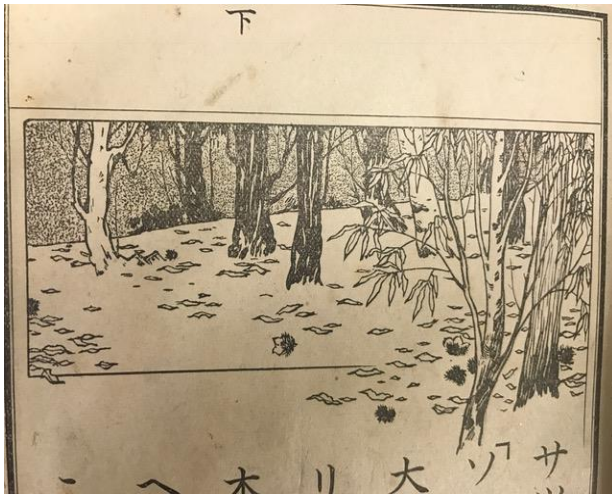
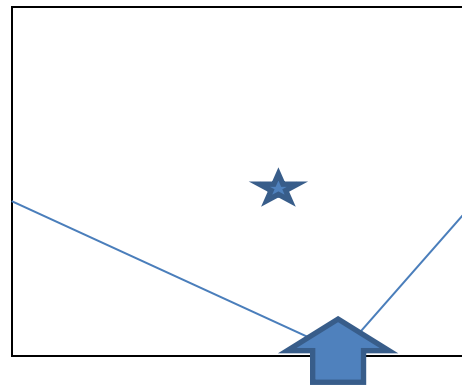


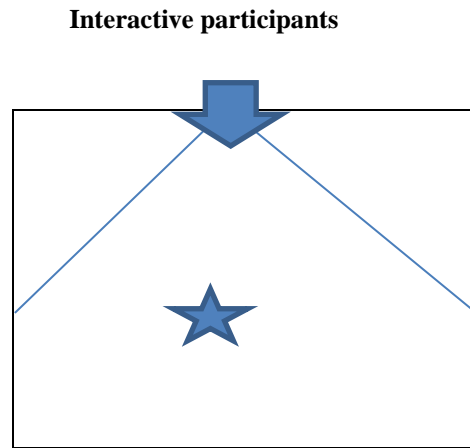
Figure 2: Chestnutting 2 (*Monbusho*, 1917, p. 21)



Interactive participants



Figure 3: Chestnutting 3 (*Monbusho*, 1917, p. 21)



Interactive participants

This story is set after a windy night, which has led a number of chestnuts to fall to the ground on a mountain (lines 1 and 2). Line 3 invites the reader to search for chestnuts, and lines 4 and 5 suggest looking in different areas to gather more chestnuts after other people have taken the rest. The modal verb “must” in line 4 carries an obligatory high modality, which shows the need for things to be a certain way. Figure 2 shows a part of the mountain and is accompanied by a close shot of chestnut burrs (Figure 3), making sure that the student is aware of what a chestnut looks like. This close shot would be ideal to demonstrate a real image. The large image of chestnuts in the centre of a circle (Figure 3) implies their importance as it matches the contents of the text.

By comparing the two texts, it is evident that they are quite different. In order to equate Koreans with physical labourers, the colonial curriculum teaches a work ethic while introducing natural science in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915). The texts from the Korean textbooks attempt to emphasise the importance of labour and being colonial subjects, whereas

the texts from the Japanese textbook emphasise finding and recognising the chestnuts. The text for the Korean students focuses on everyone being involved in a single activity, while the text for the Japanese students mainly focuses on the description of the chestnuts that have fallen on the mountain. The Korean text also incorporates many collective pronouns such as “everyone” and “we”, while the Japanese text only uses “we”.

Using framing around an image not only separates the including and excluding image, but also helps bring the reader’s attention to the framed objects (Serafini, 2014, pp. 65-66). Serafini (2014) states that borders can be established as a frame in the visual images, as they draw the interest of the viewer to a particular part of the image, and insert the image into a particular context. As a result, the framing around the chestnuts in Figure 3 draws the reader’s attention to what is within the frame, as well as allowing the students to observe the details of the object. Compared to the image (Figure 1) of the chestnuts from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)*, the chestnuts in Figure 3 are very clearly indicated, giving the impression that the chestnuts are the main focus of the text. The separation of the image of the chestnuts through the use of a frame in Figures 2 and 3 emphasises their importance, compared to Figure 1, which has no frame.

Although both stories refer to gathering chestnuts and share the title “Chestnutting”, the texts and visual images are very different. The gathering of chestnuts is more prominent in Figure 1 as a symbolic image of working hard, whereas this is not strongly implied in Figure 2. Line 2 of the *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)* story has the lines “Everyone, let’s gather them all together”, while line 3 in *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 (Monbusho, 1917)* has “Let’s look for them”. In these two lines, “them” refers to the chestnuts both times. To compare, in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)*, the action of “gathering chestnuts” applies to all people – “everyone” and “all together”. This line encourages students to gather and involve themselves in this activity. In *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 (Monbusho, 1917)*, the physical presentation of work is deliberately excluded, instead stressing the observation or looking for the chestnuts.

The next section will investigate the theme of Japanese history and geography as presented within the four textbooks. The detailed analysis of the theme of Japanese history and geography is significant, because as presented in the books for Korean students, these topics principally centred on Japan-centred ideology through Japanese mythologies.

#### **4.4.2. The theme of Japanese history and geography**

The aim of the Japanese education system was to reconstruct the colonised as obedient citizens and subjects faithful to the Japanese Emperor (Lee Dong-bae, 2012; Park Jang-gyeong et al., 2014;

Cho Min-eun, 2010). In the initial stages of the Japanese colonial era, in order to control the Korean people effectively, Japan emphasised their dominance through the use of their colonial political powers. This involved systematic attempts to restructure cultural identity, values and ideologies through curricular and educational reforms. This applied particularly to the textbooks for elementary school students compiled by *Joseonchongdogbu* (the Japanese Governor-General of Korea) (Heo Jae-young, 2009). In order to emphasise Japanese nationalism, the textbooks included detail about the Japanese Emperor. For the stabilisation of Japanese rule, Japan needed to train and raise the consciousness of the colonised as subjects of the Empire of Japan (Nakabayashi, 2015). According to Nakabayashi (2015), this consciousness-raising is called “assimilation”, and Japan enforced “assimilation training” on the Korean students (p. 10). Under the ideological basis of the Japanese colonial policy of assimilation, Japanese education aimed to educate the colonised, not only by adopting the Japanese language and culture, but also by establishing the Japanese Empire and achieving the subordination of the colonised for imperial Japan.

There are two main sub-themes of Japanese nationalism (with an Emperor-centred ideology, and Japan-centred ideology through Japanese mythology) found under the main theme of Japanese nationalism and geography.

### ***Japanese nationalism with Emperor-centred ideology and pro-Japanese ideology***

A major purpose for the textbooks during the initial stage of Japanese colonisation was to strongly promote Japanese nationalism. Fostering Japanese nationalism among Korean citizens was the first step in assimilating the Koreans, and this was achieved by misrepresenting Korean history in textbooks while educating Koreans about the history of Japan (Park Je-hong & Kim Sun-jeon, 2016).

In order to emphasise Japanese nationalism to the colonised, textbooks introduced Japanese culture, customs and etiquette, as well as the Japanese flag and the Emperor of Japan. The flag of Japan was described three times and the Japanese Emperor was shown four times in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915). These repeated appearances of the Japanese flag and the Emperor demonstrate Japan’s attempts to promote a sense of national pride in the colonised. The Japanese Emperors’ birthday was presented as a Japanese national day, when people put up the Japanese flag to celebrate his birthday. However, there were no text or visual images describing the Japanese flag or the Emperor in *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1917). For the Japanese students, Japan’s great heroes and a famous Japanese mountain were presented, which may have inspired students to cultivate nationalistic feelings and foster their nationalism. These differences indicate that the lower primary Korean students were taught to worship the Emperor as loyal subjects of Japan, and to love the Japanese flag as their own national flag, which symbolised “the Japanese

nation and state and its authority” (Lee Dong-bae, 2012, p. 115).

**Table 6: The contents and visual images promoting Japanese nationalism**

	Textbook / Level (Year published)	Chapter & Title (Keywords related to Japanese nationalism)
<i>For Korean students</i>	<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2</i> ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1915)	New Year’s Day The flag of Japan His Royal Highness the Emperor (of Japan) Momotarou
	<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 3</i> ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1915)	Japanese apricot flowers and cherry blossoms The Empire of Japan The Meiji Emperor <i>Tenchousetsu</i>
<i>For Japanese students</i>	<i>Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2</i> ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1917)	Mr Ushiwakamaru (Japanese hero) New Year’s Day
	<i>Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 3</i> ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1917)	Mt Fuji

As shown in Table 6, more content related to Japanese nationalism was found in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915) than in *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1917). According to Table 6, the Japanese Emperor, the Japanese flag and national flowers were introduced in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915). The stories “New Year’s Day”, “The flag of Japan” and “His Royal Highness the Emperor (of Japan)” are some examples from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915). These examples have been selected for analysis because they represent the prominence of Japanese nationalism, and the Emperor-centred, pro-Japanese ideology. The stories “New Year’s Day” from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915) and *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2* (*Monbusho*, 1917) both have the same title, but their images and content are presented differently. The story “New Year’s Day” from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915) introduces the various decorations that people used to adorn their houses, while also highlighting powerful Japanese nationalism. To compare, the story “New Year’s Day” from *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2* (*Monbusho*, 1917) only shows what people did on New Year’s Day, and the visual image clearly presented how

and what people do for the celebration of New Year's Day. Both stories “シンネン (*Shinnen*)”<sup>28</sup> and “オ正月 (*Oshogatsu*)”<sup>29</sup> introduced decorating the house on New Year's Day. However, they describe different items to promote different ideas.

*Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2-18 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915, pp. 49-52)* depicts the theme of Japanese nationalism as well as highlighting the Japanese national flag in the story “New Year's Day (シンネン)”:

1. 新年 ニ ナリマシタ。

[It] has become New Year's Day.

2. キヨウ ハ 正月 ノ 元日 デス。

Today is the first day of the New Year.

3. ドコ ノ 家 ニモ、シメナワ<sup>30</sup> ガ カザツテ アリマス。

[You] can find the good luck New Year's ornament on every house.

4. スズメ ハ、ウレシソウニ、ノキバ ニサエズツテ イマス。

The sparrows are twittering happily on the eaves.

5. 私 ハ 年 ガ ー ツ フエマシタ。

I grow a year older.

6. キノウ ハ ハツ デシタ ガ、キヨウ ハ モウ 九ツ ニ ナリマシタ。

[I] was 8 years old yesterday and [I] am 9 years old today.

7. 私 ハ ケサ 早く オキテ ニイサント 二人 デ、日ノマル ノ ハタ ヲ、門 ニ 立  
テマシタ。

This morning, I woke up early and my elder brother and I put up (set up) the Japanese flag at the house gate.

8. ソウシテ、オトウサン ニ 「オメデウ ゴザイマス。」ト アイサツ ヲ シマシタ。

Then, [I] gave a New Year's greeting to my father, saying “Happy New Year (polite form).”

---

<sup>28</sup> シンネン (*Shinnen*) means the New Year in English.

<sup>29</sup> オ正月 (*Oshogatsu*) means January in English.

<sup>30</sup> *Shimenawa* ‘シメナワ’ is a New Year's ornament with good luck symbols, such as crane, pine, mandarin or bamboo.

9. ソレカラ オカアサン ニモ、アイサツ ヲ シマシタ。

Then, [I] also gave greetings to my mother.

10. ニイサン ニモ、ネエサン ニモ、アイサツ ヲ シマシタ。

[I] also gave greetings to my older brother and sister.

11. 今日 ハ、 學校 デ、 新年 ノ シキ ガ アリマス。

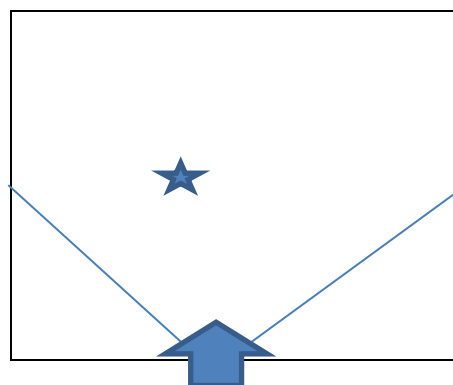
Today, there is a New Year's ceremony at school.

12. 早く 行ッテ、先生 ニ オイワイ ヲ モウシマシヨウ。

Let's go to school early and give New Year's greetings to [our] teacher.

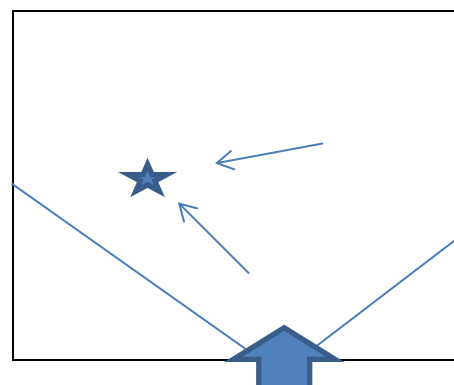
13. 友ダチ ニモ オイワイ ヲ イイマシヨウ。

Let's give New Year's greetings to [our] friends, too.



Interactive participants

Figure 4: Japanese flag (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915, p. 49)



Interactive participants

Figure 5: New Year's Day greeting (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915, p. 49)



The story “New Year’s Day” from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)* is a narrative that is told by a first person narrator, who may be someone in the reader’s age group (Liu, 2003, p. 170). In this story, the first person pronoun ‘I’ was used, in order to encourage the readers to share the narrator’s view of the events (Liu, 2011) in lines 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10. By utilising the first person pronoun “I” from lines 5 to 10, these texts situate the reader to recognise the main character of the story, and to share the narrator’s certain habit to greet others on New Year’s Day. This story presents how Japanese people celebrated the New Year, and highlights the greetings given to father, mother, brother, sister, teacher and friends. There is a clear hierarchical role in the greetings, and this story shows the young person (I) giving greetings to older people.

Referring to Figure 5, the pronoun “I” is a male character wearing Japanese traditional clothing. This text gives a moral lesson to young readers, to teach greeting manners or ideologies by repeating a principal clause such as “I gave greetings” (lines 8, 9 & 10). These repeated clauses highlight the adult ideology of showing respect to those older, and the students were expected to reflect these manners. The pronominalisation and homogenising terms “our” and “us” were used twice (lines 12 and 13), emphasising a sense of collective identity, and presenting all Korean students as the student “I” who greets their teachers and friends. When “I” suggested “let’s go...and give New Year’s greeting...” and “let’s give New Year’s greeting...” in lines 12 and 13, the reader may feel a sense of responsibility to greet and also to learn greeting manners. Throughout the story, the person “I” gave New Year’s greetings to others (father, mother, brother, sister, teacher and friends), but the story omits the others’ responses. The reason for New Year’s greetings was also omitted, but the story and visual image significantly highlight the narrator’s behaviour and adult-centred etiquette on New Year’s Day to the reader.

An honorific expression is used in a hierarchical reference title, for example, a polite present indicative verb form “モウシマシヨウ” (line 12) is used to portray that the subject “our teacher” is honoured, which shows special respect towards the teacher. New Year’s Day occurs during the school holidays in Korea, and the ceremony is typically celebrated as a family holiday (for example, Koreans travel to visit their families during the New Year’s holiday). Line 7 highlights the need for Korean students to wake up early to hang the flag in front of their house. Afterwards, the students give a greeting to their family (lines 9 and 10) and go to school early to take part in a New Year’s ceremony and to give greetings to their teacher and friends (lines 11, 12 and 13).

The story also describes New Year’s decorations in line 3, where the word “シメナワ” shows the Japanese traditional way to celebrate New Year’s Day. “Every house” stresses that all households are decorated to follow the Japanese tradition (line 3), adorning their house with straw ropes and

putting up the Japanese flag in front of the house (line 7). However, there is no Japanese or Korean tradition to put up the national flag for New Year. Figure 4 shows a change in the national flag which also symbolises a change of regime for the Koreans. In this case, the Japanese flag has the status of a political symbol.

Figure 4 shows the flag as described in the text above, where “I” set up the Japanese flag at the house gate. The Japanese flag is the largest object in the image and is also placed in the centre. This draws the student’s eyes to the flag, and thus presents a high modality. By doing so, the flag promotes a sense of nationality in the reader.

Figure 5 portrays a person bowing a greeting to an adult man, implied through the content of the story. Both people are wearing Japanese traditional clothing, and the background is of a typical Japanese house. In Figure 5, the young boy who is giving the greeting is emphasised – he is larger in size and placed in the centre of the image. The older person is facing towards the young boy and away from the viewers, which indicates that the older person is not the main focus, but instead is used to guide the reader towards the person who is giving the greetings.

The following text, from *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2* (Monbusho, 1917), covers the same topic under the same title. However, the content and visual images are different. As mentioned above, the story from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915) focuses on greetings and the importance of the Japanese flag during New Year’s Day, whereas the following story from *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2* (Monbusho, 1917) highlights the Japanese traditional decorations displayed on New Year’s Day. The story from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915) deals with New Year’s Day greetings as well as instructions about the Japanese style of New Year’s celebration for the first grade students. From this lesson, students were expected to quickly learn proper greetings and to practise with their family members. In comparison, the story “New Year’s Day” [*Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2*] (Monbusho, 1917) uses an informal conversational tone, which promotes interest in a relaxed fashion, allowing students to pay more attention to this dialogic content.

*Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2* – 13 (Monbusho, 1917, pp. 30-33) addresses the theme of Japanese history and geography as it refers to Japanese culture in “New Year’s Day (オ正月)”:

1. 「オトウサン、モウ イクツ ネタラ、オ正月 デスカ。」

Father, how many nights to sleep until New Year’s Day?

2. 「モウ 五ツ ネレバ、 オ正月 デス。オ正月 ノ オカザリ ニハ、 ドンナコト ラ シマス カ。」

Five more days and it will be New Year’s Day. What do [you] do for the New Year’s

decoration *okazari*<sup>31</sup>?

3. 「カドマツ<sup>32</sup> ヲ タテマス。」

“[We] set up a New Year’s ornament *Kadomatsu*.”

4. 「ソレ カラ。」

“What next?”

5. 「シメ ヲ ハリマス。」

“[We] hang a sacred straw rope *Shime*<sup>33</sup>.”

6. 「ソレ カラ。」

What next?

7. 「オソナヘ ノ モチ<sup>34</sup> モ カザリマス。」

“[We] also decorate the good luck sticky rice as an offering.”

8. 「オ正月 ガ クルト、オマヘ<sup>35</sup> ハ イクツ ニ ナリマス カ。」

“When the New Year comes, how old will you be?”

9. 「九ツ ニ ナリマス。」

[I] become nine years old.

10. 「オ年ダマ<sup>36</sup> ニハ ナニ ヲ アゲマセウ。」

“What shall [I] give [you] as a New Year’s gift?”

---

<sup>31</sup> *Okazari* ‘オカザリ’ is the New Year’s decoration (ornament)

<sup>32</sup> This is a traditional decoration for Japanese New Year’s Day. ‘カドマツ’ (gate posts made from bamboo stalks and pine boughs) located beside the entrance to the house.

<sup>33</sup> The decoration ‘シメ’ is made from straw ropes strung with small pieces of white paper.

<sup>34</sup> To make and eat sticky rice cakes is a Japanese custom, and ‘オソナヘ ノ モチ’ is made into a New Year’s decoration.

<sup>35</sup> *Omae* ‘オマヘ’ means ‘you’ and this word is used by the senior person to the junior.

<sup>36</sup> ‘オ年ダマ’ literally means New Year’s present. The Japanese people give money to their children on New Year’s Day.



**Figure 6: New Year's Day decoration (Monbusho, 1917, p. 31)**

Using a conversational tone between the first person “I” and the father, this story presents the actions that will occur in setting up New Year’s decorations in a specific order. This story describes the different Japanese traditional decorations displayed on New Year’s Day, such as *okazari*, *kadomatsu*, *shime* and sticky rice. These four Japanese traditional decorations were introduced in lines 2, 3, 5 and 7. The Japanese people hope for good luck for the New Year on New Year’s Day, by decorating sticky rice (line 7). On New Year’s morning, the person “I” will become nine years old (lines 8 & 9) and expects to receive a New Year’s gift from his/her father (line 10). *Oshogatsu* “才正月” is one of the most significant days of celebration among the Japanese people.

Figure 6 depicts two trees, implied to be pine trees from line 3 of the text. In Figure 6, the large image of a pine tree in the centre implies its importance, as it evidently matches the contents of the text. Including the close shot of the pine tree may promote intimacy and suggest a closer relation and connection with the viewer. There are also paper decorations, and the sacred straw rope, *Shime*, hung in the trees (line 5). Therefore, it is clear that this figure is highly focused on traditional Japanese culture and on introducing New Year’s decorations to the Japanese students. In contrast, Figures 4 & 5 emphasise the importance of Japanese nationalism and promote Japanese adult-centred etiquette to Korean students. The meanings of the different decorations were omitted in that story, with all didactic material promoting adult-centered ideology, and introducing only traditional Japanese culture.

The following story is also about the flag of Japan, showing the recurring theme of Japanese nationalism. There was no visual image with the story, but this may be due to an illustration of the Japanese flag having been included in the previous story, “New Year’s Day (シンネン)” in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2-18 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)*.

*Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2-19 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915, pp. 53-54)* includes the

theme of Japanese nationalism in a story “The flag of Japan (日ノマル ノ ハタ)” (no visual image):

1. 日ノマル ノ ハタ ハ、白イ キレ ニ、日ノマル ヲ 赤ク ソメタ<sup>37</sup> モノ デス。

The Japanese flag consists of white fabric printed with a full red sun (*hinomaru* “日ノマル”<sup>38</sup>) printed on.

2. 日ノマル ハ、チヨウド アサ日 ノ ヨウ ニ、リツバニ 見エマス。

The Japanese flag looks impressive, just like a morning sun.

3. オイワイ日 ニハ、ドコ ノ ウチ デモ、コノ ハタ ヲ 立テマス。

On a day of national celebration, every household puts up this flag.

4. 日ノマル ノ ハタ ガ、カゼ ニ フカレテ、ヒラヒラト ウゴク ノ ハ、マコト ニ イサマシウ ゴザイマス。

The way the *Hinomaru* “日ノマル” flag flaps in the wind is indeed gallant.

This story is about the flag of Japan. It describes the flag itself, and then in different settings – in the morning sun, on the day of national celebration, and in the wind. The repeated key noun “日ノマル” literally means “a round sun” and this vocabulary is used to portray that the red circle symbolises “a full red sun” (line 1) and “morning sun” (line 2). To denote the Japanese nation state and its authority, the lexical repetition of the Japanese “日ノマル” flag “ハタ” imposes and strongly emphasises the dominant Japanese ideology.

The Japanese indigenous religion is *Shinto*, which has Japanese beliefs and practices derived from Buddhism (Teeuwen & Scheid, 2002). The word *Shinto* “神道” literally means “the way of the gods” and it is mainly a religion centred around nature and ancestor worship. In the expression of the ancient culture of the Japanese people, the Japanese Sun Goddess *Amaterasu*<sup>39</sup> is considered *Shinto*’s most important god (Hardacre, 2017, p. 336) and the Japanese flag can be a *Shinto* symbol because it symbolises the sun. *Shinto* became the national religion in the Meiji period, and gave rise to

---

<sup>37</sup> *Someta* ‘ソメタ’ literally means dye but means ‘print’ in this sentence.

<sup>38</sup> The Japanese national flag is *hinomaru* “日ノマル” (Calichman, 2005, p. 214)

<sup>39</sup> *Amaterasu* is the shortened form of *Amaterasu-omikami*, who was the Sun goddess of the oldest Japanese religion, called *Shinto*. The meaning of the name ‘*Amaterasu-omikami*’ is ‘the great August God who shines in the heaven’.

Japanese myths that raised Japanese nationalism with an Emperor-centred ideology. In order to emphasise the *Shinto* symbol “the Japanese flag”, the story repeats the same key nouns twice (“the Japanese flag” and “sun” in lines 1 and 2). Also, the key phrases “every household puts up this flag” and “the way the *Hinomaru* flag” (lines 3 and 4) can be aimed at infusing patriotism, love of the Japanese Emperor and the Japanese nation to the colonised. Raising the *Hinomaru* flag and singing the *Kimigayo*<sup>40</sup> anthem at schools has been regarded as evidence of not only encouraging the young students to believe in the Japanese indigenous religion *Shinto* but also of instilling patriotism (Cripps, 1996).

The textbooks encouraged the Korean students to love the nation of Japan, and this was the political ideology of the Empire of Japan at the time. Line 3 in this text promotes Korean students accepting the dominant Japanese values by expressing and celebrating Japanese national days (Lee Dong-bae, 2000, p. 185). The Japanese word “ドコ ノ ウチ デモ” in line 3, which means “every house” is used to stress that it is normal for every house to put up the Japanese flag, and also shows that Korean citizens were governed and controlled by the Japanese nation at the time.

The next story is a segment taken from “His Royal Highness the Emperor (of Japan) (テンノウヘイカ)”, from the textbook *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915). This story was selected because it obviously illustrated the Emperor-centred ideology for Korean students.

*Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* 2–20 (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915, pp. 56-57) covers the theme of Japanese history and geography and also highlights Japanese nationalism by featuring the Japanese Emperor in a story “His Royal Highness the Emperor (of Japan) (テンノウヘイカ)”:

1. テンノウヘイカ ハ 宮城 ニ イラッシャイマス。

The Japanese Emperor is (polite form) in a royal palace.

2. 宮城 ハ 東京 ノ マン中 ニ アリマス。

The royal palace is located directly in the centre of Tokyo.

3. テンノウヘイカ ハ、 親 ガ 子 ヲ カワイガル ヨウ ニ、 人民 ヲ カワイガッテ クダサイマス。

The Japanese Emperor loves (take someone under one’s wing) his people as parents love

---

<sup>40</sup> This is the national anthem of Japan. *Kimigayo* encourages worship of the Japanese Emperor and emphasises people being prepared to fight for the sacred Emperor. Therefore, *Kimigayo* is a symbol of Japanese imperialism and militarism.

their children.

4. 私 ドモ ハ、テンノウハイカ ノ ゴ 思 ヲ、アリガタク 思イマス。

We highly appreciate the Emperor's kindness.

This story shows that the Japanese Emperor lived in a royal palace in Tokyo (lines 1 and 2). People were thankful for the kindness of the Japanese Emperor because he loved his people as parents love their children (lines 3 and 4). This shows the unconditional love (just like a parent's love) that the Japanese Emperor had for his people, and therefore the students loved and obeyed the Japanese Emperor and paid full respect to his kindness and love. The Korean students were taught the norms and regulations of giving full respect to the Japanese Emperor in their everyday life. This story encouraged students to love the Japanese Emperor as they love their parents (line 3). Using the homogenising term “we” suggests trying to make harmony with others without losing oneself to “appreciate the Emperor's kindness” (line 4). In lines 3 and 4, in order to show the relationship between the Japanese Emperor and his people, transitivity is also used to disclose the power relationships. The subject-verb-object (SVO) structure in lines 3 and 4 is represented in the following table.

**Table 7: Sentence patterns (SVO)**

Subject (provider)	Verb	Object (recipient)
Japanese Emperor	loves	his people (line 3)
Parents	love	their children (line 3)
We	appreciate	the Emperor's kindness (line 4)

The Japanese Emperor is depicted as the provider of love and kindness while the Korean students are depicted as beneficiaries of the love and kindness. The Emperor's love and kindness are presented as the same as parents have for their children. By using transitivity in these sentences, the grammar presents the hierarchical order between a provider and a recipient. By comparing it to parents' love, the textbook writers were trying to influence the students to appreciate the Emperor's love as if it were their 'duty', as in the way that children are expected to be thankful to their parents for providing for them. By using a high modal adverb “highly”, the textbook authors were stressing the responsibilities and duties of the children. Therefore, this sentence highlights the emphasis on the Japanese Emperor's love and kindness as a way of promoting Korean obedience to the Japanese Emperor.

The story “His Royal Highness the Emperor (of Japan)” showed how the Japanese Emperor-

centred ideology promoted the ideal image of the Japanese Emperor, by describing his kindness. In *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)*, stories about the Japanese Emperors were included three times; “His Royal Highness the Emperor (of Japan)”, “The Meiji Emperor”, and “*Tenchousetsu*”. These stories gave an impression to the students of the need for respect and obedience towards the Emperor.

“The Meiji Emperor” also introduces the idea of the Meiji Emperor’s kindness and the need to worship him. The colonised may not have received any benefits from the Meiji Emperor’s kindness, and had little knowledge or experience of him, because he was the Japanese Emperor. However, the story “The Meiji Emperor” addresses and highlights the Meiji Emperor’s kindness, in order to instil the Japanese Emperor-centred ideology in the colonised’s mind.

The Meiji Emperor governed Japan for 45 years and made Japan a wealthy and powerful nation (Klatt, 2006, p. 31). The story “The Meiji Emperor” encouraged readers to be thankful for the Meiji Emperor’s kindness, in order to prompt the Korean students to feel that a sense of gratitude towards the Meiji Emperor was natural. By emphasising feelings of admiration towards the Japanese Emperor, the colonisers tried to negate the Korean national identity and spirit, and to promote a sense of identity as Japanese citizens. The story “The Meiji Emperor” also attempts to construct Korean students as being the same as Japanese students.

The colonial education was more like a curriculum of indoctrination for the Koreans, merged with the Japanese imperial ideology (Kim Sun-jeon et al., 2014). The textbooks for the Koreans often clearly displayed the colonial ideology. For example, the textbooks emphasised that the Japanese were superior to other races and, because of this superiority, they could be uniquely qualified to assimilate the colonised citizens. By presenting Japan as a great and well-developed country (Kang Jin-ho et al., 2007), Japan attempted to place itself on a par with European countries (Lee Dong-bae, 2000). The Japanese government attempted to justify its assimilation policy towards colonial citizens for that very purpose. Caucasians, Americans and Mongolians were regarded by the Japanese as superior to other races (Gould, 1996), resulting in racial prejudice against the Koreans. To present images of sophisticated Japanese people, and to urge the Koreans to be appreciative of being ‘offered’ Japanese culture and society, the colonial textbooks aimed to position and train the Koreans to be ‘Japanised’. Therefore, as the Japanese government proceeded with its Japanisation programs, Koreans were labelled as citizens of the Japanese Emperor, who needed to be involved in this celebration.

“*Tenchousetsu*” from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)* also highlighted the Japanese Emperor-centred ideology and clearly displays how Korean students were invited to worship the Japanese Emperor (for example, by performing a ceremony and singing



*Kimigayo* at school). In the story, the school takes the lead in the celebration, and the students are therefore compelled to celebrate the Emperor's birthday, and to worship the Emperor as a god, shown as *Kimigayo*. These kinds of school activities aimed to strengthen the identification of Koreans with the national ideals of Japan, as well as being tools to inspire Koreans to support Japanese nationalism and imperialism (Jeong Tae-jun, 2005). According to Jeong Tae-jun (2005), the main aims of teaching Japanese imperialism in the colonial textbooks were "to indoctrinate a colonial ideology" (p. 3). Jeong Tae-jun (2005) also claims that Korean students were involved in ceremonies (such as shrine festivals and worshipping the Japanese Emperor) as a tool to indoctrinate the Koreans with Japanese imperialism. The main theme of "*Tenchousetsu*" is to emphasise the role of students on the Japanese Emperor's birthday. However, the text does not mention how the Koreans are only celebrating the Japanese Emperor's birthday due to their being colonised by Japan.

Based on Confucian ideology, obedience towards the teacher was always strongly emphasised in Korean schools, and if students did not obey their teacher's instructions they could be punished. The teacher plays a role of absolute power and authority, instructing the students of their responsibility to be thankful to the Japanese Emperor (Synott, 2018; Kim Seung-tae, 2006). Furthermore, during the period of Japanese colonial rule, the textbooks often encouraged Korean students to demonstrate absolute loyalty to the Japanese Emperor. The colonised students played passive roles, and had to accept and follow the teacher's commands without question. In this way, the text enacts adult ideology, and influenced and indoctrinated students (Baker & Freebody, 1989).

In this section, I have explained how the textbooks emphasised adult-centred ideologies and placed the students in the role of ideological recipients, where students were constructed and given compulsory duties at schools and in society by adults. The following section introduces the theme of morality, which is also relates strongly to the responsibilities of students and the adult-centred ideology that was evident in the textbooks for both the Korean and Japanese students.

#### **4.4.3. The theme of morality**

At the beginning of the colonial administration of imperial Japan, the Japanese rulers had complete power and control over the Korean people. Koreans were expected to serve the interests of the ruling country (Japan) by being obedient and faithful to the Japanese Emperor. The Korean people were faced with unequal power relationships, with their textbooks portraying the "ideal citizen" as one who developed the traits of his colonisers (Lee Dong-bae, 2012, p. 122). Therefore, political passivity and a strong work ethic (which the Japanese held in high regard) were emphasised in this period.

For the colonial power, the school's moral goal was to raise students who accepted their own

inferiority and disempowerment. The colonised had no power and were unable to make their own decisions (Kang Young-sim, 2008). If they disobeyed the colonisers, they were severely punished. The Korean people would either become passive subjects of Japan or they would lose their jobs and be imprisoned – thus they were guided to keep civic laws and regulations. ‘Ideal citizens’ were portrayed in terms of good relationships with others (between siblings, friends and neighbours), and the need for obedience to teachers, parents and the Japanese government. The following table (Table 8) shows the content of the textbooks that concern morality for Koreans and Japanese.

**Table 8: The contents concerning morality**

	Textbook / Level (Year published)	Contents (Keywords related to morality)
<i>For Korean Students</i>	<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2</i> ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1915)	Guests The police officer A kind child The elder and the younger brother Mother
	<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 3</i> ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1915)	Flower-bearing person Summer (physical labour) Rice-planting Miss Hana (cleaning) A brazen-faced fellow
<i>For Japanese Students</i>	<i>Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2</i> ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1917)	Guest play The greedy dog A baby The wise mouse The target of rice cake (The target was made of rice cake) Flower-bearing person
	<i>Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 3</i> ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1917)	Getting up early Miss Hana (helping mother) Siblings The grandfather aged 51 Urashima Tarou The stories

		The person called typhoons Keep moths away from things (by giving something an airing )
--	--	--

Table 8 includes two stories with the same title, “Miss Hana”, but the content of the two stories are different for the Korean and Japanese students. The lessons on morality taught to the Japanese and Korean students differed immensely. In the version of “Miss Hana” for Korean students, the story focuses on cleaning in front of the house, whereas the story contained in the Japanese textbooks focuses on helping her mother.

From Table 8, I chose two stories, “Guests” and “Guest play”, which have similar titles and content. Both stories (and their visual images) show girls learning and serving a guest with proper female etiquette, and this is an example of articulating the Japanese ideology regarding the role of females in Japanese society.

The Japanese became more aware of the importance of hygiene in schools, so both textbooks introduced hygiene (e.g., “Keep moths away from things” in *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 3 (Monbusho, 1917)* and “Miss Hana” in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 3 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)*). Hygiene was regarded as a characteristic associated with modernity, and it was felt that the development of both education and hygiene would result in further technological advances, such as additional “means of communication – both physical transportation and for information”, since logically speaking, improved education and hygiene would allow for industry to develop due to further advanced manpower (Khoshkish, 1979, p. 195). The following story “Guests” has been chosen from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2*. It describes a guest visiting a family, and the family’s manners.

*Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2-7 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915, pp. 17-18)* includes the theme of moral education by showing the serving of a guest in this story, “Guests (オキヤク)”:

1. オキヤク サマ ガ オイデ ニ ナリマシタ。

A guest has come (polite form).

2. オトウサン ハ、オキヤク サマ ト、オハナシ ヲ シテ イラツシヤイマス。

[My] father is talking (polite form) with the guest.

3. ネエサン ガ チヤワン ニ、オ茶 ヲ 入レテ、持ッテ オイデ ニ ナリマシタ。

[My] older sister poured tea into a teacup and brought it to [the guest].

(The speaker uses a polite expression even for the elder sister)

4. ソウシテ オキヤク サマ ノ マエ ニ、オオキ、ナサイマシタ。

Then, [my older sister] placed [a teacup] in front of the guest.

5. オキヤク サマ ハ ネエサン ニ、「タイソウ オギヨウギ ガ ヨロシウ ゴザイマ  
ス ネ。」ト オツシャイマシタ。

The guest told [my] elder sister “[You] have very good manners”.

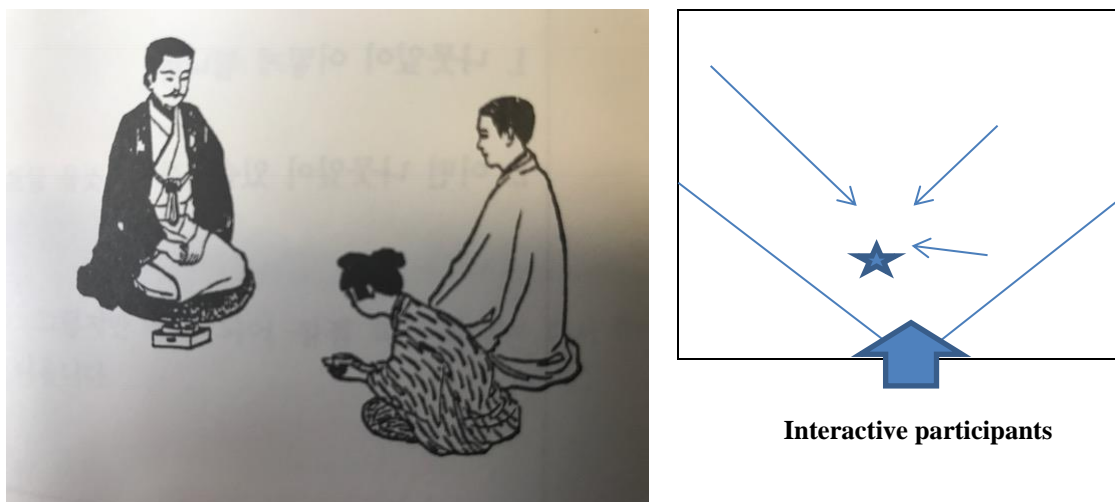


Figure 7: Guests (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915, p. 17)

This story provides examples of the roles of different family members in the event of having a guest. For example, the father is to entertain the guest by talking to them politely, while the older sister should prepare tea for the guest. This is a stereotypical gender role for women and also a traditional Japanese custom, where the older sister serves the guest some tea (line 3). By presenting adult interaction and manners, this story constructs adult ideology for the young readers. In line 5, this is evident in how the guest is shown to praise the older sister for her good manners. Young readers accept and follow this adult discourse. The ideal host is presented as someone who has good manners (line 5), speaks in polite forms (line 2), and heeds the guest’s needs (lines 3 & 4). As seen in Figure 7, all of the people are wearing traditional Japanese clothing, and the girl in the image is serving tea with her head bowed and using both hands towards the implied guest, which indicates a model ideal woman showing a humble attitude. The following story, “Guest play” from *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon* 2, although it is under a different title, has similar content to “Guest” from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* 2.

*Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon* 2–2 (*Monbusho*, 1917, pp. 4-6) covers the theme of moral education by showing good manners for guests in this story, “Guest play (オキヤクアソビ)”:

1. オハナ ト オチヨ ガ オキヤク アソビ ヲ シテ キマス。

Hana and Chyio are playing “Guest play”.

2. オチヨ ガ オキヤク ニ ナツテ キマシタ。

Chiyo has taken the role of “guest” and has visited (Hana).

3. 「ゴメン クダサイ。」<sup>41</sup>

“May I come in?”

4. 「オチヨ サン デス カ、 ヨク イ ラッシャイマシタ。」

“Is it Chiyo? Welcome.”

5. オハナ ハ オチヨヲ ザシキ ヘ ト ホシテ、 オチャ ト オクワシ ラ  
ダシマシタ。

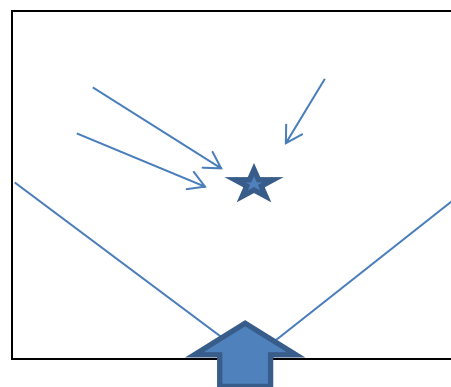
Hana took Chiyo to the guest room and served her tea and sweets.

6. 「ドウゾ オアガリ クダサイ。」

“Please help yourself.”

7. 「アリガタウ ゴザイマス。」

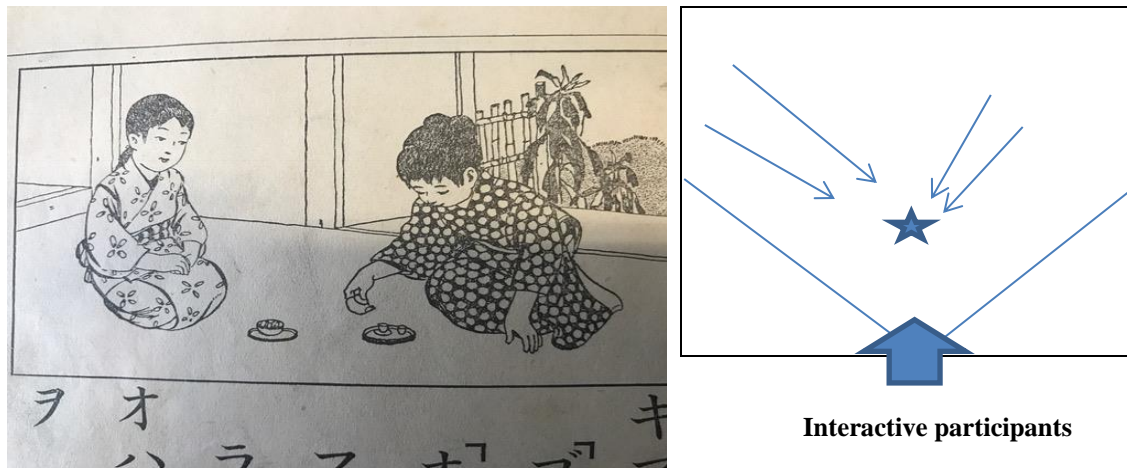
“Thank you very much.”



Interactive participants

Figure 8: Welcoming a guest (*Monbusho*, 1917, p. 4)

<sup>41</sup> Gomen kudasai “ゴメン クダサイ” is used as a greeting when people visit someone’s house. It means “anyone home?” or “May I come in?” or “Excuse me?”.



**Figure 9: Serving a guest (Monbusho, 1917, p. 5)**

This story is about two girls, Hana and Chiyo, playing “Guest play” (line 1), where Hana acts as host, and Chiyo acts as guest (line 2). This story also shows the traditional Japanese customs and mannerisms towards guests, where the guest is taken to a guest room and is provided with tea and sweets (line 5). After Hana serves Chiyo, she tells her to help herself (line 6) and Chiyo thanks her in return (line 7). This could be used to educate children on good manners and the adult ideology of good manners that were expected of children.

The language which is used to present a piece of writing to a particular audience creates a tone. Various tones can be achieved, depending on what language is used. However, an author’s purpose, and the point that is to be conveyed or emphasised, also influences the language to be chosen. For example, lines 3, 4, 6 & 7 are written in a conversational tone, which gives an informal, relaxed effect, and which offers the reader interest and active participation. This is a way of creating intimacy between writer and readers.

Figures 8 & 9 demonstrate greeting a guest and serving tea and biscuits to welcome them, which corresponds with the text from *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2*. Figures 8 & 9 clearly show how Japanese people entertain their guests at home. In Figure 8, a participant (the host, Hana), is bowed down upon her knees when the other participant (the guest, Chiyo) visits and bows. This shows the specific ways to welcome guests, displaying a very strict and unique Japanese code of etiquette. Compared to Figure 7 [*Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2*] (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915), Figures 8 & 9 [*Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2*] (*Monbusho*, 1917) are ‘short shots’, establishing a close connection between the viewer and the participants, meaning that the viewer is more involved with Figures 8 & 9 than with Figure 7. Figures 8 & 9 [*Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2*] (*Monbusho*, 1917) also encourage the viewer to perceive what the participants are doing, by having no eye contact with the viewer and participants. In the images, the greatest difference is that the children [*Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2*]

(*Monbusho*, 1917) play as independent characters (Figures 8 & 9), whereas the child in Figure 7 is presented as a dependent character who seems to be controlled by the adult participants. In Figure 7, the adult participants are involved and encourage the children to do good work. There is a similar finding in “New Year’s Day”, where a child asks his father about what to do on New Year’s Day and the child behaves according to his father’s orders.

The textbooks often depict women playing stereotypical, traditional gender roles, presented by the image of doing housework (such as cooking and serving food for the family, and house cleaning). Both sets of textbooks show gender stereotypes and bias. These are apparent in both Figures 7 and 9, which show women serving tea to guests. In *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915), women were often taught to behave in a certain manner or to assume certain jobs, such as serving the tea, taking care of the baby and cleaning the house, while males were portrayed as having a wider range of roles and professions. Certain jobs (teachers, policeman, and physical workers, such as gardeners and farmers) were only depicted as done by males. *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3* (*Monbusho*, 1917) introduced a teacher, fisherman, archer and warrior. The following story was chosen from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2* because it shows the actions of a policeman as perceived by two brothers.

*Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2–8* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915, pp. 20-22) addresses the theme of moral education in this story, “The police officer (ジユンサ)”:

1. ジユンサ ガ 人 ニ、何 カ イッテイマス。

The police officer is saying something to the person.

2. 兄 ト 弟 ガ、コレ ヲ 見テ イマス。

Older brother and little brother are watching this.

3. 「ニイサン、アノ オマワリサン ハ、人 ヲ シカッテ イル ノ デシヨウカ。」

“Older brother! Is that police officer giving a lecture (or getting mad) to the person?”

4. 「イイエ、ソウ デハ アリマセン。アレ ハ、人 ニ、ミチ ヲ オシエテイル ノ デス。オマワリサン ハ、ワルイ コト ヲ シナイ 人 ヲ シカリマセン。」

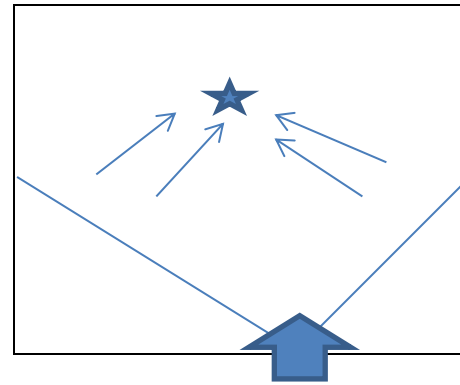
“No it’s not like that. It looks like the police officer is giving (telling) directions to that person. The police officer would not give a lecture (getting mad) to a person who does not do anything wrong.”

5. 「ワルイ コト ヲ スレバ シカリマスカ。」

“If a person does anything wrong, does the police officer give a lecture (get mad)?”

6. 「ソウ デス。ワルイ コト ヲ スエバ シカリマス。アナタ モ ワルイ コト ヲ シテ ハ ナリマセン。」

“Yes, that is so. If the person does not do anything wrong, the police officer would not give a lecture (getting mad). You shouldn’t do anything wrong.”



**Interactive participants**

**Figure 10: Police officer (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915, p. 20)**

The story grammar here is: Two brothers (protagonists) → a field in a rural area (setting) → two boys are watching a police officer and a man (initial event) → A police officer is speaking to a man and the two boys discuss whether, if a man does something wrong, the police officer will give a lecture to him (second event) → the readers learn that they shouldn’t do anything wrong (consequences) → Policemen never blame people who don’t do anything bad (didactic lesson).

This story is about two brothers who were watching an interaction between a policeman and another person. At first, the younger brother misunderstands the situation, believing that the police officer is scolding the other person. The older brother corrects him, saying that a police officer would not scold a person unless they have done something bad. This would motivate readers into being obedient.

This story portrays two brothers who learn not to do anything wrong by observing the police officer and the person in the field (Figure 10). They are talking about a policeman and a man, who are positioned far from the boys (Figure 10). In the image, one of the boys points with his right arm, creating a vector that leads the viewer’s eyes from his pointing finger to the position where a man and a police officer are located – the movement of the viewers gaze will be influenced and followed from two boys to the police officer and the man. The centred image of the police officer and the man in Figure 10 stand out and attract the viewer’s attention. The image of the figure or object in the foreground is often considered more important than what appears in the background (Kress & Van



Leeuwen, 2006), while figures or objects of larger size are given higher salience than those of a smaller size (Painter et al., 2013). In this case, the police officer and the man in the background are evidently smaller in size than two boys, yet they are implied to be important.

Images often contain social hierarchies and differences and “... a depiction is never just an illustration ... it is the site for the construction and depiction of social difference” (Fyfe and Law, 1988, p. 1). According to their theory, Figure 10 clearly shows social power relations – a man is standing with his head bowed (denoting low social status) whereas a police officer pointing in a direction with his right arm portrays social hierarchies. Bowing implies that the man is looking down in front of the policeman, and is thus “showing obedience”, as the gesture of “looking down” carries such connotations (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 72). It is later explained in the story that the policeman is helping the man with directions, which alerts the students to the kindness of policemen, using words with positive implications, such as “do not blame people” and “have not done bad things” (line 4). This story positions the readers to gain a good impression of the policeman, with the didactic lesson of this story being that policemen never scold people who haven’t done anything wrong. Here, two types of ‘overwording choices’ were used: “police officer is saying” (line 1) and “police officer giving a lecture” repeated 4 times (lines 3, 4, 5 and 6); and “not do anything wrong” (line 4 and 6) repeated three times (line 6). By using overwording, the story encourages students to acknowledge the police officer’s authority, and to obey commands or instructions from policemen without question. Here the textbook writers position students to recognise the power relations between the police officer and the colonised subjects and in order to keep social order.

In lines 3 to 6, the key words “ワルイ コト” (anything wrong) and “シカリマス” (give a lecture or get mad) are repeated four times and overemphasised, which stresses to the colonised that bad behaviour can result in being given a lecture (or being scolded). These repeated expressions show the allocation of social power and the hierarchical level of policeman that is related to ideological positions.

The visual image of the policeman and the man can be interpreted in three ways: the police officer shows the way by lifting his arm in a direction and the man bows in thankfulness; the police officer has an aura of authority, compared to the man who bows his head in apology for something bad; or the police officer is threatening the man, who is bending his body in order to show an obsequious gesture of fear. To give the students an impression of the kindness of the policeman, line 4 says “giving directions to that person”, depicting the policeman’s gesture as one of kindness. Line 4 suggests that police officers are nice and helpful to people who do not do something bad. However, line 4 also carries a particular connotation – if you do something bad (like not following colonial rule), police officers will not be kind. Therefore, the readers are positioned to have an idea of what attitude

to have around police officers (Figure 10), as well as knowing not to do anything against the Japanese colonial rule. By showing the role of a police officer as one who gives a scolding for someone's wrong behaviour, this story attempts to impose a colonial ideology.

This story failed to describe the negative face of policemen in the Japanese colonial era. In 1910, to maintain the constancy of the Japanese colonial system, stabilisation of the police force became essential, and all police agencies were controlled by the Japanese Governor-General of Korea (Kim Jeong-eun, 1998; Bong Sang-su, 2009). The Japanese policeman in the story is depicted in a favourable manner. This is possibly due to the fact that police officers were stationed in most parts of Korea and closely monitored every move of the Koreans (Kim Jeong-eun, 1998), and so public opinion regarding the police needed to be improved. However, the reality was very different – in order to maintain the Japanese colonial system, the role of police officers was to suppress anti-colonial movements and to use force to punish people taking anti-colonial actions. The main role of the police was to “solidify imperialism” (Cho Seong-taek, 2015, p. 79), not to serve one's community by helping people or to play a central role in the law enforcement system. The police force controlled Koreans as colonised subjects, by coercive and rigid colonial rule, and seized Korean citizens if they showed political disobedience.

Even school teachers wore uniforms, and carried a long-bladed sword like the one depicted with the police officer, and they oppressed Korean civilians using force and acts of violence against their students. The Japanese colonial government brutally executed anyone participating in the independence movement, and this kind of brutality towards Korean society made Korean students afraid (Yu Sang-hi, 2004). Students desperately wanted to avoid Japanese police officers as well as other Japanese colonial government officials.

However, this negative sentiment was not implied in the boys' conversation. The reader's attention and eye movement stops at the police officer, not only because he is positioned at the centre, but also because one of the boys is pointing his finger. A direct vector flows out from the boy to the policeman; this figure attempts to show that two boys are talking about the policeman.

The previous section focused on the theme of morality, where the moral lesson of being obedient to authority figures was particularly emphasised. Another recurring theme, school life and play, will be explored in the following section, noting that morality was often further enforced in school environments.

#### **4.4.4. The theme of school life and play**

Japanese colonial law was enforced in Korea, and the law impacted on the Korean lifestyle (Bu, Ji-young, 2016, p. 36). Due to the reform of the legal system by the Japanese Governor-General

of Korea, the Japanese style of school life and play was introduced. Korean students were forced to learn about the dominant ideologies of the coloniser, and were expected not only to integrate Japanese ideas of school life and play, but also the various aspects of Japanese culture (such as the way they dressed) through reading Japanese textbooks. According to Dewey’s (1966) theory, the environment in which young people experience and learn social rules within a real-life setting is their school. Acquiring rules, public laws, and the ideas of living harmoniously with other people were all skills that students needed to obtain and utilise, within both school and in society. These skills were largely influenced by Japanese ideals, demonstrated through the content of their textbooks, and the colonised were expected to incorporate the same types of concepts into their social etiquette (Dewey, 1966). According to Rogacheva (2016), “a famous book by Sudzi Ivasa was written under the influence of J. Dewey’s philosophy of education and became a manual for teachers of Japan”, as Japan’s education policy became Westernised and tried to integrate advanced Western ideas (p. 75). Dewey’s influence was primarily on the Japanese curriculum (Kobayashi, 1964). Japan was “very open to western innovations” and thus attempted to seek Western technologies while still adhering to Eastern morals (Rogacheva, 2016). The empiricism arose due to the influence of progressivism, and thus the textbooks were modified to reflect life experiences (Kobayashi, 1964). This is demonstrated through the Japanese textbooks’ inclusion of a similar theme of ‘school life and play’, mirroring Dewey’s ideas of empiricism.

As shown in Table 9, the content describes the difference in the treatment of school life and play for the Koreans in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915) and the Japanese in *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3* (*Monbusho*, 1917).

**Table 9: The content relating to school life and play**

	Textbook / Level (Year published)	Contents
<i>For Korean Students</i>	<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)</i>	Morning greetings Bok-dong’s family Snowman The way of counting months On the ice The number of birds Kite
	<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 3</i>	A picnic Katakana and hiragana

	<i>(Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)</i>	A way of counting days Swimming The market A train trip
<i>For Japanese students</i>	<i>Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 (Monbusho, 1917)</i>	Sports day To think Snowman Shadow play Riddles
	<i>Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 3 (Monbusho, 1917)</i>	Names of the fingers To think Gathering bracken Right and left Run around (the town) and then back to touch Riddles The boat made of Bamboo

Table 9 shows the different content in each textbook, categorised under the main theme of school life and play. *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)* and *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3 (Monbusho, 1917)* included a similar number of units on school life and play. Textbooks for both the Korean and the Japanese students included the topic “Snowman”, but different content and visual images were presented. For example, the story “Snowman” in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)* described the process of creating a snowman, first by packing the snow to make a ball to be the body of the snowman, and then using charcoal for its eyes to resemble ‘Daruma san’, who has big eyes and looks scary. In contrast, the story “Snowman” in *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3 (Monbusho, 1917)* described the big snowman that was made, with black eyes, and the snow rabbit that was given to their sister as a gift. In the two textbooks, *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3 (Monbusho, 1917)*, the topic “To think” was present, giving the impression that the unit was essential for the Japanese students. However, the topic “To think” was not included in the textbooks for the Korean students.

The following two stories are selected from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)* and *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 (Monbusho, 1917)*, and each fall within the theme of school life and play. The stories are “Morning greetings” in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)* and “Sports day” in *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2*

(*Monbusho*, 1917).

Within the theme of school life and play, in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915) all of the images showed only male characters (as seen in Figure 11). In *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915), there are no images of female characters that relate to school life and play, and this may be indicative of the ratio of female students to male students: 5193 female students to 53594 male students were enrolled in Korean schools in 1915 (Oh Seong-cheol, 2005, p. 123), and of the generally male-dominant society. The following story is from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915) and is about school life and greeting the teacher.

*Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2-2* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915, pp. 4-5) covers the theme of school life in this story, “Morning greetings (アサ ノ アイサツ)”:

1. ココ ハ 学校 ノ ウンドウバ デス。

Here is [our] school playground.

2. 生徒 ガ 大ゼイ イマス。

There are many students.

3. 今 ヒトリ ノ 生徒 ガ、 先生 ニ アイサツ ヲ シテ イマス。

Now, one of students is greeting the teacher.

4. 「先生、オハヨウ ゴザイマス。」

“Good morning, teacher.”

5. ホカ ノ 生徒 モ、 ミナ アイサツ ヲ シタ ノ デス。

The other students have also greeted [the teacher].

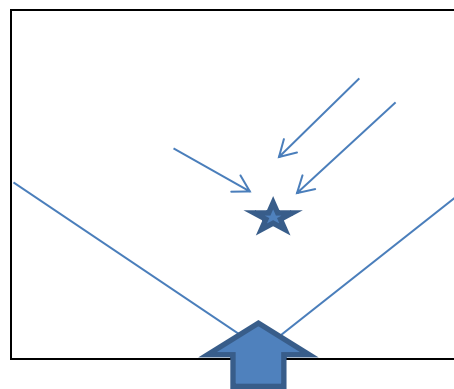
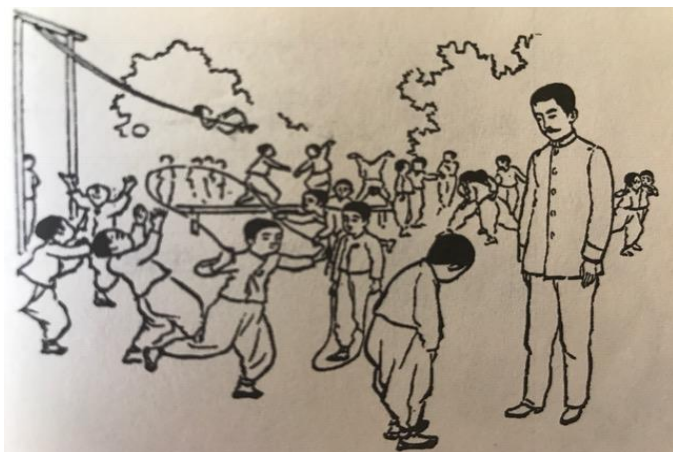


Figure 11: Morning greeting (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915, p. 4)

This story is about greeting the teacher and its importance. The narrator refers to how there are many students (line 2) and then highlights how the other students have greeted the teacher as well (line 5). The main purpose of the story “Morning greetings” is to transmit the importance of greetings in society, and to promote the habit of exchanging greetings. In order to promote greeting one’s teacher as a good moral habit, the text uses the student’s role to project an adult ideology. All students were expected to greet their teacher, but only one student is greeting the teacher in the playground (line 3 and Figure 11) and the texts and visual image demonstrate the etiquette of greeting one’s teacher. In Figure 11, a student bows down deeply while all of the other students are busy playing (for example, skipping, wrestling, playing with a ball, playing on a swing, etc.). To bow is to show deference towards one’s elders or to make social hierarchy clear in Korean society. Greeting the teacher is a very common daily rule for the students, and all students must learn proper greetings at school. All students are expected to greet their teacher (line 5) and knowing how to greet the teacher is considered very important in a student’s school life. The students greet their teacher politely (lines 3, 4 & 5 and Figure 11), but the story absents the teacher’s response to their morning greetings. Throughout the textbooks, Korean students are constantly reminded to practise greetings, such as New Year’s greeting and greeting your parents when you return home.

The figures showing school life and morning assembly demonstrate the traditions of a colonial school, commonly containing school teachers who appeared to be wearing a uniform<sup>42</sup>, like police officers or soldiers of the Imperial Army (Figures 11 and 12). During the colonial period, teachers did wear uniforms, sometimes accompanied with a weapon, such as a long sword, and oppressed Korean civilians and students using force and violence (Sim Sun-min, 2017, p. 24). Brutal acts against Korean people during the colonial period resulted in Korean students fearing the Japanese authorities.

The appearance of the teacher in Figure 11 is mirrored in “Bok-dong’s family” in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)*. The following text is in the form of dialogue, and shows an interaction between a boy and a teacher.

*Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2–13 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915, pp. 34-36)* expounds the theme of school life in this story, “Bok-dong’s family (福童 ノウチ)”:

1. 先生 「福童<sup>43</sup>、オマエ ノ ウチ デハ、オトウサン モ オカアサン モ、オタッシャ  
デス カ。」

Teacher: “Bok-dong! At your house, are [your] father and mother okay?”

<sup>42</sup> Teachers appear to be wearing the uniform of the Imperial Army (see Figure 11 & 12). In some other images, they added to their menacing appearance by wearing a long sword at their side.

<sup>43</sup> Bok-dong was written in bold in the textbook originally.

2. 福童「ハイ、タツシヤ デス。」

Bok-dong: “Yes, they are okay.”

3. 先生「オジイサン モ オバアサン モ、タツシヤデスカ。」

Teacher: “Are [your] grandfather and grandmother okay too?”

4. 福童「ハイ、二人 トモ タツシヤ デス。」

Bok-dong: “Yes, both of them are okay.”

5. 先生「ホカ ニ ダレ ガ イマス カ。」

Teacher: “Who else lives in your house?”

6. 福童「ニイサン ト、 ネエサン ト、 イモウト ト、 オトウト ガ イマス。」

Bok-dong: “[My] older brother, older sister, younger sister and younger brother.”

7. 先生「ソレデハ ミンナ デ、何人 イマス カ。」

Teacher: “Then, how many family members are there in total?”

8. 福童「八人 デス。」

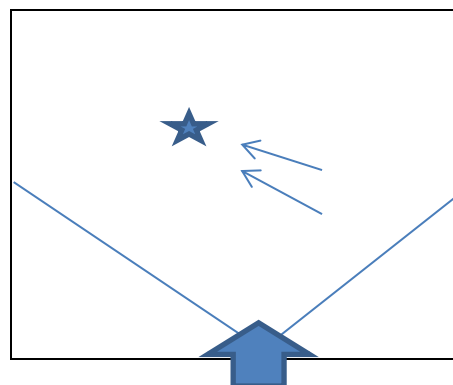
Bok-dong: “There are eight family members.”

9. 先生「八人 デスカ。」

Teacher: “Are there eight?”

10. 福童「ア、 チガイマシタ。 九人 デス。」

Bok-dong: “Oh, [I] was wrong! There are nine family members [in my house].”



Interactive participants

Figure 12: Bok-dong’s family (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1915, p. 35)

These dialogic sentences between Bok-dong and his teacher begin with a question asking how

Bok-dong's mother and father are. The text and the visual image suggest that students could be expected to have an interview with their teacher at school. The teacher asks questions, such as how many family members are in his house (line 7), and the student answers with full attention. Figure 12 portrays the teacher's authority, as the teacher sits in a comfortable and relaxed position, whereas the student stands tense and waiting for the teacher's next question. The teacher inquires about Bok-dong's parents and grandparents in lines from 1 to 4. In the early stage of Japanese colonial rule, a population census was enacted to investigate data on the population and the number of households, as well as their details. For example, the age of the family members, number of births and deaths by age and sex, and the number of migrants was investigated (Park Gyeong-suk, 2009, p. 32). A population census at the school may be used for not only investigating and controlling the colonised, but also for economic benefits for Japan, such as labour exploitation (Kwon Sun-chil, 2013).

By using a conversational tone, this story shows the readers how they are to answer their teachers' questions, and also what questions could be asked by their teacher. The conversation also shows the power relation (Lee Dong-bae, 2000, p. 203). For example, the student, representing those of a lower status, is situated to answer the teacher, who represents higher authority. Bok-dong represents the colonised subjects whose ideal character is very passive, and who would show good manners towards their teachers. Figure 12 also displays the social hierarchy between the student and the teacher – the student stands with an attentive posture towards their teacher, which resembles that of a soldier standing at attention in the presence of a superior officer. The student's eyes are focused on their teacher and a direct vector flows out from the teacher to the boy, to make the viewer look at the boy who is demonstrating a good stance towards his teacher. In Figure 12, the appearance of the boy in a traditional outfit is positioned at the centre, and its attempts to show an obedient Korean student are highly accentuated.

The following example was chosen from *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon (Monbusho, 1917)* because it depicts school play, at an athletics meet.

*Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2-1 (Monbusho, 1917, pp. 2-3)* develops the theme of school life in this story, “Sports day (ウンドウクワイ)”:

1. コレ ハ ウンドウクワイ ノ エ デス。

This is a drawing of the athletics meet.

2. イロイロナ ハタ ガ ガゼ ニ ヒラヒラシテ キマス。

Various flags are waving in the wind.

3. イマ、ツナヒキ ノ マツサイチユウ デス。



Now they are in the middle of a tug of war.

4. ゴラン ナゼイ、 ミンナ ガ チカラ ラ イレテ、 ーシャウケンメイ デス。

Look, everyone is putting in their best effort.

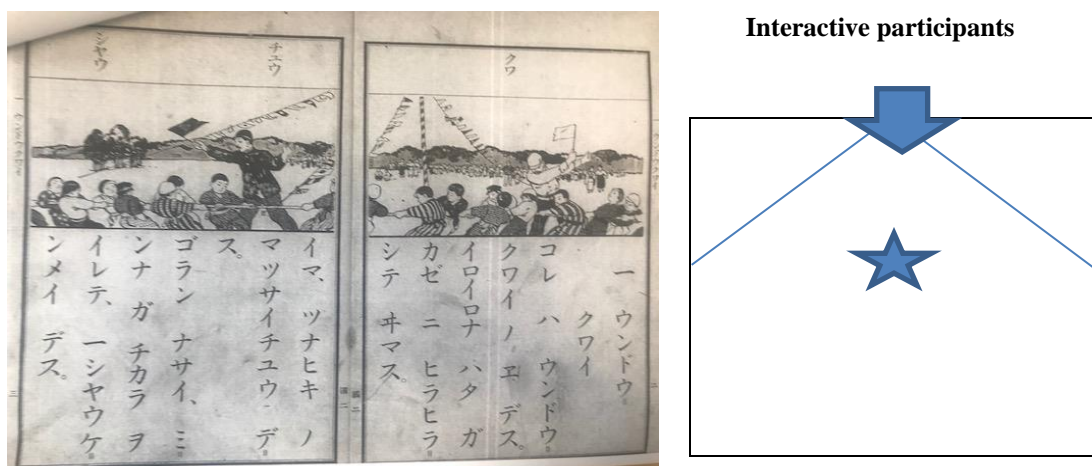


Figure 13: Sports day (*Monbusho*, 1917, p. 35)

This story is about a school's athletics meet, and it describes the setting. The game that was being played was a tug-of-war (line 3), and it urges the reader to “look” (line 4). Using the collective pronoun “everyone” encourages the reader to also do their best during any other school-related activities, and this seems to promote unity for Japanese students. Figure 13 is a drawing of the events as described in the text, and is spread across two pages above the text. In the Korean textbook, there were also similar images – however, instead of spanning two pages, there were two separate images for the text. In Figure 13, there are two teachers on different teams, both wearing sportswear. This can be contrasted with the teachers in the Korean textbooks, who wear military-style clothing. The children playing tug-of-war are wearing typical Japanese clothing, as well as some Western-style clothing and, as described in line 4, the image portrays the children putting a lot of effort into the game.

#### 4.5. Chapter summary: Comparison of findings

Due to the influence of Japanese colonisation, the textbooks were used to promote the colonised becoming loyal citizens of Japan. Empire-centred ideologies were reinforced in the textbooks for Koreans, and some of the content was very similar to that in the textbooks for the Japanese. However, the main purposes of the textbooks for the Koreans were demonstrably different. For example, the textbooks for the Korean students aimed to control the colonised, and to train and

raise them as subjects of Japan (Nakabayashi, 2015). On the other hand, the textbooks for Japanese students were more focused on teaching science and Western knowledge, introducing traditional Japanese culture, and promoting images of playful and happy children.

As mentioned previously, within the theme of ‘science and Western technology’, Koreans were exploited to become alienated from advanced cultures and new technologies, since the Japanese authorities regarded gaining control (politically, ideologically and economically) over the Koreans as a greater priority. The aim in educating Koreans was to produce subordinates or working class citizens – any authority they had in their society and workplace was taken away by the Japanese.

However, some similarities between the sets of textbooks still remained. There were some texts under the same titles and topics in both the Korean and Japanese textbooks, such as “Chestnutting”, “The moon”, “Chicks”, “Leaves”, “Four directions” and “Snow”. However, the content of these stories differed. The textbooks also introduced nature and Western technology, although different proportions of science and Western technology were found in each textbook. *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)* highlighted nature by addressing images such as enforcement of physical labour, and included technologies such as a towel and a picture book. *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon (Monbusho, 1917)* had no content or images of physical labour and contained subjects on higher, more advanced technologies, such as medicine and fireworks. By only introducing more primitive forms of science (such as a picture book) to the Korean students, while introducing medicine (for example) to the Japanese students, Japan’s attempts to exploit the colonised are made clear – advanced technologies are controlled by the coloniser in order to keep the colonised as working subordinates.

As mentioned before, two sub-themes were identified within the main theme of ‘Japanese history and geography’: one that promoted Japanese nationalism with an Emperor-centred ideology; and another that emphasised the Japan-centred ideology through Japanese mythologies. Since the original aim of the Japanese education system was to reconstruct the colonised as obedient citizens and faithful subjects, systematic attempts to restructure cultural identity, values and ideologies occurred through the education provided to the colonised. In order to emphasise Japanese nationalism, textbooks included details on the Japanese Emperor, highlighting the dominant adult perspective and also attempted to raise the consciousness of the colonised as subjects to be assimilated. In order to assimilate the Korean population via the Japanese education system, Japanese history was framed as national history, and Korean history was omitted (Kim Kyung-ja, 2004, pp. 305-306).

Some units contained the sub-topic of geography, and again, although some texts had the same titles, their contents were different. Compared to *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon (Monbusho, 1917)*, *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)* had a higher percentage of content

relating to Japanese history and geography. There were different texts and visual images under the same topic in the Korean and Japanese textbooks, such as “New Year’s Day”. The text and visual image for “New Year’s Day” from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)* emphasised the raising of the Japanese flag and celebrating New Year’s Day, while also highlighting New Year’s greetings in order to project adult-centred etiquette on young students. In contrast, the story “New Year’s Day” from *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2 (Monbusho, 1917)* introduced traditional Japanese customs and decorations for New Year’s Day, and the visual image clearly demonstrated to readers what they can do to celebrate New Year’s Day. These differences highlighted the different ideologies shown to the Korean and Japanese students, illustrating the aim of the colonisers – creating obedient and faithful citizens from the colonised students.

Similarly, within the major theme of ‘morality’, Koreans were expected to serve Japan by being obedient and faithful to the Emperor. Koreans were faced with unequal power relationships, and political passivity and a strong work ethic were emphasised. A school’s moral goal for the colonised was to raise students who accepted their inferiority and disempowerment against Japanese imperialism. Ideal colonised citizens were regarded as those who maintained good relationships with others, whilst in particular showing obedience to their teachers, parents and Japanese government officials.

As with other themes, the major theme of morality had some of the same titles in both the Korean and Japanese textbooks, such as “Miss Hana”, but the content presented differed. *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)* emphasised physical labour, good behaviour, kindness, helping adults and obedience, whereas *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon (Monbusho, 1917)* focused on the importance of wisdom and shared the common themes of diligence, hygiene, not to be greedy, and looking after your siblings. The stories about guests imposed an adult ideology of providing hospitality to a guest, highlighting the role of a host and the importance of having good manners. Likewise, the story about the police officer and the man emphasised how, if one did not do anything bad, one would not be punished, thus promoting the idea of ‘being good’ around those with authority.

As described above, the Japanese style of school life and play was introduced to the Koreans, due to the reform of the legal system. Korean students, who were forced to learn about the ideologies of the coloniser, were expected to absorb rules and public laws, and to live harmoniously with other people, both within school and in society. However, the Korean students were also expected to integrate Japanese ideas of social etiquette, and to adopt various aspects of Japanese culture (such as the way they dressed) through reading the Japanese textbooks. Under the theme of ‘school life and play’, the textbooks introduced school activities and events, such as a school’s athletics meet. There

was one text, “Snowman”, which appeared under the same title in both the Korean and Japanese textbooks, but again the content was different – this difference in the texts with the same title denoted the different civilisations of Japan and Korea. There were similar portions of texts under the theme of school life and play in the textbooks, and school activities were introduced by Japanese characters to the Korean students in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon (Joseonchongdogbu, 1915)*. This demonstrated that Japan expected Korean students to acquire the different aspects of Japanese culture and to utilise them in their everyday lives.

## Chapter 5: Analysis of the Second *Joseon* Education Ordinance (1919-1938)

### 5.1 Introduction

In Chapter 5, I analyse four textbooks from the Second Education Ordinance, in force from 1919 to 1938. Changes were made under the Second *Joseon* Education Ordinance, whereby the Japanese colonial education policy was reformed into a system closer to that in place in Japan.

The chapter begins with a discussion of the changes of the Second *Joseon* Education Ordinance, and explains the primary school subjects in Korea. Next, I present the contents and organisation of the textbooks from Japan and Korea, to demonstrate the different ideologies that can be found in the Japanese language textbooks for Korean students. Then, as previously mentioned, the four most-common themes (i.e., those appearing most frequently in the textbooks) were selected, categorised, and analysed: science and Western technology; Japanese history and geography; moral education; and school life and play. Visual images from the four textbooks were examined and categorised to determine their relevance to the research questions. Finally, there is a summary of findings, with a comparison between the textbooks for the colonised and the coloniser.

### 5.2. The changes in the Second Education Ordinance

After the 1919 [Samil] Independence Movement<sup>44</sup>, Japan instituted great change in the curriculum, in order to mitigate the harshest of the colonial policies. Japanese authorities announced this changing curriculum, which was defined as the Second *Joseon* Education Ordinance (Kang Man-gil, 2004; Heo Jae-young, 2011a; Kang Myeong-suk, 2009). Japan perceived that “educational discrimination” for the colonised was the one of the major causes of the the 1919 [Samil] Independence Movement, and recognised the need to ameliorate the defects in the colonial “educational discrimination” with the slogan, *Ilssidongin* “一視同仁”<sup>45</sup> (Kang Man-gil, 2004, p. 265).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Japan tried to rule over Koreans coercively, under the ideological basis of the Japanese colonial policy of assimilation. However, after the 1919 [Samil] Independence Movement, Japan realised that assimilating Koreans was not easy, and this influenced Japan to reconsider its previous colonial policy (Patterson, 2011, p. 729). Japan advocated a new policy – “the cultural policy”<sup>46</sup>, (Kang Myong-suk, 2009; Heo Jae-young, 2009; Yuh, 2010; Kim Sun-

---

<sup>44</sup> An anti-Japanese demonstration took place on 1st March (Samil), 1919. This 1919 [Samil] Independence Movement played an important role and motivation in later efforts for the independence of Korea.

<sup>45</sup> This means ‘universal benevolence’. Japan emphasised ‘equal love without discrimination to the colonised’ under this slogan.

<sup>46</sup> *Bunkaseisaku* “文化政策” (ぶんかせいさく); the name of the policy under Japanese colonial rule. Japan governed by the bayonet during the First Education Ordinance (1911-1919), but after the 1919 [Samil] Independence Movement, it was necessary to adopt a new and more pacific policy to control the colonised effectively. In order to conciliate the colonised, Japan propagated an education policy that provided expanding educational opportunities (Kim Sun-jeon et al.,

jeon et al., 2012), and Japanese colonial education policy was reformed into a system similar to that in place in Japan (Kang Man-gil, 2004; Heo Jae-young, 2011a; Yuh, 2010; Kang Myeong-suk, 2009; Kim Sun-jeon et al., 2014). For example, the number of years of schooling was increased – during the period of the First Education Ordinance, there had been four years of elementary school in Korea, but this was extended to six years after the 1919 [Samil] Independence Movement. However, some schools maintained just four or five years of elementary schooling, depending on local circumstances (according to Article 4 of the Second Education Ordinance<sup>47</sup>).

During this second period, primary school students learned the Japanese language for 10 to 12 hours per week, while classes in the Korean language were allocated 4 hours per week (Kang Myeong-suk, 2009). Hence, the number of hours spent on Japanese language classes was increased, whilst the time spent on Korean language classes was reduced. The average ratio of time spent on Japanese language classes to Korean language classes was 3 to 1 (Kim Sun-jeon et al., 2011). The most important alteration was that the Korean language and Chinese characters became separate subjects, because the Japanese aim was to obliterate the Korean language. Specifically, making Korean and Chinese separate subjects initiated preparation for a complete exclusion of the Korean language in the school curriculum. Later, Japan removed the Korean language, whilst retaining Chinese characters, since the Japanese language used a mixed system of Chinese and Japanese characters (Sim Kyung-ho, 2009). Sim Kyung-ho (2009) claims that the purpose of teaching the Korean language and Chinese characters to the colonised in the Japanese curriculum was neither the development of Korean language nor the expansion of Chinese knowledge, but was the “reinvigorating (of) the education of the national language”<sup>48</sup> (Sim Hyung-ho, 2009, p. 109).

### 5.2.1 The primary school subjects in Korea

As previously mentioned, the Japanese colonial education policy was reformed to be more similar to the Japanese education system. However, in reality, the content taught and the aims of Japanese education remained the same. For example, the Japanese colonial policy aimed to exploit workers and child labour, and the school curriculum was used to train Koreans to become faithful and subordinate citizens (Yuh, 2010, p. 127). The Japanese education policy continued to focus on teaching Koreans the national language (Japanese), as well as effectively forming them into faithful “low-class labour workers”. Education for Koreans was limited to primary level, and the highest numbers of class hours were allocated to learning the Japanese language (as shown in Table 10). The content of the curriculum focused on physical labour. Therefore, the concept behind the curriculum

---

2014).

<sup>47</sup> “Article 4 of the Second Education Ordinance”, retrieved from (Park Jang-gyeong et al., 2014, pp. 20-21).

<sup>48</sup> “National language” means the Japanese language.

during the Second *Joseon* Education Ordinance was to train Koreans to become low-class physical labourers.

Table 10 shows the subjects for the first and second years of public primary school students (divided into the number of elementary school years) and lists the number of classes for every course per week.

**Table 10: The Japanese colonial school curriculum and the number of classes<sup>49</sup>**

Duration in school years	A course consisting of 4 years		A course consisting of 5 years		A course consisting of 6 years	
	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 1	Grade 2
Subject / Grade						
Disciplinary training	1	1	1	1	1	1
The national language (Japanese)	10	12	10	12	10	12
<i>Joseon</i> language	4	4	4	4	4	4
Arithmetic	5	5	5	5	5	5
<i>Changga</i> , Gymnastics	3	3	3	3	3	3
Total class hours per week	23	25	23	25	23	25

According to Table 10, the number of classes for disciplinary training and *Changga* (singing songs), Gymnastics stayed the same. However, the hours for learning the national language and the total class hours per week increased in the second year (compared to the First *Joseon* Education Ordinance), and the number of classes for *Joseon* language and Arithmetic decreased. Again, the highest amount of class time was allocated to teaching the national language, whereas the hours for learning the *Joseon* (i.e., Korean) language decreased, displaying how the Japanese colonial education policy focused on training the colonised in the Japanese language. The percentage of the total school hours dedicated to Japanese language lessons increased to 43% and 48% per cent (first and second years), higher than under the First *Joseon* Education Ordinance.

### 5.3. Textbooks from the Second Education Ordinance (1919-1938)

The second levels of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930) and *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933) were written only in *katakana*. *Hiragana* and Chinese

<sup>49</sup> Cited in Kim Sun-jeon et al. (2014, pp. 24-25).

characters were added gradually in the third level textbooks. The Japanese language does not use any spacing between words when written in combination with kana (katakana and/or hiragana) and Chinese characters, but both *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930) and *Shougakutokuhon* (Monbusho, 1933) used word spacing so that students in the lower grades in primary school could learn Japanese vocabulary more easily (Park Jang-gyeong et al., 2014, p. 27) as well as making grammar changes more clearly perceptible (Sah Hui-young & Kim Sun-jeon, 2011a, p. 104).

### 5.3.1. Contents of Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon and Shougakutokuhon

The following table (Table 11) shows the content of four textbooks: *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930), *Shougakutokuhon 2* (Monbusho, 1933), *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 3* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1931), and *Shougakutokuhon 3* (Monbusho, 1935). These lists are shown because they provide the framework for the whole texts, and show the order in which the content was presented. The lists also show which texts have been selected as examples for the major themes. *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930) and *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 3* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1931) were published by 朝鮮總督府 (Joseonchongdogbu, the Japanese Governor-General of Korea) and were used for early primary school students in Korea. *Shougakutokuhon 2* (Monbusho, 1933) and *Shougakutokuhon 3* (Monbusho, 1935) were used by early primary school students in Japan and were published by 文部省 (Monbusho, the Japanese Ministry of Education). These four textbooks are analysed in detail to show the themes/titles that occur with the greatest frequency. I have identified the four most common themes: science and Western technology (S); Japanese history and geography (J); moral education (M) and school life and play (P). These particular common themes were useful for analysing the texts and visual images, based on the variety provided in these two sets of textbooks.

**Table 11: Content of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930, 1931) and *Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3* (Monbusho, 1933, 1935)**

	For Korean students		For Japanese students	
Unit	<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2</i> (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930)	<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 3</i> (Joseonchongdogbu, 1931)	<i>Shougakutokuhon 2</i> (Monbusho, 1933)	<i>Shougakutokuhon 3</i> (Monbusho, 1935)
1.	Sports day (P)	Spring is here (S)	Top of the	Spring is here (S)



			mountain (J)	
2.	The train (S)	The morning (M)	The moon (S)	The skipping rope (P)
3.	*Gymnastic games (P)	Washing clothes (M)	Tomorrow is an excursion day (P)	Rabbits (S)
4.	Grocery (Describing forms of groceries) (P)	*Chicks (S)	Mr. Mantis (S)	Birds (S)
5.	Shopping (Demonstrating buying and selling) (P)	A stream (S)	The monkey and the crab (M)	<i>Shiritori</i> / Word chain (P)
6.	Climbing a mountain (J)	A swing (P)	Hurry up, Mr. Raven! (M)	*Chicks (S)
7.	Chestnutting (M)	Fishing (P)	Mr. Ken (M)	To think (P)
8.	Gourds (S)	The sun and a child (M)	My doll (P)	Clock (S)
9.	Sunset (S)	The pine caterpillar (M)	Doll's illness (Play with a doll) (P)	My little kitten (S)
10.	Chrysanthemums (S)	The lark (S)	The marriage of a mouse (J)	The frog (M)
11.	The greedy dog (M)	*Helping (M)	New Year's Day (S)	*Land-pulling (J)
12.	*Pick up stones (M)	A child and a dandelion (S)	The person who has a wen on his face (M)	The boat made of bamboo (P)
13.	Dear stars (S)	Flies (S)	Shadow play (P)	Mr. Ushiwakamaru (Japanese hero) (J)
14.	A cold morning (S)	*Urashima Tarou (M)	Snow (S)	The dragonfly (S)
15.	*Friends (P)	The sunlight (hygiene)	Please let us	The little boy

		(M)	have snow (S)	(M)
16.	Riddles (P)	The wind (S)	Flower-bearing person (M)	The stiff mountain (P)
17.	The younger sister (M)	The airplane (S)	Orioles (S)	The wise mouse (M)
18.	Snow (S)	Shallows (S)	Sprouts (S)	The gold fish (S)
19.	Footprint (P)	To think (P)	The train (S)	The firework (S)
20.	Pigs (S)	The fox in the zoo (S)		The golden axe (The honest woodman) (M)
21.	Kite (P)	Right and left (M)		*The car(S)
22.	Mother and baby cow (S)	The water gun (P)		A long way (J)
23.	Clock (S)	A bird's dream (M)		The tooth (M)
24.	Rock - paper - scissors (P)	A scarecrow (M)		*Urashima Tarou (M)
25.	Nowadays (S)	The rainbow (S)		
26.	Three treasures (M)	A white cloud (S)		
27.		The bead under water (M)		
Total units	26 units	27 units	19 units	24 units
Total Pages	79 pages	99 pages	112 pages	124 pages
*These are the examples that I chose to analyse.				

As shown in Table 11, the second level of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930) consisted of 26 units and the third level of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1931) consisted of 27 units. Table 11 also shows that the second level of *Shougakutokuhon* (Monbusho, 1933) comprised 19 units and the third level of *Shougakutokuhon* (Monbusho, 1935) consisted of 24 units. There are two levels of each of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930) and *Shougakutokuhon* (Monbusho, 1933) – the second levels of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930) and *Shougakutokuhon* (Monbusho, 1933)

are for the first grade and the third levels of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1931) and *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1935) are for the second grade in Korea and Japan, respectively. Despite the higher number of units in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, 1931), there are fewer pages than in *Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3* (*Monbusho*, 1933, 1935). This difference is related to the more-simplified form compared to the Japanese texts.

By means of content analysis, I found that the second level of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930) and *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933) produced similar results – the percentage of content devoted to each major theme was in similar proportions. However, the proportions were different in the third level of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1931) and *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1935); *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1931) included a higher percentage of content on moral education and a lower percentage on school life and play than *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1935).

Through the textbooks, the didactic lesson was often implicit, but child readers could easily discern the meaning. Different ideas of morality were planted for the Korean and Japanese students. For example, *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933, 1935) generally presented the importance of kindness, honesty, bravery and wisdom, while *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, 1931) emphasised hard work, helping adults, obedience, unselfishness, keeping good relationships with siblings, and hygiene. *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, 1931) promoted moralities such as primitive and physical labour, obedience and hygiene (to clean one's body and house), implying that these lessons were necessary for the colonised. Compared to *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, 1931), *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933, 1935) only included hygiene when introducing higher Western technology and professions, such as medicine and dentistry, and no content displayed primitive and physical labour.

From these differences, it is possible to infer that the Japanese language textbooks portrayed Japanese colonial interests by accentuating physical labour, helping adults, and hygiene, which were identified as ideal qualities for the colonised. The idea of physical labour and hygiene was seen through many of the stories, such as “Chestnutting”, “A pine caterpillar”, “Pick up stones”, “The morning”, “Washing clothes”, “The pine caterpillar”, “Helping”, “Flies” and “The sunlight”. In contrast, in *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933, 1935), being kind to others (including “The monkey and the crab”, “Flower-bearing person” and “Urashima Tarou”), and emphasising bravery (in “A person who has a wen on his face” and “The little boy”) appeared.

Table 11 shows that these four textbooks contained some of the same titles, such as “Snow”, “The train”, “Clock”, “Urashima Tarou”, “The spring is here”, “Chicks” and “To think”. Although the titles of the stories were the same, the contents and visual images were not presented in the same

way for the Korean and Japanese students, except for one title “To think”. Through comparative analysis, these differences may reveal how Japanese educators projected different subjectivities onto both groups, and how the curriculum attempted to construct different subjects.

### 5.3.2. Organisation of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* and *Shougakutokuhon*

Table 12 shows the organisation of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930, 1931)* and *Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3 (Monbusho, 1933, 1935)*. Both sets of textbooks display the same the same manner of book organisation.

**Table 12: The organisation of the textbooks**

Contents	<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 &amp; 3 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930, 1931)</i> for Korean students	<i>Shougakutokuhon 2 &amp; 3 (Monbusho, 1933, 1935)</i> for Japanese students
Cover (Front)	Name of book, publisher and grade	Name of book, publisher and grade
Table of contents	Yes	Yes
Chapters	Texts and visual images	Texts and visual image
Appendix	Yes (phrases, clauses and vocabulary)	Yes (Chinese characters)
Cover (Back)	Date of publication of book, price, place of issue and publisher	Date of publication of book, price, place of issue and publisher

The front covers of each book contain the name of the book, the publisher and grade. Both *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930, 1931)* and *Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3 (Monbusho, 1933, 1935)* contain lists of words in appendix. However, there are some differences between *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930, 1931)* and *Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3 (Monbusho, 1933, 1935)* – some phrases, clauses and vocabulary were listed in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930, 1931)*, whereas in *Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3 (Monbusho, 1933, 1935)* only Chinese characters are included.

### 5.4. Categorising the texts and comparatively analysing each theme from each textbook

This section provides an overview of the common themes, identifies sub-themes, and collects

samples representative of the sub-themes and the major themes. Along with the establishment of these processes, some major concepts of ideology, hegemony, and selective tradition are reviewed. Firstly, a wide range of meanings associated with science and Western technology are examined, and the ideological influences of the contents interpreted.

#### 5.4.1. The theme of science and Western technology

In contrast to the books discussed in Chapter 4, topics on science and Western technology were much more abundant in these newer texts and contained a greater variety of new, advanced, Western technologies. Under the First *Joseon* Education Ordinance, the portion for science and Western technology was higher for the Japanese students, whereas under the Second *Joseon* Education Ordinance, the portions for both the Japanese and Korean students were similar. This is one example of Japan's attempts to avoid another uprising of the colonised, by seemingly complying with their demands, giving them a false sense of equality, firstly through education.

Science and Western technology seemed to be a subject favoured by the Japanese publishers. Animals and new Western technologies were introduced into the Japanese textbooks. Contents of the texts that focused on science and Western technology are shown in the following table.

**Table 13: The theme of science and Western technology**

	<i>For Korean students</i>		<i>For Japanese students</i>	
Themes	<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930)</i>	<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 3 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1931)</i>	<i>Shougakutokuho n 2 (Monbusho, 1933)</i>	<i>Shougakutokuho n 3 (Monbusho, 1935)</i>
Science	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Gourds</li> <li>- Sunset</li> <li>- Chrysanthemum</li> <li>- Stars</li> <li>- Cold morning/cold season</li> <li>- Snow</li> <li>- Pigs</li> <li>- The cow</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Spring</li> <li>- Chicks</li> <li>- Pine weevils</li> <li>- Larks</li> <li>- Dandelions</li> <li>- Flies</li> <li>- Sun</li> <li>- Wind</li> <li>- Shallows</li> <li>- The fox</li> <li>- Rainbow</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The Moon</li> <li>- Mantis</li> <li>- Raven</li> <li>- Snow</li> <li>- Orioles</li> <li>- Sprouts</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Spring</li> <li>- Rabbits</li> <li>- Birds</li> <li>- Chicks</li> <li>- Kittens</li> <li>- The dragonfly</li> <li>- The gold fish</li> </ul>

		- Cloud		
Technology	- Trains - Clocks	- The fighter aircraft	- Trains	- Clocks - Fireworks - Cars

Table 13 shows that *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, 1931) and *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933, 1935) focused on the perspective of scientific knowledge regarding natural phenomena as well as on Western technologies: in the second level books, this theme accounts for around 35 percent, whereas in the third level books, it accounts for over 45 percent of the textbooks' contents. The percentages devoted to science and Western technology in the second and third levels of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, 1931) and *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933, 1935) show similar proportions. However, in the third level of *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1935), greater emphasis is placed on the newer technologies (“clocks”, “fireworks” and “cars”), but only including “the fighter aircraft” in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1931).

Once more, there are stories that have the same title (see Table 13), but the content is again different in each textbook, for example, in “Clock”. At that time, the clock was a symbol of modernisation, and it is portrayed in a favourable light by the Japanese publisher (Jang Mi-gyeong & Kim Sun-jeon, 2010, p. 367). In *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930), a young boy thought the clock's sound was like a companion that talked to him when he went to school, and he thought that it was saying “Just study hard” to him. In the Japanese language textbooks for Korean students, many expressions [“get up early” (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1931, p. 5), “work hard till late” (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1931, p. 35), “work every day after school” (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1931, p. 28) and “eat quickly” (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, p. 47)] created a model for the colonised citizens, such that much of the content presented forms of labour and speedy behaviour. The encouragement to keep to a schedule promoted speedy behaviour by utilising a clock, otherwise it would “laugh at their foolishness”. However, in *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1938), the family members realise the importance of their clock when it disappears. The family members still keep their habits of looking up at their clock, even after the clock has gone, and they laugh at each other for doing so. The story “Clock” presented to the Japanese students only highlights the importance of having a clock, implying that it is essential to have one.

The main theme of science and Western technology covers knowledge of natural phenomena: seasons, weather, plants and animals, and also Western technologies: trains and clocks. Both *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930) and *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933)

were teaching materials used in the second term<sup>50</sup> of the school year, and they focused on the winter season: snow and cold weather. The title “はる” (spring) is included in both *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1931) and *Shougakutokuhon* (Monbusho, 1935), as a timely introduction appropriate to the season – these textbooks were used in the first term, which takes place during the spring. *Shougakutokuhon* (Monbusho, 1933) included animals and plants, such as mantises, ravens, orioles, and sprouts, while *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930) contained text on gourds, chrysanthemums, pigs and cows. The animals presented in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930) were shown to have no relationship or interaction with the reader; they were described in a manner that detached them from the reader. *Shougakutokuhon* (Monbusho, 1933, 1935) promoted knowledge of natural science (such as snow, sprouts and chicks) as the focus of the content and the images. In contrast, *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930, 1931) often highlighted natural science (such as pine weevils and flies) by addressing themes of moral education (such as hygiene, and enforcement of physical labour as work).

These images prove JanMohamed’s (2006) point of value of the Manichean Allegory. According to JanMohamed (2006), colonialist literature portrays a stereotypical mindset of the colonisers (to assert racial and cultural superiority, civilisation and modernisation) towards the colonised, which is then used as an instrument for controlling the colonised. JanMohamed (2006) also asserts that the fundamental aim was to justify economic exploitation, but that it begins as an ideology of “racial difference”, which idea promotes the colonised as “passive spectators” (p. 22).

Japan was often shown as having a successful and powerful economy, playing a significant part in engaging to become a ‘civilised’ and ‘enlightened’ country, whereas the colonised were exposed as inferior and primitive citizens. In order to make the colonised ‘internalised’ (i.e., ‘belonging’ to the colonising nation), the colonisers forced their own values by emphasising cultural, educational and economical superiority over them. The following two stories, both titled “Chicks”, are selected from *Shougakutokuhon 3* (Monbusho, 1935) and *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 3* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1931), and these two stories can be seen to contain contrasting images and ideological messages.

*Shougakutokuhon 3-6* (Monbusho, 1935, pp. 13-14) includes the sub-theme of natural science in the story “Chicks (ひよこ)”:

1. おとうさんが、「太郎, ひよこ が かへつたよ。」と おっしゃいました。

---

<sup>50</sup> In Japan, classes are divided into three terms – the first term runs from April to July, the second term from October to December, and the final term from January to March.

[My] father said, “Tarou, the chicks have hatched”.

2. ぼくが見にいくと、ひよこが、おやどりのむねの所から、  
小さなあたまを出して、ぴよ、ぴよ、とないてゐます。

I go out and see that the chicks’ small heads are peeking out from underneath the mother hen’s chest, chirping.

3. はねの下にも、二三ばゐるやうです。

Underneath [the mother hen’s] wings, there seem to be two or three more [chicks].

4. ひよこがなくと、おやどりは、はなしでもするやうに、こ、こ、こ、  
こ、といひます。

The chicks chirp and the hen clucks like they are talking.

5. ぼくはひよこがかはいくてたまりません。

I think that the chicks are really cute.

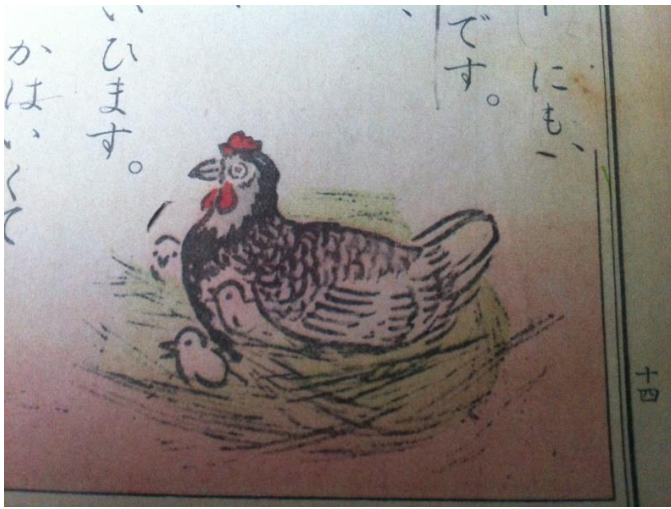
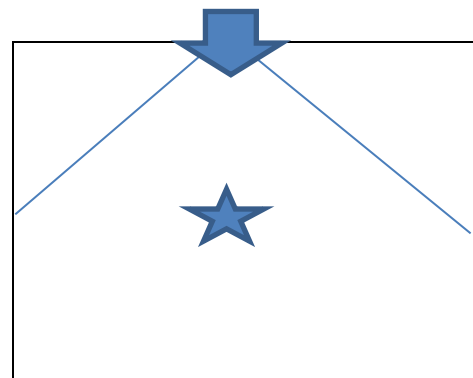


Figure 14: Chicks (*Monbusho*, 1935, p. 14)

Interactive participants



*Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 3-4 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1931, pp. 10-13)* covers the theme of science by highlighting physical labour in the story “Chicks (ヒヨコ)”:

1. メンドリ ガ カワイラシイ ヒヨコ ラ ツレテ アソンデ イマス。

The hen is playing with its cute chicks.

2. コノ ヒヨコ ハ 四 五 日 マエ ニ カエリマシタ。



These chicks hatched four or five days ago.

3. ミンナ デ 十パ イマス。

Altogether there are ten chicks

4. ヒヨコ ハ ホソイ アシ デ チョコチョコ アルキマス。

These chicks wobble unstably on thin legs as they walk.

5. タベモノヲ サガス ノ デショウ、キイロイ クチバシデ トキドキ ジメンヲ  
ツツキマス。

[The chicks] peck at the ground searching for food.

6. 私 ガ ナノハ ヤ アワ ヲ ヤル ト、ヒヨコ ハ ミンナ ヨツテ 來テ  
タベマス。

When I give the chicks leaves and millet, they gather round me and eat.

7. オヤドリ ハ タベナイデ、コ コ コ ト イイ ナガラ、ソノ ヘン ヲ 見  
マワリマス。」 (This text was typed incorrectly in the original)

In order to guard the chicks, the hen doesn't eat but clucks.

8. オヤドリ ガ ウズクマル ト、イソイデ ソノ 羽 ノ 下ニ ハイル ヒヨ  
コ モ アリマス。

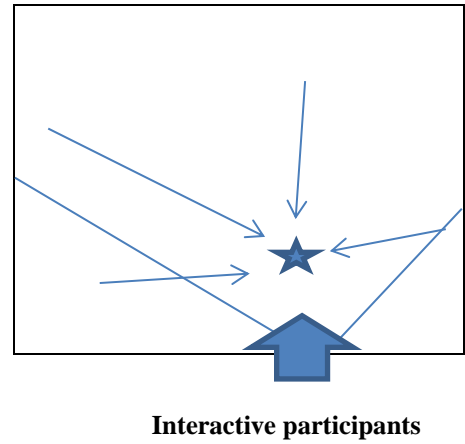
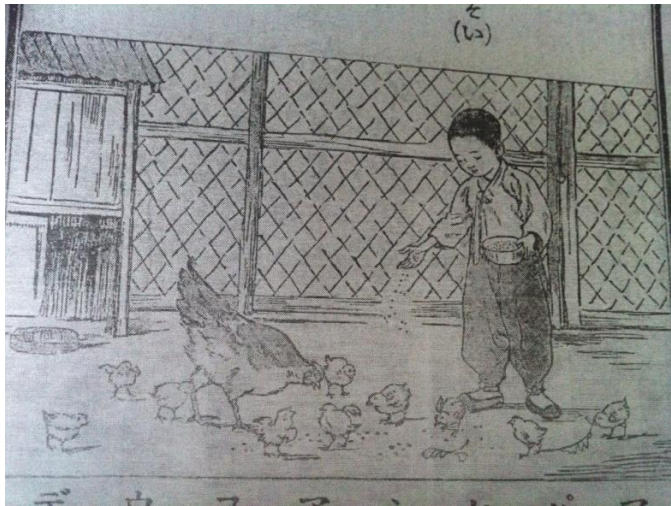
When the hen squats down, there are chicks that quickly run to the hen and hide.

9. ソウシテ 小サナ アタマ ヲ 出シテ、ピヨピヨ ト ナイテ イマス。

And they poke their small head out and chirp.

10. オヤドリ モ オハナシ デモ スル ヨウ ニ、ココココ ト イッテ イマス。

The hen clucks as if she is telling a story.



**Figure 15: Feeding chicks (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1931, p. 11)**

These two stories revolve around the chicken, a livestock animal. The word “chicks” occurs in the titles in both textbooks, but the texts and visual images are very different (Figures 14 and 15). In textbooks, providing a visual image is very important, because a visual image affects learners’ interests and understanding (Park Hye-seong, 2011). It plays a particularly important role for lower primary students, as they understand a general idea or content firstly from a visual image and then from the written content.

Overall, the story “Chicks” in *Shougakutokuhon 3* (1935) describes the hatching chicks (line 1) and presents as observing the chicks’ actions. Lines 2 and 3 (“the chicks’ small heads are peeking out from underneath the mother hen’s chest, chirping” and “Underneath the mother hen’s wings, there seem to be two or three more chicks”) are clearly matched by the image in Figure 14. Lines 4 and 5 (“The chicks chirp and the hen clucks like they are talking” and “the chicks are really cute”) express what the chicks and hen seem to be doing.

In contrast, the story “Chicks” in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 3* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1931) identifies the task of feeding chicks. Some of the text and the visual image present a duty for Korean students – the duty of feeding chicks. Line 6 provides a description of both the chicks and feeding the chicks (what is to be fed). Lines 5 and 6 (“The chicks peck at the ground searching for food” and “I give the chicks leaves and millet”) are explained by the use of the visual image above, but there is no representation of lines 7 to 9 in a visual image.

The “Chicks” image from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 3* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1931) again implies a focus on labour, by presenting the image of a confined henhouse with the written text “Feeding the chicks”. Using concepts derived from Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), it can be said that the image of the chicks in Figure 15 is relatively small and placed on the edge, from which the meanings of distance, weakness and marginalisation can be construed. From one analytic method, the

“close shot” of the frame can denote an intimate social distance and a connection between the viewer and the chicks (Figure 14). There is a direct vector from the chicks to the audience to highlight the image. Compared to Figure 14, Figure 15 is a “long shot”, which could portray a lack of social relationship and no connection between the viewer and the chicks (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). Using the modality meaning of analytic methods for Figure 14, it is revealed through maximum colour saturation that higher modality is depicted compared to Figure 15, which is in black and white. This means that in Figure 15, the child (wearing lower-class Korean clothes) is working hard, and feeding the chicks is emphasised.

In comparing the image and contents from *Shougakutokuhon 3 (Monbusho, 1935)*, Figure 14 clearly matched the contents of the text. The clearer and larger image, and the use of colour, all work to emphasise the aesthetic effect. According to Scardino (2014), colours create a “subliminal meaning” and play the part of “adjectives and adverbs” in visual images (p. 30). Higher degrees of saturated colours have greater salience than lower-degree saturated colours (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, pp. 160-163), and a high modality image creates a more realistic value (Kress, 2010). For example, the coloured image of a hen in Figure 14 presents a more realistic image than the hen in Figure 15. Nodelman (1999) claims that, depending on the wish to either emphasise or marginalise the represented participant, it is positioned at either the centre or fringe, respectively (p. 136). In such a case, the reader is positioned to observe and immediately follow the centre of the image. In Figure 14, for example, the hen is located at the centre, and the large size of the image represents its importance as a representational meaning. In comparison, in Figure 15, the boy having a larger size than the chicks constructs “a hierarchy of importance among elements” to engage the “viewers’ attention” with the boy (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 202).

The high-level positioning in the frame of interactive participants (in this case, the boy) implies that they are in a “superior” position, whereas the relatively low-level position of the other interactive participants (the chicks), suggests they are “inferior to” or “of lesser importance than” the boy (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006; Royce, 2007). As stated before, the boy is highlighted in the image, rather than the chicks, which are portrayed as minor participants in the image, even though the title is “Chicks”. Viewers of Figure 15 see an encoded inferior position, which has a potential meaning of placing importance on the image of the boy. According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), the composition of a visual image indicates important symbolic meanings of relative position, and it is noted that the most important part of an image is often placed on the right-hand side of the frame (p. 181). Although both texts are titled “Chicks”, only the text from *Shougakutokuhon 3 (Monbusho, 1935)* actually promotes the chicks as being the focus of the image (Figure 14). The image from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 3 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1931)* (Figure 15) highlights the working boy

(who is placed on the right-hand side of the frame) rather than the chicks, in order to normalise the idea of physical labour for the Korean students – an important part of the colonial policy of Japan (Park Je-hong, 2011; Kim Sun-jeon et al., 2012).

A pose can be interpreted as being “open or closed”, “active or still”, “slumped or loose”, and so on (Machin & Mayr, 2012, pp. 74-75). In the case of the boy in Figure 15, the pose of the child shows the activity of feeding the chicks, and stresses the idea of physical labour, which is often seen in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon*.

Japan is portrayed as having Western culture (e.g., having pet animals) and also using advanced technologies: mechanical devices such as clocks and fireworks and modernised transportation, like airplanes and cars. The following story, “The car”, is selected from *Shougakutokuhon 3 (Monbusho, 1935)* and is about the introduction of a new technology, the car.

*Shougakutokuhon 3-21 (Monbusho, 1935, p. 92-100)* addresses the theme of Western technology in a story “The car (自動車)”:

1. オヒル カラ、私 ハ、正雄サン ノ ウチヘ アソビ ニ 行カウ ト 思ッテ、  
外 ヘ 出マシタ。

In the afternoon, I decided to visit Masao’s house and went to his house.

2. トチュウ マデ 来テ、フト 見ル ト、チャウド 正雄サン ノ ウチ ノ 前 ニ、  
自動車ガ 止ッテ キマシタ。

On the way there, [I] unexpectedly saw a car in front of Masao’s house.

3. ソバ ニ、人 ガ 四 五人 ヨッテ キマシタ。

There were about four or five people beside the car.

4. 「何 ダラウ。」ト 思ッテ、私 ハ 急イデ 行ッテ 見マシタ。

[I] thought “What’s happening?” So I rushed to go and see.

5. 正雄サン ガ キマシタ ノデ 「何 デス。」ト 聞キマス、正雄サン ハ、  
「自動車 ノ コシャウ デス。」ト イヒマシタ。

[I] asked Masao, “What is happening?” and Masao said that the car had broken down.

6. 「ドンナ コシャウ デス。」ト 聞キマシタ ガ 正雄サン モ ヨク ワカラ  
ナイ ト 見エテ、ダマッテ キマシタ。

“What kind of breakdown in the car?” [I] asked, but Masao seemed to not know and he

didn't reply.

7. ソノ 自動車 ニ ノッテ 来タラシイ、 三人ノ 知ラナイ ヲチサン ガ、立  
ッテ キマシタ。

Three men, who must have been the passengers of the car, were standing.

8. ソノ 中 ノ 一人 ガ、「アノ 左ガハ ノ ウシロ ノ 車 ヲ ゴラン ナ  
サイ。」ト イヒマシタ。

One of the men said "Look at the back left wheel."

9. 見ルト、ソノ 車 ヲ、今 ウンテンシュ ガ 一生ケンメイ ニ ナッテ、ハツ  
サウ ト シテ キルトコロ デス。車 ハ、タイヤ ガ ヒシャゲテ キマシタ。

[I] looked and saw the driver trying hard to take off the wheel which had a flat tyre.

10. 「タイヤ ガ ヒシャゲテ キマス ネ。」ト イヒマス ト、ヲチサン ハ、  
「アノ タイヤ ノ 中 ニ、モウ ーツ ゴム ノ クダ ガ アル ノ デス。」  
ト イヒマシタ。

[I] said, "The tyre is flat." And one of the man said "In that tyre, there is a separate rubber tube."

11. 私 ハ、 オトウサン ノ ジテン車 ガ サウ ナッテ キル コト ヲ 思ヒ  
出シマシタ。

Then I remembered that my father's bicycle had the same structure.

12. 「ソノ クダ ガ ヤブレテ、 中 ノ 空気ガ、ヌケテ シマッタ ノ デス。」

"The tube has broken and the air has escaped from it."

13. ヲチサン ガ カウ イッテ キル 間 ニ、ウンテンシュ ハ 車 ヲ ハツシマ  
シタ。

While the man was telling me this, the driver removed the wheel.

14. サウシテ、 自動車 ノ ウシロ ニ ツケテ アッタ 別ノ 車 ヲ 持ッテ 来テ、  
トリツケマシタ。

Then, [he] brought a wheel from the back of the car and put it on.

15. スッカリ シゴト ガ スム ト、 ウンテンシュ ハ、ヲチサンタチ ニ、  
「サア、ドウゾ。オマチドホサマ デシタ。」 ト イヒマシタ。ヲチサンタチ  
三人 ハ、「ヤア、ゴクラウ デシタ。」 ト イッテ、自動車 ニ ノリマシタ。

When it was all done, the driver said to the men, “Thank you for waiting. Please get in” and the three men said, “Thank you” and got in the car.

16. ウンテンシュ モ ノリマシタ。「ブルく、ブルく。」 ト 自動車 ガ ウナリ出  
シマシタ。

The driver climbed into the car and the car’s engine started with a “broom broom”.

17. ヲチサンタチ ハ、 私タチ ニ、「サヤウナラ」ト イヒマシタ。私 モ、正  
雄サン モ、「サヤウナラ」ト イヒマシタ。

The men said, “Goodbye.” And Masao and I also said, “Goodbye.”

18. 自動車 ハ 動き出シマシタ。「ブッ ブウ。」自動車 ハ 走ッテ 行キマス。

The car started moving and it went down the road with a “broom broom”.

19. 私タチ ハ、自動車 ガ 見えナク ナル マデ、立ッテ 見テ キマシタ。

We stood and watched until we couldn’t see the car any more.

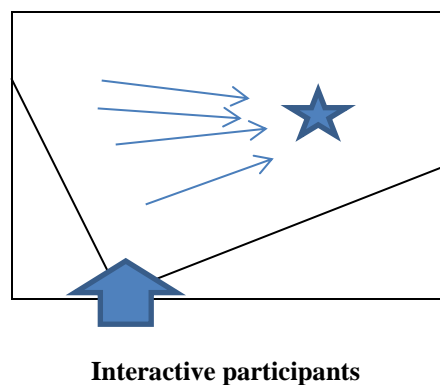
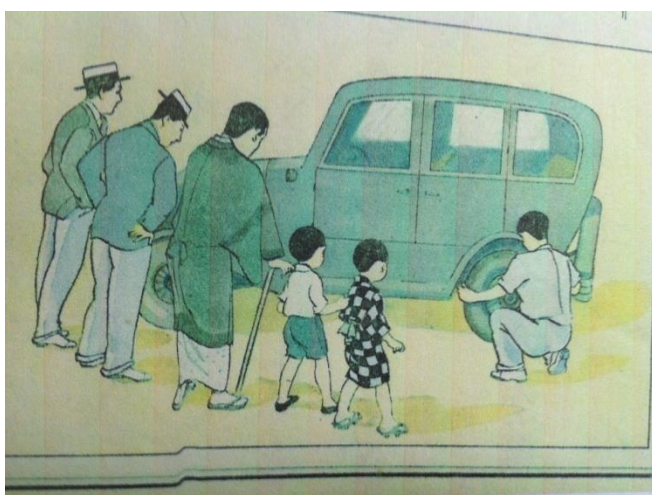


Figure 16: Car (*Monbusho*, 1935, p. 95)

“The car”, from *Shougakutokuhon 3* (*Monbusho*, 1935), is written in narrative form, and describes a car that has broken down in front of the friend’s house. “I” discovers people standing

outside of his friend's house. The pronoun "I" in lines 1 and 2 promotes readers sharing the narrator's perspectives and experience (Lee Dong-bae, 2006, p. 425). The story grammar is as follows: A young boy "I" (protagonists) → the road in a residential area (setting) → visited Masao's house and saw a car (initial event) → the car had broken down with a flat tyre and a number of people watch a man fix the problem (second event) → the car started to move again and the people watch the back of the car (consequences) → to look after Modern technologies (didactic lesson).

The textbooks for the Japanese generally described Western science and Western technology in a very favourable way and constructed imaginary models of Japanese people who were able to adapt them to their lives. For example, this story "The car" provided students with knowledge about cars. Using interrogative forms in lines 4, 5 and 7 may gain the reader's attention and stimulate curiosity about the car. The person "I" played the agentive participant and we get a general impression that "I" is purposeful and active (Liu, 2003, p. 180). The person "I", who is the narrator, is a more active agent than any other person in this story and by using the agentive participant, for example, the text depicts Japanese students as being social and inquisitive characters. Lines 9 to 14 show the problem with the car (a "flat tyre") and the protagonist shares his idea about the car. In line 11, his experience and memory of "my father's bicycle" suggests that the 8-year-old boy understands that the car and the bicycle share some qualities, i.e., "had the same structure". Lines 12 to 14 show that the man has explained the problem and fixed the car. In lines 17 and 18, the emphasis is on the moving car. In line 19, it is suggested that the people long for a car – "We watched until we couldn't see the car any more". In this case, the homogenising term "we" may have been used deliberately for the purpose of bringing the viewer and the author together, to emphasise the whole collective or group, and to make viewers feel more included. It is also a way for the author to convey a yearning for having a car as everyone's wish.

Figure 16 highly accentuates the people's gaze at the car. A direct vector flows out from all representative participants to the modern car, to induce the reader to also look at the car. In this way, this figure attempts to display an imagery of Japan that is modernised, and emphasises "the car" as a symbol of modernisation. The visual image (Figure 16) presents the participants in different styles of dress, showing Japanese traditional outfits as well as modern Western clothes. In general, characters can be made to represent specific people by the symbols of their clothing or their hairstyle (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 101). In the case of this visual image (Figure 16), there are characters wearing Western suits and some wearing traditional Japanese clothes. The interactional meaning of Figure 16 shows no characters having eye contact with the reader, so they become "offers" as "objects of contemplation" (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 119), which means the representative participants attract the viewer's attention to the object. The eye moves from the left (the 'given' visual literacy)

to the right (the ‘new’ visual literacy) making the image dynamic and involving the viewer. As well, the eye-level horizontal angle gives the viewer the ability to recognise the image with a sense of maximum involvement (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 145). The image, within a vertical low angle and deep perspective, causes the viewer to focus on the car. Furthermore, the viewer looks up at the participants and the car – this position can express their power, showing that the viewer is invited to look up at the car and is in intimate proximity to the participants. Therefore, the viewer’s role is to look at the car with curiosity and to suggest ideas about the car.

The view put forward was far from reality, because automobiles for Japanese civilians only became popular from the 1960s (An Su-ung, 1993), while the textbook containing Figure 16 and the text were published in 1935. It is a fact that only a small number of Japanese people had cars at that time. In this case, as shown by this visual image and content, the car is being touted as the future and as something aspirational for the Japanese, by generalising the idea of a new technology, in this case “the car”.

This section has explored the theme of science and Western technologies in the textbooks for both the Korean and Japanese students. It has been seen that the two sets of textbooks promoted different levels of understanding of new and advanced technologies. In the following, I turn to the representations of Japanese history and geography as characterised by the four textbooks, especially regarding topics which uphold Japanese nationalism.

#### **5.4.2. The theme of Japanese history and geography**

During the colonial era, Japanese education policies highlighted the promotion of the Japanese spirit, symbols and patriotism (Kim Seong-yun, 2013; Kim Jeong-ha, 2014; Baek Sun-geun, 2003). However, while there was extensive content about the Japanese Emperor in the textbooks from the period of the First Education Ordinance, this topic was deliberately omitted in the period of the Second Education Ordinance (after 1919 [Samil] Independence Movement). Significantly, Korea’s great heroes were omitted from the Japanese language textbooks for Korean students, to achieve ideological control over the colonised (Lee Dong-bae, 2000, p. 176).

Throughout *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, 1931), there were no Korean national heroes mentioned. Images of Korean historical events and national identity were omitted, and only Japan’s historical heroes were included. Through the process of selecting certain texts or visual images, a dominant culture or value can be emphasised or omitted deliberately, with certain dominant ideologies and values therefore being taken as the norm, or as legitimate knowledge (Apple, 2012), in this case to promote Japanese national spirit and pride (Kim Jeong-ha, 2013).

The Japanese tried to suppress the Korean national spirit by preventing the inclusion of Korean



history in the textbooks, as well as by promoting the diffusion of Japanese language in Korea during the Japanese colonial era (Kim Kyung-ja, 2004; Kim Sun-jeon et al., 2012). Therefore, it is significant that Japanese history is one of the common themes, even if only a few units were included in each textbook.

Only in *Shougakutokuhon (Monbusho, 1933, 1935)*, for Japanese students, did nationalism and patriotism emerge strongly: “The marriage of a mouse”, “Ushiwakamaru”<sup>51</sup> and “Land-pulling” show patriotism. Using critical discourse analysis (CDA), I analyse these closely and determine whether there are underlying values and ideological factors. For this theme, I selected “Land-pulling” as example, because this text portrayed a specific emphasis on nationalism and patriotism.

*Shougakutokuhon 3-11 (Monbusho, 1935, pp. 30-35)* introduces the theme of Japanese history and emphasises Japanese nationalism in a story “Land-Pulling (国びき)”:

1. 大むかし の こと です。

Once upon a time, it happened.

2. 神さま が、 どうかして この 國 を もっと ひろく したい と、 おか  
んがへ に なりました。

God thought that he wanted to make this country bigger by some means.

3. 國 を ひろく する には、 どこ かの あまった 土地 を もって来て、  
つぎあはせたら よからう と、 おか  
んがへ に なりました。

To make the nation bigger, he should attach some extra land, he thought.

4. 神さま は、 うみ の 上 を、 ずっと お見わたし に なりました。

God looked around above the sea.

5. すると、 東 の 方の とほい 國 に、 あまった 土地 の あるの が 見  
えました。

And saw unclaimed land in the far East.

6. そこで、 神さま は、 その 國 に、 太い、 太い つな を かけて、 ありつけ

---

<sup>51</sup> ‘Ushiwakamaru’(牛若丸) is one of the greatest and best-known samurai heroes in Japanese history (Merrill, 2014; Thompson, 2010). The story of ‘Ushiwakamaru’ is based on historical facts and has been handed down from generation to generation. ‘Ushiwakamaru’ (牛若丸) is the childhood name of Yoshitsune Minamoto (源義経).

の力を出して、おひきになりました。

So, God tied a big, thick rope around the land in the far East and used all of his strength to pull it towards him.

7. 「こっちへ来い、えんやらや。こっちへ来い、えんやらや。」と、かけがえいさましくおひきになりますと、その土地がちぎれてうごき出しました。

“Come this way, come this way,” rallying himself, he pulled the rope. As he pulled, the land broke off and started moving.

8. さうして、大きな舟のやうに、うみの上を、ぐんぐんとこっちへやって来ました。

And like a huge ship, it floated over the ocean towards him.

9. 神さまは、その土地をこの國につぎあはせて、國をひろくなさいました。

God attached the piece of land and made this nation bigger.

10. しかし、まだせまいとおかんがへになりました。

However, [he] still thought that the nation was too small.

11. そこで、またうみの上をお見わたしになりました。

So [he] looked around over the ocean again.

12. こんどは、西の方のとほい國に、やはりあまった土地のあるのが見えました。

This time, [he] saw another piece of unclaimed land in the far West.

13. 神さまは、その土地にもつなをかけて、「こっちへ来い、えんやらや。こっちへ来い、えんやらや。」と、力いっぱいおひきになりました。

He tied up the piece of land in the far West and pulled it towards him with all his strength. “Come this way, come this way.”

14. これも、大きな舟のやうにうごいて、こっちへやって来ました。

It also floated towards him like a huge ship.

15. 神さまは、かうして日本の國をひろくなさったといふことです。

This is how God made Japan bigger.

In this story, the god is introduced as pulling some land from the eastern and western sides of Japan in order to make Japan bigger. In particular, this text uses honorific forms to present the legendary story, showing respect to the god and describing the high status of the god. In order to show a degree of respect or to indicate that one is aware of another person's superiority, the Japanese language uses three levels of polite forms: casual, polite and honorific/humble. These are found in Japanese texts based on one's age, grade level or status and social distance (Yanagisawa, 2014). The casual form is appropriate with close relationships, like friends and family, and between 'equal' adults who are part of the same age or group. The polite form is used in most daily interactions, and the speaker always considers himself/herself to be at the lower level. The honorific form is often used when speaking with a social superior. In this story, the subject honorific suffix *-sama* (-さま) in lines 2, 4, 6, 9, 13, and 15 is used to indicate 'respect or politeness' to "God" "神"<sup>52</sup> (Tanimori & Sato, 2012, p. 67). Through the story, there are honorific prefixes *O-* ("お") which are applied to verbs: "おかんがへ" (lines 2, 3 and 10), "お見わたし" (lines 4 and 11), and "おひき" (lines 6 and 7). These honorific forms are used when stating or suggesting a superior's actions. In lines 2, 3, 4, 6, 10, 11 and 13, the presence of the「お verb stem になりました」 also shows respect to the person who is the subject of the action (Tanimori & Sato, 2012, pp. 65). Therefore this text displayed an extensive system of honorifics, in order to reflect the relationships between the character, "God", and the young readers. In such a case, from the use of a special prefix or a specific verb change, the reader must understand the character's superiority. Honorific expressions were employed in this story to exemplify the ways of showing one's respect – they were used extensively throughout the Japanese textbooks and may convey an ideological message to the young readers.

In this legend about Japan, the fact that the story has no basis in fact is not important – this

---

<sup>52</sup> *kami* or *shin* "神" is defined in English as God.

myth can exercise influence over the thinking and values of young readers and they can believe it to be true. In line 15, “~と いふ こと です”, there are the words “this is how ~” or “it is said to be ~” and their usage suggests a conclusion to what was said in the previous sentence. For this legend, the expression “~と いふ こと です” was used to describe ideas unfamiliar either to the writer or the reader.

The language that has been used is really related to the readers – it uses specific semantic fields and lexical terms relevant to the content, and implies that this may be something that the readers would need to know about. Japanese honorific forms are not a grammatical matter of communication, but rather a matter of showing (in hierarchical terms and titles) one’s social relationship to the listener (or referent) in terms of age, social status and connection. Japanese honorific forms have developed from the concept of hierarchical relationships in social organisation (Nishida, 2004). Here, they are used as a way of presenting people’s respect towards God and establishing God as authoritative figure (Tsujimura, 1992).

In this section, I have investigated the Japanese nationalism apparent within the theme of Japanese history and geography. In the following, I elaborate on the theme of moral education through analysis and discussion. Moral education is an important theme to examine and compare, as it has the potential to introduce different moralities and ideologies to the colonised and the colonisers.

#### **5.4.3. The theme of morality**

Textbooks explore moral issues and encourage students’ involvement in forms of moral behaviour (Khan, 1997). The stories in these textbooks, for example, often address moral questions and take moral positions. After reading the stories, the students may be more likely to think about the qualities of the ‘ideal’ characters and morals. Ideal citizens were described in the Japanese textbooks as subordinate Koreans being obedient and faithful subjects to the Japanese Empire (Kang Jin-ho et al., 2007; Kim Hye-lyeon, 2011). According to Baek Sun-geun (2003), Japan aimed to train obedient citizens and faithful subjects through applying a specific system known as the “conduct checklist”<sup>53</sup> at school (pp. 9-10). It was applied to young students and appeared very important in moral values. Baek Sun-geun (2003) analysed the Japanese education policy and curriculum during the Japanese colonial era and demonstrated that the Japanese colonial curriculum was used as a tool to promote the ruling class’s interests and served as a tool of colonialism and legitimisation of Japanese colonial ideology. Baek Sun-geun (2003) concluded that Japan used the Japanese colonial curriculum in an

---

<sup>53</sup> The ‘conduct checklist’ was imposed as a school norm to control the colonised as well as to adapt the colonised to the colonial nation (Baek Sun-geun, 2003).

attempt to construct different subjects and to assert control over students.

The content and visual images that relate to showing obedience to parents, teachers and elderly people are mostly seen in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon*. The moral value of obedience is highlighted and implicitly established throughout *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon*. The ways to be obedient can be interpreted by the characters' images as well as from the stories. For example, in the story "Helping" (pp. 135-136), Shoudai helps his family members without any complaints, until he feels exhausted.

The images of the colonised often suggest their laziness, their backwardness, and their uncivilised and barbarian behaviours (Mason & Lee, 2012; Memmi, 2003). The British colonial authorities, for example, used education as a tool for controlling the colonised, as well as to highlight a 'barbarian' image of the Indians. Likewise, the image of the colonised as uncivilised and savage barbarians was emphasised by presenting instruction on cleanliness and showing characters that had a ragged appearance throughout the Japanese language textbooks (Park Je-hong, 2008). Park Je-hong (2008) argues that highlighting an uncivilised and barbarian image of the Koreans in the Japanese textbooks was certainly intended to demean Korean civilisation, and was also a display of the racial superiority of Japan, used to legitimise Japanese imperialist rule. Memmi (2003) also analysed the ideology of the coloniser and colonised by looking through images, and claimed that the coloniser was depicted as an "adventurer" and "righteous pioneer" who is industrious and has a better standard living, while the colonised was characterised as having an indolent disposition and being uncivilised (p. 47).

The image related to family in *Shougakutokuhon (Monbusho, 1933, 1935)*, portrayed stereotypical gender roles in family relationships and family perspectives, and the ideal family model was often depicted – the fathers worked outside and the mothers did the household chores (*Monbusho, 1935, p. 21*), like sewing (*Monbusho, 1933, p. 32*) and looking after their children (*Monbusho, 1935, p. 105; Monbusho, 1933, p. 32*). In contrast, the image of family presented in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon (Joseonchongdogbu, 1931)* did not reflect stereotypical gender roles: the mother was seen mainly as a worker. The examples of roles shown in images of mothers in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930, 1931)* presented mothers working as: a shop assistant (*Joseonchongdogbu, 1930, p. 10; p. 13*); a farmer (*Joseonchongdogbu, 1931, p. 33*); and smoothing starched cloth (by pounding it) as a laundrymaid (*Joseonchongdogbu, 1930, p. 21; Joseonchongdogbu, 1931, p. 9*). The Korean traditional family was described as having the father work in an outside workplace and the mother staying at home doing housework and raising their children – however, the selective tradition of Japanese textbooks constructed new concepts of family roles during the colonial period. The family model portrayed in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon (Joseonchongdogbu, 1931)* contradicts this – it repeatedly presents images of family members with

only the mothers and their children doing the farming (see discussion on “Helping”, pp. 135-137).

Images of men were more dominant than images of women in both sets of textbooks. Throughout *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, 1931) and *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933, 1935), the names and images of males were described more favourably than those of female participants. The ratios of males to females are similar in both *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, 1931) and *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933, 1935), but their roles as children or adult males were expressed differently. For example, in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, 1931), children are portrayed either helping their family members with physical labour, or doing things like feeding chicks or chestnutting by themselves. When analysing the images from *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933, 1935), there were no images of children’s physical labour; all children were portrayed playing. In addition, the roles of the adult males in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, 1931) and *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933, 1935) were shown differently. In *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon*, the images of adult males (not including any myths or fairytales) showed an old man fishing (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1931, p. 21) or gathering stones (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, p. 31) with a child, and an adult male presented as a physical labourer (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1931, p. 28) and a bystander (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1931, p. 72). In contrast, *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933, 1935) presented images of adult males (not including any myths or fairytale) as fathers (*Monbusho*, 1933, p. 80; *Monbusho*, 1935, p. 21) and a dentist (*Monbusho*, 1935, p. 105), portraying higher professional classes.

An examination of the content in the books that involved the Japanese shows that they planted a particular sense of morality in the Korean students, in order to create colonised citizens. A comparative analysis of the second level of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930) and *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933) shows that the content that can be classified as focusing on morality accounts for 26 percent of the total. Moral education is found to comprise seven major viewpoints: diligence, unselfishness, kindness, hygiene, hard work, one’s role in the family, and helping adults. Both textbooks showed the prominence of diligence, unselfishness and the ideal family, yet each textbook also promoted different moralities. For example, *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933) generally introduced the importance of kindness, while *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930) emphasised hygiene, hard work, and helping adults (Park Je-hong, 2011). From these differences, we can infer that hygiene, hard work and helping adults were identified as qualities of model colonised citizens. The Japanese language textbooks reveal Japan’s colonial’s interests by accentuating the value of physical labour for Korean citizens.

### ***Physical labour and cleanliness in Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon and Shougakutokuhon***

Emphasis of physical labour and cleanliness was evident in much of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon*, whereas *Shougakutokuhon* contained only a few such topics. The specific content that stressed labour and cleanliness are as follows:

**Table 14: The content and images that emphasise labour and cleanliness**

Book (Year-Volume-Chapter)	Title	Content	Visual image
<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon</i> (1930-2-4)	Grocery	Mother is a shop assistant and she sells groceries	A woman is working at the grocery shop
<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon</i> (1930-2-7)	Chestnutting	A competition to see who picks up the most chestnuts	Two boys gather chestnuts
<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon</i> (1930-2-12)	Pick up stones	Emphasises helping the old man and picking up stones	One boy and an old man are picking up stones in the field
<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon</i> (1931-3-2)	The morning	Get up early and clean yourself	One boy dries himself with a towel and the other boy watches him
<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon</i> (1931-3-3)	Washing clothes	Shows the process of washing clothes	Females are washing clothes
<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon</i> (1931-3-4)	Chicks	Feeding chicks	A boy is feeding chicks in the cage
<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon</i> (1931-3-9)	The pine caterpillar	Catch pine caterpillars every day after school.	A boy and a male are catching pine caterpillars
<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon</i> (1931-3-11)	Helping	After school, help family members to sow red beans	A boy, a girl and mother sowing seeds
<i>Hutsuugakkou</i>	Flies	Explains how dirty flies	A boy is catching flies in

<i>Kokugotokuhon</i> (1931-3-13)		are	his room
<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon</i> (1931-3-15)	The sunlight	Describes the dust in the room	A girl and a mother are looking at dust motes that drift through a beam of sunlight
<i>Shougakutokuhon</i> (1935-3-21)	The car	Introduces a car and a mechanic	A driver/mechanic fixes a flat tyre while some people watch
<i>Shougakutokuhon</i> (1935-3-23)	The tooth	Clean and maintain the health of your teeth	A dentist checks a young child's teeth

Table 14 provides the content and images that portray themes of physical labour and hygiene within the textbooks, *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, 1931) and *Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3* (*Monbusho*, 1933, 1935). As can be seen, this content appeared in many stories in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, 1931). In contrast, although *Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3* (*Monbusho*, 1933, 1935) still contained themes of physical labour, those stories focused on professional occupations, such as a mechanic in “The car” and a dentist in “The tooth”.

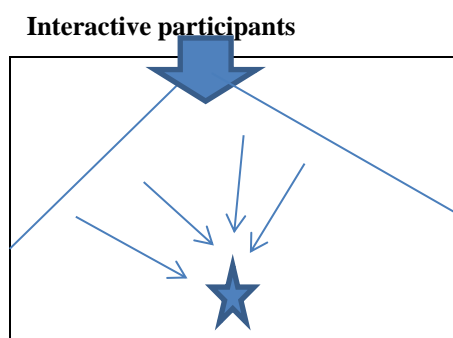
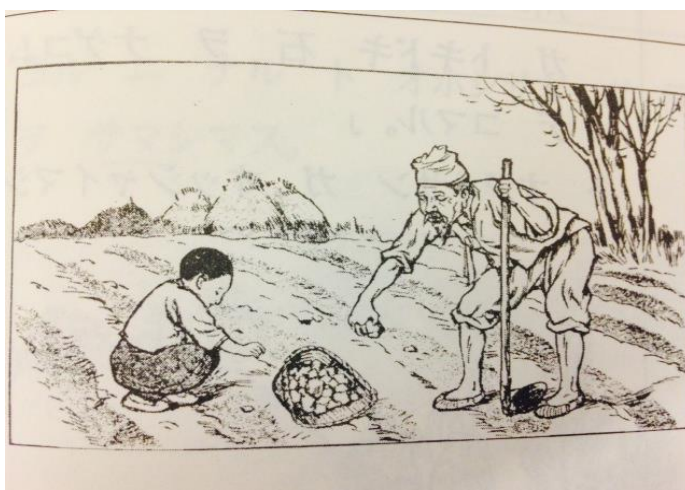
Emphasising cleanliness was also exclusively a feature of the Japanese language textbooks used by Korean students, where the characters obeyed those in higher authority to carry out duties such as washing clothes, catching flies and cleaning up dust. In comparison, the images emphasising hygiene in *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933, 1935) reinforced Western technology by introducing the professional job of a dentist.

Throughout *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, 1931), there were many expressions that asked Korean students to move subserviently (see pp. 115-116), and which promoted working hard. Below are some examples from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930) that represent the importance of hard work and physical labour to the lower classes. They are drawn from one story “Picking up stones”. I have chosen these excerpts because they demonstrate the significant features of physical labour for the lower classes, which are found only in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, 1931).

*Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2-12* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, pp. 30-33) explores the theme of moral education, highlighting the physical labour in the story “Pick up stones (イシヒロイ)”:



1. オジイサン ガ、ハタケ ノ 中 ノ 石 ヲ、 ヒロツテ イラッシャイマス。  
An old man is picking up the stones in the field.
2. 石 ガ マジッテ イルト、 サクモツガ、ヨク デキナイ ノ ダ ソウ デス。  
Apparently, it seems like if there are stones in the soil, the crops won't grow well.
3. ウラ ノ 田 ニモ、 石 ガ タクサン アッタ ノ ヲ、 オジイサン ガ ナガイ アイダ カカッテ、オヒロイ ニ ナッタ ト イウ コト デス。  
There used to be a lot of stones in the field behind, but an old man spent a long time and picked them all up.
4. 「フルイ ハタケ デモ、 石 ヲ トリノケル ト、 ダンダン ヨク ナツテクル ヨ 。」 ト、 オジイサン ガ オッシャイマシタ。  
The old man said “Even if the soil is bad, if you get rid of the stones, the soil will get better.”



**Figure 17: Picking up stones (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, p. 31)**

In this story, there is a didactic lesson for child readers of helping their grandfather, picking up stones. An old man explains and encourages child readers to pick up stones, and it is assumed that the child reader has to be involved in picking up stones manually. The first line is “An old man is picking up the stones in the field”, and the visual image is of an old man whose posture suggests the action of picking up stones. In line 1, the present continuing tense “is picking up” is used to talk about continuous activities happening in the present. In line 4, the general importance of picking up stones is introduced. The old man has the power to state what “will” happen if you get rid of the stones. Figure 17 uses a character, an old man, who is a weak-looking person, and who has spent a long time picking up the stones alone – “an old man spent a long time and picked them all up” (line

3). An indexical sign (the old man's stick) also represents a direct connection to his weakness. The boy and the old man are presented together in the image, and their poses suggest activity. The old man is bent over and appears weak, portraying him in a pitiful condition which elicits sympathy for them as they work. By portraying these Korean characters as being poor and weak people, the story shows the idea of the colonised people needing help to improve wasteland, by picking up stones from poor land.

Japan imposed land reform projects on the Korean people – about 50 percent of the entire Korean territory was forfeited to the Japanese Governor-General of Korea (Sin Yong-ha, 2007, p. 473). This land reform brought impoverished conditions to the rural communities during the Japanese colonial period (Kim Jae-hun, 1984). Thus, the poverty and weakness portrayed by the old man in a rural landscape reflects the condition of Korean rural people at that time. In contrast, the textbooks depicted Japanese characters as being Westernised (e.g., a man wearing a Western hat), wealthy (e.g., having a car), independent and strong.

The ideological strategy of this visual image (Figure 17) is to offer an old man in a powerless and helpless position. In Figure 17, the represented participants of the image present a type of action (picking up stones), creating the impression that even an old man and a young child are hard-working and busy with activities relating to their daily lives. The impression of “picking up stones” is given salience and plays a significant role in drawing the viewers’ attention. In order to draw attention, some elements and features in a visual image may present a kind of salience to highlight the meaning of “importance”, by presenting larger elements or highly saturated colours (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 54-55). For example, in Figure 17, the boy and the old man are in the foreground and evidently larger in size than any of the other features. They are presented at an eye-level horizontal angle, suggesting equal status with the viewer, offering that this is what the readers do. The strong vectors toward the bottom are produced by the characters’ actions and by the direction towards which they are gazing, emphasising not only labour-intensive “picking up stones” but also technological inferiority. The didactic or moral lesson is often implicit and has a hidden meaning, but the child readers can easily conjecture the meaning through the text or the visual image, while also understanding the cultural background (such as obedience to aged people) that they bring to the viewing situation. In this case, the child readers easily accept the necessity of helping their elders.

The following story, “Helping (お手つだい)”, is quoted from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* 3-11 (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1931, pp. 32-35), as this story focuses on physical labour as well as obedience to parents.

1. きのう 學教 から かえる と、 おかあさん と ねいさん が うら の

畠をたがやして いらっしゃいました。

Yesterday, when [I] came back from school, [my] mother and sister were ploughing the backyard.

2. 「ねいさん、何をまくのですか。」とききますと、「あずきをまくのです。」と いました。

[I] asked “Sister, what are you sowing?” [She] answered “[I] am sowing red beans.”

3. すると おかあさんが 「昌大しょうだい<sup>54</sup>, おまえも お手つだいをしなさい。」と おっしゃいました。

Then, mother said “Shoudai, please help us as well.”

4. 「どんなことをいたしましょうか。」とききますと、「小石がたくさんあるでしょう。これをみんな畠のふちの方へはこんで、一所にあつめなさい。」と おっしゃいました。

“What can [I] help you with?” I asked. “[You] see those small rocks? [You] can put them all aside together,” [Mother] said.

5. 私ははだしになって、畠にはいりました。そうして小石をさんてきの中に入れて、なんどもはこびました。」<sup>55</sup>(This text was typed

incorrectly in the original)

I went into the backyard barefooted, gathered the stones and carried them to the side again and again.

6. 夕方しごとがおわった時は大そうつかれました。

By the time I had finished in the evening, [I] was exhausted.

---

<sup>54</sup> Shoudai, “昌大” (しょうだい), is Korean. If 昌大 refers to a Japanese person, that would be written “Masahiro” instead of “Shoudai”.

<sup>55</sup>There is a possibility that the colonial textbooks for Korean students were not intended to present high culture or aesthetic values. Words and symbols were occasionally spelled incorrectly, with these errors found only in *Kokugotokuhon*, perhaps implying a lack of care in their production. These points can be interpreted as another form of discrimination towards Korean students, as their textbooks were not afforded the “luxury” of elements of high culture, or text free of typographical errors.

7. けれども おかあさん が 「今日 は 昌大 が お手つだい を してくれ  
た ので、しごと が 早く おわった。」 と おっしゃいました ので、うれ  
しかったです。

However, [my] mother said “Because Shoudai helped us, [we] were able to finish our job quickly.” So [I] felt happy.

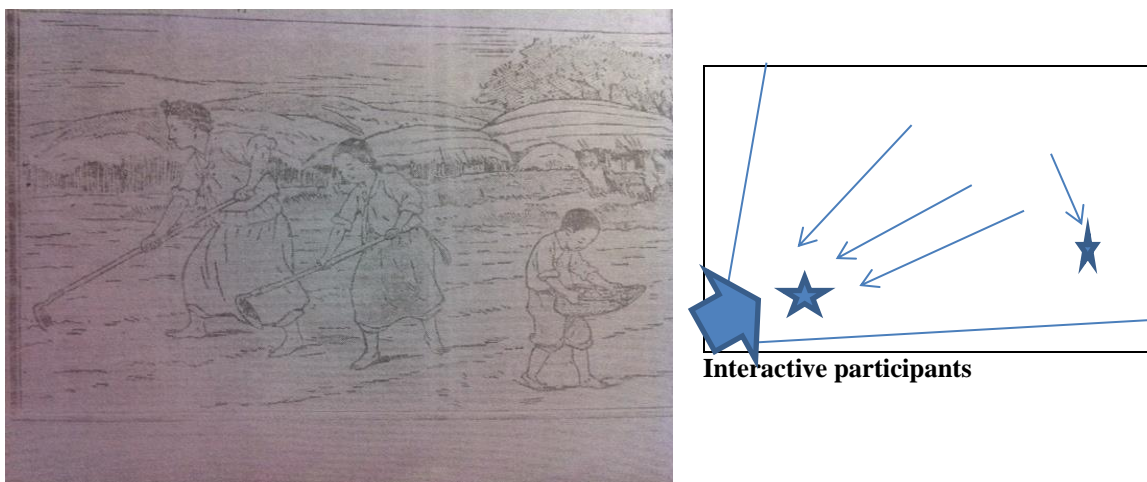


Figure 18: Helping (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1931, p. 33)

This story and visual image portray the ideal student, who is subservient, faithful and obedient to parental orders, and who helps his/her mother and sister without any reluctance. As a result of their obedience to their mother in helping her through a tiresome job, they feel satisfied with their efforts. This story emphasises and reflects the value encapsulated in the story’s title – it is highly desirable that family members help each other. Shoudai “昌大”, who could be the same age as the readers, follows his mother’s command and displays his obedient behaviour. *Joseon* was a society based on Confucian<sup>56</sup> values and, traditionally, obedience to parents and the Emperor was an absolute requirement. In this case, the person, Shoudai, presents a lack of independent thinking and is amenable to being trained to help family members while they are working. The mother deserves his respect and concern.

Labour was assigned to the colonised people, including students who needed to complete their workload after school (e.g., “came back from school”, line 1). The lines from 3 to 5 emphasise helping family members, which was an important role for students as a part of obeying parents. Line 5

<sup>56</sup> Confucian ideas mainly concern social order, harmony and the worship of family ancestors. Confucianism is based on the trust that humans will act in accordance with natural laws.

explains how Shoudai worked, and how he carried stones many times. “*なんど*” (Line 5) means “again and again” or “over and over” and stresses the repetition of carrying stones. Line 6 shows how this primitive work is hard for the student, yet he continues regardless until exhausted (“I was exhausted”). The textbook portrays that, by working hard to the point of exhaustion, students could help their family finish their work quickly (line 7). However, adult male workers were absent from the story. The Japanese language textbooks repeatedly showed families comprising only females and young males, and Korean students were taught to think it was natural to be without an adult male member in their family. Lee Myeong-hwa (2011) points out that those adult males were drafted into the military by force, and were also used for colonial reclamation development projects, such as constructing colonial government buildings, bridges, or railroad tracks (p. 77). The Korean students were allocated to work alongside adult female workers in order to survive within a dependent colonial society. Conformity and cooperation were needed to control the society of Korean citizens.

Figure 18 above shows that there are no adult male workers involved in the sowing seeds (only the mother and sister), and that Koreans are not engaged with high technology, but use only traditional farming tools. Again, the imagery of their clothes shows them as Koreans from the lowest class. None of the characters look out the readers and no demand is made of the readers – this shows social connection that offers the viewer interest or curiosity. All of the people in Figure 18 are shown looking down and avoiding eye contact with the viewer. Most of the images from the colonial textbooks show the colonised looking down (i.e., no eye contact with participants (viewers) – see the portrayals of Koreans in Figures 1, 12, 15, 17, 18, 28 and 30). This can be interpreted as implying inferior status, lacking confidence and being socially isolated. The metaphorical connotation of “looking down” in Figure 18 is significant – “looking down” shows obedience while “looking up” would give a sense of one’s power and may also portray concern or worry towards something (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 72-73). Therefore the visual images implicate “the image itself, and a knowledge of the communicative resources that allow its articulation and understanding, a knowledge of the way social interactions and social relations can be encoded in images” (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 115), and the image thus creates a social engagement between the reader and the image. Any image is either a “demand” or an “offer”. However, whenever people are portrayed in an image, the choice between “offer” and “demand” must be made, not only so that different relations with different characters can be implied, but also to characterise illustrations (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 120).

The image in Figure 18 also lacks realism, because the house is built low. In the analytic methods from compositional meaning, the worker image has high salience, revealed through the size of the people – they are bigger than their houses. This shows that the focal point was the Korean

people being low-class physical labourers.

The story of “Urashima Tarou” is included in both *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1931) and *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1935), emphasising the theme “love animals” (Table 17). However, the content and the visual images are not presented in the same way for the Korean and Japanese students, even though the title is the same. *Shougakutokuhon* contained images with maximum colour saturation, depicting higher modality, whereas images in *Kokugotokuhon* were presented in black and white. In *Shougakutokuhon* 3-24 (*Monbusho*, 1935), the story takes up about 15 pages. The content is smaller in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* 3-14 (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1931), with only 9 pages, and the story is more concise and simple.

The text in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* 3-14 (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1931) omitted a description about how children refuse others’ suggestions, or how students were rude towards the adult. This is one of the characteristics the coloniser doesn’t want the colonised to develop. Instead, obedient and passive colonial subjects are described as kind characters for Korean students. After Japan occupied Korea forcibly and with coercive power, Japan attempted to gain hegemonic control and dominant power over Korean citizens. Therefore, the coloniser emphasised the colonised as being obedient and faithful subjects to the Japanese Emperor.

Both of the “Urashima Tarou” stories develop one significant morality for male characters – to love animals. In order to construct the importance of loving wild animals, the story uses a contrasting way to show a kind male adult who sympathises with a sea turtle, while rude children tease the sea turtle. By rewarding the kind male adult, the story highlights the importance of protecting wild animals.

In “Urashima Tarou”, the content of the texts are the same in both textbooks, while the two visual images are similar, but also have some discrepancies.



Figure 19: Urashima Tarou (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1931, p. 43) Figure 20: Urashima Tarou (*Monbusho*, 1935, p. 109)

The visual image in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1931) presents the

children as attentive and respectful to adults (all of the children's eyes are turned to an adult, to induce the reader to show obedience to the adult). In *Shougakutokuhon (Monbusho, 1935)*, two of the children are shown ignoring the adult, while the other child looks aggressive, holding a stick. Only *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon (Joseonchongdogbu, 1931)* portrays the students as having respect and being courteous to the adult, showing that the formation of colonial subjects, possible ideal worlds and qualities of ideal citizens are being constructed (Kim Sun-jeon et al., 2012; Park Je-hong, 2011). The image from *Shougakutokuhon (Monbusho, 1935)* follows the text, with the children depicted as bullying the turtle. However, the visual image in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon (Joseonchongdogbu, 1931)* portrays the children as less aggressive – they could be interpreted as simply playing with the turtle, with smiling faces. The children's postures provide focus to Urashima Tarou in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon (Joseonchongdogbu, 1931)*, as they all turn to face towards him. However, in *Shougakutokuhon (Monbusho, 1935)*, two children are facing away from Urashima Tarou, with emphasis on the turtle more than on Urashima Tarou.

In this section, I explained how the textbooks for the Koreans and the Japanese promoted different moralities. Next, I turn to discussing the theme of 'school life and play', which also introduces different ideals of school life and play for the Korean and the Japanese students.

#### **5.4.4. The theme of school life and play**

Both textbooks presented school events and playing games outside of school, and also presented a specific perception of communication and child-adult and child-teacher relationships by focusing on school life and play. Yu Cheol (2010) claims that the school regulations were wholly revised by *Joseonchongdogbu* following the 1919 [Samil] Independence Movement, and one of the changes was the introduction of gymnastics (for three hours per week) and the designation of physical education as a compulsory subject for Korean students only (Yu Cheol, 2010, p. 314). By comparing textbooks from different educational ordinances, Yu Cheol (2010) found that the critical difference after the year of the 1919 [Samil] Independence Movement was the inclusion of more chapters for traditional play culture and physical education in the Japanese language textbooks for Korean students. Yu Cheol (2010) concluded that this change was made because the Japanese government held concerns about another possible uprising by the Koreans. The changes under the Second Education Ordinance were made in accordance with the education system of the Japanese mainland, in order to avoid anti-Japanese feeling. According to the Second Education Ordinance, the education system and the years of elementary school were changed to become more like Japan's. However, in the textbooks, different content and visual images were presented, and different ideas of school life and play were promoted for Korean and Japanese students.

Even though both textbooks included the same titles, the emphasis and explanations were presented in different ways. For example, “To think” (かんがえもの), is included in both *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 3* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1931) and *Shougakutokuhon 3* (Monbusho, 1935), but one story presents an egg while the other has a roly-poly toy. Both stories show students guessing the thing in the box by asking a number of questions and finally getting the answer – an egg in one and a roly-poly toy in the other. For Japanese students, *Shougakutokuhon* (Monbusho, 1935) introduced a Western object (a roly-poly toy), whereas in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1931), an egg (which is easily found at home) has been substituted – maybe because of the similar shape, or maybe denoting the differences between Japan and Korea and *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930, 1931), avoiding the inclusion of industrial products in the books for Korean students.

School life and playing games were depicted in both *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930, 1931) and *Shougakutokuhon* (Monbusho, 1933, 1935), showing students being involved in certain school activities and events, such as “Sports day” in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930) and “Tomorrow is excursion day” in *Shougakutokuhon* (Monbusho, 1933). The following table lists the content of those stories related to school life and play for the Koreans and the Japanese. By using comparative analysis, “games” for Japanese students are shown as playing with dolls [“My doll” from *Shougakutokuhon 2* (Monbusho, 1933, pp. 36-38) and “Doll’s illness” from *Shougakutokuhon 2* (Monbusho, 1933, pp. 38-43)], and playing with a “skipping rope” from *Shougakutokuhon 3* (Monbusho, 1935, pp. 4-5), as shown in Table 15 below. However, “games” for Korean students portray them as playing at being labourers, e.g., the shop assistant in “The grocery store” in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930, pp. 8-11) and playing “Gymnastics games” very reminiscent of a military drill in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2* (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930: pp. 6-8).

**Table 15: The contents describing the difference in school life and play**

	Textbook / Level (Year published)	Contents
For Korean Students	<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon / 2</i> (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930)	Sports day Gymnastics games The grocery store Shopping Friends Kite Riddles



		Footprint Rock-paper-scissors
	<i>Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon / 3</i> ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1931)	A swing Fishing To think
<i>For Japanese students</i>	<i>Shougakutokuhon / 2</i> ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1933)	Tomorrow is excursion day Mr. Ken My doll Doll's illness January Shadow play
	<i>Shougakutokuhon / 3</i> ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1935)	The skipping rope Word chain To think The stiff mountain A long way

The table above shows the difference in ‘school life and play’ as presented for Korean and Japanese students. The second levels of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930) and *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933) included more units on school life and play than the third-level textbooks. The content that can be classified as introducing school life and play account for about 30 percent of the total in the second levels of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930) and *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933), but only 11 percent in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 3* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1931) and 21 percent in *Shougakutokuhon 3* (*Monbusho*, 1935). The third level of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1931) included a higher percentage of content relating to school life and play than *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1935). Table 15 shows that these four textbooks contained one matching title, “To think”, and also included some school events, such as “Sports day”, “Gymnastics games” and “Tomorrow is excursion day”.

Physical education is not only for enjoyment or play, but also to promote the value of cooperation, unity and teamwork by participating in competitive team games (Hwang Ui-lyong & Lim U-taek, 2010, pp. 3-6). The story, “Sports day”, from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930) showed students divided into ‘white’ and ‘red’ teams, and that they were competing at running. It provided images of red and white colours, suggesting the Japanese flag

(Huppatz, 2018, p. 187). The content and visual images in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, 1931) often showed an emphasis on working or playing competitively with each other, while in *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933, 1935) on the other hand, there was no content or image of competitive work or play for Japanese students, or of anything that looked like a form of physical training.

Hwang Ui-lyong and Lim U-taek (2010) also state that one role of physical education is develop orderly behaviour in a group at school, but this role was changed to be closer to a military drill in the war-time period (p. 14). The image of “The sports day” in Korea was also formed by Japan, which often suggested close-order drills, like soldiers (Yu Cheol, 2010; Hwang Ui-lyong & Lim U-taek, 2010). Some evidence seems to suggest that the Japanese textbooks were used as a tool to show students military drills, and education relating to military drills reached its height by the late 1930s, to become the main purpose of school education (Park Gyeong-su, 2011).

In addition, in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, 1931), play made a distinction between boys and girls, and this can be seen throughout the visual images. The textbooks for Korean students constructed distinctive gender roles – for example, the images of playing with a ball, spinning tops, kites, hide and seek, a water gun and sports day only showed boys, whereas playing on swings showed only girls. In comparison, the play portrayed in *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933, 1935) was contrary to this – the boys and girls played together: with a paper sailboat, a doll and hospital play (an exception is that a skipping rope was shown only with girls).

I selected the following story, “Friends”, because this story from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930) depicted Japanese and Korean children playing together, while still emphasising the superiority of the Japanese. The visual image and content showed that Koreans could get along well with Japanese, and that they had equal power and rights (Kim Sun-jeon et al., 2012, p. 443). Kim Sun-jeon et al., (2012), who only analysed *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930) presented an important discussion of this visual image (Figure 21), which portrayed Japanese and Koreans having good relationships, as of old. Despite its strength, there are a number of small, but important, weaknesses in this interpretation. Only one visual image was found that showed Japanese and Koreans playing together in this second and third level of *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, 1931), and their appearance does not demonstrate that they have equal power or rights. In Figure 21, two boys are wearing lower-class Korean clothes. However, this distinctive feature of the characters portrayed as presenting Koreans and Japanese people playing together (Figure 21) was included after the 1919 [Samil] Independence Movement.

*Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2-15* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, pp. 38-40) addresses the

theme of school life and play, highlighting the image of Japanese and Korean students playing together in this story, “Friends (トモダチ)”:

1. 私 ノ ウチ ノ トナリ ハ、 金サン ノ ウチ デ、 ソノ トナリ ハ、 石田サン ノ ウチ デス。

Next to our house is Mr Kim’s house and the next house is Mr Ishida’s house.

2. 私 タチ ハ、 イツモ ウラ ノ アキチデ、 ーシヨニ アソビマス。

We always play together at the vacant ground in the back.

3. コマ ヲ マワシタリ、 オニゴッコ ヲ シタリ シマス。

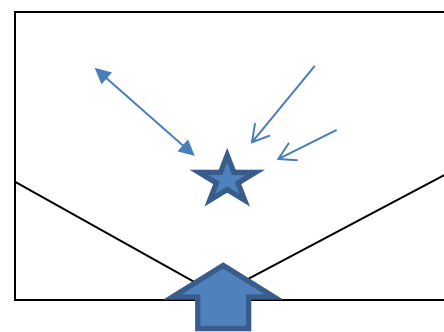
[We] play with spinning tops or play tag.

4. カゼ ノ アル 日 ニハ、 タコ ヲ アゲマス。

When it is windy, [we] fly kites.

5. キノウ ハ、 雨 ガ フッタ ノデ、 石田サン ノ ウチ デ、 ナイチ ノ エハガキ ヲ ミセテ モライマシタ。

Yesterday it rained so [we] looked at postcards from Ishida’s native country (Japan) at his house.



**Interactive participants**

**Figure 21: Friends (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930, p. 39)**

This story, “Friends”, reveals that three boys are “always” playing together (ーシヨニ, line 2) with spinning tops, playing tag, and flying kites at the vacant ground in the back. Applying representational meaning analytic methods to Figure 21 shows that the boys’ collective gaze at the

spinning tops is accentuated. The firm gaze on the spinning tops is an important part of the pose in Figure 21, which explains that the three boys are playing together (line 2) with the spinning tops (line 3).

Figure 21 is an image of significance, as it portrays that the coloniser and the colonised could get along very well, by showing them playing together with the spinning tops (Park Je-hong, 2011, p. 233). According to Park Je-hong (2011), the Japanese language textbooks for Koreans portrayed good relationships and equal living standards between Japanese and Korean citizens in order to assist the Koreans to become “Japanised”.

In Figure 21, the Japanese boy takes up a majority of the space, and is shown in an active pose – he can therefore be interpreted as a major player. The two Korean boys, on the other hand, are granted less space and stand in more passive poses, making it clear that they are not active characters. When analysing the eye level, the vectors emanate from the boys and move to the spinning tops, which may predict the action verb “spinning”. The boy with Japanese clothing and sandals presents the stereotypical image of a Japanese person, trying to make the top spin by lifting and whipping a stick. Of course, since Figure 21 can only describe one moment and a single action, this is significant in connoting the discourse of a Japanese person being an active agent, while the Korean boys are only watching.

Furthermore, in the text of “Friends” above, the character, Ishida (“石田” = a Japanese name – wearing Japanese clothes and shoes in Figure 21), shows Kim (“金” = typical Korean surname) the postcard from Japan. The story shows Korean and Japanese boys playing together with spinning tops. The homogenising pronouns “our” (line 1) and “we” (lines 2 to 5) are used to embed Japanese ideology, implying that Koreans are the same as Japanese citizens. In line 5, “ナイチ” defines “one’s native land” or “mother country” as the country from which the people of Japan originate. Japan is called “ナイチ” for its own country, whereas the colonised countries, like Korea and Taiwan, are called “ナイチ”. The Korean person, “Kim”, is presented as a passive agent, while the Japanese person (Ishida) can be viewed as the active agent, showing postcards. For example, in line 5, “ミセテ モライマシタ” contains the passive form, which suggests that the Korean person “Kim” was allowed to see the postcards by the Japanese person (Ishida). This story supports the idea of colonial Japan, revealing how the Japanese were imagined and lived as superior citizens in Korea. The story predominantly depicts the colonisers in a very favourable way as superior people who promote the introduction of Western products.

The Western product was introduced by Japan's loyal Korean subjects (which were part of the Japanese military tradition, probably adopted from Western practice) were an important element in cultivating national spirit. Furthermore, Japan focused on these gymnastics exercises at school to cultivate the ideology of the Japanese Empire to the colonised (Jung Hee-jun, 2009, p. 21). This is evidence that the Japanese textbooks were used to raise Korean students for battle. The next section will now summarise and analyse the findings from the above chapter.

The following story, "Gymnastics games", chosen from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930), portrays students' roles and the authority of teachers, in order to impress the dominant ideology on the colonised students. This story signifies the school culture of the time, and shows the relations between teachers and students.

*Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2-3* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, pp. 6-8) covers the theme of school life and play, introducing school gymnastic games like military drills in this story, "Gymnastic games (タイソウゴッコ)":

1. 「タイソウゴッコ ヲ シマショウ。」

“Let's play the gymnastics game.”

2. 「キ ヲ ツケ。」

“Attention.”

3. 「マエ ニ ナラエ。」

“Extend your arms to the front.”

4. 「ナオレ。」

“Put your arms down!”

5. 「マエ ヘ ススメ。」

“Go forwards.”

6. 「一 二。 一 二。」

“One, two, one, two.”

7. 「カケアシ ススメ。」

“Run forward.”

8. 「一 二。 一 二。」

“One, two, one, two.”

9. 「ゼンタイ トマレ。」

“Halt.”

10. 「ヤスメ。」

“At ease!”

11. 「コンド ハ、ダレ ガ 先生 ニ ナリマス カ。」

“Now, who wants to be the teacher (the person who is giving instructions)?”

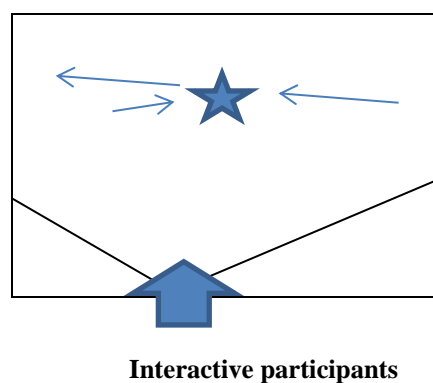
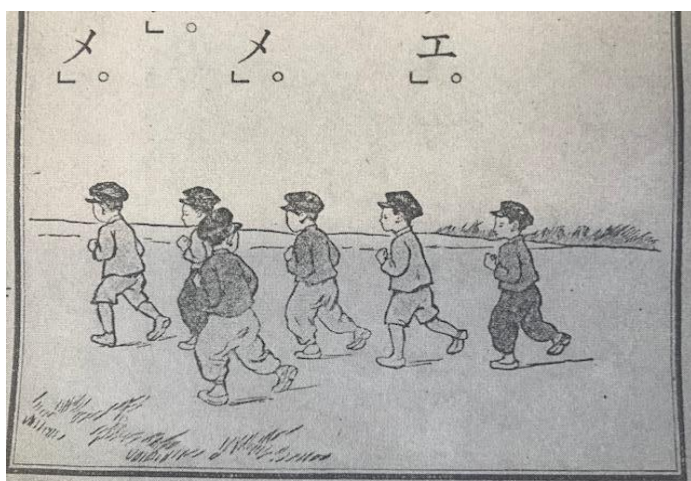


Figure 22: Gymnastic games (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, p. 7)

In this story, the students perform their movements in absolute obedience under the teacher’s orders, just as if they are in military ranks. It is only possible for the students to play this game (which seems reminiscent of a military drill) if they accept and follow instructions. The students (taking the role of instructor) can also have a turn at being in charge. Thus, this story reinforces adult ideology, in order to develop good morality in the Korean students and prepare them to be useful in war. The use of imperative forms in lines 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9 and 10 can be seen as issuing commands, and helps to depict the role and authority of the teacher, echoing the dominant ideology. In line 1, 「-マシヨウ」, meaning “let’s” in English, is used to initiate the interactions of readers, maybe all the Korean students. The use of a request or offering, 「-マシヨウ」, also depicts the positive aspects of the relationships among the students, in order to encourage the actions (“play”) as an interesting game. Lines 2 to 10 display a distinguishing use of military terms – the students move and obey at the teacher’s command; likewise, lower-class soldiers obey the higher-class officials in the army. This explains the hegemony and power relations between the high-ranking and the low-ranking soldiers in the army, as well as the relations between the teachers and students – the authority of the teacher is depicted as the same as

that of a high-ranking soldier. This story “Play gymnastics” is related to training Korean students as soldiers. The Japanese government promulgated preparation for combat (Hall, 2014).

In Figure 22, the students are introduced as soldiers who are in military training; they move in line and have the same posture. Figure 22 indicates how Korean students (their clothes indicate them to be Korean) played gymnastic games as a form of military training. One student who stands outside of the line is the leader of the group and he watches and orders the other students. None of the leader or the five students have eye contact with the viewer, denoting that the viewer is invited to watch – not in a way that encourages a personal relationship, but as an observer: they become an “offer” (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 148). The elements placed the background are less important than the elements in the foreground (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 56). In this case, the leader is important – the boy placed at the front in Figure 22 is slightly larger than the other boys. All five boys are performing the same actions (running in a straight line and only looking ahead), and their leader also has the same posture but is watching the five boys - this kind of image often appears in military camps. The vector is made by the boys and leads the reader’s eyes from the boy in front (the leader) to the other boys’ actions. Furthermore, the poses of the boys are highlighted which shows the idea of gymnastics, as well as emphasising the military training at school, as clearly stated in the text and Figure 22. In the images, the length of a shot (i.e., “close shot” as against “medium shot” or “long shot”) indicates the distance between the participant and viewer, and can also represent social distance (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 124). In this case, by presenting a middle shot on the boys in Figure 22, the story is positioned as a medium degree of social relation to the viewers. The angle of image shot indicates the social relation – the boys are located at a vertical angle from below, utilising a symbolic power on the viewer as the viewer looks up and focuses on the boys’ motion.

Military practices are intended for soldiers, not children, yet they appeared in this story. When the Second Sino-Japanese War expanded throughout the Pacific, schools became a place to train Korean students as soldiers (Jeong Hye-gyeong, 2010) and Korean students were taught to worship the Emperor as loyal subjects of Japan (Kim Jin-suk, 2012). The gymnastics exercises performed by Japan’s loyal Korean subjects (which were part of the Japanese military tradition, probably adopted from Western practice) were an important element in cultivating national spirit. Furthermore, Japan focused on these gymnastics exercises at school to cultivate the ideology of the Japanese Empire to the colonised (Jung Hee-jun, 2009, p. 21). This is evidence that the Japanese textbooks were used to raise Korean students for battle. The next section will now summarise and analyse the findings from the above chapter.

## 5.5. Chapter summary: Comparison of findings

As explained in Chapter 4, Japan attempted to rule over the Koreans coercively under assimilation. However, after the 1919 [Samil] Independence Movement, the Japan authorities realised that they needed to reconsider their previous colonial policy, as they felt that educational discrimination against the colonised was the one of the major causes of the 1919 [Samil] Independence Movement. In order to mitigate their harsh colonial policies, Japan applied great changes to the curriculum – this was referred to as the Second *Joseon* Education Ordinance. By seemingly complying with Korean demands, Japan attempted to avoid the rise of another resistance movement.

Compared to the books examined in Chapter 4, later textbooks included much more abundant content covering the topics of science and Western technology, and they contained a greater more variety of new and advanced Western technologies. Under the First *Joseon* Education Ordinance, the proportion of science and Western technology was higher for the Japanese students, whereas under the Second *Joseon* Education Ordinance, the proportions for both the Japanese and Korean students were similar. Both sets of textbooks introduced natural phenomena and Western technologies to the students. *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933, 1935) contained more material on newer technologies than *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* and, in contrast, there was more content on natural science found in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, 1931) than in *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933, 1935). Both *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933, 1935) and *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, 1931) contained some of the same titles, such as “Chicks”, but the content and visual images were different for the Korean and Japanese students. Additionally, the animals presented in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930) were presented as having no relationship or interaction with the readers. Its content and images often addressed physical labour or hygiene within the theme of science and technology. However, in *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933, 1935), there was neither content nor images suggesting low-class physical labour, and just one text and image representing a worker, with the professional job of a mechanic.

Content focusing on the Japanese Emperor that had previously been in the textbooks was omitted in the period after the 1919 [Samil] Independence Movement. However, Korean historical figures and heroes were still omitted. There were attempts to suppress Korean national spirit by excluding Korean history from the textbooks, as well as by promoting Japanese history. Images of Korean heroes, national identity and legends were omitted in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon*, and both textbooks contained no geographical representations of Korea. Only Japan’s historical heroes were included for both the Korean and Japanese students, showing that Japan used the Japanese



language textbooks as a tool to suppress Korean culture and subjects, and portrayed dominant ideologies towards Korean students.

Under the theme of morality, in order to promote the concept of labour among the Korean students, a strong element of Japan's colonial policy was highlighted by addressing issues such as enforcing physical labour as work. Through comparative analysis, this study has shown that different values of morality were emphasised for Korean people. The colonial textbooks portrayed Japanese colonial interests by accentuating labour and hygiene for Korean citizens – again, these themes were included only in the texts for Korean students. Examples are seen in many of the stories, such as “Chestnutting”, “Pick up stones”, “In the morning”, “Washing clothes”, “The pine weevils”, “Helping”, “Flies” and “The sunlight” (see Table. 13 ). One title, “Urashima Tarou”, was the same in both textbooks. However, the length of the text was shorter in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, 1931), and the image differed. Both sets of textbooks also emphasised the idea of maintaining good relationships with people. However, much of the other content was different, with *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* including topics relating to physical labour, hygiene, unselfishness, helping adults, looking after siblings, not being greedy, being a subordinate citizen, and being obedient, whereas *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933, 1935) contained content on the importance of kindness, honesty, bravery, wisdom and taking care of one's teeth. Furthermore, in the colonial textbooks, many expressions (“wake up early”, “work hard till late” and “eat quickly”) forcibly created a model for the colonised citizens. However these expressions were never found in *Shougakutokuhon*. Korean identities and roles were depicted as inferior and barbaric – as people who needed to learn about good hygiene and to be involved in primitive physical labour (farming, picking up stones, and catching pine weevils). Both textbooks had content emphasising cleanliness, but with different features (see p. 133). Accordingly, the colonial textbooks aimed at cultivating obedient and subordinate citizens, based on the Japanese colonial education objectives, which were to train the Korean students to be low-class physical labourers for the Japanese Empire, and to make them into second class citizens by enforcing colonisation.

More content on traditional play culture and physical education was included in the Japanese language textbooks for Korean students after the 1919 [Samil] Independence Movement. The theme of ‘school life and play’ introduced school activities and events in all of the textbooks, and both second-level textbooks included more units than the third-level textbooks. The textbooks for both the Korean and Japanese students contained one shared title, “To think”. However, different content and images appeared under that title, denoting the different civilisations of Japan and Korea. *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 3* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1931) had a higher percentage of content relating to the topic of school life and play than *Shougakutokuhon 3* (*Monbusho*, 1935). School

activities in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, 1931), for example “Gymnastics games”, related to training Korean students to become soldiers, while other titles (such as “The grocery store” and “Shopping”) were associated with exercise to train Korean students to become physical labourers (see p. 142). In contrast, *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1933, 1935) introduced more sophisticated professional occupations, such as a doctor in “Doll’s illness”. Another notable difference is that girls and boys played together only in *Shougakutokuhon*.

## **Chapter 6: Analysis of the Third and Fourth *Joseon* Education Ordinances (1938-1942; 1943-1945)**

### **6.1. Introduction**

In this chapter, four textbooks that were used in Japan and Korea during the Third and Fourth *Joseon* Education Ordinances (1938-1942; 1943-1945) are critically analysed. The history and background of the textbooks, as well as the changes made under the Third and Fourth *Joseon* Educational Ordinances are discussed, and the education of the colonised during wartime is also investigated. The different ideologies emphasised in the Japanese language textbooks for Koreans are then explored. The themes of science and Western technology, Japanese history and geography, moral education, and school life and play were chosen as the four most-common themes throughout the textbooks. Finally, this chapter presents a summary of findings with comparisons between the textbooks.

### **6.2. The influence of the Third and Fourth Education Ordinances**

The school curriculum was influenced by the changing colonial policy, and this influence can be seen in the Third and Fourth *Joseon* Education Ordinances. The changes implemented in these ordinances clearly display the close relationship between the broader colonial policy and the education policy, as the Japanese-produced textbooks were modified due to the war, and the Manchurian Incident in 1931 (Park Je-hong, 2011, p. 269). As mentioned in Chapter 2, a major change made in 1938 was to the name of the educational institution – from *BotongHakgyo* “普通學校” to *SoHakgyo* “小學校” for the Korean elementary educational institution, thus giving it the same name as the Japanese elementary educational institution. The name of the Korean elementary educational institution was changed again, to *GukminHakgyo*, in 1941 by a Japanese imperial order. The Imperial Rescript on Education was issued by Emperor Hirohito (1901-1989), in which the reason for changing the school name was given as:

From today, the name of the elementary educational institution is changed from 小學校 (literally meaning “a small school”) to 国民学校 (literally meaning “national schools”). Japan aims at colonising other nations throughout the world (through war aggression) and thus the name of the elementary educational institution “小學校”, is a name that is not suitable for a school under the rule of Japan. Imperial Japan orders everything in Japan,

Taiwan and Korea to join together to be the owner of all things in the Asian continent.<sup>57</sup>

This statement reveals the importance placed on schools as a means to produce more people to fight for the Empire. The Emperor's statement led to a review of the school curriculum and a change in the content of the textbooks – to contain more material relating to Japanese nationalism and pro-war sentiments. Park Gyeong-su (2011) conducted an analysis of texts in Japanese language textbooks (used from 1938 to 1945) and found that the textbooks predominantly contained imperial ideology and war themes, accounting for 66.7 percent of the textbooks' content for third-year elementary school students. Park Gyeong-su (2011) claims that the Japanese language textbooks were used to promote imperial ideology and that they idealised war in order to gain agreement to serve in the war. Koreans were pressured to join the Imperial Japanese Army, and the education policy reinforced this pressure.

The policy encouraging dedication to the Emperor and the Japanese Empire, as well as assimilation (into becoming a 'complete' Japanese citizen), was referred to as *Kouminka* “こうみんか” (皇民化). The word *Kouminka* “皇民化” means “imperialised”<sup>58</sup> in English, indicating Japan's intentions to transform Korean people into subjects of the Japanese Emperor, through “Japanisation” (Peng & Chu, 2017, p. 441). The basic characteristics of Japan's colonial education policies were the *Kouminka* policies, and these included the enforcement of instruction in the Japanese language, forced indoctrination of the history, culture, and lifestyle of Japan, and training the colonised to be accustomed to performing hard labour, mainly in the field of agriculture (Peng & Chu, 2017). This is more evidence of discriminatory policies towards Korean students. This concept of *Kouminka* was strengthened through Japan's misleading references to equal education, while in reality, the colonised were not receiving the same or even a similar quality of education.

### 6.2.1. The primary school subjects in Korea

The length of the public colonial school education in this period was six years, which was the same as the original education system in Japan. However, four-year public elementary schools were also maintained, on financial grounds (Jang Mi-gyeong et al., 2013, p. 26). The following table shows the subjects taught in the first and second years of public primary school (divided into 4 and 6 elementary school years), and indicates the number of classes for every course per week during the

---

<sup>57</sup> Text in brackets is my addition. Retrieved October 24, from <http://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1993062600289112001&edtNo=5&printCount=1&publishDate=1993-06-26>

<sup>58</sup> Retrieved from [https://www.tanoshijapanese.com/dictionary/entry\\_details.cfm?entry\\_id=133941](https://www.tanoshijapanese.com/dictionary/entry_details.cfm?entry_id=133941)

**Table 16: The Japanese colonial school curriculum and the number of classes<sup>59</sup>**

Duration of School Years	A course consisting of 4 years		A course consisting of 6 years	
	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 1	Grade 2
Disciplinary training	2	2	2	2
The national language (Japanese)	12	12	10	12
<i>Joseon</i> language (optional subject)	3	3	4	3
Arithmetic	5	6	5	5
Painting		1		
Handcraft	1	1	1	1
<i>Changga</i> , Gymnastics	3	3	4	4
Total class hours per week	26	28	26	27

Table 16 shows that the most noticeable change was that the *Joseon* language became an elective subject. The hours for learning the national language, Japanese, and the total class hours per week were increased in the first year, compared to the situation under the Second *Joseon* Education Ordinance, and the number of classes for the *Joseon* language (i.e., Korean) decreased. Painting and Handcraft were new subjects, and the number of classes for Disciplinary training, and *Changga* and Gymnastics were increased. Again, learning the national language was allocated the highest number of classes, whereas the hours for learning the *Joseon* language could be included or excluded (it being an elective subject), making clear how the Japanese colonial education policy focused strongly on training the colonised in the Japanese language.

### 6.2.2. Wartime colonial education

During the war, Japan pushed to mobilise Korean subjects to fight for the Japanese Empire in the war, and strengthened the concept of “*Naeseonilche*” (內鮮一體<sup>60</sup>), which means “(to make) Korea and Japan (into) one body”. The name of the Korean institution was changed to be the same as the Japanese institution during the Third and Fourth *Joseon* Education Ordinances (see Chapter 2).

<sup>59</sup> Jang Mi-gyeong et al. (2013), p. 27-28 cites.

<sup>60</sup> These Chinese characters are pronounced as *Naisenittai* in Japanese.

By doing this, Japan was highlighting that there were no differences between Korean and Japanese schools, and the regime began to forcefully push Koreans to assimilate with Japanese culture under “*Naeseonilche*”.

The meaning of this name is similar to that of the word “*Ilmanilche*” (日灣一體<sup>61</sup>), which was used in colonial Taiwan. The aim of this policy was to establish Taiwanese self-sacrifice and devotion to the Japanese nation and the war.

A strict *Naeseonilche* policy was implemented by the Japanese military government in Korea. Under this policy, Japan induced the Korean people to participate in the war effort, so that they may obtain valuable honour as imperial citizens of Japan. Japanese military conflicts with China occurred in the beginning of the 1930s. This expansionist policy was part of a strategy to create a buffer in a climate of the rising threat of war and deteriorating relations with other countries. These tensions may have increased a sense of national crisis for the Japanese government, and the Japanese oppression and domination towards Koreans reached its utmost. Under tightened national security, the assimilation policy was further strengthened (Johnson, 2006; Kim Sun-jeon et al., 2012) and this policy emphasised devotion and sacrifice to the Japanese Empire. The school curricula in this period differed for Japanese and Korean students – only the textbooks used by Koreans focused on moral education, and Japanese nationalism and patriotism.

By the late 1930s, overall educational content focused on military education – this had become the main purpose of the school curriculum (Yu Cheol & Kim Sun-jeon, 2012, p. 337; Peng & Chu., 2017). Throughout the Great Depression, Japan had been mired in the economic crisis, and in this period, it started an aggressive war (the second Sino-Japanese War) in 1937, and militarism became increasingly prominent. For the military, acclaim came from success. Therefore, continual military and imperial expansion was prioritised, and this exerted an influence on the education provided for the colonised.

In order to expand the aggressive war towards neighbouring Asian countries, such as China, Korea was used as an important military supply base for Japanese military operations (Kim Sun-jeon et al., 2015; Kim Jeong-ha, 2013). In order to reinforce Japan’s security throughout the East Asia region, Korea was utilised to satisfy military needs.

Japan, therefore, changed its colonial policy, becoming more militaristic to achieve success in war. A statement was made by the Vice Governor-General<sup>62</sup> in 1939, proving that Korean schools

---

<sup>61</sup> The name of policy “日滿一體” [“to unify Taiwanese, ideologically, politically and socially”] was established when Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931. The aim of this policy was to establish Taiwanese self-sacrifice and devotion to the Japanese nation and the war (Seo Eun-young, 2018, p. 5). Retrieved from [http://contents.history.go.kr/mfront/ti/view.do?treeId=06027&levelId=ti\\_027\\_0250](http://contents.history.go.kr/mfront/ti/view.do?treeId=06027&levelId=ti_027_0250)

<sup>62</sup> His statement is as follows: “The first and fundamental step to overcome this [War] situation is to train the [Korean]

were used in preparations for war – they became a place that could raise soldiers. Park Gyeong-su (2011) examined the third year of the Japanese language textbooks and discovered that content that could be classified as aiming to spread Japanese nationalism, imperial ideology and warfare, accounted for 66.7 percent of the total during the Third and Fourth Education Ordinances (1938-1945). Park Gyeong-su (2011) claims that Japanese war heroes appeared often in the textbooks, not only highlighting Japanese nationalism and patriotism but also promoting the ideal image of loyalty to the Japanese Empire. The textbooks were used as tools to establish a pro-war ideology. Scholars such as Kim Sung-jun (2010) and Cho Dong-geol (2011) claim that the period of the Third and Fourth *Joseon* Education Ordinances can be known as a time of “obliterating Korean nationalism”.

The policy “Japanese loyal subject” was oppressively established in Korea after Japan invaded China in 1937 (Heo Jae-young, 2011b, p. 77). According to Heo Jae-young (2011b), under government pressure, “Japanese loyal subject” became the instruction embedded in the Japanese education ideologies. It stated that as “subjects of the Japanese Emperor ... Japan and Korea are bound together by a common destiny” and “armed with Japanese national spirit”<sup>63</sup>. These Japanese education ideologies justified shrine worship and also legitimised the policy to obliterate the Korean language. Korean students were forced to perform shrine worship at every morning assembly at schools<sup>64</sup> and to pray for military success in territorial aggrandisement.

Japan systematically attempted to destroy Korea’s national identity (for example, the Korean language subject was removed from the school curriculum by the Japanese government). In order to promote a sense of identity as Japanese citizens, using the Korean language was banned at school and the Korean language subject was eliminated from the curriculum (Peng & Chu, 2017, p. 458). From 1938 to 1941, primary school students spent 10 to 12 hours per week (the average ratio) in Japanese language classes, and 2 to 4 hours per week for Korean language classes. However, there were no Korean language classes from 1941 to 1945 (Kim Sun-jeon et al., 2011, p. 34). Use of the Korean language was greatly restricted in schools, and Koreans were also forced to change their names to Japanese names (Kim Sun-jeon et al., 2012). This change appears in the *Naeseonilche* policy to be superficial, but in reality, Korean identity and nationalism were attacked by the aim to create a “Japanised” version of the Koreans. Furthermore, while emphasising Japanese identity and nationalism under the *Naeseonilche* policy, Japan presented this policy as a benefit, as if the Korean

---

citizens’ healthy bodies. For this, I believe that it is appropriate to have a lesson devoted to military drills.” (Kang Jin-ho et al., 2007, p. 11)

<sup>63</sup> Called *Kukchemyeongjing* “국체명징”, this ideology aims to highlight Japanese imperialism and Japanese national spirit, while removing everything Korean (Heo Jae-young, 2011b, p. 80).

<sup>64</sup> This content is mentioned in *Tenchousetsu* “天長節” in the textbook *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1940).

people liked being given the same rights as the Japanese, whereas the goal was actually to mobilise the Koreans to participate in the war. According to Choi Jae-seong (2010), the name-changing program was enforced and conducted as a part of the colonial policy of subjection to Japan (p. 345). Choi Jae-seong (2010) claims that the aim of changing Koreans' names was to introduce a Japanese-style family, and that this was used to maintain the imperial system (as each Korean household could then be presented as being made up of citizens of the Empire). Changing their names meant not only changing a Korean name into a Japanese name, but also reforming the traditional Korean family system into the Japanese family system, such as the Japanese-style “家” and “氏”<sup>65</sup> in accordance with Japanese civil law (Lee Seung-il, 2011, p. 405). The Japanese Governor-General of Korea imposed the name-changing program, using all legal means so that Japan could manage and govern Koreans to supply human resources for their war.

### **6.3. Textbooks from the Third and Fourth Education Ordinances (1938-1942; 1943-1945)**

Japanese language textbooks for Korean students were published with a higher quantity of the same/similar content and visual images (as in the textbooks for Japanese students) than before. In order to create and maintain an effective stronghold in Korea, legends were included in both sets of textbooks, such as “The marriage of a mouse” and “Land-pulling”. Japan pushed its ideology so that the colonised could be raised faithful citizens for the Japanese Emperor (Kim Young-sim, 2010).

For Korean students, the name of the Japanese language textbooks was changed from *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* “普通學校国語読本” to *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* “初等国語読本”, and many of the stories and visual images were also changed and added to. For example, images of children often highlighted them helping their family members and performing physical labour in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1930, 1931). However, the images of working children were removed and warfare-related images were added in *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940). Negative descriptions of war were deliberately omitted, and war was instead introduced as an interesting game. None of the content in *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940) presented Japan as starting the war, or explained the Emperor's responsibility for the war.

In order to encourage readers to become soldiers, the textbooks for the young Korean students also articulated the Japanese ideology of nationalism. There is a distinctive difference in the Korean

---

<sup>65</sup> These Japanese styles “家” and “氏” were removed after Korea was liberated from Japan.



children's roles presented in the textbooks from the Second *Joseon* Education Ordinance, where they participated in physical labour, and working with adults (through activities such as feeding chicks, gathering chestnuts, picking up stones and catching pine caterpillars). Contrastingly, in the later textbooks (*Shotou Kokugotokuhon*, *Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940), the Korean children were just observers or minimally involved in physical labour. For example, a Korean child in the rice field (Figure 29) is observing and finding rice plants.

Japan instituted an education policy to obliterate the Korean identity and spirit, and it became more forceful in the moral lessons that were presented regarding Japanese nationalism and the war through this period. In order to promote a sense of Japanese nationalism, the elementary schools roused patriotism through the curriculum (Yu Cheol, 2012, p. 253). For example, the Japanese lyric poem, "Worshipping the Shrine"<sup>66</sup>, shows 'honour' as being endowed by becoming imperial subjects with sincere hearts, and attempts to increase the Korean students' self-awareness as Japanese imperial subjects. Students were forced to chant this poem in unison before any school event (Yi & Yi, 1988). The ceremony for the Japanese Emperor's birthday was held at school (see *Tenchousetsu*, pp. 173-174) and the students sang ceremonial songs that promoted a sense of Japanese identity and of worship of the Japanese Emperor.

The Japanese government used political and military coercion to achieve control and ethnic supremacy over the Koreans. The school curriculum was developed to encourage the acceptance of the subjugated role of the colonised citizens. The Japanese curriculum highlighted the colonial policy of subjugating the Koreans, who were forced to admire the Japanese Emperor and be obedient citizens.

The Japanese government also claimed that there was no inequality or discrimination against Koreans through the school curriculum. This may be the reason for a large number of stories (as shown in Table 17) having the same titles, compared to the textbooks from the 1st and 2nd *Joseon* Education Ordinances. A large number of texts and visual images in *Shotou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940) were either chosen directly (e.g., the Japanese legends), or were simplified from the original Japanese textbooks.

### 6.3.1. Contents of *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* and *Shougakutokuhon*

The following table displays the content of four textbooks: *Shotou Kokugotokuhon 2*

---

<sup>66</sup> The poem contains lines such as: 1. We are citizens of the Empire of Japan (私共ハ、大日本帝國ノ臣民デアリマス。)。 2. We show loyalty to the Emperor as the heart of one man (私共ハ、心ヲ合ワセテ天皇陛下ニ忠義ヲ盡シマス。)。 3. We will be training for patience, a good character, and become strong citizens (私共ハ、忍苦鍛錬シテ立派ナ強イ國民トナリマス。)。 This poem was written in 1937, and Korean students were forced to memorise it. Worshipping the Shrine was compulsory at every school.

(*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939), *Shotou Kokugotokuhon 3* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1940), *Shougakutokuhon 2* (*Monbusho*, 1939) and *Shougakutokuhon 3* (*Monbusho*, 1938). *Shotou Kokugotokuhon 2* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939) and *Shotou Kokugotokuhon 3* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1940) were published by *Joseonchongdogbu* (the Japanese Governor-General of Korea). Both the second and third levels of *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1940), and the second levels of *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1939) were written only in *katakana*, but the third levels of *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1938) were written in both *hiragana* and *katakana*. These textbooks were used for early primary school students in Korea. *Shougakutokuhon 2* (*Monbusho*, 1939) and *Shougakutokuhon 3* (*Monbusho*, 1938) were used by early primary school students in Japan, and were published by *Monbusho* (the Japanese Ministry of Education).

These four textbooks were chosen due to their similar publication years, and because they were the same level of textbooks for the Koreans and Japanese. Table 17 lists the content that was included in the chosen texts as examples of common themes, and also indicates which content was affiliated with the most-common themes. Commonality of themes was found by sorting them according to frequency of occurrence in the textbooks, and are as follows: science and Western technology (S); Japanese history and geography (J); moral education (M); and school life and play (P). Dividing the texts into particular categories was useful for managing the texts and visual images, based on the variety that was shown in the four selected textbooks.

**Table 17: Content of *Shotou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940) and *Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3* (*Monbusho*, 1939, 1938)**

	<i>For Korean students</i>		<i>For Japanese students</i>	
Unit	<i>Shotou Kokugotokuhon 2</i> ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1939)	<i>Shotou Kokugotokuhon 3</i> ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1940)	<i>Shougakutokuhon 2</i> ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1939)	<i>Shougakutokuhon 3</i> ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1938)
1.	Kites (animals) (S)	Forsythias are in full bloom (S)	Top of the mountain (J)	Spring is here (S)
2.	Top of the mountain (J)	Getting up early (M)	The Moon (S)	The skipping rope (P)
3.	*Rice reaping (M)	The sun and a child (M)	Tomorrow is an excursion day (P)	*Rabbits (S)
4.	Sports day (P)	Clock (S)	Mr Mantis (S)	Birds (S)
5.	*War game (P)	* <i>Tenchousetsu</i> (J)	The monkey and	<i>Shiritori</i> /Word

			the crab (M)	chain (P)
6.	Wild geese (animals) (S)	The skipping rope (P)	Hurry up, Mr Raven! (M)	Chicks (S)
7.	Crickets (animals) (S)	To think (P)	Mr Ken (M)	To think (P)
8.	<i>Shiritori</i> /Word chain (P)	Chicks (S)	My doll (P)	Clock (S)
9.	A frosty morning (P)	Haruko san (M)	*Doll's illness (Play with a doll) (P)	My little kitten (S)
10.	Frogs' wintering (S)	Dandelions (S)	The marriage of a mouse (J)	The frog (M)
11.	The person who has a wen on his face (M)	Land-pulling (J)	New Year's Day (S)	Land-pulling (J)
12.	The role play of guest (P)	*Rabbits (S)	The person who has a wen on his face (M)	The boat made of bamboo (P)
13.	My doll (P)	The dragonfly (S)	Shadow play (P)	Mr Ushiwakamaru (Japanese hero) (J)
14.	Shopping (demonstrating buying and selling) (P)	A clay cow (P)	Snow (S)	The dragonfly (S)
15.	The marriage of a mouse (J)	After the rain (S)	Please let us have snow (S)	The little boy (M)
16.	Shadow play (P)	The frog (M)	Flower-bearing person (M)	The stiff mountain (P)
17.	The tiger and dried persimmons (M)	The little boy (M)	Orioles (S)	The wise mouse (M)
18.	A snowy morning (S)	Haircut (M)	Sprouts (S)	The goldfish (S)
19.	Korean seesawing (similar to see-	Reviewing (M)	The train (S)	The firework (S)

	sawing) (P)			
20.	Kouchan (S)	The little cow (S)		The golden axe (The honest woodman) (M)
21.	The train (S)	Sumo (P)		*The car (S)
22.	Flower-bearing person (M)	The police officer (M)		A long way (J)
23.		*Saving one penny (M)		The tooth (M)
24.		The wind (S)		Urashima Tarou (M)
25.		Urashima Tarou – love animals(M)		
Total units	22 units	25 units	19 units	24 units
Total pages	121 pages	123 pages	112 pages	124 pages
* These are the examples that I chose to analyse.				

Table 17 shows that the second level of *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939) contains 22 units and the third level of *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1940) consists of 25 units. Table 17 also shows how *Shougakutokuhon 2* (*Monbusho*, 1939) contained 19 units and *Shougakutokuhon 3* (*Monbusho*, 1938) included 24 units.

*Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940) and *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1939, 1938) included more units with the same titles than the textbooks from the First and Second *Joseon* Education Ordinances – titles such as “Top of the mountain”, “*Shiritori*/Word chain”, “The person who has a wen on his face”, “My doll”, “The marriage of mouse”, “Shadow play”, “The train”, “Flower-bearing person”, “Clock”, “The skipping rope”, “To think”, “Chicks”, “Land-pulling”, “The dragonfly”, “The frog”, “The little boy” and “Urashima Tarou”. Among these shared titles, most stories and visual images were used identically in both *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940) and *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1939, 1938) – “The marriage of a mouse”, “The person who has a wen on his face”, “My doll”, “Shadow play”, “The train”, “Flower-bearing person”, “The skipping rope”, “Chicks”, “Land-pulling”, “The dragonfly”, “The frog”, “The little boy” and “Urashima Tarou”. However, for some stories, the content and visual images presented varied– “Top

of the mountain”, “*Shiritori/Word chain*”, “Clock”, and “To think” shared titles but not content across the two sets of textbooks.

The major difference in curricula between Japan and Korea was that *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940), published only for use by Korean students, began to introduce pro-war material and focus on imperial ideology (such as worshipping the Japanese Emperor). *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940) highlighted nature (like “the sun”). Each textbook promoted different moralities – *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940) focused on hygiene, obedience and saving money, whereas *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1939, 1938) emphasised the importance of kindness, honesty, bravery, wisdom and taking care of one’s teeth. Both *Shotou Kokugotokuhon 2* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939) and *Shougakutokuhon 2* (*Monbusho*, 1939) contained similar proportions of content relating to moral education. However, the third level of *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1940) had a higher proportion of content relating to morality than *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1938). The distinctive differences in the curriculum between Japan and Korea imply the greater necessity of the colonised people to learn morality compared to the Japanese people.

### 6.3.2. Organisation of *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* and *Shougakutokuhon*

The following table (Table 18) shows the similar organisation of *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940) and *Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3* (*Monbusho*, 1939, 1938).

**Table 18: The organisation of the textbooks**

Contents	<i>Shotou Kokugotokuhon 2 &amp; 3</i> ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1939, 1940) for Korean students	<i>Shougakutokuhon 2 &amp; 3</i> ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1939, 1938) for Japanese students
Cover (Front)	Name of book, publisher and grade	Name of book, publisher and grade
Table of contents	Yes	Yes
Chapters	Texts and visual images	Texts and visual image
Appendix	Yes	Yes
Cover (Back)	Date of publication of book, price, place of issue and publisher	Date of publication of book, price, place of issue and publisher

The front covers of each book contained the name of book, the publisher and the grade. Both *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940) and *Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3* (*Monbusho*, 1939, 1938) included a list of Chinese characters in the appendix.

The texts in *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940) and *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1939, 1938) were categorised into the most-common themes as follows: science and Western technology (S); Japanese history and geography (J); moral education (M); and school life and play (P).

#### **6.4. Categorising the texts and comparatively analysing each theme from each textbook**

These four major themes were chosen as a way to investigate how the Japanese language textbooks were used and how they worked to construct colonial power and ideology. Texts and visual images led to the selection of the four main themes, after thorough analysis of each textbook from both the Japanese and Korean curricula. By comparing each national language textbook of the late colonial period in terms of major themes, this study could investigate the similarities and differences in educational ideologies between the textbooks for the Koreans and the Japanese. Science and Western technology is examined first, comparing the similarities and differences between the books in order to discern the ideological construction and influences of their contents.

##### **6.4.1. The theme of science and Western technology**

Both *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1939, 1938) and *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940) contained many texts and visual images that related to science and Western technology. To establish a possible world within a textbook fundamentally used for teaching young students, the linguistic content should be presented alongside a visual image, in order to properly depict a total fictional reality (Luke, 1988). Luke (1988) also claims that the inclusion of particular ideological values, beliefs, social understandings or orientations to action render them ‘official’ to students (p. 106).

Having already been taught these topics in their early school years, knowledge of natural sciences (such as seasons, animals, and weather) was common for both Korean and Japanese students. The theme of science and Western technology was included in much higher proportions in *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1939, 1938) (42%) than in *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940) (32%). Both *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1939, 1938) and *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940) contained stories about exotic animals, nature and new technologies, but the texts presented different types of animals and technologies. As

seen in Table 19, *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940) contained texts based on the sub-topic of Western technology (such as a post card and a post box), whereas *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1939, 1938) included more complex technologies (such as fireworks and cars). The following table lists all of the titles which incorporate the theme of science and Western technology in the four textbooks.

**Table 19: The theme of science and Western technology**

	<i>For Korean students</i>		<i>For Japanese students</i>	
Themes	<i>Shotou Kokugotokuhon 2</i> ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1939)	<i>Shotou Kokugotokuhon 3</i> ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1940)	<i>Shougakutokuho n 2</i> ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1939)	<i>Shougakutokuho n 3</i> ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1938)
Science	- Kites - Wild geese - Crickets - Frogs - Snow	- Forsythias - Chicks - Dandelions - Rabbits - Dragonflies - Rain - Cows - Wind	- The Moon - Mantis - Snow - Orioles - Sprouts	- Spring - Rabbits - Birds - Chicks - Kittens - Dragonflies - The goldfish
Western Technology	- Post card and post box - Trains	- Clock	- Trains	- Clock - Fireworks - The car

As shown above in Table 19, a high number of texts and visual images related to the theme of science and Western technology. Both *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1939, 1938) and *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940) included the same themes (“snow”, “chicks”, “rabbits”, “dragonflies”, “trains” and “clock”) and also introduced different kinds of animals, nature and technology. Introducing different animals or nature in each textbook may imply differences in terrain or temperature in each country. Both *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1939, 1938) and *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940) contained the same titles (e.g., “chicks”, “dragonflies” and “trains”). However, the content and visual images were not presented in the same way, even if the name was the same in both the Japanese and the Korean volumes. Descriptions of indoor pets (such as “kittens” and “goldfish”) and newly-developed technologies (such as “fireworks”

and “cars”) were present only in *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1938). Having cars was symbolic of modernisation, and this may support the ideal image of Japan as an advanced country. In comparison, the textbooks for Koreans did not include these newly-developed technologies.

I now look more thoroughly at some key stories within the theme of science and Western technology, using the tools of Visual image analysis (VIA) and Critical discourse analysis (CDA). The following two stories “Rabbits”, signifying the theme of natural science, were selected from each of *Shougakutokuhon 3* (*Monbusho*, 1938) and *Shotou Kokugotokuhon 3* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1940), to provide an example of how the content and visual images aimed at the Korean and Japanese students differed.

*Shotou Kokugotokuhon 3-12* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1940, pp. 43-45) introduces the theme of natural science in a story, “Rabbits (ウサギ)”:

1. 私 ノ ウチ デハ、ウサギ ヲ ニヒキ カッテ イマス。

[We] have two rabbits in my house.

2. 昨日、学校 カラ カエッテ ミル ト、小サイ 方 ノ ウサギ ガ イマセン。

When [I] returned from school yesterday, the smaller rabbit was missing.

3. オニワ ヲ サガスト、ホウセンカ ノ カゲ デ、ネムッテ イマシタ。

[I] looked for it in the garden, and [I] found it sleeping in the shade of some balsam flowers.

4. チカヨッテ、耳 ヲ ヒッパリマシタ。

[I] went close to it, and pulled its ear.

5. ウサギ ハ ビックリ シテ、ピョン ピョン ト、イドバタ ノ 方 ヘ ニゲテ イキマシタ。

The rabbit was surprised, and hopped away towards the side of the well.

6. アト ヲ オッカケテ 行ク ト、オカアサン ガ、「京子(キョウ コ)<sup>67</sup> サン、イジメナイデ、箱 ノ 中 ニ レテ オヤリ ナサイ。」ト オッシャイマシタ。

[I] ran after it, and then my mother said, “Kyoko san, don’t tease it. Put it in the box.”

---

<sup>67</sup> As *Naeseonilche* was implemented, the way of presenting names also changed. In the previous *Joseon* Education Ordinances, names in the Korean textbooks were given separate Korean pronunciations, such as Shoudai, “昌大” (しょうだい), instead of Japanese pronunciation for 昌大, “Masahiro”. However, in this period, the Korean textbooks showed only Japanese pronunciation for names, for example, ‘Kyoko’, 京子 in this text.



7. 私 ハ、 箱 ニ 入レテ、オウバコ ノ ハヲ ヤリマシタ。ウサギ ハ、小  
サナ 口 ラ モグモグ サセテ、オイシソウ ニ タベマシタ。

I put it in the box and gave it a plantain leaf. The rabbit ate it, moving its small mouth, and looked delighted.

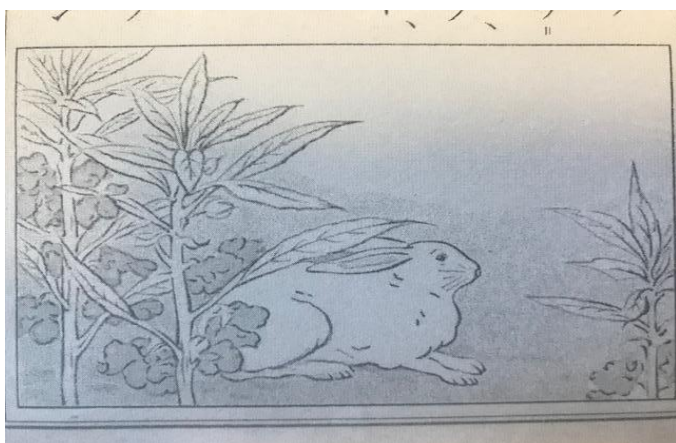
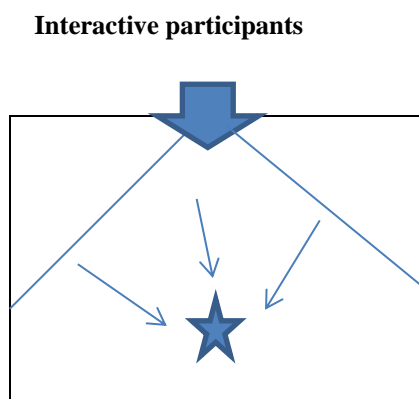


Figure 23: Rabbit (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1940, p. 44)



*Shougakutokuhon* 3-3 (*Monbusho*, 1938, pp. 6-7) introduced the theme of natural science in a story, “Rabbits (うさぎ)”:

1. 白い、かはいい うさぎさん。  
A cute, white rabbit.
2. お耳 が 長い、目 が 赤い。  
Long ears, red eyes.
3. おには に 出す と、よろこんで、ぴよん ぴよん はねます、をどります。  
When [I] take it out into the garden, it hops up and down and dances happily.

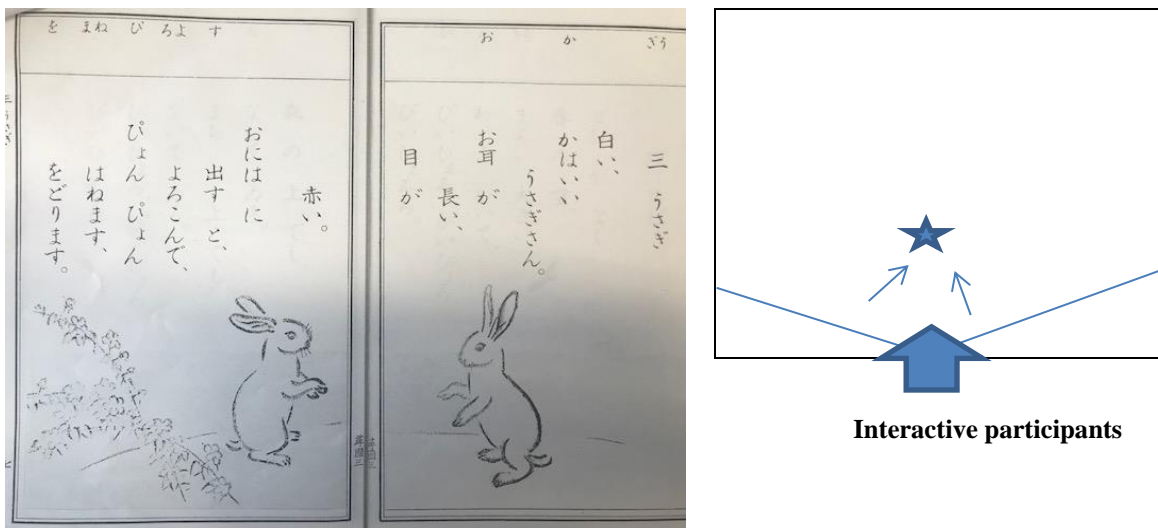


Figure 24: Dancing rabbits (*Monbusho*, 1938, pp. 6-7)

The texts, “Rabbits”, from *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* 3-12 (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1940) and *Shougakutokuhon* 3-3 (*Monbusho*, 1938, pp. 6-7), introduced rabbits to the readers, and both stories were titled “Rabbits”. In *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* 3-12 (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1940), the rabbit was described as a livestock animal and “put ... in the box and (given) a plantain leaf” (line 7). To begin, “I” looked for their rabbit after realising it was missing (line 2). After finding it, “I” pulled on its ear (line 4), causing it to be surprised and hop away (line 5). The mother scolds “I” when “I” ran after the rabbit, reprimanding the child for teasing it and telling them to put the rabbit back in the box (line 6). “I” did as they were told and gave the rabbit some food.

This story teaches students how to look after rabbits. When the rabbit is missing, “I” takes the initiative to look for the rabbit, thus imparting to the readers that they have to be responsible. “I” also teases the rabbit a bit, pulling at its ear, and their mother tells them to stop. This can be a lesson on morality for young students, ensuring that they know that they should not tease rabbits. In line 7, “I” gives the rabbit a plantain leaf, making the rabbit content. This encourages readers to feed rabbits.

In contrast to the rabbit in *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* 3 (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1940), the rabbit in *Shougakutokuhon* 3 (*Monbusho*, 1938), takes a stroll freely and pleasantly (“it hops up and down and dances happily” in line 3). The description of this rabbit (as being cute and having white fur, with long ears and red eyes) was echoed by the drawing that accompanies the text. The rabbits (Figure 24) within the two drawings are at an eye-level horizontal angle to the reader, which implies a sense of equality (Jewitt & Oyama, 2004) – this is also said to be the “angle of maximum involvement” between the reader and the image (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 145). Additionally, the text was written in a poem format. Texts from the Japanese textbooks were commonly in this format.

Comparing these stories, it can be seen that the story from *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* 3-12 (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1940) focused less on the rabbit and more on the responsibilities of “I”,

including details about placing the rabbit in the box and what is fed to the rabbit, whereas the story from *Shougakutokuhon 3 (Monbusho, 1938)* mostly described the rabbit and its actions.

Visual images can portray not only a realistic image as a whole, but can also signify different objects (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 79). The two figures (Figures 23 & 24) from the two different textbooks depicted rabbits in very different ways. The rabbit in Figure 23 was portrayed as sad and anxious-looking, with its ears lowered, whereas the rabbits in Figure 24 seemed to be dancing happily on their feet. The rabbit in Figure 23 produces a direct vector from itself to the reader. It is also partially blocked by plants, allowing viewers to differentiate the rabbit from the rest of the image as an important participant in the image. However, since the rabbit is partially covered by plants, it could also be interpreted as trying to hide from the viewer, reinforced by its portrayal with lowered ears and a somewhat sad or anxious expression. On the other hand, the two images in Figure 24 depict the rabbits in a completely different way – on their hind legs, like humans, and dancing as described in the text (line 3). These images span over two pages, conveying a very open, wide space. However, images spanning over two pages were absent in the Korean textbooks<sup>68</sup>.

The following images from the story “The car” were selected due to their strong representation of a new technology. As well, this story appeared only in *Shougakutokuhon (Monbusho, 1938)*. The visual image that accompanied the story in *Shougakutokuhon 3 (Monbusho, 1938)* was changed from the image in *Shougakutokuhon 3 (Monbusho, 1935)*, even though the stories were the same.

*Shougakutokuhon 2 (Monbusho, 1939)* and *Shougakutokuhon 3 (Monbusho, 1938)* contained the same titles as *Shougakutokuhon 2 (Monbusho, 1933)* and *Shougakutokuhon 3 (Monbusho, 1935)*, which were from the period 1919 to 1938, which signifies that the curriculum did not change for Japanese students. All stories in *Shougakutokuhon (Monbusho, 1939, 1938)* have the same visual images as in *Shougakutokuhon (Monbusho, 1933, 1935)* with the exception of the image in “The car” from *Shougakutokuhon 3 (Monbusho, 1938)*. This change would seem to reflect changing car models, and to highlight the car with larger size and angles.

---

<sup>68</sup> Open, wide images spanning across two pages only appeared in the textbooks for Japanese students. In the Korean textbooks, although the pictures were sometimes the same, there were instances where the picture was split overleaf, not allowing readers to decipher the pictures properly.

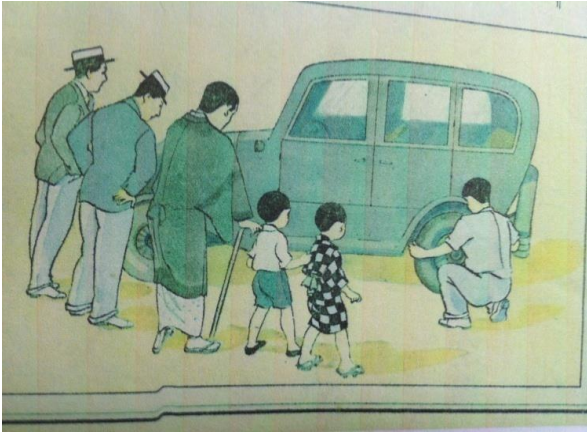


Figure 25: Car (*Monbusho*, 1935, p. 95)

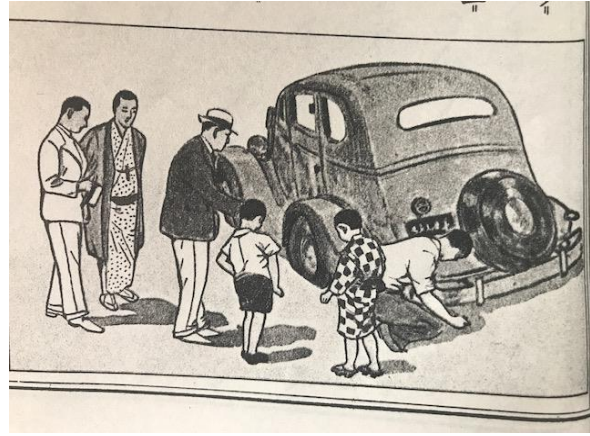


Figure 26: Modern car (*Monbusho*, 1938, p. 95)<sup>69</sup>

The cars shown in *Shougakutokuhon 3* (*Monbusho*, 1935, 1938) are different models, with the car from 1935 appearing to be in a more military style, and the car from 1938 being in a more general style. The characters looking off-frame in both images are shown to encourage the viewer to consider what the people are thinking about the car. These two visual images construct the male-dominant ideology as being part of modern citizenship, along with wearing Western suits and hats and having Western technology.

Objects in an image often provide ideas and values which can be interpreted to discover how the characters interact with objects (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 51) – here, a car. The viewer can observe the peoples’ clothing, such as traditional Japanese shoes and clothes, and Western-style suits, hats and a stick. The male-dominated curriculum was often used to display Western technology and, likewise, these visual images portray idealised men who take an interest in a car. In comparing these two images, the image from *Shougakutokuhon 3* (*Monbusho*, 1938) matches the content of the text more closely. For example, the image of the car from *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1938) clearly portrays the flat tyre, which is the main theme of this story.

The story “The car”, in *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1935, 1938), explains something of the profession of a mechanic, and the visual images from textbook each portray a mechanic. Professional occupations, such as mechanics, doctors<sup>70</sup> and dentists<sup>71</sup>, were included in *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1939, 1938), but not in *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940). Neither set of textbooks included any content concerning ‘primitive’ jobs, such as farmers or shop assistants.

No background was included in the image to allow recognition of a general location, which

<sup>69</sup> This image was published in colour. Permission was not granted for me to borrow the original book of *Shougakutokuhon 2* (*Monbusho*, 1939) from the library in Japan, One of the librarians provided me with a photocopy.

<sup>70</sup> Doctors were introduced in the story ‘Doll’s illness’ from *Shougakutokuhon 2* (*Monbusho*, 1939, pp. 38-43)

<sup>71</sup> Dentists were shown in the story ‘The tooth’ from *Shougakutokuhon 3* (*Monbusho*, 1938, pp. 102-106)

may imply that it is not important or that it may be expected to be grasped from the text. This empty background may have been used to highlight the modern technologies, making the background unnecessary to articulate.

Comparing the two images, the two boys in Figure 26, from *Shougakutokuhon 3 (Monbusho, 1938)*, are bowing their heads and one of them leans slightly to the left so as to take a closer look at the car. Because of their pose and gaze, young readers were being encouraged to feel curiosity towards the car. This change could have been necessary to improve the viewers' attitudes towards Western technology.

In *Shougakutokuhon 3 (Monbusho, 1938)*, the car is depicted at an angle to the viewer, and connotes a close alignment of position, allowing the viewer to observe more details of the car, as well as encouraging the viewer to focus on the car. Furthermore, the size of the car is larger in *Shougakutokuhon 3 (Monbusho, 1938)* than in *Shougakutokuhon 3 (Monbusho, 1935)* which is salient. Moreover, the car from *Shougakutokuhon 3 (Monbusho, 1938)* is located more in the foreground, to provide salience to an element, giving more focus than the car from *Shougakutokuhon 3 (Monbusho, 1935)*. These changes highlight certain aspects of ideas which draw and serve the viewer's attention.

In Figures 25 and 26, direct eye contact is absent between the characters and the viewers – an “offer” is construed, as if they become “objects of contemplation” for the viewers (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 119).

This section investigated the theme of science and Western technology as presented in the Japanese language textbooks. The respective textbooks presented different technologies for the Koreans and the Japanese, with the Japanese being provided with more sophisticated forms of Western technology.

The following section examines the theme of Japanese history and geography. Stories within this theme often portrayed Japanese nationalism and patriotism, as had the textbooks produced during the First *Joseon* Education Ordinance, giving strong definitions of Japanese national pride and the Japanese Emperor. Texts extolling a pro-Japan Empire were absent during the Second *Joseon* Education Ordinance, but they reappeared in the Third and Fourth. By stressing nationalism and patriotism, the authors of the textbooks were attempting to construct the students' identities, and their possible ideal worlds were constituted under ideologies, such as love for the Japanese nation.

#### **6.4.2. The theme of Japanese history and geography**

In the late Japanese colonial era, Japanese education policies emphasised becoming “Japanised”, with pride in Japan being promoted through the forced *Naeseonilche* policy, and Koreans being discriminated against by the school curricula (Kim Jin-su, 2003; Takae, 2010; Park Mi-kyung,

2011).

Japan established a new policy to increase its prosperity and resources, while establishing a strong military system for the war. Efforts to enforce Japanese as the national language for Koreans reached a climax. The Japanese language textbooks were introduced as a means to legitimise Japan as successful, well-developed economically, and advanced culturally, while also promoting a pro-war and pro-Japanese national identity and spirit.

Under the wartime regime, Japan tried to create a spiritual bond and to unify ideology among the coloniser and colonised, in order to make Korea a logistical base for the invasion of the Asian continent and to conduct a successful war (Kim Young-sim, 2010, p. 223). For example, the *Kouminka* (“Japanese imperial subjects”) policy was adopted to unify the coloniser and colonised by addressing Japanese imperialism. However, in the textbooks, content relating to the Japanese Emperor was only introduced in the books for the colonised (*Shotou Kokugotokuhon*, *Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940) and omitted from the books for the Japanese students.

Japanese language education was controlled by the Japanese government, and Japanese language textbooks contained a significant amount of text propounding Japanese Emperor-centred ideologies in order to promote Japanese nationalism. Japan forced Korean students to adopt Japanese nationalism, instituting a policy to oppress Korean nationalism (Caprio, 2009; Kim Sun-jeon et al., 2012). Each textbook included some examples of Japanese history and geography, while Korean historical symbols and heroes were omitted. Only *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940) included pro-war material, used to achieve ideological control and benefit for the war. The textbooks for Koreans emphasised Japanese nationalism, introducing detailed descriptions of the Japanese Emperor, the Japanese nation and Japanese citizens. Japanese nationalism was predominant in both *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1939, 1938) and *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940), yet only a few units referred overtly to Japanese nationalism.<sup>72</sup> The following table lists all of the titles which incorporated the theme of Japanese history and geography in each of the four textbooks.

**Table 20: The content related to Japanese history and geography**

	<i>For Korean students</i>		<i>For Japanese students</i>	
Themes	<i>Shotou Kokugotokuhon 2</i> ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> ,	<i>Shotou Kokugotokuhon 3</i> ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> ,	<i>Shougakutokuhon 2</i> ( <i>Monbusho</i> ,	<i>Shougakutokuhon 3</i> ( <i>Monbusho</i> ,
			1939)	1938)

<sup>72</sup> In *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939 & 1940), there were a few units that referred to Japanese nationalism, because they were used for the lower grades in primary school. The Japanese language textbooks included 66.7% of the content that related to Japanese nationalism and the war (Park Gyeong-su, 2011).

	1939)	1940)		
Japanese history	- The marriage of a mouse (Japanese people are number one in the world)	- <i>Tenchousetsu</i> (celebrate the Japanese Emperor's birthday) - Land-pulling (The god made Japan)	- The marriage of a mouse (Japanese people are number one in the world)	- Land-pulling (The god made Japan) - Mr Ushiwakamaru (famous Japanese hero)
Geography	- Top of the mountain		- Top of the mountain	- A long way

Both the second levels of *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939) and *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1939) contained “The marriage of a mouse”, and both of the third levels of *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1940) and *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1938) included the story “Land-pulling”. Furthermore, there were texts under the same title in both *Shotou Kokugotokuhon 2* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939) and *Shougakutokuhon 2* (*Monbusho*, 1939) (such as “Top of the mountain”), but which had different content and visual images. These different images may have been inevitable in order to describe the different geographical characteristics of Japan and Korea. For example, the visual image from *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1939) shows a village by the sea, whereas the visual image from *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939) is of a village surrounded by mountains.

The following story is a section taken from the title “*Tenchousetsu*”, from the textbook *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1940). This was selected because “*Tenchousetsu*” presents Japanese Emperor-centred ideology. Topics focusing on the Japanese Emperor were originally only included in the textbooks from the First *Joseon* Education Ordinance, but they reappeared under the Third and Fourth *Joseon* Education Ordinances.

This story portrays the importance of Japanese nationalism to the reader and also provides an example of how the school curriculum was used to indoctrinate Korean students with Japanese ideology. Japan forced Koreans to become faithful citizens for the Japanese Emperor, and the ceremony and worship of the Emperor contained in the story were presented as a normal part of school life.

*Shotou Kokugotokuhon 3-5* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1940, pp. 17-19) addressed the theme of the Japanese history, highlighting Japanese nationalism by presenting the Japanese Emperor in a story, “*Tenchousetsu* (天長節)”:

1. キノウ ハ 天長節 デシタ。

Yesterday was *Tenchousetsu*.

2. 早く オキテ、 国旗 ヲ タデマシタ。

[I] woke up early to raise the [Japanese] flag.

3. 九時 カラ、 学校 デ シキ ガ アリマシタ。

[We] had a ceremony at the school from 9 in the morning.

4. 教長先生 ガ、 オチヨクゴ ヲ オヨミ ニ ナリマシタ。

The principal read the Imperial Rescript on Education.

5. オチヨクゴ ノ アト デ、「天長節 ハ、天皇陛下 ガ オ生マレ アソバサレ  
タ オメデタイ 日 デ ゴザイマス。

After the principal read the Imperial Rescript on Education, he said, “*Tenchousetsu* is a special day because it is the date when [our] Emperor was born.”

6. 日本 中、ドコデモ 国旗 ヲ タテテ、オイワイ ヲ イタシマス。

[We] celebrate this day by raising the Japanese flag everywhere in Japan.

7. 東京デハ、カンペイシキ ガ ゴザイマシテ、天皇陛下 ガ、オ出マシ ニ ナリマ  
ス。」ト、オハナシ ヲ シテ クダサイマシタ。

[He] told us “There is a celebration party in Tokyo where [our] Emperor comes out into the public.”

8. カエッテ カラ、一郎サン ヤ 光一サン ト、オミヤ ノ 山 ニ ノボリマシタ。

After [I] went back home, I climbed up to Omiya-mountain with Ichirou and Kouichi.

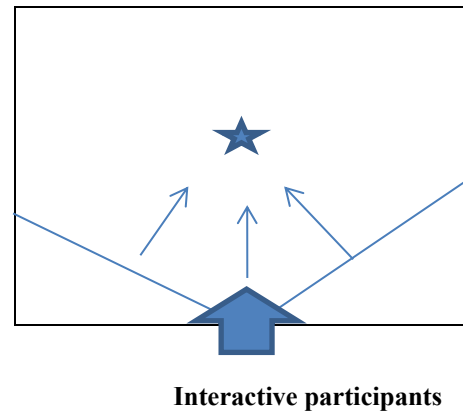
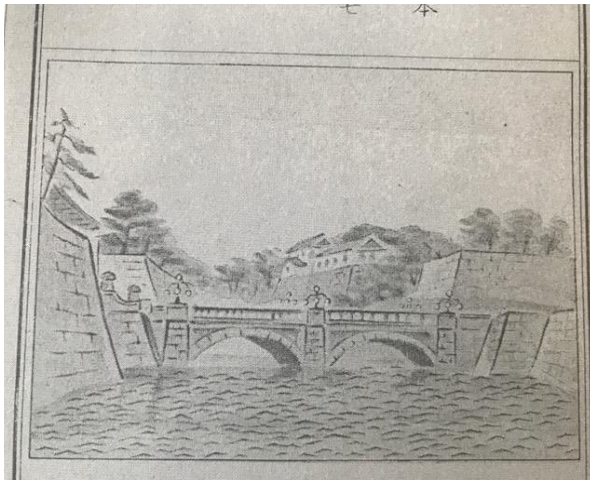
9. 村 ノ 方 ヲ 見ル ト、ドノ 家 ニモ、国旗 ガ タッテ イマシタ。

When [we] looked in the direction of the village, Japanese flags were up on every house.

10. ハタケ ノ 中ノ 一ケンヤ ニモ、国旗 ガ タッテ イマシタ。

Even the house in the middle of the rice field had raised the Japanese flag.





**Figure 27: *Tenchousetsu* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1940, p. 18)**

The main text of this story is a narration. The title, “*Tenchousetsu*”, means the day of the Emperor’s birthday and the story describes the things students should do to celebrate this. The writer explained the event and the story using past tense, and finished in the same tense. In this story, the narrator arranges his daily tasks in order, such as raising the Japanese flag after he woke up (line 2), having a ceremony at 9am (line 3), and climbing up to Omiya-mountain after the ceremony (line 8). Raising the Japanese flag is given prominence in the story – it is described as if symbolising how everyone was celebrating the occasion. The key expression “Japanese flag” is mentioned four times (lines 2, 6, 9 & 10), reinforcing the idea of Japanese nationalism to the young Korean students. They were confronted with Japanese nationalism through repeated references to the Japanese flag, the Emperor and the Empire. By using similar phrases, such as “raise the Japanese flag” (line 2), “raising the Japanese flag” (line 6), “the Japanese flags were up” (line 9) and “had raised the Japanese flag” (line 9) so often, the story highlighted the importance of raising the Japanese flag, and that the readers should learn to raise the Japanese flag on *Tenchousetsu*. This formation of a symbolic meaning for the Japanese flag constructed a certain underlying meaning that includes the concepts of the Japanese national day, celebration, patriotism and the Japanese Emperor’s birthday, effectively embedding particular ideological concepts within the texts. In this story, symbols were used as a way of accentuating Japanese nationalism and of suggesting that all Koreans express their gratitude to the Japanese Emperor just like Japanese people.

No clear reason was given to explain why the characters in the story climbed up Omiya-mountain, but it could be assumed that the writer was again emphasising that everyone was involved in the celebrations by raising the Japanese flag. The ceremony at school stressed this activity as a certain norm, indicated by the use of the terms “principal”, “special day”, “we” and “everywhere”, together constructing an ideal world in which the ceremony for the Emperor is an important school

activity. Moreover, the writer asserted that the duty of raising the Japanese flag was everyone's responsibility, as the words "we" and "everywhere" were used in line 6. To construct a reading position and to situate the reader's view in solidarity with the narrator ("I"), the pronoun "we" (lines 6 & 9) was used. The specific homogenising terms "we" (lines 6 & 9) and "us" (line 7) were used in relation to the young Korean readers, who may not have properly understood the concept of nationalism, and who may not previously have been aware of the Japanese Emperor.

The illustration shows a body of water, with a bridge going across it. The story "*Tenchousetsu*" does not match this visual image, but it can be assumed that the scene depicted is the Emperor's Palace in Tokyo – this figure in *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1940) and another presenting the Emperor's Palace in *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (1915) appears similar. To compare, the story of the same title in the book from the First *Joseon* Education Ordinance was not accompanied by a visual image. The stories differ slightly, with the story from the First *Joseon* Education Ordinance written in present tense, with no subject, while the story from the Third and Fourth *Joseon* Education Ordinance was written in past tense, and in first person, much like a diary. In the First *Joseon* Education Ordinance, a national song, "*Kimigayo*", was sung by the teachers and students at a school-organised ceremony, and the teachers read the Imperial Rescript. However, in the Third and Fourth *Joseon* Education Ordinance, only the principal read the Imperial Rescript. Both *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon* (1915) and *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1940) emphasised that everybody in Japan was celebrating the Emperor's birthday, and the first thing mentioned as a part of celebrating was raising the Japanese flag.

Japanese education became a powerful tool in Korea for the indoctrination of Japanese ideology, stressing the importance of the Japanese Emperor to the colonised. Many texts in the Japanese language textbooks were used to position readers to accept the concept of Japanese nationalism.

Japanese nationalism was strongly emphasised in the major theme of Japanese history and geography in this period, probably as a result of the war – Japan was raising Korean students to become faithful and obedient soldiers to fight for Japan.

Moral education also played a large role in forming an ideal model of a colonised citizen through the Korean student, and this will be analysed in the following section.

### **6.4.3. The theme of morality**

One purpose of education in national terms is to pursue the formation of "the ideal character" (Park gyeong-su, 2011). In moral education, the traditional moral views of Korean Confucianism (such as looking after siblings, and obeying and respecting one's elders) were continuously included

in the textbooks. Colonial education was closely attached to displaying idealistic images of the colonised, emphasising Japanese dominant ideologies such as hygiene, waking up early, being a good person, being good at greetings, and speaking proficiently in Japanese. Two further moral lessons were also introduced – saving money, and studying hard. Most content addressing moral education emphasised the necessity of being good citizens within the family. The Japanese language textbooks introduced Westernised hairstyles and clothing, as well as traditional Japanese outfits and styles. However, content showing traditional Korean outfits and styles was also included.

The Japanese textbooks were used to project Japanese ideology. By comparing the textbooks, it is possible to find the construction of the colonial subjects and to explain the ideological descriptions that implanted Japanese morality and value systems. In the third grade of the Japanese language textbook, *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940), 44% of the content was devoted to stories about morality, whereas *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1939, 1938) contained 25%. The following table lists all of the titles relevant to the theme of moral education in each of the four textbooks.

**Table 21: The content relevant to the theme of morality**

	Textbook / Level (Year published)	Contents
<i>For Korean students</i>	<i>Shotou Kokugotokuhon 2</i> ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1939)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Rice reaping – Harvesting (Looking after siblings)</li> <li>- A person who has a wen on his face (Be brave and good things will come)</li> <li>- The tiger and dried persimmons (knowledge is power)</li> <li>- Flower-bearing person (Be warm-hearted and get rewards)</li> </ul>
	<i>Shotou Kokugotokuho 3</i> ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1940)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Getting up early (Wake up early, and Hygiene)</li> <li>- The sun and a child (Being a good person)</li> <li>- Haruko san (Learning Japanese by repeating some phrases)</li> <li>- The frog (To live within one’s means)</li> <li>- The little boy (Be brave and a little goes a long way)</li> <li>- Haircut (Hygiene)</li> <li>- Reviewing (Study hard and do reviewing)</li> </ul>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The police officer (Be good at greetings to the police officer and speak in Japanese)</li> <li>- Saving one penny (Saving money)</li> <li>- Urashima Tarou (Love animals)</li> </ul>
For Japanese students	<i>Shougakutokuhon 2 (Monbusho, 1939)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The monkey and the crab (Don't be bad to others or you will get punished)</li> <li>- Hurry up, Mr Raven (Return home before sunset)</li> <li>- Mr Ken (Looking after siblings)</li> <li>- A person who has a wen on his face (Be brave and good things will come)</li> <li>- Flower-bearing person (Be warm-hearted and get rewards)</li> </ul>
	<i>Shougakutokuhon 3 (Monbusho, 1938)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The frog (To live within one's means)</li> <li>- The little boy (Be brave and a little goes a long way)</li> <li>- The wise mouse (To think logically and wisely)</li> <li>- The golden axe (Be honest and get rewards)</li> <li>- The tooth (Take care of your teeth)</li> <li>- Urashima Tarou (Love animals)</li> </ul>

As shown in Table 21, both *Shotou Kokugotokuhon (Joseonchongdogbu, 1939, 1940)* and *Shougakutokuhon (Monbusho, 1939, 1938)* contained many of the same titles: “A person who has a wen on his face”, “Flower-bearing person”, “The frog”, “The little boy” and “Urashima Tarou”. Two of these stories, “A person who has a wen on his face” and “The little boy”, both stress a brave deed, which encouraged students to serve as models for others and get rewards. *Shougakutokuhon 3* and *4 (Monbusho, 1939, 1938)* each contained similar proportions of titles relating to the theme of morality. However, *Shotou Kokugotokuhon 3 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1940)* contained more than twice the number of titles related to moral lessons than *Shotou Kokugotokuhon 2 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1939)*.

Different types of moral lessons were included in *Shotou Kokugotokuhon (Joseonchongdogbu, 1939, 1940)* and *Shougakutokuhon (Monbusho, 1939, 1938)*. For example, in *Shotou Kokugotokuhon (Joseonchongdogbu, 1939, 1940)*, moral lessons such as waking up early, hygiene, being a good person and studying hard were included, whereas in *Shougakutokuhon (Monbusho, 1939, 1938)*, moral lessons such as not being bad to others, and taking care of one's teeth were emphasised.

There were instances of the same moral lesson being taught in both textbooks, with stories

that had the same titles, and which covered themes of being brave, doing good things, being warm-hearted, to live within one's means, and to love animals. However, some stories with different titles also taught the same or similar moralities, including "Rice reaping – Harvesting" in *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940) and "Mr Ken" in *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1939, 1938).

The following example is a text quoted from "Rice reaping – Harvesting" [*Shotou Kokugotokuhon*]. It expounds the theme of morality through looking after siblings and helping the family on rice-reaping day. I have chosen this story from *Shotou Kokugotokuhon 2* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939) because rice reaping is a good example of typical seasonal work for every household in Korea, and it also provides a geographical image of Korea.

*Shotou Kokugotokuhon 2-3* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, pp. 8-12) portrays the theme of morality in this story "Rice reaping (イネカリ)":

1. キョウ ハ、ウチ ノ イネカリ デス。

It is a rice-reaping day today.

2. ソラ ハ、アオク ハレテ イマス。

The sky is clear blue.

3. オトウサン ト ニイサン ガ、カッテ イラッシャイマス。

Father and brother are cutting (harvesting) the rice plants.

4. オカアサン ガ、ハコンデ イラッシャイマス。

Mother is carrying.

5. アルク タビ ニ、長イホ ガ、ユサユサ ヲレマス。

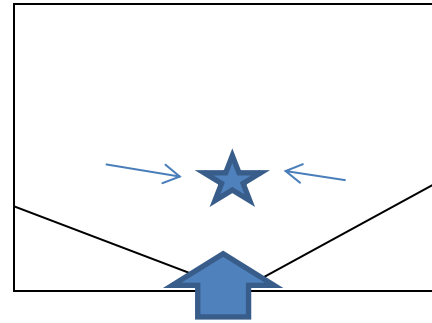
As people walk past, the long rice plant shakes.

6. ワタクシ ガ、「オカアサン、オモイ デシヨウ ネ。」ト イイマス ト、オカアサン ハ、「ナカナカ オモイ ヨ。コノ ホ ヲ ゴラン。」ト、オッシ  
ャイマシタ。

When I said, "Mother, it must be heavy", Mother said, "It is heavy. Look at this [bunch of] rice plant."

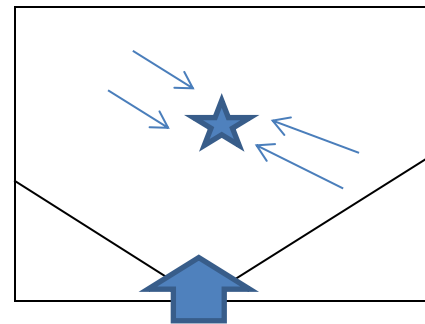
7. 私 ハ、長イホ ヲ ニギッテ ミマシタ。

I tried to hold a rice plant.



**Interactive participants**

**Figure 28: Rice-reaping day (p. 10)**



**Interactive participants**

**Figure 29: Rice plants (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, p. 11)**

From the first line, the narrator is assumed to be “I” (no name is given), who is the student discussing the day of rice reaping. The story and visual images for “Rice reaping – Harvesting” from *Shotou Kokugotokuhon 2* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939) describe rice reaping on a fine day, and depict the roles of each family member: father and brother are cutting the rice plants (line 3), mother is carrying the bunch of rice plants (line 4) and “I” is observing and finding rice plants (Figure 29, lines 6 and 7). The text and visual images portray the symbolism of working hard on rice-reaping day and the moral of the story is very clear and straightforward to the readers. The whole family participates in rice reaping, and even if the young child cannot carry the heavy rice plants to help his mother (line 6), he can watch and examine the rice plants during rice-reaping day. In the sixth line, “I” says “it must be heavy” with the dynamic modal line showing greater influence than saying “it may be heavy”. The use of “must” states his certainty and confidence. This dynamic modality is associated with a prompting event and is used to express levels of probability and certainty (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 187). The image of the mother carrying a big bunch of rice plants supports this dynamic modal sentence.

Figures 28 and 29 focus on the rural setting of the rice field. Figure 28 highlights a young girl who is looking after her younger brother, but there is no textual description of a young girl carrying a child on her back. The girl carrying the child is positioned in the centre of the image, placing greater emphasis on her. The girl gazing at the baby is accentuated, and having a child on her back with a book in front of her is an important part of the pose in Figure 28. Presenting a mid-length of shot in Figure 28 indicates a level of closeness and connection between the viewer and participant, and the viewer can also easily recognise the various characters' appearances and actions. In Figure 28, the elder sister is sitting near the middle of the frame, with a younger brother on her back. From this, it can be interpreted that the elder sister is an important character. According to the given context (line 3), it is likely that the two men in the background are her father and elder brother (Figure 28). Due to the amount of empty space within the image, it is implied that much of the rice reaping has been finished, which is also supported by the fact that one of the men, either the father or the brother, is wiping his face with a cloth.

Figure 29 depicts the last 2 lines of the story, lines 6 and 7, in which the mother carries a big bunch of rice plants and where the writer ("I") tries to hold the plants as well. Both the mother and the boy are gazing at the rice plants, which causes the rice plants to be highly accentuated (Figure 29). There is no relationship between the viewer and the characters in Figure 29, which represents an "absence of gaze at the viewer", according to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006, p. 126). Figure 29 induces the viewers to look at the rice plants by using strong direct vectors flowing from the mother and the boy. Therefore, Figure 29 attempts to highlight the rice plants while also focusing on the mother, whose posture suggests the action of carrying the rice plants. Both mother and boy show an active pose: the mother is carrying and the boy is pointing at the rice plants. The ideological strategy of Figure 29 is to show the mother as a powerful and hard worker. The mother's posture suggests that she is a strong person who has carried bundles of rice plants alone. The image shows her holding a large bundle of rice plants using one arm, creating an impression of a strong and powerful figure. Around the mother, bunches of rice plants lie on the ground, which suggests that she has a lot of work still to do. The detailed background information indicates a high degree of articulation<sup>73</sup>, suggesting not only a natural rural setting but also symbolising being busy and having 'mountains' of work for her to complete on rice-reaping day. The mother standing and holding a bunch of rice plants can connote identity and ideas – she is a healthy, strong and powerful woman, who is signified as a farm worker by detailed features, such as strong-looking posture and rolled-up shirt sleeves.

In this case, the pose of mother proposes relatively hard physical work, takes up a large space, and shows activity. The mother and the boy have no eye contact with the viewer, which places them

---

<sup>73</sup> Here, the high or low degree of articulation means the high or low degree of clearness in visual images.

in the role of being just an observer, and the image becomes an ‘offer’, encouraging viewers to observe and consider what they are looking at, or what they are thinking (see p. 47). Since the image is a medium shot, Figure 29 clearly shows what the mother and the boy are wearing and depicts their actions in the rice field. While the mother wears casualwear, the boy wears a uniform, making it safe to assume that the boy has arrived at the field after school. The white colour of the mother’s clothes and the darkness of her hair give her added intensity.

*Shotou Kokugotokuhon 3-23 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1940, pp. 94-102)* also portrays the theme of morality, highlighting the habit of saving money in this story “Saving one penny (一錢 チョキン)”:

1. 「オジイサン、カタ ヲ タタキマシヨウ カ。」

“Grandfather, shall [I] massage your shoulders?”

2. 「アリガトウ。少シ タタイテ モラオウ カネ。」

“Thank you. Why don’t [I] get a little bit of a massage?”

3. エンガワ デ、新聞 ヲ 讀ンデ イラッシュヤッタ オジイサン ハ、メガネ ヲ  
オハズシ ニ ナリマシタ。

My grandfather, who was reading a newspaper in the open corridor, took off [his] glasses.

4. 「一 二 三 四 --。」

“1, 2, 3, 4, ---.”

5. 私 ハ、小ゴエ デ カゾエナガラ タタキハジメマシタ。

I started to tap, counting in a low voice.

6. 「京子、今日 ハ ナカナカ カ ガハイルネ。」

“Kyoko, you are using good pressure today.”

7. オジイサン ハ、氣持ヨサソウ ニ オッシャイマシタ。

Grandfather said comfortably.

8. オダイドコロ カラ、「京子サン、 シッカリ タタイテ オ上ゲ ナサイ ヨ。」

ト イウ オカアサン ノ コエ ガ シマシタ。

From the kitchen, [I] hear my mother saying, “Kyoko, give him a good massage.”

9. トン トン トン トン 私 ハ、 チョウシ ヲ ツケテ タタキマシタ。



Tap, tap, tap, tap ... I tapped his shoulders in a rhythm.

10. シバラク スル ト、オジイサン ハ、「ヤア アリガトウ。 タイヘン カタ  
ガ カルク ナッタ。」

A while later, Grandfather said “Well, thank you. My shoulders feel so light.”

11. 私 ハ、「モット タタイマシヨウ。」ト イッテ シズケマシタ。

I said, “I’ll massage more,” and continued.

12. イツ ノ マ ニカ、 オジイサン ハ、 コクリコクリ ト、イネムリ ヲ オ  
ハジメ ニ ナリマシタ。

Before [I] knew it, Grandfather started to doze off.

13. ダイブン タタイタ 時、オカアサン ガ イラッシャイマシタ。

After giving him plenty of massaging, my mother came over.

14. 「京子サン、 スミマシタラ、ゴホウビ ニ オカシ ヲ 上げマシヨウ ネ。」

“Kyoko, if you are finished, I’ll give you a snack as a reward.”

15. 「オカアサン、 今日 ハ オカシ ノ カワリニ、 オカネ ヲ 一銭 下サ  
イ。」

“Mother, please give me one penny instead of a snack today.”

16. 「ドウ スル ノ、京子サン。」

“What are [you] going to do with it, Kyoko?”

17. 「チョキン ヲ スル ノ デス ヨ。」

“I’ll save it”

18. オジイサン ガ、目 ヲ オサマシ ニ ナリマシタ。

Grandfather woke up.

19. ソウシテ、「ホウ、ソレ ハ カンシン ダ。」ト オッシャイマシタ。

Then, [he] said, “Wow, that’s so good of you.”

20. 私 ハ タタク ノ ヨ ヤメテ、「昨日、先生 ガ、 一銭 ノ オカネ デ  
モ、ムダ ニ シテ ハ ナラナイ コト ヲ オ話 シテ 下サイマシタ。

I stopped tapping and said, “Yesterday, the teacher told [me] not to waste even one penny.”

21. 私たち ハ、みんな デ ソウダンシテ、 ハタライテ イタダイタ オカネデ、  
一 銭チヨキン ヲ ハジメル コトニ シタ ノ デス。」ト、ワケ ヲ 話シマ  
シタ。

“We all discussed it, and decided to start saving pennies with the money [we] receive for working,” I explained.

22. 「ナカナカ ヨイ コト ヲ ハシメタネ。」ト、オジイサン モ、 オカアサン  
モ カンシン ナサイマシタ。

“[You] started a rather nice thing.” Both Grandfather and Mother were impressed.

23. 夕方 ニ ナッテ、 オトウサン ガ オカエリニ ナリマシタ。

In the evening, my father came back home.

24. オカアサン カラ、 一 銭チヨキン ノ話 ヲ オ聞キ ニ ナル ト、オトウ  
サンモ、「ソレ ハ、ヨイ コト ヲ ハジメタ。」ト オツシャイマシタ。

He heard about penny saving from my mother, and [he] also said, “[You] started a nice thing.”

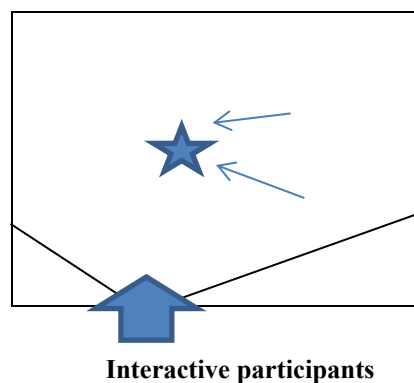
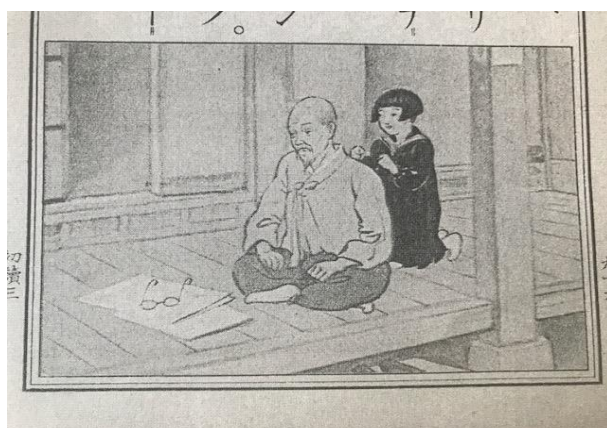


Figure 30: *Message (Joseonchongdogbu, 1940, p. 96)*

The story “Saving one penny” placed strong emphasis on savings in banks, and showed a way to earn and save some money – by giving a massage to her (“my”) grandfather. At the beginning of the story, there was no explanation of the reason for giving this massage. After line 13, the text mentioned “a reward” (line 14) “one penny” (line 15) and “save” (line 17), and these words provide a better understanding of the motivation. The visual image and text complement and support each

other in the discussion of saving money, and portray an effective ideological theme of the saving of money during the colonial era. The story grammar of this passage reads as follows: A young child “I” (protagonists) → at house (setting) → massage grandfather’s shoulders (initial event) → ask mother one penny instead of snack as a reward, and not waste (second event) → save money (consequences) → saving money is a good thing to do (didactic lesson).

Through the story’s logic, the story teaches that, even if “I” (young children) am young, I can earn and save money by doing some extra work (like massage). It also teaches not wasting money (as the teacher suggested in line 20). While the story emphasised young readers as agents of saving pennies and not wasting them (stating that it is a good thing to do), it failed to explain why the Japanese Governor-General of Korea encouraged Koreans to save, and why school-teachers stressed not to waste money to only the Korean students.

By closely examining the text, it can be seen that there was great emphasis and focus on the topic of “Saving one penny”, but the text did not mention the reason. The text also avoided describing for whom the Korean students should save money, but it can be assumed that it is for the Japanese Empire. As a matter of national policy for the conduct of war, Japan promulgated the “*Joseon* National Savings Union Law” and imposed saving on the Korean people in 1941 (Cho Jin-ki, 2010, p. 323). The Savings Union was established in Korean companies, and labourers who lived on low wages were forced to save their money for Japan (Kwak Geon-hong, 2001, p. 296-297). During the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937) and the Pacific War (1942), in order to establish the forces and obtain funds to support the war, the “*Joseon* National Savings Union Law” was implemented. Even though Koreans could not afford to accumulate money, the Japanese Governor-General of Korea set up a savings target for them. To make up for the insufficient amount of money during the war, “a saving bond issuance in wartime” (issued by the Bank of Japan in 1942) was distributed, another example of Japanese colonial exploitation (Kwak Geon-hong, 2001, p. 297). For its war effort, Japan tried to collect the necessary funds from the colonised, by issuing excessive *Joseon* bank bonds and resorting to forceful measures to achieve their goals (Cho Jin-ki, 2003). Due to the issuance of a massive number of bank bonds from the Japanese government, Korea started to experience hyperinflation, and the Korean people continued to suffer from extreme poverty long after liberation from Japan (Mun Young-joo, 2003). Therefore, it would seem that reason behind the story was not that Koreans were wasting money (line 20), but that they had to save, even though experiencing severe poverty.

The phrases used here indicate how the action of saving money was textually promoted, for example, “give me one penny” (line 15), “not to waste even one penny” (line 20), “decided to start saving pennies with the money” (line 21), “heard about penny saving” (line 24). The mother also

gave her a personal view on saving money without using imperative forms: “[You] started a nice thing” (line 24), encouraging particular beliefs by making the readers feel the same emotional response to saving pennies as the mother did.

In order to highlight the actions of Korean students saving money, the story used rewording (“massage”, “tap” and “using good pressure”, “save” and “not to waste”), synonyms (“massage” and “tap”, “save” and “not to waste”, and “good” and “nice”), repeated phrases with similar meanings four times (“one penny”, “even one penny of money”, “saving pennies with the money” and “about saving pennies”), and also repeated sentences with the same meaning (“You started a rather nice thing” and “You started a nice thing”). By using the specific word reappearance, the theme of saving money received intense focus, with the aim of convincing the reader of the overall text.

Line 21 of the text used the pronoun “we” two times, which seems to address not only the narrator, “I”, but all people. The homogenising term, “we”, presents a collective group, and so included all readers of the text, thereby not only emphasising saving a penny, but also the participation of the readers, who may not have been involved in or aware of the need to save pennies.

An old man and a young girl are sitting in an open corridor (line 3 and Figure 30). A small pile of newspaper (with glasses on top) lies on the ground in front of the old man, and the young girl is kneeling behind the old man, with her hands positioned as if she is in the middle of giving a massage (Figure 30). It can be assumed that the old man is her grandfather (from the text) and that the young girl is “I”. This would be the scene described in lines 4 to 13 in the text. A girl gazes at her hands, giving her grandfather a massage while wearing her school uniform, implying that the action takes place either before or after school. The old man is wearing traditional commoner’s clothes.

The girl’s action (of giving a massage) is highlighted in Figure 30. The girl is sitting on her knees and this can have several connotations, for example, she is a small person who is represented as a young student who could be the same age as the readers. The grandfather is larger in size and has been placed in front of the girl. However, the grandfather’s eyes do not make contact with the viewer, indicating that he is not the main focus in Figure 30, and instead informs the viewers that the grandfather is the receiver of the action (receiving a massage from a young girl).

In Korea, one of the most important doctrines of Confucianism is that children are submissive to their parents and treat their parents with filial respect. Confucianism places special emphasis on filial piety, which has been an inherent part of Korean culture and tradition (Sim Do-hi, 2016; Park Mun-seok, 2013). In Confucianism, “filial piety is a virtue of respect for one’s parents, elders and ancestors” (Yang, 2015, p. 2). Filial piety influences the relationship between parent and child as well as between grandparent and child. The idea of filial piety guided children to follow the moral rule that children should obey and respect their parents and grandparents (elderly people) in all things.

In Korea, devotion and obedience to parents and grandparents were the basis of human conduct. Under the Japanese influence, the curriculum often emphasised absolute devotion and obedience to one’s parents as a means of encouraging Korean students of the need for devotion and obedience to the Japanese Emperor. This was a basic principle of the morality being taught. Devotion and obedience to the Japanese Emperor seemed to have been an important moral standard in the colonial era, and was used to create a motive for Koreans to participate in the war. Absolute devotion and obedience to the Japanese Emperor were indoctrinated in Korean students, who were forced to follow and accept colonial rules.

Overall, the moral lessons presented to the Korean and the Japanese students differed from each other. The next section investigates the theme of school life and play, which fundamentally supported Japan’s goal of raising Korean students to become soldiers by introducing a pro-war mindset to the daily lives of the colonised.

#### 6.4.4. The theme of school life and play

Like many other imperialist and capitalist countries, Japan fought for power and interests, pursuing profit and benefit from the colonised nations. Japan was no exception in implementing an ‘education of colonialism’ to the Korean citizens, attempting to transform them into obedient citizens. One such method was the use of textbooks to implant a pro-war ideology into its younger citizens.

School life and play can include certain activities, events and games that students can experience during or after school hours. As seen in Table 22 below, under the theme of school life and play, activities and games such as “War game” and “The skipping rope” are included, along with events such as “Sports day” and “Tomorrow is an excursion day”. Table 22 lists all of the titles that encompass the theme of school life and play in each of the four textbooks. It can be seen that some of the same titles (“*Shiritori*/Word chain”, “My doll”, “Shadow play”, “The skipping rope”, and “To think”) were included in both sets of textbooks under the theme of school life and play. The title “To think” was included in both *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 3 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1931)* and *Shougakutokuhon 3 (Monbusho, 1935)*, but it had different content and images.

**Table 22: The content relating to school life and play**

	Textbook / Level (Year published)	Content
<i>For Korean students</i>	<i>Shotou Kokugotokuhon 2 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1939)</i>	- Sports day (divide students into teams and play Japanese <i>Daruma Otoshi</i> game) - War game (divide students into teams and play

		war game ) - <i>Shiritori</i> /Word chain - A frosty morning (to run as the army marching at the frosty morning) - The role play of guest - My doll - Shopping (buying and selling) - Shadow play - Korean seesawing
	<i>Shotou Kokugotokuhon</i> 3 ( <i>Joseonchongdogbu</i> , 1940)	- The skipping rope - To think (ask questions and guess the item in the box) - A clay cow - Sumo
For Japanese students	<i>Shougakutokuhon</i> 2 ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1939)	- Tomorrow is an excursion day (pray for good weather for the excursion day) - My doll - Doll's illness - Shadow play
	<i>Shougakutokuhon</i> 3 ( <i>Monbusho</i> , 1938)	- The skipping rope - <i>Shiritori</i> /Word chain - To think (ask questions and guess the item in the box) - The boat made of bamboo (make a bamboo boat and play with friends) - The stiff mountain

The school system and curriculum for Koreans were highly significant in the Japanese prosecution of the war (Yu Cheol, 2015; Kim Sun-jeon et al., 2012; Park Gyeong-su, 2011). This significance is made clear by the inclusion of pro-war material in the textbooks of the period, in contrast with the absence of war images in textbooks from earlier stages of the colonial era. The textbooks were used as a tool to promote the ruling class's interests – for example, Korean students were given military exercises as “recreation” (Kim Sun-jeon et al., 2012). As mentioned in Chapter 5, when the Japanese textbook introduced “Gymnastic games” (*Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon*, 1930),

those gymnastic exercises were performed like a military march. The students marched and chanted according to the team leader's orders, role-playing the performance of a military drill. The story "War game" was chosen from *Shotou Kokugotokuhon (Joseonchongdogbu, 1939)* because it depicts the war as a key image of that time. Unlike the earlier textbooks, boys and girls were now portrayed playing together.

*Shotou Kokugotokuhon 2-5 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1939, pp. 15-18)* depicts the theme of play, highlighting the motivation for war in this story, "War game (センソウゴッコ)":

1. ウラ ノ マツ山 デ、センソウゴッコ ヲ シマシタ。

[We] were playing a war game in the nearby mountain, called Pine Mountain.

2. タケチャン ト タイゲンサン ガ、ブタイチョウ ニ ナリマシタ。

Take was on the same team (unit) as Taigen in the game.

3. マツカサ ノ バクダン ヲ ナゲテ、 タタカイマシタ。

[We] fought throwing pinecones as bombs.

4. タケチャン ノ オトウト ノ マサチャン ニ、バクダン ガ アタリマシタ。

The pinecone bomb hit Take's brother, Masa.

5. マサチャン ハ、「センシ。」ト イッテ、 タオレマシタ。

Masa fell down, saying "death in war (killed in war)".

6. エイシサン ガ、「シッカリ シ ナサイ。」ト イッテ、 オコシマシタ。

Eishi woke him up by saying "Do your best."

7. タイゲンサン ガ、「ツッコメ。」ト イイマシタ。

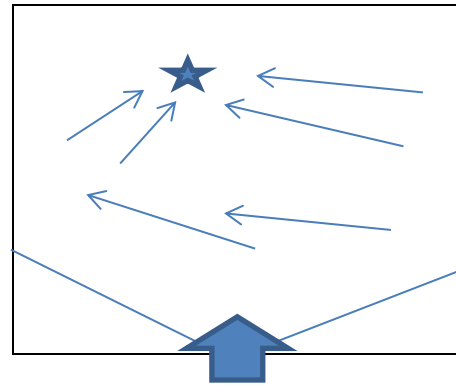
Taigen said "Go forward."

8. 私 ハ、 ヒノマル ノ ハタ ヲ フリナガラ、 テキ ノ ジンチ ニ トビ  
コミマシタ。

I jumped into the enemy's position while waving a [Japanese] flag.

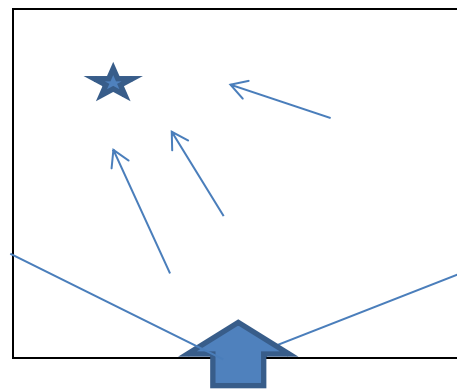
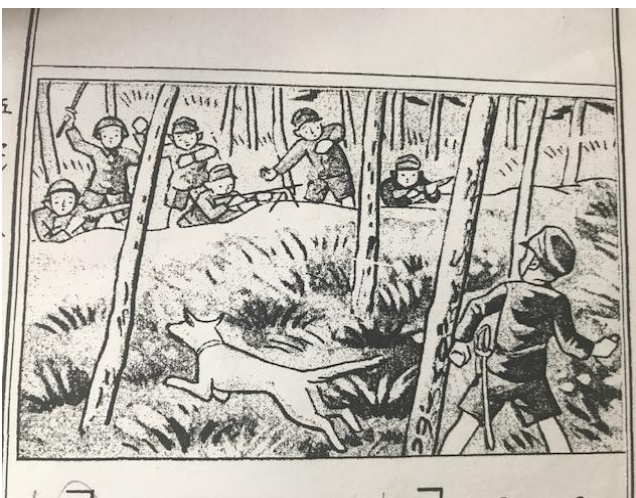
9. ユウガタ ニ ナッタ ノデ、ミンナ ヤメテ カエリマシタ。

Everybody went back home when it got dark outside.



**Interactive participants**

**Figure 31: War 1 (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, p. 16)**



**Interactive participants**

**Figure 32: War 2 (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, p. 17)**

The main theme of this story is to play a war game. The characters are portrayed as young soldiers – they are dressed up like soldiers and are armed with weapons. In order to highlight the war, both the text and visual images portray the details of war, such as weapons and uniforms, presenting a real-life situation. The setting of Figures 31 and 32 creates and represents the seriousness and implications of war. The long grass and trees suggest that Figure 31’s background is a forest, which may present a possible geographical obstruction for gaining a realistic feeling of the war game (Park Gyeong-su, 2011). Figure 31 shows five children playing a war game in a pine forest, which is likely to be “Pine Mountain” referred to in Line 1. The main setting of the story and the visual images is “Pine Mountain”, which the children live near to (line 1). The mountain provides some obstacles (like knee-high grass and many trees) to playing games, but these obstacles also enhance the sense of reality about the war game (Figure 31). Figure 31 also reminds viewers of actual warfare, for example, the action of dealing with weapons. Therefore, it may be aiming to promote viewers preparing for



defence, rather than presenting a game to be played in their daily lives (Park Gyeong-su, 2011, p. 560). The appearance of the children (in military uniforms and carrying weapons like guns and swords) lifts them from the level of playing a mere war game – it is more representative of the attire worn in an actual battle (Park Gyeong-su, 2011, p. 559). In the images of “War game” above, the viewers are looking up at the participants, who are located at a high vertical angle, denoting that the participants have the means of exercising power (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 100).

There is no explanation for the war game, nor are the participants overtly evaluated as a positive “in-group” or a negative “out-group”, with self “we” and others “enemy” in the text. This “ideological squaring”<sup>74</sup> (Van Dijk, 2008) may apply the symbolism of self and others, us and them, in order to show an “in-group”. “I” and “we” (lines 3 and 8) are involved in a favourable team, whereas the “out-group”, i.e., the enemy (line 8) is unfavourable team (Kuo & Nakamura, 2005, p. 410). Ideological discourse exists to describe the good team (“in-group” – I/we) and the bad team (“out-group” – the enemy). Thus, according to Van Dijk (2008), ideology is often voiced by “ideological squaring”. In this case, the story highlights that the positive “in-group” is the Japanese people and that the negative “out-group” is the enemy group, such as the Chinese.

The war game in the text and the visual image of Korean elementary students portray neither a casual recreational activity, nor a popular game. Even if they were first-year elementary school students, they were expected to be prepared to join the actual armed forces (Park Gyeong-su, 2011, p. 561). Park Gyeong-su (2011) claims that, as the war became prolonged, Japan had insufficient troops and therefore needed to train and enlist Koreans (p. 247). Japan needed to train Koreans for war and to present this in a favourable light.

Vectors form action between characters, as shown in Figure 31, where three children are holding up their weapons and one child raises the Japanese flag. These direct vectors for each child’s actions suggest and encourage the viewer to look at the weapons and the Japanese flag. All five children are looking away from the viewer, which encourages the viewer to look at the five children and consider what their actions are.

Figure 31 is described in the text, and the description of the children’s actions can be connected with the names mentioned in the text. For example, Figure 31 depicts five children – four of them are wearing army uniforms and helmets, while one child, a young girl named “Eishi” (line 6), can be interpreted as a nurse, as she carries a small first-aid kit and wears an armband. Two boys carry rifles – one of these boys is “Masa”, who collapsed after being hit by a bomb (lines 4 and 5) and the other is “Take”. The third boy, “I”, carries a Japanese flag (line 8), which implies that they

---

<sup>74</sup>The notion of the “ideological square” by Van Dijk (2008) may be applied at all levels of discourse. For example, the “ideological square” gets its label from the four dimensions that include the features of ‘in-group’ and ‘out-group’, ‘self’ and ‘others’.

are representing the Japanese army. The text “I jumped into the enemy’s position while swinging the Japanese flag”, in line 8, may show one of the aims of the Japanese language textbooks – not only to foster Japanese nationalism but also to imply that Korean students can grow into soldiers who devote themselves to ‘their’ nation, Japan, without pursuing their own safety in a war. The boy holding the sword is “Taigen” (line 7) and he looks like the leader – he is placed at the front of the group, and he looks back at the other children, seemingly giving out orders. Image and text complement each other, and the matching characters’ gestures and texts are the main focus of Figure 31, portraying a hidden message that children can participate in the war and also that they can prepare by playing a war game.

The subject of war is illustrated by the presence of weapons, like the guns and swords and “a pinecone as a bomb” (line 3). Figure 32 shows the two different teams fighting each other, as if they are in a war. One team is seen to have just one child and a dog (causing them to look weaker), and that child, wearing a long-blade sword, stands in a pose in which he is about to throw a pinecone as a bomb at the opposing team (line 3). The image in the foreground creates importance compared to the other six children – the child and the dog are closest to the viewer and are highly in focus. As seen in lines 7 and 8, the Japanese team went forward and jumped into the enemy’s position. Therefore, the other team (consisting of six children, with two people about to throw pinecones at the other team, three people with guns lying on the ground, and another child waving his sword in the air) are the enemy. The children are divided by a hill, which further emphasises the fact that the children on each side are from opposite teams. The viewer can observe the boy more closely than the enemy team, indicating that the viewers are being taken close to the boy who is about to throw the bomb. The boy in front, who is about to throw the bomb, has posture that may be hinting that the war is getting started, and is also presenting his courage against the greater numbers on the opposing team. This may emphasise that even though their military strength may be weaker than the enemy’s, the Japanese team fights to the “death in war” (line 5), like *Kamikaze*<sup>75</sup>.

The text “War game” amplifies the idea of the visual image (Figures 31 and 32), creating the idea of fighting and devotion in a war. The idea of blind loyalty to the Japanese Empire was formed by the education received at school, and young Korean students volunteered to be student soldiers (Han Young-u, 2005, p. 36). Japan faced a decreasing military capability for war, so schools were used to encourage and support the war by mobilising Korean students. Some Koreans were forced to be involved in suicide attacks for the Japanese military during the Pacific War.

During the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), the “National Mobilisation Law” was enacted in April, 1938, in order to effectively mobilise war supplies (both material and manpower).

---

<sup>75</sup> *Kamikaze* literally means ‘God’s winds’ in Japanese but it is used as the name for the military aviators who trained to become suicide attackers for the Japanese Empire. *Kamikaze* flew explosive-laden aircraft, named *Oka*, into enemy territory. To serve through suicide began in 1944 in the Japanese military.

Korea was located closer to the Asian continent than Japan, and it was therefore geographically convenient for procuring personnel and material resources. Japan mobilised military forces across Korea nationwide, and started to draft Koreans to mitigate labour shortages (Yu Cheol, 2015). Furthermore, Korea experienced economic exploitation and labour exploitation due to supporting the war.

In Figure 32, the opposing team (with many children) directs the viewer's eyes towards the child in the other team, as they all face towards him. The children all have active poses, which implies they are fighting a fierce battle. Figures 31 and 32 are important in connoting discourses (that Korean children should be joining the war effort) by presenting war as a game. Comparatively, in the textbooks for Japanese students, there were no texts or images which refer to war.

The second levels of both *Shougakutokuhon (Monbusho, 1939)* and *Shotou Kokugotokuhon (Joseonchongdogbu, 1939)* contained the same title "My doll", a story about the narrator's doll. In *Shougakutokuhon (Monbusho, 1939)*, the story "Doll's illness" followed "My doll", with the intention of connecting the two stories. The following story, "Doll's illness", chosen from *Shougakutokuhon (Monbusho, 1938)*, shows students playing with a doll, which introduces both a Western product and the professional occupation of a doctor.

*Shougakutokuhon 2-9 (Monbusho, 1938, pp. 38-43)* introduced the theme of play in a story, "Doll's illness (ニンギャウ ノ ビャウキ)":

1. 花子サン ハ、 ニンギャウ ガ ビャウキ ニ ナッタ ノデ、 オイシャサマ  
ヲ ヨビマシタ。

Hanako called a doctor for a visit because [her] doll fell ill.

2. オイシャサマ ハ、 マサヲサン デス。

The doctor is Masao.

3. オトナ ノ バウシ ヲ カブッテ、大キナ カバン ヲ モッテ ハイッ テ 來  
マシタ。

Wearing an adult's hat and carrying a big bag, he came in.

4. 「ゴビャウニン ハ、 ドチラ デス カ。」

"Who is the sick one?"

5. 「アチラ ニ ネテ ヲリマス。」

"Over there, sleeping."

6. 花子サン ハ、マサヲサン ヲ オクヘ トホシマシタ。

Hanako guided him to the back.

7. マサヲサン ハ、ニンギャウ ノ ソバニ スワリマシタ。

Masao sat near the doll.

8. マサヲサン ハ、 ニンギャウ ノ 手 ヲ トリマシタ。

Masao took the doll's hand.

9. ソレカラ、ヒタヒニ サハッテ ミマシタ。

Then, he tried touching the forehead.

10. オナカ ヲ、上 カラ オサヘテ ミマシタ。

He tried pressing the belly from the top.

11. マサヲサン ガ、 アンマリ ジャウズニ、オイシャサマ ノ マネ ヲ スルノ  
デ、花子サン ハ、キフ ニ ヲカシク ナリマシタ。

Since Masao was acting like a doctor so well, Hanako started to find it funny.

12. デモ、ワラハナイデ、ジット ガマンシテ キマシタ。

But she held back her laughter and stayed still.

13. マサヲサン ハ、テイネイ ニ ミテ カラ、「タイシテ ワルク ハ ナイ  
ヤウデス。 タベスギ デス ネ。」ト、マジメナ カホ ヲ シテ、イヒマシ  
タ。

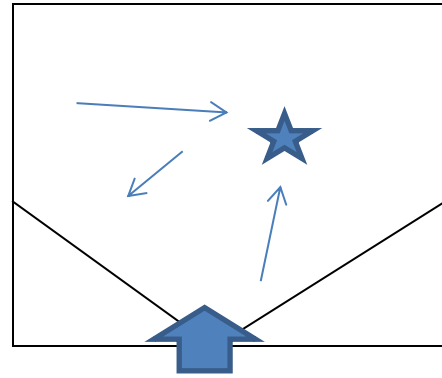
After Masao examined the doll carefully, he said, "It doesn't look like it's doing too bad. It ate too much" with a serious look.

14. 花子サン ハ、トウトウ ワラヒ出シマシタ。

Hanako finally started to laugh.

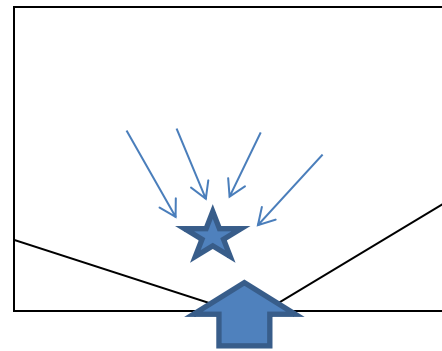
15. マサヲサン モ、ワラヒ出シマシタ。

Masao also started to laugh.



**Interactive participants**

**Figure 33: Doll's illness 1 (*Monbusho*, 1938, p. 39)**



**Interactive participants**

**Figure 34: Doll's illness 2 (*Monbusho*, 1938, p. 42)**

This story portrays two young children playing with a doll (Figure 34). Masao (the boy in Figures 33 & 34) takes the role of doctor and the doll is portrayed as a patient (Figure 34 and line 2). Because the doll is sick, Hanako (the girl in Figures 33 & 34) calls a doctor, Masao (lines 1 & 2). Hanako guides Masao to the doll's room (Figure 33 and lines 5 & 6) and Masao asks about and checks the doll (lines 7, 8, 9 & 10), acting like a real doctor. They try to play seriously – “she held back her laughter and stayed still” (line 12), and Masao examines the doll carefully and seriously (line 13). To give the reader an impression of the amusement from playing with dolls, both lines 14 and 15 describe “started to laugh”, resulting in them bursting into laughter at the end. This story positions the young readers to not only introduce an interesting game with dolls but also to learn how to take care of a sick person at their house. Figures 33 and 34 show the characteristic figure of a doctor, “wearing an adult's hat and carrying a big bag” (line 3), which are an imitation of an adult person who has adapted to Western culture. The doll is placed in the centre of Figure 34, and stands out because of this positioning, appealing for the viewer's attention. Furthermore, both Masao and Hanako are looking

at the doll (Figure 34), and Masao's arm creates a vector that leads the viewer's gaze to the doll. In both Figures 33 and 34, Hanako's gestures present adult-centred politeness and etiquette. For example, Hanako uses her two hands to show the way to the room (Figure 33) and sits with her hands on her lap, one hand laid on top of the other (Figure 34). By presenting adult interactions and etiquette between the host and the doctor, this story emphasises an adult ideology to the reader, and this image illustrates a Japanese woman with an emphasis on femininity and elegance (Whang Mi-ook, 2012; Mun Ook-pyo, 2003). Figures 33 and 34 portray stereotypical gender roles, such as how a female is expected to receive a guest with courtesy, whereas the male character is portrayed as having a profession.

The findings from the chapter above will now be summarised and further analysed in the following section.

## **6.5. Chapter summary: Comparison of findings**

Four textbooks that were used in Japan and Korea during the Third and Fourth *Joseon* Education Ordinances (1938-1942, 1943-1945) were analysed in this chapter. The major changes from the previous textbooks were that the Japanese textbooks were modified and recompiled due to the Manchurian Incident in 1931, the Sino-Japanese war and the Second World War. Under the wartime regime, one aim of the colonial education was to unify the Koreans as Japanese imperial subjects, as with the *Kouminka* policy in Taiwan. The Third and Fourth *Joseon* Education Ordinances resulted in the names of the educational institutions being changed, with the Korean elementary educational institution being officially renamed to match the Japanese elementary educational institution.

The textbooks' inclusions of various Western technologies constructed a possible idea of the world for the students. For both Korean and Japanese students, knowledge of natural sciences (such as seasons, animals, and weather) was common, due to having been taught these topics in their early school years. Under the major theme of science and Western technologies, some titles (such as "chicks", "dragonflies" and "trains") were shared between the textbooks for both the Korean and Japanese students, although the content presented for the same topics differed. Both sets of textbooks also introduced information on natural sciences and Western technologies. However, higher proportions of science and Western technology, and newer technologies, were found in *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1939, 1938) compared to *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940), which often highlighted nature and addressed the importance of hygiene. Similarly to the textbooks from the earlier *Joseon* Education Ordinances, the inclusion of newly developed technologies (such as a car) was omitted in textbooks for the colonised, instead including pre-existing

Western technologies, such as a post card and a post box.

Japan established a strong military system for the war, as well as a new policy to increase its prosperity and resources. To unify all Koreans under the control of the Japanese government, the enforcement of Japanese as the national language of Korea reached its climax. The Japanese textbooks were utilised as a means of promoting a pro-war and pro-Japanese national identity and spirit, and also to legitimise Japan as a successful, economically well-developed, and culturally advanced country.

The theme of Japanese history and geography also contained some of the same titles, examples being “Top of the mountain”, “The marriage of a mouse” and “Land-pulling”. Similar proportions of content relating to Japanese history and geography were found in each textbook, with only a few units being present, while only *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940) introduced the need to celebrate the Emperor’s birthday. In both sets of textbooks, Korean historical symbols and great heroes were omitted, which were obviously more significant for the Korean students.

On the theme of morality, textbooks for both the Korean and Japanese students emphasised the importance of wisdom, bravery, love, caring for animals, looking after your siblings, not doing silly things, living within one’s means, and being warm-hearted. Since the Japanese textbooks were used to project Japanese ideology, the idealistic image of the colonised was manifested through Japanese dominant ideologies, and thus most content on the theme of morality emphasised the need to be good citizens within both the family and the Empire. Again, both sets of textbooks contained some of the same titles – “The person who has a wen on his face”, “Flower-bearing person”, “The frog”, “The little boy”, and “Urashima Tarou”. In the title, “The person who has a wen on his face”, the length of the text was shorter in *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940) and some onomatopoeic words and sentences were deliberately omitted. *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940) also emphasised hygiene, obedience and saving money, and had a higher percentage of content relating to moral lessons compared to *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1939, 1938), which contained the importance of kindness, honesty, bravery, wisdom and taking care of one’s teeth.

The theme of school life and play included certain activities, events and games that students could participate in during or after school hours. For the Korean students, school life and play were defined differently in the textbooks compared to those for Japanese students. For Korean students, school life and play were associated more with war than with general play. For Japanese students, this theme focused on introducing happy school events and interesting games. Both sets of textbooks introduced school activities and events, as well as Western products, such as a doll and a skipping rope. However, *Shougakutokuhon* (*Monbusho*, 1939, 1938) introduced higher-level professions, such

as dentists in topics under this theme, whereas school activities as described in “War game” and “A frosty morning” were related to training Korean students as soldiers, and games (such as “Shopping”) were commonly associated with jobs that required physical labour, such as a shop assistant (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940). Additionally, *Shotou Kokugotokuhon* (*Joseonchongdogbu*, 1939, 1940) introduced knowledge of traditional games in the titles “Korean seesawing” and the Japanese *Daruma Otoshi* game in “Sports day”.



## Chapter 7: Conclusion & further research implications

### 7.1 Conclusion

This research aimed to understand how the Japanese colonial education curriculum and textbooks reinforced the colonial ideology, teaching Korean students to become ideal colonised citizens so that they could be of benefit to Japan. Japanese educational influences were significant – the Japanese government controlled the Korean school curriculum and the materials used in education, such as textbooks. Textbooks were published by the Japanese government and were constructed to impose Japanese ideologies, such as the Japanese Emperor-centred ideology and the Japanese way of life, introducing costume, culture, and celebration of the Japanese national day to the colonised students.

Textbooks for use by the Korean and the Japanese people were written to be different, according to Japanese assumptions of the Koreans' situation and their level of development. Examination of the two different sets of textbooks (for Korean and Japanese students) made it clear that the education provided to the two groups was different – the differing content served as a means for discrimination between the Japanese and the Korean students.

One aim of the colonial government was to force the Korean people to learn and speak Japanese. This imperative to learn a new language also meant that fewer school hours were left to learn Korean. Korean school children were also discouraged from speaking Korean. Forcing children to speak Japanese was one means of creating a dominant-subordinate relationship, with better jobs and higher status being achievable for those Koreans who successfully learnt the Japanese language (Oh Seong-cheol, 2005; Caprio, 2009).

Four *Joseon* Educational Ordinances influenced the Japanese language textbooks during the period between 1910 and 1945, and editions of *Kokugotokuhon* and *Shougakutokuhon* from these years were examined in order to investigate the similarities and differences in their educational ideologies. Analysis was achieved through the use of critical discourse analysis (CDA) for texts, and visual image analysis (VIA), based on Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996, 2006) theory, was primarily applied to the visual images.

The content of the textbooks for Korean students revealed the dominant ideology of colonialism, intended to pervade the students' minds, encouraging them to think positively towards the Japanese Empire. The Japanese language textbooks constructed Korean students as faithful and obedient citizens of the Japanese Emperor. The texts and visual images promoted pro-war sentiments and a pro-Japanese national identity and spirit, which relate significantly to the colonial aims of achieving ideological control and benefit for Japan during wartime in the 1930s and 1940s. The influence of the war ideology was seen in the textbooks containing the topics "War game" and

“Gymnastic games”, in which schools became a place to train Korean students as soldiers. The Japanese colonial curriculum was used to encourage Korean students to participate in the Japanese war.

The selective tradition seen in the Japanese language textbooks omitted any representation of negative images of the coloniser to the colonised. The Japanese textbooks avoided including any negative aspects of Japan, such as Japanese colonial exploitation, or suppression of Korean nationalism and spirit.

This study investigated what kinds of Japanese ruling ideologies were conveyed to the two different groups, the method via which Japan imposed these ideologies, and how the curriculum attempted to construct different subjects. The research questions were:

1. Which ideologies are dominant in each textbook?
2. What are the different ideologies embedded in the Japanese language textbooks used in Korean primary schools between 1910 and 1945?
3. What possible ideal worlds and qualities of ideal citizens are constructed and promoted in the Japanese language textbooks for the Korean students?

In answering questions one and two, the analysis presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 revealed that the dominant ideologies were embedded in both the texts and the visual images.

This study compared textbooks that were used in Korea and Japan in order to determine the ideologies highlighted to the Korean students. The content of the textbooks published under the four *Joseon* Education Ordinances were categorised into the four most common themes (science and Western technology, Japanese history and geography, moral education, and school life and play). By comparing these four themes in each textbook, this study found that particular discourses were promoted for the Korean students.

Firstly, the theme of science and Western technology focused on different constructions of a possible idea of the world for both the Korean and Japanese students. *Kokugotokuhon* often highlighted nature and the importance of primitive physical work, while including fewer topics on new technologies than *Shougakutokuhon*. It was also seen that the colonised were alienated from advanced cultures and new technologies. Korean students were only exposed to more primitive forms of science (such as a picture book), whereas Japanese students were shown more advanced technologies, including medicine and fireworks. Additionally, while the proportions of textbook content devoted to this theme for both the Korean and Japanese students were similar, the colonised students were offered fewer topics on newer technologies compared to the Japanese students. Even when titles matched, the texts and visual images differed e.g., “Chestnutting”, “Clock”, “Chicks”, and “Rabbit”. By examining these shared titles, the similarities and differences in educational

ideologies between the textbooks for the Korean and Japanese students were revealed. This study found that physical labour and hygiene were commonly addressed under the theme of science and Western technology in the textbooks for Korean students, whereas no content or images of lower-class physical labourers were provided for Japanese students – whenever a worker was included, they held a professional job as a car engineer or a dentist. This difference in content further revealed Japan’s intentions to create a division between the colonised and the colonisers – the Koreans were to be working subordinates, while the Japanese were to become familiar with more advanced cultures and technologies.

Secondly, the theme of Japanese history and geography included topics promoting Japanese nationalism. Following the 1919 [Samil] Independence Movement, content focused on the Japanese Emperor was omitted under the Second *Joseon* Education Ordinance (1919-1938). However, Korean national spirit continued to be suppressed, with symbolic Korean historical figures still being absent from the textbooks for Koreans. Furthermore, Japanese nationalism and geographical features of Japan were also emphasised in the textbooks for Korean students, whilst no mention of Korean nationalism or heroes appeared in the textbooks. Japanese heroes appeared in the books, in order to serve the Japanese colonial purpose of gaining hegemonic control.

The colonial textbooks highlighted the dominant adult ideology by including details about the Japanese Emperor and the Japanese flag, and also attempted to raise the awareness of the colonised as subjects who needed to become assimilated. The textbooks for Japanese students did not include any content or visual images of either the Japanese Emperor or the Japanese flag – instead, Japan’s great heroes and a famous Japanese mountain were presented. This is another demonstration that the Japanese education system aimed to reconstruct the colonised into obedient and faithful subjects, and attempted to restructure the cultural identities, values and ideologies of the Korean students through education. In contrast, Japanese students were expected only to cultivate feelings of nationalism and national pride. This is seen through content such as “New Year’s Day”, “The flag of Japan”, “His royal highness the Emperor (of Japan)”, “The Meiji Emperor”, “*Tenchousetsu*” and “Land-Pulling”.

The Japanese language textbooks were utilised as a method to promote pro-war, pro-Japanese national identity and spirit, and the Japan-centred ideology (promoted through the inclusion of Japanese mythologies) aimed to manipulate the Korean people into participating in the war. The enforcement of Japanese as the national language reached its climax during the war period, as the Japanese government tried to control and unify Koreans, exposing Japan’s goal of using the colonised people for the war.

Thirdly, within the theme of moral education, the colonised were expected to serve Japan by being obedient and faithful to the Emperor. Political passivity and a strong work ethic were

emphasised, and students were also presented with unequal power relationships. Schools aimed to raise colonised students who accepted their inferiority and disempowerment against Japanese imperialism, and the image of an ideal colonised citizen was presented to Korean students as someone who maintained good relationships with others, whilst showing obedience to their teachers, parents, and Japanese government officials.

This study analysed the moralities and ideologies introduced to the colonised and the colonisers. Both *Shougakutokuhon* and *Kokugotokuhon* shared lessons on a range of moral attributes: diligence, unselfishness, being warm-hearted, becoming an ideal family, hygiene, bravery, wisdom, not being greedy, showing good manners to guests, taking care of animals, not doing silly things, living within one's means and looking after siblings, but each textbook also promoted some different moralities. For example, *Shougakutokuhon* introduced the importance of kindness, taking care of one's teeth and independence, while *Kokugotokuhon* particularly emphasised physical labour, good behaviour, greeting etiquette, practising learning Japanese, hard work, being passive, helping adults and family members, saving money, being a subordinate citizen and being obedient, further demonstrating Japan's goal in forming ideal colonised Korean citizens. These inclusions show the specific moral values that were highlighted in the textbooks for Koreans – the ideal colonised person was displayed by accentuating the value of physical labour for Korean citizens, who were depicted as dependent and inferior, and who needed to be good citizens in the family and under the Japanese regime. Furthermore, the Koreans were taught to acquire rules, public laws, and live harmoniously with other people, both within school and in society in order to make them obedient and submissive citizens under the Japanese colonial rule. Moral lessons, such as being respectful towards authorities (their teachers), were further reinforced to the Korean students.

Lastly, the Japanese style of school life and play was also to be integrated into the social etiquette of the Koreans, and aspects of Japanese culture, such as the way they dressed, were expected to be adopted by the colonised. In both *Shougakutokuhon* and *Kokugotokuhon*, school activities and lessons that were related to the Japanese language, mathematics, and games were introduced to the Korean students by Japanese characters, further demonstrating that the colonised students were expected to acquire and utilise different aspects of Japanese culture in their everyday lives.

Under the theme of school life and play, topics for Korean students were often associated with war or with training them to be physical workers or soldiers. In contrast, topics on general play, fun, Western products and interesting games were offered to the Japanese students under the theme of school life and play, as well as more sophisticated professions, such as doctors. This highlights the Japanese government's attempts to implant a pro-war mindset in the colonised students, so that they could be utilised as soldiers. Additionally, under the Second *Joseon* Education Ordinance, images

depicting Korean and Japanese students playing together were promoted in order to emphasise the (hoped-for) harmony and unity present between the Korean and Japanese (Yu Cheol, 2015; Park Jehong, 2011). This material was added to *Kokugotokuhon* after the 1919 [Samil] Independence Movement in the hope of reducing anti-Japanese feeling among the colonised. This large difference gives a clear indication of the motives underlying the Japanese colonial education policy after the Second *Joseon* Education Ordinance.

When the separate themes were investigated, the ideology that was promoted in the two sets of textbooks (intended for the Korean and the Japanese students, respectively) was different. When answering questions 1 and 2, the ideal worlds emphasised for the Koreans and the Japanese were identified, and thus the third research question was able to be answered.

It was discovered that the textbooks contained dominant Japan-centric values, pro-Western culture, adult-centred ideology, Japan-centred ideology (through Japanese mythology) and Japanese nationalism constructed for both Japanese and Korean students. However, similarities and differences were found between the ideal worlds presented in the texts and visual images. Both *Shougakutokuhon* and *Kokugotokuhon* were used as tools to show generic images of Japan and social power, and the qualities of ideal citizens were portrayed – being polite to others, having good manners towards guests, bravery, wisdom, hygiene, and looking after siblings. But significant meanings of ideal worlds and the qualities of ideal citizens were also presented only to Korean students. For example, the textbooks contained depictions of ideal children, who were shown maintaining greeting manners, being good at the Japanese language, saving money, not being greedy, helping other people, helping family members to finish work quickly, working hard to the point of exhaustion, displaying good behaviour, worshipping the Japanese Emperor, and becoming subordinate citizens obedient to the Japanese Empire. In contrast, the traditional Japanese ideal family, kindness, taking care of one's teeth and independence were emphasised for Japanese students. Furthermore, images of Japanese kindness and power were depicted, and the Japanese were shown as having more advanced technology (such as a car).

## **7.2. Strengths and weaknesses of CDA and VIA**

CDA and VIA were used to reveal how texts and visual images construct various cultural values and ideologies. These two methodologies were applied together for this study because previous studies have shown limited outcomes from looking at only texts or images.

This study is significant as it describes and interprets the texts and visual images to answer the research questions. The strength of using CDA and VIA together was discovered – they were used as a means for both producing the research questions and analysing data. Using CDA and VIA could

identify the different discourses and discover for whose interests the texts and visual images were written and chosen for, as well as uncovering the underlying ideological purposes. Therefore, this study shows that CDA and VIA are effective techniques for research into language, texts and visual images, where they have the potential to contain various discourses, embedded ideologies and power relations.

To analyse the differences in ideologies between the two different sets of textbooks used by Korean and Japanese primary students during the Japanese colonial era, I utilised CDA and VIA in ways that have not been found in previous studies of linguistic analysis. CDA has not been limited to being used just for English or Western languages and texts; scholars such as Luke (2018), Lee Dong-bae (2000) and Liu (2003) have shown CDA's effectiveness in discovering underlying ideologies and hegemony by analysing texts in other language groups. Although CDA has mostly been applied in the European context (to discover social problems within English and Western language contexts), the Korean-language study conducted by Lee Dong-bae (2000) used CDA to conduct an analysis on texts, and was able to discover the underlying ideologies and values embedded in Korean language textbooks. This study was able to show how CDA could be utilised to analyse Japanese language textbooks.

VIA is also key in this study, as visual images effectively support the meaning presented in language (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 100). The visual images used in the textbooks are not separated from the text – they complement the teaching material, and so VIA plays an important role in creating meaning in the text. Although the usefulness of VIA cannot be disputed, its use in addressing key aspects of visual images in the field of critical discourse studies has so far been ignored to a certain degree.

Analysis of texts using CDA is inevitably subjective, as it is the author who produces conclusions from their individual interpretations. I chose to adopt CDA for this study as it is effective in discovering embedded ideologies and power relations, which was a main aim of this study. Rogers (2011) asserts that a plethora of studies over the last twenty years have claimed CDA as an effective tool for research in the field of education.

Another source of discontentment with using CDA and VIA is that it is possible to analyse only a small number of texts and visual images. In this study, the texts and visual images were selected according to the frequency of common themes. This study, like others, could not include all text and images. Analysing a small number of texts and visual images may produce the impression in the readers that the analyst may have chosen specific texts and visual images in order to achieve reliable (or particular) study results.

Even though there are strengths and weaknesses with using CDA and VIA, this study contributes to the field beyond critical curriculum theory. Moreover, comparative studies of Japanese language textbooks are rare within colonial curriculum studies. Therefore, this study offers further opportunities to broaden the scope of colonial curriculum studies, and more specifically Japanese colonial curriculum study.

### **7.3. How this study advances the field of curriculum studies**

This study advances the field of curriculum studies by investigating the differences in ideologies between the textbooks for the colonisers and the colonised. This study reviews the Japanese language textbooks published for the Korean students during the colonial era and compares them with the textbooks published for the Japanese students of the same time. By doing so, this study provides further insight into how the Japanese government implemented its colonial policies through textbooks, and how the curricula changed according to shifts in the political situation over the period studied. This study is the first to compare the textbooks for the Japanese and the Koreans from the Japanese colonial era by analysing the texts as well as the visual images. It has revealed the ruling ideologies dominant in the Japanese language textbooks for Koreans, and how the school curriculum was conveyed through the textbooks, as well as uncovering the ruling Japanese ideology and how the curriculum attempted to construct colonial subjects.

This study has looked into the colonial curriculum and critical curriculum studies using CDA and VIA. There has been wide research in the field of colonial studies in South Korea, yet many scholars (Jeong Jae-cheol, 2009; Kim Yoon-joo, 2011; Park Mi-kyung, 2011) have focused only on the school curricula for the colonised, i.e., for the Korean people. By investigating the Japanese language textbooks used by the colonised, this study will advance colonial curriculum studies. This study will also contribute to the field of critical curriculum studies, as South Korea has only received limited attention within that field so far.

Textbooks are a part of an education system's curriculum. A textbook is a vital resource in the process of teaching, and in education itself. As mentioned in Chapter 2, textbooks play the role of teaching sanctioned knowledge, and are known to have a greater influence and credibility than the ancillary materials provided by teachers. In a curriculum study, it is significant to look into the textbooks to reveal what dominant ideologies existed and what functions they may have had in curriculum. Moreover, this study explored what the contents of the textbooks established and what processes (the Japanese government policy and aims) were involved in producing and changing the Japanese textbooks throughout the whole colonial period.

Previous studies that have examined the Japanese language textbooks have tended to analyse the texts and visual images without incorporating critical perspectives. Previous analyses of the Japanese language textbooks have shown limitations, such as only focusing on the titles of chapters or the pictures within the textbooks, and no other studies have analysed both the texts and visual images using CDA and VIA (based on Kress and van Leeuwen's theoretical framework). Throughout *Kokugotokuhon* and *Shougakutokuhon*, written texts were often accompanied with visual images. Therefore, it can be seen that by analysing both texts and images, this study will provide stronger results and more detailed findings on what ideologies are conveyed. Furthermore, by using both micro-analysis of texts, which involves the analysis of linguistic and semiotic aspects, and macro-analysis of texts, which includes power relations, social formations and constructions (Luke, 2002; Van Dijk, 1993), the field of South Korean critical curriculum studies is enriched.

Through analysing texts and visual images in the textbooks, this study revealed the dominant powers and ideologies significantly presented and embedded in each textbook. This critical study in the field of Japanese curriculum study can be used to reveal clear evidence of dominant ideologies and the indoctrination of Japanese government ideologies that were contained in Japanese language textbooks during the Japanese colonial era. By providing comparisons between the respective textbooks of the colonisers and the colonised, this study contributes to increasing the awareness of colonial education and educators. This study shows how the Japanese curriculum was constructed and used for Japan's benefit and how Koreans were marginalised from equal educational and social opportunities.

#### **7.4. Further research implications**

This study had some limitations, one example being the total amount of data collected for the analysis. Perhaps a future study could investigate a larger number of texts and visual images, extracted from a wider selection of textbooks.

Firstly, when texts were being chosen for this study, selection was conditional on the books having accompanying images. (However, it should be said that analysis of text and visual images together is necessary for further studies as well.)

Secondly, I analysed Japanese language textbooks for use only in early elementary school – if other levels of Japanese language textbooks were to be examined, a broader range of texts and visual images could be found.

Thirdly, there was a clear lack of material in the areas of history and geography. This lack is probably a result of the books analysed being intended for lower-level primary students (levels 2 and 3).



Finally, it was difficult to find textbooks from the First *Joseon* Education Ordinance that were close in publication date from Korea and Japan. These books have not been preserved very well, meaning that a time gap was inevitable between *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 and 3* (1913) and *Zinzoo Shougakutokuhon 2 and 3* (1917) – it was impossible to find textbooks from the same year. A time gap between *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2 & 3 (Joseonchongdogbu, 1930, 1931)* and *Shougakutokuhon 2 & 3 (Monbusho, 1933, 1935)* from the Second *Joseon* Education Ordinance was also evident.

It would be challenging to find and interview people who were trained under the Japanese colonial curriculum, but for a future study, I would like to interview some of the colonised students, in order to discover what they actually learned in the classroom from their Japanese teachers. The teachers would have imposed a certain ideology on their students, in addition to what is apparent in the textbooks. Therefore, it would be useful to research higher levels of primary colonial language textbooks and to interview people from the colonial periods.

A future study could also use visual images and texts from other Japanese language textbooks from the colonial era used in Japan and other countries that had been colonised by Japan, such as Taiwan, regions of mainland China and the South Pacific Mandate, to observe the underlying ideologies as done in this study. By studying the differences/similarities in the textbooks between Korea and other colonised countries, it will reveal how Japanese language textbooks convey the Japanese ruling ideologies and subjectivities on different colonised areas.

Hence it may be beneficial to further study Japanese language textbooks for the other colonised countries of the time.

## References

- Althusser, L. (2014). *On the reproduction of capitalism: Ideology and ideological state Apparatuses*. (G. M. Goshgarian, Trans.) Brooklyn, NY: Verso.
- An Su-ung (1993). *Ilbon jadongcha saneobui baljeon yoin bunseog [An analysis of the development factor on Japanese car industries]* (Masters thesis, Sogang University, Korea). Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Apple, M. W. (1982). *Education and power*. London, England: Routledge.
- Apple, M. W. (1988). Series editor's introduction. In D. Liston (Ed.), *Capitalist schools* (pp. 1-10). London, England: Routledge.
- Apple, M. W. (2004). *Ideology and curriculum* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge and Falmer.
- Apple, M. W. (2012). *Knowledge, power and education: The selected works of Michael W. Apple*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H. (Eds.). (1995). *The post-colonial studies reader*. London, England: Routledge.
- Bacchus, M. K. (1980). *Education for development or underdevelopment? Guyana's educational system and its implications for the third world*. Ontario, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
- Baek Sun-geun (2003). *Ilje gangjeomgiui gyoyok pyeongga [Educational evaluation of Japanese colonial period]*. Seoul, Korea: Gyoyukgwahaksa.
- Baker, C. D., & Freebody, P. (1989), *Children's first schoolbooks: Introductions to the culture of literacy*. Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- Barthes, R. (1967). *Elements of semiology*. London, England: Cape.
- Barthes, R. (1993). *Mythologies*. (A. Lavers, Trans.) London, England: Paladin.
- Bell, A., & Traub, C. H. (2015). *Vision anew: The lens and screen arts*. Oakland, California: University of California Press.
- Bellenoit, H. J. A. (2016). *Missionary education and empire in late colonial India* (2nd ed.). London, England: Routledge.
- Bong Sang-su (2009). *Joseonchongdogbu gyeongchaljedoui byeoncheone gwanhan yeonggu [A study on the transition of the police system under the Governor-General of Korea]* (Masters thesis, Yonsei University, Korea).

Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>

Brewer, W. F., & Lichtenstein, E. H. (1980). *Event schemas, story schemas, and story grammars*.

Retrieved from <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED199668.pdf>

Bu Gil-man (2013). *Hangug chulpan yeigsa [History of Korean publications]*. Seoul, Korea: Communication Books.

Bu Ji-young (2016). *Godeunghakgyo hanguksa gyogwaseo iljegangjeomgi saenghwalsa seosul bunseok mich hwalseonghwa bangan [Analysis and ways to vitalize high school Korean history textbook content focused on Japanese colonial era]*. (Masters thesis, Graduate school of Education Chung-Ang University, Korea). Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailView.do>

Butler, C. S. (2003). *Structure and function: A guide to three major structural-functional theories: Part 2: From clause to discourse and beyond*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.

Calichman, R. F. (Ed.). (2005). *Contemporary Japanese thought*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Caprio, M. E. (2009). *Japanese assimilation policies in colonial Korea, 1910-1945*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.

Carlucci, A. (2013). *Gramsci and languages: Unification, diversity, hegemony*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

Carnoy, M. (1974). *Education as cultural imperialism*. New York, NY: Longman.

Chandler, D. (2007). *Semiotics: The basics* (2nd ed.). London, England: Taylor and Francis.

Chao, T. C. (2011). The hidden curriculum of cultural content in internationally published ELT textbooks: A closer look at new American inside out. *The Journal of Asia TEFL*, 8, 189-210. Retrieved from <http://www.earticle.net/Article.aspx?sn=182320>

Cho Dong-geol (2011), *Iljeui gungugjuuiwa minjoggyoyug [Militarism and national education during the colonial era]*. Seoul, Korea: Yeogsagonggan.

Choi Be-geun (2007). *Hanguk gyeongjeui saeloungil: Yeoksajeok bunseokeulobon [The way of the Korean Economy: As seen in historical analysis]*. Seoul, Korea: Parkyoungsa.

Choi Jae-seong (2010). *Changssigaemyeonggwa chinil Joseoninui hyeoblyeog [Imperialist Japanese enforcing the change of surname in Joseon, and the activities of Korean*

- collaborators]. *Korean Independence Movement Research*, 37(12), 345-392. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Cripps, D. (1996). Flags and fanfares: The Hinomaru flag and kimigayo anthem. In R. Goodman & I. Neary (Eds.), *Case Studies on Human Rights in Japan* (pp. 76-108). London, England: Japan Library.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2003). *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dewey, J. (1966). *Democracy and education: An introduction to the philosophy of education*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. London, England: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1993). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge, England: The Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. New York, NY: Longman Publishing.
- Fairclough, N. (2001). *Language and power*. London, England: Pearson Education.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. London, England: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (2009). A dialectical-relational approach to critical discourse analysis in social research. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (pp. 162-185). London, England: Sage.
- Fairclough, N. (2010). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. Harlo, England: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (2013). *Language and power* (2nd ed.). London, England: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (2016). *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. London, England: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical discourse analysis. *Discourse as social interaction. Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*, 2, 258-284. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/58379342?accountid=14723>
- Farenga, S. J., & Ness, D. (Eds.). (2005). *Encyclopedia of education and human development*. Armonk, NY: M.E.Sharpe.
- Foucault, M. (1965). *Madness and civilization*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.

- Fyfe, G., & Law, J. (1988). *Picturing power: Visual depiction and social relations*. London, England: Routledge.
- Gee, J. P. (2014). *An introduction to discourse analysis: Theory and method* (4th ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Giroux, H. A. (2001). *Theory and resistance in education: Towards a pedagogy for the opposition*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.
- Giroux, H. A. (2011). *On critical pedagogy: Henry Giroux*. (S. R. Steinberg, & A. M. A. Freire, Eds.). Auckland, New Zealand: The Continuumbooks.
- Gould, S. J. (1996). *The mismeasure of man* (Rev.). New York, NY: Norton.
- Gramsci, A. (1971). On education: The organization of education and culture. In Q. Hoare & G. N. Smith (Eds.), *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* (pp. 26-33). New York, NY: International Publishers.
- Gramsci, A. (1995). *Gramsciwha Hamkeilnun Munhwa: The culture is being read with Gramsci* (Cho Hyeong-jun, Trans.). Seoul, Korea: Saemulgyul.
- Hall, S. (2014). Imperial Japanese army intelligence in North and Central China during the Second Sino-Japanese War. *Salus Journal*, 2(2), 16-30.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1985). *An introduction to functional grammar*. Sydney, Australia: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (2004). *Halliday's introduction to functional grammar* (M. I. M. Christian & Matthiessen, Rev.) (3rd ed.). London, England: Oxford University Press.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (2014). *Halliday's introduction to functional grammar* (M. I. M. Christian & Matthiessen, Rev.) (4th ed.). London, England: Oxford University Press.
- Han Young-u (2005). *21segi hankughag, eotteohge hal geosinga [Korean studies in the 21st century, what to do]*. Seoul, Korea: Puleunyeoksa.
- Hardacre, H. (2017). *Shinto: A history*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Hasegawa, Y. (2012). *The routledge course in Japanese translation*. London, England: Routledge.
- Heinrich, P. (2005). Language ideology in JFL textbooks. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2005, 213-232. Retrieved from <https://www-degruyter-com.ezproxy.library.uq.edu.au/JournalArticles?source=%2Fj%2Fijsl&volume=175-176>
- Heo Jae-young (2009). *Iljegangjeomgi gyogwaseo jeongchaekgwa Joseoneogwa gyogwaseo [The*

- textbook policy and Joseon language textbooks during the Japanese occupation*]. Seoul, Korea: Gyeongjin.
- Heo Jae-young (2011a). *Joseongyoyuklyeonggwa gyoyukjeongchaeg byeonhwa jalyo [Materials of Joseon Education Ordinance and education policy change]*. Seoul, Korea: Gyeongjin.
- Heo Jae-young (2011b). *Iljegangjeomgi eomunjeongchaeggwa eomunsaenghwal [Language policy and linguistic life during the Japanese colonial era]*. Seoul, Korea: Gyeongjin.
- Hodge, R., & Kress, G. (1988). *Social semiotics*. Cambridge, England: Polity Press.
- Huckin, T., Andrus, J., & Clary-Lemon, J. (2012). Critical discourse analysis and rhetoric and composition. *College Composition and Communication*, 64(1), 107-129. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1081830959?accountid=14723>
- Huppatz, D. J. (2018). *Modern Asian design*. London, England: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Hwang Ui-lyong & Lim U-taek (2010). Ilje gangjeomgiui botonghakgyo undonghoe gwanha yeongu: Joseonui gyoyukyeonguleul jungsimeulo [A study on sports day in common school during the Japanese occupation: Focusing on Joseon's education research]. *The Korea Journal of Sports Science*, 19(4), 3-14. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Jager, S., & Maier, F. (2009). Theoretical and methodological aspects of Foucauldian critical discourse analysis and dispositive analysis. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (pp. 34-61). London, England: Sage.
- Jang Mi-gyeong (2011). The Japanese language textbooks analysis under the colonial curriculum: Joseon's "BotonghakkyoKukoudokbon" and Taiwan's "Konhakkyoyong Kukmindokbon". *The Journal of Japanese Literature Studies*, 48, 201-220. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Jang Mi-gyeong & Kim Sun-jeon (2010). Ileodogbongwa jeongjeongbotonghakgyo hakdoyong kugeodogbone natanan gongganpyohyeonui byeonhwa gochal [A study on the change of spatial expression in the Japanese language textbooks]. *The Japanese Studies*, 14. 365-386. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Jang Mi-gyeong, Kim Sun-jeon, Park Je-hong, Park Gyeong-su & Sa Hui-young (2013). *Joseonchongdogbu balhaeng chodeungkugeodogbon wonmun [Original texts of the Japanese language textbooks for elementary students published by the Japanese Governor-General of Korea]*. Seoul, Korea: J&C.
- JanMohamed, A. R. (2006). The economy of Manichean allegory. In B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths & H.

- Tiffin (Eds.), *The post-colonial studies reader* (pp. 19-23). London, England: Routledge.
- Jeong Hye-gyeong (2010). *Joseon cheongueoniyeo hwangguksinmini doeeola [To Joseon youth, become citizens of Japanese Empire]*. Seoul, Korea: Seohaemunjib.
- Jeong Jae-cheol (2009). Comparative analysis in all textbooks from the colonial era (M. Lee, Ed.). *The Journal of Education studies*, 31(2), 227-243. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Jeong Tae-jun (2005). *Ilje gangjeomgi Joseonui cheonhwangje sasang gyoyuk yeongu [Choseon's imperial ideology education during Japanese imperialism]* (Doctoral thesis, Gyeongsang National University, Korea). Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Jewitt, C., & Oyama, R. (2004). Visual meaning: A social semiotic approach. In T. van Leeuwen & C. Jewitt (Eds.), *The handbook of visual analysis*. London, England: Sage.
- Jo Jin-ki (2003). The literary acceptance of the national policy at the end of Japanese imperialism. *Korean Language and Culture*, 43, 1-25. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Jo Jin-ki (2010). *Iljemalgi gukchaekgwa cheje suneungui munhak [Literature of national policy and system conformity at the end of the Japanese colonial rule]*. Seoul, Korea: Somyeongchulpan.
- Jo Min-eun (2010). *Ilje gangjeomgi jaeJoseon ilbonin hakgyowa hakgyojohap yeongu [The study of the schools and the Hakgyojohap (School Corporation) in Korea during the Japanese colonial rule]* (Doctoral thesis, Sung Kyun Kwan University, Korea). Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Jo Seong-taek (2015). Ilje gangjeomgi gyeongchalui yeoghale gawanhan yeongu [Review of the police's role under the Japanese colonial area]. *Korean Public Administration History Review*, 37(12), 79-102. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Johnson, N. (2006). *Colonial language, memory, and assimilation: Senegal (1891-1960) and Korea (1910-1945)* (Doctoral thesis, Western Illinois University, U.S.). Retrieved from [http://paperroom.ipsa.org/papers/paper\\_5414.pdf](http://paperroom.ipsa.org/papers/paper_5414.pdf)
- Jung Hee-jun (2009). *Seupocheu Korea pantaji: seupocheulo ilgneun hankug sahoe munhwasa [Sports Korea fantasy: Reading Korean society and culture through sports]*. Seoul, Korea: Gaemagowon.
- Kang Jin-ho (2011). Kugeo gyogwaseoui hyeongseonggwa ilje sigminjuui: kukeodogbongwa

- Joseoneodogboneul jungsimeulo [The formation of Korean textbook and Japanese colonialism: Focusing on the Japanese language textbook (1907) and the Korean language textbook (1907)]. *The Journal of Modern Novel Studies*, 46, 65-99. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Kang Jin-ho, Kim Sin-jung, Kim Ye-ni, Bang Kum-dan & Oh Seong-cheol (2007). *Gukeo gyogwaseowa gukga ideollogi [Korean language textbooks and national ideologies]*. Seoul, Korea: Nurim Press.
- Kang Jun-man (2008). *Hanguk geundaesa sanchaek 8: Manju sabyeoneseo sinsachambaekkaji [Korean modern history walk: From the Manchurian Incident to shrine worship]*. Seoul, Korea: Inmulgwasasangsa.
- Kang Man-gil (2004). *Ilbonggwa seoguui sigmintongchi bigyo [Comparison between the Japanese and Western colonial rule]*. Seoul, Korea: Seonin.
- Kang Myeong-suk (2009). Iljesidae je 2cha Joseongyoyuklyeong gaejeong gwajeong yeongu [An historical study on the enactment of the Second Chosen Educational Ordinance in the Japanese colonial period]. *Study of Educational Thought*, 23(3), 27-53. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Kang Young-sim (2008). *Ilje sigi geundaejeog ilsanggwa sigminji munhwa [Modern daily life and colonial culture during the Japanese colonial period]*. Seoul, Korea: Ewha Womans University Press.
- Kentli, F. D. (2009). Comparison of hidden curriculum theories. *European Journal of Educational Studies*. 1(2), pp.83-88. Retrieved from <https://docplayer.net/51221949-Comparison-of-hidden-curriculum-theories.html>
- Khan, Y. (1997). *Japanese moral education past and present*. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses.
- Khoshkish. A. (1979). *The social-political complex: An interdisciplinary approach to political life*. Oxford, England: Pergamon Press.
- Kim Djun-kil (2014). *The history of Korea* (2nd ed.). Santa Barbara, LA: Greenwood Press.
- Kim Hye-lyeon (2011). *Ilje gangjeomgi Joseoneogwa gyogwaseowa Joseonin [Korean textbooks and Korean people during the Japanese colonial era]*. Seoul, Korea, Yeoglag.
- Kim Jae-hun (1984). *Hanmal iljeui tojijeomtale gwanhan yeongu: gukyumiganji iyongbeobeul jungsimeulo [A study on the land slip during the Japanese occupation: Focused on the*



- usage of Gukyumiganji (1907)*] (Masters thesis, Graduate School of Korean Studies, Korea). Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Kim Jeong-eun (1998). *Iljeha gyeongchal jojiggwa Joseonin tongjejeongchak [The police organisations and control policy for Koreans under Japanese imperialism]* (Masters thesis, Sookmyung Women University, Korea). Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Kim Jeong-ha (2013). *Korean primary school music education during Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945)*. (Doctoral thesis, The Griffith University, Australia). Retrieved from [https://www120.secure.griffith.edu.au/rch/file/1cdd22c0-b3ee-459f-b984-85f2aba68d3a/1/Kim\\_2013\\_02Thesis.pdf](https://www120.secure.griffith.edu.au/rch/file/1cdd22c0-b3ee-459f-b984-85f2aba68d3a/1/Kim_2013_02Thesis.pdf)
- Kim Jeong-ha (2014). Rethinking colonialism: Korean primary school music education during the Japanese colonial rule of Korea. *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*. 36(1), 23-42. Retrieved from <http://journals.sagepub.com.ezproxy.library.uq.edu.au/doi/abs/10.1177/153660061403600103>
- Kim Jin-su (2003). The French colonial language policy: Focusing on Vietnam. *The Journal of French Culture Studies*, 5(1), 97-115. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Kim Jin-suk (2012). Ilje gangjeomgibuteo je 1 cha gyoyukgwajeonggi gyoyukgwajeong munseo chegye bunseok: Chonglongwa gyogwau bunhwawa doklib [Analysis of the document system of the first education and periodical curriculum since the Japanese colonial rule: Differentiation and independence of general theory and subject]. *The Journal of Korean Education history Studies*, 34(1), 27-55. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Kim Kyung-ja (2004). Iljegangjeomgi chodeunggyoyukui bonjil: gyoyukgwajeong yosoleul jungsimeulo [The essence of elementary education found under the rule of Japanese imperialism: Focusing on the curriculum elements]. *The Journal of elementary education*, 17(1), 293-325. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Kim Seong-yun (2013). *The reality of public elementary education under Japanese colonial rule: Based on Songho Elementary School in Masan* (Masters thesis, Kyungnam University, Korea). Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>

- Kim Seung-tae (2006). *Hanmal iljegangjeomgi sungyosa yangu [The study of missionaries during the Japanese colonial era]*. Seoul, Korea: Hangukidokgyoyeogsayanguso.
- Kim Sun-jeon (2008). *Jegukui sikmingi susin: Joseonchongdogbu pyeonchan susinseo yeongu [A colonial Japanese Empire Susin: An analysis of Susinseo published by Joseonchongdogbu]*. Seoul, Korea: J&C.
- Kim Sun-jeon, Park Je-hong, Jang Mi-gyeong, Park Gyeong-su & Sa Hui-young (2011). *Botonghakgyo gugeodokbon: wonmunsang [National school textbooks; original texts]*. Seoul, Korea: J&C.
- Kim Sun-jeon, Park Je-hong, Jang Mi-gyeong, Park Gyeong-su, Sa Hui-young, Kim Seo-eun & Yu Cheol (2012). *Iljegangjeomgi ilboneo gyogwaseo Kukoudockboneul tonghae bon sikminji Joseon mandeulgi [Making colonial subjects for Japan during the Japanese colonial era through the analysis of Kukoudockbon]*. Seoul, Korea: J&C.
- Kim Sun-jeon, Park Je-hong, Jang Mi-gyeong, Park Gyeong-su & Sa Hui-young (2014). *Botonghakgyo gugeodokbon je 3gi: wonmunsang [National school textbooks of third reading; original texts]*. Seoul, Korea: J&C.
- Kim Sun-jeon, Park Gyeong-su, Sa Hui-young, Park Je-hong, Jang Mi-gyeong, Kim Seo-eun & Yu Cheol (2015). *Jegugui jeonsigayo yeongu: Gunga enkaeul jungsimeulo [The study of Empire's war poem: Focusing on the war song Enka]*. Seoul, Korea: J&C.
- Kim Sung-jun (2004). An analysis of Korean language education curriculum under the Japanese colonial rule: Laying stress on Joseon educational ordinance. *The Journal of Education Studies*, 105, 137-189. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Kim Sung-jun (2010). *Ilje gangjeomgi Joseoneo gyoyukgwa Joseoneo malsaljeongcha yeongu [A study on the Korean language education and the extermination of Korean language during the Japanese colonial rule]*. Seoul, Korea: Gyeonginmunhwasa.
- Kim Young-kwon (2004). Iljesidae misulgyoyuk gochal: Chodeung misulgyoyukeul jungsimeulo [Study on art education during the Japanese colonial era: Focusing on elementary art education]. *Art Education Review*, 24, 1-29. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Kim Yoon-joo (2011). A comparative study on “Joseoneodokbon” and “Gugeodokbon” during Japanese colonial era: Focusing on 1st and 2nd graders' textbook of the 1st educational law period. *The Journal of Education studies*, 41, 137-165. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>

- Kim Young-sim (2010). Donghwawhadoen Kugmin munhak: Ilje sohakgukeodogbondokui genjimonogatali [National literature was assimilated: Genji Monogatari in the Japanese language textbooks]. *The Japanese studies*, 45, 217-237. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Klatt, O. (2006). *Reiki systems of the world: One heart-many beats* (C. M. Grimm, Trans.). Twin Lakes, WI: Lotus Press.
- Kobayashi, V. N. (1964). *John Dewey in Japanese educational thought*. (Doctoral thesis, University of Michigan, U.S.). Retrieved from <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.library.uq.edu.au/docview/302148645?pq-origsite=primo>
- Kress, G. (2010). *Multimodality: A social semiotic approach to contemporary communication*. London, England: Routledge.
- Kress, G., & Van Leeuwen, T. (1996). *Reading images: The grammar of visual design*. London, England: Routledge.
- Kress, G., & Van Leeuwen, T. (2006). *Reading images: The grammar of visual design* (2nd ed.). London, England: Routledge.
- Kuo, S., & Nakamura, M. (2005). Translation or transformation? A case study of language and ideology in the Taiwanese press. *Discourse & Society*, 16(3), 393-417. Retrieved from <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/cc29/6175991067113298bfc3a7ef344f5944d19d.pdf>
- Kwak Geon-hong (2001). *Labour policy and Joseon labour workers under the Japanese imperialism*. Seoul, Korea: Sinseowon.
- Kwak Jin-o (2011). Iljewa Joseon gyoyukjeongchak: Joseon gyoyuklyeongeul jungsimeulo [Japanese colonial education in Korea: Focus on the Korean Educational Ordinance during the Japanese colonial period]. *Journal of Japanese Culture*, 50, 255-272. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Kwon Sun-chil (2013). *Iljeui nodonglyeog sutaljeongchaegulo inhan Joseonsahoegujoui byeonhwa* [Changes in the structure of Joseon due to the Japanese imperialism] (Masters thesis, Daegu Catholic University, Korea). Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Lee Byung-dam (2007). *Hanguk geundae adongui tansaeng* [The birth of modern Korean children]. Seoul, Korea: J&C.
- Lee Dong-bae (2000). *The ideological construction of culture in Korean language textbooks: A*

*historical discourse analysis* (Doctoral thesis, University of Queensland, Australia).

Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/304567573?accountid=14723>

- Lee Dong-bae (2006). Analysis of North Korean Language Textbooks: Altered Jucheism [Self-reliance] Ideology. *Korean Language Education Research*, 27, 399-435. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Lee Dong-bae (2012). Critical analysis of Japanese ideology in Korean language textbooks (1913-1938). *The Education of Korean Language and Literature*, 27, 107-140. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Lee Gi-gyu (2015). *Saenggaki keuneun inmunhak [A thoughtful humanities]*. Seoul, Korea: Eulpaso press.
- Lee Jong-ho (2000). Ilje jegukjuuiui tojisutalgwa geu teugjing [The despoilment of the land in Korea and the characteristics of the Japanese imperialism]. *Busan National University of Education*, 0, 21-49. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Lee Jung-su (2004). Analysing Japanese educational textbooks during the colonial era. *The Japanese Language Research*, 10, 175-190. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Lee Myeong-hwa (2010). “Iljehwangminhwa gyoyukgwa gungminhakgyojeui sihaeng” [Japanization education of Japanese imperialism and an elementary school], *Hangukdongnibundongsa yeongu*, 35 (4), 315–48. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Lee Myeong-hwa (2011). Ideology of Japanese compulsory annexation of Korea and colonial education policy. *The Journal of Education Studies*, 39, 77-126. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Lee Seung-il (2011). Sigminji Joseongwa daemanui changssigaemyeong, gaeseongmyeong bigyo yeongu [Colonial Joseon and Changssigaemyeong in Taiwan, comparative study of Chagssigaemyeong between Joseon and Taiwan during the Japanese colonial era]. *Daedon Culture Studies*, 76, 405-251. Retrieved from <http://kiss.kstudy.com/search/sch-result.asp>
- Lee Suk-ja (2000). *Iljeui ilboneo gyoyuke isseoseoui seongchabyeoljeok naeyong yeongu: Botonghakgyoyukeodokboneul daesangeulo [A study on gender differences in Japanese language education during the Japanese colonial era: Focused on*

- Botonghakgyogukeodokbon (1913-1937)*] (Masters thesis, Kyunghee University, Korea). Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Liao, P., & Wang, D. D. (Eds.). (2006). *Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule, 1895-1945: History, culture, memory*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Liu, Yongbing (2003). *The cultural knowledge and ideology in Chinese language textbooks: A critical discourse analysis* (Doctoral thesis, The University of Queensland, Australia). Retrieved from <https://espace.library.uq.edu.au/view/UQ:106545>
- Liu, Yongbing (2011). Pedagogic discourse and transformation: A selective tradition. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 43(5), 599-606. Retrieved from <https://www-tandfonline-com.ezproxy.library.uq.edu.au/doi/pdf/10.1080/00220272.2011.584564?needAccess=true>
- Luke, A. (1988). *Literacy, textbooks and ideology: Postwar literacy instruction and the mythology of Dick and Jane*. London, England: Falmer Press.
- Luke, A. (1995). Text and discourse in education: An introduction to critical discourse analysis. *Review of Research in Education*, 21, 3-48. Retrieved from [https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.library.uq.edu.au/stable/1167278?seq=2#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.library.uq.edu.au/stable/1167278?seq=2#metadata_info_tab_contents)
- Luke, A. (2002). Beyond science and ideology critique: Development in critical discourse analysis. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 22, 99-110. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/85576672?accountid=14723>
- Luke, A. (2018). *Critical literacy, schooling, and social justice: The selected works of Allan Luke*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Machin, D., & Mayr, A. (2012). *How to do critical discourse analysis: A multimodal introduction*. Los Angeles, LA: Sage.
- Margolis, E. (Ed.). (2001). *The hidden curriculum in higher education*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Mason, M., & Lee, H. (2012). *Reading colonial Japan: Text, context, and critique*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Memmi, A. (2003). *The colonizer and the colonized* (H. Greenfeld, Trans.). London, England: Earthscan Publications.
- Merrill, E. (2014). *The lineage of emotions in medieval Japan: A textual analysis of Yoshitsune's Kibune episode* (Masters thesis, Arizona State University, U.S.). Retrieved from [https://repository.asu.edu/attachments/135131/content/Merrill\\_asu\\_0010N\\_14006.pdf](https://repository.asu.edu/attachments/135131/content/Merrill_asu_0010N_14006.pdf)

- Mun Ook-pyo (2003). *Sinyeoseong: Hangukgwa ilbonui geundae yeoseongsang [New woman: Forms of modern women in Korea and Japan]*. Seoul, Korea: Cheongnyeonsa.
- Mun Young-joo (2003). 1938-1945 nyeon gukminjeochugjoseongundongui jeongaewa geumyungjohab yegeumui seonggyeok [The development of the National Savings Promotion Campaign from 1938-1945 and the characteristics of financial associations]. *The Korean History Society, 14*, 387-413. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Myers, R., & Peattie, M., & Chen, C. (1984). *The Japanese colonial empire, 1895-1945*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Nahm, A. C. (1993). *Historical dictionary of the Republic of Korea*. Methen: Scarecrow Press. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.uq.edu.au/docview/304933062>
- Nakabayashi, H. (2015). *Joseonchongdogbuui gyoyukjeongchaeggwa donghwajuiui byeoncheon [The Japanese Governor-General of Korea's education policy and transition of assimilation]* (Doctoral thesis, Yonsei University, Korea). Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Nishida, N. (2004). Kegoshi to gendaikago. In Kikuchi, Y. (Ed.), *Asakura nihongo koza 8* (pp. 225-243). Tokyo, Japan: Asakura Shoten.
- Nodelman, P. (1999). Decoding the images. How picture books work. In Hunt, P. (Ed.), *Understanding children's literature* (pp. 162-185). London, England: Routledge.
- Numano, T. (2011). Primary schools in Japan. Retrieved from <https://www.nier.go.jp/English/educationjapan/pdf/201109BE.pdf>
- Obed, M. (2017). *Education, social progress, and marginalized children in sub-saharan Africa: Historical antecedents and contemporary challenges*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books.
- Oh Seong-cheol (2005). *Singminji chodeung gyoyukei hyeongseong [The formation of Japanese colonial primary education.]* (2nd ed.). Seoul, Korea: Gyoguk Gwahaksa.
- Oh Se-won (2005). Iljegangjeomgi sigminji gyoyukjeongchaekui byeonhwa yeongu [Study on the change of the colonial education policy during colonial rule of Japan]. *The Japanese Literature Society of Korea, 27*, 273-292. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Okoth, P. G. (2012). *The imperial curriculum: Racial images and education in the British colonial experience* (J. A. Mangan, Ed.). London, England: Routledge.

- Painter, C., Martin, J.R., & Unsworth, L. (2013). *Reading visual narratives: Image analysis of children's picture books*. London, England: Equinox Publishing.
- Park Gyeong-su (2011). Iljemalgi kukeodogbonui gyohwalo byeonyongdoen 'eolini' [In the end of the Japanese colonial period, 'Children' were changed into edification of kukeodogbon]. *The Japanese Literature*, 55, 547-566. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Park Gyeong-suk (2009). Singminji sigi (1910-1945) Joseonei ingu dongtewa gujo [Dynamics of population and structure of population in Joseon during the Japanese colonial rule, 1910-1945]. *Hanguk inmunhak*, 32(2), 29-58. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Park Hye-seong (2011). *2007nyeon gaejeong gyoyukgwajeonge ttaleun 7haknyeon gyogwaseo pohamdoen hwahak gwanlyeon sabhwai insiggwa gaeseon bangan* [Research on illustrations including the 7th grade textbooks and recognition and improvement of chemistry in middle school science textbooks of the revised 2007 curriculum] (Masters thesis, Hanyang University, Korea). Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Park Jang-gyeong, Kim Hyun-suk & Kim Sun-jeon (2014). *Joseonchongdogbu pyeonchan 1923-1924 botonghakgyo kugeodogbon je2gi: hangeulbeonyeog* [The Japanese language textbooks published by the Japanese Governor-General of Korea in 1923-1924 the second period of Joseon Education Ordinance: Hangeul translation]. Seoul, Korea: J&C.
- Park Je-hong (2008). *Colonial education of Japanese imperialism through appearance people in the modern time Korean-Japanese textbooks* (Doctoral thesis, Chonnam National University, Korea). Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Park Je-hong (2011). Ilje sigminji sidaeui chabyeol gyoyukeul tongha sigminji eolini mandeulgi: Je 3 cha gonglibhakgyo gugeo gyogwaseo jungsimeulo [Making a colonial child through discriminatory education under the Japanese colonial period: Focusing on the tertiary common school national language textbooks]. *Journal of Japanese Language Education Association*, 58, 231-245. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Park Je-hong (2012). Iljeui chabyeolgyoyuge uihan sigminjuadong yukseong [Cultivation of colonial children under the Japanese discriminatory education during the Japanese Colonial era]. In Kim Sun-jeon, Jang Mi-gyeong, Park Gyeong-su, Sa Hui-young, Kim Seo-eun &

Yu Cheol (Eds.), *Iljegangjeomgi ilboneo gyogwaseo Kukoudockboneul tonghae bon sikminji Joseon mandeulgi [Making colonial subjects for Japan during the Japanese colonial era through the analysis of Kukoudockbon]* (pp. 439-461). Seoul, Korea: J&C.

Park Je-hong and Kim Sun-jeon (2016). Iljeui umihwa gyoyukgwa yeoksa gyogwaseo: Je1cha Joseon gyoyuglyeong sigi Joseonchongdogbu pyeonchan botonghakgyoyong gyogwaseoleul jungsimulo [Japanese education of making the Korean the ignorant and history textbook: Focusing on textbook for primary schools compiled by the Japanese Governor-General of Korea in the period of ‘1Cha Joseon Education Law’]. *Journal of Japanese Language Education Association*, 78, 183-197. Retrieved from

<http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>

Park Mi-kyung (2011). Iljegangjeomgi ilboneo gyogwaseo yeongu: Joseonchongdogbupyeon ‘botonghakgyokukoudokbon’e sulogdoen hanguk seolhwaleul jungsimulo [A study on the Japanese language textbooks under the colonial ear: Focusing on Korean folktales in *Botonghakgyo Kukoudokbon* that was published by *Joseonchongdogbu*]. *The Journal of Japanese language and culture*, 18, 477-495. Retrieved from

<http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>

Park Mun-seok (2013). *Filial piety of Confucianism as a challenge for Korean churches: A practical theological study* (Doctoral thesis, University of Pretoria, The Republic of South Africa). Retrieved from

<https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/23902/Complete.pdf?sequence=4>

Park Soo-bin (2011). Japanese imperialism and “Joseoneodokbon”: A study on the changes of Japanese colonial policy at the 4th and 7th educational law period “Joseoneodokbon”. *The Society of Korean Educational Study Review*, 36 (1), 467-492. Retrieved from

<http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>

Park Young-gi (2008). *The orientation of children's literature education in Korea* (Doctoral thesis, The Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Korea). Retrieved from

<http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>

Patterson, W. (2011). Japanese assimilation policies in colonial Korea, 1910-1945. *The Interantional History Review*, 33(4), 729-730. Retrieved from

<https://doi.org/10.1080/07075332.2011.592304>

Peng, H., & Chu, J. (2017). Japan’s colonial policies – from national assimilation to the kominka movement: a comparative study of primary education in Taiwan and Korea (1937-1945). *Paedagogica Historica*, 53(4), 441-459. Retrieved from <https://www-tandfonline->



- Pennycook, A. (2016). *Politics, power relationships and ELT from: The Routledge handbook of English language teaching* (G. Hall, Ed.). London, England: Routledge.
- Phasha, N., Mahlo, D., & Sefa Dei, G. J. (Eds.). (2017). *Inclusive education in African contexts: A critical reader*. Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers.
- Phillipson, R. (2012). Colonialism and imperialism in B. Spolsky (Ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of language policy*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Pinar, W. F. (2012). *What is curriculum theory?* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Pratt, K., & Rutt, R. (1999). *Korea: A historical and cultural dictionary*. Durham, England: Curzon Press.
- Ray, M. K. (Ed.). (2008). *Studies in translation*. New Delhi, India: Atlantic.
- Rogacheva, Y. (2016). The reception of John Dewey's democratic concept of school in different countries of the world. *Espacio, Tiempo y Educación*, 3(2), 65-87. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.14516/ete.2016.003.002.003>
- Rogers, R. (2011). *An introduction to critical discourse analysis in education* (2nd ed.). Oxford, England: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Bacon.
- Rose, G. (2016). *Visual methodologies: An introduction to researching with visual materials* (4th ed.). London, England: Sage.
- Royce, T. D. (2007). Intersemiotic complementarity: A framework for multimodal discourse analysis. In T. D. Royce & W. L. Bowcher (Eds.), *New directions in the analysis of multimodal discourse* (pp. 63-110). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Russell, A. (1987). *Japanese colonial education in Korea, 1910-1945: An oral history*. (Doctoral thesis, State University of New York, U.S.). Retrieved from <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.library.uq.edu.au/docview/303620566?pq-origsite=primo>
- Sah Hui-young & Kim Sun-jeon (2011a). Joseon chongdogbu pyeonchan botonghaggyo kugeodogbone natanan gyosubeob gochal [A study on the teaching methods in the Japanese language textbooks published by the Japanese Governor-General of Korea]. *Japanese Literature Society of Korea*, 2011, 101-104. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Sah Hui-young & Kim Sun-jeon (2011b). In the 1940s, the Japanese textbooks used for training Japanese imperial troops under the Japanese colonial era: Analysing language textbooks

- "Yomikata" that were published by *Joseonchongdogbu* for use by Korean students, and "Yomikata" the language textbooks that were published by the *Munbusung* for Japanese students. *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 16, 223-249. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Scardino, S. S. (2014). Visual grammar: how to write better images into your video. *Communication World*, 31(1), 29-30. Retrieved from <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.library.uq.edu.au/3C7CCBE5B66F47FBPQ?accountid=14723>
- Sauntson, H. (2018). *Language, sexuality and education*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Schiffrin, D. (1992). Anaphoric *then*: Aspectual, textual and epistemic meaning. *Linguistics* 30(4), 753–92. Retrieved from <https://www-degruyter-com.ezproxy.library.uq.edu.au/downloadpdf/j/ling.1992.30.issue-4/ling.1992.30.4.753/ling.1992.30.4.753.pdf>
- Seo Eun-young (2018). *Park Gi Jung*. Seoul, Korea: Communicationbooks.
- Serafini, F. (2014). *Reading the visual: An introduction to teaching multimodal literacy*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Seth, M. J. (2002). *Education fever: Society, politics, and the pursuit of schooling in South Korea*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press.
- Sheldon, L. E. (1988). Evaluating ELT textbooks and materials. *The ELT Journal*, 42 (4), 237-246. Retrieved from <https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uq.edu.au/10.1093/elt/42.4.237>
- Sim Do-hi (2016). *Godae yugyoui hyo sasanggwa geu teuksuseonge gwanhan yeongu [A study on the effectiveness and specificity of ancient Confucianism]* (Doctoral thesis, Keimyung University, Korea). Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Sim Kyung-ho (2009). Sino-Korean vocabulary and Chinese writing in the language textbooks for children published by the Joseon Governor-General, under the rule of Japanese imperialism. *Korean Classical Chinese Education*, 33 (0), 109-139. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Sim Sun-min (2017). *Saengbangsong hanguksa 08: Geundae hyeondae suneung hanguksa gangue I inja Ko jong-hunui dongyeongsang gangue sulog [Korean history of live broadcasting: Controversial video lecture by Ko Jong-hun, 1st lecturer of modern history]*. Seoul, Korea: Owlbook.

- Sin Yong-ha (2007). *Ilje sigminji jeongchaeggwa sigminji geundaehwalon bipan [Criticism of Japanese colonial policy and colonial modernization]* (2nd ed.). Seoul, Korea: Munhakgwajiseongsa.
- Suck Ji-hye (2008). *A study of the image of boys in textbook illustrations under the rule of Japanese imperialism* (Masters thesis, Ewha Women University, Korea). Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>
- Synott, J. P. (2018). *Teacher unions, social movements and the politics of education in Asia: South Korea, Taiwan and the Philippines* (Reissued). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Takae, E. S. (2010). *Impact of Japanese language education in Palau (1914-1945)* (Doctoral thesis, North Central University, U.S.). Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.uq.edu.au/docview/818748854?pq-origsite=summon>
- Takashi, M. (2013). *The dominance of language in colonial Korea: Regulation policies for the Korean language* (K. Lim & Y. Ko, Trans.). Seoul, Korea: Somyong Press.
- Tanimori, M., & Sato, E. (2012). *Essential Japanese grammar: A comprehensive guide to contemporary usage*. Tokyo, Japan: Tuttle Publishing.
- Teeuwen, M., & Scheid, B. (2002). Tracing Shinto in the history of Kami worship. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 29(3/4), 196-427. Retrieved from [https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.library.uq.edu.au/stable/30233721?seq=1#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.library.uq.edu.au/stable/30233721?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents)
- Thompson, M. (2010). *The tales of Yoshitsune: A study of genre, narrative paradigms, and cultural memory in medieval and early modern Japan* (Doctoral thesis, Columbia University, U.S.). Retrieved from <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.library.uq.edu.au/docview/749406019/?pq-origsite=primo>
- Tomlinson, S. (2005). *Education in a post-welfare society* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Open University Press.
- Ts'ai, H. C. (2009). *Taiwan in Japan's empire building: An institutional approach to colonial engineering*. London, England: Routledge.
- Tsujimura, T. (1992). *Keigo ronko [Studies on Honorifics]*. Tokyo, Japan: Meiji Shoin.
- Tsurumi, E. P. (1977). *Japanese colonial education in Taiwan, 1895-1945*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Van Dijk, T. A. (1991). *Racism and the press*. London, England: Routledge.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 4(2), 249-283.  
Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/58253036?accountid=14723>
- Van Dijk, T. A. (Ed.). (1997). *Discourse as structure and process: Discourse studies: A multidisciplinary introduction* (Vol. 1). London, England: Sage.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1998). *Ideology: A multidisciplinary approach*. London, England: Sage.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2001). Discourse, ideology and context. *Folia Linguistica*, 35(1-2), 11-40.  
Retrieved from  
<http://www.degruyter.com.ezproxy.library.uq.edu.au/view/j/flin.2001.35.issue-1-2/flin.2001.35.1-2.11/flin.2001.35.1-2.11.xml>
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2004). Racism, discourse and textbooks: The coverage of immigration in Spanish textbooks. Paper presented at the Symposium on Human Rights in Textbooks, Istanbul.  
Retrieved from  
<http://www.discourses.org/UnpublishedArticles/Racism,%20discourse,%20textbooks.htm>
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2008). *Discourse and power*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2014). *Discourse and knowledge: A sociocognitive approach*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Venezky, R. L. (1992). Textbooks in school and society. In P. W. Jackson (Ed.), *Handbook of Research on Curriculum* (pp. 436-461). Sydney, Australia: Maxwell Macmillan International.
- Vincent, A. (2010). *Modern political ideologies* (3rd ed.). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Wakabayashi, J. (1990). Some characteristics of Japanese style and the implications for Japanese/English translation. In *Proceedings of the first international Japanese-English translation conference*, 59-74. Japan Association of Translators.
- Ware, C. (2008). *Visual thinking: for design*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Morgan Kaufmann Publishers.
- Wayne, P. (2011) Japanese assimilation policies in colonial Korea, 1910–1945. *The International History Review*, 33(4), 729-730. Retrieved from  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/07075332.2011.592304>
- Whang Mi-ook (2012). *Ilboui eoneowa munhwasokui yeoseongsang [Women in the language and*

*culture of Japan*]. Seoul, Korea: J&C.

Whitty, G. (2017). *Sociology and school knowledge: Curriculum theory, research and politics*. London, UK: Routledge.

Williams, R. (1977). *Marxism and literature*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Williams, R. (1989). Hegemony and the selective tradition. In S. de Castell, A. Luke & C. Luke (Eds.), *Language, Authority and Criticism* (pp. 56-60). London: The Falmer Press.

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2009). *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (2nd ed.). London, England: Sage.

Yanagisawa, S. (2014). *Honorific usage in educational and medical institutions* (Masters thesis. Purdue University, U.S.). Retrieved from <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.library.uq.edu.au/docview/1617518061?pq-origsite=primo>

Yang, S. W. (2015). *Filial piety: Memoir of good daughter*. Bloomington, IN: Xlibris.

Yi, H., & Yi, T. (1988). *To become a sage: The ten diagrams on sage learning* (M. C. Kalton, Ed.). New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Yu Cheol (2010). Iljegangjeomgi kugeodogbone hamuidoan sinchegyoyukyeongu [Implication of physical education research revealed in the Japanese language textbooks during the Japanese colonial era]. *The Japanese Literature Society of Korea*, 46, 305-324. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>

Yu Cheol (2012). Iljegamjeonggi ilboneo gyogwaseoe natanan cheonhwansang: Joseonchongdogbu balhaeng kukeodogboneul jungsimeulo [The Japanese Emperor in textbooks during the Japanese colonial rule: Focused on Kukeodogbon published by Joseonchongdogbu]. *Korean Journal of Japanese Language and Literature*, 54, 247-266. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>

Yu Cheol (2015). *Physical theory for education of nation in Japanese colonial era focused on Japanese readerbook: Physical education, music, wartime songs* (Doctoral thesis, Chonnam National University, Korea). Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>

Yu Cheol & Kim Sun-jeon (2012). Iljegangjeomgi kugeodogbone tuyoungdoen gunsagyoyuk [A military discipline revealed in textbook on Japanese in Japanese imperialism], *The Japanese Literature*, 56, 335-354. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>

Yuh, L. (2010). Contradictions in Korean colonial education. *International Journal of Korean History*, 15 (1), 121- 150. Retrieved from <https://ijkh.khistory.org/upload/pdf/15-1-5.pdf>

Yu Sang-hi (2004). Nakajima asseusi munhakjakpumsogui Joseon: Sunsaga ittneun punggyeongeul jungsimeulo [A study on the Joseon of Nakazima Atsusi's works: Focused on the police in scenery]. *The Japanese literature*, 23, 365-385. Retrieved from <http://dl.nanet.go.kr/SearchDetailList.do>

## References analysed

The Japanese Governor-General of Korea (1913). *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2*. Japan: Joseonchongdogbu.

The Japanese Governor-General of Korea (1913). *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 3*. Japan: Joseonchongdogbu.

The Japanese Governor-General of Korea (1930). *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 2*. Japan: Joseonchongdogbu.

The Japanese Governor-General of Korea (1931). *Hutsuugakkou Kokugotokuhon 3*. Japan: Joseonchongdogbu.

The Japanese Governor-General of Korea (1939). *Shotou Kokugotokuhon 2*. Japan: Joseonchongdogbu.

The Japanese Governor-General of Korea (1940). *Shotou Kokugotokuhon 3*. Japan: Joseonchongdogbu.

The Ministry of Education (1917). *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2*. Japan: Monbusho.

The Ministry of Education (1917). *Zinzyoo Shougakutokuhon 2*. Japan: Monbusho.

The Ministry of Education (1917). *Shougakutokuhon 3*. Japan: Monbusho.

The Ministry of Education (1933). *Shougakutokuhon 2*. Japan: Monbusho.

The Ministry of Education (1935). *Shougakutokuhon 3*. Japan: Monbusho.

The Ministry of Education (1939). *Shougakutokuhon 2*. Japan: Monbusho.

The Ministry of Education (1938). *Shougakutokuhon 3*. Japan: *Monbusho*.