Summer 8-11-2017

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The Politics of the “Ideal Home” in Colonial Korea
by
Jeongwon Yoon

A thesis presented to
The Graduate School
of Washington University in
partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree
of Master of Art

August 2017
St. Louis, Missouri
Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge my thesis committees who supported this research. I deeply thank my advisor Lori Watt whose great encouragement and constructive feedback helped me to develop my ideas. Professor Watt’s fascinating course on historical theories shaped my interest in cultural history of Korea and gave me a big thrill to access a bunch of invaluable resources. I also appreciate Ji-Eun Lee for her patient guidance and endless supports throughout my master’s program. I would like to express my sincere thanks to Rebecca Copeland who gave me a golden opportunity to study in her insightful classes on Japanese literature as well as in this wonderful program at Washington University in St. Louis.
Abstract

This research examines the emergence and evolution of the concept of the “Ideal Home” in colonial Korea (1910–1945). In particular, I show that the newly appeared instruments including expositions, department stores and mass media enabled political power to disseminate the concept of the ideal home that homogenized people’s lifestyle. In the first chapter, I argue that the Home Exposition in 1915 was a political event that the state displayed a model of private spaces in public, and thereby attempting to induce people to behave productively in their home. In the second chapter, I demonstrate that department stores in the capital city reinforced the concept of the ideal home through providing both attractive spectacles and entertaining spaces that encouraged people to absorb a standardized lifestyle. In the third chapter, I shed light on print media reflecting that the concept of the ideal home was reshaped depending on political circumstance and social atmosphere. Through reexamining historical records, images and novels, I show the process that individuals became a manipulated group of citizens, and thereby ultimately arguing that the prototype of the ideal home was a political apparatus through which government and social elites extended their control of individual households in order to establish the first modern state in the Korean peninsula.
A Note to the Reader

During the Japanese colonial period (1910–1945), two different languages, Korean and Japanese, coexisted in Korea. In this circumstance, Korea was called Chosŏn in Korean and Chōsen in Japanese. The name of the capital city, Seoul, was also called in two different ways, Kyŏngsŏng and Keijō, both of which correspond to Korean and Japanese, respectively. In order to avoid unnecessary confusion in this thesis, I romanize Korean in most cases. I follow McCune-Reischauer system, but authors’ names are presented exactly as they appear in the published texts. In addition, Koreans actually called their country Chosŏn during the first half of the twentieth century even after the end of the Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1897). However, I use a word “Korea” instead of Chosŏn, except proper nouns, in order to differentiate the colonial Korea from the Chosŏn dynasty. In accordance with the Chicago Manual of Style, foreign words are italicized only once at its first occurrence.
Hanyang, Hwangsŏng, Kyŏngsŏng (j. Keijō) and Seoul: the fact that the Korean capital had four different names during the first half of the twentieth century provides a sense of its changing condition. While the Western powers rushed to Korea in the late nineteenth century, the Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1897) was doomed. In the period of political turmoil, the last king of the dynasty, Kojong, proclaimed the founding of the Great Han Empire in 1897 in an attempt to show Korean political autonomy to the Western powers. The reforms came too late and in 1910, the Japanese Empire annexed Korea. The annexation brought about changes throughout the country, especially the capital city, Kyŏngsŏng: the Japanese Government General of Korea (朝鮮総督府) was established, Japanese immigrants settled in the city, the advanced transportation and architecture transformed cityscape, and the different environment required people to behave in accordance with the emerging modern space.

A wind of change was also blowing through private households. European style houses, where only diplomats and missionaries lived at the beginning of the twentieth century, became occupied by the educated and wealthy class after the 1920s. At that time, all countries in Europe and America were called as “West” (西洋; k. sŏyang; j. seiyō), and therefore Euro-American culture was called the Western culture in general. The Western-style houses with a pinnacle roof, white mortar walls, glass windows and garden were specifically named munhwa chut’aek (文化住宅), literally “culture house.” In this context, the word “culture” meant “advanced” or “sophisticated” as in munhwa saenghwal (culture lifestyle) or munhwa ch’on (culture village), all newly coined terms. Culture houses were initially cultural products which were created by the Japanese middle class including enthusiasts for the Westernized houses. Culture houses (j. bunka jutaku) rapidly became a symbol of the refined, cultivated
In Korea, culture houses were constructed at the foot of Mt. Nam, the southern part of Kyŏngsŏng, where the first Japanese neighborhood was located. The fact that the Government General participated in building a large complex of culture houses shows that culture houses were one of the notable trends in housing market. The new type of dwelling also resulted in a social movement to reform traditional houses, and markets for new furniture appeared as well. The boom of culture houses was promoted by both national exhibitions and the reformists’ civil movement for improvement of living conditions. These series of facts imply that culture houses affected a broad range of fields, thereby showing that housing culture was one of the significant axes of the modernization of Korea during the colonial period.

Some scholars have already delved into the housing issue. Jordan Sand shows that the Japanese culture house liberated women not only physically but also psychologically. Due to the sturdy doors and walls, women were no longer needed to stay at home as housekeepers, and the more people paid attention to decorating home, the field of interior design became developed and occupied by women who became able to go into industries outside their home. Sand’s abundant evidence from magazines especially proves that magazines contributed to the emergence of “the undiscriminating middle-brow female consumers” who finally broke the male bourgeois’ old hegemony. In contrast, Sarah Teasley argues that the Japanese women’s magazines were carefully designed in order to establish new sexual norms in households. To be specific, the magazines introduced both respectable housewives and efficient housewares, and as a result limited women’s roles to a good wife and a wise mother (ryosai kenbo), a national ideology that women have to work in their domestic spaces with a

professional spirit for their family and the nation. Teasley’s different tone from Sand reveals that housing culture is a multifaceted topic which deserves various approaches. In Korean studies, Paek Chi-hye shows the process that culture houses embodied an ideal home, the so-called sŭwitŭ hom (transliteration of “sweet home”), during the first half of the twentieth century. Through exploring readers’ columns in publications, Paek explains people’s confusion about fluctuating social expectation in the modernization; the educated working women were respected as an enlightened generation during the 1920s, but they became regarded as the immoral wives, who were indifferent to their families during the 1930s.

Paek’s research is also significant in terms of comparative history, because it confirms that people’s general ideas on the modern ideal home in colonial Korea were similar to those in the Empire of Japan regardless of the difference between the two countries. Recent works by Korean scholars in the field of architecture pay attention to the appearance of culture houses as a turning point of the urban history of Seoul. Their research provides valuable evidence including numerical data of culture houses in Kyŏngsŏng and floor plans that people preferred at that time.

Based on previous research on the new type of house in East Asia, I furthermore shed light on the linkage between culture houses and the modern institutions—expositions, department stores and mass media. I ultimately argue that the prototype of ideal home was a political apparatus through which government and social elites extended their control of individual households in order to establish a modern state. Use of ideology for governing people, of course, was a familiar strategy in Korea as was the case elsewhere. One well-known example from the Chosŏn dynasty was distributing Confucian books including Samgang Haengsildo (Illustrated Conduct of the Three Bonds) and Oryun Haengsildo.

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(Illustrated Stories Exemplifying the Five Confucian Virtues) in the eighteenth century. The books, which consist of didactic stories about loyal subjects, filial sons and devoted wives, taught people to follow role models in accordance with their status, thereby keeping the stability of the hierarchical society. The Confucian books also established moral standards for households. In comparison to diffusing power through books in pre-twentieth century, the discourse on housing culture in the early twentieth century reached aggressively into people’s mind, bodies, and their spaces—from bedrooms to bathrooms—through varied media and genres under the pretext of modernizing living conditions. People surprisingly accepted this unprecedented over-intervention without repulsion, and moreover developed the housing culture through voluntary activities including displaying their home, watching and copying interior décors from each other. In this research, I argue that three newly appeared institutions—expositions, department stores, and mass media—extensively shaped the housing culture for decades. As products of advanced “West,” they not only captivated the masses but also gained a quick following. What was shown through them—displays of modern lifestyles in exhibitions, show-windows on streets, and photographs and articles in newspapers encouraging new way of life—became a guideline for people in this tumultuous period. These three instruments of modernity were implemented mainly by those in power including governors, capitalists and intellectuals and also with enthusiastic participation from masses, and modern lifestyle became not only a trend but also a hegemonic ideology of the time.

My argument is in the similar vein with current scholars who draw on the ideas of Michel Foucault in East Asian studies; Takashi Fujitani shows that the Japanese Government General of Korea attempted to draw Korean soldiers through a policy of appeasement. To be specific, the Government General planned to allocate seats of the House of Representative to Korean politicians in order to give masses a vision of a united nation, though it was not
realized due to the end of WWII.\(^5\) Todd Henry also shows that the Government General tried to assimilate Koreans through advertising Japan’s progress in a series of expositions in Kyŏngsŏng.\(^6\) Ian Miller focuses on Japanese cities and then argues that people were awed by the Empire of Japan through watching trained animals or completely controlled nature in zoos.\(^7\) Through focusing historical moments or events, the three pieces of research in East Asian studies adopt Foucault’s idea that people began to be disciplined in the modern period. In this thesis, I will enrich the Foucauldian approach through demonstrating that the theme of housing culture was manipulated, thereby affecting human beings’ intimate activities and desire in their private spaces.

I particularly examine three instruments—national expositions, department stores, and magazines—because not only were they sensational events but also they effectively disseminated trends. Borrowing Yoshimi Shunya’s definition that department stores functioned as a permanent exposition,\(^8\) I show that imitable lifestyles, once displayed in authoritative expositions, became easily attainable fashions through popular department stores in Kyŏngsŏng. Print media operated as a credible channel of the modern lifestyle for people who lived in provinces where department stores were not opened yet. In the first chapter, I examine the origin and effects of the Home Exposition in order to understand which kinds of housing cultures were acclaimed as a decent lifestyle by political leaders, and what the significance was of displaying private spheres in public during the early twentieth century in Korea. In the second chapter, I study department stores in Kyŏngsŏng, and focus on the kinds of products and service the stores provided, and the kinds of feelings and desire in their private spaces.

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experiences the visitors had. These commercial activities demonstrate that the modern lifestyle was influenced by a specific class’ materialistic taste and consumption. In the third chapter, I dissect articles and novels, which were published by intellectuals or readers through magazines or newspapers. Novels will show that both individuals’ specific desires and activities were encouraged or oppressed depending on social atmosphere. Through reexamining the reproduction of modern lifestyles, I ultimately throw light on the political value of the housing culture within the context of making a modern state during the colonial period.
Chapter 1: Showing the Ideal Home

1.1. Prelude to the Home Exposition

The Japanese Government General of Korea held the Korean Industrial Exhibition (*chosŏn mulsan kongjinhoe*) in 1915, and one of the exhibition halls was the Home Exposition (*kajŏng pangramhoe*; 家庭博覽會). The Home Exposition was a not simple event but a result of several layers of public campaigns under the Japanese colonization. To be specific, Kyŏngsŏng began to transform into an urban space by the Japanese governors in order to display their political power of the Empire of Japan in Korea. In the process, buildings and streets were reconstructed. The developing urban space became an ideal site for Japanese governors to build up their power through holding a series of expositions which carried the movement of population. On the developing site and under the ambitious governors, a prevalent opinion that modernized lifestyle strengthens a nation finally brought about the first display of individuals’ private spaces in public. In this chapter, I examine the process from the urban planning to the opening of the first exposition, thereby showing how political power started to spread their tentacles into the inside of people’s personal spaces.

During the Japanese colonial period, the Japanese Government General continuously developed Kyŏngsŏng as one of the major cities in the Empire of Japan. The Japanese Empire began to rule Korea through the Japan-Korea Protectorate Treaty of 1905 and the Annexation Treaty of 1910 between the Japanese Empire and the Great Han Empire. After the annexation, both the name of the country and the capital city changed: from Great Han Empire to Chosŏn (Korea from 1910–1945), Hwangsŏng to Kyŏngsŏng. Under the rule of the Government General, the Japanese arrivals began to settle at the bottom of the Mt. Nam in the southern part of Kyŏngsŏng. In the area, Japanese merchants opened their stores in the main street.
Kōganemachi (Present Ŭljiro) and Homachi (Present Ch’ungmuro). As Kōganemachi and Homachi were developed, the division of Kyŏngsŏng intensified between the southern Japanese district and the northern Korean district. In this confrontational situation, the Government General started to improve the urban conditions from the southern district of the Kyŏngsŏng.

As a way of improving Kyŏngsŏng, a bureaucrat Mochiji Rokusaburō (1867–1923), who had experience in urban planning, argued that Kyŏngsŏng could be transformed into a civilized city through straightening and broadening streets. The Government General announced a plan for maintaining streets in 1912. A notable part of the plan was that the radial streets stretch from the southern Japanese district toward the northern Korean district. The concept of a radial street has been important in governance since the absolute monarchy in Europe. For example, if a king’s court is located in a center of radial streets, the king could overlook the whole city. In addition, the radial streets toward the kings’ court could give an overwhelming atmosphere through concentrating the people’s gaze, as we can see the radial streets in front of the palace of Versailles in France. Given the case of France, the plans for streets in Kyŏngsŏng is interpreted as the Japanese Government General’s effort to display its dominance through completely renovating the northern Kyŏngsŏng where Korean had been living for a long time, though it was eventually failed due to its low feasibility.

Instead of constructing radial streets, new modern style buildings and streets gradually changed townscapes of Kyŏngsŏng.

The new official building of the Government General was the most significant modern building during the colonial period, because the Government General built it after destroying the Kyŏngbok palace, which was the Kings’ residence for five hundred years.

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9 Henry, Todd A. op.cit., p.32.
during the Chosŏn dynasty. At first, the Government General destroyed a part of the traditional buildings in the palace in order to hold the exhibition in 1915. After the exhibition, an imposing neo-renaissance style building with four stories and a dome (45.9ft in diameter, 28.5ft in height) was built. The building, built with concrete and steel, was embellished with the most expensive materials such as thick stone and marble.\textsuperscript{11} The huge modern building not only stood out amongst low traditional buildings, but also represented the advanced technology and abundant financial resources of the Empire of Japan. Along with the building, the Government General continuously built other major official buildings in Western-style, such as the municipal office building, the Kyŏngsŏng train station and the Bank of Chosŏn.\textsuperscript{12}

Streets were also standardized, and that process enabled the Government General to expand its power within Kyŏngsŏng. Until 1926, the Government General usually focused its attention to the southern Kyŏngsŏng, where Japanese bureaucrats and capitalists lived. The Government General, however, gradually maintained roads in the northern areas where Korean lived, thereby affecting commerce and residences there. The maintenance of the Korean districts not only increased land prices, but also brought out the change of land owners from the Koreans, who could not afford to pay their increasing estate tax, to the wealthier Japanese.\textsuperscript{13}

To begin with, buildings’ minimum height was limited to about 17.8ft. This regulation forced the removal of low buildings along the streets, so the small merchants, who could not rebuild their stores, inevitably abandoned their businesses. Then, relatively wealthy

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., p. 104.
merchants began to build their high-rise buildings, which were characterized by red bricks or embellished stones or concrete walls. New multi-floor buildings brought different commercial trends and architectural atmosphere as well. For example, previous stores for traditional stationeries were replaced by large retail shops for imported goods such as suits, music records and coffee. The exterior of the new buildings also became splendid with colorful signboards and show windows. The more department stores appeared in the 1930s, the more spectacles brightened up streets.¹⁴

Multi-story buildings were advertised as an achievement of the Government General. An official travel guide Kankoo no Keijō (Sightseeing of Kyŏngsŏng), which was published in 1929, recommends visitors to appreciate a developing state of Kyŏngsŏng through following a specific tourist route: “Kyŏngsŏng station–Namdaemun (the South Gate)–Chosŏn Shrine–Mt. Nam park–Ch’angkyŏng palace–Ch’angkyŏng park–Pagoda park–Kyŏngbok palace–a factory of art crafts–Bank of Chosŏn.”¹⁵ Most of the spots in this route were located on the reconstructed streets.

Research on one of the main streets in Kyŏngsŏng in 1925, Chongno street shows how the Government General’s maintenance of streets controlled pedestrians’ behaviors. Streets were standardized at about 95ft wide; buildings which protruded into the streets were demolished, and extra land in broad streets was granted to the nearby landowners. Standardized streets were paved, and then sewage systems were completed as well. On the streets, people were restricted to walk on the sidewalk. Roadside trees and streetlamps regulated pedestrians’ directions. Tramways were also relocated to the center of the street and the newly built stations designated platforms, where people got into and out of vehicles.

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Finally, people, trams and vehicles began to move in the strict street orders. The systematized and mechanized streets epitomized a modern space in Kyŏngsŏng.¹⁶

Like the European imperial powers before them, the Japanese colonial elites executed expositions and urban planning in Kyŏngsŏng to display progress and power. Expositions were a kind of festival for World Powers to show off their victorious imperial achievements. The first world’s fair was held in London in 1851, and the Great Exhibition, a.k.a. Crystal Palace Exhibition, inspired other countries in Europe. France successfully held a series of the Exposition Universelle in Paris until 1900. Exposition Universelle in 1889 showed the close relation between expositions and urban planning. During the period of the expositions, Haussmann’s renovations aggressively reshaped Paris, and the startlingly rearranged city amazed people who went up to the Eiffel Tower, specially built for the exposition. During the boom in expositions, Japanese governors actively attended the various expositions in Europe and America, thereby accumulating experiences about expositions, and then held their own expositions since 1877 in Japan and the colonies. In this context, a series of expositions which were held by the Japanese Government General in Korea could be an example of displaying its power. Nicholas Pearson’s research on the British state’s intervention in art and culture during the nineteenth century gives a hint that the Japanese Governors at that time understood the political function of exposition. According to Pearson, it was already prevalent opinion that public exhibitions including galleries, libraries, and other institutions could shape people’s minds and habits for political purpose in the early half of the nineteenth century in Europe.¹⁷ Given Pearson’s research, one can assume that Japanese governors could expect some political effects from the exhibitions in the developed urban space in Korea during the twentieth century.

1.2. Display of the Home Exposition

The Korean Industrial Exhibition (chosŏn mulsan kongjinhoe; 朝鮮物産共進會) was held to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the Japanese colonization in 1915. The Korean Industrial Exhibition took place inside and outside of Kyŏngbok palace where the kings of the Chosŏn dynasty had lived for over five hundred years. Regarding the location, the Japanese Government General announced at that time that the palace was suitable for the exposition in terms of atmosphere, scale and transportation. Current research, however, argues that holding a series of expositions in Kyŏngbok palace was politically calculated to confirm the Japanese conquest of the Chosŏn dynasty.\(^{18}\) The research is bolstered by a fact that the Japanese Empire had used historic sites for political purposes, even in Japan. For example, the first National Industrial Japanese Exhibition (內國勸業博覽會) in 1877 was held in Ueno Park in Tokyo, which was regarded as a sacred spot, in which the Tokugawa loyalists resisted against the Meiji government until the last minute. In this context, Kyŏngbok palace was a politically selected venue as well.

Similar to the previous example in Japan, the Korean Industrial Exhibition was planned to be held in a historically sacred site of the Chosŏn dynasty. The exhibition accompanied destruction of a part of Kyŏngbok palace to build exhibition halls. Over half of the buildings, walls, and gates were demolished, and some parts of the estate were sold by auction. On the ruined site, Renaissance style or Art Nouveau style (a.k.a. Secession style) white buildings were built. The distinct contrast was impressive enough to evoke the end of the glory of the Chosŏn dynasty.

During the period of the expositions, neighboring spaces near Kyŏngbok palace were also used in order to serve the nationwide events. The Home Exposition was held in a building that was located in front of Kyŏngbok palace. The building had been used as offices of the official gazettes, *Kyŏngsŏng Ilbo* and *Mail Sinbo*, and as a city hall later. In order to advertise the Home Exposition, the building was decorated with colored lights. On the top of the main gate of the building, a machine played music during the opening time. Hundreds of balloons were released over the building on the first day of the Home Exposition. Newspaper articles advertised the Home Exposition through announcing influential men including Yi Kang (1877–1955), the prince of the Great Han Empire, and Yi Wan-yong (1858–1926), a high ranked bureaucrat, visited the exposition. In an interview, Yi Wan-yong especially pointed out that the existing traditional lifestyles should be reformed in order to live healthily and efficiently.19

Inside of the Home Exposition, hygienic and efficient lifestyles were showed through displaying half scale miniature model house and human figures, which were made by Japanese architects. The gallery was divided into sections, and each section showed how to use a domestic space depending on its user: children, women, and men. A children’s room was designed for the purpose of educating them to use their space efficiently and properly. The children’s room was partitioned into three spaces: areas for playing, studying, and sleeping. Each space was decorated with suitable furniture in order to prevent children from disarranging their space. A washstand in the children’s room induced children to keep themselves neat and clean. In addition, portraits of the great military generals of history on walls indicated how the children were supposed to behave in their private room.

Displayed spaces for adults served educational purposes as well. Women’s spaces

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were designed in order to maximize their efficiency of their work in the house. In a kitchen, both a maid’s room and a working space for housewives were stocked with necessary housewares. A faucet, which was installed in the kitchen, was an innovation. Considering the poor water supply system at that time, when people had to get water from outside wall, the faucet was presented as hygienic and efficient for housewives and maids. In addition, the kitchen also showed that everything should be placed within arm’s reach. Meanwhile, men’s spaces were typical reception rooms in both Western and Japanese style. The Western-style room especially showed how to decorate reception rooms with unfamiliar Western furniture such as sofas and tables.20

The displayed domestic spaces in the Home Exposition were generally designed for a nuclear family. Jeong Chang-hoon argues that the emergence of a house for a nuclear family is a sign of the beginning of the Industrial age. According to Jeong’s research, the concept of the housewife became promoted from a laborer in home to a chief of a household since the Victorian period. As cities industrialized, men got a salaried job and became fully in charge as the breadwinner in their households. Consequently, British women had to supervise all matters of house chores. At that time, the norm of a good wife and a wise mother emerged, and it urged women to dedicate themselves to their domestic spaces. As women’s workplaces, houses were modified efficiently and comfortably.21 In other words, the female-oriented domestic spaces and lifestyles were a byproduct of the Industrial age.

A house, which focused on both a parent and children seemed to fit to families in the industrialized cities like Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto and so on. Compared to those Japanese cities, Kyŏngsŏng was just about to take a first step toward the industrialization, so nuclear families were a relatively low percentage of the population in Kyŏngsŏng. In the Home Exposition,

20 Kim, Myung-sun. op.cit., pp. 159-160.
audiences, however, expressed their satisfaction with the displayed domestic spaces for a nuclear family. According to interviews in newspapers, female students were especially enthusiastic at the concept of the nuclear family. In the Home Exposition, audiences could not only get information about lifestyles, but also broaden their options about types of family they could pursue in their future. For example, in an interview, a woman wished to have a modern house, which enables a couple to make their own “sweet home” without an intervention of parents or relatives. Another woman compared the various types of residential cultures, and then expressed her preference for the Japanese residential culture, in which a family has teatime together. Given the development with Kyŏngsŏng as the center, the concept of a nuclear family was premature for some people in provinces, but the Home Exposition may have been a rehearsal for people who were expected to adapt themselves to the upcoming industrial age.

The Home Exposition, furthermore, can be interpreted as a political space in which the governmental power permeated into the lives of individuals in terms of discipline and biopower. In Discipline and Punishment, Michel Foucault describes a mechanism of institutions, thereby explaining how individuals are transformed into a docile member of society. To be specific, inhabitants are indoctrinated in how to use their bodies in a specifically designated space within a meticulously organized daily schedule. Under the surveillance, the individuals became changed to well-trained workers who maximize their productivities. As an example of the moment when the disciplinary mechanism was adopted in a society, Foucault depicts a French village where authorities tried to protect the villagers from a plague during the seventeenth century. In order to preserve the village in hygienic, safe and healthy conditions, the people were examined and distributed to proper spaces according to their physical

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22 Kim, Myung-sun. op. cit., p. 162.
conditions. All of the people’s behaviors were supervised and recorded. The point is that all
details of human behaviors became a target of governance.

In the similar context, the fact that the government-supported Home Exposition first
educated citizens about some essential lifestyles is significant in terms of the colonial state’s
interference in domestic affairs. In other words, the government began to dictate individuals
on how to behave in their houses, how to organize their rooms and how to perform their roles
in their home. In his work on how power operates in modern states, Foucault has argued that
the societies are transformed in two stages, first at the individual level, with the disciplining
of individuals, followed by the second adjustment, when the mechanisms of power are
applied to the population as a whole, in what he termed biopolitical power or biopower. This
culminates in governmentality, with the population as the target of state efforts. The Home
Exposition stands as a microcosm of state attempts to discipline and govern.

1.3. Movement of Population

Expositions in Kyŏngsŏng were a great chance to mobilize the Koreans; people moved from
regions to the capital city, residents were redistributed within the capital city and women
moved out from houses to streets as major consumers. Through holding expositions, the
Japanese Government General succeeded in drawing the public’s attention to the modernizing
city Kyŏngsŏng. Newspaper articles conveyed how exhibitions scientifically organized,
classified and analyzed contents. Some of the articles stimulated their readers to be
enlightened through looking around the exposition. Various spectacles based on advanced
technologies, such as illuminated streets which were decorated with lighting, also became

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popular topics. A guidebook-like story “Ae-a ŭi Ch’ulbal (Departure of Ae-a),” which was published by Nakchŏnja (樂天子, pseudonym) in a magazine Sinmungye in September 1915, straightforwardly praised Kyŏngsŏng over the countryside. In the story, a father takes his son to the exposition in Kyŏngsŏng, and explains the superiority of Kyŏngsŏng and its residents.

The people in Kyŏngsŏng are superior to the provincial in their knowledge and practice, even though both of them received the same education. The reason is that the people in Kyŏngsŏng have more opportunities to watch and listen to advanced things in everyday life.

According to the father’s statement, Kyŏngsŏng is a land of opportunity which enables people to keep ahead of provincials. Throughout their travel, the father is pleased about enlightening his son, who is like “a frog in the well.”

According to articles in newspapers, the total number of the audience of the exposition was about a million, but it is hard to interpret that a million people voluntarily attended to the expositions. The reason is that the success of exposition depended on compulsory mobilization from all regions. Provincial officers and schools were supposed to urge people to participate in the exposition. For example, Toyoda, a governor of a town Hŭngsŏng’gun, had to send groups of thousands of tourists several times. When people could

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27 Ibid., pp. 325-336.
not afford to pay the traveling expense, the public officers encouraged the people to get a loan or sell their properties. Workers also rushed to Kyŏngsŏng to find temporary jobs during the festival. According to a record, the number of incomers in Kyŏngsŏng was estimated at much more than a million. The increasing population in Kyŏngsŏng invigorated the economy because some merchants expanded their business or invested in the lodging industry for visitors, although the excessive supply resulted in their bankruptcy after expositions.

[Figure 1] Culture houses in the Chosŏn Exposition in 1929. The picture is published in *The Commemorative Album of the Chosŏn Exposition*, Far East Architectural History Laboratory at Hanyang University.

The expositions, especially the Home Exposition in 1915 and the Chosŏn Exposition

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in 1929, ignited the public’s attention to the modern lifestyle. In this environment, a new Western-style house, called munhwa chut’ae (culture house), appeared in Kyŏngsŏng. The culture house was initially popular among the colonial Japanese in Korea and the Korean in the high ranked positions in the society. The Chosŏn Exposition showed three culture houses, built by Chosŏn Kŏnch’ukhoe (The Architectural Association of Korea). As shown in Figure 1, three of them were Western-style houses, which consist of peaked roofs, mortar walls, big glass windows, balconies and fences surrounding the front yards. According to Nakamura Makoto, a vice-president of the Architectural Association of Korea, the houses were characterized by free-standing kitchens and flush toilets, insulated walls covered with mud and ondol, the Korean traditional heating system. Culture houses gained tremendous popularity, and a recorded number of the audience exceeded the hundreds of thousands during the exposition.29

In the beginning of the mid-1920s, culture houses spread throughout Kyŏngsŏng. Complexes of culture houses, called munhwa chon (culture villages), were sometimes constructed by the Japanese colonial government. In order to find the ideal sites for cultural villages, public officials surveyed lands in 1924 and conducted field investigations in 1925. The housing complexes were launched in 1925, and most were developed in the eastern and southern Kyŏngsŏng through the 1940s. The units were largely rental; owing to the high cost, residents were limited to middle and upper-class professionals, such as professors, bankers, middle-school teachers, doctors, and civil servants. Therefore, culture houses became a symbol of the wealth of the middle class. Even if they could not afford to live in culture houses, the working class and other lower-income laborers could experience culture houses indirectly through the print media. For example, a short story “Chongsaeng’gi,” written by Yi

Sang in March 1937, described culture villages as an attractive backdrop to a clandestine affair. In one article, a reporter described the scenery of a refined culture village through a visit to a dancing school there. In contrast, as “Ch’angrangjŏng’gi” (1938, Yu Chin-o) shows below, culture villages sometimes were described as a cause for a loss of a hometown.

I was born and raised in Seoul, therefore I don’t have a typical beautiful hometown for which others usually feel a yearning. The house in which I was born and lived until three years has totally disappeared, and then unfamiliar munhwa chut’aek occupied there.

Although the place where he was born and raised remains, Yu narrates that he does not have a hometown, because it was transformed into a village of unfamiliar Western-style houses. Yu also thinks that culture villages are far from an image of a longing hometown. Through such novels and journalistic narrations, culture houses and culture villages drew people to a new residential area in the heart of Kyŏngsŏng, but on the other, psychologically estranged some people from Kyŏngsŏng.

The emerging new housing culture correlated with an increasing number of full-time housewives who independently dealt with their domestic chores without help. This trend was supported by the fact that female students learned in women’s schools that house chores are a kind of modern labor, which should be dealt scientifically and effectively by themselves. Consequently, negative opinions toward maids, who usually did not have formal education, spread. A magazine called Yŏsŏng published an article criticizing outmoded maids criticized as dull persons who could not differentiate gas and charcoal, and wasted energy. Increasingly,

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31 “Pae Ku-ja ŭi Muyong Chŏndang, Sindangri Munhwach’on ŭi Muyong Yŏn’guso Pangmungi [An Interview with a Ballet Coach Pae Ku-ja in a Cultural Village].” Samch’ŏlli 2, September 1929.
32 Yu, Chin-o. “Ch’angrangjŏng’gi.” Dong-a Ilbo. 19 April 1938.
traditional maids were laid off, and full-time housewives took over chores that maid performed. This meant that women began to shop grocery and housewares for themselves.

The more women became main consumers in their households, the more markets began to aim at female consumers. The following article allows us to conjecture that there was a sense of rivalry among people to make a more attractive house. In the magazine *Pyŏlgŏn’gon*, a woman boasts about her flower garden, which is filled with the Western-style items: benches, children’s small carriage, a wagon and toys. She complains that her neighbors point out that she is mesmerized by Western culture. She, however, raises her voice that it is necessary to adopt attractive foreign items without prejudice in order to make “a sweet home.” This article indicated two things. On one hand, some housewives thought that decorating domestic space is one of their duties. On the other hand, they willingly spent their money on products which were only used for displaying. Given the Japanese tendencies in the similar period, it is inferable that Korean housewives contributed to expand consumer market in Kyŏngsŏng. According to Sarah Teashley, both booths for home appliances in department stores in Tokyo and advertisements about home electronic products in the Japanese magazines increased since the 1920s. Teasley also points out that the increasing consumption of housewares was stimulated by Japanese magazines which introduced well-decorated interiors of houses. The Korean women’s changing roles in their home indicate that women began to move from the domestic sphere to the public sphere physically and economically.


34 “Sin Saenghwal ŭl hayabon Silgam [An Impression of New Lifestyle].” *Pyŏlgŏn’gon* 16·17, December 1, 1928.

35 Teasley, Sarah. op.cit., pp. 92-93.
So far, I examined “the first model house in Korea” in 1915, and focused its political contexts rather than its informative aspects. Above all, Japanese delegations to expositions in Europe and the long-term urban planning show that the Japanese Empire gradually prepared to launch expositions in Kyŏngsŏng in order to display their power. The Home Exposition in 1915 particularly emphasized emotional and physical well-being, thereby aiming at establishing a country which consisted of hygienic, efficient and productive households. In addition, the exposition brought the movement of population which seemed to support the Government General financially. During the expositions, people moved from rural areas to the capital city in order to seek knowledge or jobs. Those exponentially increased population also stimulated the economy in Kyŏngsŏng. Some people expanded their business, and a lot of new houses were constructed as well. Women also began to participate in economic activities as the main consumer of each household. Considering tax revenue from developing economy, I conjecture that both the movement of population and dynamic consumption, which were led by expositions, strengthened the Empire of Japan financially. In the next chapter, I will focus on how the new domestic culture was consumed and reproduced in Kyŏngsŏng in daily lives after the expositions. In order to get to the heart of the matter, I will examine department stores, which set trends in Kyŏngsŏng. Department stores could explain how the new domestic culture, which was initiated in the Home Exposition, became practiced by the people.

36 Paek, Chi-hye. op.cit.,
Chapter 2: Selling the Ideal Home

2.1. Department Stores in the Empire of Japan

Past scholarship on colonial Korea has made effective use of the ideas of Michel Foucault. According to Foucault, human bodies were treated as an object which could be recorded, examined, disciplined and manipulated, and in doing so, the bodies became transformed people into docile bodies which could support modern states. Borrowing Foucault’s frame, many colonial historians shed light on the context how the Japanese Empire controlled people including the natives in the colonized Korea. Among them, Takashi Fujitani examines mobilization in Korea during the Second World War, thereby disclosing various facets of policies which related to human bodies, such as military, welfare, health and discrimination.37 Todd Henry’s research on the 1915 exposition also uses Foucault’s ideas and shows both sides at play; the Government General tried to assimilate the Korean into the Empire of Japan through showing achievements of colonization, and nevertheless, Koreans established their own subjecthood after watching a disparity between orderly displayed exhibits and chaos outside of event halls. 38 My research expands on that work by extending the ideas beyond state apparatuses to private sectors. In this chapter, I examine how the political power operated in commercial sectors including department stores, and reproduced the stereotypical fantasy about ideal home, and eventually formed a standardized, trained mass.

As many as five department stores were thriving in Kyŏngsŏng, and it was an exceptional golden age of department stores given the population of the city. According to research conducted in 1935 by a Japanese research group about department stores, while

37 Fujitani, Takashi. op.cit.,
38 Henry, Todd. op.cit., pp. 92-129.
there were four department stores in Nagoya, in which 1,018,000 people lived, and five department stores in Kyŏngsŏng, in which only 400,000 people lived.\(^{39}\) The brands of the five department stores were Hirada (平田), Jojiya (丁子屋), Minakai (三中井), Mitsukoshi (三越) and Tong-a (東亞; later Hwasin 和信). As the names of the department stores indicate except Tong-a, all came from Japan. Since the beginning of the colonial period, Japanese merchants ran textile stores as a branch in Korea, but expanded their business into department stores, as their parent companies did in Japan.\(^{40}\) All Japanese department stores followed a similar path, and took similar forms in business. Among them, I examine Mitsukoshi Department Store in Tokyo, because it left relatively a larger amount of historical records than others in Kyŏngsŏng, thereby providing easy access for how a department store tried to control human body and emotions specifically through using domestic culture.

Department stores’ show windows frequently showed a series of images of a well-decorated home. Mitsukoshi Department Store’s show window, which was exhibited in 1928, displayed a typical image of people enjoying their leisure time in a cozy domestic space [Figure 2]. The space is decorated with various types of the Western furniture: two upholstered chairs, a tea table and a baby grand piano. The wall is covered with red striped wallpaper, and a large carpet is on the tiled floor. In the westernized home, two women, who wear \textit{kimono} and indoor slippers, have a coffee time. Behind the two women, a girl in western dress plays piano, and two other children seem to have a chat, thereby implying a

\[\begin{array}{|l|c|c|}
\hline
\text{City} & \text{Population} & \text{Stores} \\
\hline
\text{Tokyo} & 5,662,000 & 27 \\
\text{Osaka} & 2,723,000 & 9 \\
\text{Kyoto} & 1,053,000 & 7 \\
\text{Nagoya} & 1,018,000 & 4 \\
\text{Kobe} & 854,000 & 3 \\
\text{Yokohama} & 704,000 & 3 \\
\text{Kyŏngsŏng} & 400,000 & 5 \\
\hline
\end{array}\]

\(^{39}\) Based on Yeom Bok-gyu’s research (2011), I made a table to show that the exceptional amount of department stores were in business in Kyŏngsŏng.

\(^{40}\) The first department store in Kyŏngsŏng was Hirada, which had already operated a shop in Kyŏngsŏng since 1904. Jojiya Department Store was built in 1929, and Minakai Textile Store was extended into a department store in 1929. Mitsukoshi, which had operated a small branch since 1906, opened the department store in 1930. The first Korean-owned department store Tong-a (later Hwasin) was built in 1930.
pleasant atmosphere of the space.

Both sumptuous furniture and women’s perfect appearances with lavish dresses and immaculately coiffed hairs indicate that the show window describes an ideal world that people cannot easily achieve. However, the show window creates a highly gendered space, thereby beckoning women to look around the livable, educational environment for a family. In other words, the department store provides an attractive and detailed guideline, which women could bear in mind at a glance and imitate some day for their children. Given the initial function of show windows, it could be interpreted that Mitsukoshi Department Store merely depicted a living room in order to advertise a broad range of merchandise strategically. No matter what the initial intent was, the show window, however, displayed a private domestic space in public, thereby motivating people to rethink about their lifestyles.

The print advertisement reinforced the theme of a happy family through depicting a sense of intimacy between mother and children. Mitsukoshi Department Store especially employed Sugiura Hisui (1876–1965) since 1908. As a print designer, Sugiura produced the
front cover of the magazine *Mitsukoshi* through borrowing technique of *bijinga*, a genre of the Japanese traditional woodblock print which focuses on beautiful women. For this reason, he usually created images of beautiful women in well-decorated rooms, but some pieces of his works depict a family as well. One of the images represents a mother and a daughter who seem to fill with joy against a backdrop of Mitsukoshi Department Store [Figure 3]. A young mother’s black formal *tsukesage kimono*, which is embroidered with patterns only in the lower hem of the clothes, indicates that she is well groomed. Her elegant *kimono* is highlighted by a gold, fancy sash around her waist. She carries a black umbrella and a black handbag in each hand, and her short black bob hair completes a neat, modern beauty. In contrast, her daughter is decorated with the Western attire: a pink dress with white laces, a pink hat, a pair of white knee socks and a white ankle strap shoes. Their appearances seem to embody the luxury and exclusiveness that Mitsukoshi Department Store could provide their customers. The juxtaposition of their different attires also anticipates that the next generation will be more accustomed to the Western culture. In addition, the red balloon significantly overlaps with both the red circle of the national flag of Japan on the top of the building and the red trademark of the flag sign in front of the building, thereby ultimately symbolizing the synergy between consumption by households and development of the state.

Another significant feature of Mitsukoshi Department Store was that people consumed not only merchandise but also culture in various public leisure spaces there, like restaurants, cafés, hair salons, a photo studio, a garden, a gallery, a theater and an auditorium. According to Yoshimi Shunya’s research on the history of the Japanese department stores in the prewar period, the architectural structure of gathering diverse spaces in a building

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stemmed from the prototype of the modern exposition. Expositions could accommodate tens of thousands of visitors through putting amenities, entertainments and exhibitions together in a place, and that capacity was eventually imitated by department stores. Sugawara Kyōzō, one of the high-ranking persons in Mitsukoshi Department Store pointed out that Mitsukoshi borrowed the floor layout from expositions in terms of a marketing strategy. As a result, people began to visit the department store in order to shop, dine, meet people, and have a fun time. It means that department stores enabled people to do their daily activities, which had hitherto been performed in their houses.

The leisure spaces in Mitsukoshi Department Store show that they absorbed new domestic spaces. A rooftop garden invoked a small artificial yard; there were low-height trees, flowers, and an artificial pond. Due to the limited space, people sat on benches or gazed at the ash-colored cityscape over the balustrades, rather than strolling. Inside the building, there was a private salon, which was filled with cushioned sofas, tables, a splendid mirror, wall lanterns, and a glass door. Japanese style bonsai pine trees and a Western-style fireplace were put together, and those created a cozy atmosphere like a living room of a typical middle class household. A dining area also resembled a Western-style restaurant. It was filled with many round tables and wooden chairs, and electric lights on the ceiling illuminated the hall. Plant pots in between tables and vases on each table brightened up the space. Given the fact that these kinds of public leisure spaces for the people of all ages and both sexes had been rare, the homey atmosphere seems to evoke both people’s curiosity and familiarity.

In consideration of the people’s activities there, the public leisure spaces seem to affect people in two ways. On the one hand, the spaces could function as an educational venue. At dining spaces, people were able to experience exotic cuisines and learn table

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manners. Some of them might also get used to resting on a sofa and listening to the Western music. Given the fact that department stores began to hire a large number of female workers, the leisure spaces might also improve people’s understanding of working women, though Louise Young argues that the emergence of waitresses in public incurred eroticization of female workers, thereby giving a false sexual fantasy to people.\(^{43}\) On the other hand, the public leisure space seems to intensify the privativeness of houses. Before the emergence of public spaces which facilitated people’s social activities, it was common to invite guests to houses. For this reason, one of the most important functions of a house for a long time had been a reception of guests, but this public function began to drop out of the domestic space. Paradoxically, the more people became exposed to public spaces, the more private space they got.

2.2. Department Stores in Kyŏngsŏng

Japanese department stores existed in Kyŏngsŏng since the late 1920s, and they began to promote consumption as a trend. To some degree, the imported department stores flourished due to their flamboyant goods in show windows, but political circumstances also contributed to the consumption boom. According to Kim Baek-yung, the proliferation of consumption was interpreted as an unexpected byproduct of the frustration over failure to achieve independence of Korea in the 1920s.\(^{44}\) The March 1st Movement, which was an anti-Japanese demonstration, swept over the whole peninsula in 1919, after the end of WWI in 1918. Wilson’s Principle of National Self-determination was announced, and the tendency of


the world situation was also toward peace. People in Korea anticipated that the independence was coming, but the positive situation deteriorated around 1929. Frustrated Korean nationalists began to spread national campaigns that Korea people need to be enlightened in order to strengthen their nation Korea. At the same time, flourishing mass media spread out various kinds of information including advanced technologies, knowledge and imported goods. In this circumstance, an individual’s enlightenment started to correspond to the degree of how much the person got used to foreign goods. People consumed both the Western-style necessities and culture, in doing so, deluded themselves into believing they were progressive. People felt closer to liberation through using foreign goods, but in fact, only Japanese department stores, where sold imported goods, flourished.

Japanese merchants also attempted to gain a solid foothold in the Kyŏngsŏng market through producing promotional materials: maps and brochures [Figure 4]. Minakai Textile Store (later Minakai Department Store) made a foldable brochure. Given the building of the Government General in the site of Kyŏngbok palace, the map seems to be produced after 1926. The brochure begins with a drawing, which describes the exterior of Minakai Textile Store. This long brochure contains a brief map of Kyŏngsŏng, and introduces major travel spots with photographs. The back side of the brochure describes a three-dimensional map of Kyŏngsŏng, and main spots are tagged with their names [Figure 5]. The biggest tag definitely is put on Minakai Textile Store, which is located in the center of the city. In the right corner of the brochure, there is a floor layout that explains which shops are located on each floor of the department store building. This brochure not only denotes the owner’s aggressive campaign to establish their social status within Kyŏngsŏng but also indirectly proves that many people wanted to know the direction to the store.
Minakai Textile Store’s another map, moreover, propagated colonial policies. As the title on the front page shows, the map was produced in order to commemorate the completion of the first Shinto shrine in Korea in 1925 [Figure 6, left]. The Government General forced Korean to pay their respects at the shrine where served both the Japanese god Amaterasu Ookami and Emperor Meiji (1852–1912), thereby expecting Korean to assimilate into the Empire of Japan. Through showing people the way to the shrine which is marked in the middle of the bottom of the map, Minakai Textile Store could help people to visit the shrine. The next page recalls the Japanese annexation of Korea as well [Figure 6, right]. Under a photograph of a store, the listed twelve terms are names of places where Minakai stores are in business. Through treating the place names equally, the map eliminates psychological differences between Japan and Korea, and ultimately reproduces the colonial policy that two countries integrate under a system. The other side shows an accurate map indicating both all house numbers and major spots in Kyŏngsŏng including administrative offices, companies, schools and Minakai Textile Store. Given the detailed information, the map seems to be practical enough to use. In other words, Minakai Textile Store disseminated the Government General’s policy of assimilation through distributing a necessary of life like a map.
[Figure 6] A part of *The Map of the City of Kyŏngsŏng (京城市街圖)* in National Diet Library. The left portion shows that the map was made in order to commemorate the completion of *Chosŏn Shrine* in 1925. The right portion reveals that Minakai stores are in business in twelve cities. Clockwise from top: Kyŏngsŏng, Pusan, Taegu, P’yŏngyang, Wonsan, Mokp’o, Chinju, Choch’iwon in Korea and Kyoto, Ōgaki, Gifu, Tokyo in Japan.

[Figure 7] Minakai Textile Store, *The Map of the City of Kyŏngsŏng*, 69×98, c. 1925, National Diet Library
Making a map seems to be a marketing strategy in order to induce people to stop by Minakai Textile Store. The cartography by department stores was actually started by a French department store, Bon Marché in Paris. According to Michel B. Miller, the first modern department store Bon Marché made maps of Paris in order to make an impression that Bon Marché is one of the representative spots of Paris. The map, which was produced in 1863, depicts Bon Marché as one of the monumental spots like the Louvre, the Luxembourg Garden and so on. Given the similar ways to advertise the stores as an important spot in society, one could conjecture that Minakai’s cartography was a marketing strategy like that of Bon Marché. As *The Map of the City of Kyŏngsŏng* shows, Minakai sometimes produced maps in order to support the Government General’s policies, but the maps itself denote that there was a demand for a guide book to the store. In other words, cartography might be interpreted as a kind of advance service against a rush of inquiries which asked the exact location of Minakai Textile Store. As a marketing strategy, the map suggests that people who used the map visit Minakai, and consume in the store.

The more people visited department stores, the more print media discussed the stores in public. Cartoon visualized the people’s enthusiasm about department stores. A cartoon, which was published in *Chosŏn Ilbo* on 19th July 1930, satirizes numerous people who line up in order to buy their goods in both Jojiya and Mitsukoshi [Figure 8]. Their short bobbed hairstyles and knee-length skirts indicate that the women are female students, so-called modern girls. Some students hold things that they bought in the stores, and rush to the Kyŏngsŏng station. The text on the left side of the image explains that the students run to take their trains back to their hometown for summer vacation. The text also points out that the female students only care about their cosmetics, and do not even think about preparing

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presents for their parents, who have been working hard for the female students’ tuition. The cartoon not only criticizes the modern girls’ undutiful attitude to their parents but also embodies department stores as a root of the women’s excessive consumption.

[Figure 8] An Sŏk-ju, a Cartoon published on 19 July 1930 in Chosŏn Ilbo.
[Figure 9] An Sŏk-ju, a Cartoon published on 14 May 1934 in Chosŏn Ilbo.

In addition, a cartoon, published in Chosŏn Ilbo on 14th May 1934, points out a practice that department stores took advantage of people’s voyeurism. In a building, which is covered with glass windows all over the front side, three women are exposed in an exaggerated sizes [Figure 9]. A flag on the top of the building indicates that it is a department store. Given the women’s apron and trays, they seem to be female clerks and waitresses in the department store. The woman’s body in the middle of them is exaggerated with buttocks, thereby implying that the three women were sexualized. While the image depicts the female workers in the department store, the text on the right side of the image explains a modern custom of displaying merchandise which is supposed to be presented through glass windows. Given an arrow mark between the text and image, the text corresponds to the image, and the merchandise in the text likens to the female workers. In other words, this cartoon criticizes that department stores deliberately expose their female workers like attractive commodities, which are displayed in show windows in order to draw more customers. These two cartoons, which were published in 1930 and 1934, show that some people’s critical attitudes toward
department stores continued. The cartoons also reveal that consumption and employment, which sustain the domestic economy, were influenced by department stores. The fact that mass media constantly brought the department stores into question ultimately shows that the stores became a significant part of the Korean society.

2.3. Department Stores and Housing Culture

Department stores in Kyŏngsŏng offered not only goods, but also culture. Specifically, images of an ideal home were frequently displayed like a newly released product. The displayed lifestyles that department stores reproduced were digested by people in the 1920s and 1930s. To begin with, Mitsukoshi Textile Store (later Mitsukoshi Department Store) promoted itself through installing a booth in the Chosŏn Exposition, which was held in Kyŏngsŏng in 1929 [Figure 10].

[Figure 10] A booth of Mitsukoshi Department Store in the Chosŏn Exposition displayed a model of a family in a home as newly released merchandise. The picture was published in *The Commemorative Album of the Chosŏn Exposition* in Seoul National University Library.
The booth shows how a department store used an image of a happy family in order to draw attention. The booth displays a living room of a middle class household. The room is well decorated with a ceiling light, a curtain, a hardwood cabinet, cushioned chairs and a table. A father in a suit sits on the chair, and his daughter and son stand beside him. The daughter has a bobbed hair and wears a sailor-style school uniform. The son wears shorts and seems to be wearing a beret. Their mother, who wears a kimono, stands beside the son. A huge photograph of Mitsukoshi building is visible behind the family, and a mark of the brand in front of the booth seem to divulge to people that you can also resemble such a nice family through buying goods in Mitsukoshi. Through this, we get a glimpse of the middle class’ ideal lifestyle that was also sustained by material culture provided by department stores.

Department stores functioned as a playground for adults. In the store, people could experience various kinds of activities, which were especially regarded as sophisticated culture like dining at a restaurant, drinking coffee at a café, appreciating art at a museum and basking in sun on a rooftop garden. *The Floor Information of Mitsukoshi’s New Building* shows how the activities were done [Figure 11].

[Figure 11] *Floor Information of Mitsukoshi’s New Building in Kyŏngsŏng* in Pusan Modern History Museum. The department store gathers various spaces in a building in order to meet all customers’ needs as a cruise ship.
The six-story building is filled with various spaces, which were tagged by red letters, and all floors were connected by escalators, which went through the center of the building. There were a restaurant and a grocery store in the basement. The first, second, third floors are filled with shops for clothes and furniture. On the fourth floor, another restaurant contains a piano. On the fifth floor, there are entertaining spaces including a salon, an auditorium, a museum, and a greenhouse garden. People expose themselves to the air nearby balustrade of the rooftop terrace. Overall, this layout, which takes a form of a vessel, seems to indicate that the department store satisfies all customers’ needs in a space as cruise ships usually do.

The indoor hobbies that people got used to in the public leisure spaces like department stores were repeated in individuals’ households. The indoor hobbies like listening music existed in various forms, but the emergence of modern entertainments implies that people leaned about them somewhere outside of their homes and began to repeat them at home. Listening to a phonograph was one of the activities which were representative forms of modern hobbies. It was also seen as an activity that promotes affection between family members. Korean painter Kim Ki-ch’ang’s Chŏngch’ŏng (Listening Quietly) shows maternal affection in a peaceful home through using a theme of a phonograph [Figure 12]. Kim pined for his mother who died, so he began to embody maternal love through painting his lover Yi Soje. One day, the two persons went to a doctor’s living room, which was well-decorated with a rattan sofa and a table, a laced table cloth and a cushion. In this middle class’ living room, Kim rendered maternal affection through imagining a mother and her daughter who listen to music from a phonograph. In the painting, a daughter puts her hand on a thigh of her mother who seems to use a fan to blow on the daughter. Both the daughter and the mother silently gaze at the phonograph, and their peaceful faces imply that they have a relaxing time together. This painting evokes the contemporary people’s desire for leisure in a cozy, charming home with their family.
The indoor hobby, however, was not always praised or recommended. An Sŏk-ju’s cartoon in 1933 shows a critical attitude toward people’s cultural consumption beyond their means [Figure 13]. The cartoon depicts young couple dancing to music from a phonograph. The woman’s pointed feet and downcast eye show that the couple is immersed in dancing. In contrast, their house seems to be a run-down shack; both wallpapers and floor papers peeled, a door was damaged and window glasses cracked. In addition, there is no furniture or household goods in the room. The cartoon exposes senseless consumption through describing a sole intact phonograph in the middle of a shabby empty room, thereby criticizing a rampant fantasy which was in part promoted by department stores; a possession of sophisticated goods raises the quality of domestic life.

In addition to people’s leisure activities, food culture was also influenced by department stores. Similar to Mitsukoshi Department Store, Hwasin Department Store, which was run by a Korean merchant Pak Hŭng-sik, also had both a huge grocery stores in the basement and restaurants in the fifth floors, and those became the talk of the town. An oral
history reveals that people consumed food as a cultural experience rather than as something to eat:

When I was young ... I went to the basement of Hwasin Department Store. There were culturally developed Japanese foods, such as *minchiboru*, which was a bite-sized meatball, *shumai*, which was a steamed meat dumpling, and *soboro* bread, which was a sweet bun with streusel upper crust. ... In the fourth floor of the building, there was a fancy restaurant. There were *shinoda-donburi* (fried tofu over rice), *oyako-donburi* (chicken and egg over rice) and so on. If we ordered Korean Table d’hote, side dishes like cubed radish kimchi *kkakdugi* and seasoned vegetables *namul* were gracefully served in gilded white tableware with lids.46

In this passage, an old lady recalls her experience about the department store in Kyŏngsŏng during the Japanese colonial period. She flashes back to the Japanese ordinary food in the basement of Hwasin Department Store as a culturally developed food. She also narrates that unremarkable ordinary Korean side dishes were gracefully served in luxurious tableware. Given her account, people seem to be able to experience not only a foreign cuisine but also elegant table manners and refined dinning services.

Hwasin Department Store, furthermore, offered a culture house as a sweepstakes prize. This unprecedented event was caused by competition between two Korean department stores in Kyŏngsŏng: Pak Hŭng-sik’s Hwasin and Ch’oe Nam’s Tong-a. Both of them

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conducted cutthroat competition against each other for a title “the sole native department store of Korea.” Hwasin Department Store especially attracted customers through a contest from 10th July to 17th July in 1932, and a winner got a culture house. During the event, Hwasin Department Store broke its previous sales record, thereby proving Pak’s business ability. Pak finally merged Nam’s Tong-a Department Store with his store, and installed a pedestrian overpass between the two existing buildings. Given Pak’s achievement as a great merchant, Yeom Bok-gyu surmises that Pak’s merger was feasible due to financial support from *Chosŏn Siksan Ŭnhaeng*, one of the national banks which supported the Government General’s policies including raising a fund for warfare. Yeom focuses on the cooperation between a department store and the Government General, but I think that the unprecedented promotion is also historically significant event that a department store materialized people’s fantasy about ideal home.

[Figure 14] Baek Nam-sun, *Nagwon* (Paradise), c. the late 1930s. Eight-panel folding screen, 165x366, Leeum Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul

Yeom, Bok-gyu. “Minjok kwa Yokmang ŭi Laendŭmakŭ [A Landmark of the Nation and the Desire – Pak Hŭng-sik and Hwasin Department Store].” *Korean Journal of Urban History* 6 (December 2011): 43-71, p. 49; Yeom’s argument is reinforced by several episodes; Pak began to expand his business to the printing industry after receiving large sum of money from *Chosŏn Siksan Ŭnhaeng*, and he had close relation with Kazushige Ugaki, the fifth Governor General.
Giving a culture house as a present was repeated by an individual. The female painter Baek Nam-sun gave her painting *Nagwon* (Paradise) to her friend Min Yŏng-sun as a wedding present [Figure 14]. Baek created this oil painting on an eight-panel folding screen in the late 1930s. The peaceful landscape of a typical classic painting is described with haze, mountain ridges, round hillsides, gentle waves and lush green vegetation. In this primitive environment, Baek situates several houses in valleys. Among the houses, some culture houses stand out well against the background due to their stereotypical features; pinnacle roofs, glass windows and white mortar walls. Near the houses, men and women occupy themselves by working or bathing or spending time with children. Given the solid houses and the robust, harmonious people against the peaceful landscape, the painting seems to represent the painter’s wish for her friend’s happy marital life. In other words, the painting reveals the common sense that the Western-style houses symbols not only a wealth but also a happy domestic life full of stability and productivity.

In this chapter, I examine how Japanese department stores served the government sponsored expositions, and thereby inculcating people with the modern housing culture, which was usually represented by the Western-style house. Many pieces of existing evidence show that department stores supported the expositions through installing a booth, and contributed to spreading the typical image of ideal home that the Home Exposition praised. Through borrowing advertising strategies from expositions, department stores also functioned as a permanent exposition. To be specific, department stores disseminated the value of a well-decorated home or a happy family, and encouraged the pursuit of self-enrichment or self-cultivation in home through the stores’ show windows and brochures. In addition, the department stores provided visitors several public leisure spaces, as exposition had been did, and as a result people became exposed to the new housing culture which emphasized efficient, neat houses and harmonious family. The upper middle class usually enjoyed the decorated
spaces, foreign cuisine and music in department stores, but the mass tried to catch up with the
taste of the middle class through buying cheap housewares or having similar hobbies. In other
words, the department stores not only disseminate an ideology of an ideal home even after
expositions, but also trained people’s daily activities and shaped their preference for lifestyles.
Cartoons criticized the excessive consumption and sexual discrimination on workers in
department stores, but the fact that mass media constantly brought the department stores into
question ultimately shows that the stores were a significant part of the modernization of the
Korean society.
3.1. Mass Media in Korea

Print media flourished in the Korean peninsula during the early twentieth century. According to a record of the associate corporations, the number of registered publishers increased from twenty one in 1921 to one hundred seventeen in 1942. The circulation of newspapers rose and various types of magazines appeared as well. The more people became involved in reading, the more various topics the mass media covered from political issues to trifles in daily lives. Articles dealt with matters of living conditions, while serialized novels or cartoons reflected the contemporary people’s viewpoint on lifestyle. In other words, the print media functioned as the public sphere where the public opinion on housing culture was formed for the first time in Korea.

The mechanism that the literary medium functioned in the public sphere, thereby forming culture in a society, was defined by Jürgen Habermas in his book *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. As towns developed apart from courts in Europe during the eighteenth century, the urban bourgeois began to institutionalized the world of letters in the form of coffee houses, salons, and table societies, and the spaces became “the training ground” for the bourgeois to realize their own “privateness,” and in doing so, the bourgeois eventually became “a critical public.” The world of letters was a precursor to the public sphere where autonomous individuals enlightened themselves through reading and discussing art, which hitherto had been exclusive to the authorities such as courts and churches. The increasing publishers also contributed to the birth of reading public, and periodicals

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especially functioned “as admonishers and as public educators.” In addition, the more readers submitted their letters to publishers, the more magazines expanded their coverage from art criticism to life in general. As a result, people not only consumed art and culture but also debated about themselves as “an agency” through print media. Through giving an example of free marriage in bourgeois society, Habermas characterizes the autonomous, privatized individual in the public sphere as double-sided: a possessor of culture and a human being in a society, “bourgeois and homme.” Borrowing Habermas’ framework, in this chapter, I examine how people played their roles as a consumer of housing culture and as a household of a society during the early twentieth century. I particularly focus on both women’s magazines and domestic novels, thereby showing which kinds of ideologies operated and shaped housing culture.

The newly emerging female intellectuals (sinyŏsŏng), began to appear in mass media, and then raised their voice in order to protect women’s freedom from the existing patriarchal social system. In this milieu, the first generation of professional female writers appeared including Kim Myŏng-sun, Kim Il-yŏp and Na Hye-sŏk. In the 1930s, more female writers appeared, for example, No Ch’ŏn-myŏng, Mo Yun-suk, Chang Tŏk-cho, Paek Sin-ae, Kang Kyŏng-ae, and Yi Sŏn-hŭi. Their works represented women’s emancipation and changed the field of mass media; the increasing female writers and readership supported the publishing markets, and reading materials, which aimed at women, also increased. As more literary magazines were published during the 1920s, Puin and Sinyŏsŏng became a public sphere for women. Sinyŏsŏng, especially, became a foundation for other women’s magazines later:

50 Habermas. op.cit., p. 41.
51 Ibid., p. 47.
52 Ibid., p. 55; On the surface, the bourgeoisie seemed to be emancipated from the state; they exchanged their labor and commodities depending on their preferences, and they married based on their “voluntariness,” “the long lasting community of love” and “the cultivated personality.” However, the free marriage essentially served accumulation of capital and succession of property. For this reason, Habermas contends that the bourgeois’ conjugal family was nothing other than a step forward for “the reproduction of capital.”
Yŏsŏng and Singajŏng in the 1930s. An entertainment magazine Pyŏlgŏn'gon also drew female readers and addressed home-related themes. Articles on domestic issues covered both information for being a wise mother and a good wife, called hyŏnmo yangchŏ, and personal episodes in households.

To be specific, both culture lifestyle munhwa saenghwal and a culture house munhwa chut'aek spread through mass media during the early twentieth century. Specifically after the Home Exposition in 1915, people began to actively discuss the improvement of living conditions through the print media. In 1921, the magazine Kaebŏk began to launch a social movement which became a stepping stone of a housing reform movement (chut’aek kaeryang undong), and other magazines participated in the movement as well. The magazines somewhat spoke with one voice that people have to reform their old-fashioned lifestyle. Articles not only criticized the traditional house, but also provided immediately applicable, useful advice in order to encourage people to enjoy Western lifestyles. In contrast, novels seem to unveil a truth that more various ideologies played tug-of-war behind the housing reform movement. In this chapter, I briefly examine how magazines disseminated the enthusiasm for the Western lifestyles in different forms: information-oriented articles, correspondence columns, and interviews. I also analyze the three novels which were published in magazines, thereby ultimately showing that the cult of the Western lifestyles actually varied in order to meet the needs of the times.

In Kaebŏk, reformists published an article that foreigners took pity on the poor housing conditions. As a reason of the pity, the reformists points out the traditional houses in terms of their dark and unventilated structures. After the article, writers and readers began to share some practical solutions in order to solve the unhealthy housing conditions. To be specific, authors suggested readers to reconstruct their houses, such as replacing soil wall to stones wall or wooden wall, enlarging the main door for sunshine, separating every space
with doors, relocating a restroom far away from the main domestic space, and isolating sick person in an independent room.\textsuperscript{53} Kaebyŏk also published an article which examines three types of trendy houses in Western countries: cottage, colonial house and bungalow,\textsuperscript{54} in doing so, the author argues that the bungalow is the acceptable type for Korean climate.\textsuperscript{55} The attached floor plans seemed to encourage readers to imitate the interior structures in their real lives.

Another magazine Pyŏlgŏn’gon covered a woman’s column about constructing her house herself.\textsuperscript{56} In the anecdote, she seems to be proud of herself for constructing her own Western-style house without professional education on architecture except reading magazines. This kind of correspondence column reveals that the editor of the magazine aimed at encouraging readers to emulate the practical woman in the column. In the same edition, Pyŏlgŏn’gon also surveyed celebrities in order to collect their opinions about a better life.\textsuperscript{57}

Most readers also enjoyed the interviews which were conducted by visiting celebrities’ houses. A series of interviews dealt with the dean of Ewha Women’s School, Kim Hwal-lan,\textsuperscript{58} a prominent writer, Yi Kwang-su,\textsuperscript{59} and a famous dancer, Ch’oe Sŭng-hŭi.\textsuperscript{60} The vivid descriptions of which kinds of home they lived in and how they decorated their spaces were enough to satisfy readers’ voyeurism and to give information about typical interior designs which were filled with Western furniture or exotic gardens.

\textsuperscript{53} Paek, Chi-hye. op.cit., p. 39.
\textsuperscript{54} “Munhwa Saenghwal gwa Chut’aek [Culture Life and House].” Kaebyŏk 23, March 1923.
\textsuperscript{55} “Uriga Sŏnt’aek hal Sojut’aek, Munhwa Saenghwal kwa Chut’aek [Small House that We Will Choose, and Cultural Life and House].” Kaebyŏk 34, April 1923.
\textsuperscript{56} “Ton tŏl túlgo Saeropgo P’yŏllihan Chip ŭl Chiŭn Iyaki [A Story of Building New and Convenient House within a Limited Budget].” Pyŏlgŏn’gon 16-17, December 1928.
\textsuperscript{57} “Sin Saenghwal ŭl hayabon Silgam [An Impression of New Lifestyle].” Pyŏlgŏn’gon 16-17, December 1928.
\textsuperscript{58} “Ilmun Ildap Kim Hwallan ssi, Kajŏng, Iryŏk, Kyŏnhŏm, Kyŏron’gwan, Hŭngmi e kwanhaya [An Interview with Kim Hwallan about her Home, Career, Experience, Marriage, and Hobby].” Pyŏlgŏn’gon 9, October 1927.
\textsuperscript{59} “Sŭwit’ŭ Hom Yi Kwang-su ssi Kajŏng Pangmungi [An Interview with Yi Kwang-su at his House].” Pyŏlgŏn’gon 34, November 1930.
\textsuperscript{60} “Kŭ Hu ŭi Saenghwal Pirok (1), Ch’oe Sŭng-hŭi Yŏsa Kajŏng Pangmungi [Behind the Scenes Stories (1), an Interview with Ms. Ch’oe Sŭng-hŭi at her House].” Pyŏlgŏn’gon 44, October 1931.
The public interest in culture life (*munhwa saenghwal*) continued, but the focus of the interest gradually evolved. At the beginning of the mid-1910s, many people criticized their outmoded customs, and then urged each other to habituate hygienic and efficient lifestyle, as the Home Exposition awakened people. However, the broad range of discussion on lifestyle narrowed down to dwellings. More people began to talk about the improvement of housing conditions. For example, a woman’s column, which was published in *Pyŏlgŏn’gon*, criticizes that traditional houses were irrational and uncomfortable for housewives. In her Korean traditional house, the kitchen was far from the pantry, the well and the dining room. If she made rice, she needed to take raw rice out of a pantry in the main floor (*taechŏng*) and wash it in the outside well, and then boil it with a caldron in the kitchen, and finally, she has to carry it with a portable table to another room. The woman laments her waste of time and energy in the Korean traditional house, which makes her run helter-skelter all over the house during cooking. For these reasons, a new house, especially the Western-style house *yang’ok*, became an ideal domestic space instead of the traditional house *hanok*.

[Figure 15] Unknown creator, a serial cartoon *Half of Maria’s Life*, published from October 1925 to January 1926 in *Sidae Ilbo*. The heroine Maria expresses her desire to live in a Western house *yang’ok* as if to say her dying wish.

A cartoon “Half of Maria’s Life,” which was serialized from 20th October 1925 to 31th January 1926 in *Sidae Ilbo*, represents how young women dreamt of living in Western-style house [Figure 15]. A modern girl Maria attempted to run away from her parents in order to live with her lover, but Maria’s father sensed their plan. While Maria’s father restrained Maria from leaving home, she got injured. In front of her parents who worry about Maria, she cries as her last exclamation: “Oh, I have terrible pain. I may die within ten minutes. Ah, I want marriage! A piano! A Western-style house! Before dying!” Maria’s dying wishes seem to reflect how seriously the people were enthusiastic about a new lifestyle.

As articles, columns and interviews show, both literary magazines and daily newspapers functioned as a vehicle that people delivered their knowledge of domestic culture. Their arguments are straightforward but it means that we need to imagine their unuttered contexts why they eventually started to take those stands. How can we speculate a more correct context of the early twentieth century? Louis Althusser suggests us to examine novels which enable us to pass time and space, and then locate us in a particular moment that particular ideologies operate. In other words, we could “see, perceive or feel” an individual’s “lived experience” through reading a novel, thereby eventually realizing ideologies that the individual was saturated with; “they [novels] make us ‘perceive’ (but not know) in some sense from the inside, by and internal distance, the very ideology in which they are held.”

In order to perceive which kinds of ideologies worked behind the cult of modern lifestyle, I will examine the three novels which were published in mass media: Hyŏn Chin-gŏn’s “Piano” in 1922, Yi Sŏn-hŭi’s “Women’s Command (*Yŏin Myŏngryŏng*)” in 1937 and Ch’oe Chŏng-hŭi’s “House of Roses (*Changmi ŭi Chip*)” in 1942.

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3.2. Hyŏn Chin-gŏn’s Story “Piano”

Hyŏn Chin-gŏn’s “Piano” is a short story in which a newly married couple strives to make an ideal household in Kyŏngsŏng.63 The story was published in 1922 through a literary magazine *Kaebyŏk*. In “Piano,” the main characters, a newly married couple, are the embodiment of the new educated generation, so called modern boys and modern girls in the 1920s. Before the man graduated from a college in Japan, he was forced to marry by his parents, following a tradition of early marriage. His “irksome old fashioned wife,” however, suddenly dies.64 The man soon remarries a pretty woman, who graduated a Westernized women’s school and wears heels.

The man’s father already died several years before, so the man not only inherits a fortune but also is free from his old-fashioned parents. In spite of that, the man is concerned about the interfering relatives in his outdated village. In order to enjoy his newly married life with his lovely wife, the man leaves his native place, and sets up their home in Kyŏngsŏng. The young couple does their best to make an ideal home that they had long desired. After purchasing a house, they classify each room according to usage: a bedroom, a study room, a dining room and a living room. The living room is decorated with a Western-style table and a sofa. On the edge of the living room, a long armoire and accent chests are located in order to display both porcelain dishes and glassware. The young couple thinks that the traditional brassware is not hygienic, so they had already decided to use dishes made of porcelain or glass. They also throw away the huge, burdensome wardrobes which were produced in the

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63 Hyŏn Chin-gŏn was born in 1900 in Daegu, one of the Southern provinces in the peninsula. Hyŏn married in 1915 before entering a high school, following the tradition of early marriage. After getting married, Hyŏn moved to Kyŏngsŏng, and entered the Bosŏng High School, but he soon began to study abroad in Tokyo and Shanghai. In 1920, Hyŏn made his debut as a novelist through publishing his first story in *Kaebyŏk*. Hyŏn also started working as a journalist while actively publishing his works through several literary magazines until 1943 when he died from illness.

Korean traditional style, for example, a rack of the traditional clothes *chosŏn ŭi gŏl’i* and a three-drawer dresser for clothes *samchŭngjang*.

The young couple’s daily schedule is filled with reading, chatting, playing card games, kissing, hugging and buying housewares. Thanks to the inherited money, the man never feels the need to compete with others for a job. The woman is also free from house chores, because she hired two maids. In addition, the woman can use her “strikingly keen eyes” and “meticulous attention” to discover proper housewares for their ideal house, such as “a trumpet” and “a nail clipper.”⁶⁵ One day, the woman comes up with a piano as an essential thing for their ideal house, and buys a piano in just less than two hours. When the man comes back to the house after finishing something to do, the woman proudly shows him the piano. Just thinking about that the positive effects of the piano makes them happy.

In just less than two hours, a gorgeous piano occupied a part of their living room like a queen. The wife and husband gaze at this luxurious thing, and exchange their glances which are filled with great pleasure.

“It seems like that an auspicious light shines in this living room.”

“Right, the whole house seems to become bright.”

“Look, so you see I was right.”

“Indeed, your judgment is acute. You are qualified to be an ideal wife.”⁶⁶

The young couple appreciates the piano which brightens the whole house. The woman is elated at the result of her great idea of bringing in the piano in order to make an ideal home. The man, moreover, praises the woman as an ideal wife. The pleasant atmosphere is, however,

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⁶⁵ Hyŏn, Chin-gŏn. op.cit.
⁶⁶ Ibid.
changed at the moment that the man asks the woman to play the piano. The woman actually cannot play piano at all, and the man cannot as well. In order to break the silence between them, the man pompously strikes the keyboard at random, and the woman eventually regains her smile.

In sum, Hyŏn’s “Piano” reflects the social issues which were prevalent during the early 1920s in Korea. To begin with, the story deals with a conflict between individualism of the young generation and patriarchism of the old generation. After finishing the Westernized school curriculum, the young people begin to protect their rights for free love, private life and their tastes in the Western goods against their meddlesome parents and relatives. In addition, the story quite meticulously describes the young people’s attitude and perspective on their house and domestic culture. They not only imitate the model of a modern ideal home that both the Home Exposition and department stores disseminated, but also internalize the hygienic lifestyles.

The significance of this story is that it points out the excessive enthusiasm for Western culture in Korea. To be specific, Hyŏn deals with a piano which is not only a commodity but also a cultural product, thereby encouraging readers to critically think about the cult of the Western goods. Given the magazines which encouraged people to choose the Western lifestyle regardless of their conditions, as the male protagonist praises his wife as an ideal wife, Hyŏn seems to criticize the mass media, which instigate people to blindly follow a fashion. In addition, Hyŏn’s quite sympathetic tone toward the young couple without any didactic messages seems to amicably lead readers to reflect on themselves.

3.3. Yi Sŏn-hŭi’s Story “Women’s Command”

Yi Sŏn-hŭi is regarded as a writer who focused on depicting women’s innermost experiences
rather than the society surrounding the women. Yi’s “Women’s Command (Yŏin Myŏngryŏng)” is a serialized novel which shows various domestic lives in Korea during the colonial period, because the female protagonist constantly moves her residence from an island to a city, and from individual’s dwellings to collective dwellings. In this essay, I analyze three types of residences which reflect three lifestyles; a low-income family’s room, women’s boarding house and a self-employed woman’s house behind her bar. The story was published from 28th December 1937 to 7th April 1938 in Chosŏn Ilbo, and describes the life of an educated woman, Suk-ch’ae, in Kyŏngsŏng. The frame story consists of three parts; the female protagonist Suk-ch’ae visits her husband Yu-won’s hometown in a tiny island with her infant, and the story goes back to the moment when Suk-ch’ae and Yu-won were engaged. Suk-ch’ae is a normal college student until her fiancé Yu-won breaks their promise to marry. The reason is that Yu-won becomes confined in prison due to an unrevealed reason. To complete her misfortune, Suk-ch’ae loses her parents to disease. As a result, Suk-ch’ae eventually drops out of school and becomes a sales clerk in a department store. During working, Suk-ch’ae meets Anna, a female bar-owner. After Suk-ch’ae quits her job, she stays at Anna’s house for a while. Suk-ch’ae eventually reunites with Yu-won and visits Yu-won’s hometown with their baby, but in the last chapter, Suk-ch’ae passes away, leaving behind Yu-won and her baby.

In the story, several types of houses provide the protagonist a room for thinking about the correlation between spaces and lifestyles. To begin with, Suk-ch’ae visits a single rented room, which belonged to a mansion and was usually rented out at low prices for the

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67 Kim, Myŏng-hee. “Yi Sŏn-hŭi Yŏn’gu.” Hanminjok Ŭmunhak 24 (December, 1993): 93-115: Yi was born on 17th December in 1911 in Hamhung, and then raised in Wonsan, cities in the northern east coast of the Korean peninsula. Yi graduated in the women’s high school in Wonsan in 1928, and then studied in Ewha Women’s College in Keijō. In 1933, she entered a publishing company kaebıŏk and edited a magazine Sin yösong. Yi began to work as a novelist after publishing “Eleven o’clock p.m.” in Singajŏng in June 1936. Since 1938, Yi worked as a journalist again in a newspaper Chosŏn Ilbo and in a publishing company Sinsegisa. After Korea’s liberation from Japan, Yi defected to the North Korea with her husband, and it was told that she was killed by scurvy soon after.
common people in Kyŏngsŏng. In the single rented room without a bathroom, Yu-won’s acquaintance, Mr. Hŏ, lives with his wife and son. When both Suk-ch’ae and Yu-won open the door of the room, Mr. Hŏ and his family are having a dinner, so the two visitors begin to dine with Hŏ’s family as well. The tiny single room is filled with the nauseous mixed smell of foods.

The small room is packed with people, and the mixed smell of kimch’i and soybean paste stew is nauseous, though it is a characteristic of the Korean food. Suk-ch’ae looks at a conspicuous porcelain chamber pot, which is located nearby the stew pot. The chamber pot is larger and whiter than the stew pot. The chamber pot seems to be the greatest, largest one in this house.

The custom that people owned such a great chamber pot no matter how poor they are is caused by a necessity rather than extravagance.68

In a plain tone, Yi depicts that the mixed smells in an enclosed small room are nauseous, but simply defines that those are the common features of the Korean food. Through following Suk-ch’ae’s gaze, Yi also describes a traditional single room where all family members not only have a meal together, but also solve their excretion. While the juxtaposition of a chamber pot to a stew pot could evoke a repulsive sight, Yi justifies in a quiet tone why the two objects are located there together. According to the following narrative, most of the traditional great estates have a bathroom in the master’s mansion which is detached from the single building for servants or renters, and door to the mansion is usually closed at night. For this architectural reason, Yi argues that it is essential for renters to have a chamber pot in their

Yi, furthermore, beautifies how the prudent housewife, Mrs. Hŏ, supervises the condition of the chamber pot.

Hence, when all members of the family stay up all through the night, the chamber pot becomes filled with all excreta. If someone defecates, the prudent housewife, Mrs. Hŏ, covers it with a piece of newspaper. Suk-ch’ae stares at the chamber pot, and then thinks: ‘Ammonia gas is certainly generating from urine in that chamber pot.’

The narrative shows that the chamber pot inside a domestic space is well treated by a thoughtful housewife. In addition, Suk-ch’ae’s defining urine as ammonia functions to neutralize the disgusting scene through inducing readers to associate the content in the chamber with a biological material rather than dirty excreta. In contrast to the critical discourse on a chamber pot in a low-income family’s room, Yi quite defends the existence of a chamber pot in a living space through considering it as a matter of course in a human life.

One of the other common residences in Kyŏngsŏng was private boardinghouses that owners usually split their houses in order to rent out small rooms at low price. Tenants usually shared a bathroom and a kitchen. Both students and workers, who came to Kyŏngsŏng in order to study or work, lived in a room in private boardinghouses. In “Yŏin Myŏngryŏng,” Suk-ch’ae also leaves her hometown in a rural area, and then began to live in a private boardinghouse in order to study at first but to work later. After losing her parents, Suk-ch’ae quits her school and passes her time aimlessly due to a sense of futility. Then one day, she begins to observe her neighboring female tenant Myŏng-ja, who works at a department store as a clerk, and her daily life.

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69 Ibid., p. 90.
Myŏng-ja works at a department store in the downtown, and her income is unknown, but she rents a room in this boardinghouse and lives alone independently. When she gets a salary, she pays her rent 4 won, and then puts aside some money in order to buy rice, coal and electric lights. The rest of the money is just 5 won, but she used to spend all of it on decorating herself. Thanks for her habit, Myŏng-ja have three high heels in different colors, and several pieces of skirts and jackets in her room.70

As Suk-ch’ae’s observation shows, the private boardinghouse was a voyeuristic space which enable tenants watch each other’s lifestyle. After quitting a school, Suk-ch’ae, who lacks work experience, did not know what she can do in order to keep her life, but she was able to look closely at a working woman’s financially independent life in the boardinghouse. Suk-ch’ae finally applies to the department store where Myŏng-ja works. Suk-ch’ae becomes a clerk, and begins to experience what she had never been before, such as selling products, getting the inside story of female clerks, and even sexual molestation. Given the dynamic episode in the story, the emerging new types of residents, like private boardinghouses, seem to function as a gateway for young female students to the wider world through experiencing different lifestyles and interacting people in other fields beyond schools.

The department store, where Suk-ch’ae works, provides her a chance to experience a different lifestyle again. Suk-ch’ae sells a facial cream to Anna, a female owner of a bar as well as a retired actress. Suk-ch’ae gets along with Anna, and Suk-ch’ae eventually stays at Anna’s home for a while. The scenes that Suk-ch’ae looks at Anna’s spaces reflect a complicated perspective toward both career women and their lifestyles at that time.

70 Yi, Sŏn-hŭi. op.cit., pp. 144-145.
Anna’s room is located behind her bar, and she has two live-in male employees, a cook and a servant. All of them used to work in a bar at night, and sleep until noon. When Suk-ch’ae visits Anna, the servant lets Suk-ch’ae into Anna’s private space through a hall in the bar. Suk-ch’ae looks at Anna’s space in admiration at first, but she realizes that all windows are curtained. During looking around the dark room behind the bar, Suk-ch’ae compares its fancy atmosphere through the night and its silence during the daytime. Suk-ch’ae eventually senses a sorrow in Anna’s space. These opposite feelings toward Anna’s space are continuously juxtaposed. The contrast between the description of the fancy bedroom from Suk-ch’ae’s viewpoint and Anna’s effusion of heart from Anna’s viewpoint is distinctive.

If there is a disordered space in the world, it will be this room. Nothing is placed in right order, and everything is scattered all over the room, so there is no place to put my feet. Everything, however, is beautiful goods which seem to be sprinkled with perfume, rather than tatters in a rented dirty room.\footnote{Yi, Sŏn-hŭi. op.cit., p. 177.}

As the narrative shows, Suk-ch’ae looks at Anna’s messy room where it is incommodious with goods. Suk-ch’ae couldn’t even put her feet well, but she admires Anna’s space. Suk-ch’ae is, moreover, under the illusion that Anna’s room smells good. These descriptions reveal that Suk-ch’ae is enamored of Anna’s glossy lifestyle, but Anna actually does not satisfy her life at all. Through reflecting her failed romances in the past, Anna’s terrible loneliness is directly exposed to readers, rather than talking to Suk-ch’ae in person.
Considering her romances so far, her lovers were innumerable; if she draws up her ex-lovers in two lines, like students in school, those men are more than enough to form a class. However, Anna actually never had any husband so far, and all men were the husbands of other women without exception. As she gets older, Anna wishes to have a baby, hence she underwent surgery three times, but no one gives her a baby. “This is a terrible loneliness.”

Anna thinks that this sentence seems to entirely mirror her, so she sometimes gets angry without any purpose.72

Anna casts back to her previous romances, but all were actually illicit love affairs. For this reason, Anna just wished to have a baby, rather than a husband or a marriage, but even that wish was not fulfilled. Anna’s outpourings of her deep sorrow seem to evoke readers a traditional patriarchal value that a woman, who lives without a family, never reaches true happiness. The rest of story insinuates Anna’s miserable life through depicting her nightmare, insomnia, chronic disease, habitual drinking and pale complexion, thereby reinforcing misfortune of the unconventionally independent working woman.

In sum, Yi’s serialized novel “Women’s Command” not only provides readers voyeuristic experiences of various lifestyles, but also recasts light on the traditional values. First of all, Yi defends the traditional domestic space, which was harshly criticized by people in mass media. At that time, many people argued to stop using a chamber pot in a room for the reason of hygiene. The protagonist, however, defends the custom through explaining both the inevitable necessity of a chamber pot in each household and a proper manner of the stuff. Yi’s defense of the traditional lifestyle in this story significantly proves that the people were

72 Yi, Sŏn-hŭi. op.cit., p. 179.
not uniformly enthusiastic about the Westernized lifestyle as many articles show, and different stances on lifestyles actually coexisted during the 1930s.

In terms of narrative, Yi also repeatedly describes miserable fates of working women. Suk-ch’ae constantly encounters sexual harassment in her workplaces. Also, Anna successfully runs her bar, but suffers a terrible loneliness due to the lack of a child. Given the historical fact that the first generation of working women suffered from sexual harassment during the early twentieth century in Korea, this novel seems to reflect the social problem. Yi, however, describes the miserable reality as a natural consequence of working women, rather than criticizes the discriminatory society or the assailants. The narrative setting that a working woman longs for a baby encourages readers to meditate on the conventional women’s role in a family as a mother. In other words, the male-oriented narrative indicates that women’s lifestyle was discussed in the context of the reproduction of the patriarchal family.

3.4. Ch’oe Chŏng-hŭi’s Story “House of Roses”

Ch’oe Chŏng-hŭi’s short story “House of Roses (Changmi ŭi Chip)” shows how an imperial/colonial propaganda was propagated in a form of a domestic fiction during the Pacific War. The story was published in July 1942 in a magazine called Tuedong-u. 73 “Changmi ŭi Chip” begins with a description how Sŏng-rye, a wife, and Yŏng-se, a husband, manage their ideal married life. In terms of a housing structure, their house consists of a spacious living room with a study area, a kitchen, a bed room, two small extra rooms and an

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73 Ch’oe Chŏng-hŭi was a female writer who made her debut with “A Justifiable Spy (Chŏngdanghan Spy)” through a magazine Samch’ŏllı in 1931. Ch’oe continuously published her works while working as a journalist. Ch’oe was imprisoned due to her involvement in a proletarian literary group Korea Artista Proleta Federacio in 1934, but after leaving prison, she became a pro-Japanese collaborator and published novels which supported the Empire of Japan. After the liberation of Korea from Japan, Ch’oe worked as a war correspondent, and published novels until the 1970s.
extensive garden. When the couple built their own house, Sŏng-rye’s mother-in-law scolded them for constructing a larger garden than a house. The couple stuck to their original plan, and then planted magnolia, lilac, hydrangea, roses and so on. The flowers bloom at different seasons, and the garden was perfumed with the smell of them. In the beautiful house, Sŏng-rye not only enjoys keeping house, but also thinks about healthy, refined lifestyles; she plans for a nutritious diet from a reasonable budget, and therefore she shops for groceries herself without the aid of her maids. Sŏng-rye also devises her own recipes, because she feels uncomfortable to imitate others, even when she makes the most common food, soybean paste stew. Sŏng-rye has the exemplary, desirable attitude toward clothes and interior design as well.

In the meantime, Japan waged the Pacific War on the Allies, and the warfare brings about a great change in Sŏng-rye’s household. Sŏng-rye thinks that it is an important moment for a hundred million citizens to carry out a new lifestyle all together in order to serve the Empire of Japan. Sŏng-rye fulfills her duty as a dedicated citizen through dismissing her two maids.

She begins to do all house chores herself. She does laundry and sews herself.  

Sŏng-rye begins to burn charcoal that heretofore was unused. Sŏng-rye already knew that charcoal is economical, energy-efficient resource, but she tested her maids the other day, and then Sŏng-rye realized her maids could not burn it skillfully. Therefore, Sŏng-rye has been using coal or firewood. Sŏng-rye not only closes her living room and maids’ room but also begins to use only one room in her house. Four briquettes are quite enough to make a room warm a day, and if she burns a briquette in a brazier, she could not only heat up side dishes but also cook rice. In doing so, Sŏng-rye
saves the cost of fuel from 4,50 won to around 10 won.74

As the narrative shows, Sŏng-rye begins to do all the hard house chores: burning economical, efficient fuel like charcoal, doing laundry, sewing, cooking and shopping for groceries, thereby saving both natural resources and money. Sŏng-rye, moreover, becomes accustomed to working in a dark room in order to save electricity. Sŏng-rye has no time to sit and rest, but she works tirelessly with delight to herself for the cause of “her beloved family.”75

A significant incident that caused marital discord is Sŏng-rye’s participation in aegukpan (Neighborhood Patriotic Associations; 愛國班) of the village as a leader. After the beginning the war, Sŏng-rye started to attend to the women’s meetings that her maids hitherto did routinely. At the meetings, Sŏng-rye especially paid her attention to the people’s ignorance about the current situation in the nation, and she emphasized the citizens’ responsibility of saving money, collecting military funds and buying government bond in this important war period. Sŏng-rye eventually received an offer to be a leader of the women’s patriotic association of the village from the head of the borough. Sŏng-rye accepted his offer on the spot, and made herself a promise that she will do her best to help her neighbors to be patriotic housewives. After listening to this episode, Yŏng-se, however, opposes Sŏng-rye’s decision, and persuades her to reject the proposal.

“Is it necessary to be the leader of aegukpan village in order to be a loyal citizen? As long as nothing happens, and especially in this wartime period, everyone has to guard own home. If a woman neglects her own duty at home, she is not charming anymore.”

74 Ch’oe, Chŏng-hŭi. op. cit.
75 Ibid.
Yŏng-se’s voice becomes calm down, but still seems to be full of complaints about his wife.

“Well, you may say that those women are not charming, but it is not necessary to think that a standard of beauty is fixed. … There was a moment that a woman, who looks silently at the sky, is beautiful, but this is the moment that a woman, who looks at the sky and thinks of how to keep the sky safe [against enemies], is more beautiful.”

In this dialogue, Yŏng-se persuades Sŏng-rye through associating a woman’s beauty with her modest, quiet demeanor. Sŏng-rye, however, argues that a standard of beauty is not only fixed, but also influenced by the social circumstances. In other words, Sŏng-rye opines that housewives have to actively participate in the mobilization of resources to serve the victory of the Empire of Japan.

The conflict between Sŏng-rye and Yŏng-se is resolved through a sudden visit of Namsik, who is a friend of Yŏng-se. Nam-sik pours his trouble with his wife to both Yŏng-se and Sŏng-rye. According to Nam-sik, his wife lives like a silly woman of the leisured class: wakes up late morning, has breakfast that her maid prepares, goes to hair salons or department stores or movie theaters every day, and complains about her small house or her lack of maids. Given the friends who hang out with Nam-sik’s wife, Nam-sik conjectures that those silly women including his wife are birds of a feather who flock together. For these reasons, Nam-sik asks Sŏng-rye to be a friend of his wife and then enlighten her. Nam-sik, furthermore, asks Sŏng-rye to reform all the ignorant women in their village.

These villagers don’t know anything. This is a culture village in name only,

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76 Ch’oe, Chŏng-hŭi. op. cit.
and it is filled with shit. Not all, but most of the houses are whitewashed graves. If people employ maids, live in culture houses, eat well, consume well without working, and go to department stores or hair salons or theaters, could we call their lifestyle a culture? If people live in culture houses, even though they don’t read a book or a newspaper, do they enjoy a culture? … Ma’am, please work for the salvation of these immature women in this village.77

In forms of a plea, Nam-sik exposes a pernicious trend that women in the village go on a spending spree under the pretext of a culture. According to Nam-sik, the housewives delude themselves that they enjoy a culturally improved, sophisticated lifestyle, because they live in so-called culture houses or culture villages. Nam-sik criticizes the women’s contemptible extravagance and entreats Sŏng-rye to enlighten the ignorant, endangered women for the sake of their society. Both Nam-sik’s wording “salvation” and serious tone indicate that he equates women’s excessive consumption with a guilt that should be corrected for a society. After listening to Nam-sik’s desperate request, the three of them began to drink a bottle of wine together against a backdrop of a tranquil snowy night. The ending of the story implies that Yŏng-se tacitly allows Sŏng-rye to be a leader of the patriotic organization of the village.

Ch’oe’s story “House of Roses” takes a form of a domestic fiction about a newly married young couple, but actually serves the militaristic policies during the Pacific War. To begin with, Ch’oe describes the female character Sŏng-rye as a smart, charming woman, who decorates her space and enjoys her life with sophisticated activities like gardening, painting, and cooking. This characterization seems to tempt viewers to imitate Sŏng-rye’s lifestyle. Both Sŏng-rye’s narrative and behavior also function as a practical instruction on how to be a

77 Ch’oe, Chŏng-hŭi. op. cit.
loyal citizen in order to support the victory of the Empire of Japan. The viable, easy ways of saving energy resources, such as coal and electricity, is especially provided in detail. This direct political message is softened through discussing what the women’s beauty is.

Sŏng-rye’ participation in a patriotic activity shapes a new standard of beauty in wartime in various ways. A discussion between Yŏng-se and Sŏng-rye emphasizes that women’s beauty is influenced by social needs, such as war. In addition, Nam-sik’s sudden confession not only exposes the public’s indifference to warfare, but also contrasts between ugly bourgeois women and an ideal woman, Sŏng-rye, thereby ultimately encouraging readers to join aegukpan, as Sŏng-rye did. The lyrical ending significantly shows that Ch’oe successfully synthesizes literature and wartime propaganda: one hundred million hearts beating as one. In this famous phrase, the one hundred million is a particular figure which embraced all citizens in the Empire of Japan regardless of race, age and gender. In this context, the ending scene that three conscious subjects share wine with one mind in a serene snowy night, finally, seems to provide readers a way to be beautiful, cultured, and patriotic.

In sum, mass media contributed to shaping domestic culture in two ways; it was not only a public sphere that people exchanged knowledge and interest, but also a space for propaganda as well. The more magazines dealt with a theme of ideal home, the more people openly discussed domestic culture, which had been hidden behind a veil of privacy. Celebrities exposed their lifestyles through magazines, and their interviews were consumed as commodities which satisfied readers’ voyeuristic desire. At the same time, domestic novels, which described conjugal relationships and houses, functioned as both an entertainment and a medium of ideologies. Through reflecting ordinary people’s lives, the stories emphasized particular customs or criticized specific issues; Yi Sŏn-hŭi’s “Women’s Command” defends a traditional domestic culture, and evokes a traditional value of patriarchal society. Hyŏn Ching-gŏn’s “Piano” lampoons excessive consumption, and criticizes a cult of the Western culture in
mass media. Ch’oe Chŏng-hŭi’s “House of Roses” directly gives an instruction how to be an ideal housewife in the war period, and instills a sense of imperialistic patriotism into readers. Given these diverse voices on home, ideologists seem to exploit domestic culture in order to propagate their thoughts, in doing so, they contributed to improving people’s living conditions, but also constantly instructed people about how to behave even in their most private space.
Conclusion

I examined the Home Exposition, department stores, and mass media in order to find the origin, diffusion and effects of the concept of the ideal home in Korea during the colonial period. In the first chapter, I argue that the Japanese colonial government played a significant role in the spread of modern housing culture. Both the long-term urban planning and the Japanese governors’ abundant experiences with expositions in Europe prefigured the advent of expositions in Kyōngsŏng. In other words, the Government General expected the political impact of holding expositions in the colony, so it carefully orchestrated the background of the expositions, launched in 1915 and 1929. In particular, the Home Exposition in 1915 showed that the colonial power, which reorganized the capital city Kyōngsŏng, finally reached the inner quarters of each household. The Home Exposition displayed half scale miniatures in order to instruct how to run a hygienic household and how to behave efficiently in houses, thereby functioned as a disciplinary space for people to live productively. The exhibits, which emphasized orderly lifestyles, indicate that the government aimed at making a stronger nation, which consists of hygienic, efficient and productive households.

The expositions, which drew people with its theme of new housing culture, also seemed to be lucrative events for the Government General. To be specific, expositions brought about the movement or population in Korea. During the event, the emotional division between capital city and other provinces became intensified, and people moved from rural areas to the capital city. Job-seekers also rushed to Kyōngsŏng, and the existing merchants expanded their business to receive more customers. Given the fact that unprecedented number0073 of people visited Kyōngsŏng, commerce in the city seemed to be invigorated, though some people’s senseless investment caused their bankruptcy after the end of the expositions. After displaying modern lifestyles, Western-style houses exponentially increased
in Kyŏngsŏng, and the Government General participated in the boom of the building industry as well. The new housing culture also increased the number of full-time housewives without maids. The more women were encouraged to take charge of supervising their own domestic economy, the more markets aimed at the female customers. Considering tax revenue from developing economy, I conjecture that dynamic consumption, which was led by mobilization, strengthened the Empire of Japan financially.

In the second chapter, I investigate how the Japanese department stores supported the government sponsored expositions, and thereby inculcating people with the cult of a modern lifestyle. According to records, department stores participated in the expositions through installing booths there, and reproduced a stereotypical image of ideal home that the Home Exposition emphasized. Department stores’ cooperation with the Government General is revealed through their promotional materials as well. Even after the onetime exposition, department stores repeatedly disseminated the value of both a well-decorated house and a happy family through their show windows and brochures. Given the fact that the department stores provided visitors several public leisure spaces, as expositions did, I also conjecture that the stores enabled people to become accustomed to the new housing culture including efficient, neat domestic spaces and modern indoor hobbies that a family could enjoy together. Of course, the department stores pursued their own profit, which was far from governors’ interest, but the stores’ sales strategies inevitably resulted in the reproduction of nationalistic ideology that people need to follow the modern lifestyle for themselves and the next generation.

Department stores were criticized in mass media, but the fact that department stores frequently appeared in newspapers paradoxically reaffirmed their great influence over people. To be specific, the upper middle class usually enjoyed the expensive furniture, foreign cuisine and cultural service in department stores, but other lower income classes were also able to
catch up with the cult of ideal home through buying similar but cheap goods. The criticism on people’s obsession about modern housewares beyond their means proves that people’s domestic culture was homogenized at least to some degree. Given the context that the department stores led the latest trends to the extent that it became a social problem, one can infer that the department stores contributed to the formation of the standardized people, who willingly respond to not only a fashion but also a nationalistic agenda.

In the third chapter, I explore both journal and newspaper articles and three novels which depict ideal homes, and thereby showing that ideologies shaped the modern housing culture in the colonial period. Korean people began to develop housing culture themselves through newspapers and magazines, in accordance with Jürgen Habermas’ idea that a flourishing mass media is a pre-requirement for the emergence of autonomous individuals. For the first time in the history of Korea, people began to discuss their discomforts in their homes, share ways of a better life, and willingly disclose their homes in public in forms of articles and interviews. Novels and cartoons also dealt with housing culture, and as a result, the question of how to live became one of the popular topics. The supposed advantages of the Western lifestyles that both the Home Exposition and department stores displayed became further substantiated with architects and critics as well. The housing culture evolved and spread throughout the Korean peninsula through the circulation of information.

While articles or interviews show realistic but fragmentary feelings and opinions, novels provide more comprehensive context surrounding housing culture through the weaving together of contemporary issues in a story. Borrowing Louis Althusser’s definition of ideology, we can better empathize with a subject in a story, thereby perceiving dominant ideologies of a particular period. I examine three novels: Hyŏn Chin-gŏn’s “Piano” published in 1922, Yi Sŏn-hŭi’s “Women’s Command” in 1937, and Ch’oe Chŏng-hŭi’s “House of Roses” in 1942. Through comparing these three stories, which were published at intervals, I
show that people were pressured into making a specific ideal home which befits social circumstances. While many people argued that the Western lifestyles could improve the primitive residential condition of Korea, some people felt rushed and stocked up modern housewares. In the 1920s, the Westernized lifestyle was satirized in terms of the blind cult beyond one’s financial or intellectual ability, and in the 1930s, the new lifestyle became criticized for harming centuries-old value including solidarity with family and patriarchism. The tendency seemed to reverse once again in the 1940s. While people tried to emulate “the West,” they also began to emphasize a bond of community and cooperation with neighbors for the victory of the Empire of Japan in the wartime. Chronologically, these shifts of housing culture probably connected to historic events: the expansion of freedom of press and publication during the period of bunka seiji (the Japanese government’s cultural rule) in the 1920s seems to cause the formation of consensus on Westernization, Great Depression in the 1930s could evoke the reversion to traditional system, and Pacific War in the 1940s might result in the wartime mobilization, but I set aside those direct relations as a matter of my further research.

In sum, this thesis concludes that the definition of an ideal home was constantly reshaped. In the process, modern instruments including expositions, department stores and mass media made use of housing culture, thereby constantly and effectively spreading stereotypical images of the ideal home and their implicit ideologies. Given that modern states need well-disciplined populations, the cult of ideal home facilitated the management of population instead of providing a refuge for families and individuals. Korean people were indoctrinated with the archetype of ideal home through modern visual media in line with Louis Althusser’s idea that people unconsciously became the obedient labor class for
capitalism through indoctrination of ideology.\textsuperscript{78} The birth of the standardized citizens that political power could shape even their personal lifestyles in their private spaces seems to contribute to the establishment of a modern nation state in colonial Korea.

\textsuperscript{78} Althusser, Louis, “From Ideology and Ideolgical State Apparatuses.” \textit{The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism}. Eds. Leitch, Vincent B., and Cain, William E. WW Norton & Company, 2010. pp. 1483-1508; Althusser argues that people became gradually saturated with an ideology unwittingly like a Christian in a church; as people acclimatize to public worship, they forget the fact that they were led by someone, and begin to believe that everything has been planned including their Christianization from the very first.
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