

Echoes of Colonial Assimilation: Examining Japanese Education and Ideological Influence in Kim Saryang's "Into the Light"

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Abstract

This paper examines the influential role of Japanese colonial education in shaping the ideological landscape of Koreans from 1911 to 1945. It argues that this influence was primarily exerted through the dissemination of Japanese primary school textbooks in the Korean book market. Using the Japanophone literary work "Into the Light" by Korean colonial writer Kim Saryang, the study illustrates how fictional characters reflect the reality of Korean assimilation into Japanese colonial ideology through education. Additionally, the paper highlights the limitations of the text in resisting Japanese colonialism, particularly concerning language use and depictions of the colonized people's ideology, which inadvertently aligned with the colonizers' expectations. This created a cyclical process between the colonial education system and the literary market: the introduction of Japanese primary school textbooks in colonial Korea transformed the book market, leading to ideological shifts among primary school students. Over time, this colonial influence prompted Korean writers to produce Japanophone literature, further influencing the book market and perpetuating the cycle. The paper reveals the impact of education as a tool for shaping ideology, offering a new perspective on how colonial educational systems influenced the thoughts of the colonized. By analyzing the limitations in language use and ideological representation in "Into the Light", the paper explores how colonial literature both conformed to the expectations of the colonizers and reflected the resistance and adaptation of the colonized. This exploration helps to understand the complex relationship between literature and education during the colonial period.

Keywords

Kim Saryang, Japanophone Literature, Japanese Colonial Education, Book Market

1. Introduction

Japanese colonial education wielded considerable influence as an imperial tool in shaping the ideological landscape of the Korean populace from 1911 to 1945. In this paper, it argues that Japanese colonial education significantly shaped the ideology of Koreans primarily through the dissemination of primary school Japanese textbooks in the book market. The paper intends to utilize the literary work "Into the Light" by the Korean colonial writer Kim Saryang to illustrate how these fictional characters reflected the reality that Korean people were assimilated by Japanese colonial ideology through education as well as the text's limitations to resist Japanese colonialism in terms of the language use and depictions of colonized people's ideology.

In the story, through characters like the student Haruo and the teacher Minami, it portrays the struggles faced by colonized individuals in facing their identities. Initially, these characters attempt to conceal their Korean ethnicity, with Minami adopting a Japanese reading of his name and Haruo abusing Koreans to portray himself as a Japanese (Wender, 2010). The text illustrates the dilemma faced by Korean people, torn between maintaining their ethnic identity and thriving in the modern landscape of Tokyo. However, as the story unfolds and the protagonists undergo various trials, they ultimately embrace their Korean heritage, symbolically stepping "Into the Light". For this paper, the intention behind choosing Kim Saryang's "Into the Light" lies in the fact that, despite its attempt to advocate for Korean identity and resistance against Japanese colonialism, the story received a prestigious nomination for the Akutagawa Literary Prize from the Japanese authorities. This striking contrast makes the story particularly compelling and insightful for analyzing both the resistance and adaptation of the colonized.

In Section 2, the study scrutinizes the limitations of Kim Saryang's literary work "Into the Light" to resist Japanese colonialism from both the perspectives of the colonizers and the colonized, drawing on theories by Watsuji and Homi Bhabha to bolster these viewpoints. In Section 3, the focus shifts to analyzing the impact of Japanese colonial education on the ideology of the colonized, demonstrating how Kim Saryang's adoption of the Japanese language in his literary work "Into the Light" was influenced by this educational system. It delves into the background information of the colonial education system, elucidating the reinforcement of the Japanese language policy and the ideological assimilation facilitated by Japanese textbooks for Korean primary school students. The reinforcement of language constituted the first phase, followed by the restructuring of content in textbooks, which had a deeper impact on Korean people's ideologies.

Section 4 focuses on analyzing characters from "Into the Light" as representative of reality during the colonial period, examining how colonial education influenced their ideological development. The study draws on Kim Hai Suk's (2019) research on Japanese textbooks in Korean primary schools to substantiate its claims. Section 5 evaluates "Into the Light" as Japanophone literature, elucidating how its emergence created a feedback loop with Japanese textbooks in the Korean book market, shaping a distinct literary and educational landscape during the colonial period. Finally, Section 6 concludes the paper.

2. Limitations to Resist Japanese Colonialism in Kim Saryang's "Into the Light"

"Is this right? Is it right? ... Even though it is my own work, there is something about 'Into the Light' that I couldn't quite make satisfactory. It's a lie. I'm still telling lies, I told myself, even while writing it."

—Kim Saryang, "Letter to Mother" Bungei shuto (April 1940) Although the colonial Korean writer Kim Saryang's literary work "Into the Light" was successful and even earned the prestigious nomination for the Akutagawa Literary Prize, in his letter, he revealed a profound sense of resignation, acknowledging the dissonance between his intentions and the outcomes of his literary endeavors. For this literary work, Kim Saryang's disappointment stemmed from the unexpected alignment of his resistance as a colonized individual with the expectations imposed by the colonizers. Originally driven by a desire to underscore the importance of preserving national cultural distinctions and resisting Japanese assimilation policies during the colonial period, Kim found himself unintentionally catering to the colonizers' desires. Regardless of his initial intentions, his literary work "Into the Light" inadvertently satisfied the expectations of the colonizers, earning Kim the prestigious nomination for the Akutagawa Literary Prize, a coveted accolade within Japan's vast empire (Kwon, 2018: p. 549).

Viewed from the perspective of the colonized, Kim Saryang underscores the imperative of preserving national cultural distinctions and resisting the assimilation policies imposed by Japanese colonizers during the colonial period. However, both his choice of language in this literary work and the thematic content of his work inadvertently aligned with the expectations of the colonizers. During the colonial era, the Korean language faced stringent regulations and pervasive censorship, increasingly yielding ground within colonial hierarchies that privileged Japanese as the language of authority and education (Yi, 2017: p. 14). Thus, Kim's utilization of Japanese not only circumvented some of these restrictions but also signaled a form of cooperation with imperial Japanese power in the eyes of the colonizers. Moreover, according to Yun Tae-sok, Kim Saryang's preference for Japanese in literary expression extended beyond pragmatic considerations; he was not accustomed to using Korean as a "literary language" (Glade, 2007: p. 42). Kim's reliance on Japanese can thus be interpreted as the result of Japanese colonial education influence. In his ideology, he has formed an implicit endorsement of Japanese as his "national language" after years of Japanese language education.

Moreover, the culmination of the text, where teacher Minami embraces his Korean identity as "Nam", indeed symbolizes the resilience of Korean heritage and resistance against Japanese language assimilation policies. However, this reaffirmation of identity inadvertently aligns with the desires of the colonizers. Additionally, the extensive portrayal of inner conflicts and identity confusion in the narrative plays into the colonizers' expectations of the colonized. From the perspective of the colonizers, genuine assimilation of Koreans into Japanese identity poses a significant threat, as it could potentially undermine their dominion and blur the lines of distinction between colonizer and colonized. Instead, they favor a subtle sense of identity confusion among the colonized, as highlighted by the writings of Japanese colonizer and capitalist Watsuji. Watsuji advocates for the preservation of national cultural differences to strengthen the political authority of the colonizers, warning against the dangers of cultural amalgamation with the colonized populace (Sakai, 1997: p. 138). Kim Saryang's resistance to embracing a solely Korean identity inadvertently satisfies the desires of the colonizers.

Furthermore, Homi Bhabha's theory of mimicry sheds light on the colonizers' stance. Bhabha suggests that in the colonial process, the colonized people often mimic the colonizers, posing a potential threat to the colonizers' power (Bhabha, 1984: p. 131). The colonizers do not seek genuine similarity with the colonized; instead, they prefer to maintain a hierarchical relationship where the colonized remain inferior. Kim Saryang's narrative of characters grappling with inner turmoil and confusion regarding their identity aligns with this notion, fulfilling the colonizers' desire to keep the colonized in a state of perpetual uncertainty, torn between feeling inferior about their Korean identity and being drawn to Japanese identity. Both Watsuji's perspective and Bhabha's theory of mimicry validate the colonizers' preference for maintaining a power dynamic where the colonized are subordinate and retain a sense of identity confusion. In this context, Kim Saryang's portrayal of characters' inner struggles unintentionally plays into the desires of the colonizers.

3. The Imperial Weaponization of Language and Ideological Assimilation in Education

The Japanese Empire used language as a weapon to achieve its colonial rule and ideological assimilation objectives in Korea. Kim Saryang, as a colonized individual, was profoundly impacted by the reinforcement of the Japanese language and the process of ideological assimilation within the educational system. The proliferation of the Japanese language in Korea served as a crucial tool for colonizers to assert their dominance over the colony. Viewing Japanese as not just a means of communication but also as a vessel for the Japanese ethos and a symbol of progress, the colonizers swiftly moved to promote its adoption. A significant milestone in this endeavor came in August 1911, a mere year following the formal annexation of Korea, when an ordinance explicitly stated that the primary objective of regular schools—those designated for Koreans—was the cultivation of loyal citizens, with the dissemination of the national language being paramount to this aim (Yi, 2017: p. 3).

Over the years, the Japanese government steadily reinforced the prominence of their language. During the early phases of colonization in the 1930s, assimilation policies were initially more lenient, allowing for some flexibility and negotiation between colonizers and colonized. Japanese was portrayed as a secondary language for Koreans, with those proficient in it often receiving commendation for their efforts. Simultaneously, the Japanese government sought to underscore the advantages of using Japanese, suggesting that circumventing censorship was easier for colonial writers if they published their works in Japanese within the metropole, thereby deepening the penetration of the Japanese language (Yi, 2017: p. 6).

Following the onset of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Japanese ceased to be merely a "foreign" language for colonial subjects; instead, it became an integral part of their identity within the empire (Yi, 2017: p. 13). The absolute assimilation of Koreans into the Japanese empire necessitated their complete integration through "kokugo", the national language. The message conveyed through official bulletins and policies was unequivocal: a unified empire relied on a singular national language—Japanese. Consequently, Korean found itself increasingly marginalized within colonial structures that elevated Japanese as the language of authority and education.

This pronounced reinforcement of the Japanese language in Korea was largely driven by the escalating conflict with China, which ultimately erupted into fullscale warfare. Japanese colonizers began to recognize the imperative nature of language use within the colonies (Yi, 2017: p. 22). It became apparent that fostering loyalty among the Korean populace, in contrast to the resistance seen in China, was crucial for Japan's imperial ambitions. To prevent Korea from emulating China's defiance against Japanese colonial expansion, the Japanese deemed it crucial to teach their language. This strategy was seen as the most effective means to instill the Japanese spirit in the colonized population (Yang, 2017: p. 65). Furthermore, the strategic significance of Korea's geographical proximity to Northeast China and Japan became undeniable, particularly in light of the fierce Chinese resistance against Japan. Recognizing Korea's strategic importance, the Japanese government implemented measures to solidify its colonial control over the region, mainly by the widespread use of Japanese language education in Korea. Through this process, the colonizer can not only instill Japanese-centric ideology, but also obliterate Korean culture.

The Japanese colonizers not only disseminated language to reinforce control over the colonized people but also implemented multiple rounds of education decrees affecting the content of Japanese textbooks for primary school students. Their aim was to instill Japanese ideology and to downplay Korean language and culture in young minds (Kim & Lee, 2023). Language reinforcement served as the initial step, while the reformation of content represented the subsequent stage, impacting people's ideology more profoundly. Cultural assimilation and acceptance of inferiority to the Japanese Empire are two main goals for the education ordinances in Korea. Similar to the reinforcement of language, this process of education ordinance involved molding the colonized populace into compliant citizens loyal to the Japanese Emperor.

For instance, the recurring presence of the Japanese flag in Japanese textbooks serves as a potent instrument for instilling imperial political ideology in Korean students of primary schools, particularly the admiration and sense of identification that Koreans hold towards Japan as a nation. Figure 1 illustrates this phenomenon vividly (Kim, 2019: p. 80). In the image, the Japanese flag occupies the largest space and is centrally positioned, drawing the student's immediate attention and conveying a strong sense of significance. This deliberate placement enhances the flag's prominence and reinforces a heightened sense of national identity among readers. Furthermore, the textbooks depict a scenario where households adorn their homes with straw ropes and display the Japanese flag on New Year's Day, a practice absent from both Japanese and Korean traditions (Kim, 2019: p. 82). This portrayal serves to indoctrinate Korean students with affection for Japan, effectively implanting the political ideology of the Japanese Empire. Figure 2, sourced from the Internet, depicts a group photo taken in a Korean primary school during the colonial period, where all individuals are seen holding Japanese flags. This vividly illustrates the powerful impact of education in fostering loyalty and patriotism towards Japan from an early age in Korea.

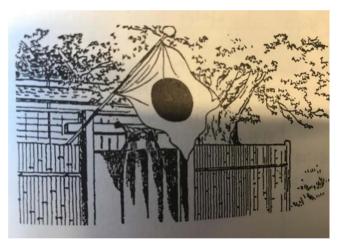


Figure 1. Source: Kim, 2019: p. 80.



Figure 2. Source: https://zhuanlan.zhihu.com/p/84721083.

4. Colonial Education's Influence on Characters' Ideological Formation in "Into the Light"

Under the sway of intensified Japanese language policy and the dissemination of colonial Japanese textbooks, Koreans gradually internalized a sense of inferiority to their identity, whether viewed through cultural or national lenses. As noted by Oh and Kim (2013: p. 131), Japan's colonial policy heavily geared towards assimilation. Its aim was to mold Koreans into loyal subjects of the Japanese Empire, fostering identification with Japan culturally and spiritually, while obliterating the idea of a distinct Korean nation. In addition to the emphasis on the Japanese flag in Japanese textbooks for Korean primary school students, cultural assimilation is reflected from the highlight of the Japanese most significant celebration "Oshogatsu" and the Japanese traditional decorations, rather than depicting any Korean cultures. Stories in the textbooks often describe the different Japanese traditional decorations displayed on New Year's Day, such as sticky rice (Kim, 2019: p. 84). Korean students would gradually incline to Japanese culture and abandon their own cultural heritage. In other words, when a dominant culture is imposed, the natural consequence is the abandonment of one's own cultural heritage.

Over time, this educational indoctrination led to a lack of confidence in Korean identity and a strong yearning for Japanese identity. This phenomenon was evident not only domestically in Korea but also among Korean elites in Japan. Upon arriving in Japan, this sense of inferiority and desire for Japanese identity manifested even more intensely, akin to placing an underachieving student suddenly in an advanced class. As in Kim Saryang's literary masterpiece "Into the Light", fictional characters reflect the experiences and inner struggles of Koreans in Japan during the colonial era.

The sense of inferiority associated with being Korean and the fervent desire to embrace a Japanese identity are vividly exemplified through the character of Haruo. The text meticulously illustrates Haruo's exclusion towards his Korean identity and the keenness to embrace a Japanese identity. At the outset of the story, when Haruo unexpectedly discovered that his teacher Minami was Korean, he became hostile towards Minami. "When I would get hung up on a word or something and become tonguetied, he was the one always imitating me and laughing at my expense. There's no question he had me pegged as Korean from day one (Wender, 2010: p. 18)." Aware that Minami was concealing their Korean identity and wishing to prevent his students from knowing, Haruo deliberately and loudly proclaimed the teacher's Korean nationality in front of their Japanese peers, causing embarrassment to Minami. Not only that, Haruo outrightly denied his mother's Korean heritage when people asked. As the narrative unfolded, Haruo's animosity towards Koreans grew. The pinnacle of conflict between the teacher Minami and Haruo occurred when Haruo derogatorily used the Korean term "jabare," meaning "nab," a pejorative used by Japanese settlers in Korea. This action deeply provoked Minami. This action symbolizes Haruo's aspiration to embody the superior colonizer. Haruo's behavior can be interpreted as a manifestation of his desire to

align himself with the dominant Japanese culture, a product of his assimilationist education. His upbringing instills in him the belief that the colonized should accept their subjugation and strive to assimilate into the dominant culture. Thus, he fervently sought to distance himself from his Korean heritage, aspiring to be perceived as a member of the Japanese colonial elite.

Haruo made earnest efforts to conceal his Korean heritage, a consequence of his upbringing under colonial education. Taught by his previous teacher to view himself as inferior, he internalized the notion that as a Korean, he should be grateful for even the basic access to education. "He called this kid a good-for-nothing Korean and told him he ought to be grateful just for being let into elementary school" (Wender, 2010: p. 21). The study assumes that this belief in the inferiority of being a Korean compared to the Japanese Empire originates from the influence of the textbooks. As observed by Kim (2019), through the images of Koreans as lower-class people in Japanese textbooks for Korean primary school students, Korean people were instilled with the ideology that they were inferior to the Japanese. These solidify Japanese imperial dominance and ensure the subjugation of the colonized population for the benefit of imperial Japan (Kim, 2019: p. 77). The Korean child in the textbook is depicted as wearing lower-class Korean clothes and feeding the chicks (Kim, 2019: p. 123). As shown in Figure 3, this image not only emphasizes the inferior identity of Koreans but also indicates the unskilled labor that Koreans did. This ideological indoctrination compelled Haruo to deny his Korean identity and vehemently identify as Japanese, despite being of mixed Japanese and Korean descent. Prior to his mother's hospitalization, he consistently identified as Japanese and harbored a deep disdain for Koreans.

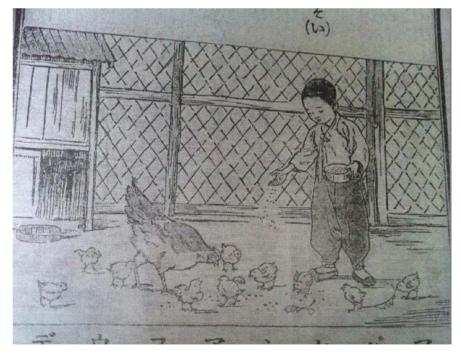


Figure 3. Source: Kim, 2019: p. 122.

Not only Haruo, but also the teacher Minami, experienced identity issues leaning towards Japan. At the beginning of the story, when his students addressed him with a Japanese-style name, although he felt uncomfortable, he convinced himself that it was not such a bad thing, especially for fostering better relationships with the children (Wender, 2010: p. 16). His tacit acceptance suggests a desire to integrate into Japanese society and shed his inferior Korean identity. Additionally, he only speaks Korean when alone with Yi, another Korean student, yet he does not dare to do so in front of other Japanese students. His abandonment of his own language and culture illustrates how deeply ingrained the ideology of inferiority towards Korean identity and admiration for Japanese society has become. "After all, whenever I've thought about being Korean in this country (Japan), I've had to build a wall around myself. Honestly, I'm sick and tired of this charade (Wender, 2010: p. 27)." Despite feeling uncomfortable and disheartened by pretending to be Japanese, he sees it as the only path to achieving superiority and integration into his surroundings. In comparison to Haruo and Minami, Yi stands out as someone who steadfastly embraces his Korean identity in Japan. However, he can only secure a job as a driver during the day and must study English and math at night. The discrimination he faces underscores why many Koreans opt to conceal their identity.

The discrimination can be traced from the different education treatments between Koreans and Japanese in Korean primary schools during the colonial period. It intends to mold Koreans as inferior to Japanese. Particularly noteworthy was the disparate content of science and technology for Japanese students and Korean students, reflecting the colonizers' agenda to maintain subordination by withholding access to advanced Western knowledge and quality education to Korean students. For instance, in science and technology textbooks, Korean students were only introduced to basic items like towels while their Japanese counterparts were exposed to advanced medical concepts. This deliberate discrepancy aimed to marginalize Korean students from cutting-edge advancements, relegating them to a subordinate position and perpetuating a workforce lacking in technological expertise (Kim, 2019: p. 70). The colonizers' focus was not on nurturing the potential of the colonized populace (Bacchus, 1980). This discrimination is exemplified in the character of Yi, whose opportunities are limited to unskilled labor, reflecting the systemic barriers imposed upon the colonized.

In the text, Haruo's mother's proficiency in Japanese language is noteworthy. It reflects the reality that the impact of Japanese language education since 1911 was profound. Her proficiency in Japanese serves as a testament to the extensive implementation of Japanese language education among the colonized populace. Even in moments of distress, such as when she was stabbed and hospitalized, Haruo's mother responded exclusively in Japanese when Dr. Yun inquired about her condition and the circumstances of her injury, despite Dr. Yun speaking to her in Korean. This linguistic choice underscores the pervasive influence of Japanese language education, shaping not only individual language proficiency but also

cultural identity and communication patterns within the colonial context.

By examining characters' reluctance to embrace their Korean identity and their inclination towards Japanese society, it becomes evident that the ideology of the superiority of Japanese culture has deeply permeated the collective consciousness. This phenomenon is primarily perpetuated through cultural assimilation and the Japanese-centric ideology espoused in education textbooks. Their lack of confidence in their own identity is manifested through the adoption of Japanese-style names, disdain towards fellow Koreans, and the refusal to use the Korean language. This sense of inferiority to their identity and longing for Japanese identity is particularly pronounced among Koreans residing in Japan during the colonial period. Surrounded by the ethos of excellence and strength ingrained in Japanese educational paradigms, their feelings of anxiety are heightened. As previously discussed, this dynamic can be likened to an inferior student suddenly finding himself thrust into an elite class filled with high-achieving peers. Faced with this scenario, he endeavors to engage with his surroundings while concealing his feelings of inadequacy.

5. The Emergence of Japanophone Literature in Korean Book Market

As previously analyzed, the fluent Japanese-speaking ability exhibited by Haruo's mother serves as compelling evidence of the effectiveness of Japanese language education among Korean people. This proficiency laid a solid foundation for the rise and popularity of Japanophone literature¹ in the Korean book market. With the widespread dissemination of Japanese language instruction in Korean education, two significant trends emerged. Firstly, there was a heightened demand for Japanese literature among readers who possessed the ability to read in Japanese. This increased demand contributed to the growing presence of Japanese literaty works in Korean society. Second, a notable number of Korean colonial writers influenced by Japanese language education began to produce literature in Japanese. Among them, Kim Saryang stands out as a prominent example. His work "Into the Light" can be considered a representative piece of Japanophone literature, depicting a typical narrative of Korean colonial experiences through the medium of Japanese.

Due to stringent censorship in the Korean language and disparities in educational opportunities within the colony, many students from elite families pursued high-quality education either by studying abroad in Japan or attending local imperial schools (Kwon, 2018: p. 547). Kim Saryang was among the elite individuals who ventured to Japan for advanced education. By immersing themselves in the Empire, these colonial Koreans became intimately familiar with Japanese language and culture, eventually developing the ability to write literature in Japanese.

¹Japanophone literature features writers who create literary works closely tied to the Japanese language, although in some marginal way (Kwon, 2018: p. 542). These works include the experiences of colonized individuals within the Empire.

This shift led to the emergence of a distinct category known as Japanophone literature. The rise of Japanophone literary works coincided with the peak of Japan's imperial expansions into colonial territories, signifying an inherently imperialistic dynamic. This dynamic was reinforced by imperial assimilationist language policies, which mandated that the colonized population be educated in Japanese language and literature (Kwon, 2018: p. 543).

In addition to the Japanese textbooks discussed in the previous sections, the rise of Japanophone literature also exerted a significant influence on the Korean book market within the context of Japanese colonialism. This interconnected relationship reflects the dynamics of change within both the Korean book market and the ideological landscape of Korean society. As shown in **Figure 4**, initially, the impact was direct, stemming from the introduction of Japanese textbooks into Korean primary schools through colonial ordinances. This policy had a profound effect on the ideology of Korean children, exemplified by characters like Haruo in the text "Into the Light", fostering a sense of acceptance towards a Japanese-centric worldview regarding language and culture, while simultaneously instilling feelings of inferiority regarding their Korean identity.

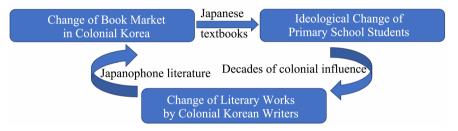


Figure 4. The cyclical relationship between the colonial education system and the literary market.

Furthermore, the evolving ideology and language usage among the Korean populace had impact on the writings of colonial Korean authors. While these writers sought to convey the experiences of the colonized people, they often chose to compose their works in Japanese to evade the stringent censorship imposed on the Korean language. This strategic adaptation to language restrictions resulted in the emergence of Japanophone literature, which further influenced the offerings within the Korean book market. In essence, the emergence of Japanophone literature created a feedback loop within the Korean book market. Changes in ideology and language usage influenced literary production, which in turn impacted the preferences and offerings within the market itself. This dynamic interplay underscores the complex relationship between colonial policies, ideological shifts, and cultural production during the colonial period.

6. Conclusion

In summary, this paper asserts that Japanese colonial education wielded significant impact in shaping the ideological landscape of the Korean populace during the colonial period. Through an examination of the characters in "Into the Light", the study delves into the societal impact of colonial education on Korea, as well as the challenges faced by Kim Saryang in resisting Japanese colonialism, particularly concerning language usage and ideological portrayals in his text. The existence of Japanese textbooks for Korean primary school students serves as compelling evidence of the indoctrination imposed by colonial education, which instilled a sense of inferiority regarding Korean identity and a strong desire for Japanese identity. Moreover, the widespread dissemination of Japanese language education in Korea led to the emergence of Korean colonial writers producing works in Japanese, which is known as Japanophone literature, as exemplified by Kim Saryang's "Into the Light". The emergence of Japanophone literature, influenced by the widespread dissemination of Japanese language education, contributed to its proliferation in the Korean book market. The interaction between Japanese language education and the rise of Japanophone literature created a feedback loop within colonial Korea's book market, highlighting the intricate relationship between colonial policies, ideological shifts, and cultural production during the colonial period.

Conflicts of Interest

The author declares no conflicts of interest regarding the publication of this paper.

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