Korean Women’s Status under Patriarchy in Min Jin Lee’s *Pachinko*

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for a Master’s Degree in Literature and Civilization

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Dedication

I humbly dedicate my dissertation to my beloved parents, who have been my source of inspiration, strength, and encouragement, who have never left my side, and to whom I owe a great debt.

I wish to express my deep gratitude and love to my beloved parents Houcine and Fatiha, who never let me down, and who believed in me. Words cannot express my sincere appreciation and love to them.

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Outline

Dedication.....................................................................................................................I
Acknowledgements....................................................................................................II
Abstract.......................................................................................................................V

General Introduction................................................................................................1

Chapter One: Theoretical and Contextual Overview..............................................5

Introduction...............................................................................................................5

1.1. Literature Review.................................................................................................5

1.2. Gender Studies vs Feminism..............................................................................7

1.3. Major Feminist Groups......................................................................................11

1.4. Major Feminist Concepts....................................................................................12

Conclusion................................................................................................................13

Chapter Two: Pachinko’s Portrayal of Korean Women under Patriarchy..........15

Introduction.............................................................................................................15

2.1. The Significance of Pachinko............................................................................15

2.2. Korean Feminist Activities................................................................................16

2.3. Korean Women throughout History..................................................................17
Outline

IV

2.4. Korean Feminism Vis à Vis Confucianism..........................20

2.5. Patriarchy and Sexism in Korea...........................................23

2.6. Korean Women under Colonial Patriarchy..........................27

Conclusion..................................................................................31

Chapter Three: Pachinko’s Portrayal of Korean Women’s Resistance under the Japanese Colonial Patriarchy......................................................32

Introduction................................................................................32

3.1. Korean Women’s Protection of Their Identity in Diaspora........32

3.2. Zainichi’s Feminist Resistance to Ethnic Discrimination and Subordination.......33

3.3. Japanese vs Zainichi Feminist Cultural Clash: A Clash of Traditional Costumes, Dishes and Language.........................................................37


3.5. Contemporary Korean Women................................................44

3.6. Major Findings......................................................................46

Conclusion..................................................................................48

General

Conclusion..................................................................................49
لقد نوقشت قضايا المرأة بين الباحثين الأكاديميين في جميع أنحاء العالم، والأطرة الحالية هي دراسة تحليلية عن وضع المرأة الكورية في ظل النظام الأبوي، فيما يتعلق بتحليل رواية مين جين "Pachinko". 

وبالإضافة إلى ذلك، فإن الغرض الرئيسي من هذه الدراسة هو دراسة وضع المرأة الكورية في المجتمع الأبوي خلال زمن الاستعمار الياباني. يقوم البحث برسم الأفكار النسوية ذات الصلة بهذه الدراسة. وقد أدرجت دراسة الكونفوشيوسية تأثيرها على النظام الأبوي في هذه الدراسة، لأن هذه الأيديولوجية تجسد المجتمع الكوري. وعلاوة على ذلك، فإنه يقدم الأسباب الرئيسية وراء عدم المساواة بين الجنسين. كما تستكشف هذه الدراسة الصراعات التي واجهتها المرأة الكورية خلال الاستعمار الياباني، بما في ذلك الاغتصاب. وبالإضافة إلى ذلك، يستكشف التقرير التحديات التي واجهتها المرأة الكورية في الشتات الياباني. وعلاوة على ذلك، يهدف هذا البحث الأكاديمي إلى دراسة وضع المرأة الكورية المعاصرة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: المرأة الكورية، النظام الأبوي، الحركة النسائية، عدم المساواة بين الجنسين، الكونفوشيوسية، الشتات
Abstract

Women’s issues have been debated amongst academic scholars at a worldwide range. The present dissertation is an analytical study on Korean women's status under patriarchy, with regard to the analysis of Min Jin Lee's novel *Pachinko*. The main purpose of this study is the examination of Korean women's status in the patriarchal society during Japanese colonialism. The research provides some feminist concepts that are connected to this study. The examination of Confucianism and its effect on patriarchy is included in this study, since this ideology embodies the Korean society. Moreover, it provides the main reasons behind gender inequality. This study also explores the struggles that Korean women have faced during Japanese colonialism, including prostitution. It also explores the challenges that Korean women have experienced in Japanese diaspora. As an academic research, this dissertation examined the status of Korean women throughout different generations portrayed in the novel, up until contemporary Korean women.

**Keywords:** Korean women, Patriarchy, Feminism, Gender inequality, Confucianism, diaspora.
Résumé

Les questions relatives aux femmes ont été débattues parmi les chercheurs académiques du monde entier. La présente thèse est une étude analytique sur le statut des femmes coréennes sous le patriarcat, ence qui concerne l’analyse du roman *Pachinko* de Min Jin Lee. En outre, l’objectif principal de cette étude est d’examiner le statut des femmes coréennes dans la société patriarcale en temps de le colonialisme Japonais. La recherche fournit certains concepts féministes pertinents pour cette étude. L’examen du confucianisme et de son effet sur le patriarcat est inclus dans cette étude, car cette idéologie incarne la société coréenne. En outre, il fournit les principales raisons de l’inégalité entre les sexes. Cette étude explore également les luttes auxquelles les femmes coréennes ont été confrontées pendant le colonialisme japonais, y compris la prostitution. En outre, il explore les défis que les femmes coréennes ont connus dans la diaspora japonaise. En outre, cette recherche universitaire visait à examiner le statut des femmes coréennes contemporaines.

**Mots-clés:** Femmes coréennes, Patriarcat, Féminisme, Inégalité des genres, Confucianisme, diaspora.
General Introduction

The field of patriarchy has been part of the academic discourse for a long time. This field has gained great attention from worldwide critics and even scholars. Previous researches have been conducted with regard to this topic, in order to raise the consciousness of those who are oppressed and marginalized by this discriminating system. They also aimed to break down the patriarchal standards that control women’s lives. Furthermore, women’s issues have become one of the major topics discussed in Korean literature.

It is remarkable that, many Korean writers have tackled the theme of women’s oppression in order to advocate their rights and liberate themselves. Through their writings, they tried to defy patriarchal and Confucian norms, enhance women’s status, and improve their social stance. Generally speaking, women have not been treated equally with men as human beings, and they are always looked down on as sex slaves. Moreover, there is no social welfare system for them in their society. Their social status is extremely marginalized and miserable. Consequently, the need to survive in this world has led them to raise their voice and thoughts through different ways, such as writing and engaging in feminist movements.

The primary purpose of this study is to examine how Korean women are depicted in the Korean-American author Min Jin Lee’s novel *Pachinko*, which has been written in 2017. *Pachinko* is a historical novel. Its events were set during the Japanese occupation of the Korean Peninsula. The writer depicts an ordinary Korean family through four generations, in Japanese Diaspora. The novel provides the readers with a depiction of their struggles and experiences that they have faced in Japan, including racism and discrimination. The title of this novel has been chosen to express the
characters’ faith and luck, since pachinko refers to a mechanical game of chance, which is used as a gambling machine and associated with Koreans.

Given this background, the main purpose of this study is to examine women’s status in the patriarchal and diasporic society. To this end, it is important to provide an overview of the general situation of women and Korean women as well. The study focuses on Korean women during wartime in diaspora. Moreover, it gives another overview about contemporary South Korean women’s status as well. The present dissertation further investigates the patriarchal culture from the Korean perspective in parallel with the examination of previous literary works. This research attempt to answer some questions, including:

1- What are Korean women’s choices and challenges under patriarchy and diaspora?

2- How could Korean women protect their identity and traditions from disappearance in Japanese diaspora?

3- What are the struggles Korean women have faced during Japanese colonialism?

4- What is the real meaning of the so-called comfort women?

5- What are the changes that have been established in contemporary South Korea concerning the status of women?

To this end the researcher provides some proposed hypotheses, including:

1- Korean women are struggling to create their own history in patriarchal society.
2- Korean women have faced relentless racial segregation in diasporic society, while maintaining their identity.

3- During colonialism, Korean women have undergone many struggles, including the coercion into prostitution.

4- The status of contemporary Korean women has changed compared to the olden days.

In this regard, it is preferable to use an analytical methodology, in order to discuss Min Jin Lee’s novel *Pachinko*. Moreover, the discussion of women’s status under patriarchy would not be complete without the use of two main literary approaches: gender studies and feminism. It is also important to tackle the Confucian ideology in this study, since it controls the Korean society.

This study is divided into two parts. One part of this research is allocated to explore the review of some previous research that has been conducted with regard to this topic. The present chapter explores the historical background of Koreans and the status of Korean women in each historical period. Moreover, it tackles the background of Confucianism and women’s position with regard to this ideology. The study provides a broader examination of gender studies, including patriarchy in general and in South Korea as well. It also introduces an overview on feminism and its origins, waves and different groups. It is important to examine the feminist ideology in South Korea, since this study focuses on Korean women.

Another portion of this study is allocated to the application of the feminist theory to analyze the Korean novel *Pachinko*. This chapter attempts to discuss Korean women’s status in the patriarchal society during wartime. Moreover, the researcher
examines the role of working-class Korean women in protecting their ethnic identity in Japanese Diaspora. Since the novel is a depiction of Koreans during the Japanese imperialism, it also discussed Korean women under Japanese prostitution, as they were referred to as comfort women. At the end of the present chapter, it highly recommended to explore the changes that have been established in the status of contemporary South Korean women.
CHAPTER ONE
Introduction

The first chapter is divided into six sections. The first one is a review of the most relevant previous studies that have been conducted by scholars concerning gender studies. The second section attempts to provide the readers with the historical background of feminist issues in Korea. Moreover, this section gives a general idea about the status of Korean women during each period. The third section is concerned with the historical background of Confucianism and women’s status from the Confucian perspective, since this philosophy shapes the Korean society and marked the major influence on feminism in Korea. The fourth section discusses gender studies. Furthermore, the next section's intent is to examine the concept of patriarchy in Korea. In addition, this section provides the readers with an overview of this system in Korea. The last section from this chapter explores the theory of feminism.

1.1. Literature Review

The present chapter demonstrates the knowledge and ideas that have been established on the underlying theme previously: Korean women’s status under patriarchy. This chapter will be a review of the number of studies that elucidate women’s status under the patriarchal system. The question of women’s status is a hotly debated topic that often divides opinions. Some emphasized on women’s participation in society; while others emphasized on women’s home duties only.

It is noteworthy that, for centuries, men had the highest authority to participate in the social system. They had the full right in issuing orders. There can be no doubt that most of them, if not all of them, used to consider themselves superior and predominant over women. Women, on the other hand, ought to stay home doing housework without
complaining about their rights. They had less voice compared to men in making their own choices.

Lucy Irigaray (1930), the French philosopher, psychoanalyst and feminist, in her essay “Women on the Market” (1977) portrays women as commodities. Men are exchanging women between them as commodities based on their use and exchanged values: “As commodities, women are thus two things at once: utilitarian objects and bearers of value” (175).

_Pachinko_ by Min Jin Lee was first published in 2017. Since this historical novel is relatively new, the research on this novel is still rarely found. However, researches on patriarchy and feminism issues have been done by many people. In her paper entitled “Education from a Gender and Development perspective in India and Republic of Korea”, Misha Garg (2012) argued that due to Confucian values that place women as subordinated to men, women are not considered as effective leaders as men are (69). The lack of female representation in the national government is a major concern in Korea. Accordingly, Misha Garg provides some remarkable suggestions that can help decrease gender disparity in education and labor force, which rely on providing strict implementation of equal pay act (Garg 80).

Magdalena Luszcz (2019) who entitled her research “The Name is Miss Representation: Female Invisibility and Its Roots in Poland and South Korea”, another research about gender discrimination, studied cross-cultural examination of gender inequality both in Poland and South Korea, and focused on the roots of gender inequality and limitations to the emergence of equality by examining two seemingly different cases. She claims that gender inequality in these two countries derives from and upheld by similar ideologies and practices. The research shows that
misrepresentation and invisibility are the effects that arise from ideologically constructed systems of patriarchy built upon Christianity (in Poland), and Confucianism (in South Korea) (2).

Another portion of these literature reviews was made by Lee Fang-Cooke in (2010) under the title “Women’s Participation in Employment in Asia: A Comparative Analysis of China, India, Japan and South Korea”. The research compares the patterns of women’s employment in four major Asian economics. It demonstrates that there are two main factors which established the ideology of subordinating women to men, both economically and socially, which are Korea’s influence by Confucian values and women’s family duties.

The above-reviewed works examine gender discrimination in the social system. Moreover, they show how females are struggling to participate in the social system and create their own history. The researchers of the above works emphasized on improving the situation of Korean women and supporting women’s participation in social development. Moreover, they stated that the reasons behind Korean women’s oppression are the influence by Confucian norms and patriarchal principles. The major concern of the present study is examining Korean women’s status under the patriarchal society through discussing Min Jin Lee’s fictional novel *Pachinko* (2017).

### 1.2. Gender Studies vs Feminism

Gender discrimination is a hotly debated topic that often divides opinions. It has received a considerable critical attention from critics worldwide, such as Judith Butler who in her book *Undoing Gender* (2004), defines gender as “the mechanism by which notions of masculine and feminism are produced and naturalized but gender
might very well be the apparatus by which such terms are deconstructed and
denaturalized.” (43).

Gender indicates social differences in sex (masculinity/femininity), behaviors and roles. According to the Oxford dictionary, the term gender has been borrowed from the French language (genre). It refers to either male or female as being proclaimed by social distinctions rather than biological ones. Gender study is interpreted as an academic scope, which seeks to examine the various genders’ fields including identity and role. It contains both women’s and men’s studies. It was created with the emergence of the feminist movement.

Gender inequality is one of the most sensitive issues facing South Korea today. It has raised the consciousness of many South Korean women and men who are against this discriminated social system. Women are treated badly by men because of misogyny. In nearly decades, scientific researchers have shown that the majority of human crimes are against women. Actually, they are suffering from discrimination and violence which lead (have led) many of them to commit suicide.

Nan-Yeong Park Matthews, in her doctorate research under the title "Development, Culture and Gender in Korea: a Sociological Study of Female Office Employees in Chaebol"(2005), states that the Confucian influence, males' superiority practices and gender inequality affect Korean women's status. Moreover, she claims that the main reason behind gender inequality in Korean society is the big influence by the Confucian traditions (6).

Yoonhee Park (2016), in her paper titled "A Microdata Analysis of the Gender Pay Gap in South Korea: How do Social Norms and Gender Role Attitudes Affect the
Labor Force Participation of Korean Women?” proclaims that Korean people blame Confucian principles that placed women as inferior to men (34).

*Feminism*, on the other hand, refers to the ideology which aims to maintain social, economic, cultural and political equality between men and women, and to unfold the fact about gender stereotypes. The term was coined first at the end of the nineteenth century in France and then started to expand worldwide.

It was claimed by many that the history of feminism originated in ancient Greece. It was claimed that Plato proclaimed in his classic Republic (375 BC) that women had the same natural capacities as men when it comes to ruling and defending ancient Greece. At that time, Rome’s women organized a rebellion over the law which restricted their access to different goods. As a reaction to women’s protest, Marcus Porcius Cato, a Roman political leader stated that they would have become your superiors as soon as they began to consider you as equals.

Feminist theory is concerned mainly with gender issues. Gerda Lerner states that, "What women must do, what feminists are now doing is to point to that stage, its sets, its director, and its scriptwriter, as did the child in the fairy tale who discovered that the emperor was naked and say, the basic inequality between us lies within this framework. And then they must tear it down" (Lerner 13-14).

Gloria Jean Watkins (1952) known as Bell Hooks, is an American author, social activist and feminist, the majority of whose works examined several issues such as class, race and gender. In her non-fiction book Feminist Theory from Margin to Center (1984), she defines the term feminism as, "a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression" (viii). According to her, the major concern of feminism is not about equality to men; instead, the main problem relies on sexist action and thinking
whether the males or females impose it (Hooks 2). She states that in order to establish peace and justice, it is preferable to end sexism first.

According to the Nigerian writer Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (1977), the word feminism is limited by stereotypes. During a TED conference, she held that, "My own definition of a feminist is a man or a woman who says, 'yes, there’s a problem with gender as it is today and we must fix it, we must do better"(Chimamanda).

The field of feminism has different groups, such as radical feminism, liberal feminism, Marxist and socialist feminism, and all of them seek to accomplish various goals. They are fighting against the patriarchal system in order to establish equal rights between men and women, advocate women’s voices and choices and put an end to domestic abuse and sexual harassment. Moreover, they are supporting women’s participation in social development. By improving the situation of women, feminist groups are trying to reveal the truth behind the misunderstood role of women. Finally, they are trying to open the door for women to participate in society.

The schools of ideologies and thoughts have divided feminism into four waves:

The First Wave (1848-1920): The first wave has emerged from an urban atmosphere of industrialism and revolutionary socialist politics. This wave of feminism aimed to establish women’s civil right, suffrage and other opportunities, interrelated with the abolitionist movement (Guo 453).

The Second Wave (1960-1980): The second wave of feminism was build on a combination of psychoanalytic and neo-Marxism theory in order to link women’s enslavement to wider criticism of capitalism, patriarchy and women’s role (Fraser 5).
Chapter One: Theoretical and Contextual Overview

The Third Wave (1990-2008): This wave was mainly influenced by post-colonial and post-modern values. The third-wavers oppose the concept feminists, and seek to identify feminine beauty for themselves as subjects, not as objects of a sexist patriarchy (McMahan 11-14).

The Fourth Wave (2008-present): The fourth wave of feminism is identified by the emphasis on women’s use of technology and liberation. It is reflected on gendered norms and women’s marginalization in society to establish gender equality. Additionally, the use of social media helps the fourth wavers’ feminists discuss and give voice to women’s issues such as rape culture and sexual harassment.

1.3. Major Feminist Groups

Feminist groups aimed to establish one major goal, which is equal rights between men and women, and those groups are:

**Liberal Feminism:** Liberal feminism is an individualistic movement that emphasizes the equality of men and women. Liberal feminists proclaim that women have the right to achieve gender equality. That kind of movement tackles different women’s issues that rely on abortion rights, education, voting, domestic violence, sexual harassment and equal pay for equal work (Sorooshyari 3-14).

**Radical Feminism:** Radical feminists see the male-dominated capitalist hierarchy as the main sexist reason for women’s enslavement and subordination. This movement is named radical because the feminists who belong to that movement consider women’s oppression as one of the essential forms of oppression facing females worldwide. Radical feminists demonstrate that the oppressive patriarchal system and its principles are the main reasons behind inequality and injustice, and there is no other
choice than the complete uprooting this discriminated system. The movement’s major goal is the implementation of social change (Radhika 650-651).

**Socialist and Marxist Feminism:** According to the Marxist doctrine, women’s oppression is a result of the capitalist system, and uprooting this system and rebuilding the society are the main factors to put an end to that oppression (Sorooshyari 23-25). According to socialist feminists, the fight against women’s oppression and Marxist ideas are interrelated; besides, they state that women are treated unequally in both positions: domestic sphere and workplace. In addition to that, Marxist feminists advocate that gender discrimination would disappear only when the class struggle was overcome. Socialist and Marxist feminists seek to support the participation of women in social development (Gomperts 13-15).

Even though, some historical facts support the previous claim, such as when women were harnessed as horses to chariots during the industrial revolution in Europe, it seems that socialist Marxist feminists are also attacking Capitalism. It seems that feminism is being used by socialist Marxism as a tool against the capitalist system, as an economic prejudice.

**1.4. Major Feminist Concepts**

**Patriarchy:** this term is interpreted as a social system, in which it represents males’ dominance and females’ subordination. This means men have power over women in all fields. It expresses men’s high authority in leadership’s roles and indicates women’s inferiority to men, in which they are placed as the second sex.

**Privilege:** Refers to the notion that some groups in society are advantaged over others in societies where privileged people have the authority over persecuted people.
From the feminist perspective those privileged groups are males who have access to many privileges compared to females.

**Sexism:** This concept refers to the idea that females are inferior to males. They are placed as the second sex. This term expresses all forms of discrimination that females are facing. The concept is concerned with the status based on gender, which means men are superior, and women are inferior.

**Misogyny:** This feminist concept is specifically defined as hatred of women. The term is considered as an ideology or a social system in which females are being hated and marginalized.

**Conclusion**

In sum, the present chapter examines the review of literature that has been done vis-à-vis women's status in the society. Furthermore, it gives a broader understanding of two major theories that have been used in this dissertation, including gender studies and feminism. In addition, it explores the evolution of the feminist theory with the changes that have been established. Moreover, the first chapter examines the different feminist groups with their major goals.
CHAPTER TWO
Chapter Two: *Pachinko’s* Portrayal of Korean Women under Patriarchy

**Introduction**

Patriarchy has become one of the most sensitive issues facing the world and South Korea as well in the late decades. It has raised the consciousness of many Korean females, and led them to take parts in the feminist movements in order to end this discriminated social system and accomplish gender equality.

*Pachinko* is a historical novel, which was published in 2017. It was written by the Korean-American author Min Jin Lee, whose works deal with Korean-American topics. The events were set in the 20th century when Korea was under the Japanese colonialism. The story is a depiction of a Korean family through four generations. The family migrates to Japan and experiences many struggles, such as racism and discrimination.

**2.1. The Significance of *Pachinko***

Lee’s novel portrays how the characters try to survive under devastating circumstances, especially female characters. In addition to that, the writer discusses various themes that include imperialism, survival, quest for identity, Korean diaspora in Japan and women’s status. *Pachinko* is a mechanical game of chance; it is used as a gambling machine.

*Pachinko* machine was built during the twentieth century in Japan. This game is usually played in parlors. The player inserts coins in the machine, and in return, he would get some metal balls. These balls then fall in different holes; some of them enable the player to win more balls. Since, the balls may be exchanged into prizes, getting more balls is beneficial for the player.
The game originated in Japan and was associated with Koreans. The writer depicts the Koreans who were in Japan engaging in pachinko’s business for the sake of making better lives for their families. Yet, that was not the real reason for choosing pachinko as a name for the novel. This pinball game required ability, skills and chance. Lee chose pachinko as a name for the novel as a symbol for both luck and faith. She portrays the characters in a way that represents their ability to fight against their fate.

2.2. Korean Feminist Activities

According to Jung Soon Shim, Western feminism and Contemporary Korean feminism have different concerns. Western feminists focus on women’s subjectivity, history and identity, while Korean feminists advocate women’s social issues such as the Korean Comfort Women reparation issues, women’s contribution to the reunification process of North Korea and South Korea, and the institutionalization of the sexual violence prevention law 1997 (Jung 241).

Korean women’s movement emerged by the late 1970, and it was propagated by the intellectuals who have studied the field of feminism in the West (Jung 242). Kyungja Jung states that, “feminist organizations that concentrated only on women’s issues began to be established, giving rise to a more independent and autonomous women’s movement” (Jung 1). In addition to that, she also claims that, “One of the first focal points for activism that consent rated on ‘women’s issues’ in Korea was sexual violence” (Jung 1). She explains that in the early 1990s, contemporary Korean feminists’ major concern has been sexual harassment (Jung 1).

According to Nicola Anne Jones, Korean feminism has flourished and rearticulated the demands for gender equality. Jones says that, “Korean women's
movement has proven sufficiently cohesive and flexible as to provide demands for gender equality with an increasingly visible and respected sociopolitical platform” (Jones 45-46).

2.3. Korean Women throughout History

The novel Pachinko covers the period from 1900 to 1989. Thus, it is preferable to discover the historical background of Korea and women's status during this period. The Korean peninsula extends from the northeast to the southeast of the Asian continent. Like many other Asian nations, Korea is well known for its long history and proud traditions. Confucian principles have influenced the nation’s culture and society since its earliest periods of time (Ick Lew 6).

In the first century, the peninsula was under the control of the three powerful kingdoms: Goguryeo, Baekje and Silla (Ick Lew 7). In the 9th century, Wang Geon (877-943) who became officially the ruler of the kingdom established the Goryeo dynasty (918-1392). In the Goryeo period, Buddhism and Confucianism affected the Korean way of life (Ick Lew 13). During Goryo dynasty (918-1392) women's treatment was characterized by inequality and lack of freedom. They were completely subject to strict behaviors. Due to the Confucian influence, the status of women continued to decline gradually. They were looked down upon, and were restricted from working outside (Maynes 3).

In the 11th century, king Taejo (Yi Seong-Gye) founded the Joseon dynasty (1392-1897). He dominated the kingdom for almost seven years (1392-1398). Joseon era was characterized by the propagation of Neo-Confucianism philosophy, which was later considered as the nation’s official religion. King Sejong (1418-1450), the fourth
king of Joseon Dynasty, implemented many administrative, scientific, economic, and social reforms (Ick Lew 15). Moreover, he established royal authority in the early dynasty, and in 1446, he personally created a new alphabetic system used for writing the Korean language, which is known as Hangul (Ick Lew 16). In that era, women were considered as burdens. They were forced to be submissive and obedient to their husbands because of the widespread perception that “a woman belonged to man” (Seth 155). In 1477, the law of Anti-Remarriage was established. It restricted women from remarrying and awarded widows with land grants (Cho 46). Additionally, widows who ended their lives were considered as admirable (Maynes 4).

The most renowned of these interventions was the Japanese attack on Korea, which denoted the end of the early Joseon Dynasty (Ick Lew21). From that point forward, the northern part of Korea has gradually become isolated and stagnant while the south part of Korea was reluctant to modernize. According to western writers, the northern part of Korea has gradually become isolated while the southern part was reluctant to modernize. This statement might be a mere Westerner claim aiming to deny the fact that the changes in the Korean regime were meant to weaken this empire, and to spread the fallacy that their aim is the protection of the two areas. Emperor Gojong established the Korean Empire (1897-1910) in the 19th century. However, in 1910 the Korean nation was invaded again by the Japanese occupation (Ick Lew 23). The colonization period of Korea (1910-1945) was characterized by the expansion of prostitution as the Japanese soldiers used to force Korean women into military prostitution. On the other hand, Korean schools focused on teaching Confucian values to girls as they were taught to be obedient wives and mothers (Yayori 23).
After the end of World War II in 1945, the Allies divided the country into the northern area (protected by the Soviets) and the southern area (protected by the United States). The peninsula was divided on the 38th parallel: with the support of the United States and Western Europe, the South created the Republic of Korea, and with the support of the Soviet Union, the North created the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Communist Party of China (Ick Lew27). The above assumption might be a mere claim. In fact, the reason behind the division of the Korean peninsula was not the protection of the two divided areas as it was propagated, this division might well have intended to create two conflicting regimes in order to weaken the Korean Empire.

The South Korean economy is booming remarkably and is now considered as a fully developed country. Its capital economy is similar to that of Western Europe, Japan and the United States. South Korea is considered as one of the Four Tigers in the emerging Asian countries next to Singapore, Taiwan and Hong Kong. Economically, North Korea still relies heavily on foreign aid. Since then, the country's economic situation has been weak. In 2018, the two countries agreed to work towards a final solution to formally end the Korean War. However, this claim about the developed economies can also be seen as a mere claim and a statement of economic fanaticism against the second world countries and other developed Asian economies who also have strong competing economies, such as China and India. This claim might be a capitalistic western claim meant to attack the economies of these nations in order to weaken them.

Compared to the olden days, the status of women in Korea has remarkably changed. Back then, women have been restricted from working outside their houses whereas in contemporary life they have engaged in the labor force. Moreover, because of the changes that were made in the social system, women’s rights have been
established. However, despite all the recent changes, women in their everyday life are still facing sexual harassment and abuse.

2.4. Korean Feminism Vis à Vis Confucianism

Confucian principles have spread throughout Asia, influencing the people’s way of thinking and interrelating. Confucianism is generally regarded as a social system and a philosophy that refers mainly to the moral relationships of individuals and the community as a whole. As a social system, it has influenced the lives of Asians since antiquity, yet it is necessary to indicate that the population of each region to which the original Confucian principles spread has also marked a certain influence on these principles. Various critics mentioned throughout this research have argued that Confucianism affected Korean women and degraded their status as mere subordinates to men. In fact, Confucianism is based on ancient religions, and it aims to establish the social values and ideologies of the traditional Chinese society (Adler 1-4). This ideology is concerned with the belief that positive interactions between people are the reason to establish a flourishing society. It contains some Christian aspects as the spread of love among people (Cho and Park 117).

Master Kong (551-479 BC), known as Confucius established Confucianism, in a time when the notions of respect and well-being of others were common. However, it also emphasized spiritual matters. The main purpose of those aspects is to consolidate the members of the community, create stability and prevent revolution (Adler 1-4).

According to the founder of this philosophy, human relationships involve specific basic principles, which have to be taken into consideration. There are five particular relationships stated by Confucius: ruler and subject, husband and wife, father
Chapter Two: *Pachinko’s Portrayal of Korean Women under Patriarchy*

and son, elder brother and younger brother, and friend and friend (Kim and Pettid 69). From Confucius’ perspective, the family is the base of society. Additionally, a healthy society starts from the family, which means in order to establish justice and peace, it is obligatory to rely on certain familial principles such as the elders’ respect and women’s obedience (Pettid 50).

New-Confucianism was in China in the 11th century and was considered as a new form of the previous philosophy of Confucianism. Zhu Xi (1130-1200) was the pioneer of this ideology and the one who constructed the essential principles of that philosophy. Neo-Confucianism later became the social and political system of the nation (Wood 25-29). Besides, the field of Neo-Confucianism contains two main concepts: Qi (psychophysical force) and Li (principle), which means all human beings in the cosmos share/have an *original nature* that includes various principles in the world. This new form of ideology started to influence the neighboring Asian countries such as Japan and Korea (Cho and Park117).

During the Goryo Dynasty (918-1392), Korean scholars introduced the Confucian ideology to the Korean peninsula. They were completely influenced by Confucian values and decided to teach them to Korean people. This new school of thought became gradually common among the middle-class. Furthermore, this philosophy had shaped the social, moral and political system of the state. Besides, Confucian principles had become a fundamental part of all the nation’s fields concerning religion, education, philosophy and family (Cho and Park119).

Nevertheless, with the fall of Joseon Dynasty in 1897, Confucian influence started to erode gradually. However, its values remain a vital part of the Korean culture concerning the values of the family and the relation between the old and young.
Because of the Confucian ideology, Korean women were placed at home doing family duties rather than working outside (Kim and Pettid 1-4).

The previous statement, however, might be a considered as statement of extremism against Confucian norms. In fact, Confucianism meant to unfold the fact the entire world is composed of different dual or binary oppositions such as the Yin and Yang, including men and women, ruler and subject, father and son, etc. All that these binary oppositions meant was to realize that there is balance in life and that all these elements are equally necessary, and to create a balance between these oppositions for the well-being of life and members of the society.

In her research entitled “The Legacy of Institutionalized in South Korea: The Family Law, 14 B.C” (1994), Rosa Kim claims that, “Social change for women is slow and difficult because residual Confucian institutions continue to permeate Korean society” (148). The main reason behind gender inequality in Korea is the requirement of passing the headship of the household to males rather than females (Korean Women’s Development Institute, Status of Women in Korea55). Rosa Kim states that, "As such, social class and rights were passed only from the father to the son, and first-born males held the right to lineal succession"(Kim 147).

The Confucian philosophy emphasizes inequality between the sexes, generations and social classes in order to achieve harmony and peace in society (Chandra 29-30). In addition to that, Rosa Kim proclaims that, "Confucian customs and attitudes towards women remain a powerful influence in Korean social and legal culture. Because the family remains at the core of the Confucian social order in Korea, the primary source of institutionalized gender inequality is the family law"(Kim 149).
According to Lee Tai Young, the first Korean female lawyer, "From family law come all discriminations in this society. People learn discrimination in home -men against women, first son against second son, and father against mother. This is the original trouble-maker" (A4). She demonstrates that gender inequality in the Korean society derives from the deep-rooted patriarchal norms and family discriminated laws that are essential principles of Confucian ethics.

According to western beliefs, Confucian standards support patriarchal norms that are based on male dominance and female subordination. Confucianism restricts women from working outside their houses. They had to remain home and do house duties. Moreover, women have to stay faithful to their husbands, so, based on Confucian norms, men are superior and women are inferior. However, original Confucian principles were never meant to lower the social position of females. These principles were set during an ancient time which was based on men engaging in the labor force and wars with women raising their children and doing households. In fact, the Confucian philosophy emphasizes on the wellbeing of all the members of the family including women.

2.5. Patriarchy and Sexism in Korea

The field of patriarchy has received a considerable critical attention from researchers all over the world. In light of the diversity of patriarchy’s interpretations, they shared one major aspect, which is male dominance. Patriarchy refers to a social system in which the male is the ruler of the family. Merriam-Webster dictionary defines the term as, the dominance of the father in the clan or family, the legal dependency of wives and children, and the calculation of ancestry and inheritance in the male line characterizing social order.
According to Cambridge Dictionary, patriarchy refers to a community in which the oldest male is the family's head, or a society ruled by men who enforce their power for a personal gain. Patriarchy is a type of political system in which men and women retained power in unequal proportions to the detriment of women (benefit of men) (Facio 2013). In her non-fiction book *The Sexual Contract* (1988), the British feminist Carole Pateman states that, “The patriarchal construction of the difference between masculinity and femininity is the political difference between freedom and subjection” (207).

The Austrian-American feminist and historian Gerda Hedwig Lerner (1920-2013), whose works deal with women’s history, published a non-fiction book entitled *The Creation of Patriarchy* (1986) in which she illustrated the background of misogyny in ancient Mesopotamia and the following Western societies as well. She defines patriarchy as a social system in which the male rules the family or the community. She stated that in the ancient state, men forced women to perform sexual services in order to fulfill their desires. Moreover, she demonstrated the enslavement of women and its class division.

According to Lerner, women are divided based on their position into three categories: the first category is the slaves who are treated as cheap commodities, the second referrers to (mistresses) those who receive some profits in return for fulfilling men’s desires, and the last category refers to obedient wives (Lerner 69).

Gerda Lerner’s second book, *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness* (1993), identifies the struggle of women under the system of patriarchy, and clarifies that women keep trying to create their own history. She states that, "Men develop ideas and systems of explanations by absorbing past knowledge and critiquing and superseding it."
Chapter Two: *Pachinko*'s Portrayal of Korean Women under Patriarchy

Women, ignorant of their own history, and did not know what women before them had thought and taught.”(19).

Accordingly, the concept of patriarchy has different interpretations but they are interrelated in one major aspect, which is male dominance. For instance, “The term patriarchy indicates men’s power over women” (Ludden 122). In another interpretation, the British sociologist Sylvia Theresa Walby says, “I shall define patriarchy as a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women […] and the notion that every individual man is in a dominant position and every women in a subordinate one[…] the patriarchal mode of production, patriarchal relations in paid work” (20).

Moreover, she states that the patriarchal mode of production indicates that husbands are the ones who hold the ownership, while wives are the producing class (Johannasdottir 1). In addition, patriarchy supports women’s subordination to men in all fields. Men have the authority to control the family while women remain inferior, faithful and subordinated to men (Sultana 6-7).

Thus, because of patriarchal standards women have lived in an awful position. Authoritatively, and without a doubt it is asserted that this discriminated system is the main reason behind women’s troubles for a long time (Selokela 81). Socialist feminists claim that the capitalist system and the oppression of women both are interrelated, and that leads the patriarchal system to impose more pressure on women (Cudworth 47).

Furthermore, Erika Cudworth in her thesis 1998 says that, “Eisenstein (1979, 1981) argues gender relations are produced by both patriarchy and capitalism, and sees a strong linkage between the two systems, contending they constitute a single system of capitalist-patriarchy” (56). Explaining the link between this social phenomenon and the
capitalist economic regime, he adds that, “Both parts of the system are mutually dependent, with capitalism providing patriarchy with an economic structure, and the latter providing the former with a legal and political system” (Cudworth 56).

According to Boo Jin Park, The Korean principles emphasize on the agnatic kin relations. The patriarch has the authority to control all the family members (43). However, the status of female remains low. According to that, inequality in status is the main factor behind gender inequality in everyday life. Meanwhile, the social environment changes have led to the rejection of the traditional family structure, which is based on the patriarchal system (Park 43).

Boo Jin Park concludes by a considerable perception which indicates that, “With Confucian ideology functioning through ancestor worship to maintain and reproduce the power structures within the family, the legitimating of the patriarch’s control and oppression was guaranteed” (Park 52).

Furthermore, during Jeoson dynasty (1392-1910), the traditional patriarchal system contends that the division of labor was based on sex. Whereas, women’s involvement in family decision-making has increased, they are still subordinate to men (Park and Cho 132). According to Korean socialist feminists, the impact of the capitalist and the patriarchal system has resulted in the oppression of women (Jung 17).

According to that, since the Korean society is shaped by patriarchal standards, Korean women’s status was extremely marginalized especially during the colonial period. They have not been treated equally with men in many fields, such as education and workforce. It was asserted that, “the majority of colonial Korean women had only basic schooling and educating women continued to be viewed as a threat to traditional Confucian values” (Maynes 10). Furthermore, “Korean men were generally
uncomfortable with the idea of females attaining higher education and entering the professional workforce. The number of schools was subsequently increased, but the curriculum focused on teaching girls to be Confucian wives and mothers” (Maynes 10).

2.6. *Pachinko’s* Portrayal of Korean Women under Colonial Patriarchy

Min Jin Lee has succeeded in portraying Korean women’s status in patriarchal society during the Japanese occupation of the Korean peninsula. Through the events, the female characters have made extraordinary sacrifices to survive under the stereotypes of sexism that were common at that time, in which women were held inferior to men. Min Jin Lee in her novel introduces us to the main female character, Sunja. She is the daughter of Hoonie and Yangjin, who run the boardinghouse business. While Sunja was doing marketing in Busan, Mrs. Jun the *ajumma* (old woman) of the market told her:

“A woman’s life is endless work and suffering. There is suffering and then more suffering. It’s better to expect it, you know. You’re becoming a woman now, so you should be told this. For a woman, the man you marry will determine the quality of your life completely. A good man is a decent life, and a bad man is a cursed life- but no matter what, always expect suffering, and just keep working hard. No one will take care of a poor woman- just ourselves” (Lee 34).

The above quote indicates all the challenges that *Pachinko’s* female characters have experienced through their lives (making their own choices, having romantic and sexual relationships). Moreover, the main character Sunja, who has passed through a lot
of stifling circumstances and made extraordinary sacrifices on behalf of her own family, is a great example of that.

While the protagonist Sunja was buying seaweed from the market, she met KohHansu, who is a fish broker from Jeju Island in Korea and lives with his family in Osaka Japan. Hansu saved her from Japanese students who were bullying her sexually. The innocent girl engaged in a romantic relationship with Hansu who seduced her, and left her pregnant. With the feeling of shame and disgrace, Sunja has undergone many difficulties and faced countless challenges.

In her novel *Pachinko*, Min Jin Lee advocates that women are capable to fight and survive under dire circumstances. Moreover, she demonstrates women’s estimate and respect for their self-worth. That it is represented in Sunja’s refusal/rejection of being Hansu’s mistress even though she loves him. Through the events, the reader explores a new character known as BaekIsak. Days later BaekIsak, the son of the church’s founder in North Korea has arrived at the boardinghouse with tuberculosis illness. Sunja and her mother nursed him.

Fortunately, Isak proposed marriage when he learned of Sunja’s susceptible position in order to help her from the feeling of shame and disgrace, by giving both Sunja and her child his name. Isak told pastor Shin:

“It occurred to me that this is what I can do for them: Give the women and child my name. What is my name to me? It’s only a matter of grace that I was born a male who could enter my descendents in a family registry. If the young woman was abandoned by a scoundrel, it’s hardly her fault, and certainly, even
if the man is a bad person, the unborn child is innocent. Why should he suffer so? He would be ostracized.” (Lee 70)

Isak offered to help the family that helped him, at least by lifting the feeling of shame and disgrace. He added that, “Maybe my life can be significant- not on a grand scale like my brother, but to a few people. Maybe I can help this young woman and her child. And they will be helping me, because I will have a family of my own- a great blessing matter how you look at it.” (Lee 71)

Lee indicates the hardships behind being a matriarch in a society which believes in patriarchal norms. The great example is Sunja’s pregnancy which caused her shame and disgrace. That indicates that a woman is always the victim of sexual relationships rather than the man, even if she was raped, the society will always criticize her.

The author introduces us to another female character, Sunja's sister-in-law, Kyunghee. She is married with Isak's brother, Yoseb. From Kyunghee’s point of view, Yoseb is an old-fashioned man, in spite of all the sacrifices that he has made for her to live a better life, since he is against women engaging in labor force. When Sunja suggests to work along with Kyunghee, selling homemade kimchi (a traditional Korean side dish) in the open market. Kyunghee, however, told her: “But Yoseb would kill me. He said he'd never have his wife work. Never. And he wouldn't want you to work, either” (Lee 127).

She added, "He believed that a hardworking man should be able to take care of his family by himself, and that a woman should remain at home" (Lee 168). From that, the writer states that from Yoseb's perspective, a woman is prohibited from engaging in the workforce. Instead, a man is obliged to provide her with all the necessary needs.
Women are obliged to stay home and do house duties, and are banned from working outside home.

However, Kyunghee cannot deny the fact that her husband has been nice to her along their life, even with her disability to bring children. Kyunghee said to Sunja that, “Back in the olden days, a man in his situation could've thrown me out for not having a son” (Lee 127). From that, Lee shows us the remarkable change in women’s status when she claims that in the olden days women were criticized from not having children, especially sons, and the major concern in the present days is women engaging in the workforce.

Indeed, women are the pioneers of the family since they sacrifice their personal ambitions and pleasure on the behalf of their own family. As it is proclaimed by some scholars, “In Korea, which can be characterized as a familistic society, the family rather than individuals was the basic unit for the interpretation of socially meaningful behavior of individuals” (Hwan 42). While the writer was talking about the struggles that the protagonist has undergone, she states that, “All her life, Sunja had heard this sentiment from other women that they must suffer-suffer as a girl, suffer as a wife, suffer as a mother, die suffering. G-saeng- the word made her sick” (Lee 392). It comes to the boiling point when a person starts to actually wonder, as she adds, “What else was there besides this? She had suffered to create a better life for Noa, and yet it was not enough. Should she have taught her son to suffer the humiliation that she’d drunk like water? In the end, he had refused to suffer the conditions of his birth” (Lee 392-393).

Thereupon, women stand by their families in all crises, even with their own earning; they contribute to the family’s income. However, despite all their sacrifices, women are always placed in houses, doing households’ roles alone, as wives and
mothers. Moreover, they are always under the mercy of their societies. To this end, it is remarkable that Korean women are always facing many obstacles through their lives. Women are also suffering to pave the way for their children and for the coming generations as well. Because of the patriarchal and Confucian norms, Korean women have to expect suffering from their communities.

**Conclusion**

This chapter gives a broader understanding of the position of Korean females throughout the historical periods of Korea. It explores the philosophy that shapes the Korean society, which is Confucianism vis-à-vis women’s position. It also discusses how Korean women have been treated based on Confucian principles. Furthermore, the other section from this chapter examines the development of two main feminist notions in Korea, which are patriarchy and sexism. In sum, this chapter gives a general idea about the status of Korean women during Japanese colonialism vis-à-vis the feminist theory. It is noteworthy, that Korean females throughout history oppressed and marginalized by their society. Moreover, the Japanese colonialism as well had bad impacts on Korean women, including the coercion into prostitution.
Just one more chapter
Chapter Three: *Pachinko’s* Portrayal of Korean Women’s Resistance under the Japanese Colonial Patriarchy

**Introduction**

Chapter three is composed of five general sections. The first section examines how working-class women maintain their ethnic identity in Japanese diaspora. The second section explores the struggles that Zainichi faced in diaspora, including racism and discrimination. The third one discusses the cultural clash between the Japanese and the Koreans. The next section discusses the Japanese Military prostitution at that time. The last section examines the changes of women’s status that have been established in contemporary Korea. Finally, the present chapter concludes with the major findings established by this research.

**3.1. Korean Women’s Protection of Their Identity in Diaspora**

The events were set during the Japanese invasion of the Korean peninsula. During World War II and the Korean War as well, there was a great impact on Korean people, especially women, who had to choose between traditions, survival and morality. Moreover, they were trying hard to save the Korean identity. Identity gives people a sense of belonging and security, especially women from the working-class who are more prone to homesickness.

Lee asserts that, “Expropriated by Japanese colonialism and exploited by Japanese capitalism, [women] faced relentless racial discrimination, exemplified by the Japanese massacre [...] That is, Japanese imperialism and capitalism created and drafted the unwilling population who had to endure and struggle against racist Japanese society” (4). Traditions are one of the parts that shape one’s identity and once people neglect the value of their traditions, they are spontaneously destroying their identity.
Min Jin Lee in her novel propagates how working-class Korean women in diaspora struggle to protect their identity from disappearance. Indeed, they faced many challenges in the modern world which rejects traditions. The writer portrays those women in a way that symbolizes women’s strength and ability. Korean women sell homemade products in open markets for the sake of taking care of their own selves and families, even with the difficulties that they faced every day.

The upper-class Korean women, however, are advantageous over the working-class Korean women. This illustrates the ideology of ‘privilege’ which is a feminist concept related to the idea that some people in society are advantageous over others. Additionally, the author sheds light on Karl Marx’s philosophy of class discrimination. As it was mentioned before in chapter one, Marxist feminists, interlink the oppression of women with class struggles.

They advocate that as long as class discrimination exists, the oppression of women would be imposed, the fact which indicates that the capitalist system is the main problem behind women’s struggles. Socialist and Marxist feminists view capitalism as a brutal system, which has to be destroyed in order to accomplish the liberation of women. According to Marxist and socialist feminists, gender oppression was derived from capitalism and class struggles (Cudworth 54-55), the fact which makes class exploitation and gender inequality interlinked with each other.

3.2. Zainichi’s Feminist Resistance to Ethnic Discrimination and Subordination

In her novel, Min Jin Lee explores the life of Korean people in Japanese diaspora, especially the life of Korean women and their struggles. Those Koreans living
in Japanese diaspora are called Zainichi, a Japanese term referring mainly to Korean people living in Japan. They have migrated during Japanese colonialism of Korea. They are the largest ethnic group in Japan (qtd. in Yamada and Yusa 2). Moreover, some scholars indicate that, “One may very well be Zainichi Chinese or Zainichi American, but the term refers almost always- by ethnic Japanese and ethnic Koreans alike- to a population of colonial-era, migrants from the Korean peninsula that settled in the Japanese archipelago and their descendents” (Lie x).

Based on some testimonies, the ethnic minority of Koreans are the descendants of workers or peasants, who were forced to come to Japan during the Japanese colonization against their will (qtd in Yamada and Yusa 2). Others are immigrants who came by themselves. However, Zainichi Korean women especially formed the discouraged Japanese diaspora. Unfortunately, they have lived under hostile circumstances since they were segregated by the Japanese people. Zainichi women have experienced all forms of racism and exploitation in the Japanese society. They have suffered decades from discrimination and oppression in Japan.

Additionally, all Koreans in general have faced numerous ethnic oppressions and Korean women in particular as well. Many scholars have tackled the theme of Zainichi's issues in Japanese diaspora. Many researches have been conducted with regard to this theme. In one of these, the researcher states that, "One important obstacle toward integration into mainstream Japan is that Japan's nationality system is based on ancestry rather than territoriality" (qtd in Yamada and Yusa 8). This illustrates that ones' nationality depends on his/her parent's nationality, which means the Japanese nationality will not be granted unless that person's parents are pure Japanese (Yamada and Yusa 8).
Chapter Three: *Pachinko*’s Portrayal of Korean Women’s Resistance under the Japanese Colonial Patriarchy

As a result of this ethnic discrimination act, even the coming generations will face many obstacles along their life in diaspora. It is also noteworthy to mention the claim that, "Some Korean schools and communities have historically discouraged the acceptance of Japanese nationality as a breach of Zainichi Korean ethnic identity and pride" (Yamada and Yusa 9). This illogical fact clarifies the third generation and sets the expectations henceforth. In accordance, “This practice, in combination with Japan's selective nationality policy, has resulted in second and even third generations who are not Japanese nationals and who are marginalized institutionally, based on their foreign nationality" (Yamada and Yusa 9).

Moreover, the Japanese colonialism seeks to destroy the Korean culture, in order to spread the Japanese culture. The Korean culture “is a fifty-year tradition, Korean clothing embodies ethnic pride, and it helps nonbearers (such as male students) enhance their ethnic self-esteem” (Ryang 73), whereas, Zainichi Koreans under all these challenging circumstances are still trying to defend their Korean identity. Additionally, as it was said, “Zainichi are trying to resist subordination and challenge discrimination” (Yamada and Yusa7). It was claimed before that they seek to resist assimilation and develop their self-esteem, things which embody the key solutions to maintain their ethnic identity in Japanese diaspora. However, it is noteworthy to maintain that, "The Koreans who maintain their alien status receive all kinds of legal discrimination" (Min 15).

Even though the Japanese war marked its end in 1945, Koreans were excluded, disfranchised and denied equal rights in Japanese society. They have been marginalized, and looked down on. Moreover, Zainichi Koreans were named *transients* and *others* by
the Japanese people. Koreans' awful status has led the majority of them to hide their ethnic identity, in order to survive in this racist society.

Accordingly, Min Jin Lee’s novel *Pachinko* discusses this issue when she explores Zainichi Koreans, while maintaining their ethnic identity in diasporic society, even under the hostile circumstances of segregation that they faced every day. As an illustration of what has been mentioned earlier, Lee in her novel talks about the Korean characters, especially women and children, when they have been in diaspora. She lists various challenging circumstances that they have faced in Japanese society.

For instance, Lee depicts the characters in a way, which represents their ability and power to respond to obstacles with patience and hard-won strength. Through the events, the reader is more likely to explore the obstacles that the Korean female characters and their families have faced in Japan as a diaspora. They have experienced all forms of racist oppressions. Additionally, they have been marginalized in Japan. In the novel, the author introduces us to Sunja's little son Mozasu, who had experienced racism and discrimination at the Japanese school.

His Japanese colleagues had treated him badly because of his Korean identity, as the writer depicts them saying to him, "Go back to Korea, you smelly bastard" (Lee 233). Even Mozasu's teachers have not treated him well, "His teachers called him a Korean fool" (Lee 231). According to that, the writer portrays how the Japanese society looked down on Koreans. They have been rejected in the Japanese diaspora, "The Japanese didn't want Koreans to live near them, because they weren't clean, they have lived pigs, and the children had lice" (Lee 233).

Koreans, as the writer states, were referred to as *shameful blood*. Accordingly, Sunja has endured many hardships on behalf of her children in diaspora. Min Jin Lee
asserts that Koreans in Japan were criticized and punished for pitiful crimes, even at schools. As an illustration from the novel, Sunja's old son Noa "knew how it was for most Koreans at school; most of them dropped out" (Lee 232).

3.3. Japanese vs Zainichi Feminist Cultural Clash: A Clash of Traditional Costumes, Dishes and Language

Zainichi women (or Korean women in Japan) tried to retrieve the Korean identity in diaspora by wearing their traditional customs as the Hanboc. In her book, *Diaspora without Homeland: Being Korean in Japan*, Sonia Ryang mentions that, “Since the colonial period, the visibility of Koreans in Japanese society was borne by women, who continued to wear ethnic clothing one way or the other. […] women kept the cloths they wore when they left Korea” (72). Other financial reasons contributed well to this clash since “The homebound existence of women in both Korea and Japan facilitated continuity in their dress. […] And practically speaking, most women simply could not afford to replace their Korean clothes with the clothes they saw in Japanese stores” (72).

Moreover, they kept speaking their own language which is based on Hangul, and making their traditional dishes as Kimchi, in order to maintain their own traditions. In her novel, Lee portrays Sunja when she was selling homemade dishes and she cried out, “Kimchi! Delicious Kimchi! Kimchi! Delicious Kimchi! Oishidesu! Oishi Kimchi!” (Lee 157). Additionally, since “Ethnicity refers to the customs, languages, and social views usually associated with a particular ethnic group” (Swanson and Cunningham 368), it is important for Koreans to protect their ethnic identity from disappearance.
Min Jin Lee in her novel represents the Korean female characters, while they have been in Japanese diaspora. She points out their ability to protect their own traditions from disappearance. Under all the challenging circumstances that they are facing in Japan, Korean women are proud to wear their traditional customs 'Hanbok'. In the novel, the author depicts Sunja wearing Hanbok in her everyday life. Even, with the obstacles of racism and discrimination that Koreans are passing through in diaspora, she is wearing her traditional dress unlike other Koreans. When Sunja had arrived to Osaka, Japan, "the passersby staring at her traditional dress. No one else in the station was wearing a hanbok" (Lee 99). The author also states that, when she was talking about Sunja's Hanbok, "Her well-worn, traditional clothes were an inevitable badge of difference" (Lee 123).

Noticeably, Korean women during wartime have made challenging decisions including marriage, self-identity, business, survival and religion. In addition to that, the author demonstrates that female characters display remarkable sacrifice in their efforts to thrive in difficult circumstances. The protagonist Sunja has undergone many struggles during wartime, especially the pressure of being a first-generation immigrant and a matriarch in her husband’s absence.

It is remarkable that Sunja’s support for the family after her husband’s death, illustrates that women are motivated by devotion to their own families. As can be seen, without a doubt because of patriarchal norms and Japanese colonialism, Zainichi women have faced many challenges, in order to survive and create a better future for their own families especially their children. It is perceived through the events of the novel that female characters have engaged in various businesses, in order to help themselves and their families.
Additionally, Korean women are able to achieve success even in the midst of difficult circumstances. Their lives were tragically sacrificed in labor and war under poor conditions, and, the protagonist has summarized all the hardships of war in one sentence, which is, “The occupation and war had been difficult for everyone” (Lee 321).


During Japanese occupation, Korean women were forced either into prostitution, or joining Women’s Volunteer Corps. Korean prostitution at that time subsequently increased, and the Japanese army continued to seek Korean young females. Korean women were kidnapped and treated as sex slaves rather than suitable partners (Maynes 12).

Before getting into details, it is preferable to explain what is meant by comfort women, *ianfu* in Japanese language, which means prostitutes. The denotations of the term prostitute and prostitution reflect profoundly discriminatory attitudes towards women” and therefore *sexual slavery* is a more accurate term” (qtd in Oosterveld 619). Ianfu were women compelled into sexual slavery by Japanese soldiers. The women were generally from Asian countries, including China, Taiwan, Korea and other colonized nations. Accordingly, the victims were forced into prostitution against their own will and they were lured false promises with respectable jobs.

According to Britannica website, the term *comfort women* refers mainly to those who provided sexual services to Japanese troops, in order to consolidate the Japanese army’s morale and decrease sexual abuse. Thus, under terrible conditions women were kept in *comfort stations*, where they were forced into sexual violence.
Comfort women survivors later faced many struggles as they became ostracized by their societies and they suffered from diseases.

Another interpretation of the term *Comfort women* means women whose bodies were used by the Japanese imperial military, yet who were marginalized and dehumanized by a South Korean society that saw their violated bodies as the shame of the masculinized nation. In a larger sense, all of these bodies of former comfort women and students alike, are treated as disposable, not only by violators (Japanese soldiers and anti-Korean citizens who harass students respectively) but also by their own communities’ dominant masculinist logics” (Ryang 73).

Many scholars shed light on this sensitive topic, and interpret it in different ways. One of these demonstrates that, “The ‘comfort women’ system of sexual slavery organized by the Japanese military, victimized many women in Asia, leaving the survivors with permanent physical and psychological scars (Sakamoto 51). Women’s demands for an official apology have increased as “Since then, more former ‘comfort women’ and their supporters have been demanding an official apology and compensation from the Japanese government. In all of the eight court cases to date, the litigants have been frustrated in their efforts to obtain justice” (Sakamoto 51).

*Comfort women* and *sexual slavery* are both interrelated so it is preferable to have an idea about sexual slavery as well. As it was said, "As sexual slavery is a form of sexual violence, and can also be composed of rape incidents, it is likely that sexual slavery could fall under this footnote and be considered conduct causing serious bodily or mental harm for the purposes of charging the crime of genocide" (Oosterveld 638). Moreover, "Slavery, correctly defined, is the status or condition of a person over who
The term slavery is interpreted as slave labor, hence, sexual slavery or abuse is considered also as a form of slavery (Argibay 375), in addition, "Several treaties in effect at the start of World War II establish that slavery was an international crime, and that forced sex was a form of slavery" (Argibay 379).

The term war carries with it many hardships and struggles. It has a great impact on innocent people. Many crimes committed during armed battles, including torturing, killing people, genocide and sexual slavery, are crimes that were used as war weapons in order to demonstrate dominance and power. The protagonist Sunja said to her daughters-in-law Yumi "The occupation and war had been difficult for everyone" (Lee 321). This quotation summarizes all the difficulties that Korean characters have been during the Japanese colonialism,

The above quote indicates all the struggles that people faced under armed conflicts. Lee's novel portrays some of the female characters who had engaged in prostitution by themselves because of the dreadful conditions that they were living under during wartime and others who were forced to prostitution against their will. From Marxist feminism's perspective, prostitution in general, whether it is voluntary or involuntary, is considered as an aggressive act towards women (Gerassi).

Sexual slavery is considered as an atrocious act towards powerless victims, and women are the main victims of sexual violence. Thus, victims of sexual abuse suffer along their life from devastating emotional and physical illnesses. Moreover, their societies and families reject them (qtd in Charlier 2). As it was said by Paula Molina Charlier in her thesis 2019, "I am using the term 'comfort woman' acknowledging it is a
Chapter Three: *Pachinko*’s Portrayal of Korean Women’s Resistance under the Japanese Colonial Patriarchy

euphemism since it refers to women exploited sexually in order to bring 'comfort' to mobilize soldiers, during war” (Charlier 4).

Paula Molina Charlier in her dissertation states that, "In this tragic story the real victims are the women who suffered under the military sexual slavery coercion. In most cases they were young and recruited forcefully. Apart from being forced to work through blackmail or threats, they were often deceived and convinced they would be working in industries that would be beneficial for the war efforts” (qtd in Charlier 5). This illustrates the dreadful conditions that women have been under during wartime. Actually, they were suffering from several illnesses that might well have led many of them to kill themselves (Charlier 5).

Min Jin Lee portrays Korean female characters during wartime, under horrendous circumstances. They are working in bars and engaging in prostitution in order to survive, "and there were girls who worked in bars who were said to take money for favors" (Lee 233). Additionally, they are victims of exploitation and slavery. In the novel, when Yumi was talking about her mother, who had engaged in prostitution, she said, "She was a prostitute" (Lee 321), and then she added, "She cared more about drinking and getting money than anything else [...] if my sister and I hadn't run away, she would have put us to work. Doing what she did. Not once did she ever say a kind thing to me" (Lee 321).

Women's issues in nearly decades have raised the concern of many feminist movements. Sex slavery, as it is categorized as a kind of violence imposed on women, is being judged by those who are against the oppression of women. Many researches have been conducted by scholars where they have tackled the theme of sex exploitation.
Even the field of literature has discussed this theme as an attempt to end women's violence.

With regard to sexual slavery, feminist movements and its subsequent divisions, condemn all kinds of sexual slavery against women, and proclaim that, in order to ban sexual violence we have first to eradicate sexism, which exists to preserve male dominance. According to radical feminist, the use of pornography is considered as a form of violence against women, which has to be, abolished (Weitzer 448). Marxist feminists claim that the capitalist and the patriarchal systems both are responsible of women's exploitation, which means both systems have to be outlawed. As it was said, "Women's bodies are sold as commodities in the capitalist market" (qtd in Miriam 2). Moreover, they condemn all forms of sexual exchange for money either voluntary or involuntary. They also proclaim that the use of pornography and sex trafficking is considered as a form of sexual oppression (qtd in MacKinnon 515-544).

During Japanese imperialism, Korean women have experienced all kinds of harassment. They were forced into prostitution, “Japan coerced Asian (mostly Korean) women into military sexual slavery” (Ryang 79). They were exchanged between Japanese soldiers as commodities. Thus, Korean women were not only under the pressure of sexual harassment, but also under the pressure of the manner in which their society criticized and looked down on them. The traditional Korean society, which is controlled by Confucian and patriarchal norms, views those women not as victims of sexual slavery, but as whores who have sold their bodies in return of some profits, such as money and luxuries.

Korean women during the Japanese occupation were forced either into military prostitution, or to join Women’s Volunteer Corps. Unfortunately, they were more
susceptible to many diseases. Additionally, Korean prostitution subsequently increased and Japanese soldiers continued to seek Korean young females. As it was stated, “They were either drafted at gunpoint or lured under the false pretense that they be awarded respectable and well-paid jobs. Out of all their colonial possession, the Japanese specifically targeted Korean women due to their chastity and sexual abstinence; as virgins, they were free to venereal disease”(Maynes 9).

3.5. Contemporary Korean Women

In comparison to the time of the novel, modern Korea has passed through many changes, including the women’s position in society. This section explores the changes that have been established in contemporary Korea. With the establishment of the Republic of Korea, women’s situation began to change. The Western culture started to emerge in the country. Moreover, Western values began to influence Korean women. Accordingly, contemporary Korean women have engaged in the workforce, compared to the olden days where Korean women were restricted from working outside. The influence by the Western values, made it possible for Korean females to raise their consciousness and establish equal rights with males.

Moreover, the development of the field of technology is one of the main reasons behind women's participation in the social system. In addition to that, the use of social media has opened the door for women in general, who have engaged in the Fourth wave of feminism, to discuss and give voice to women's issues, including sexual harassment and the achievement of equality between men and women. As a result, the number of women's participation in the labor force has increased remarkably.
Despite all the changes that have been established in the social system, contemporary Korean women are still facing discrimination. Because of the ideology of misogyny, family’s control, and the impacts of Confucian norms, contemporary Korean women are oppressed by the society. They are still considered as inferior to men. Moreover, they are facing all forms of sexual and domestic violence. Furthermore, as time went by legal and social changes were there, women had established their fulfillments and succeeded in changing social attitudes towards gender segregation, but not as great as they could be. It is right that oppressive laws that were based on gender roles had been abolished, yet Korean women are still fighting for equal rights in all battlefields. Because of misogyny, Korean women have to deal with many struggles and fears.

Additionally, in 2016 there was an incident in Gangnam station South Korea, which has led many Korean citizens, women and men, to go to the street and take part in the feminist movement #Me-Too. This famous incident is known as the Gangnam Station murder case. According to Yonhap News Agency website, this brutal murder happened in Gangnam, South Korea on 17 May 2016. A 34 year old man followed a young woman in her 20s to the washroom, where he stabbed her. When he was investigated about the murder, the man said that he did it because women have always ignored him. For him, females had belittled him. The murderer was victimized by paranoia, a mental disorder that refers to delusions of persecution of others. This act of misogyny is considered as one of the obstacles that contemporary Korean women are facing in everyday life.

In sum, even with the establishment of equality in many fields by the South Korean government, Korean women are still looked down on and marginalized by their
Chapter Three: *Pachinko’s* Portrayal of Korean Women’s Resistance under the Japanese Colonial Patriarchy

society and men as well. Many Koreans have engaged in feminist movements like the #Me-Too movement, in order to end women’s oppression. The feminist movement #Me-Too, is interpreted as a universal social movement, whose advocates aimed to outlaw sexual harassment against women. The term was first used in 2006 by the American activist, Trana Burkem and the movement has been organized through social media and aimed to enhance women’s status in the society.

According to Liberal feminists, unawareness and prejudice have led to gender inequality, in which both are sexist attitudes that seek to oppress women (Cudworth 52). Moreover, they state that gender equality will be realized with the establishment of equality in paid employment (Cudworth 53). It was also claimed before that, “The division of labor by sex can be explained by social norms postulating strict sex segregation in all aspects of social life” (Hwan 43). Liberal feminists argue that sexist practices and ideas have led to gender discrimination (Cudworth 53).

In addition to that, males believe it is their right to enact harassment against females. Consequently, contemporary women and Korean women as well have been treated as slaves because of the capitalist and patriarchal system. The fact cannot be denied that many women always face humiliation in whichever communities they live.

3.6. Major Findings

These findings of the present dissertation were found after the examination of different literary works and theories that are relevant to the study. These theories have been applied on Min Jin Lee's novel *Pachinko*.

The traditional Korean society and contemporary Korean society as well, both are controlled by patriarchal and Confucian norms. Confucianism and patriarchy
support males’ dominance and females’ subordination. Additionally, females are considered as extensions of males.

During the Japanese colonialism, Korean women were kidnapped as sex slaves for the Japanese army. Consequently, they have been marginalized by their society as well as by the Japanese society.

In Japanese Diaspora, Korean women had been under hostile circumstances of discrimination. Additionally, they had big roles in maintaining their ethnic identity and traditions.

Korean women’s status indicates their devotion to their families. They are the source of inspiration to their coming generations, since they paved the way for them. Moreover, Korean women have made extraordinary sacrifices and choices on the behalf of their own families.

At a given time, Confucian standards restricted women from engaging in the labor force and obliged them to remain home doing house duties.

In traditional Korea, Confucianism and patriarchy embodied the society. According to that, educated Korean women were considered as a threat to Confucian philosophy.

From the traditional Korean perspective, the only acceptable aspiration for women is to marry and produce children. Moreover, women had to remain faithful to their husbands.

Contemporary South Korean women have engaged more in the labor force compared to women in the olden days, however, they are still calling for equal pay.
Even with outlawing some discriminated laws in contemporary South Korea, Korean females are still marginalized and oppressed in their society. Also, sexist and misogynist acts are still performed in contemporary life. Accordingly, these acts exist to protect men's dominance and patriarchal norms.

The influence by Western culture has raised Korean women's consciousness and voices, and led them to take parts in different feminist movements, as an attempt to end women's oppression.

In sum, many of the findings mentioned above might be mainly based on the Western perspective. These findings indicate how Western writers are attacking the traditional Korean society which is shaped by Confucian principles. Moreover, western writers state that the Confucian principles have excluded women from the labor force and higher education. Additionally, it seems that Confucianism, capitalism and Marxism all support the patriarchal system, or at least, have been utilized against women’s rights; it is just a matter of perspective to defend one regime over the other.

Conclusion

Min Jin Lee’ *Pachinko* depicts female characters as warriors and survivors. The writer advocates that women and Korean women as well are struggling to create their own history and enhance their status in the community. Additionally, and from traditional Korean perspective, for women the only acceptable aspiration is to get married, produce children and become the property of men, and that makes their society consider them as an extension of their father, husband and son. Despite all the challenging circumstances and difficulties, they are still standing and working hard to
break patriarchal rules, defend their rights, change their awful situation and liberate themselves.
General Conclusion

The Korean-American author Min Jin Lee has succeeded in portraying Korean women's challenges during Japanese colonialism of the Korean peninsula, as well as the struggles they have faced in Japanese diaspora. She has provided the readers with the impact of colonization on women mainly. In this regard, the research explored the Korean female characters during wartime. The research provides the readers with a broader analysis of the status of Korean females under patriarchy.

The study provides a broader understanding of Korean women issues in the patriarchal and diasporic society. This dissertation examines the struggles that female characters have experienced in Japanese diaspora. It also explores the challenges and choices that have been made by Korean women, while protecting their ethnic identity. The analysis of Min Jin Lee’s novel *Pachinko* helps in providing an overview of the struggles of Korean female characters. Moreover, this academic research emphasizes that the oppression of women is the product of patriarchal and capitalist system. Since the Korean society is controlled by Confucian standards, the present research asserts that Korean females are discriminated because of this ideology.

Actually, based on Confucian standards the traditional Korean women were restricted from the workforce. Instead, they were placed home doing households. Additionally, this study asserts that patriarchy and Confucianism support males' dominance and women's subordination. Furthermore, the researcher claims that females are the main victims of armed conflicts, since they are forced into prostitution. The present research explores Korean women's obstacles that have been faced during Japanese diaspora, while maintaining their identity.
This dissertation states that patriarchy and Confucianism place women as inferiors to men. The researcher points out that the status of contemporary Korean women has increased compared to the olden days. However, despite all the changes that have been accomplished in contemporary life, Korean women are still facing misogynistic acts, such as sexual and domestic violence by men. Additionally, they are still placed as second sex. Moreover, contemporary Korean females are segregated in the workforce. To this end, the researcher proclaims that in order to stop women's oppression, it is preferable to eradicate the patriarchal systems, both in capitalist as well as Marxist regimes.
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Lee, Fang-Cooke.

"Women's Participation in Employment in Asia: a Comparative Analysis of China, India, Japan


Abstract: Women’s issues have been debated amongst academic scholars at a worldwide range. The present dissertation is an analytical study on Korean women's status under patriarchy, with regard to the analysis of Min Jin Lee's novel *Pachinko*. The main purpose of this study is the examination of Korean women's status in the patriarchal society during Japanese colonialism. The research provides some feminist concepts that are relevant to this study. The examination of Confucianism and its effect on patriarchy is included in this study, since this ideology embodies the Korean society. Moreover, it provides the main reasons behind gender inequality. This study also explores the struggles that Korean women have faced during Japanese colonialism, including prostitution. It also explores the challenges that Korean women have experienced in Japanese diaspora. As an academic research, this dissertation examined the status of Korean women throughout different generations portrayed in the novel, up until contemporary Korean women.

Keywords: Korean women, Patriarchy, Feminism, Gender inequality, Confucianism, diaspora.

Résumé: Les questions relatives aux femmes ont été débattues parmi les chercheurs académiques du monde entier. La présentation est une étude analytique sur le statut des femmes coréennes sous le patriarcat, en ce qui concerne l'analyse du roman *Pachinko* de Min Jin Lee. En outre, l’objectif principal de cette étude est d’examiner le statut des femmes coréennes dans la société patriarcale au temps du colonialisme japonais. La recherche fournit certains concepts féministes pertinents pour cette étude. L’examen du confucianisme et de son effet sur le patriarcat est inclus dans cette étude, car cette idéologie incarne la société coréenne. En outre, il fournit les principales raisons de l’inégalité entre les sexes. Cette étude explore également les luttes auxquelles les femmes coréennes sont confrontées pendant le colonialisme japonais, y compris la prostitution. En outre, il explore les défis que les femmes coréennes ont connus dans la diaspora japonaise. En outre, cette recherche universitaire visait à examiner le statut des femmes coréennes contemporaines.
**Mots-clés:** Femmes coréennes, Patriarcat, Féminisme, Inégalité des genres, Confucianisme, diaspora.