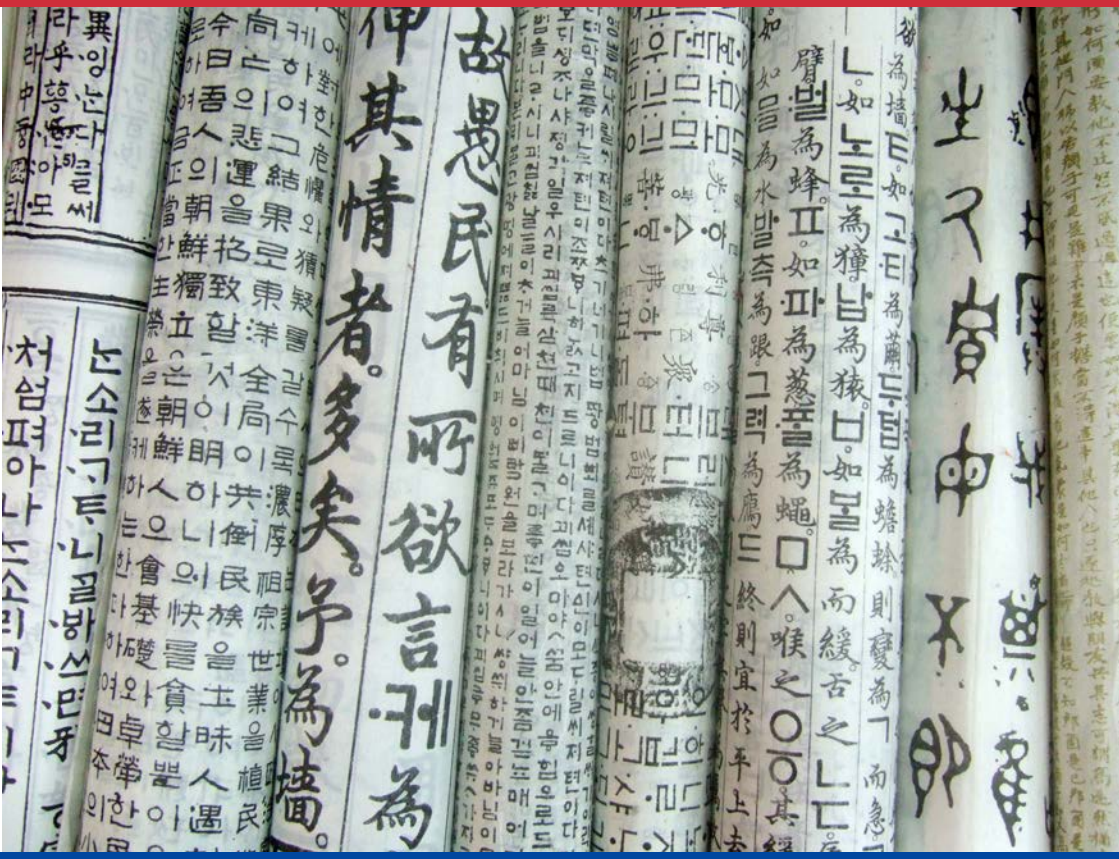
William Strnad

Modern Korean Digraphia



Metanarration and National Identity, 1894–1972

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Dedication

I dedicate this book to the elderly Koreans from a time before who touched my life and are now deceased. Unexpressed gratitude and affection within me transcend their deaths. Allowing my sensibilities ample romanticism, I have come to believe that they revealed a nation's soul to me through a veil of unadorned emotions restrained by dignity and passions tempered by wisdom. My mind creates a single archetypal figure that embodies them all: an old Korean man moving along a country road on an innocent morning after the autumn harvest. He is dressed in white *hanbok*. I study his face and hands, which are clothed in the telltale wounds of a lifetime of labor. Sometimes, in an unguarded reverie, I, too, am wandering beneath the blue October sky of a Korean landscape. I follow a stream into hills bathed in the amber light of late afternoon and find the earth where he was buried. There, I weep for remembrance in the soft air and drink a cup of wine at his grave.

Acknowledgments

The narrative that led me to write this book speaks in the whispers of my memory, caressed by neural flashes and emotive sparks; the summer lightning of experiences that guided me. I close my eyes and travel back through time and, in darkness find events appearing as small lights connected by a single thread of light leading across the expanse. My journey to Korea began while I was working in a small Wisconsin town in October 1976. One evening, I stopped off at the town library and found a 1931 novel on Korea entitled *The Grass Roof* written by Kang Younghill.[1] Over the next several days, as I proceeded through the pages, a storm of Jungian synchronicity befell me,[2] and Korea appeared in conversations and ordinary objects. I took it as a directive from the universe that I should go. I did, and during my 19 years in Korea, in encounters with its people, places and events, Korea came to occupy regions of my mind and heart.

This book began as an undisciplined empirical generalization on the nature of Korean digraphia, a prelude to a theoretical framework for an examination of the formation of modern Korean digraphia in the years 1894–1945 and in the two post-liberation Koreas during the years 1945–1972. Within scientific inquiry, there are creative and imaginative acts, and far from frustrating human intuition and imagination, science allows these human faculties to be productive.[3] Rather than in the case of a hypothesis in which a relationship is stated and tested, an empirical generalization is an exercise in induction. It can be defined as "a statement of relationship by first observing the existence of a relationship (in one or a few instances) and then generalizing that the observed relationship holds in all cases (or most cases)."[4] My movement from empirical generalization to hypothetical constructs seemed to be an almost literary migration through space and time, causing me to recall an axiom by the mathematician and historian Jakub Bronowski, who wrote that "the symbol and the metaphor are necessary to science as to poetry".[5]

There are those without whom I could not have completed this single thought made real. I extend my thanks to the following people for their inspiration, advice, encouragement or assistance, whether intentional or inadvertent, in the conceptualizing and writing of this work: Mr. Ch'oi Ch'ang-ho (deceased); Professor Emeritus Lew Young Ick; Prof. zw. dr hab. Jerzy Bańczerowski; Prof. zw. dr hab. Piotr Wierzchoń; Prof. zw. dr hab Romuald Huszcza; Prof. dr hab. Norbert Kordek; Professor Ann Bos Radwan (deceased); Assistant Professor Joi Cha; Professor Lee Chung Min; Professor Olivier Bailblé; Dr. Paweł Kida; Dr. Anna Borowiak; Dr. Thomas (Tom) M. Ryan; Dr. Harold E. Raugh, Jr.; Professor Ban Byung Yool; Associate Professor Hriday Narayan; Professor Andrej N. Lankov; Ms. Ch'oi Yong Sun; Mr. Son Chunsoo; Mr. Kurt L. Taylor; Mr. Sydney (Syd) A. Seiler; Ms. Ko Kwang-ja; Ms. Kim Bo Myung; Ms. Kahng Ho Lim; Ms. Kim Sunwoo; Ms. Jeong Huisuk; Ms. Kim Myung Ju; Mr. Kim Senbom; Ms. Lee Yun-ah; Ms. Yang Chin-suk; Mr. Bryan Port; Ms. Choi Mi-Kyoung; Mr. Robert (Bob) Franklin; Mr. Yoo Gi Min; Mr. John Duggan; Dr. Piotr Odrakiewicz; Mr. Michael (Mike) Farris; Ms. Magdalena (Magda) Brzezińska; Dr. Andriy Malovychko; Mr. Christian Schön; and Ms. Alina Jugel.

Of course, there is family to thank as love is the singing light that remains: my parents (deceased), William Strnad Jr. and Ethel (Granier) Strnad; my sisters, Lori and Elizabeth (Liz); my children, William (Will), Joseph (Joe), Kalina (Kły, Kaka), and David (Dave, D); my grandchildren, Lena, Leah, Hanna, Savannah, Austin, Grayson, and Jhené; Steve (deceased), the guinea pig of the family; and Charlie, the family dog. Lastly, I express profound gratitude to my wife, Prof. dr hab. Grażyna Strnad, for her patience and understanding.

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Diagrams and Tables

Romanization

I employed the McCune-Reischauer romanization system[1] with a few modifications based on my preferences. Personal names and place names are generally written in McCune-Reischauer unless there are variant romanized versions I found to be numerous in academic publications. When employing the McCune-Reischauer romanization to Korean names, I adapted the American Library of Congress/Library of Congress principle of separating two given names with a hyphen (-) unless the name has a commonly accepted or recognized romanization without a hyphen. I utilized apostrophes (′) to indicate a separation between syllabic combinations or blocks, which, though not always required, was adapted to ensure better clarity of spelling in Korean script. Another example of my altered romanization is the use of hyphens to indicate separation between the postpositions or particles that are attached to nouns, such as in the example "in the nation, too" (*na'ra-esŏdo*). Romanized Korean words, phrases or entire sentences are italicized unless they are part of an English translation.

A romanized Korean "word" (*mal*), or an entire phrase or sentence, is followed by italicized Korean romanization without the language code for the Korean (K.). Other languages referenced in the work with language codes are as follows: Chinese-Mandarin (C.); Japanese (J.); Russian (R.); German (G.); Latin (L.); Greek (Gk.); Georgian (Gn.); French (F.); Polish (P.); Hungarian (H.); and Mongolian (M.). However, the "K." for Korean does appear with the romanization of another language or languages, such as in "assimilation" (J. *dōka*, K. *tonghwa*). The "modified Hepburn romanization" (J. *Shūsei Hebon-shiki romaji*) system is used in Japanese names and terms, while "Hanyu Pinyin" (C. *Hànyǔ Pīnyīn*) is used for standard Chinese-Mandarin romanization. Exceptions to these romanization conventions include the names of persons commonly known by their alternative spellings or perhaps when authors writing in English use romanization that cannot be verified from the original script. Word separation in languages other than English is based on

original text or the dominant word separation convention that could be discerned.

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[1] Korean linguist George M. McCune (1908–1948) and Japanese scholar Edwin O. Reischauer (1910–1990) published this phonetic pronunciation system or transcriptive method for romanization of Korean in 1939. McCune-Reischauer Romanization is used extensively in the variety of disciplines, such as history. Other romanization systems for Korean used in English language academia include Yale Romanization (1954), which is morphophonemic and applied to language and linguistics in structural and phonological studies, for example, and the South Korean Revised Romanization of Korean (2000), the latter being well-suited for contemporary transliteration. North Korea's system of romanization (1992) is based on McCune-Reischauer Romanization.

Selected Acronyms

This list features some of the acronyms used in the text. Once introduced in a chapter, I use the acronym thereafter, but with some exceptions, such as for reasons of clarity, to avoid redundancy or for purposes of euphony:

LS	Literary Sinitic
LPP	language planning and policy
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
KWP	Korean Worker's Party
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
PRC	People's Republic of China
USSR	Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics
KLS	Korean Language Society
ROK	Republic of Korea
MOE	Ministry of Education (ROK)
US	United States of America
AMG	American Military Government
USAMGIK	United States of America Military Government in Korea
KDP	Korea Democratic Party
DNP	Democratic National Party
LP	Liberal Party
DP	Democratic Party
DRP	Democratic Republican Party
NDP	New Democratic Party

Endnotes

1 Younghill Kang, *The Grass Roof* (London and New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931).

2 Carl Gustav Jung, *Synchronicity: An Acausal Connecting Principle* (East Sussex and New York: Routledge, 2006).

3 Kenneth R. Hoover, *The Elements of Social Science Thinking* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976), 10, 12.

4 Kenneth D. Bailey, *Methods of Social Research*, 4th ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1994), 44.

5 Jakub Bronowski, *Science and Human Values*, revised ed. (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 1965), 36.

Introduction

The summer of 1894 witnessed the outbreak of the Qing-Japan War. Japanese military forces seized control of Korea's royal palace on July 23, 1894, and together with Korean reformers, commenced a period known as the Kabo-Ŭlmi Reform Movement, commonly referred to as the "Kabo Reforms" (*Kabogyŏngjang*, or *Kabogaehyŏk*). Over sixteen months, Korea enacted measures for modernization and self-strengthening. By the fall of 1894, as combat between the forces of Qing and Japan raged, the Japanese were also engaged in a large-scale mopping up operation of some 167,000 Korean righteous army fighters,[1] resulting in a decisive defeat of the "Eastern Learning" (*Tonghak*) forces in late November 1894 by a combined force of Korean government and Japanese soldiers.[2] Korean King Kojong issued a royal edict in mid-December 1894 that mandated that government documents, from that time onward, would be in "Korean national script" (*kungmun*), with "Literary Sinitic (LS), or Classical Chinese" (*hanmun*) attached, or in "mixed script" (*kuk hanhon'yongmun*).[3] This is the beginning of modern Korean digraphia: the term modern is determined by an effort toward script parity, elevating Korean vernacular script; by digraphia, I mean the metalinguistic term for a single speech community having two or more scripts.[4]

The purpose of this research is to explain the process and characteristics of the formation and development of modern Korean digraphia during the years 1894–1972. The resulting book is a description and analysis of the historical discourse related to issues of the use of "Korean script" (*han'gŭl*, or *chosŏn'gul*) and "Chinese characters, or sinograms" (*hanja*). This entails an examination of modern Korean digraphia and correlations with global and national metanarratives and political ideologies against the backdrop of social, economic and political events and trends. The language of modern Korean nationalism is the central research focus of the work's analytical framework, as its content is the primary means of addressing national identity as related to script. The three broad themes of this study are (1) the discourse of modern Korean

digraphia formed during the years 1894–1945, shaped by the social discord in Korea during the 19th century, the civilization discourse and emergence of modern Korean nationalism, and Korea's struggle against Japanese occupation; (2) the modern Korean digraphic debate being contextualized and altered by the global emancipation and speculative metanarratives of modernity and the national metanarratives of nationalism and modernization, all of which included the filters of Marxist utopianism in North Korea and bourgeois progressivism in South Korea, 1945–1972; and (3) politicized narrative closure within the metanarratives of Korean modernity that provided the socio-political space for the limited reversal of Korean script exclusivity, which had earlier been implemented in both Koreas.

This work originated as a byproduct of my research on historical *hanja* usage and education in both North and South Korea. Given the potency and post-colonial value of Korean script exclusivity as a symbol of national liberation and autonomy, the limited reversal of the "language planning and policy" (LPP), specifically *hanja* abolition in the two Koreas, was counterintuitive. Throughout my research and writing, the "why" interrogative for both Koreas rescinding their total abolition of *hanja* was pivotal. This presented a quandary suggesting an "epistemic erotetic implication", a phrase related to the logical analysis of questions, with the "implication" or transfer of a question lacking in askability or answerability to another question or other questions more askable and therefore more answerable. At the same time, the line of questioning still pertains to the main topic.[5] My erotetic logic involved the posing of an expansive "why" interrogative, which was problematic with respect to possible correlations and causalities of script policy reversal.[6] The internal dialogue became a primary engine for and the life force of the research.

The existing scientific literature lacks a comprehensive study focused on modern Korean digraphia. This study is an attempt to fill that existing gap. Despite a paucity of academic literature specifically under the rubric of modern Korean digraphia per se, exquisite scholarship tangential to modern Korean digraphia abounds in historical studies on language and script as part of

Korea's national political awakening since the end of the 19th century. Issues of script policy in LPP of both Korean regimes address modern Korean digraphia. Academic works touching upon modern Korean digraphia have been explicitly and implicitly covered in numerous scholarly fields, such as language and linguistics, print media, education, literacy, nationalism and national identity. Early on, I observed that critical studies connected to modern Korean digraphia lacked investigative perspectives that focused on systemic reasoning applied to the phenomenon, which I initially thought might be a case for hermeneutics.[7]

I employed the historical-descriptive method and content analysis method, drawing analytical conclusions correlating political and social conditions with discourse related to issues of Korean script for the entire period examined, 1894–1972. Second, I used both the comparative method and the decision analysis method in examining the alterations of LPP in the two Koreas during the years 1945–1972. These methods included discourse related to modern Korean digraphia from a variety of archival documents (print media, such as newspapers, journals, and political documents and speeches) as well as scholarship on Korean linguistics and LPP. By the early 1970s, both Korean nation-states had arrived at a synchronic and functional (meaning limited or partial) form of digraphia: an accommodation of *hanja* in education in North Korea and the mandating of *hanja* instruction in education with the use of mixed script in a variety of print media and official documents in South Korea. This expression of functional digraphia is currently extant in the two Koreas.[8]

Chapter 1 establishes the broad social and historical background of most of the Chosŏn Dynasty, at least until 1894—this is for an understanding of the eventual formation of modern Korean digraphia. I contend that the confluence of historical currents, such as class division and identification of LS versus Korean phonetic script, acquired potency in the dynastic disarray. By disarray, my central reference is the agitation of the social status system in 19th century Korea and its blurring of class boundaries, coterminous with Korea's opening to the outside world, and the spread of both

imported and indigenous reform ideologies, to include the first stirrings of modern Korean nationalism.

Chapter 2 covers the period 1894–1910 and highlights Korea's fuller incorporation of narratives of the civilization discourse, which included nationalism and modernity and entered script discourse. This commenced in 1894 with the royal edict related to script. Modern Korean nationalism, formed in the 1890s, was a response to imperialism and national threat. The shift from the universalism of Western concepts about civilization and global applicability of the international order to the particularism of ethnic nationalism commencing in the first decade of the 20th century with the increasing imposition of Japanese influence on Korea significantly shaped the debate concerning the issue of Korean script on the eve of Japanese occupation.

Chapter 3 examines the continuing configuration of modern Korean digraphia during the Japanese occupation period (1910–1945). This chapter emphasizes Korean ethnic nationalism as the dominant medium of modern Korean digraphic debate during the period, used by both bourgeois progressivism and Marxist utopianism. Both "ideological orientations" were evident in editorializing and debate on script through the mid-1930s. I favor the colonial modernity approach to the Japanese colonial period, as it emphasizes a multiplicity of identities and pluralisms. Additionally, the chapter touches upon the grafting of the colonial experience and narratives predating the Japanese occupation related to the late Chosŏn dynasty from the middle of the 19th century to 1910.

Chapter 4 focuses on the politics and nationalism metanarratives in North Korea during the years 1945–1972. Modern Korean digraphia, a conflictual discourse between "the script of Chosŏn" (*chosŏn'gŭl*) and *hanja*, figured as a prominent ideological and linguistic controversy in 1949 before *hanja* abolition; *chosŏn'gŭl* exclusivity was declared that same year, even though the use of *hanja* in primary and secondary education in the North had spontaneously emerged in 1953 after the armistice was signed. LPP in North Korea was well-coordinated between a small number of organizations and agencies. The North Korean state successfully recovered from the Korean War and achieved a degree of success in its

metanarrative of modernization and emancipation in the context of Marxist utopianism. The transition toward science and technology was the symbolic passage into the speculative metanarrative, allowing for the rectification of the colonial past. By the late 1950s, North Korea clearly signaled its intention to "officially" revive *hanja* education. Kim Il Sung's 1964 and 1966 conversations with linguists are the proximate demarcation of the establishment of a very limited functional and synchronic form of modern Korean digraphia in the North, which is still in effect at present. The North reversed the policy of absolute *chosŏn'gŭl* exclusivity in the mid-1960s by reintroducing 3,000 *hanja* into the North Korean educational curriculum in secondary and post-secondary educational environments.

Chapter 5 explores modern Korean digraphia in South Korea set against the backdrop of politics and nationalism from 1945 to 1972. South Korea's fluctuating language policies and initiatives are in stark contrast to the rapid transition to Korean script exclusivity in the north. Attempts to establish *han'gŭl* exclusivity proved unsuccessful in 1948. The education system, much of the print media, and the government, in its record keeping and documentation, continued to utilize mixed script. South Korean LPP was more complex than in the North in terms of the number of organizations and agencies and the activities of civil society organizations advocating a range of positions from absolute *han'gŭl* exclusivity to different degrees of mixed script use. Finally, in 1957–1958, the Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŭng-man) government began the transition toward *han'gŭl* exclusivity. Park Chung Hee reinforced this trajectory after the military revolution in 1961 and later with the 1968 declaration of the *hanja* abolition to be achieved by 1970. South Korea under Park began its export-oriented economic expansion in partial fulfillment of the metanarrative of bourgeois progressivism. The South reversed its script policy between 1971 and 1972 and introduced 1,800 *hanja* in primary and secondary schools after over two years of moving toward *han'gŭl* exclusivity. Additionally, *hanja* continued to play an important part in print media despite its gradually diminishing role, thus establishing a form of functional and synchronic digraphia.

The general discourse related to the issue of modern Korean script formed in tandem with the genesis of modern Korean nationalism in the last decades of the 19th century as a response to and an accommodation of the Western notion of "civilization", a discourse that internationally became the dominant social and political discourse. Prasenjit Duara observes that the concept of civilization included adapted assumptions of the validity of the Westphalian system, social Darwinism, state protection of individual rights, universal principles of modernity, the metrics of material progress and modernization, and the very concept of the ethnic nation.[9] This dominant concept of global modernity, according to Shin Gi-Wook, was characterized by two modes of orientation: universalism—notions of the universal applicability of ideals—and particularism—being exemplified by ethnic nationalism. Ethnic nationalism was becoming the most conspicuous feature of emerging modern Korean nationalism between 1904 and 1907, although universalism continued to be evident in political commentary and debate in Korean print media.[10]

These elements of the civilization discourse, especially modern Korean nationalism, would continuously be recapitulated from the late 19th century in what I refer to as an "axis of argumentation" regarding script—meaning modern Korean digraphia—from the Japanese occupation to the two post-liberation nation-states. This axis of argumentation is a discursive range or continuum from the "Korean vernacular script use only argument" (*han'gŭljŏn'yongnon*, or *chosŏn'gŭljŏn'yongnon*), through different degrees of a "limited *hanja* use argument" (*hanjajehallon*), which was a variant of the "mixed script argument" (*kukhanmun hon'yongnon*, or *hanjahon'yongnon*). This sociolinguistic space where script was a touchstone of Korean national identity was the foundational backdrop for modern Korean digraphia evident by the first decade of the 20th century.[11]

It was clear that the commentaries and justifications for script along the axis of argumentation exhibited a sequentiality or narrative quality. Thus, my research on narratives expanded. Paul Ricœur and Hayden White were part of the "narrative revival" in historical academic writing in the 1960s and 1970s. Paul Ricœur

orchestrated Martin Heidegger's notion of time with narrative, asserting that time only becomes human when it is articulated by means of narrative, and narrative is meaningful only when it is mimetic of temporality. Ricœur's "everything at once" (L. *totum simul*) dictum is essential to his notion of narratives having a past, present and future structure, meaning both historical and fictional narratives are "told forward and backward" (F. *d'avant en arrière et d'arrière en avant*) at the same time.[12] Hayden White, viewing histories as having a literary quality, concurred with Ricœur that the plot within narratives is the crossing point of time and narrative, and this act of unconscious emplotment confers narrative orientation in the present.[13] It seemed sensical to enable the placement of metanarration in the past "present" as part of a perceptual framework of the modern Korean digraphia and modern Korean digraphic conflict.

Narrativity became a theoretical foundation of the research reflected in this work. Walter R. Fisher, a founding voice in the field of narrative psychology, argued that narrative is phenomenological in that it emphasizes the internalized narratives of human beings. Populations establish identification as an outcome when both narrative coherence (probability) and narrative fidelity are present.[14] Fisher contended that narrative identity could restore a sense of "time, space, and relationality", with narrative identity allowing for an examination of structure and agency through "the positioning of social actors in relation to a metanarrative".[15] Members of a society or nation, for example, engage with collective narratives as these stories provide meaning to the particular political entity they inhabit. Therefore, narrative is a root metaphor for political psychology, one anchored in the mutual constitution of language and thought, the need for personal coherence through narrative identity development, the need for collective solidarity through shared meaning, and the mediational property of narrative in social activity and practice.[16] Metanarratives are social narratives, not solipsistic constructions, and arise from the wider narratives at hand.[17]

The civilization discourse of the 19th century—containing its universalist and particularist orientations—was a narrative that was eloquent of global modernity metanarratives. Jean-François

Lyotard's conceptualizing two metanarratives—or dominant stories of modernity—correlate to the civilization discourse of the 19th century upon which Korean script was debated. First, Lyotard described the metanarrative of emancipation as beginning with the French Revolution in 1789. The metanarrative touted the emancipation of an enlightened humanity from dogma, mysticism, and exploitation. The ideal was that the masses would be liberated through mass education. In this metanarrative, knowledge would be the basis of freedom from oppression, and knowledge was valued because it sets humanity free from suffering. This metanarrative structure was an element in the Marxist revolution, the establishment of socialism and throughout the progressive stages of capitalist growth and development.[18] The emancipation expressed in the civilization discourse that enlightened Western powers would assist humanity in its first steps toward freedom and the access or right to science.

The speculative metanarrative, or as Lyotard calls it, the "triumph of science", refers to the follow-on metanarrative to emancipation, suggesting that human progress is ultimately achieved by increasing or perfecting knowledge. The speculative metanarrative originated in the German philosophy of the early 19th century, which found its most detailed form in the writings of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel.[19] Lyotard understood Hegel as linking progress—and therefore modernity—to knowledge in all its forms contained in the empirical sciences. Lyotard noted that the speculative metanarrative begat the roots of science and thus signified that improvement of the human condition could be achieved technologically, with both the logic of Marxist utopianism's triumph of the proletariat revolution and bourgeois progressivism's attainment of the bounty of capitalism.[20]

Hayden White asserted that neither Marxist utopianism nor bourgeois progressivism—also referred to as the capitalist metanarrative—were utopian, and both were guilty of misrepresenting historical truth. Nonetheless, the vitality of these two politicized metanarratives during the Cold War period is evident, as both political narrative elements were internalized and adapted by North and South Korea. Hayden White pointed out that narrativity was

the basis of these worldviews in that both Marxist utopianism and bourgeois progressivism had "the conviction that history is not a sublime spectacle but a comprehensible process".[21] For Lyotard, these ideological approaches were the two basic representational models for the modernization of society during much of the 20th century: the Marxist current based on the principle of class struggle and dialectics as a duality operating within society and modernization based on capitalism, viewing society as a functioning whole in which economics is reflected in macro-sociological patterns of utilitarian, rational choice.[22]

While nationalism is defined as an ideology, movement, sentiment, or process, given the narrativity and nationalism displayed within the modern Korean digraphic axis of argumentation, I chose to define nationalism as a metanarrative of nation and national identity. Metanarrative analysis as an approach reveals that national narrative identities are created by an interlocking network of metanarratives, providing a "causal, temporal, and thematic coherence".[23] Lowell W. Barrington, in pondering the uses and misuses of the concepts of nation and nationalism, concludes that nationalism is "the pursuit—through argument or other activity—of a set of rights for the self-defined members of the nation, including, at a minimum, territorial autonomy or sovereignty".[24] Conceptually, nationalism is also described as the mapping of a metanarrative, thus establishing identity in time and space.[25] I conclude that the Korean nationalism metanarrative has a sub-component of a modernization metanarrative. The national metanarratives of Korea, nationalism and modernization reflect the global Lyotardian metanarratives of modernity.

The metanarration of modern Korean nationalism, including myths and traditions, was reconfigured for instrumentalist purposes during the years 1894–1972. The development of modern Korean nationalism seems to conform to the most essential general assertions of modernist nationalism scholars. Benedict Anderson posited that the concept of nation appeared in the late 18th century as new "imagined communities"[26] or, as expressed by Eric Hobsbawm, with nationalism being instrumentally adapted through the "invention of traditions".[27] However, Anthony D.

Smith's critique of modernism is instructive, as he points out that differences notwithstanding, the modernist and ethno-symbolist approaches are not mutually exclusive. First, Smith comments that in opposition to the post-modernist emphasis on nations as discursive constructions,[28] both modernism and ethno-symbolism conceive of nations as real sociological communities; that is, ethno-symbolists—while conceding that those elements of Benedict Anderson's "imagined communities" are certainly applicable in understanding the genesis of nations—they tend to emphasize that nations are dynamic and purpose-driven communities of action, not merely discursive creations manipulated by the state or elites. Second, Smith notes that for both modernists and ethno-symbolists, nations are conceived as historical communities embedded in specific historical and geo-political contexts, adding that ethno-symbolism attempts to "fill-out" the narrative of the modernists and that can be useful in suggesting possible or probable causal relationships.[29] Therefore, there is no reason not to be able to apply both ethno-symbolism and modernism to the emergence of Korean nationalism.

The differences between ethno-symbolism and the modernist approach are noteworthy. Smith identifies five ways in which the ethno-symbolism approach deviates from the modernist perspective: (1) symbolic resources; (2) *la longue durée*; (3) ethnicity; (4) elitists not in the sense of pure elitist instrumentalism, but rather how popular sentiment within the society influences and figures into the calculus of the elites; and (5), conflict and reinterpretation. Smith argues that the fifth point is an important one omitted by modernists, while ethno-symbolists emphasize internal and external dynamics of conflict and identity on a symbolic level. Script has the power to speak to the identity, myth and memory of a nation.[30] Consequently, it is in the symbolic universe of metanarration where identity—and therefore argumentation regarding modern Korean digraphia—was periodically adjusted. This is eloquent of frame analysis as originally conceived by Erwin Goffman.[31] Korean ethnic nationalism, whether one might classify it as an example of "perennialism" (*yŏngsokjuŭi*) or a "protonation" (*chŏn'gŭndae minjok*), is the

metanarrative—re-invented or reframed through time—that shaped the formation of modern Korean digraphia.[32]

All these elements constitute the "modernity metanarrative complex". The caveated application of the Lyotardian emancipation and scientific metanarratives,[33] the modern Korean metanarratives of nationalism and modernization, and the Cold War ideologies of Marxist utopianism and bourgeois progressivism necessitated a multi-faceted approach, both for interpreting modern Korean digraphia and—potentially—the properties of Korean modernity and its evolution. The modernity metanarrative complex—a paradigm including an application of a range of fields or disciplines, such as post-colonialism, narrativity, narrative psychology, critical discourse analysis (CDA) and frame analysis—serves as an analytical framework for attempting to create a general hypothetical model that includes metanarration defined as dominant narratives rendering a schema for interpreting modernity.

This tangled process included considering the transition from post-colonial identity into post-post-colonial identity. This approach of imprinting the symbolic logic of the intersecting metanarratives of Korean nation and nationalism with modernization along parallel lines of the modern Korean digraphic axis of argumentation is evocative of Anthony D. Smith's "mytho-symbolic complex",[34] a paradigmatic nomenclature used in coining the term modernity metanarrative complex. The term reflects another concept, the *doxa*, described by Pierre Bourdieu, who defined a *doxa* as an unquestioned belief set of norms taken from—and indeed unconsciously granted to—a population as a "submission to the collective rhythms". These socially constructed temporal boundaries and structures create limitations on a group, the boundaries being the representations of the group itself. This "mythico-ritual system"[35] expounded upon by Pierre Bourdieu is an analog to Smith's mytho-symbolic complex.

The general socially constructed "literaturization" of the epical Korean story of nation and national identity intersected the politicized narrative related to national modernity and development: in the Marxist utopian metanarrative in the North as well as the bourgeois progressivism metanarrative in the South—a symbolic