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Master's Thesis of Seoul National University

**History Education and National
Identities in the 19th to the 20th
Century of Invasion History**

**-A Comparison of Korean and Chinese Senior High
School History Textbooks-**

19 세기에서 20 세기 침략 역사에 관한 역사교육과
국민 정체성 연구
-한국과 중국의 고등학교 역사교과서의
비교분석을 중심으로-

February 2020

**Graduate School of International studies
Seoul National University
International Cooperation Major**

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History Education and National Identities in the 19th to the 20th Century of Invasion History

-A Comparison of Korean and Chinese Senior High School
History Textbooks-

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Submitting a master's thesis of Graduate School of
International Studies

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Abstract

This thesis aims to find out the perception gap between South Korea and China during the 19th to the 20th century's history. Granted that both South Korea and China have similar histories of being invaded, the two countries have distinguished viewpoints of each other. South Korea still has an imperialistic image of China, while China itself believes that imperial factors were already removed with the collapse of the Qing dynasty, and imperialism can only apply to Western countries. Many scholars, such as Michael Billing, Jon E. Fox, and Miller-Idriss maintain that national identity is explicit and knowable. In addition, history education is a significant element of the construction of one's national identity. Therefore, this study scrutinizes both countries' high school's history textbooks to reveal the countries' national identities reflected and generated in the textbooks discourse. The thesis is not studying how history textbooks have constructed national identities, instead, this paper looks at what the two governments' national identities have echoed in these senior high schools' history textbooks by investigating "language use" in the history textbooks. This thesis employs ethnomethodology to shed light on misunderstandings and the perception gap between the two countries.

The South Korean national identity shown in the history textbook is proactive, but always failed due to great power transitions and the memory of victimized history. There are constant debates and cleavage in the nation, but emphasizing every group, whether young, old, female or ordinary people are "one nation" to highlight the

egalitarianism. Korea views the Qing government, imperialist Japan and Joseon's status system as threat objects to visualize the national identity. On the other hand, China has a Marxist materialistic point of view and asserts that feudalists hindered national progress. After the Republic of China was founded by Sun Yat-sen, Mao Zedong announced a "new-democratic revolution" to fight against the bourgeois to establish socialistic society. Nevertheless, all Chinese people were victims of the Western imperialists and they had a hard time due to the invasion and plunder by these powers.

There are two sets of contradict discourses found in this thesis. First are the "shrimp bursts in whale fight" discourse and the "weak countries have no diplomacy" discourse. Second are the "egalitarianism" discourse and the "elitism" discourse. Consequently, this thesis argues that due to the different history textbook discourses and the perception gap they have, the regional identity is hard to be altered to facilitate smoother conversations and cooperation.

Keywords: National identity, History textbooks, Language use, China, South Korea

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I. Introduction

Regionalization has been under the process all over the world, yet in Northeast Asia regional integration is progressing with difficulty. A lot of studies have explored the topic to discover why the cooperation between or among the countries in East Asia has been on a sinuous path. Different political systems, a vast difference in economic interests, et cetera are involved. Nevertheless, countries in the region have put much effort toward regional cooperation through founding Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat (TCS), having summit meetings through ASEAN 10 + 3 conferences, concluding FTAs in the region and so on. Many scholars have widely worked on political, economic and cultural perspectives. However, national identities on history issues are also one of the crucial factors for a lack of confidence in the region. History issues have not been solved over 70 years after 1945, and the current (2019) South Korea - Japan relation has also reached the worst situation for historical reasons. On the other hand, China in 2012 had serious nationalistic protests against Japan, having broken Japanese cars, restaurants, and department stores.

Both China and Korea have a heartbreaking history of being oppressed by Japan, and the fact that both countries have hostility to it seems obvious, however, the cooperation between South Korea and China is not going smoothly either. As the power of China grows, the threat of China began to rise. Many people in South Korea are afraid of China's possible rule of the entire East Asian region, yet China has consistently understated its power and argued that it intends to rise peacefully.

Before the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) was successfully founded in December 2015, the voices of Chinese imperialism have been expanded in South Korea. People doubted the intention of Chinese political engagement in international society and were afraid of the Chinese RMB's monopolization. Yet, Chinese people strongly believe that China is a peaceful country compared to the West, who had fought thousands of times with each other in the past. Besides, China asserts that the Chinese role is to promote democracy in international society, where the US or the Western countries had raised more opinions. Nonetheless, the threat from China comes from reality, and many industries in China have begun to catch up with those of South Korea's, resulting in a direct threat to South Korean citizens. Also, China now has emerged as the only country that can have a significant impact on the US, which makes the South Korean government feel threatened as well.

There have been a lot of researches regarding Japanese history textbook and its historical memory, yet few studies have focused on Chinese history textbooks. Textbooks influence the knowledge and understanding that young people have of their past and environment (Hilary Bourdillon ed., 1990). Therefore, analyzing textbooks that can construct the younger generation's way of thinking and identities are of significance. Several scholars and foundations have been interested in the Chinese history textbook since the Chinese "Northeast Borderland History and the Chain of Events Research Project (Northeast Project)" was revealed; the project assumes the history of Goguryeo and Balhae as Chinese own since the dynasties'

locations were in the present Chinese territory. Considering that history education provides a significant source of construction of people's national identity, which lays the foundation for common values, common perceptions, and common threat awareness, investigating and comparing Chinese and Korean history textbooks and their national identities on history issues is a very important and valuable research topic.

1. Research Questions

Why South Korean people have an imperialistic perception towards China, while China believes that imperial factors were removed with the collapse of the Qing government? Why they have such different perceptions even though both have similar invaded histories during the nineteenth and the twentieth-century? This study focuses on the differences of national identities embodied in the history textbooks between the nineteenth and the twentieth-century of South Korea and China.

2. Literature Review

Studies on Korean and Chinese history textbooks have continued since 1992 in both countries, after their establishment of diplomatic relations. So far, studies of history education in Korea and China have been the evaluation and criticism of history textbooks and history curriculum standards in each country. Especially, as the "Northeast Project" is known, studies in Korea have been done variously on how to describe the Korean part in Chinese history textbooks in order to grasp the

intention and thought of China. The studies have analyzed the historical location of Korea and the Chinese national ideology in Chinese textbooks. Most of the work was dealing with Korean history in a Chinese history textbook or the changes in Korean part in new history textbooks. For example, Goguryeo Research Foundation has recognized the severity of the issue and categorized 11 controversial events such as Balhae history, Sino-Japanese war and so on in 2006. Before 2006, there were several types of research regarding Chinese recognition of history and history education. There is a paper dealt with Chinese perception towards the first Sino-Japanese War in Chinese history education, though the war had a direct relation with Korea, Park pointed that Chinese history textbook does not mention about Joseon (Park Junghyeon, 2003). Gu analyzed the transition of the narration regarding Goguryeo and Balhae history along with Chinese ethnic recognition (Gu Nanhee, 2006). Kim focused on new Chinese history textbook according to the guidelines of the High School History Curriculum Standards published in 2004. He pointed out that a large portion of Korean history has been removed. Exchanges between Han and Qui Han, Suiyangdi attacked Koguryo, a close relationship between Tang and Shilla, and a description of Balhae were the cases (Kim Jihun, 2006).

As China started the “Northeast Project” since 2002 and published a new history education curriculum in 2003, most of the research has a comprehensive analysis of the Chinese history textbook. There was a study regarding Chinese nationalism in Chinese history education. For example, Oh had alerted Chinese dangerous

nationalism and historical view of war with strengthening nationalism and refraining from internationalism (Oh byungsoo, 2005). In Kim Jihun's book *Status and Characteristics of Chinese High School History Textbooks* analyzed a new history textbook made in accordance with the "History Curriculum Standards" (HCS) enacted in 2003. This book is a comparative analysis of old textbook based on "Ordinary High School Curriculum Standards" (HCS)¹ and several new textbooks based on HCS and shows how China has changed in history education, the narration of Korean history and emphasizing parts throughout history. This book contains ancient history, medieval history, the 10th to 15th century, Qing history, Sino-Japanese War and World War II, and captures the changing course of history education in China such as the change of historical education style based on the Marxist theory of Chinese authorities, which means the weakening of historical materialism and the strengthening of the justification of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and socialism. Also, there is a book regarding how the Chinese history textbook is complicating according to the theory of a unified multi-ethnic state in Kim Jongbak's *The Theory of Unified Multi-ethnic State in Chinese History Textbook*. The book categorized the Korean history that was included in Chinese national history and that was included in World history. The author pointed out that China is currently describing the history of China within its contemporary territory. This is a historical narrative method based on the "unified multi-ethnic state theory."

¹ 《普通高中课程标准（实验）》

China regards all people residing in temporary Chinese territory as Chinese people, and the characteristic of China is that they include fifty-five minorities and Han ethnicity. This is so-called “unified multi-ethnic state theory” applying to Chinese history textbooks. Also, the book explains the background and transformation of the emergence of the theory and summarized its contradictions. Even though the territory of past days is much different from the current territorial demarcation, China now treats all history in his territory as its own. Lastly, there is also a book compares mainland, Hong Kong and Taiwan’s history textbooks. *Comparison Among Mainland, Taiwan and Hongkong History Textbooks (2008)* describes commonalities and differences among them. The book is divided into seven parts, each of which is ancient Korean history, northern peoples and Japan, Balhae history, Koryo and northern nomadic people, Joseon dynasty, modern history, and modern Korea. As seen through the contents, the book still stays on how does foreign history textbook deal with Korean history. Nonetheless, through comparative analysis, the study gives us the overall implication of how the whole of China recognizes Korea. Generally, in the ancient part, the Chinese emphasizes the superiority of their own culture, and although there are small differences, the three mostly describe Korean history similarly. On the other hand, it is from modern history that it began to show the differences in the description of the Korean part. Especially when it came to the Korean War in 1950, Mainland China and Taiwan describe differently. It is clear that Communist China and Kuomintang (KMT) Taiwan are in an ideological and political confrontation. The book found out that the whole of China has a similar

perception regarding ancient history, however, as the colonization of Western Imperialism in the 19th century, the three started to have different perceptions of different historical events and neighboring countries as well. Regardless of these studies' great contributions to the academic world, the work remains on the analysis of the Korean section and lack research on how China perceives itself and how China defines itself.

Since 2006, Korea and China have agreed not to diplomatize the history issues under the ground understanding of not deteriorating the relationship between two countries (Oh Byungsoo, 2016). This made negotiations of history education between two countries much harder, and the study has to stay on the level of academia. As the power of China rises day after, the rising power of China has stimulated the academic world focusing on the process of constructing the image of China, both in Chinese and Korean history textbooks. Korean academia not only has been dealing with content analysis but also covering the research regarding methodology on history textbooks. Academia has acknowledged other non-historical factors such as political issues, the characteristic of a textbook and students' reading comprehension. Kang included the 'teaching strategy' when analyzing the historical context in the history textbook (Kang Sunzu, 2013). Also, several studies pointed out HCS laid the general foundation of Chinese history textbook compilation, which assorted much of the American curriculum standards, and strived to depoliticization (Kim Yuri, 2005).

There is also a comparative analysis of two countries' history education in order to suggest the implications for their education of history and narration of history textbooks. Regarding Chinese academia, most of them studied on Korean history textbook in order to draw implications and suggestions to their own history education. Kwon Soyeon in her *"The Comparative Study of Historical Perspective and Middle and High School History Education Method between Korea and China"* (2006), explores similarities and differences between Chinese and Korean history textbooks of middle school and high school education. The study mainly focused on shortages of Korean history textbooks when comparing these two countries' history education systems. The study has found out that China has constructed the singular national identity through unified national pluralism, while different historical view among different groups has made Korea struggle with a clear national identity. Also, when Chinese history education has deeply emphasized their national culture and national uniqueness, Korea is simply depicting the historical events and lacking framework of national recognition. Moreover, while China has drawn the blueprint of their peoples' future, Korea has not, which reveals that the Korean leaders' group has not concluded the future of the country. Nonetheless, both countries have drawn out that 'reform' is the main solution towards the invasion of imperialist powers, corruption, and incompetence, and therefore emphasized the independence and sovereignty for the development and prosperity of two countries. Also, Kikuchi Ichitaka categorized narrative structure of history textbooks in Korea, China and Japan as 'movement

history’, ‘revolution history’ and ‘imperial history’ (Kikuchi Ichitaka, 2013). This classification made comparative analysis much easier and simple.

Lastly, there have been a couple of recent studies focusing on ‘democracy’ in the term in history textbooks in Korea, China, and Japan. Yu Yong-Tae, in his *“Democracy in the History Textbooks: A Comparison of Korea, China, and Japan”* reviews Korea, China and Japan’s history textbook regarding the terminology of democracy. The writer argues that Korea focusing on national movement, China emphasizing on revolution movement and Japan pointing out imperial history inevitably developed different meanings of ‘democracy’. The paper explains why East Asian countries are struggling over the implementation of democracy after institutionalizing it through examining democracy in terms in history textbooks.

3. Limitations of Previous Research

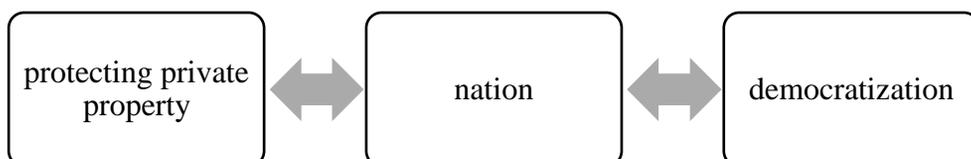
Until now, Chinese history textbooks have been reviewed and criticized mainly around the issue of the Northeast Project. Therefore, the researches so far have remained at the level of description of the history textbooks, or further studies on auto-stereotype in Korea and hetero-stereotype in China of national image. In other words, there is no crosstalk and comparative research between the two countries. In particular, it can be pointed out that in spite of the Western imperialist power in the middle of the 19th century until the 20th century, two countries share distinguished perceptions and different historical memories. Given these limitations, it is important to understand how South Korea and China describe the history of invasion,

movement history in Korea, and revolutionary history in China from the 1840 Opium War to the 1945 liberation. Through the comparative analysis, the paper studies how Korea and China perceive themselves, and the paper figures out why they perceive differently regarding the modern history and why they have divergent threat perceptions in international relations, which hinders in regional cooperation process.

II. Theoretical Framework and Research Methodology

1. Concept of National Identity

“Nation” is a modern concept that the word originally means one’s origin or descent and has nothing to do with a government (Hobsbawm, 1992). According to Hobsbawm’s analysis, it was after the French Revolution in 1789, as technology developed, that surplus property began to accumulate, and privately-owned assets started to emerge, therefore, a nation as a tool for protecting individual’s private property was required. Hence, the word “nation” became less related to ethnicity as long as the nation is protecting one’s private property. However, personal property was owned by the so-called bourgeoisie, not by the proletariat, and his question that why the ordinary people become loyal to the ruling class such as a state and a government is worth noting. He asserts that the origin of the national issues was accompanied by the rise of popular politics (Hobsbawm, 1992). This is because a nation is established for guaranteeing the personal property, and the country began to democratize in order to give the government (or a political party) a legitimacy. In



turn, democratization could safeguard a nation, and the nation would be able to

protect private property. As a result, the nation-building process is in line with the modernization.

Figure 2.1 Nation's Formation Process

In the course of democratization, the language had played a vital role as the best vote strategy for elites. Generally speaking, the same ethnics use the corresponding language, and subsequently calling on the same ethnicity became an important means of receiving more votes from the people. There is a paradox in the concept of nation, which is the objective modernity of nations to the historian's eye versus their subjective antiquity in the eyes of nationalists (Anderson, 1983). Hobsbawm's nation is a political apparatus that defend the national economy; therefore, a "nation" should not limit only to the particular boundaries, but the history of the nation ought to be written as world history (Hobsbawm, 1992).

On the other hand, Benedict Anderson (1983) defines the nation to be "an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign." It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. Anderson contends that capitalism, print technology, and diversity of the languages made a new form of imagined communities possible. National identity, or National consciousness, in Benedict's word, is based on national print-languages (Anderson, 1983). These two

pioneers of the nationalism regard nation and nationalism as modern products and believe that the nation is malleable rather than permanent. The concept of the nation puts the basis for the traits of the “national identity”.

Anthony Smith (1991), in his *National Identity*, defines the fundamental features of national identity as “a historic territory or homeland; common myths and historical memories; a common, mass public culture; common legal rights and duties; and a common economy with territorial mobility for its members” (Smith, 1991). In other words, he shifts ground to equate ‘nation’ with ‘national identity’ (David McCrone & Frank Bechhofer, 2015). He believes that national identity has its historical base, with a strong ethnical binding and cultural commonalities among people. He calls it a “collective cultural phenomenon”. Moreover, he contends that the Western national identity and Eastern one is distinguishable since the former was formed through the bottom-up modernization process, yet the latter has generated by intelligentsia by the independent movement. Countries who had suffered from the colonial period generally fashioned an “anti-colonial” national identity.

Samuel Huntington (2004), in his *Who are we?: The Challenges to America's National Identity*, argues that identity is a product of self-consciousness, that I or we possess distinct qualities as an entity that differentiates me from you and us from them. However, he mentioned that the differentiation did not automatically lead to threat perception. He listed the source of identity, which compasses ascriptive, cultural, territorial, political, economic, and social elements. He noted that the

“nation” is missing from the list, and the reason is that while national identity was at times at the West’s highest form of identity, it also has been a derived identity whose intensity comes from other sources. National identity usually but not always includes a territorial element and may also include more elements mentioned above. He highlights that the relative salience of different components of national identity may change.²

Society changes over time, like the environment that we live in now, is very much different from where our ancestors lived, and so does our identities. Improvement of technologies, political revolution, and changes in economic structure led people to re-identify themselves. Identity can be concluded as a matter of presentation, claim and counterclaim, that is, of ‘face’; in other words, people wish to be judged on the basis of their claim (David McCrone & Frank Bechhofer, 2015). Binational, multinational and cosmopolitan identities have been emerging as social changes. This has been the most obvious in Europe where people’s national identity is rooted in their European identity (Huntington, 2004).

Even though the identity is a self-representation of one’s nation, national identity is constructed through education at first (Ahonen, 2001). Ahonen argues that

² For example, in the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, national identity was defined politically by their communist ideologies and communist regimes. These countries included people of different nationalities, which were defined culturally and accorded official nationalities (Huntington, 2004).

modern nation-states were constructed through narratives of the past which underlined unity of societies and described nation-states as the inevitable formation of pre-modern communities. History textbooks represent those images of the past, and textbooks might be centralized productions of a government and therefore they can reveal an official version of history preferred by the state and also provide a more precise ideology of a state's political agenda (Maryam, 2012). Hence, history education plays a crucial role in constructing people's national identity, and also history textbook itself could be a discourse and a reflection of the political elites.

The thesis proposes the following definition of the national identity: it is the constant construction of the division between you and me, mainly by answering who we are and who our enemies are to confine self-identity and form threat perception towards others.

2. Banality as an everyday practice in the education system

National identity is imagined and constructed. It can hardly be formed by oneself, on the contrary, it is educated and memorized. Banality is a significant factor in shaping one's identity and therefore repetition and reiteration in the education system, especially in history textbooks are of importance to share historical memories and construct people's national identities. Banality is the most crucial part that researchers cannot neglect, which is adjoining to people's lives. We take mundane and everyday life for granted, but this is the exact element that social scientists usually fail to remember (Billing, 1995).

David Miller's *On Nationality* (1995) observes the identity as "the attitudes and beliefs that constitute nationality, which is very often hidden away in the deeper recesses of the mind, brought to full consciousness only by some dramatic event" (Miller, 1995). Miller maintains that national identity is largely unknowable because it is usually implicit or at least below consciousness, he does acknowledge that it is, in Renan's term, a 'daily plebiscite', requiring active affirmation that people share beliefs that they belong together (Miller, 1995; Renan, 1990).

Michael Billing, in his book, *Banal Nationalism* (1995) analyzes everyday nationalism not only in the United States but also in the other countries in the world. His research question is "why do 'we', in established, democratic nations, not forget 'our' national identity?" He answers that a nation-state can be stable and legitimized through a perpetual "flagging" of nationhood which makes people remember their national identity. He points out that the process of flagging the nationhood is banal and vapid. Nationalism is not only for those countries under the way of nation-building, moreover, but nationalism also resides in people's minds deeply and bursts out when there is a confliction between "you" and "I". "We" are repeatedly noted that "we" live in "our" country, and "our" identity is being flagged that it saturates people. Billing points out that the language is reminders of nationhood. He puts the politicians as important figures, not because they are crucial but familiar. The routinely familiar habits of language continually acting as reminders of nationhood according to his theory.

Besides, there are several scholars such as Jon E. Fox and Cynthia Miller-Idriss characterize nationalism as 'everyday nationhood'. "The nation is not simply the product of macro-structural forces; it is simultaneously the practical accomplishment of ordinary people engaging in routine activities" (Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008). Compared to David Miller's implicit everyday nationalism, they respond that national identity is explicit and distinguishable. They categorize four different ways of national identity, which are "talking the nation," "choosing the nation," "performing the nation," and "consuming the nation." This implies that national identity is noticeable and accommodating people's own decision.

In addition, McCrone and Bechhofer, in their book, *Understanding National Identity* (2015), hold that national identity is not deceptive and disguised. They put an emphasis on "identity-as-doing", and prove that national identity can be observed and known at the same time. "Performative and presentational" national identity behaves from time to time for certain aspirations. For instance, performing the morning assembly and military parades, speeches by politicians, or language in novels all are self-consciously showing the national identities. Flags, speeches, banners, songs, and education are factors that people often take for granted. However, questioning the matter of course and excavating the social impacts in these are worthwhile to further understand national identities and perception gaps in different countries.

The thesis chooses the banality of an everyday practice as a theoretical framework to capture and visualize the national identities shown in Korean and Chinese high school's history textbooks. History education is not the only object to study historical facts and historical distortion. It is the banal practice exercised in every country to let the youngsters remember their history and their nationality. Every student who enters high school is obligated to learn his or her own country's history, and they are able to build up communal historical memories through the history education. As mentioned above, national identity is not a static character that never changes after being contoured. Yet, a consciousness that embodied at a young age lasts long, hence, the thesis will examine what national identity is shown in Korean and Chinese history textbooks.

“National identity is a routine way of talking and listening; it is a form of life, which habitually closes the front door, and seals the borders.” (Billing, 1995) News is presented in a framework of nationhood, such as “here,” “we,” “their,” and “they.” Billing's banal nationalism fill in the shortcomings of Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Community*. Anderson explains that unfamiliar people read the same novel, the same script-language, and feel ‘oneness’ with each other and make it a nation. Yet, now that the world can be tied to the Internet and all of what is happening in the world could be known simultaneously through live broadcast. Nevertheless, people in the world are moving toward a more fragmented nationalism rather than a unified world. On this point, Billing argues that division occurs more because the media is

used within the frame of “nation”. For instance, “our accident” is “our,” and “their event” is “their” to reinforce split of the nations and these nations are seething over banal nationalism. Michael Billing uses politicians’ speeches, newspaper to text analyze the way how the language activates nationhood. Likewise, this study text analyzes the language in senior high school’s history textbooks to convey how national identities are performed.

Every nation must have its history, its own collective memory. Subsequently, the textbook becomes an important one since almost everyone in the nation has to or had read the textbooks. Their academic contributions are appreciated in a sense of providing a framework of analyzing the mundane practices. Yet, newspapers have divided readers, moreover not all the people read insipid and dull newspapers, especially not for kids and younger people. Education for teenagers is compulsory and they are forced to be educated and read the textbook anyway. History textbook is read by all students who went to senior high school in South Korea and China, and therefore it has a large scale of readers. China had 87.5% of gross senior high school enrollment in 2016 (Ministry of Education of the PRC). South Korea achieved 93.1% of senior high school attendance in the same year (e-나라지표).

3. Ethnomethodology

The thesis employs ethnomethodology (EM) to convey similarities and differences over national identities reflecting on South Korea and Chinese senior

high school history textbooks. This methodology is qualitative research method created by Harold Garfinkel, former professor of California University. His ethnomethodology was largely influenced by Schutz, Durkheim and Talcott Parsons, and first delivered in his book *Studies in Ethnomethodology* in 1967.

Garfinkel questioned and refashioned Parson's study on the Hobbesian order of social discipline. Both Hobbes and Parsons presuppose that the actor behaves on the basis of scientific rationality since rationality governs the theoretical attitude of scientists who view the world as an object of speculation. Yet, Garfinkel argues that individuals who follow 'scientific rationality' will not struggle but will be in a suspended state. Garfinkel believes that conflicts occur within a common order, otherwise, there is only an incidental encounter. He fundamentally suspected rationality itself and his ethnomethodology is accomplished through taken-for-granted methods and reasoning procedures (Samra-Fredericks, 2009). Social science does not touch upon the obvious facts and based on that 'fact' social scientists reveal discoveries. Those facts are too 'natural' to be neglected, and rarely arise in consciousness. Contrarily, Garfinkel's ethnomethodology calls those taken-for-granted objects into questions, and our experiences and lives come to an enigma. "The familiar is made unfamiliar" (Samra-Fredericks, 2009). He contends that people usually prioritize their wishes. For instance, if one supposes something is A, then he/she mostly believes that "something is A" is the fact (박동섭, 2018). This is the "fact production" that people have, and hence, this thesis will not investigate if

the events described in the textbooks are distorted, but rather to study how those “facts in the history textbooks” is accomplished, and what kind of national identities are displayed in those history textbooks.

In this thesis, banality in ‘language use’ is delicately scrutinized. What words are picked to describe ‘self’ and ‘other’ and what adjectives are chosen to characterize and interpret ‘self’ and ‘other’ are analyzed to discover national identities constructed in history textbooks. First of all, this researcher put all the keywords such as subjects, objects, adjectives in the Excel file, and compared all the similarities and differences of two country’s history textbooks. Moreover, the thesis studies the process of the Korean and Chinese high school’s history textbooks’ compilation and what political or social interaction happened before the publication of history textbooks. The thesis selects People’s Education Press’ *Lishi I, II, and III* after 2007 for Chinese high school history textbooks, and *Guksa* of the seventh curriculum for Korean high school history textbook. Besides, the thesis will cover during the 19th to the 20th invaded history in Korea and China. This is because, first of all, these textbooks are used for a longer time compared to others. *Lishi* was adopted over ten years, and *Guksa* for eight years, and thence, figuring out specified national identities in history textbooks and what national perceptions that Korean and Chinese students had been educated are possible. Plus, the thesis aims to uncover different modernization process happened in Korea and China to answer the research questions listed above.

III. Contents of Korean and Chinese High School History Textbooks of Modern History

This chapter analyzes how South Korean and Chinese senior high school history textbooks describe the history between the 19th to the 20th century, and their national identities reflected in the textbooks. The thesis analyzes the seventh curriculum's government designated history textbook for Korea, and People's Education Press' history textbooks for China. Both textbooks were closely related to their governments and prevailed in the countries for almost a decade, and therefore it has enough time to influence a generation of Korean and Chinese. However, the study is not studying how history textbooks have constructed national identities, instead, the thesis looks at what two governments' national identities have reflected in these senior high schools' history textbooks.

1. History Textbooks and Educational Structure

1.1 The Seventh Curriculum of *Guksa* Textbook in South Korea

Since the first curriculum was promulgated in 1954, there were six more curriculums until 2007.³ After the seventh curriculum, the Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (the current Ministry of Education, MOE) decided to

³ Curriculums' implementing period: the first curriculum (1954 – 1964), the second curriculum (1965 – 1975), the third curriculum (1976 – 1983), the fourth curriculum (1984 – 1989), the fifth curriculum (1990 – 1995), the sixth curriculum (1996 – 2001), the seventh curriculum (2002 – 2010)

proclaim a revised curriculum from time to time if needed. Thereafter the curriculum and the contents of textbooks were modified under necessity. The 2007 revised curriculum was notified in 2007 and applied to senior high schools since 2011. The 2009 revised curriculum has been implementing on the history education since 2012 until now. Up until the seventh curriculum, the senior high school history textbooks were government-designated textbooks, which means there was only a book for the whole nation.

History class is compulsory to tenth-grade students (first year of the senior high school) but not a mandatory subject in Suneung (Korean College Entrance Exam). History subject has become required only after 2016. During the seventh curriculum was applied to the history textbook, students did not usually take “history” for their college entrance exam, nonetheless, students had to learn Korean history for their midterms and finals.

Guksa, the Korean senior high school history textbook based on the seventh curriculum was taught from 2002 to 2010. Until the seventh curriculum, the Korean history textbook was edited by the government, and there was only one history textbook in the nation. The seventh curriculum was extremely criticized within South Korea since it was authored by the Education Reform Committee (ERC) which had huge support from President Kim. In 1994, the Director-General of the Ministry of Education received the news that the ‘curriculum revision’ was included in the reform task of ERC. He strongly opposed to it since the sixth curriculum had not

been implemented yet, and the new curriculum would reduce confidence in national policy. Nevertheless, ERC forced to work on the seventh curriculum under the president's countenance (Kim Seong-ja, 2013). The Kim Yeongsam Administration, the first civilian government long after military regimes, wanted broad-scale reform in South Korea. The seventh curriculum emphasized "democracy" and the object of history education was to "foster democratic citizens who can contribute to the development of democratic operations and the development of national culture and democratic nations."⁴

As for the contents of *Guksa*, the seventh curriculum divided the history textbook into political, economic and social parts to systematically understand Korean history. There are six chapters and Chapter III is "governance structure and political activities", Chapter IV is "economic structure and economic life", Chapter V is about "social structure and social life." In the fifth sub-chapters of these cover the 19th to the 20th-century history. Hereinafter analyzes these parts to locate what Korean national identity constructed in the senior high school history textbook.

1.2 People's Education Press' *Lishi* Textbooks in China

Compared to Korean diverse changes in the curriculum due to the turnover of political power, China's education reform has been under the Central Commission of the Communist Party of China (CCCPC) and the State Council. After the reform

⁴ The purpose of history education is stated in "the seventh curriculum for history".

and open policy in 1978, Chinese education could be categorized into three periods: slow development period (1978 – 1992), experimental development period (1993 – 2009) and golden development period (2010 – now) (Qi Zhanyong, Chen Huihui, 2018).

During the Cultural Revolution Period between 1966 and 1977, the education system was collapsed in China. Schools were stopped, and students did not go to the school, and the “gaokao” (the college entrance exam in China) was stopped for many years. The third plenary session of the eleventh central committee of CCP signaled the Deng Xiaoping’s reform and open era has come. “Gaokao” has come to its position and there was “Decision of Communist Party of China on Educational Structure Reform” in 1985. In the second development period, the important document was “Compendium for the Reform and Development of Education in China” (hereinafter referred to as Compendium) issued in 1993. The Compendium requires to gradually reform and improve the entrance examination system, and high school graduation exams and the college entrance examination system’s reform was put into effect. Contrary to South Korea, all Chinese senior high school students are requested to pass the “huikao” (graduation exam of senior high school in China). Nine subjects are included in the “huikao.” Consequently, a deep understanding of history textbooks is compulsory for all students. Moreover, students majoring in liberal arts need to take history subject in “gaokao” to grasp further comprehension of Chinese history.

As for Chinese history textbooks, have been changed to ‘government – authorized’ system since 2003. The Ministry of Education of People’s Republic of China (MoPRC) issued the “Ordinary High School Curriculum Standard (experimental)” (HCS) in 2003. History textbooks between 2007 to 2017 were compiled based on the HCS. The educational structure has been transformed from “one compendium one textbook” to “one standard several textbooks.” There are four publishers in total, compassing the “People’s Education Press (PEP),” “Yuelu Press (Yuelu),” “Beijing Normal University Press (BNUP),” and “People’s Publishing House (PPH).” Different schools could choose different publishers as they wish. The thesis selects PEP’s history textbooks as a research object since it has the largest scale of readers and has the closest linkage with HCS (Wang Qian, 2015).

According to HCS, the purpose of history curriculum is to “encourage students to analyze and solve problems with the historical view of Marxist and pay attention to the historical destiny of the Chinese nation and all mankind.” Therefore, *Lishi I, II, III* are compiled from the Marxist dialectic materialism point of view. Also, by studying history, students are stimulated to “contribute to the socialist modernization of the motherland and to focus on the destiny of the nation and mankind.” Moreover, HCS includes the “emotional attitude and values” part in its objects. It states, “through history education, inspiring students’ pride in the history and culture of the motherland and gradually form a sense of historical mission and social responsibility for the country and the nation.” These are clearly shown in the textbooks, using the

emotional languages such as “monstrous,” “sinful,” “breaking international morality,” and so on. All in all, the Chinese history curriculum stresses Marxist perceptions and the historical destiny of the Chinese nation and all mankind.

Lishi, PEP’s senior high school mandatory history textbooks, has three books in total. One of which introduces political history, economic history and ideological history in sequence. This is in line with the content system of *Guksa*. History textbooks were guided under ten general counsels. They are members of the Communist Party of China, National People’s Congress (NPC) or scholars in the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS). Xu Bin, the author of modern history in *Lishi I (Politics)* and *II (Economy)* was a secretary of the Party Committee in fenggang and a chairman of NPC by the time he wrote the history textbooks. *Lishi III (Ideology and Culture)* was composed by Li Weike and Ruixin, who are editors in PEP’s history office. Whether they are communist party members or not are not known, imply that either they are not one of the members or they are not in the important position in the party. In sum, Chinese history textbooks have closer ties with CCP rather than the Ministry of Education, even though the curriculum was authored by the MoEPRC.

2. National Identities in the History Textbooks

As the thesis mentioned above, both *Guksa* and *Lishi* have influenced by political powers. Therefore, a comparison of the two textbooks is worthy of studying. This section looks at two parts: first of all, how they perceive themselves, and how

they term the subjects of themselves. Secondly, how they illuminate threat objects during the 19th to the 20th century. The thesis casts light on how two countries' history textbooks describe the 19th to the 20th century's history.

2.1 South Korean National Identity after Opening the Ports and in the Period of Colonization

South Korean Mandatory History Textbook *Guksa* was utilized for over ten years in senior high schools. Also, under the basis that it was written with the government guidance, text analyzing the *Guksa* could assist us to comprehend the government's national identity reflected in textbooks. Since the study limits the period during modern history, it focuses from 1876 opening the port by signing the *Ganghwado Treaty* to 1945 the Liberation Day on 15th August.

Korean Mandatory History Textbook Contents					
<i>Guksa</i>					
Modern Politics		Modern Economy		Modern Society	
Modern and Contemporary World		Economic Invasion of Foreign Powers and Groping for National Economy (외세의 경제 침략과	Opening the Ports and Unequal Treaties (개항과 불평등 조약)	Social Changes after Opening Ports (개항 이후의 사회 변화)	Changes in Social Institutions and Consciousness (사회 제도와 의식의 변화)
Enlightening and Movements of Sovereignty Protection	Regent Heungseon Daewongun's Policy (흥선		Infiltration of Foreign Traders and Expansion of Trade		Changes in the Life of the Resident (의식주 생활의 변화)

(개화와 주권 수호 운동)	대원군의 정책)	국민 경제의 모색)	(외국 상인의 침투와 무역의 확대)			
	Opening ports and Enlightening Policy (개항과 개화 정책)		Internal Interference and Violation of Interests (각국의 내정 간섭과 이권 침탈)		The Overseas Migration of Koreans (동포들의 국외 이주)	
	The Gapsin Coup (갑신정변)		Government and Private Food Promotion Efforts (정부와 민간의 식산 흥업 노력)		Social Changes during the Japanese Colonial Era (일제 강점기의 사회 변화)	Divisions of Independence Movement Forces (독립 운동 세력의 분화)
	Donghak Peasant Revolution (동학 농민 운동)		The Frustration of Autonomous Modernization (자주적 근대화의 좌절)			Singanhoe (신간회)
	Gabo Reform and Ulmi Reform (갑오개혁과 을미개혁)		Development of Economic Rescue Movement (경제적 구국 운동의 전개)			Farmers Movement and the Labor Movement (농민 운동과 노동 운동)

	Independence Club and the Korean Empire (독립 협회와 대한 제국)	Japanese Economic Erosion and National Economic Movement (일제의 경제 침탈과 민족 경제 운동)	Colonial Exploitation Policy (식민지 수탈 정책)		Youth Movement, Women's Movement, Equity Movement (청년 운동, 여성 운동, 형평 운동)
	Japanese Occupation (일제의 국권 침탈)		The Exploitation of Farmers and Workers (농민과 노동자에 대한 수탈)		Population Growth and Urban Changes (인구의 증가와 도시의 변화)
	Anti-Japanese Righteous Army and the Patriotic Enlightenment Movement (항일 의병 전쟁과 애국 계몽 운동)		Logistics Base Policy and Military Industrialization of Japanese Imperialism (일제의 병참 기지화 정책과 군수 공업화)		Changes in the Life of the Resident (의식주 생활의 변화)
National Ordeal and Anti-Japanese National Movements	Japanese Colonial Policies (일제의 식민 정책)		National Economic Movement (민족 경제 운동)		

(민족의 수난과 항일 민족 운동)	3·1 Movement (3·1 운동)		The Collapse of the Colonial Economy of the War Mobilization System (전시 총동원 체제의 식민지 경제의 파탄)		
	Korean Provisional Government (대한민국 임시 정부)				
	Domestic and Foreign Anti-Japanese National Movements (국내외 항일 민족 운동)				

Table 3.1 Korean Mandatory History Textbook’s Table of Contents

Resource: *Guksa*, 2010

2.1.1 Self-identification of South Korea

In the South Korean mandatory history textbook, typical characteristics are noticed in depicting themselves. For example, there are numbers of subjects such as “Joseon society, government and all walks of people” “our nation,” “our country,” “our people,” “our compatriot,” “Korean people,” “Korean labors,” “Korean farmers” and so on. As we can see here, “our” is frequently used, and “Korean” is written after concluding *the Protectorate Treaty* in 1905. Here the questions come. Who are “we”, and who is “Korean”? The thesis analyzes the scope of “we” in the Korean history

textbook, and what “Koreans” are Koreans. Is it including the current North Korea, or only South Korean people? Also, what are the characteristics and feelings of these so-called “Koreans” and “we” have.

“Koreans” and “we” are the people who resided in the Korean peninsula at that time. Some evidence could be found in the textbook. Before the Korean Empire was proclaimed by Gojong in 1897, it was the Joseon Dynasty in the Korean peninsula. When the textbook explains the reason why Japan waged the war to the Qing, it says that “Japan wanted to maintain interference with Joseon.” Joseon was not divided at that time and it implicates the whole Korean peninsula. Also, there was an economic invasion to “our country”, and “our ethnicity(민족)” suffered from the pain because of opening the ports and unequal treaties. There is a map indicating this ordeal, and the map confines the current North and South Korean territory. Moreover, when it mentions the countrymen, it always adds “our” to the countrymen. Consequently, the South Korean history textbook emphasizing the solidarity who lived in the Korean peninsula, and the ethnicity of the people.



열강의 이권 침탈

Figure 2.1 Spoliation of Rights and Interests by the Western Powers

However, there is a change of description of the Korean people in Chapter V of “modern society”. Still, there was “our people” as a subject, yet after the failure of the 3·1 Independent Movement in 1919, “disagreement appeared within the independence camp due to the different perceptions of the post-independence state system, therefore the camp split into the nationalist group, the socialist group, and the anarchist group.” Hereinafter is no self-description such as “we,” “our,” or “Korean”, and the nation has been divided into several groups. “Singanheo,” “farmers,” “workers,” “young people,” “women,” “socialists,” “nationalists,” “the

rich,” “ordinary people” are used as subjects to describe Koreans. There are distinct comparisons and divisions within the nation. Socialists and nationalists have different blueprints of an independent country, and the rich and the poor have distinguished lifestyles and have various degrees of hardships. The text shows obvious divisions within a nation and puts no more stress on the unity as a one. To be short, “we” “our” “us” appear in the sentences when Korean people were attacked or suffered from the others, the third person is written when Korean people proactively find ways of regaining the independence.

The thesis discovers several features of self-identification shown in *Guksa*. Firstly, Joseon actively engaged in modernization but failed owing to the foreign powers. “In 1873, when Min came to power, a group that insisted on opening and trading grew politically.....The Joseon government promoted the open-door policy with the aim of prosperity and military power” (p. 108). However, “the Qing and Japan’s economic invasion have led to anxiety and discontent among farmers” (p. 109-110). The textbook defines the Joseon government as a “gaehwa (enlightening government)” indicates that the Joseon government gave positive implementation to open-door policies. Also, the following paragraph clearly illustrates this claim.

*Since opening the ports, our country **has sought independent modernization**, accepting the Western culture and implementing new economic policies. However, with the full-fledged invasion of foreign*

*powers, such as Japan and the Qing dynasty, such efforts **did not succeed***
(Guksa, 2010, p. 174).

Although gaeхва (enlightening) government collapsed after King Gojong took refuge in the Russian legation in 1896, the Korean Empire was founded a year after. The efforts had been continued, but unfortunately, the reform had failed as well.

*The Korean Empire **gave directions of reform** as ‘the new system shall take into account based on the old system.’ Yet, the reform **had not been successful** because of the conservative tendencies of the ruling class and the interference of the foreign powers (Guksa, 2010, p. 112-113).*

Also, the Korean Empire made an effort to prevent the economic invasion of foreign powers and to establish a modern national economy. For instance, the monetary system reform, establishment of the central bank and foundation of the educational institutions were driven by the government. However, “these were frustrated by the invasion of Imperialist Japan” (p. 178). After the Russo-Japanese War, “Imperialist Japan controlled the whole process of trading and increased the taxes in various ways” (p. 178).

Secondly, “our people” were victims of the foreign powers according to the history textbook, and all endeavor made by “our people” failed due to external reasons. “Japan and the Qing made economic invasion to our country,” “foreign merchant infiltrated and expanded the trade,” “internal interference and exploitation

of national interests,” had made “our people suffered from opening the port and unequal treaties.” Sea numbers of resistance were formed by the government and the people, but all of them died on the vine in the end. “We had the opportunity to form a self-reliant national economy with our hands at that time, but we lost that chance due to the interests’ invasion by the foreign powers.” After Korea had lost its sovereignty, everything was forced by Imperialist Japan, and people’s life was devastated. For Korean labors,

*The Japanese Imperialists **repressed** Korean workers, who were overworked with low wages and ethnic discrimination.....Korean workers were not guaranteed the minimum basic labor rights, and **were discriminated against** in wages and promotions.....Also, the industrialization policy of Joseon was nothing but a process of maximizing the profits of Japanese capital by **exploiting** Korean labor and resources (Guksa, 2010, p. 180-182).*

For Korean farmers,

*During the Japanese occupation, farmers **struggled with** high rent for tenancy and unstable tenant farming periods.....After the Russo-Japanese war, the Japanese came to Korea in earnest and bought land for a bargain price, while taking the land of farmers through the loop. Many farmers lost their lands and turned to tenant farmers. The tenant farmers were*

*forced to sign a one-year tenancy, which **threatened their right to live***
(Guksa, 2010, p. 239-240).

For the cityscape,

*The Japanese Government-General of Korea broke down traditional buildings such as Gyeongbokgung Palace and built the government offices, the Gyeongseong-gu office Building and train station in succession, subsequently, Seoul's appearance had gradually **changed into a colonial urban landscape*** (Guksa, 2010, p. 242).

Thirdly, although the cohesion among Korean people was underlined by stating “our people” and “our country”, there was a constant separation in the nation. For example, during the Joseon dynasty, there were “gaehwa (enlightening) group” and “Confucian scholars group (위정척사파)” debating whether Joseon was supposed to adopting the Western civilization or not. The latter “filed an appeal against the port opening and enlightening to be against the government’s policy” (p. 109). Moreover, persistent discontent rose from “old-fashioned soldiers, the lower class and farmers” resulted in instability within the country. Several movements were driven “in spite of the government’s enlightening policies” (p. 110). Besides, after the sovereignty was lost by Imperialist Japan, national salvation movements raised accordingly. However, several branches were formed within the patriotic

movements. Different groups held a variety of ideologies regarding the independent nation.

Fourthly, it is worth recognizing that diverse groups are covered in the textbook such as the youth movement, women's movement, parallel movement and so on, and the textbook appreciates all of their exertions have made to the Korean society. It implies that South Korea respects every walk of people and their zest. Nevertheless, these were mentioned to highlight that "we are one nation" regardless of the disparity in social standing. For instance, the textbook mentions the National Debt Redemption Movement, since it "created a sense of national identity regardless of age, gender, location or status" (p. 234).

2.1.2 Threat Objects of South Korea

Korea has been suffered from the Japanese occupation for over three decades, and therefore Imperialist Japan is the main object of hatred. Nonetheless, more threat objects have been portrayed in the South Korean senior high school history textbook.

It was the Qing that had an awkward relationship with the Joseon dynasty. "The Qing and Japan made an invasion competition over Joseon" (p. 108). Also, "The Qing strengthened internal interference and economic aggression against Joseon." (p. 109) "The Qing along with Japan threatened Joseon politically and militarily for guarding their own merchants having deprived of economic interests" (p. 176). Therefore, some radicals raised the "Gapsin Coup d'état" (1884) and issued the

government ordinance which includes “abolishing the tribute to the Qing Dynasty” (p. 109). Nevertheless, the political upheaval ended by the intervention of the Qing’s military. After the coup d’état, “the Joseon government enhanced its diplomatic relations with Russia for the sake of getting rid of the internal interference of the Qing government” (p. 110). Constant intrusion and engagement of the Qing, and the tribute relation with it, had made the Joseon dynasty lack complete sovereignty and autonomy. Therefore, inertia of threat perception towards China formed in Korean national identity.

After the Japanese victory of the First Sino-Japanese war in 1894, Japan became the hegemon in the region. Japan’s invasion and the colonial rule on the Korea peninsula have made Korean people bleak. It was Japan which colonized the Korean peninsula for decades, having kept down the Korean people and made Korea a dismal scene. Japan stripped of the Korean autonomy and sovereignty and started their colonial rule from the early 19th century.

*Imperialist Japan ignored the neutral declaration of the Korean Empire and **forcibly** signed the Korea-Japan Protocol. It began to **intervene** in internal affairs and **seized** Korean territory **by military force**..... After that, imperialist Japan won the exclusive right to the Korean peninsula through the victory of the Russo-Japanese War..... In 1905, Japan **unilaterally** issued a Eulsa Treaty, took the diplomatic right of the Korean Empire, and changed it to a protectorate by establishing the Ministry of*

*Supervision..... Subsequently, Korea and Japan signed a new Korea-Japan agreement to secure Japanese affairs in various parts of the Korean government, disbanding the military and dominating Korea in 1907. Finally, Japan **suppressed** the resistance of national soldiers **by force**, deprived of jurisdiction and police power, and made the Korean Empire a colony (Guksa, 2010, p. 113).*

Some words such as “ignore,” “intervene,” “by force,” “unilaterally,” “deprive of,” suggest that Korea at that time had no independence and it was Japan that evilly changed Korea on their own. Also, their colonial policies were cruel and exacting to the Korean people. Regardless of men, women, the old and the young had become a tool for gaining Japanese interests. According to the history textbook, Japan’s ruling is only for the Japanese modernization and prosperity.

*Imperialist Japan aimed to change its economic structure to **export Japanese commodities and capital** and to exploit Korea’s food and raw materials..... Most of the land **taxes** imposed by the Japanese Government-General of Korea **were spent on colonial rule**. Also, the company decree was to reorganize the industrial structure **according to the Japanese intentions** by suppressing Korean business activities and capital accumulation..... The Program for Proliferation of the Rice Products, which began in 1920, was to **bring more rice to Japan**..... (Guksa, 2010, p. 180-p. 181)*

*In the 1940s, by waging the Pacific War, Japan had continuously **taken human and material resources away**..... They **by impressment** exploited Korean labor, and **forcibly mobilized** young women under the name of the **Mental Forces** and abused them at military factories. Some of them were dragged to the front and became the comfort women of the Japanese military (Guksa, 2010, p.116-p. 117).*

Moreover, Japan attempted to annihilate Korean national identity and culture. “Japan and Korea are one policy”⁵ was not allowed for Korean people to use their own language. Also, Korean people are coerced to change their names to Japanese. In the 1940s, when the world had World War II, Korea turned into the war basis. Men were imposed to wear military looked national costume, on the other hand, women were pressured to put on trousers, which are the work clothes of Japanese rural women, called “mombbae.” In conclusion, imperialist Japan controlled Korea in various fields and Korea was not able to take shape of their own identity and the culture. These clearly show in the text as follows.

*The Japanese colonial regime, which had taken away the sovereignty, tried to **obliterate our national identity** and completely **‘assimilate’ it to***

⁵ “내선일체” in Korean. This is a slogan that the Japanese Empire put forward in order to fully integrated Joseon during the Japanese colonial period into Japan. This is regarded as part of the nation’s extermination policy aimed at eliminating Korean national identity and incorporating it into Japan.

*Japan in the course of colonial rule..... The Japanese imperialists **split up our nation** by raising pro-Japanese molecules..... The Japanese imperialists pursued a policy of imperialization of the kingdom to **annihilate the identity of our nation** (Guksa, 2010, p.116).*

Last but not least, it was the status system⁶ hindered the unification of the nation, and hence breaking down the hierarchical society was a significant task for Korea. “The discrimination between *yangban*⁷ and ordinary people disappeared. The status system and the slavery system were abolished finally” (p. 233). After opening the ports, changes have also begun to the housing culture that has been regulated by social status. “They were free to build a house without being limited by the size or the style” (p. 235). This denotes that there was a lack of freedom in Korean society due to the status system. Through informing the social changes after repealing the status system, the South Korean history textbook tries to emphasize equality awareness. Also, there were “bad habits” such as early marriages, widows’ remarriage banning, trafficking, torture, implicative system and so on. Spirit of

⁶ The status system during the Joseon Dynasty was a legal system similar to India’s caste system.

⁷ The Yangban means aristocrats during the Joseon dynasty. The yangban consists of civil servants and military officers. In Joseon’s status system, yangbans are the highest group and comes Jung-in (the middle class), Sangmin (the commoners), Cheonmin (the vulgar), Baekjeong (slaughter man), and Nobi (slaves).

liberty and protection of human rights has been improved and made the Korean society much better than the past.

2.2 Chinese National Identity in the Period of Humiliation

As we can see in Table 3.2, China recognizes its “humiliation” period from the 1840 Opium War to the 1949 victory of the Liberation War.

Chinese Mandatory History Textbook Contents					
<i>Lishi I (Politics)</i>		<i>Lishi II (Economy)</i>		<i>Lishi III (Ideology)</i>	
The Trend of Anti-Aggression and Seeking Democracy in Modern China (近代中国反侵略、求民主的潮流)	Opium War (鸦片战争)	Changes in Modern China’s Economic Structure and the Tortuous Development of Capitalism (近代中国经济结构的变动与资本主义的曲折发展)	Changes in Modern China’s Economic Structure	The Trend of Ideological Emancipation in Modern China (近代中国的思想解放潮流)	From “Studying Western Civilized Technology” to Weixin Reform (从“师夷长技”到维新变法)
	Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Movement (太平天国运动)				Tortuous Development of National Capitalism
	Sino-Japanese War/ Eight-Nation Alliance’s Invasion of China (甲午中日战争和八国联军侵华)		The Formation		
	Xinhai Revolution				

	(辛亥革命)			China's Great Ideological Theory Achievements since the 20 th Century (20世纪以来中国重大思想理论成果)	and Development of the Three People's Principles (三民主义的形成和发展)
	Rise of the New Democratic Revolution (新民主主义革命的崛起)				Mao Zedong Thought (毛泽东思想)
	Ten-Year-Confrontation of CCP and KMT (国共的十年对峙)				Theoretical Exploration in the New Era (新时期的理论探索)
	Anti-Japanese War (抗日战争)				
	Liberation War (解放战争)				

Table 3.2 Chinese Mandatory History Textbooks' Table of Contents

Resource: *Lishi*, 2007

2.2.1 Self-identification of China

In Chinese history textbooks, several subjects can be found in describing themselves. “Qing government” “Chinese people” were used in *Lishi I*, “China” “Chinese national capitalist” “Yangwu School” “Qing army” “Qing government”

“national bourgeois” “Provisional Government of the Republic of China” “the Nanjing National Government” were in *Lishi II*, and “patriotic government officials” “modern Chinese people” “Chinese capitalist” “bourgeois” “Chinese advanced people” “Chinese intellectuals” “China” “bourgeois reformist school” “Chinese Communist Party (CCP)” “the Chinese Kuomintang (KMT)” were spotted in *Lishi III*.

There were no subjects such as “we” or “I” to describe themselves, which means Chinese history textbooks explain what happened to “China” instead of what happened to “us”. This is different from the Korean history textbook, which repeats “we” and “our” to distinguish “us” from “others”. China leave more ink to the generalization of “China”. The reason why illuminating what China is vital to Chinese society is that it is a multiethnic state, and how to embrace minorities is of importance. This is the unified multi-ethnic state theory that the Chinese government applies to their history textbooks and imbue consolidated national identity within their contemporary territory including controversial areas.

It is worth noticing what kinds of adjectives history textbooks employed to describe themselves. This is because the description of itself is an important source of self-identification. In this process of analyzing, several traits came into light. Firstly, China has a negative perception of the late Qing government. In the preface, the textbook says, “although the Qing Dynasty created the great world, it was only the afterglow of the setting sun, and it soon faded” (*Lishi I*, p. 49). This is because

Qing had “political corruption, financial difficulties, abolished armaments, and the continuous closing the country policy,” and it “embarrassingly sued for peace” (*Lishi I*, p. 50) when British armies came into China. Also, the textbook regards the Qing government as feudalistic and explain there were two kinds of contradictions, which include the national(民族) conflict and class contradiction. The former indicates the struggle between the Chinese nation and foreign countries, while the latter signifies the combat between the peasants and the landlords. From a Marxist point of view, everything has conflicts, and everything is sublimated from contradictions, and hence these struggles made history keep moving on. In this sense, history is linear, and it goes from feudalism to capitalism and finally to communism. Consequently, feudalism was out-of-date, and it has to be substituted by the new class. The new class refers to the Chinese national bourgeois, and that is the reason why the history textbook gives a positive depiction of the Provisional Government of the Republic of China, which “defeated the Qing feudal government and removed the obstacles for the development of national capitalism” (*Lishi I*, p. 62).

However, there were several patriotic government officials in the Qing government, the textbook emphasizing they are enlightened, excellent and intelligent. For instance, the textbook writes that “Qing’s government officials only used to call British smugglers as ‘Island Yi’, but they never knew about the situation of them” (*Lishi II*, p. 68). Yet, Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan have started to learn about the West and compiled several books of the Western world’s geography, history, and politics.

It says, “they are the first Chinese men to open the eyes to the world” (*Lishi II*, p. 68). Also, although “the Yangwu School,” “the Weixin thought” were from the Qing government, they were intelligentsia and liberalists who “fundamentally shook the theoretical foundations of feudal rulers who abide by the ancestral training and opposed the reform, and strongly attacked the feudal stubborn forces” (*Lishi II*, p. 70). Moreover, “they played the role of enlightenment and promoted the awakening of the people” (*Lishi II*, p. 70). In this explanation, we can see the history textbook comprises paradox identification of the Qing government.

Secondly, although Chinese history textbooks have a clear distinction between feudal groups and intellectuals in the Qing government, they were all frustrated by the West commonly. Also, “China” “Chinese people” “Chinese national capitalism” were all deeply devastated by the Western powers. Moreover, “China” was the passive reactor to the Western invaders. “Britain used artillery to open the door to China,” so China had to open its door regardless of its closed-door policy. Also, the Chinese economy and its capitalism collapsed due to the Western powers. The history textbook accounts this as follows:

Western powers aggressed the Chinese economy and destroyed the burgeoning capitalism and involved China in the capitalist market..... Chinese national capitalism has been brutally hit and in trouble..... Chinese agricultural products were subject to the needs of the international market and were increasingly commoditized (Lishi II, 2007).

Ironically, China was an active performer in the political revolutions rather than a passive acceptor. The third typical feature is that Chinese history textbooks emphasize several vital people and stress their commitment and leadership. This is revealed clearly in the *Lishi III*.

The Chinese people have produced three great figures standing at the forefront of the times on the way forward: Sun Zhongshan, Mao Zedong, and Deng Xiaoping. They founded the ‘Three People’s Principles,’ ‘Mao Zedong Thought,’ and ‘Deng Xiaoping Theory’ individually, and had led the Chinese people to achieve major accomplishments in the revolution and construction of the country (Lishi III, 2007).

Chinese history textbooks underline the important persons’ leadership and the idea of guidance. Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan “led” people to pay attention to the world situation, Marxists “mentored” the Chinese revolution, and ‘Three People’s Principles’ “guided” the democratic revolution. ‘Mao Zedong Thought’ “directed” the CCP. Therefore, leadership and theoretical background are considered momentous. Besides, even though many enlightened Chinese people proposed different ways of saving the nation, the textbook never deals with those varieties of distinguished thoughts. It is attractive that the textbooks pointed out those representatives of the class. To be specific, “Chinese advanced people represented by Chen Duxiu” (*Lishi II*, p. 72) “the bourgeois revolutionary group represented by Sun Yat-sen” (*Lishi III*, p. 78) and so on. Therefore, the main actors and the subjects

of China in its senior high school history textbooks were several influential elites, who overcame adversity and created a new era in China. Moreover, “they” was used to depict the Chinese people, rather than “we.” This is because the Chinese history textbook try to heroize those patriots who devote their efforts and even lives to the country.

*In the face of strong enemies, the **Chinese people** had never submitted. **They** were unyielding, went on and on, heroically resisted foreign aggression, and actively explored the road to recovery (Lishi I, 2007).*

2.2.2 Threat Objects of China

Locating threat objects of China and examining how Chinese history textbooks portray those enemies from the 19th to the 20th century is helpful to understand what Chinese threat perception is, or at least what kind of threat perception Chinese government recognizes.

First, the Western powers along with Japan continuously threatened Chinese sovereignty and territorial integrity from the 19th century to its liberation. British started the Opium war and forced the Qing government to open its doors and sign the first humiliating *Nanjing Treaty* in 1840. It “violated international ethics and smuggled drugs and opium to China” (*Lishi I*, p. 50). However, Lin Zexu, the national hero, tried to stop the opium trade, which gave British “an excuse to wage a war of aggression against China” (*Lishi I*, p. 50). The first Sino-Japanese war was

“provoked by Japan deliberately” (*Lishi I*, p. 74). Although the Qing army welcomed the war, the war ended in the “absolute defeat of the Qing army” (*Lishi I*, p. 75), and the Qing government signed disgraceful *Shimonoseki Treaty* in 1895. In consequence, great damage had been inflicted on China and Chinese people.

*The Treaty of Shimonoseki has further **suffered serious losses to Chinese territory and sovereignty**. The huge indemnity has greatly **increased the burden on the Chinese people**. The opening up of the new trading ports has enabled the Western powers to penetrate the Chinese mainland. Allowing foreign investors to set up factories in China has expanded the way for the western powers to export to China, which **has seriously hindered the development of Chinese national capitalism**. Under the stimulus of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, **the Western powers** rushed to divide the “sphere of influence” in China, seized the leasehold land, and **set off a frenzy of dividing China**. The degree of semi-colonization of Chinese society has greatly deepened (*Lishi I*, 2007).*

This account demonstrates that the Qing government was confident about fighting Japan since it “welcomed” Japanese provocation. On the contrary, it suffered a severe defeat and was subjected to severe loss. In 1900, the allied force of eight powers invaded China on the pretext of suppression of the Boxer “anti-imperialist patriotic movement”. The Eight-Power Allied Forces burned and looted in Beijing, and “the crimes were sinful” (*Lishi I*, p. 60).

While underlining the severe privations that Chinese people underwent, Chinese history textbooks condemn the foreign forces with moral emotions. This is often shown in Chinese diplomatic remarks. “Condemning” and highlighting “international morality” are often cited when China criticizes the others in the international arena. For example, the Foreign Ministry of People’s Republic of China condemned “some people in the US who cling to the Cold War and zero-sum game ideology is unreasonable and unethical.” (FMPRC, 2019-08-08)⁸ Also, FMPRC announced that “the US is not glory and not moral in suppressing Chinese companies,” “the US is unethical and unfair in its monitoring of Chinese students and scholars in the United States.” (FMPRC, 2019-09-06)⁹

Albeit Japan and the Western powers are equally foreign enemies to China, they have differences in Chinese history textbooks. Western powers are “strong and advanced”, and therefore Chinese “decided to learn from the West” (*Lishi II*, p. 69). The story of the Opium War was recounted in the textbook, including the details of the route of the British army and how the Qing army fought against the British. In the description of this aspect, the outstanding point is that the Chinese history textbook compares “the foreign guns and cannon” with “the Qing’s big blade and

⁸ Foreign Ministry of the People’s Republic of China. “2019年8月8日外交部发言人华春莹答记者问”. https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/fyrbt_673021/t1687293.shtml

⁹ Foreign Ministry of the People’s Republic of China. “2019年9月6日外交部发言人耿爽主持例行记者会”. https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/wjdt_674879/fyrbt_674889/t1695288.shtml

long spears” (*Lishi I*, p. 51), showing a huge technological gap between the two. Consequently, the backwardness in its technology resulted in the Qing defeat. As a result, “China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity were constantly being destroyed, and China began to become a semi-colonial and semi-feudal county from an independent feudal state” (*Lishi I*, p. 52). Several keywords are very familiar, which are “sovereignty and territorial integrity” and “independent” since they were frequently used by Chinese politicians. For instance, Xi Jinping emphasized that China would firmly defend national sovereignty, security, and territorial integrity in the speech of the 2012 China-ASEAN Free Trade Area Forum (People’s Daily, 2012-09-22). The term “sovereignty and territorial integrity” could be found thousands of times in People’s Daily said by Chinese politicians. This indicates that China regards it seriously and resolutely.

Xi Jinping said, safeguarding national sovereignty and territorial integrity and realizing the complete reunification of the motherland is the common aspirations of all Chinese people and the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation. In the face of this national justice and historical trend, all acts and tricks to split the motherland is doomed to fail and will be condemned by the people and punished by history! The Chinese people have a firm will, full confidence, and sufficient ability to thwart all activities that divide the country! The Chinese people and the Chinese nation have a common belief. This is: every inch of our great motherland

*can never and absolutely cannot be separated from China! (Xinhua net, 2018-03-20)*¹⁰

On the other hand, Japan committed “monstrous sins” (*Lishi I*, p. 75) such as the Nanjing Massacre, Panjiayu Tragedy, and the Army 731’s crime. According to the photographs in the history textbook, the Japanese are considered cruel and merciless since the Japanese soldier could hold an innocent Chinese person’s head laughing and step on a number of dead bodies. Moreover, Japan left thousands of deadly chemical weapons in China, and in 2003 more than forty people were poisoned by them. The victims complained of headaches, eye pain, vomiting, and weapons caused one of the innocent citizens to die eventually. The chemical weapons remain in Chinese land and already led to approximately two-thousand citizens to death.

Second, there are also domestic enemies, such as the feudal class and the later Kuomintang bureaucratic bourgeois. The feudal Qing’s ignorance of the outer world made China get invaded by the Western powers and Japan, and its corruption escalated the conflict between the peasants, landlords, and bureaucrats. Because of the feudal Qing’s incompetence, China fell behind on the trend of international development. After the Qing government had collapsed, there came a new class

¹⁰王萌萌. “习近平：我们伟大祖国的每一寸领土都绝对不能也绝对不可能从中国分割出去”. http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/2018lh/2018-03/20/c_1122563203.htm

contradiction. Mao Zedong pointed out that since China completed the democratic revolution, China needed to move on to the “new democratic revolution” to end the humiliation. The main goal of the new democratic revolution is to solve the contradiction between the bourgeois and the proletarian. This illuminates that in the “new period”, bourgeois became the new enemy.

Third, economically, Chinese history textbooks also reasoning the invaded history from Marxist historical materialism. The capitalistic out-put caused by the Western Industrial Revolution and incompetent self-sufficient natural economy of China are perceived as the fundamental and essential abominable objects. The reason why the British started the war was that “it needed to expand the market and plunder the raw materials” (*Lishi I*, p. 50). The textbook demonstrates that “self-sufficient natural economy could not defeat capitalistic out-put” (*Lishi I*, p. 50). Also, it was imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism brutally squeezed Chinese national capitalism. The Western powers’ constant economic invasion, the Qing’s self-sufficient natural economy, and some corrupted bureaucratic class’ monopoly in the national economy made Chinese national capitalism go down on a sinuous path. During World War I, when imperialist powers were busy with their wars, China was able to develop its capitalist economy. Yet, Western powers returned to China after WWI, and Chinese national industries were rapidly declining. Also, after the second Sino-Japanese war, in the enemy-occupied area, Chinese national companies were either destroyed or annexed by Japan. In the KMT-controlled areas, the

National Government strengthened overall control over the economy. This was due to the need for the war against Japan, after all, the KMT bureaucratic class utilized it to control the economic lifeline and crushed the national enterprises, thus causing the bureaucratic capital to expand and the national capital to shrink.

IV. Analysis of National Identities in the 19th to the 20th Century

It was after the 19th century both Korea and China started to have an interaction with the Western countries. China's big gate was opened by the British artillery in 1840 and Joseon opened the gate in 1876 by signing the *Ganghwado Treaty* with Japan. Chinese Empire collapsed and new international relations came into the Northeast Asia region. Decomposing history textbooks to analyze national identity reflecting in textbooks would assist us to find what South Korean and Chinese perceptions have towards the history of the 19th to the 20th century.

1. Commonalities of South Korean and Chinese National Identities

As for the structure of history textbooks, both *Guksa* and *Lishi* have the same composition. They divided history into politics, economy and society/ideology. Therefore, people in South Korea and China tend to take shape of distinct identities in politics, economy and society/ideology rather than chronical identities regarding the very history.

There are some common characteristics found in their history textbooks. Firstly, they both opened the ports in the 19th century, and both were responders of the foreign impact, and they had experienced difficult times because of the foreign powers. They deprived of sovereignty and both countries have lost their autonomy. Secondly, facing the myriads of changes in international relations, different groups

debated whether they should adopt Western civilization or not. In China, civilized and patriotic officials claimed that they should open their eyes to learn the outside world and their technologies, on the contrary, so-called “benighted officials” still stay on their “all under the heaven” mindset and refused to give up their Chinese and Confucius culture. Meanwhile in Korea, the gaehwa (enlightening) group urged Joseon to modernize and absorb the foreign civilization. On the other hand, Confucian scholars (conservative) group asserted that they should “protect the right and repel the evil.” The right means the Confucius culture and the evil signifies Western civilization. All in all, both Chinese and Koreans had a heated debate on emulating the Western which was very distinguished to the Confucianism or not.

Economically, people were suffering from a heavy tax burden and economic invasion by foreign powers frustrated the economic development process. People at that time could only live bleak days. In Korea, economic distortion had happened due to Imperialist Japan’s colonial rule, which was only for their own interests and extorted Korean resources. Also, in China, there was constant capital-output by the Western powers. Many foreign countries came to China and established factories; therefore, the Chinese national capitalism was stifled. In a word, both textbooks express economic hardship during the period because of the foreign capitalistic expansion.

Last but not least, society had undergone tremendous changes. South Korean history textbook enumerates a series of changes in clothing, food, housing, and

transportation. The scenery of cities and farms transformed to be modern and civilized, less discrimination towards the ordinary other than *yangban*. The influence of the status system during the Joseon dynasty was deeply rooted, but the society was gradually liberated from the status ideology. Equality and equity started to be stressed out. China, on the other hand, as adopting the Western civilization, officials especially began to emancipate from the “all under the heaven” thought. Interestingly, the Chinese history textbook regards these officials as civilized and calls those who stuck to “all under the heaven” to be ignorant and benighted. At any rate, dramatic social and ideological disembarassment was dealt to educate senior high school students in South Korea and China.

2. Differences between South Korean and Chinese National Identities

Regardless of similarities of the construction of national identities of history textbooks both in South Korea and China, the study captures several keywords from the prefaces of each chapter, and it is detectable that South Korea and China have a different identity-making process. Prefaces capsule Chapters’ contents, and thus compare their prefaces is meaningful in sorting out their different perceptions towards the 19th to the 20th century.

Korean History Textbook (<i>Guksa</i> , 2010)	Chinese History Textbooks (<i>Lishi</i> , 2007)	Differences
Self-definition		

Our ethnicity(민족), our country, Korean people	Chinese people(人民), China	The first person vs The third person
Modernization		
Opened its doors to imperialist powers	China's door was forced to open	Active
Made an effort to modernization but failed	Struggled in the cracks of cruel extrusion	Passive
Found a way to the independent modernization by taking new economic policies and adopting the Western civilization	Destroyed the burgeoning capitalism and involved China in the world capitalist market	
Failing Reasons		
Without fully developing modern elements, the Imperialist powers came	Qing's heyday was an afterglow of the setting and soon faded	External vs External &
The colonial reality distorted modernization	For the semi-colonial and semi-feudal China, the road to industrial salvation is simply not feasible.	Internal
Antagonists		
Coercive colonial rule by Imperialist Japan	Series of wars of aggression against China	Japan, Qing vs
Imperialist Japan	Western powers	Western Powers
Description of Victory		
Struggle of our people and the victory of Allied forces	Finally realized the great victory of Anti-Japanese War	Dry liberation vs Vivid victory

Incessant resistance	Unyielding, going forward, heroic resistance	
Suffered from the pain	Suffered from a cruel blow	
Social Impact		
Social reform	Ideological emancipation	Lifestyle changes
Abolishment of hierarchical status and increase of the awareness of equality	Woke up from the dream of “all under the heaven”	vs Ideological emancipation
Independent Movements and modernization efforts	Emancipation Trend of learning from the West and seeking ways to strengthen the country	

Table 3.3 *Gukas* and *Lishi*'s Keywords in Prefaces

Subjects as “our” prevail in the Korean history textbook, yet this word does not appear in Chinese history textbooks. The Korean history textbook constantly mixes “our ethnicity(민족)” and “our people(국민)” as the subject of the “Korean,” yet there is only “China/Chinese” in Chinese history textbooks. This indicates that Korea puts an emphasis on anthropological identity as one nation and differentiate ego and others. On the meanwhile, due to divergent of minorities in China, Chinese history textbook does not mention “our ethnicity” instead of “Chinese people”. This is because China narrates history according to the theory of the “unified multi-ethnic state” (Kim Jongbak, 2011). Chinese concern in its history textbook from this point of view is more domestic issues. However, Korea as a nation with one ethnicity compares a lot to China as a multiethnic state. China’s most concern was to combine

all of the minorities and let them be less marginalized. Hence, emphasizing “China” could be objective but more subjective of understanding what is China. “China” in Chinese history textbooks include all 54 minorities, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao. “We” and “us” for Chinese could be sensitive since a large number of Chinese people are the Han nationality.

Korea was an active actor in the modernization and enlightening process, rather China reacted passively to the modernization. The Korean history textbook states that Joseon’s efforts to political and social reforms abstracts that nothing it could do due to great power rivalries. The Korean history textbook portrays the Joseon government positively, but it felt helpless because it was at the end of her resources to protect the Korean national interests and its sovereignty. Korean history textbook censures the foreign powers, but Chinese history textbook finds fault with internal issues—the late Qing—as well. China regards the late Qing officials as incompetent and ignorant, and since those feudalists were corrupted and stuck in mind, they undermined Chinese interests. The distortion of Chinese modernization path was not only due to external factors but also because of internal elements. Therefore, China eagers to get rid of domestic issues that hinder its development and stability.

The main threat perception portrayed in Korean history textbook is Japan, on the other hand, China considers the Western powers are main threat objects, and Japan is only one of those. For example, in *Lishi I*, the preface says, “the Western powers’ aggression against China including the second Opium War, Sino-Japanese

War, Eight-Allied Forces War imposed great disaster to Chinese people.” Here the listing of several wars by the Westerns contains Japan. Therefore, Japan is not a mere and only threat to the Chinese, but the whole Western and imperialist countries. Although both countries were oppressed by foreign powers, China regards “western powers” as main enemies, including Japan. Therefore, China has a nerve on Korea-US alliance, since it views the United States as a hegemonic country, with whom had no good historical memory. Yet, Korea considers “Imperialist Japan” as the main antagonist. The whole textbook covers the Korean-Japan relationship and rarely talks about other relationships such as the Sino-Korean relationship, Korea-Russia relationship, US-Korea relationship and so on. Also, Korea’s other foe is the Qing, who has interfered with the Joseon’s domestic affairs and has an economic invasion to Joseon. Two factors are intertwined with each other to give distinguished perceptions towards themselves.

Korean history textbook describes less on Korean victory over Japanese colonial rule, rather China puts more ink on their glorious triumph over the Western countries. Chinese history textbook is more vivid, energetic, and emotional to use several adjectives such as unyielding, going forward, and heroic instead of mere “incessant resistance” showing in the Korean history textbook. Therefore, Chinese textbooks convey more confidence towards the students, on the contrary, Korea lacks that confidence compared to China. In the same context, Chinese history textbooks picture history more graphically since they adopt the word “cruel blow” rather than

mere “pain” in the Korean history textbook. This reveals the huge contrast between the ruthless hardship and proud victory and presents self-dignity and self-pride. However, the Korean history textbook does not appeal to that great victory over liberation.

Other than the above differences discovered in the prefaces, there are more distinguishes in the text structure. First, Korean history textbook view issues from the perspective of international relations, while Chinese textbooks are limited to the current Chinese territory and are no mention of the problems that have occurred outside China. For example, the *Shimonoseki Treaty* was regarded as an important watershed in Korea since it allowed Joseon to be an independent state from the Qing government. The first Article of *Shimonoseki Treaty* writes that “Qing recognizes definitively the full and complete independence and the autonomy of Joseon” (translated by the author), which made Joseon out of Qing’s control and allowed to control Joseon much more easily. However, even though the first Article has been deemed crucially, the Chinese History Textbook never covers this part. In Lesson 12 of *Lishi I* (p. 59), contents of the *Shimonoseki Treaty* were excluded the Article I. Therefore, no Chinese shall know that the treaty is related to Korea except for studying it particularly. Also, deleting the first Article gives the image of Japanese intention specifically towards China, which could easily make Korea neglected.

Second, although there is a faction in the government, the Korean history textbook does not provide value-judgement regarding the debate between the

Progressive School and the Conservative School. The discussion is dealt with in detail, and it is still controversial in Korea. Yet, China's trend of ideology is staying in one line and is "deepening and growing," which provides a valuable point that the feudalist officials were bad for social development. This narration is based on the Marxist historical materialism point of view. China's emphasis on elites and their development of political theories can legitimate the latest leader in China.

Third, apparently, compared to Korea, China does not recognize Japan as the only target, but also needs to fight against the other "imperialist powers" and "the bourgeois." Korean important historical event was the 3.1 Movement seeking independence against Imperialist Japan. Contrary, Chinese vital issue goes to the Long March of the Red Army in 1933. National Movements, the foundation of the Provisional Government of Korea was all motivated and driven by the 3.1 Movement. It was soon spread nationwide and internationally. The core element of history is to struggle against Imperialist Japan during the 20th century. However, China after the Long March began the new revolutionary situation. Chinese history is a history of the revolution and comprehending the "revolutionary history" matters (Niu Jun, 2013). Therefore, China had two revolutions during the 19th to the 20th century, which were the democratic revolution and the new democratic revolution. The former is to fight against imperialist powers and feudalism, and the latter aims at the bourgeois. The latter "scientific term was creatively coined" by Mao Zedong (*Lishi III*, 2010, p. 83), and he explains the terminology in his book *The Doctrine of New*

Democracy (1940). The main difference between the former and the latter is that the former was the struggle between the feudal class and the democratic class, yet the latter was the confrontation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Mao believes that only after winning the latter revolution does China accomplish the revolutionary cause.

The victory of the new-democratic revolution (victory of the Liberation War) ended the Chinese Centennial History of Humiliation, which changed world politics, and enlarged world peace, democracy and, socialist powers. It encouraged the morale of the world's oppressed nation and the people's liberation struggle. Also, it is the success of the Marxism in China, and the triumph of Mao Zedong Thought combined with the universal principle of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution (Lishi I, 2010, p. 80 – p. 81).

Last but not least, Korean history textbook covers social changes and several groups' movements to the modernization and independence during that period. Also Korean textbook pays much attention to equality to every single individual. Instead, Chinese history textbooks highlight the ideological emancipation and the importance of the leader's correct and advanced theory, which could lead the nation. This implies that Korea attaches importance to the civil society and equal awareness, on the contrary, China lays stress on elites and meritocratic social structure.

3. Different Textbook Discourses of Two Countries

Several different discourses are found in two countries' history textbooks. First of all, South Korean history textbook has “Shrimp bursts in whale flight discourse”¹¹ and China has “weak countries have no diplomacy discourse”¹².

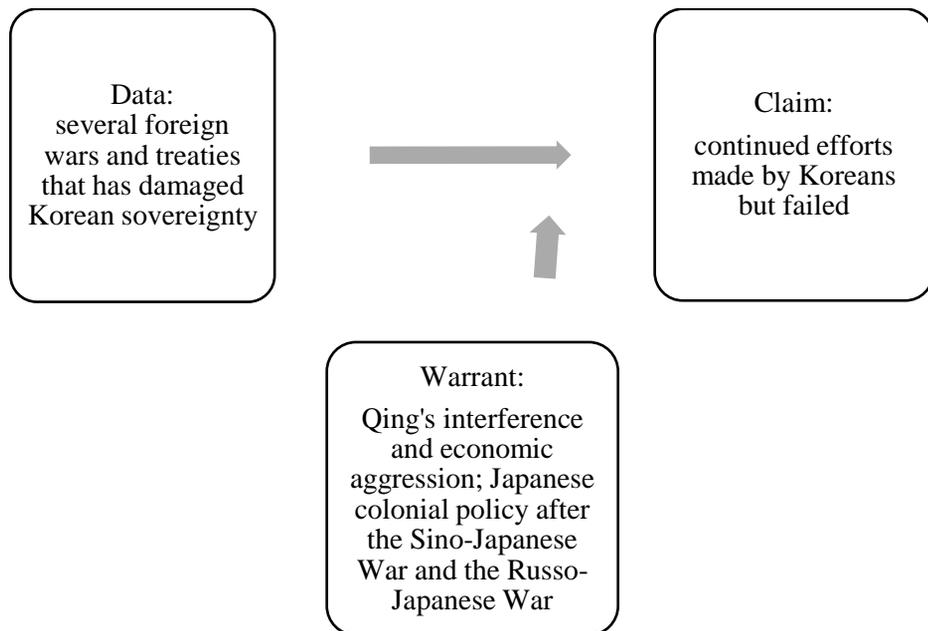


Table 4.1 Argumentation analysis of “shrimp bursts in whale flight discourse”

¹¹ “고래 싸움에 새우 등 터진다” is a famous Korean adage and is often cited in terms of diplomatic relations with others.

¹² “弱国无外交” is a prevailing understanding of Chinese diplomacy.

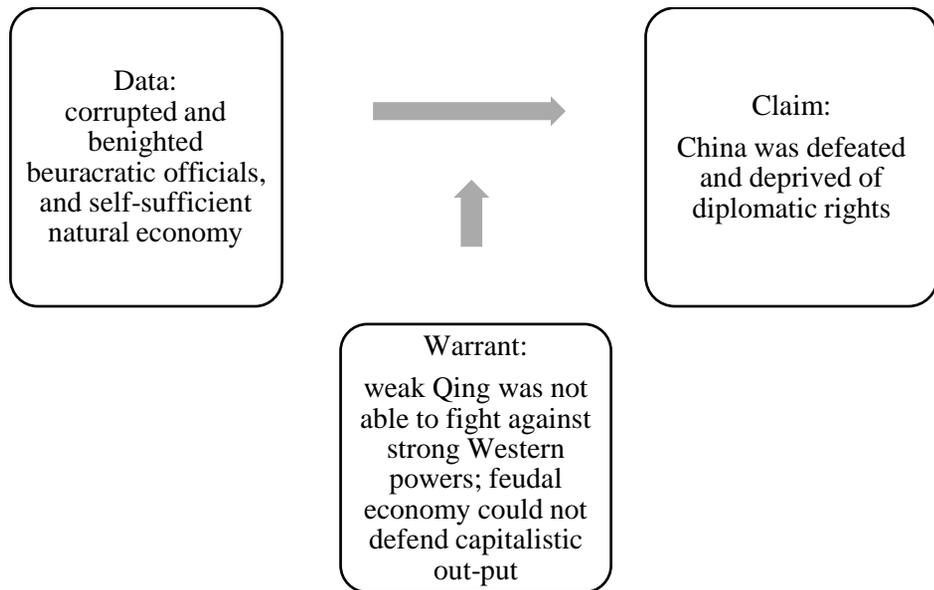


Table 4.2 Argumentation analysis of “weak countries have no diplomacy discourse”

Two discourses are detected in South Korean and Chinese history textbook respectively. China has a humiliating history because of its weakness and incompetence; therefore, it has been trying its best to be strong for not repeating the same history. China wants to realize the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, and it repeatedly states that it will rise peacefully. However, it is misconstrued by Koreans since it has an unequal relationship with past China—the Qing dynasty. Also, the fact that Korea was tortured for a century due to great power competitions made Korean people hypersensitive about China’s rise and its rivalry against the United States. The term that “Shrimp bursts in whale fight” has been frequently cited

in the newspaper, especially during the THAAD issue¹³ and the China-US trade war¹⁴.

¹³ China had implemented economic retaliation against Korea since the Korean government agreed on THAAD deployment. Yet, it was the United States that required the arrangement for the sake of protecting the US army and Korean citizens in the Korean peninsula.
<https://www.mk.co.kr/news/politics/view/2017/06/368656/>

¹⁴ “What if the Korean government immediately accepts the US demand to cope with China’s intellectual property infringement in order to get a steel tariff exemption from the US? It is likely that you will be retaliated right away from China.” (Prof. Choi, Ewha Woman’s University)

The citation is from Jeon Seong-pil, “[US-China trade war] shrimp bursts on whale fight... “Concerned about falling into Korea’s dilemma.”
http://biz.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2018/03/23/2018032302365.html

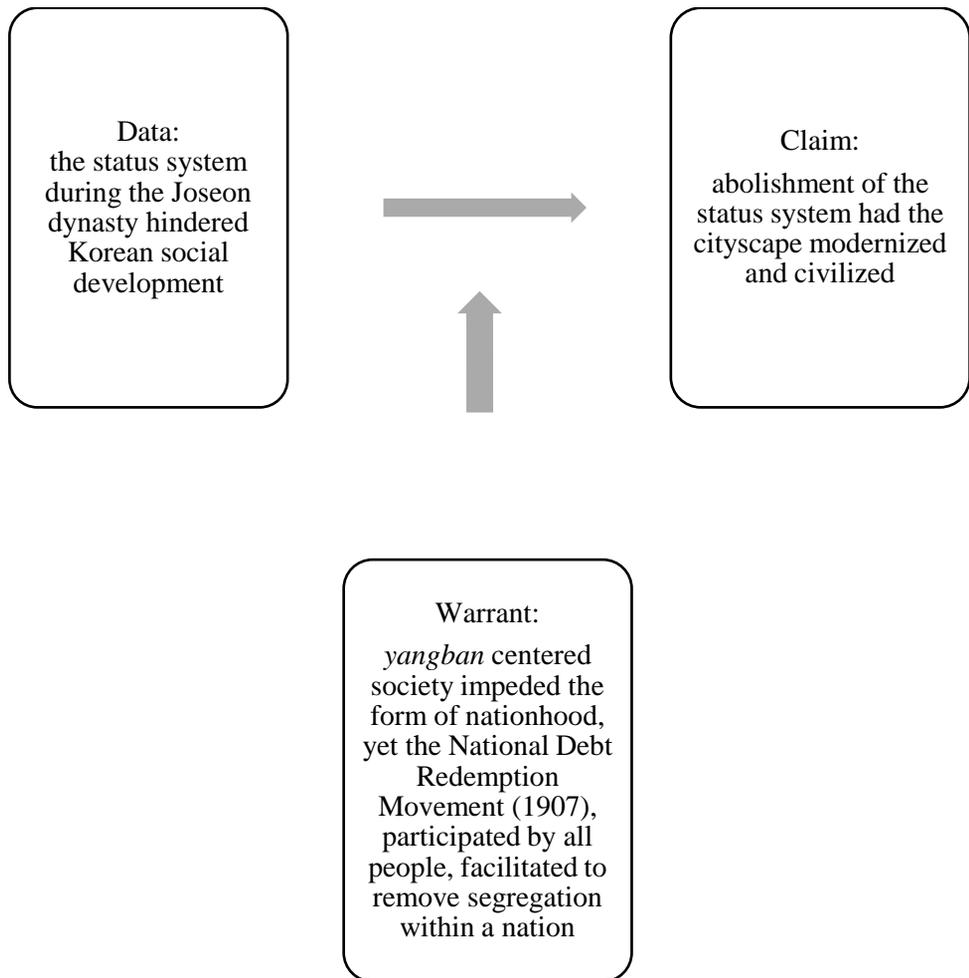


Table 4.3 Argumentation analysis of “egalitarianism discourse”

Moreover, the egalitarianism discourse versus elitism discourse developed huge perception gap between South Korea and China. Chinese history textbooks educate students about the importance of elites. If leaders had wrong minds and incorrect directions, the nation would be devastated, and vice versa. Consequently, laying

stress on successive leader's thoughts such as Jiang Zemin's "Three representatives" though, Hu Jintao's "Scientific Development Concept", and Xi Jinping's thought on "Socialism with Chinese Characteristics in New Ear" is out of Chinese elitism national identity. Yet, this contradicts with South Korean egalitarianism. Not only the leader groups but also all walks of people could play an influential role in social movements. Therefore, emphasizing the elite only could be understood as authoritarian and unequal, which obstructs political, economic and social progress.

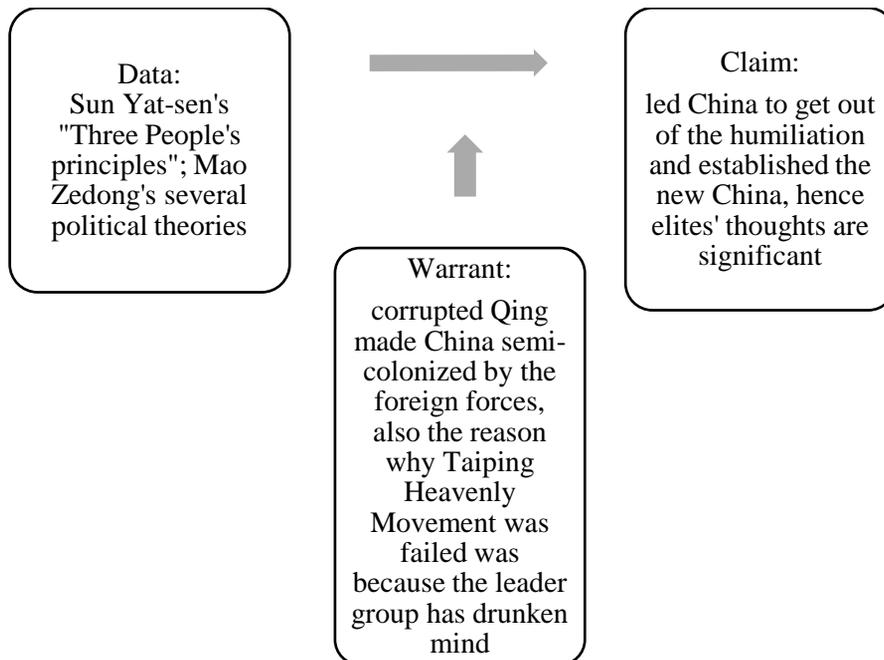


Table 4.4 Argumentation analysis of "elitism discourse"¹⁵

¹⁵ Three People's principle(三民主义) includes nationalism(民族主义), people's rights(民

As we can see above contrast discourses in two countries' history textbooks, it is more visible that why they have different perceptions towards the 19th to the 20th century even though both of them have experienced a similar grieved history. Different national identity constructing process made two countries have tremendous different consciousness, and based on these national identities, two countries could hardly develop a regional identity towards East Asia, and also made the regional cooperation harder.

权), and people's lives(民生). Nationalism suggests to have an independent nation-state. the principle of people's rights argues that people to become an emperor and establish a republic country, last but not least, the concept of people's lives signifies to equalize the landownership.

Mao Zedong had published several books regarding wars and ways to build a country. For example, he published *On Protracted War* (1938), *The Theory of New Democracy* (1940), *On Coalition Government* (1945), and so on. Mao's New Democracy Theory is a unique ideology to China, and it illustrates Chinese society's blueprints. Around the end of the Anti-Japanese War, Mao's exposition on the Chinese revolution has formed a relatively complete theoretical framework. Also, at the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party in 1945, Mao Zedong's Thought was established as the Party's guiding ideology. The word "Mao Zedong's Thought" was first used in 1943's article of "The Road of the Chinese Communist Party and the National Liberation of China".

V. Conclusion

1. Summaries

In this study, the thesis examined the representation of various national identities in history textbooks. For the South Korean history textbook, the study adopted the seventh curriculum government-designated textbook used from 2002 to 2010, called *guksa*. As for the Chinese history textbook, the author chose People's Education Press' government-authorized textbook used after 2007 until now, called *Lishi I, II, III*. The thesis is based on banality as an everyday practice for the theoretical framework and utilized ethnomethodology, which explores the connections between the use of language and the social and political contexts in which it occurs. As the study offers evidence that the textbooks and the government have a close relationship, examining the history textbook of *Guksa* and *Lishi* could help us to understand what political discourse and what national identity constructing process presented in the textbooks are.

The research proposes the definition of national identity as a constant construction of the division between you and me, mainly by answering who we are and who our enemies are to confine self-identification and form threat perception towards others. Therefore, the article categorizes self-identification and threat objects describe in senior high school history textbooks. This analysis found out that there are several commonalities but a lot of differences in national identity.

The South Korean history textbook, *Guksa*, emphasizes “we” and “us” to make Korean one. “we” and “Koreans” indicate the people who lived in the Korean peninsula, and such words are especially highlighted when “we” were attacked by the foreign powers. Also, several characteristics were found in the Korean senior high school history textbook. Firstly, Korean proactively gave impetus to modernization, but failed in the end because of the foreign powers’ interference. Secondly, a strong victim perception is conveyed in the Korean history textbook. Thirdly, while emphasizing the unity of one nation, divisions happened all the time. Fourthly, the Korean history textbook stresses every group, whether young, old, female or ordinary people. This description embodies the idea that the textbook underlines all individuals are one nation.

Besides, three threat objects were noticed in the South Korean history textbook. First, the Qing’s constant intervention, economic invasion, as well as a tribute relationship with it implies the negative perception towards China. Second, Japan’s deprivation of Korean sovereignty and its colonial rule abused Korean resources for their own and denied the Korean identity. These made Japan an unforgiven enemy of the Korean people. Third, the status system prevailed in previous Korea impeded the unified identity among the Korean nation, and the textbook suggests that the freedom finally arrived in Korea after putting an end to the status system. This illustrates again that the Korean history textbook thinks highly of the “unification of national identity.”

Chinese history textbooks, *Lishi*, conveys contradict self-perception of themselves. The textbooks attach importance to patriotic enlightened officials and leaders' political thoughts. Chinese textbook pays more attention to elites rather than the discourse occurred from the 19th to the 20th century. Also, Chinese history textbook describes the history from the Marxist materialistic point of view. Therefore, there is a negative perception towards feudalism, and the positive identification of Chinese bourgeois before the Republic of China was established to turn over the Qing dynasty. Later on, Chinese bourgeois became a defeated object and Chinese proletariats needed to wage the "new-democratic revolution" according to the Mao theory. Nevertheless, all Chinese people were victims of the Western powers and they had a hard time due to the invasion and plunder by these powers.

Two categories could be made for Chinese threat objects during the 19th to the 20th century of humiliation. On the one hand, threat objects come from abroad. British, who destroyed Chinese sovereignty and territorial integrity made Chinese people extremely sensitive about these since China before the Opium War thought to be a central great power in the world. However, the first ignominious treaty made Chinese self-esteem lost. Although imperialist countries invaded Chinese territory, hindered the development of the Chinese economy and culture, China had learned from them to be prosperous and flourishing. Yet, Japan is merely an inhuman invader to China according to Chinese history textbooks. This made the difference between the Western powers and Japan. On the other hand, domestic enemies hampered China's development. It was fatuous and corrupted officials along with bureaucratic

capitalists that made China fragile and crump, and as a result, China was easily assaulted by the foreign powers.

Both countries' history textbooks reflect victim awareness after opening the ports, and there are common national identities in politics, economy, and society mirrored in two countries' history textbooks. Then what makes two countries have different perception towards the 19th to the 20th century, and why these countries are having a hard time smooth talking and cooperating? The research found out four contradict discourses. First are the "shrimp bursts in whale flight" discourse and the "weak countries have no diplomacy" discourse. As a result, being powerful and strong is the defense strategy for the Chinese nation not to be assaulted by foreign powers again. However, great power rivalry had made Korea had a cruel history during the 19th to the 20th century, therefore paying much attention to the ever-changing international relations is the historical lesson from the past. This signifies that Korea is highly using their nerves about recent US-China competition. Second are the "egalitarianism" discourse and the "elitism" discourse present on the South Korean history textbook and Chinese history textbooks. Stressing civil society participation and the meritocracy society are contradicting to each other, therefore both South Korea and China could hardly understand the prevailing social sentiments and their national identity. In consequence, this thesis argues that due to the large perception gap between two countries appeared in their high school history textbooks, there are lots of misunderstandings and misjudgments of each other's behavior and speeches.

2. Policy Recommendations

The thesis provides several suggestions on the history textbook compilation. First, from the historical perspective, the strongest point of view as an alternative to nationalism was “East Asia” discourse. When speaking of “East Asia,” domestic and international academia have always mentioned Ahn Jung-geun, Sun Yat-sen and Fukuzawa Yukichi (Ha Saebong, 2014). Ahn’s *On Peace in East Asia* writes his plan for building peace in the region, his yearning for the stability and prosperity in Korea, China, and Japan. Also, Sun Yat-sen’s speech on Pan-Asianism voices that “only by the unification of all the peoples in Asia on the foundation of benevolence and virtue can they become strong and powerful.” Therefore, adding and highlighting these people’s efforts for the East Asian cooperation would assist to construct regional identity and alleviate hatred perceptions towards others.

Second, it is highly recommended to write the history textbook in international relations point of view. Flagging the ‘nation’ is important to make a constant national identity in a nation. However, as we have seen in diplomatic relations in East Asia, nationalism has been a hurdle not to mention of the cooperation, but also the conversation as well. Simultaneously flagging the ‘nation’ and ‘East Asia’ could promote to take shape of regional identity in East Asia. China’s forgetting of Joseon’s history and Joseon’s threat perception towards Qing made two countries have unsymmetrical perceptions.

Third, it is important to demonstrate the history in the historical context. Looking at historical issues from the current point of view easily leads to a misunderstanding of history. For example, the concept of equality and sovereignty is the modern concept that was imported from Europe. Previous East Asia was operated by the rule of hierarchy, which is different from the European balance of power. Regional discipline was regulated by Hua Yi order¹⁶, and there were conspicuous fewer wars than Europe in ancient times. Also, the tribute system in the previous era was able to legitimate Joseon's royal authority and was able to absorb advanced technologies and commodities through the Silk Road. Therefore, unilaterally criticizing that the tribute system was unequal is not dealing with the past in a historical context. Moreover, people during the Joseon dynasty perceived themselves as small China (小中华) and were very much proud of themselves being a Confucian society. Consequently, if history textbooks illustrate history from the present perspective would mislead young students and bar the construction of regional identity for easier cooperation in the region.

Fourth, international conferences among East Asian countries should be held regularly to further comprehend the 'nation' concept. China, Korea, and Japan have a similar language base. Minzok(민족), minzu(民族) and mizoku are all originated from Chinese character. There are bunches of terms such as people, country,

¹⁶ Huayizhixu (华夷秩序), Hua means China and Yi presents other small states. The fundamental ideology of this order is "all under the heaven" and Confucianism.

ethnicity, race and so on are writing in the same language base, yet they have different interpretations, which easily made false apprehension of terminology. For example, translation of national identity in Korean is *gukga* (country, state) identity, on the other hand, the Chinese translation version is *minzu* (ethnicity) identity. Also, given that not all students could differentiate nation(*minzok*) with ethnicity(*minzok*)¹⁷, redefining or promulgating the definition is of significance.

3. Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

The thesis aims to decompose political discourse of national identity shown in the history textbooks in South Korea and China. The independent variable is language in the textbook and the dependent variable is the national identity in history textbook regarding the 19th to the 20th century's invasion and humiliation history. In analyzing process there are several limitations as below.

First, two textbooks have different adopting time in South Korea and China. *Guksa* was adopted from 2002 to 2010, yet Chinese students have been educated by *Lishi* from 2007 until now. Therefore, further research on *Hanguksa* revised curriculum after 2010 and *Lishi* before 2007 is also needed to fully understand the changing discourse of national identity both in China and South Korea.

¹⁷ As we can see, a nation could be translated into country or ethnicity at the same time. Therefore, grasping the full context is important when reading Chinese and Korean language.

Second, the research focuses on corresponding administration or the party's understanding of the 19th to the 20th century history. However, how did these textbooks influence the students are not assured. Hence, further research on the ordinary people's national identity is required, and if their national identities are correspondent with the history textbooks is also ought to be confirmed to strengthen the assumption that the history textbook plays a significant role on national identity construction, and therefore assisting to architect supra-national identity in East Asia to facilitate regional cooperation. This study demands large scale of population and quantitative methodology to convince the audience.

Third, the thesis does not take in-class interaction into account. Debates among students within the class, teacher's teaching method, teacher's political identity are important factors as well. Consequently, further research on this subject is also recommended.

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국문초록

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이 논문은 19 세기에서 20 세기의 한국과 중국의 역사적 인식 격차를 찾는 것을 목표로 한다. 한국과 중국이 비슷한 침략 역사를 경험한 반면에, 두 나라는 이 시기 및 서로에 대한 각기 다른 인식을 가지고 있다. 한국은 여전히 중국을 제국주의와 연관시키지만, 중국은 제국주의적 요소는 청나라의 붕괴와 함께 그 요소가 이미 제거되었다고 믿으며, 또한 제국주의는 서양 국가에 적용된다고 믿는다. 마이클 빌링 (Michael Billing), 존이 폭스 (Jon E. Fox) 및 밀러-아이리스 (Miiller-Idriss)와 같은 많은 학자들은 국가 정체성이 명백하고 알기 쉽다고 주장한다. 더불어 역사 교육은 개인의 국가 정체성을 구축하는 데 중요한 요소임에 따라 이 연구는 양국의 고등학교 역사 교과서를 면밀히 조사하여 교과서 담론에 반영되고 생성된 국가 정체성을 밝히고자 한다. 이 논문은 역사 교과서가 국민의 국가 정체성을 어떻게 구축했는지를 연구하는 것이 아니라, 고등학교의 역사 교과서에서 두 정부의 국가 정체성이 어떻게 반영 되었는지 살펴보고자 한다. 양국 간의 오해와 인식 격차를 밝히는

것은 양국의 대화를 촉진하고 협력을 촉진시키는 것으로, 본 연구는 그 중요성을 띄고 있다.

역사 교과서에 나타난 한국의 국가 정체성은 능동적으로 현대화를 도모했지만, 국제 세력 간의 싸움에 의해 항상 실패했다, 즉 국내의 현대화 실패의 원인을 대국간의 세력 싸움으로 귀결하여 “고래 싸움에 새우 등 터진다”라는 담론을 담고 있다. 또한, 이에 대해 한국(조선)에서는 끊임없는 논쟁과 분열이 있지만 젊은이, 노인, 여성 또는 일반인이 평등주의를 강조하여 “우리가” “한 민족”임을 강조한다. 한국은 청나라, 제국주의 일본, 조선의 신분체제를 위협 대상으로 보고 있으며, 이러한 자신과 타자에 대한 정의가 한국의 국가 정체성을 시각화 한다. 다른 한편으로 중국은 마르크스주의 유물론으로 세계를 바라보며, 봉건주의자들이 국가의 발전에 방해가 되었다고 주장한다. 쑨원이 중화민국을 설립한 후, 마오쩌둥은 “신 민주주의 혁명” 이론을 내세우며, 이제는 부르주아와 맞서 사회주의 국가를 건설해야 한다고 혁명을 일으킨다. 중국의 국내적 세력 다툼에도 불구하고, 중국의 역사 교과서는 그들은 모두 서양 제국주의 세력의 피해자이며, 그들의 약탈로 인한 어려움을 자세히 상술한다.

이 논문은 한중간의 모순된 역사적 담론을 밝히고자 한다. 먼저 한국의 “고래 싸움에서 새우 등 터진다” 담론과 중국의 “약한 국가에는 외교가 없다” 라는 담론이 그것이다. 그 다음으로는 한국의 “평등주의” 담론과 중국의 “엘리트주의” 담론이다. 서로 다른 역사적 이해와 국가 정체성이 서로에 대한 오해와 불신을 쌓고 있으며, 결론적으로 본 논문은 이렇게 형성된 국가 정체성으로 인해 한중간의 오해가 쌓이고, 대화가 어려우며, 나아가 협력의 진척이 없다고 주장하는 바이다.

주제어: 국가 정체성, 역사 교과서, 언어사용, 중국, 한국

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