**Social Works and popular rule in Imperial Japan and Colonial Korea: The Paradox of "relief" and "Public Order"**

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This research analyzes and examines the development of social works in Imperial Japan within the process of colonial rule in Korea. Analysis will focus on Imperial Japan and Colonial Korea from the period of the end of the Russo-Japanese War until the Taisho Period. From the beginning of colonial control by the Japanese, relief works ostensibly for the assistance of the poor was established as one of the cornerstones of good governance. Through the elucidation of the complementary relationship that exists between the seemingly oppositional practices of social works and colonial rule, this research was able to make clear the points that connect "relief" and "public order".

First, in Chapter 1, after touching on the research points described above, the discussion pertaining to the thinking behind Japanese relief after the Russo-Japanese War is examined. It was seen that in Japan there was a tendency toward a unique stage known as "reform and relief" that existed between "charity" and "social works". This "reform and relief" was used by Tomoichi Inoue and other bureaucrats to "foster independent and good citizens". The relief model demanded was not that of individual human rights, nor was it one-sided benevolence from above. Rather it was established as "mercy and reform as duty". Simultaneously it was confirmed that it is possible that this kind of Japanese social works prototype was not simply formed within the confines of the closed internal space of Japan, rather it may have been created as part of the expansion of the Japanese Empire and the later development of colonial rule.
Chapter 2 examines the development of relief works in Korea under the colonial rule in the 1910's. In addition to the "merger" with Korea, large amounts of "relief" were made available through special grants from the Emperor. These grants were mainly targeted at rural Yangban scholars, beginning an experiment to change the culture of the Korean people through vocational works. From the viewpoint of governance, these grant-based projects had prior to their economic effect a symbolic and rhetorical significance as the money was a gift of the Emperor. Within the material administration of, "proper and good customs" that began with Korean family centrisn was encouraged, and reasons were given to justify public aid restrictions and absences. At the same time, however, old traditions such as family centrisn became the root of vice among the Korean people, and they became the subjects of "ethnic customs reform". It was clear that the effects of governance were not reaching the rural areas that rejected "Imperial gifts" and the Koreans who did not express their "thankfulness for good rule". In the third section, through the conditions of the now vagrant generation of Korean youths, as well as the attention and control of the administration in response to these youths, it was shown that relief works under the bof colonial rule had an opportunity to create for itself the intended subject of public order measures.

Chapter 3 argues the establishment process of the social works administration from 'poverty relief' to 'against poverty'. This is seen from the viewpoint of relocation and diversion from the country's interior. First, through the surfacing of Korea-specific "societal problems" and the process to prepare for these the reform of the social works administration, various critical remarks dealing with poverty and social works are examined. For example, the Colonial Government once stated, "the poverty line in Korea is far different from the poverty line in the interior"- which is to say that the social conditions in Korea were still that of a "bartering economy". This statement expresses the dilemma that Korea's present level was not yet in the range of poverty prevention. In the end, through the transfer of "Occidental" internal social works, these kinds of societal conditions in Korea forced a shift toward educational works that made use of Korea's family system and ancient Korea's regional self governance system. For example, by revising the traditional Korean hyang'yak, agreement for self-autonomy, many temperance unions, revitalization society, and other regional reform organizations were created. In the beginning of the 1920s, the connection between social works and regional improvement movements was established as a way to build a structural base by which Koreans may in the end bear the burden for societal education activities.

Chapter 4 concentrates on social works carried out by the police following the 3.1 Independence Movement, and paints a picture of the process by which the consciousness of public order managers begins to connect within the back-and-forth between the interior and Korea. At the center of this research is Shigeru Matsui, who sought out the relationship between the people and the police from an early date, and Tsurukichi Maruyama, the public order manager in Korea in the early 1920's. Matsui and Maruyama carried out direct-contact investigations into poverty, and symbolically represented a new kind of police bureaucrat for the time; one that managed the
everyday lives of the population in order to protect against any form of deviation. As these two men experienced Colonial Korea they formulated a structure between the police and the populace. However, the "administrative police" and "civilian police" concepts that Matsui and Maruyama were investigating were to the military police stationed near the border mere wishful thinking. The "colony" and "administrative police" are from the beginning a combination that does not go together well, and first becomes possible by thoroughly dividing "violence" and "good citizenship". The social works devised and practiced by the police were "positive images" solely intended to curb and eliminate "violence". Also, during the Great Kanto Earthquake and the public order countermeasures toward Koreans that followed, selections among Koreans became clearer and the partitioned rule that simultaneously gave rise to "subjects of relief works" and the "objects of public order countermeasures" was further advanced.

Through the above information, in the final chapter the concluding remarks for this research are given from the following three points of view: 1) the editing of "tradition" through the process of diversion, 2) connection with public order consciousness in imperial society, and 3) the paradoxical union between relief and public order. Whereas past research into colonial social works has focused on discrimination in scale and quality when compared to the interior, this research concentrated on the ways in which aid itself can foment conflict in the colony, as well as colonial structures that create for themselves the objects of public order countermeasures. In other words, it is not the "insufficiency" or "lack" of relief that forms the core of the problem, rather it is the relief works themselves, based in contributions from the Emperor, that create these problems. As social works came to be divided into smaller portions after the 1920's, Koreans themselves were prompted to action as the "constituency" of relief connected to educational works. In other words, as Koreans began to simultaneously think of themselves as "relief constituencies" and the "objects of public order", these concepts came to continually reproduce the partitions among Koreans. The true nature of this kind of colony cannot be seen through the singular index of social works "modernization". I feel that this research helps to explain the heterogeneity in the same time period that existed in colonial imperial society.