Formation and Transformation of Japanese Migrant Fishing Village Colonies in Korea

Chung-Shin Park*1 and Tai-Young Kim2

1 Lecturer, Department of Architecture, Cheongju University, Korea
2 Professor, Department of Architecture, Cheongju University, Korea

Abstract
This study aims to clarify the formation and transformation of Japanese migrant fishing village colonies in Korea. The subjects for this study include the port settlements of Jangseungpo and Guryongpo in Korea. The findings from this study can be summarized as follows. The spatial form of Japanese migrant fishing village colonies was basically formed on the road system based on lanes perpendicular to coastal roads parallel with coastal curve lines in a type of round bay. This road system became the foundation to form the pattern of lots into a trapezoidal shape for the inside of a house. The existing Japanese style houses can be divided into those that functioned exclusively as residences and those as shop houses. They were constructed with their inner space based on a module of 3.6m (12 Korean Cheok). Features resulting from enlarging or rebuilding by Koreans after their liberation can be divided into three categories such as the expansion of a residential space to the back of a site, change of an existing store to residential use, and the integration and segmentation of individual rooms. Especially, the integration and segmentation of rooms can be said to represent the most important element related to the transformation of the life of Koreans with their different lifestyles. In addition, the segmentation of rooms is thought to be a characteristic of the remodeling of tatami rooms as the living space in a Japanese style house into Ondol rooms as the lifestyle for Koreans.

Keywords: Korean Modern Age; Japanese migrant fishing village; formation; Japanese style house; transformation

1. Introduction
This study aims to examine the transformation of residential culture while focusing on differences in the residential culture between Korea and Japan for Japanese migrant fishing village colonies1) that were formed across Korea since its opening to the world in 1876.

The formation of Japanese migrant fishing villages in Korea started with Japanese migrant fishermen across the entire coastal areas of the Korean Peninsula since the second half of the 19th century. The basis of the formation of Japanese migrant fishing villages included the nationwide recession and natural disasters in Japan during the 1880s with active support from the Japanese government. These migrant fishing villages were formed on the basis of site conditions such as rich inshore fisheries, a topography consisting of inlets that provided good ports and strongholds for marine transportation in the coastal areas and islands across the Korean Peninsula. Fishing facilities and residences were subsequently built around each port. In addition, migrant-fishing villages showed their development as centers for production, distribution and commerce with the fishing industry as their main livelihood based on the advancement of modern fishing technology at the beginning of the 20th century. In addition to various urban functions, the modernization of fishing villages began. This brought an opportunity to trigger the restructuring and modernization of the fishing industry around the traditional fishing villages in Korea.

Amid this modernization, on the other hand, Japanese migrant fishing villages finally ended their history of migration that had lasted for about 50 years as Japanese people returned to their country along with the end of World War II in 1945. Various fishing facilities and buildings owned by Japanese in Japanese migrant fishing villages were assigned to or transferred to Koreans since their liberation. These villages have become the prominent fishing ports in Korea, based on their modern fishing technologies and facilities.
In addition, the transformation of residential spaces was carried out while Koreans were settling down in Japanese style houses built by Japanese during those times. In other words, the residential styles of both Korea and Japan have been developed to a co-existing form while showing their conflict or convergence, with the two styles contrasting sharply in residential spaces.

Accordingly, this study aims to clarify the formation and transformational characteristics of Japanese migrant fishing villages that were formed in the Korean Modern Age. The research areas included Jangseungpo on the southern coast and Guryongpo on the eastern coast with their regional names respectively ending with the Korean character ‘po (포)’(2), where the spatial structure of Japanese migrant fishing villages remains in a comparatively good condition.

2. Formation and Development of Japanese Migrant Fishing Villages

2.1 Fishing in Chosun for Japanese Fishermen with Protection and Encouragement Policies

The Chosun government that had continued to implement policies to close the country until the mid-nineteenth century, had to open ports to Japan under the "Amity Treaty between Chosun and Japan (1876)"(3), and began recognizing residence and commerce for Japanese with Busan as the opening port. This treaty only permitted commerce with goods, not freedom in fishing. The recognition of fishing for Japanese fishermen around the coastal areas in Chosun was formally recognized following the conclusion of the "Charter of Commerce for Japanese in Chosun" in July 1876.

Since the promulgation of the "Charter of Fishing between Chosun and Japan" in December 1889 and the "Rules on Fishing between Chosun and Japan", fishing could be carried out around the coastal areas of the Korean Peninsula by Japanese fishermen. In addition, the "Fishing Union for Korean Waters" was organized in 1900 after the promulgation of the "Deep-sea Fishery Encouragement and Subsidy Act" in 1897. In addition, the "Federation of Fishing Unions for Waters in Chosun" was established after two years with its headquarters in Busan for the major organization in developing the fishing industry around the coastal areas in Chosun(4). The Japanese government's protection and encouragement policies as stated above were delivered throughout each local government in Japan, triggering the main entry of each fishery union to the coastal areas around the Korean peninsula.

2.2 Process for the Formation of Japanese Migrant Fishing Villages(4)

Japan notified Russia of the severance of diplomatic relationships and forced the Korean Empire to conclude the "Treaty between Korea and Japan" in February 1904. In addition, the "Agreement for the Fishing Industry between Korea and Japan" was made in 1908, and the "Korean Fishing Industry Act" and the "Fishing Industry Enactment Rules" as laws related to the agreement were established and promulgated in November 1908 as well. Under these two agreements, the settlement and fishing of Japanese fishermen were legally recognized with preparations for institutional instruments to form subsidiary migrant fishing villages in Korea.

Through these institutional instruments, subsidiary migrant fishing villages were constructed on the Korean Peninsula around 1908. The basis upon which the Japanese government constructed these subsidiary migrant fishing villages can be summarized as follows; first, many days were required for a round-trip to the Korean Peninsula for fishing along with such risks as shipwrecks etc; second, enthusiasm for migration to the colony was heightened with the increased population and modern economic development in Japan; third, the construction of migrant fishing villages in Chosun was necessary as part of Japan's invasion policy of the mainland; and fourth, the license and permission concerning fishing rights for the Korean Peninsula under the fishing laws were issued only to residents in Korea.

On the other hand, apart from the subsidiary migrant fishing villages that had been constructed under the Japanese government's protection and encouragement policies, the free migrant fishing villages were formed as fishing villages with fishermen led by the private sector, who arbitrarily migrated to coastal areas and islands on the Korean Peninsula. The motivations for the establishment, organization, and developing process of those free migrant fishing villages were totally different from those of the subsidiary migrant fishing villages that had been constructed based on plans. Most of the migrant residents in the subsidiary migrant fishing villages were fishermen, whereas fishermen, transportation businessmen and merchants
freely settled in the free migrant fishing villages. Many transportation businessmen and merchants changed their job to fishing.

2.3 Development as Prominent Ports, and Decline

The development of modern fishing ports in the Korean Peninsula started in the 1920s during the forced occupation by Japan based on the migration of Japanese fishermen. Japanese fishermen established a monopoly around fisheries through their good fishing tools, fish market, and modern fishing business system, and were scattered around the entire waters of the Korean Peninsula. In other words, their catch of fish was greatly increased with the improved fishing system, tools, fishing methods and modern fishing business, etc., which were carried out actively around each fishing port. Such changes led to the cultivating industry with brown seaweed, laver and shellfish among others in addition to the manufacturing industry for dried marine products and canned food etc., which were carried out actively around each coastal area. Among these Japanese migrant fishing villages, those with such conditions as geographical proximity to Japan, port location and rich fisheries among other things later saw their further development as prominent fishing ports. From the second half of the 1910s, fishing ports such as Yeosu, Jangseungpo, Samcheonpo, Bangeojin, Gampo, Guryongpo, Jamunjin, Jangjeon and Shipyo around Tongyeong and Pohang became prominent. Important fishing ports as shown in [Table 2] were formed in the second half of the 1920s.

On the other hand, Japanese migrant fishing villages that had been developed as prominent ports in the Korean Peninsula started declining from the first half of the 1940s. Although there were many reasons for this, the critical element came from changes in the marine resources around the coastal areas. Changes in the marine resources as such resulted in the increasing reduction of links for the following reasons; first, human resources in the fishing industry were depleted by drafting fishermen as soldiers for the delivery of fishing catches or requisition of fishing boats or transportation ships because of the start of the Pacific War in 1941; second, fishing boats and tools were lacking as Japanese were returning to their country with their fishing boats and tools after 1945 following their defeat in the Pacific War.

3. History of Japanese Migrant Fishing Villages in the Research Area

3.1 Migrant Fishing Village in an Island on the Southern Coast: Jangseungpo

Marine transportation has been developed from ancient times in Geojedo, where Jangseungpo Port is located. It has a narrow topography and the residents living areas are limited to the island. The center of transportation during the Chosun Dynasty was Geojedo with active interchanges with the market in Tongyeong using boats.

The migration of Japanese to Jangseungpo started with the designation of Jangseungpo as an exemplary migrant fishing village by the Chosun Marine Product...
| Division | Jangseungpo | Guryongpo |
|----------|-------------|-----------|
| Historical Map and Land Registry | ![Image](image1.png) | ![Image](image2.png) |
| View of Fishing Port in the 1930s | ![Image](image3.png) | ![Image](image4.png) |
| Aerial Photo (Now) | ![Image](image5.png) | ![Image](image6.png) |

**Fig. 2. Change and Status of Migrant Fishing Villages in the Research Area**

| Division | Jangseungpo | Guryongpo |
|----------|-------------|-----------|
| Layout of Fishing Port | ![Image](image7.png) | ![Image](image8.png) |
| Section of Fishing Port | ![Image](image9.png) | ![Image](image10.png) |

**Fig. 3. Spatial Structure of Fishing Ports in the Research Area**
Union in 1904. The village took its name from the president of the union at that time, whose family name was Irisa, and 55 houses were built there. Migrant fishermen settled in Irisa Village, including 17 Japanese households from Fukuoka, Aine, Wakayama, Tokushima and Nagasaki from the end of 1905. Under the road control plan of the Chosun Government-General from 1914 to 1917, planned residential areas were constructed consisting of stores, prostitute quarters and Japanese residences around the fishing port. Roads were built in 1921.

3.2 Migrant Fishing Village in the Coastal Area of the East Sea: Guryongpo

The Japanese migrant fishing village in Guryongpo is in a port that was formed and developed as a free migrant fishing village from its construction to 1945. It was famous as a mackerel center in the East Sea at that time, and is now one of the important fishing ports along the coast of the East Sea with a water area of about 377,000m² within the port, which was designated as one of the frontier bases in the fishing industry in 1966. Guryongpo used to be a deserted village with two Korean households, and few places where boats could anchor until the end of the 1800s. The development of fishing started in 1902 with the visit of over 50 snapper fishing boats from Yamaguchi Prefecture in Japan. After success in the fishing industry with mackerel from this area by the Houjou Fishing Sailor Group in 1909, it was known in the industry as a base for mackerel. The formation of a migrant fishing village in Guryongpo started with the migration of three households from Bangeoin in 1910. As the number of migrants increased, 47 households came to settle there in 1912. Roads and households were arranged again in 1913 with increasing migration of Japanese along with the construction of public offices including the local administrative office, police station and post office among others. Over 120 migrant households arrived there in around 1927 and 70% were from Kagawa Prefecture. The time of the main development of the modern fishing port of Guryongpo is thought to have been between 1923 and 1925, when the breakwater and harbor were constructed. Construction of a 182m long breakwater cost a total of 350,000 won. It became a port of call between Busan and Ulleungdo from 1925 due to the arrangement of the fishing port. It was developed as the second largest fishing port following Pohang on the East Sea coast, and was promoted to the level of an eup unit community in 1942.

4. Factors and Patterns in the Formation of a Community Residential Space

4.1 Location and Topography

Considering the migrant fishing villages in the research area with a focus on the characteristics of location, in general, the residential area was formed around a fishing port in the form of a letter "C" along a curved bay. In addition, villages based primarily on fishing and secondarily on agriculture can be said to have been developed in common with fishing as the primary means of living because less land was available due to the hilly and sloping land abutting the residential area.

The initial formation of the migrant fishing village involved the creation of residential areas around the hills with either a relatively flat or low topography. Both Jangseungpo and Guryongpo were located to the east in the port. The reasons for selecting the locations of these villages had something to do with the easy supply of drinking water from wells, which were distributed at specific distances inside the residential areas. In addition, the pattern of residential areas was formed in parallel with the coastline from the initial migration. Houses and shop houses were constructed in a continuous line in the residential area. Fishing facilities such as small fishery markets, dockyards, common workplaces and warehouses among others were built around the port with stones, and dry fields were developed in the small and sloping areas behind the residential areas.

4.2 Road System and Residential Area

The basic structure of the street system in the migrant fishing villages in the research area was basically formed by coastal roads in an indented form parallel with the coastline at the time of the forced occupation by Japan, with lanes running perpendicular to them inside the residential areas. The pattern of the coastal roads that were built at the time of the forced occupation was constructed in parallel with the naturally formed curve. The features of the road behind the residential area appeared with new construction of residential areas and pier facilities to the coast under the expansion and contraction of port facilities thereafter. In addition, the shape of lots in the residential areas of migrant fishing villages is very characteristic, with its trapezoidal shape in addition to the street structure. More specifically, as each lot was split in the direction perpendicular to the coastal road parallel with the indented shape in the form of the bay, lots in the residential areas adjacent to the coastal road were formed into a trapezoidal shape.

On the other hand, the shape and size can be analyzed as shown in Fig.5., considering them with a focus on the front width (W) and length (L) for this trapezoidal land. The front width of lot appeared to be in the range of about 16~18m (average range) in the residential areas of Guryongpo, rather greater than that in the residential areas of Jangseungpo which had a range of about 10~12m (average range). Accordingly, Jangseungpo has lots in a narrow and long shape in the direction of the length, with a narrower front width in general, whereas Guryongpo mostly has lots with a similar proportion for both the front width and length. These patterns are attributed to the characteristics of location and topography, with Jangseungpo as an island having smaller available land than Guryongpo.
which is a coastal area.

4.3 Location and Siting Orientation of Shrines

In most of the Japanese migrant fishing villages that were constructed on the Korean Peninsula, small shrines were built on a hill behind the residential area, where the village could be seen at a glance. At the initial construction, they were built as a small shrine (Hokora)\(^{12}\). However, most of them were developed into shrines in a specific size during the 1930s~1940s along with the development of fishing ports. Jangseungpo Shrine and Guryongpo Shrine were also built based on this in the migrant fishing villages of Jangseungpo and Guryongpo. Each shrine was located at the back of residential areas in the early migrant fishing villages. Although no accurate record remains on the dismantlement of Jangseungpo Shrine, it was surveyed that it had survived until the early 1980s, but today all that remains are the cornerstones and some of the embankments. Guryongpo Shrine survived until as late as the first half of 2005 but has now been dismantled and only some of the embankments with cornerstones remain, similar to Jangseungpo Shrine. The shrine building was not dismantled until 2005 because a Catholic corporation acquired and used the shrine building as a public place and welfare facility.

Jangseungpo Shrine was oriented to the southwest and Guryongpo Shrine nearly to the south, considering the siting orientation of those shrines that had been constructed at that time. Such siting orientations were carried out because the initial migrant fishing village was built in Jangseungpo by fishermen who were mostly from Fukuoka Prefecture and in Guryongpo by fishermen who were mostly from Kagawa Prefecture as mentioned before. Jangseungpo Shrine was located in Kyushu where Fukuoka Prefecture is located, whereas Guryongpo Shrine was in Shikoku where Kagawa Prefecture is located [Fig.6.].

5. Characteristics of Spatial Organization and Transformation for Houses

5.1 Typology and Spatial Organization of Houses

This section reviewed 40 houses (18 in Jangseungpo and 22 in Guryongpo) in total that had been formed near the old coastal road in order to clarify the characteristics of residential patterns and the organization of residential spaces in Japanese migrant fishing villages [Fig.8.]. Considering houses that had been formed near the old coastal road with a focus on the use of buildings at the time of construction, they can be divided into the shop house and exclusive house [Fig.7.].

Considering shop houses with a focus on the number of span units “Kan (間)\(^{13}\)” at the building front, they can be divided into the 1-bay type, 2-bay type and 3-bay type. Considering houses for research, they are divided into 7 exclusive houses and 33 shop houses. Among the 33 shop houses, 7 are the 1-bay type, 13 the 2-bay type and 6 the 3 bay-type, while 7 cannot be identified based on the classification concerning the number of span units.\(^{13}\)
units. It was understood that about 60% (20 out of 33) of the total number of houses were built in 2 or fewer bay types. The front width of a shop house in a 1-bay type was basically 3.6m (12 Cheok/6 or 8 tatami). Especially, a two-story house is typically organized in 4.5m (15 Cheok) with the addition of a corridor or stairs in 0.9m (3 Cheok). Most of the houses were built in a long and narrow rectangle with a narrower front width and longer length in terms of the pattern of planes. A very simple pattern was basically organized with rooms connected to each other in 1 bay with 3 rooms such as "room (or shop)-room-kitchen". The front width of a 2-bay shop house is twice as large as that of a 1-bay shop house. Organization in 3.6 + 3.6m = 7.2m (24 Cheok) is the most typical. The organization of a 3-bay shop house is the most typical in 3.6 + 2.7m (8 Cheok/4.5 or 6 volumes)×2EA=9.0m (27 Cheok). On the other hand, in general most of the exclusive houses had a yard (or garden) in the front, which are thought to have been built for the houses of wealthier people at the time of construction. Rooms in a house were basically organized in 3.6m (12 Cheok) with continuous rooms with 6 or 8 tatami.

5.2 Characteristics of Transformation

As Koreans have lived in Japanese style houses that were constructed in Japanese migrant fishing villages instead of Japanese after the liberation, transformation such as enlargement or rebuilding has been carried out in line with the Korean and modern lifestyle [Fig.7.].

The expansion of residential space to the back lot appears to be the pattern in order to broaden the existing narrow space of a house. The use of such construction appears to have something to do with sanitary facilities mainly related to water, including the kitchen, bathroom and toilet among others. The most frequent transformation of the space of storehouses includes the

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Fig.7. Typology and Spatial Organization of Houses in the Research Area
change from the existing store to residential use such as an entrance hall or living room including an entrance hall. The shop in the shop house was changed to residential use because the coastal road at that time had become a road behind the block with the expansion of a new coastal road in front of the old coastal road, which caused sluggish commercial activities, as mentioned before. Accordingly, transformation was carried out on spatial elements for use as reception, housework and moving line, rather than for the comfort of a family in terms of the functions of the basic living room.

On the other hand, the integration and segmentation of each room in the interior space of a Japanese style house are important elements related to the transformation of life and culture that appear in the Korean residence. The integration of rooms can represent the transformation from the Korean lifestyle around a larger family, as partitions between tatami rooms are removed to create a larger room from the relatively narrow tatami room in a Japanese style house. In addition, the segmentation of rooms appears from the change of the circulation to "room–corridor–room" from the circulation of "room–room–room", which creates an individualized room to secure the independence of each room in line with the Korean lifestyle from the organization of a Japanese style house under the zoning of the existing movable partition. Especially, the segmentation of rooms is thought to be a characteristic resulting from the remodeling of tatami rooms as the living space in a Japanese style house. In addition, the segmentation of rooms is thought to be a characteristic resulting from the remodeling of tatami rooms as the living space in a Japanese style house into Ondol rooms as the lifestyle for Koreans.

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### Endnotes

1) The term 'Japanese migrant fishing village' was first used in the "History of Marine Development in Chosun (1954)" by the Japanese historian Keiichi Yoshida.
2) The Korean expression 'po (포)' is 'gae' with the etymological meaning of a 'hole', which refers to a concave topography from the sea.
3) Son, Jeong-mok, Study on the Process of Urbanization during the Forced Occupation by Japan, 1996, pp.435-455.
4) Keiichi Yoshida (1954), ibid., pp.247-271.
5) Modern shipbuilding technology was first introduced to Japan after 1850. The technological instructions were given by 11 engineers from the Netherlands. In the 1880s, modern dockyards were built with the invitation of many engineers and technicians from a French navy dockyard. In addition, the seine net as the modern fishing tool had not been introduced until the second half of 1880 when it was introduced from the U.S. [Rearranged with reference to Son Jeong-mok (1996), ibid., pp.454-455.]
6) The construction of modern facilities for modern ports like breakwaters in each fishing port in Korea at that time was done around 1912 after the formation of free migrant fishing villages. [Son Jeong-mok, ibid., pp.462-473.]
7) The migration to each port was done mainly by the regional union in many cases. In such a case, the name of an area was given the name of the union, or the name of a regionally known person who had first moved to the port and had contributed its development.
8) Jeon Gap-saeing, Geoje Story 100 Selections, Geoje Cultural Center, 2000, pp.343-345.
9) A 'frontier base for the fishing industry' refers to a multi-purpose fishing port with the possible handling and processing for the catch of fish as a fishing port with the installation of water supply facilities, oiling facilities, common warehouses and a wireless communication station for the fishing industry among others. Ten ports were designated as the frontier base for the fishing industry in 1966, including Geomundo, Guryongpo, Oinarodo, etc.
10) History of Yeongil-gun, 1990, pp.308-309.
11) History of Yeongil-gun (1990), ibid., pp.375-419.
12) Hokora refers to a shrine for Shinto as the Japanese traditional religion, which normally implies a small shrine alongside a road to a village.
13) Regarding the front width of a building, buildings were classified into three categories such as the 1-bay, 2 bay or 3-bay type after the number of span units were counted with a focus on the distance between columns mainly as the zoning for a room or space.
14) The number of rooms refers to the zoning of rooms to the length of lot (perpendicular to the road).

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