

Dis/locating Comfort Women Statues: Reflections on Colonialism and Implications for Global Art Education

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, I discuss how comfort women statues can promote non-Western cultural mobilization and globalization as well as pedagogical implications. “Comfort women” is a euphemism for the girls and women who were forced into sexual servitude by the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) during WWII. By using Chandra Mohanty’s concept of the contextual understanding of cultures and Uma Narayan’s feminist methodology to dislocate cultures, I dis/locate comfort women statues in Atlanta, GA and San Francisco, CA as the grounds for a critical approach to global art education. I then suggest ways in which global art education can embody dis/located statues as renditions of counterhegemonic globalization.

KEYWORDS: Comfort women, statues, colonialism, globalization, global art education

Over the years, the issue of comfort women has received increased attention. “Comfort women” is a euphemism for the girls and women who were forced into sexual servitude for the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) during WWII. Although this issue may seem to be a unique historical experience in East Asia with Japan as the perpetrator and Korea as the victim, the intricate intersectionalities of imperialism, colonialism, sexism, and violence are rooted in the system that created comfort women. In this regard, statues commemorating former comfort women have been erected to embody these intersectionalities. In particular, statues erected in Western Countries, including the United States, have situated this issue in a global context.

In this article, I present how comfort women statues in the U.S. can promote non-Western cultural mobilization and globalization alongside their pedagogical implications. More specifically, I begin by introducing former comfort women and statues dedicated to them. I also review the discourses of postcolonialism and globalization in the field of art education to provide insight into a critical global art education. By employing Chandra Mohanty’s theoretical framework (2003) and Uma Narayan’s feminist methodology (1997), I dis/locate two particular comfort women statues within Western, non-Western, and global contexts to examine how their cultural mobilization can provide the grounds for global art education. Lastly, I propose

practical art projects that engage with these statues as a critical approach to global art education.

Comfort Women and Statues

Before the outbreak of WWII, “Japanese commanders had received 223 complaints of rape of local women by Japanese troops” in the Shanghai area (Kristof, 1995, para. 14). In order to decrease rape, improve relations with civilians, and protect Japanese soldiers from Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs), the authorities decided to build a military-run “brothel” called a comfort station. During the Asian and Pacific War (1937–45), a part of WWII, comfort stations were systematically established in occupied Asian countries including Korea, the Manchurian region of China, the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, Indochina (present-day Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos), and Myanmar (previously Burma).

Although these comfort stations were labeled as brothels filled with comfort women, in reality, they were prison-like institutions for sex slaves. The majority of comfort women were young, unmarried, and uneducated working-class girls in their early teens who were forcefully coerced through various means (Min, 2003). Considering these racial and sexual victims of the IJA, “the vast majority were Koreans since Korea was Japan’s most strategically important colony” (Herr, 2016, p. 43). Due to the destruction of official Japanese military documents after WWII, the precise number of comfort women is still under debate but is believed to have been between 80,000 and 200,000 (Herr, 2016).

According to the testimonies of former comfort women collected by the non-profit Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan (Korean Council, 1993), the conditions in which they lived were inhumane. In addition to constant rape, ranging from 6 to 100 men per day depending on the population of “visitors,” they suffered a lack of medical care, involuntary drug addiction, and gynecological consequences including STDs, hysterectomies, pregnancies, childbirth, and abortions. Some of them recounted their experiences of witnessing the death of other comfort women, which taught them to obey utterly in order to survive.

After the end of Japanese colonial rule in 1945, public recognition of the history of comfort women was deterred during the Korean War in the early 1950s and during the subsequent military dictatorship until the 1980s. With the advent of democracy, former comfort woman Hak-sun Kim (1924–97) came forth to testify in August 1991. Her testimony encouraged 237 other women to register with the Korean government, and 30 of those have publicly testified about the IJA’s sexual exploitation (Soh, 1996). Since then, South Korea and Japan

have experienced political tension on this issue.

Multiple reconciliatory attempts have been made at the individual, collective, and governmental levels. In most cases, Japan’s monetary compensation was considered to be sufficient reparation (Park, 2010). This may seem to be an effective means to help the women who have lived impoverished pre- and post-comfort women lives. However, the lack of critical questions regarding the discourse on reconciliation (i.e., its meaning, goals, methods, and perception) often creates a misleading binary between shame and dignity that monetary restoration can only restore sexually violated women’s dignity while the “absence of it allows women to remain shamed” (Kwon, 2017a, p. 606).

Besides monetary attempts at reconciliation, there have been social and cultural efforts to address the exploitation of comfort women. Unlike monetary compensation, the socially and culturally responsive movement has prioritized Japanese acknowledgement of responsibility for their crimes and attended to the subject positions and subjectivity of former comfort women (Kim, 2014). A few examples of such efforts include visual arts (House of Sharing, 2000; Kwon, 2017a), literature (Chang, 1997; William, 2016; Yoon, 2016), film (Cho, 2016; Kim-Gibson, 1998; Lee & Kim, 2017; Shin & Byun, 1995; Shin & Byun, 1997; Shin & Byun, 1999), and plays (Kim, 1999). Without reducing these women to shameful agents, this movement aims to promote their visibility apart from being victims.

Among these efforts, I focus on statues dedicated to comfort women. These statues are known as *Pyong-hwa-bi* or *Pyong-hwa-ui So-nyeo-sang* in Korean, meaning the “Statue of Peace” and the “Girl’s Statue of Peace,” respectively. As the latter indicates, comfort women statues are often in the shape of a girl. The most well-known comfort women statue is a standard design commissioned by the Korean Council and created by Seo-gyeong Kim and Woon-sung Kim. The Korean Council initially planned to erect a stele in front of the Japanese Embassy in Seoul, South Korea to commemorate their 1,000th Wednesday Demonstrations, ongoing weekly protests demanding Japan’s official apology (Korean Council, n.d.). However, the local municipal government of Jongno-gu recommended that the Korean Council erect “artwork” instead of the stele (Song, 2013). This situation shows how art can blur the demarcation between the private and public spheres, while making political aims achievable through their visual rendition. Supporters have treated the statue as if it is alive by sitting next to her, dressing her in winter clothes, and holding an umbrella over her. The Korean Council (n.d.) describes the meaning behind the statue on their website as follows (see Figures 1 and 2):



Figure 1. Kim, S., & Kim, W. (2011). *The statue of peace* [Sculpture]. Seoul, Republic of Korea: The Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan. Retrieved from <http://www.womenandwar.net/>
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Figure 2. Kim, S., & Kim, W. (2011). *The statue of peace* [Sculpture]. Seoul, Republic of Korea: The Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan. Author photo.

The girl who was abducted to become a comfort woman stares at the Japanese embassy.

Her hair seems to be roughly cut, illustrating the suffering of a comfort woman.

The little bird on her left shoulder is a psychic symbol to connect life and death and to honor other comfort women who have passed away.

Her clenched fists show her anger and resentment.

Her heels that don't touch the ground symbolize her life without a sense of belonging.

The empty chair next to her can be for other deceased comfort women and allies, or the restful world of which they dream.

The shadow on the ground gives a sense of the time that former comfort women have waited for justice, or the act of engraving comfort women in history.

The butterfly in the shadow on the ground is a symbol of liberation.

The engraved sentences on the ground denote the 1,000th Wednesday Demonstration.

These empathetic, multilayered, and communicable visual symbols of the statue have directed more attention to the issue of comfort women. People from all strata of society began forming a continued engagement with the issue, and this has therefore led to an increasing number of statues. Domestically and internationally, the number of statues is estimated to be over 80 (Korean Council, n.d.). An accurate estimation is difficult due to different organizations' growing efforts to erect more statues. These organizations vary from a high school history club to a government district office, but are mainly local, civic, and non-profit organizations in South Korea.

Postcolonialism, Globalization, and Global Art Education

Within the context of art education, multicultural art education has been discussed in relation to globalization (Davenport, 2000; Desai, 2000; Garber, 1995; Shin, 2016). According to art education scholar Melanie Davenport (2000), multicultural art education addresses cultural diversity within society, while global art education considers "all of the forces that shape cultural differences across humankind" (p. 365). Rather than a simple comparison between different cultures in a global context, Davenport's (2000) approach to global art education is concerned with the impact of global systems on power relations and the order of cultures throughout history.

The discussion of global art education has begun to merge with the discourse on decolonization (Alexander & Sharma, 2013; Ballengee-Morris, 2002, 2010; Ballengee-Morris, Mirin, & Rizzi, 2000; Ballengee-Morris, Sanders, Smith-Shank, & Staikidis, 2010). While "postcolonialism and decolonialism have been similarly understood and used interchangeably in visual art," theoretical differences exist (Kwon, 2017a, p. 574). Since the "post" in postcolonialism indicates both the "end of classical colonialism and postmodern form of analysis" (Crossley & Tikly, 2004, p. 148), this may imply that colonialism is no longer existent, whereas many countries still live under the indirect influences of their colonial experience. Thus, art education scholar Christine Ballengee-Morris (2010) refused to use "postcolonial theory because American Indian Nations are still under colonial rule" (p. 287). Considering the independence of Korea in 1945, I use a postcolonial approach in this article; however, my approach identifies the struggles against persistent colonial domination in a global world, instead of remarking on the advent of a

new era.

The integration of decolonization into global art education denotes a linkage between ongoing colonial legacies and globalization. In the 1970s, postcolonial theorist Edward Said (1978) identified the Orient as the "other" and the Occident as the "self," thereby providing the idea that modernity (progress, development) is only implicated in the maintenance of a colonial worldview. In a global era, when considering how postcolonial countries are situated, with their subjects still seeing and perceiving themselves within a colonial worldview, globalization precipitates the distribution of Western knowledge, aesthetics, and culture. This analysis of the origin and process of globalization as relevant to Western-oriented colonialism leads to the proposal that globalization needs to be understood in the context of colonialism, and therefore, an anti-colonial and counterhegemonic form of globalization is necessary.

By attending to the inseparable relationship between colonialism and globalization, education theorist Fazal Rizvi (2007) encourages more research on the relationships between postcolonialism and globalization in education. Despite the increasing amount of research on multiculturalism, postcolonialism, and globalization, Rizvi (2007) argues that postcolonial approaches to globalization have not been sufficiently discussed. More specifically, "recent postcolonial studies [mainly] center on apolitical analyses of literary texts" (Rizvi, 2007, p. 260). If globalization is researched and taught without addressing its critical association with colonialism and power hierarchies, unequal power relations may be perpetuated through global education.

In this context, the anti-colonial approaches by Christine Ballengee-Morris and other scholars in the field of art education are critical to global art education. Postcolonialism in global art education aims to avoid the un-situated perspective of globalization while critiquing the power imbalance fabricated in the global order of art and its resultant art education. This is in accordance with how critical multicultural art education scholars have cautioned against the apolitical and celebratory inclusion of diverse cultures in art education (Acuff, 2018; Desai, 2000). Because "cultural colonialism is not an ivory tower theory but a very real force which impacts millions of people over the world" (Ballengee-Morris, Mirin, & Rizzi, 2000, p. 112), an anti-colonial approach to global art education is both urgent and necessary.

According to critical pedagogue Paulo Freire (1974/2013), decolonization begins with "self-awareness...and a new cultural climate where some intellectual groups see themselves from their own perspective" (p. 10). Following Freire, it is possible to challenge the hierarchy inherent in modern knowledge and aesthetics through

cultural mobilization and education. In this context, I consider comfort women statues in the U.S. as postcolonial attempts to enact cultural mobilization and globalization.

Theoretical Framework and Methodology: Dis/locating Comfort Women

According to postcolonial feminist and educator Chandra Mohanty (2003), education is often assumed to be a site of harmony. In this harmonious arena, the history and cultures of marginalized peoples are often considered as “legitimate objects to study or discuss” (p. 203). Although this may influence the way in which students think about and perceive marginalized people, it may only cause attitudinal or interpersonal changes while maintaining the harmony of an educational site. When education contributes to “racial management under the name of harmony” (Mohanty, 2003, p. 204), education becomes a site of colonization.

The harmonious inclusion of cultures, which is oblivious to power hierarchy, is based on the depoliticized and de-historicized idea of culture, against which critical multicultural and global art education scholars have cautioned. Instead of an un-situated understanding of cultures, Mohanty (2003) suggests that we “take seriously the different logics of cultures, as they are located within asymmetrical power relations” (p. 204). In line with Davenport (2000) and Rizvi (2007), Mohanty’s suggestion to politicize and historicize cultures in education indicates that the contextual understanding of cultures in relation to power can be a postcolonial attempt to decolonize educational practices.

In an effort to decolonize educational practices, Mohanty (2003) suggests the politicization of the experience of both marginalized and privileged people. A relational understanding of people necessitates inquiries regarding the center and margin, colonizer and colonized, as well as the West and non-West, which in turn can deconstruct hierarchy in Western knowledge and history. When students’ knowledge is challenged and transformed into something that is counterhegemonic and oppositional, a postcolonial approach becomes actualized in education (Mohanty, 2003). Instead of a harmonious site, education therefore becomes a site of political struggle and transformation toward a more equitable society.

In this regard, I consider the experience of comfort women as lived culture while reflecting on statues dedicated to them as the visual rendition of lived culture. By using Mohanty’s contextual understanding of cultures as a theoretical framework, I evaluate the global mobilization of comfort women statues within the power discourse as a postcolonial attempt toward globalization.

Methodologically, I have analyzed photography and video recordings of the statues, interviews from newspaper articles, and my visit to the statues (one in front of the Japanese embassy in Seoul and another in Atlanta).

In order to apply Mohanty’s contextual understanding of cultures to statues dedicated to comfort women, I use feminist philosopher Uma Narayan’s (1997) means of dislocating cultures as a methodology. Narayan (1997) comments how “idealized pictures of different cultures and cultural values” (p. 15) do not present actual institutional practices and social life. Locating cultures outside the context in which they seem to belong is necessary to question the cultural authenticity and hierarchy associated with West and non-West relations. Narayan’s specific means to dislocate cultures requires

analyzing ways in which related issues have been shaped in Western national contexts; second, examining the life these issues have in non-Western national contexts that can provide a variety of contextual information; and third, the decontextualization and recontextualization that accompanies these issues on their travels across national borders. (Narayan, 1997, p. 104)

By applying Mohanty’s concept of the relational understanding of cultures and Narayan’s feminist methodology to dislocate cultures, first, I locate the statues in a Western context and a domestic context, respectively. I then dislocate the statues from both contexts in order to de- and re-contextualize them in a global context, in a process that I term “dis/locating” comfort women statues. Dis/locating comfort women statues as non-Western cultural mobilizations may allow the cultures involved in the issue of comfort women to be contextually politicized and historicized in a global context. In doing so, the ongoing colonial legacies embedded in Western globalization may be confronted (Grosfoguel, 2011).

Two Comfort Women Statues in the U.S.

The history of the Japanese occupation of Asian countries and comfort women during WWII makes the installation of comfort women statues welcomed in Asian countries. However, the political tension increases when these statues are erected in the U.S. This is because the denial of the Japanese government and revisionists of the forceful recruitment of comfort women deflect Western attention from the issue (Wingfield-Hayes, 2015). Also, the complex historical and political relationship between the U.S. and Japan due to Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor (1941), the surrender of Japan after the U.S.’s atomic

bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (1945), and the U.S.'s post-war economic aid to Japan has hindered any formal investigation by the U.S. into the history of comfort women (Kim-Gibson, 1998). Among the statues erected in the U.S., I introduce two particular statues that were recently constructed—one in Atlanta, Georgia, and another in San Francisco, California.

Atlanta, Georgia

The Atlanta Comfort Women Memorial Task Force (Task Force), a civic and non-profit organization formed by the Korean-American community, has led the memorial effort in Atlanta. They collaborated with the city council of Brookhaven, about 10 miles from Atlanta, to erect a statue at Blackburn Park in 2017 (S. Kim, 2017). A former comfort woman, Il-chul Kang, known for her painting, *Girls on Fire*, depicting the IJA's murder of comfort women following the end of WWII, tearfully attended the unveiling ceremony (S. Kim, 2017).¹

Like most other cases, the Korean-American community commissioned this statue and reproduced the standard design by sculptors Seo-gyeong Kim and Woon-sung Kim. Thus, my effort to dis/locate the cultures surrounding this statue tends to be general and applicable to many other cases in the U.S. I first examine how similar issues concerning comfort women have been shaped in a Western context. According to the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey in the U.S., among 100 women and 100 men, 20 women experience completed or attempted rape and 7 men are coerced to penetrate someone as a form of completed or attempted rape, and 44 women and 25 men have experienced some form of contact sexual violence in their lifetime (Smith et al., 2018). This shows that "sexual violence victims are mainly women and a more extensive definition of sexual violence addresses a wider range of victims" (Kwon, 2017b, p. 23). Despite the prevalence of sexual violence, the "dismissive culture toward sexual violence in the U.S. makes sexual violence a highly secretive, private, and shameful experience" (Kwon,

1 In collaboration with the Task Force, the Center for Civil and Human Rights in Atlanta initially announced the erection of a statue in spring 2017. However, after the consequent objection from the Japanese consulate general, the center overturned its initial decision (Constante, 2017). This seems to contradict the museum's pride in being "one of the few places in the world educating visitors on the bridge between the American Civil Rights Movement and contemporary struggles for Human Rights around the world" (Center for Civil and Human Rights, n.d.).

By visiting the site, I also learned that the statue had been relocated from Blackburn Park II, a newly built residential neighborhood, to Blackburn Park. Although the current site seems to be more accessible, "the relocation followed threats of lawsuits by Blackburn Park II residents over a lack of input in the memorial's placement" (Bagby, 2018, para. 4). The Task Force's struggles with the installation reflect the multifaceted regional, national, and global conflicts involved.

2017b, p. 16). This raises the question of whether colonial sexual violence is different from contemporary sexual violence in the U.S. However, when considering the U.S.'s ongoing colonial influence over American Indian Nations (Ballengee-Morris, 2010) along with the sexual violence committed against American Indian women by white men throughout history (Smith, 2005), sexual violence is not exclusive to former colonies or Third World countries.

Secondly, I examine the cultures relating to comfort women through Confucian gender values in the South Korean national context. During the postcolonial era since 1945, Confucian gender values first led to former comfort women being regarded as ashamed prostitutes but later as nationalist heroines who sacrificed their bodies for the nation. Such patriotic accounts of comfort women are not uncommon in their testimony (Kim-Gibson, 1998). While the logic behind these labels (prostitutes, national heroines) is problematic, Confucian gender values may not be unique to formerly colonized or Third World countries. Instead, the female purity narrative is also implicated in Western cultural practices in how female sexuality is considered taboo or obscene (Wanzo, 2018). The resemblance between these two cultures may complicate the exclusivity of non-Western cultures while questioning the cultural hierarchy between the West and non-West.

Lastly, I de-contextualize and re-contextualize the issue of comfort women through this statue in a global context. As seen from former comfort woman Il-chul Kang attending its unveiling ceremony, transnational solidarity is formed between non-profit comfort women organizations in Western and non-Western countries (Herr, 2016). The advent of such global solidarity symbolizes non-West-oriented knowledge and movement, which designates the former colony as the "self," not the "other." Additionally, the fact that Brookhaven was the first city to join *We're Not Buying*, a national initiative to end sex trafficking, forms a global connection between these cultures (Bagby, 2017). Dis/locating the cultures revolving around comfort women through this statue dismantles the hierarchy between cultures by revealing how colonialism is rooted in both the issue of comfort women and contemporary sexual violence in the U.S. A contextual understanding of cultures through this dis/located statue can therefore contribute to a non-Western-oriented cultural mobilization.

San Francisco, California

The second statue is the work of sculptor Steven Whyte, erected on September 2017 in St. Mary's Square Park near Chinatown in San Francisco. While primarily Korean-American communities have led the campaigns for these memorial statues, in this case, two retired Chinese-American judges, Lillian Sing and Julie Tang, founded the

Comfort Women Justice Coalition (CWJC). With then-Mayor Edwin M. Lee's approval, this unique statue became a municipal memorial in San Francisco (CWJC, n.d.). Unlike other identical statues, this statue depicts three girls—representing Korea, China, and the Philippines—holding hands on top of a cylinder while Hak-sun Kim, the first Korean comfort woman to publicly testify, watches them (Kang, 2017; see Figure 3).



Figure 3. Whyte, S. (2017). *Comfort women memorial* [Sculpture]. San Francisco, CA: The city of San Francisco. Courtesy of Mobile Studio. Reproduced with permission.

Unlike most of the other statues, this statue was commissioned by a multi-ethnic and transnational organization for its unique design; thus, my attempt to dis/locate comfort women through this statue addresses how globalization is involved. I first investigate how the issue of comfort women has been shaped relating to globalization in a Western context. The striking visibility of young peasant girls in the statue may engender a distorted understanding of colonized bodies. However, the posture of the women holding hands stands for the active solidarity between former colonies within and beyond the U.S. national context. As Tang, the co-founder of the CWJC, commented, this statue is a symbol of “human rights and a global women’s issue to fight against sexual violence” (Sernoffsky, 2017, para. 9). Thus, the issue at stake is not only about comfort women, but also the global solidarity regarding the women and sexual violence.

The global solidarity formed in the West questions the roles of a

South Korean-based global solidarity. Thus, I analyze the multiple consequences engendered by a South Korean-based global solidarity for comfort women. Initially, the debate of whether or not to accept private Japanese compensation caused dissension between the nationalistic Korean Council and its transnational solidarity with other Asian countries. This dissension within a global solidarity, which hindered the possibility for significant reconciliation, also highlights how including only women’s voices against oppression may not be sufficient to enable reconciliation (Herr, 2016). However, the recent increase in efforts by the Korean Council to extend their advocacy to include the rape of Vietnamese women by Korean soldiers during the Vietnam War alongside global cases of wartime sexual violence seems to be less nationalistic and thus more cognizant of their global relations.

Lastly, the enhanced visibility of this comfort women statue and its global solidarity may form a viewpoint that empowers former comfort women as survivors and activists. However, that may also make it difficult to generate varying perspectives about comfort women. In order to de- and re-contextualize the issue of comfort women, I situate it apart from the global solidarities that originated in Western and non-Western contexts by placing it in a wider global context. More specifically, nationalism in many former colonies has shaped their subject positions as “colonized” with others as “colonizers.” When applying this binary to the statue in San Francisco, the absence of Japan indicates both Japan’s disregard to be fully accountable for the issue as well as its stance as a perpetrator. However, when the Japanese are considered only as colonizers, their history of oppression where “more than 110,000 of Japanese ancestry were forced into internment camps in the U.S.” is not highlighted (Fortin, 2017, para. 10). The ambiguity of the binary in this case uncovers how the subject positions of “colonizer” versus “colonized” and “other” versus “self” can be reinforced by global solidarity. Nevertheless, these subject positions should not be definite, but rather may need to be changeable and fluctuate depending on the context.

Dis/locating comfort women through the statue in Atlanta disrupts the hierarchy between cultures by revealing how colonialism is incorporated in both cultures’ incidence of sexual violence. Moreover, dis/locating comfort women through the statue in San Francisco denotes the ongoing efforts of a global solidarity toward reconciliation, but also the necessity of a contextual understanding of subject positions affected by this global solidarity. Since my attempt to dis/locate the cultures of comfort women through these statues politicizes and historicizes the issue of comfort women in relation to power discourses in a global context, my analysis itself may become a form of anti-colonial and counterhegemonic globalization.

Conclusions and Implications for Global Art Education

Through the use of Mohanty's theoretical lens and Narayan's feminist methodology, I have analyzed how some comfort women statues in the U.S. can expose cultural hierarchy, contest globalization, and precipitate non-Western cultural mobilization and globalization. In this section, I propose a conceptual understanding and practical application of the statues as a critical approach to global art education.

As for the conceptual discussion, when it comes to postcolonial art that embodies different cultures, it is necessary to dis/locate cultures in relation to the power discourse. The general understanding of Western and non-Western cultures is totalized, but only advantages a few privileged groups in the West (Narayan, 1997). For example, non-Western cultures are seen as less civilized and unequal, while Western cultural values are seen as "liberty, equity, and superiority without unveiling their foundations as colonization and slavery" (Narayan, 1997, p. 15). Similarly with how the dis/location of comfort women statues leads to in-depth discussions of cultural hierarchy and contesting globalization, postcolonial art needs to be contextually analyzed in Western, non-Western, and global contexts in relation to power dynamics. For example, comfort women statues and other postcolonial art should not be reduced to "South Korean," "Asian," or "Confucian" art. Instead, they need to be situated within the self/other and center/margin binaries to understand the implicated cultural and power hierarchies, all of which persist in the multiple forms of violence and uncritical education in the U.S. Since these statues and other postcolonial art as cultural mobilization attest to the intricate power relations in a global context, teaching about them can serve as a postcolonial effort to promote critical global education.

As for practical applications, art teachers can include comfort women statues as a form of memorial art in their curricula. In the field of art education, memorial art and its pedagogical implications have been discussed through the analysis of monuments (Blandy, 2008; Buffington, 2017; Chanda & Basinger, 2000) and non-monumental art as a memorial site (Darts, Tavin, Sweeny & Derby, 2008). In these discussions, art educators' emphasis on the role of memorial art in attending to untold history and voices seems to be the case for comfort women statues. In the context of appreciating and criticizing comfort women statues as memorial art, a contextual approach can enable students to appreciate the multi-layered symbols used in art in a global context. For example, discussion of how the statues depict the age, gender, and posture of comfort women (i.e., whether passive statues are the manifestation of a purity narrative or whether the statues' association with sexual violence is necessary) and how those symbols would be different in terms of similar cases in the U.S. may help disrupt the hierarchy between the West and non-West. Also,

the question of whether these statues should be identical or site-specific can engender discussion on standardized versus multifaceted approaches toward globalization through art. The replication of identical statues around the world may limit the diversity of approaches to globalization as it does not consider specific issues in local sites and the power discourses involved in these issues.

As an extension of art appreciation, new statues can be designed or created. This suggestion is inspired by how the CWJC called for a site-specific statue design in San Francisco (see Figure 4) and how a South Korean undergraduate student named Se-jin Kim intimately painted the relationship of the sites to comfort women statues (see Figure 5).



Figure 4. Comfort Women Justice Coalition. (n.d.). *The making of the monument* [Captured image from the webpage]. San Francisco, CA: Comfort Women Justice Coalition. Retrieved from <http://remembercomfortwomen.org/the-making-of-the-monument/>

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Figure 5. Kim, S. (2017). *The statue of peace in Jecheon, North Chungcheong Province, South Korea* [Painting]. Watercolor on paper, 10.7"×15.5". Copyright 2017 by Se-jin Kim. Reproduced with permission.

Similarly, students can propose works based on their discussions about the multi-layered symbols of memorial art, the relationship between local sites, relevant issues and their power discourses, and globalization (i.e., Brookhaven advocating against sex trafficking, the Center for Civil and Human Rights' refusal to erect a statue in Atlanta, Asian countries depicted in the San Francisco statue and their contribution to the global perspective on the issue of comfort women, and possible cultural binaries that these statues may produce). When students articulate their ideas and create their own visual symbols as diverse means to approach globalization, they can contribute to anti-colonial and counterhegemonic forms of globalization.

Living in a globalized world, one of the many roles expected and encouraged of art educators is to become a leader of global art education. Ballengee-Morris (2010) suggests it is necessary to know "when and how to mediate and appreciate justice and power" (p. 280) in relation to globalization instead of only including various cultures and their artworks. When the discourse of power is removed from the understanding of cultures, it is "non-cultural, which is another form of culturecide" (Ballengee-Morris, 2002, p. 241). This suggests that the un-situated and hegemonic Western globalization can be another form of colonialism. In this paper, by dis/locating the cultures revolving around comfort women statues, I have examined how these statues, as cultural mobilizations, can interfere with cultural hierarchy

and contest globalization, and thereby, contribute to a non-Western and counterhegemonic globalization of knowledge and aesthetics. When art teachers utilize this approach by teaching postcolonial art with a focus on its historical, political, and cultural contestation, their teaching can be a postcolonial effort to promote global art education.

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