Walking my hometown: Practices of everyday nationalism in contemporary Japan

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I certify that all parts of this thesis are my own original work, except where otherwise stated.

Kohei Kawabata
Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the people I met in the last four years during my PhD program at The Australian National University chronologically for their support, understanding, and inspiration.

As soon as I arrived in Canberra, the capital city of Australia, I met a young Japanese Aborigine historian, Hokari Minoru who was just three years older than I was and had just completed his PhD thesis at the ANU. He also agreed to become a member of my supervisory panel. In those days, I was going to deal with the rise of neo-nationalism in Japan by solely focusing on texts and discourses. It was Hokari Minoru who triggered me to engage in fieldwork research which I had no experience with at that time. Brought up in Japanese society in the same age, he also shared the critical sense of the rise of neo-nationalism in Japan with me. One day, at Chats café on the campus, he said:

“What you want to deal with is, for example, the nationalism of young people who sit anywhere such as on the floor of trains or parking lots or convenience stores in their banal everyday life, right? If you want deal with such phenomena, why don’t you just interview them directly?”

Being inspired by his above suggestion, I decided to engage in fieldwork research in order to deal with the practice of nationalism in everyday life.

In developing my theoretical framework of the practice of nationalism in everyday life, I encountered an article written by Kutsuwada Ryūzō in the journal *Gendai Shisō*. By coincidence, I met him in Canberra, and he became a good friend who stimulated me intellectually. It was coincidental again that he got a job in a university in my hometown, Okayama and now we are working together to foster a multicultural environment in Okayama.

As the subject of my research, I selected my friends in my hometown. I asked Sanda Katsuyuki, who is my high school classmate, and I was permitted to engage in fieldwork at a small company engaged in the sewage consulting, Sanyō Consultant,
which Katsuyuki’s father Sanda Tadamitsu manages and Katsuyuki works. Without the support from Katsuyuki based on our friendship for more than ten years, I could not continue to maintain my motivation to engage in fieldwork at a small company in my hometown. Needless to say, the support and understanding of his father and other employees was essential in continuing my research smoothly. Also, I would like to thank my friends in hometown who played and drank with me, and answered my interviews patiently.

I lived in Okayama for eighteen years but I did not have any Zainichi Korean friends. It was Lee Bochang who supported me to deepen my interest and understanding toward Zainichi Koreans. Without Chang-Ho, I could not encourage myself to research and organize multicultural events in Okayama. Above all, the friendship that we established deepened my commitment to Zainichi Koreans. Also, I would like to thank Kim Taesik who helped me to research the Sören community and also discussed academic issues with me.

My mother, Kawabata Hiroko passed away on 10 March 2003 during my fieldwork research. I still do not know what to do with my sorrow and memories about her. One thing that I can certainly be aware of is that she encourages me to be “open” to “Others”. Her death taught me a very simple yet difficult lesson: that I should deepen what I really feel passionate about. Losing my mother, who I lay my trust on, I learned how to trust “Others”.

My mother’s death brought a great shock to my family. We could not throw ourselves to believe the illusion of a “good” family anymore. Nevertheless, my father Kawabata Hideo continued to work hard and supported me financially and my sister Kawabata Michiko kept her passion and creativity to make films. Above all, my father and sister understood and supported me with profound attachment. Besides the ideology of family, this thesis could not be completed without the love of my father, sister, and deceased mother. It did not impose on me an exclusive ideology of love and family but taught me the way to love “Others”.

Having completed my fieldwork research in my hometown, I came back to Canberra in the beginning of January 2004. Hokari Minoru was struggling with malignant lymphoma since the winter of 2003. I often visited his hospital in Melbourne, and struggled with his disease along with my friends Shiobara Yoshikazu, Ken and Julia...
Yonetani, his parents, and his sister Yuki. He passed away on 10 May 2004 but completed his first but last monograph, *Radikaru oral historee* (Radical oral history) which I was tremendously inspired by when writing this thesis. I still cannot accept his death fully. Without a doubt, he still inspires me intellectually as well as spiritually even without his physical existences.

My main supervisor Akami Tomoko, and co-supervisors: Tessa Morris-Suzuki, Julia Yonetani, and Noah McCormack supported and guided me to write my thesis from the beginning of my course, and even more profoundly after the death of Hokari Minoru. My main supervisor, Akami Tomoko supervised me patiently and encouraged me to continue my work. She was generous with both her time and her comments right to the very end of this project. Tessa Morris-Suzuki always gave me accurate and considerate comments based on her profound wisdom and knowledge, and was tolerant of my writing styles and language. I could not continue my motivation to complete my academic missions without all of their warm support, encouragement, and understanding. My two young supervisors, Julia Yonetani and Noah McCormack, always intellectually inspired me in a friendly manner. Also, I would like to thank who revised my English which might have otherwise been very difficult to read: Maxine Macarthur, Tessa Morris-Suzuki, Noah McCormack, Timothy Amos, and Steve Jarvis. I must note that they did not only correct my English vocabulary and grammar but also co-authored with me through their participation in translating from Japanese to English.

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Abstract

This thesis questions the nationalism that is practiced in everyday life, which the conventional studies of nationalism have not fully dealt with. As a series of case studies, I deal with the rise of neo-nationalism in contemporary Japanese society. In particular, I focus on the ‘border-creation’ that is practiced in the everyday lives of people through labour and consumption. The people who are living in advanced capitalist states in the age of global information capitalism do not exclaim “hot nationalism” but rather consume “cool nationalism”.

In examining the practice of nationalism in everyday life, I selected my friends in my hometown, Okayama as research subjects. I lived and worked with them, and experienced the mechanism of everyday border creation together. I selected my friends from Okayama because they are “Japanese” who live in my past memories and experiences. In order to critically question my Japanese identity, I wanted to rethink the academic term nationalism from the cases of my friends who I feel familiar to and thought that I know very well.

However, it is not only “Japanese” who are living in my hometown. There are more than 7,000 Zainichi Koreans living in Okayama. Zainichi Koreans are the largest minority group in Japan. Within this ethnic identity, third and fourth-generation young Zainichi Koreans are inclined to assimilate into Japanese society. They adapt themselves to information capitalism and a consumer-oriented society. Meanwhile, however, the social discrimination against them still exists. They are exposed to the border where the politics of inclusion and exclusion find their balance.

While conventional ethnic studies tend to focus on either the ‘majority’ or ‘minority’, this thesis focuses on the interactions and linkages between the ‘majority’ and ‘minority’. In consumer-oriented society, residence and lifestyle are increasingly becoming similar to each other. While ‘majority’ or ‘minority communities are dismantling, their lifestyles have become ‘individualized’. In that sense, through focusing on the interactions and linkages between the two groups, it is possible to identify a critical cooperation between the two within a consumer-oriented Japanese society in the age of global information capitalism.
Through the encounters with my friends and Zainichi Koreans in my hometown, the idea of “Japanese”, “hometown”, and “friends” is critically questioned. Then, the “familiar” landscape of my hometown becomes something “unfamiliar”.

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Chapter 1

Introduction and theory

1.1. Autobiography and theory

1.1.1. Don’t buy no Japanese car!

When I was sixteen, the junior year of my high school, I spent one year from 1991 to 1992 in a small town called Caro in Michigan as a high school exchange student. The small town was located 36 miles northwest of Flint, with its population of around 4,000. 95% of them are white. One day, in the high school cafeteria during lunch time, a boy said to me.

“My father used to work for the GM plant in Flint, but he was laid off.”

I did not feel any strong hostility from him. I did not consider that he was expressing nationalism against me either. Under the storm of Japan-bashing, I vaguely understood that he had an adverse sentiment against the Japanese automobile industry. I remember that I was told by other students that a Chinese boy who was mistaken for a Japanese was killed in Detroit. I also recall a TV advertisement by a local car dealer which I viewed on the screen of the made-in-Japan TV in the living room of the house on Mushroom Road where I was staying.

“Don’t buy no Japanese car!” said the car dealer.

I remember that I asked my friend whether the usage of “don’t” and “no” in the same sentence was grammatically correct or not. I was shocked at the fact that Japan was a target of bashing as well as this being explicitly advertised through the media. Yet I could not feel the reality of the fact, and I did not want to accept the reality. I told myself,

“The reason for the decline for the US automobile industry is nothing to do with Japan or the Japanese automobile industry. It is simply because Japanese cars are better and Americans are lazy. If Japan is to import any American cars, they must make cars with right-hand drive.”
My justification was probably not very different from that of Roger B. Smith, the CEO of GM in the 1980s who closed the plant in Flint. For example, some of the wealthy people in the film *Roger & Me*,\(^1\) directed by Michael Moore, make comments that the people who were laid-off and suffering were lazy. The film focused on the decline of Moore’s hometown, Flint Michigan, after the massive job-cuts by GM in 1987. In one scene of the film, Moore spoke to a middle-aged white man, wearing a white suit and red cardigan, at one of the parties where GM executives were gathered.

“What advice do you have for those having a rough go of it?” said Moore.

The man replied, “Get up in the morning and go do something. Start yourself. Get your own motor going. There’s things to do out there.”

On the other hand, the dissatisfaction of the “losers” who were stranded in changing times was focused on Japan. The message board along the street in the film reads.

“Buy American or apply for Japanese welfare.”

In those days, I did not understand at all what had been going on in Michigan since the late 1980s. I did not understand the implications of the boy’s statement in the high school cafeteria or the advertisement of the local car dealer. Rather, I was looking down upon the less-advanced town and people. I had thought I was going to spend a year in an advanced place. Everyone seemed to me fat and poor. I had travelled to the third world within the first world. For myself, who was brought up in a middle class family in a small city in Japan, the things I saw were out of fashion and seemed to embody Americans’ laziness. I thought, “I am much more sophisticated than them. But this is not why I came here. I was hoping to absorb something more advanced!”

However, in reality, my host family was living in financial difficulties. I was living with a husband and wife who were around 30 years old, their 9 year-old daughter and 4 year-old son. Unlike typical suburban landscapes of the residences in the United States, I was living on Mushroom Road, which was a dirt road. On rainy days, the muddy water came into the inside of their car from a hole on the bottom. My host father used to work for the auto parts store in Caro but he was fired for no good reason.

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Then he started to work at McDonald’s in Caro, where we often bought hamburgers, French fries, and cokes, which were handed over by him from the window of the drive-through. He seemed to be disappointed with his new job for a while but he was very excited when he was hired by Wal-Mart, which was going to open a branch in Caro after I left in June of 1992. Meanwhile, my host mother was a nurse but she did not work full-time, and was only hired temporarily for short periods. Neither of them had been to college. For a few months, neither of them had any sources of income.

I came only recently to realize the social and historical implications of the conversation in the high school cafeteria, the advertisement of the local car dealer, and the financial situation of my host family. This was after I started my research in Canberra on the rise of neo-nationalism in Japan after the mid-1990s (a time when nationalism also rose in most of the advanced capitalist states). Before then, I had avoided facing the link with my memories and experiences in the countryside of Michigan. In other words, I had not considered my memories and experiences in Michigan historically. Those memories and experiences had been a turning point for me to achieve individual success and social mobilization. However, I now came to understand my experiences of Japan-bashing and its implications through my research on the rise of neo-nationalism and North Korea-bashing in Japan. In the end, it took me thirteen years to understand the context of Japan-bashing in Michigan at that time. What used to be memories and experiences in a rustic small town in the Midwest of the United States are now reinterpreted as the neo-nationalism of the poor majority in a small town where the neo-liberal economy was overwhelming people’s lives.

However, at that time, I thought that Japan-bashing was unreasonable. I could feel the anti-Japan sentiment but I thought that it had nothing to do with me. Certainly, I could feel it through the media, but I almost entirely ignored this since it did not directly affect my everyday life in Michigan. I remember one boy told me something, which justified such feelings of mine during those days.

“I don’t like Japanese, but you are OK.”

I could not judge clearly whether he really hated Japanese or not. But I was certain that he did not hate me. I thought that it was fine as long as it did not affect me. If I were asked by an American scholar who was researching Japan-bashing at that time about my experiences of bashing and discrimination, I would have probably answered
that I had not experienced those at all. I would probably have even thought “please do not to victimize me for your research’s sake, since I could enjoy myself living in the small town and going to school of my own free will”.

In Roger & Me, Moore critically delineates GM’s massive layoff in his hometown, including an interview with his friend who worked for the plant in Flint and who was laid off. He also critically faces his hometown in his later films Bowling for Columbine (2001) and Fahrenheit 9/11 (2004). There are many American popular artists in the 1980s who expressed their sorrow and anger at the decline of hometowns under the neo-liberal policy. Bruce Springsteen sang about the decline of his hometown in New Jersey, the former industrial city and spoke for the working classes in his song My Hometown (1984). Similarly, John Mellencamp spoke for the small farming community in Indiana which suffered under the Reagan regime in his song Small Town (1985). They sang with anger, sorrow, and nostalgia of their declining hometowns under the neo-liberal policy. I get critical inspiration in researching and writing about my own hometown from this American popular culture of the 1980s. However, that is not to say that what is happening in Japan under the Koizumi regime is parallel to the privatization and deregulation under the neo-liberal policy of the Reagan regime in the 1980s. Rather, what is important is the fact that I am now reinterpreting my experiences and memories of a small town in Michigan. Furthermore, unlike Springsteen’s and Mellencamp’s songs about their hometowns, I do not consider the hometown as a place which only evokes the sense of nostalgia. On the contrary, I consider that the hometown must be constantly recaptured by the researcher beyond nostalgia. From such a perspective, the familiar landscape of hometown transforms into something unfamiliar. I decided to engage in fieldwork research on the bashing of North Korea and Zainichi Koreans in my hometown, Okayama, Japan, amid the decline of the welfare state.

1.1.2. “Everyone calls me a right-wing or nationalist, but I am nothing like that at all.”

In researching the nationalism against North Korea and Zainichi Koreans (Koreans living in Japan), one proposition came into my mind. What should I think when people intimate to me, like family and friends in my hometown, take a position similar to the car dealer in Michigan? Are they nationalists? This concern led me to the following academic proposition. What is the nationalism of ‘ordinary’ people? Should moderate ethnic jokes and patriotism in everyday life be considered as racism or nationalism? My friends cheered the Japanese national soccer team, and booed
opponents of the national soccer teams at the 2002 World Cup. Are they nationalists? I myself used to cheer the Japanese national team in the Olympics and the World Cup. I used to sing the Japanese national anthem in the graduation ceremony at elementary and junior high school. Was I nationalist? In developing my thesis, my mind was racing with such propositions and questions, intimate people and everyday cases, and my memories and experiences. In that sense, my thesis is a dialogue between the academic theory and my memories and experiences. I cannot separate those two.

In The Wages of Whiteness, David R. Roediger explores the history of the construction of whiteness by the Irish immigrant working class in the 19th century. He analyses how an oppressed Irish working class constructed 'whiteness' rather than identifying with the African Americans fellow members of the working class. He begins with his introduction entitled “On Autobiography and Theory”, and seeks the source of his inspirations in his childhood memories and experiences in Cairo, Mississippi, in order to construct the theoretical framework. He was brought up in “the half-Black city” in the early 1960s. Yet, unlike other kids and friends in his childhood who were brought up in the same environment, he developed anti-racist sentiments. He states the reason for starting from his autobiography as follows:

Until very recently, I would have skipped all this autobiographical material, sure that my ideas on race and the white working class grew out of conscious reflection based on historical research. But much of that reflection led back to what my early years might have taught me: the role of race in defining how white workers look not only at Blacks but at themselves; the pervasiveness of race; the complex mixture of hate, sadness and longing in the racist thought of white workers; the relationship between race and ethnicity.2

Roediger’s device clarifies his positionality and research purpose by being self-reflexive toward himself as an academic subject. By doing so, it is clear why he became interested in the topic, and how and why he started to think about the problem as he does now. This attempt suggests ways to explore interdisciplinary research in this era of popularized and market-oriented university education. To seek an interdisciplinary approach, it is becoming important to clarify one’s academic stance and motivation

toward the research subject.

My theoretical starting point and the idea of nationalism of 'ordinary' people have gradually changed through conversation with my supervisors and colleagues, and with informants through fieldwork research. Gradually, I came to realize that a critical theoretical framework on nationalism is not enough to understand the phenomena which are associated with the rise of neo-nationalism and North Korea and Zainichi Korean bashing in Japan. The phenomena which I tried to understand emerged amorphously on the national border, inclusively as well as exclusively. Many cases from my fieldwork research in Okayama did not fit conventional theoretical frameworks, but were a mixture of violence, silence, and contradictions. I struggled between the theory and practice on the national border. Through the conversations and interviews with Japanese and Zainichi Koreans, it was not very difficult for me to listen and respond to each informant and their attitude toward the bashing of North Korea and Zainichi Koreans. Whether my informant was an advocate of nationalism or its victim, I could understand that they have their own reasons to justify their positions. However, I did not know how I should manage and reconcile my feelings toward each informant. For example, I did not know how I should manage my feelings toward my friend’s mother, who is actively involved in a group engaged in North Korea-bashing, and my Zainichi Korean friend who was verbally abused by members of this group in Niigata port on the way to North Korea. It is apparent that the critical theory of nationalism would not tell me how to explain my feelings.

My friend’s mother is a housewife in Niigata, Japan. She is also a member of National Association for the Rescue of Japanese Kidnapped by North Korea (NARKN) from its early stage of grassroots activities. On 17 September 2002, after Kim Jong Il admitted North Korean involvement in the abduction of Japanese during the 1970s and 1980s, she and other members emerged in the media as representatives of the most vocal interest group on the forefront in this issue and as a figure which legitimizes the North Korea-bashing. One day, she said to me,

"Kōhei, everyone calls me right-wing or nationalist, but I am nothing like that at all."

I just had to exchange ironic smiles with her son. Her statement above is the typical rhetoric of neo-nationalists. Similar expressions are often found in the statements of the Governor of Tokyo, Ishihara Shintarō, who is notorious for a series of racist and
phobic statements against foreign residents in Japan, blaming them for the rising crime rate. It is also typical of those nationalists who are forgetful about Japan’s colonial past. And it would not be very difficult to find similar type of statements in any Western advanced capitalist state today. However, I cannot think that the statements of the two, a populist right-wing politician like Ishihara and my friend’s mother, mean exactly the same. I would also feel similarly if my family, friend, lover, neighbour and so on made similar statements, and hesitate to call them nationalists.

I also have a friend who is Zainichi Korean with North Korean citizenship. In late August 2003, he departed the port of Niigata by the North Korean passenger ship, Man Gyong Bong 92 to Pyongyang in order to participate in a national event in North Korea. As my friend and other Zainichi Koreans boarded the ship, the members of “right-wing groups” yelled and screamed at them, “go back to North Korea!” My friend’s mother and her fellow group-members took a leading role in the protest. However sincere the housewife in Niigata might be about what she is doing for her own belief, and even though she would still allege herself to be neither nationalist or right-wing, she and her fellows were nothing but “right-wing groups” from my Zainichi Korean friend’s point of view. How can we reconcile those two contrasting views?

Furthermore, obviously, the meaning of the statements of the housewife and populist politician is different. The populist politician is just speaking for grassroots conservatives in order to maintain his popularity. This is also parallel to the gap between the nationalist discourse that appears in academic texts, newspapers, and TV programmes and that practiced by people in everyday life. Then how should we face the sayings and practices of nationalism by intimate ‘Others’ in their everyday lives, just like those of my friend’s mother? At the same time, how can we critically articulate the gap that exists between the statements made by the populist nationalist and the housewife?

Another critical question that occurs to me is whether my friend’s mother and the Zainichi Korean friend are really opposed to each other about everything. Obviously, there is a sharp confrontation between two on the national border. However, are there any contradictory elements beyond the national confrontation? Their positions seem to be not simply dividable into perpetrator and victim. Rather, we should start from focusing on the social and historical backgrounds of each agent on the national border. In that sense, the conventional critical studies and theories on nationalism must be
questioned by empirical case studies and local practices on the national border in order to establish an empirical theory of critical studies on nationalism.

1.1.3. Understanding North Korea-bashing as a form of neo-nationalism

This thesis considers bashing of North Korean and Zainichi Koreans as a form of neo-nationalism in Japan after the mid-1990s. The bashing suddenly arose when Prime Minister Koizumi Junichirō visited North Korea on 16 September 2002, and Kim Jong Il admitted that North Korea is responsible for kidnapping thirteen Japanese in the 1970s and 1980s. The shocking news of North Korea's involvement in kidnapping Japanese aroused rather hysterical hostility through the media towards North Korea and anything related to it, including the North Korean community in Japan. Such hostile sentiments not only spread among conservative politicians but also exploded among the grassroots activities organized by the victims' family members, scholars and journalists, and even TV gossip shows. Items about North Korea were on the media almost every day and presented everything North Korean as weird and inscrutable. Meanwhile, discriminatory activities against the North Korean community in Japan were often reported. However, the series of North Korea-bashing campaigns seems to be beyond ethnic discrimination. For example, after the exposure of North Korea's involvement, some of the members of the North Korean-affiliated organization, Chōsen Sören (General Association of Korean Residents in Japan) criticized North Korea and the organization itself. Behind the phenomena of North Korea-bashing, there seems to be something much larger: the intertwined and complicated ideology of nationalism. It seems that the phenomena arose beyond ethnic discrimination in the process of the reconfiguration of the nation state under a neo-liberal government.

In an Australian context, Ghassan Hage analyses the majority's backlash against minorities as the “paranoid nationalism” of the “refugees of the interior” who are “the no-hopers produced by transcendental capitalism and the policies of neo-liberal government.”3 The “refugees of the interior” are the majority who became exiled internally under the policies of neo-liberal government. They feel insecure because they think that they are not under the protection of the state any more. Such sentiment generates their backlash against minorities who are “getting something for nothing”, and involves a strong sentiment of victimization. This thesis focuses on such a majority's sentiment of victimization in everyday life, and the practice of its members in

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the mosaic-like relationship among majority and minority in a highly individualized society. In the following chapters, I will examine the case of my friend and his colleagues at a small company in my hometown, Okayama. They can be regarded as "internal exiles" in the sense that they are working for a small company in a small city of Japan. Globalization strongly affects their work and lives but most of them are not fully aware of what is actually going on and what they have to do about it. At the same time, since they are engaged in consulting jobs, they are also taking the part of the symbolic production. There are people who are much more isolated and exiled from the process of symbolic production in Okayama: people engaged in manual labour at construction sites, those who work at mobile phone stores, those who work at small restaurants and bars, and so forth. Thus, some of the internal exiles have more access to information, and some less, and it is very difficult to specify and define who the internal exiles are. It is not very important to make a clear definition either. This is because they are being exiled on the one hand, but they are also surrounded by the chance to escape from exile. Some of them become internal exiles and some of them do not. What is more important is to investigate the interactions at the border through which people define themselves as internal exiles: why do some people become internal exiles, when, how, in what context, and so on. It is more fruitful to see those implications rather to attempt a precise definition of the internal exiles.

Similar to the Japan-bashing which I experienced in Michigan in the early 1990s, the neo-nationalism in Japan and North Korea-bashing emerged amid the rise of neo-liberalism in Japan. It is part of the process of reconfiguring the nation state under the slogans of privatization and deregulation. However, in the cases like this North Korea-bashing, the border between victimizer and victim cannot be clearly drawn. This also indicates that the clear border between victimizer and victim can not be drawn in the practice of nationalism in the contemporary society of Japan. However, this is not saying that nationalism or nationalists do not exist. Rather, it indicates that the relationship between victimizer and victim, majority and minority, or any other subjectivity constructed by identity politics is highly individualized and complicated.

A highly individualized, complicated and ambiguous national border is where the ideology of nationalism is engendered actively and amorphously. I realized this through my fieldwork research and interviews with Japanese and Zainichi Koreans in Okayama. Through listening to the experiences and memories of the majority and minorities living in Okayama, I realized how ambiguous the actual practice of
nationalism in everyday life is and how it contradicts the theory. The experiences and memories of majority and minority could not be explained by a consistent ideology. None of my informants consistently expressed the ideology of nationalism in everyday life. The social and historical context of each experience and memory was so individualized, complicated, contingent, ambiguous, and often contradictory. For example, one young male Zainichi Korean teacher at a Korean ethnic school felt that North Korea-bashing is very aggressively attacking an entire Zainichi Korean community. On the other hand, one female young Zainichi Korean working at Starbucks Coffee said that she has no experience of being discriminated against. Meanwhile, most of my Japanese informants, including my friends working at a small company in Okayama, seemed to be spending their everyday lives without caring about the presence of North Korea-bashing and Zainichi Koreans. They were preoccupied with their everyday concerns: work and consumption, and relationships with family, friends, and lovers. During my fieldwork research in Okayama, I often wondered whether such a thing as neo-nationalism really exists, and felt as if my research is just an invention of the intellectuals. I often lost confidence in this regard.

However, it was probably my experiences and memories of Japan-bashing in Michigan, which encouraged me to think about the practice of nationalism critically in banal everyday life. My experiences and memories from more than ten years ago, which are swept under layers of memories, helped me to sustain my motivation. It was through the process of research and writing on the rise of neo-nationalism and North Korea-bashing that I gradually started to take up each layer of memory one by one. I belatedly discovered how I had been avoiding facing my experience of nationalism and racism by prioritizing my individual interest in everyday life during my Michigan days. In order to forget about the experience of Japan-bashing in my memory of Michigan, I used to manipulate and revise good memories such as precious encounters with my friend, improvement of my English skills, and playing an active role in the baseball team. In that way, I used to laugh Japan-bashing off in my memory. Such laughter is in a sense an accomplice of the laughter at ethnic jokes by the majority.

In this thesis, I will alternate between the text and field, and theory and practice in order to examine the practice of nationalism on the national border. The thesis will critically examine the mechanism of everyday border creation. It will investigate the confrontation and practice of nationalism on the national border as well as illuminate the social and historical linkage among people that contradicts the practice of
nationalism. My theoretical framework changed over time through empirical research and political practice. In fact, the fieldwork research on the national border in my hometown brought change to my memories and experiences of my hometown, and my theoretical framework shifted constantly. Empirical research and local political practice raised questions about conventional theory of nationalism and my theoretical framework. Meanwhile, my experiences through fieldwork research were interrogated through going back to the texts. Through this process, my thoughts on the implications of the rise of neo-nationalism after the mid-1990s and North Korea-bashing were deepened. In the next section, apart from my autobiography, the rise of neo-nationalism in Japan after the mid-90s will be critically analysed. This section discusses why the North Korea-bashing is not merely racism but also the practice of nationalism. It discusses the pitfalls of the conventional theory of nationalism, and leads into the theoretical framework and research questions.

1.2. The rise of neo-nationalism and pitfalls of the critical theory

1.2.1. The rise of neo-nationalism

The rise of neo-nationalism in mid-1990s Japanese society was enhanced by a series of events that inflated the sense of ‘crisis’. On the one hand, the tide of globalization further accelerated the confusion felt after the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the bubble economy, and it was strongly felt that ‘we’ Japanese must adjust to the global standard. Furthermore, the confusion was complemented by the social issues raised after the mid-1990s; natural disasters, flagrant juvenile crime, terrorist attacks by a religious cult and so forth. Most of the time, such social problems were reduced to a moral ‘crisis’ by conservatives. On the other hand, behind the sense of ‘crisis’, there were formal objections by the victims of Japan’s former colonies during WWII, and contention among intellectuals over Japanese involvement in the first Gulf War. Amid the sense of ‘crisis’, Fujioka Nobukatsu established the Jiyūshugi shikan kenkyūkai (A group dedicated to eradicating the “masochistic” views of history which they claimed was being taught in Japanese schools) in 1995. The movement did not only consist of academic researchers, but was grassroots in nature. The movement was

5 When writers and literacy critics such as Ōe Kenzaburō and Karatani Kōjin made a statement against the Gulf War, some of them such as Katō Norihiro objected to the idea. This later led to the ‘historical subject debate’ of the end of the century.
further encouraged by establishing *Atarashii rekishi kyōkasho o tsukurukai* (Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform) at the end of 1996, which involved a variety of people including politicians, business people, actors and actresses, professional athletes, writers, comic artists and so on. They created new history textbooks for junior high school students. They insisted that the history textbooks used in postwar Japan were masochistic and did not encourage children to feel pride in their own country. This movement spread all over Japan at the grassroots level, seeking the adoption of the new history textbooks by local governments, who are responsible for choice of textbooks at schools in each region. Against this rise of neo-nationalism, nationalism became a hot topic and invoked contention in academia as well. It eventually evoked contention among leftist scholars too. The issue of war responsibility, ‘historical subjectivity debate’, became controversial among the left, and eventually led to contention regarding positionality between the non-academic Japanese philosopher Hanasaki Kohei and the Zainichi Korean writer Suh Kyung-Sik. However, critical discourse against neo-nationalism was not effective, and it seemed that populist nationalists like Ishihara were winning the support of the people away from the left wing.

It was in such an atmosphere that Koizumi was welcomed as prime minister of Japan, winning an overwhelming victory in 2001. This marked the birth of the neo-liberal government of Japan, similar to that of Margaret Thatcher in Great Britain and Ronald Reagan in the United States. Watanabe Osamu argues that Japan’s neo-liberal reform

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7 Kobayashi, Yoshinori, ed., *Atarashii rekishi kyōkasho o tsukurukai* eds., *Atarashii rekishi kyōkasho o tsukurukai to iu undo ga aru*, Fusōsha, 1998. Kobayashi Yoshinori started to deal with various social issues from real life in the very beginning of his comic book series *Gomanizumu Sengen* in 1992: HIV-tainted-blood scandal, Aum Shinrikyō issues, and comfort women issues. However, Kobayashi’s approach to reality has little intellectual interest in the social and historical backgrounds of the reality. Rather, the social and historical issues are articulated in a non-political (or neo-liberal) manner to compose the reality he wishes to see. Kobayashi’s ideological shift from grassroots activities to conservatism seems to reflect the current drift toward conservatism in Japanese society.

8 For an analysis on Tsukurukai and their attempts at historical revisionism, see, Julia Yonetani, “The ‘History Wars’ in Comparative Perspective: Australia and Japan”, in *Cultural Studies Review*, vol. 10 No.2, September; 2004, pp. 33-50.

9 The key debate was between the philosopher Takahashi Tetsuya and literacy critic Katō Norihiro. It began when Takahashi criticized Katō’s highly controversial article, “Haisengoron” in *Gunzo* (January 1995) as neo-nationalistic. See also, Abiko Kazuyoshi, Uozumi Yōichi, and Nakaoka Seibun, eds., *Sensa sekinin to wareware: rekishi shutai ronsō o megutte*, Nakanishiya shuppān, 1999.

10 The contention began when the independent scholar and philosopher Hanasaki Kohei criticized the narrative of a Zainichi Korean writer Suh Kyung-Sik as a *kyūdan* (mode of denunciation).
came fifteen years later due to Japanese companies' competitive power being based on Japanese-style management and LDP (Liberal Democratic Party)-oriented developments which supported Japan's economic prosperity after the oil crises of the 1970s. He further argues that, unlike Western Europe, since the welfare system was incomplete in Japan, the neo-liberal reform under the LDP was targeted not at the welfare-state and its opposition party, but at its own conventional politics and their established interests. Against the old right LDP members, which Koizumi names Teikō seiryoku (the forces of resistance), Koizumi advocated structural reform and claimed that "there is no reform without pain". People and the media supported acceptance of the "pain", believing that it would put an end to the long economic recession and increase the employment rate. However, as the electoral victory of Koizumi and the LDP revealed, what people actually supported was not reformists seeking change in society but the slogan of the new right seeking victory in the struggle for hegemony in conservative politics. With such distorted confrontation, nationalism is inflated by the new right politicians and scholars in order to achieve the reconfiguration of a 'new' Japan.

In order to analyse the rise of neo-nationalism in Japan after the mid-1990s and following North Korea-bashing, a critical theoretical framework must be created. The conventional theory of nationalism is excessively focused on text analysis, and does not deal much with nationalism practiced in everyday life. For example, the rise of neo-nationalism goes through the phase in which there is a 'loser' majority's backlash against the existence and rights of minorities, but conventional critical theory seems to be ineffective in capturing this phase. When we look at grassroots nationalism 'from the bottom', it is evident that each case and agent is extremely diversified. They are linked through the ideology of nationalism, but they are also filled with contradictory social and historical backgrounds to the ideology. This thesis carefully and critically investigates the role of nationalism in the process of reconfiguring the nation state. But more importantly, it focuses on the social and historical backgrounds of people's practice of nationalism in everyday life through empirical case studies.

I consider that history is not limited to what is written as texts by historians. As Michel de Certeau revealed, people's practice of everyday life is also history. People are historical subjects through their everyday activities: work and consumption, and

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education and play. In order to analyse the people’s practice of nationalism in everyday life, the personal history and story and its surrounding everyday life becomes the object to deal with. This thesis considers the nationalist ideologies and practices which are lived in people’s everyday life as texts of nationalism. Therefore, it goes back and forth between each case and the theory of nationalism. For example, should my experience of Japan-bashing in Michigan be considered as nationalism? Is my friend’s mother a nationalist? Obviously, both cases are examples of the exclusive and inclusive practice of nationalism on the national border on individual bases. However, can we reduce those individual experiences into nationalism? Don’t we miss social and historical backgrounds behind each case? It seemed to me that the conventional theory of nationalism is ineffective and unconvincing because it disregards the diversified social and historical backgrounds of what we regard as a nationalism and its discourse. In focusing on the diversity of the practice of nationalism on the national border, the pitfalls of the conventional theory of nationalism emerge.

1.2.2. Problem of Kohn’s dichotomy

The conventional critical study of nationalism today is based on the foundation of the dichotomy proposed by Hans Kohn, who is often referred to as one of two pioneers in the field of nationalism studies, along with Carlton Hayes. Kohn’s ideas were developed around the time when the idea of the welfare state appeared in the Beveridge Report of 1942 in Great Britain as part of the preparation for total war. In analysing the North Korea-bashing or my friend’s mother’s phobic attitude, Kohn’s dichotomy reveals its inadequacy. The dichotomy distinguishes rational “civic nationalism”, based on the civil society from “ethno-nationalism” that is based on cultural homogeneity. While the former is the nationalism of the mature nations such as the advanced capitalist states, the latter is the premodern nationalism that is founded on the cultural and ethnic homogeneity in the less-advanced nation states. The former is regarded as the nationalism of ‘global coevalness’, which links people through globally standardized politics, economics, and cultures. For example, the shopping mall is a good example of an apparatus that enhances such a sense of global coevalness.

14 “Coevalness” is the critical concept defined by anthropologist Johannes Fabian, who criticized how anthropological texts are created by ignoring the contemporary shared moment between researchers and informants. In this thesis, I use the term ‘global coevalness’ to represent the shared global values and sentiment among the people in the advanced capitalist states on an everyday scale through their interactions with globally formatted politics, economics, and cultures. Fabian, Johannes, Time and the Other—How Anthropology Makes its Object, New York: Columbia University Press, 1983, p. 31.
Through shopping in similarly formatted shopping malls all over the world, people also create common values and sentiments. On the other hand, ethno-nationalism is regarded as the nationalism of late comers. However, this model is not very helpful when we consider ‘bashing’, that is, a backlash by the majority against a minority, as a form of nationalism, because such backlashes are often ethno-nationalism by people living in the advanced capitalist states. Furthermore, my case in the high school cafeteria in Michigan was even more complicated. That situation showed ethno-nationalism by a son of a former GM employee living in the third world within the first world against a middle-class exchange student from Japan, which is under strong influence from the United States. It was ethno-nationalism by a son of the poor working class majority. In that context, nationalism in the advanced capitalist states themselves may be considered as being divided into two: civic nationalism and ethno-nationalism.

However, on the actual national border in everyday life, each individual has a differing social and historical background, and the border between the civic and ethnic or winner and loser, within the advanced capitalist states should not be drawn without careful consideration and investigation. Peoples' backgrounds are not communal as they used to be: they are highly individualized. The individualized social and historical backgrounds on the national border cannot be understood through communal accounts. For example, the collective identity such as a particular ethnic group or working class no longer provides sufficient explanation. The interactions among people on the national border are further complicated in today's reality. In critically analysing the practice of nationalism on the national border in everyday life, the account of each individual requires careful investigation. For example, my friend's mother is not a loser. She is the housewife of a middle-class family. She ended up advocating ethno-nationalism but originally started her activities from her sincere sympathy toward the families of abductees. The high school boy in the cafeteria expressed ethno-nationalism against a Japanese exchange student who represents a state which deprived his father of a job. In order to critically investigate such practice of nationalism on the national border, it is extremely important to examine and understand the social and historical implications of agents.

The binominal confrontation between "civic" and "ethnos" naturally inherits the ideology that "ethnos" represents underdevelopment and something dangerous, while the "civic" is mature and safe. Michael Billig points out that while the healthy
“patriotism” in the “achieved nations” is regarded as “banal nationalism”, the nationalism in developing nations is marginalized as dangerous and barbaric “hot nationalism”. He critically views this mechanism of marginalization and expresses it in the following way.

According to customary usage, George Bush is not a nationalist; but separatists in Quebec or Brittany are; so are the leaders of extreme right-wing parties such as the Front National in France; and so, too, are the Serbian guerrillas, killing in the cause of extending the homeland’s borders. A book about nationalism is expected to deal with such figures. It should be discussing dangerous and powerful passions, outlining a psychology of extraordinary emotions.  

Thus, ‘our patriotism’ is ‘healthy’. On the other hand, the pre-modern “hot nationalism” is dangerous. This perception seems to be enhanced by the global coevalness and shared among the nations of the advanced capitalist states. For example, in the Japanese context, Kutsuwada Ryūzō mentions the compatibility between the banal nationalism and global coevalness in analysing the rise of neo-nationalism in Japan.  

So it is not ‘cool’ to advocate hot nationalism in the everyday life of the “achieved nations”, and it is even considered as nationalism which has deviated from the global coevalness. Furthermore, in today’s advanced capitalist states, it is also considered deviant behaviour to express the explicit forms of nationalism and racism in public. So nationalism is generally practiced in a manner which does not deviate from the image of the ‘good consumer’. This point will be theoretically explored in later sections.

Furthermore, the compatibility between the Western advanced capitalist-oriented theory of nationalism and the ideology of global coevalness will be examined. Nationalism has been considered as the concept which confronts internationalism. For example, E.H. Carr’s analysis of nationalism and internationalism in binominal confrontation argues that firstly, the monarchical state emerged after the Reformation in the 16th century. Then bourgeois nationalism emerged under British hegemony from the early 19th century. Finally, nationalism was popularized through the ‘total war’

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regime after the WWI. He predicted that in the society after the WWII, nationalism would become to "bankrupt" after much contention with internationalism.\textsuperscript{17} In Carr's perception, nationalism and internationalism fiercely confront each other, and internationalism eventually leads to the bankruptcy of nationalism. He does not look at the compatibility between the two. However, since the end of the Cold War, the socioeconomic conditions created by global information capitalism have been reconfiguring the nationalism in forms suited to contemporary global conditions.

Tom Nairn delineates the rise of neo-nationalism in Great Britain in relation to the sense of "crisis" by focusing on the socioeconomic conditions. Behind the rise of neo-nationalism, lies the fact that the Labour Party could not find a way to overcome the 'crisis' of the mid-1970s in Great Britain, after the demise of the high economic growth period. To some extent, the sense of crisis behind the advent of the Margaret Thatcher and neo-liberal policy seems to be parallel to the sense of crisis after the mid-1990s in Japan and the advent of Prime Minister Koizumi. Furthermore, Nairn points out that nationalism rises at the 'periphery' against 'centre', based on the unequal distribution and development of the world economy.\textsuperscript{18} However, as Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt argued in \textit{Empire}, under the socioeconomic conditions of the global information capitalism which creates the network of Empire, there is no 'centre' and 'periphery' or 'inside' and 'outside'.\textsuperscript{19} Rather, global coevalness permeates the advanced information capitalist states and global cities. Meanwhile, what Manuel Castells called the "Fourth World" is emerging within the 'First World', composing the people living in the urban slums and homeless people in the advanced capitalist states.\textsuperscript{20} So there is a rise in nationalism among the people living in the advanced capitalist states but alienated by the global coevalness. However, such nationalism does not confront the ideology of global coevalness. Rather, it is inflated by the ideology of global coevalness. Thus the nationalism of internal exiles would be pointed to the nation states which do not welcome global coevalness such as North Korea and minorities living in Japan. In the age of global information the capitalism and reconfiguration of the nation states, globalization and nationalism are not necessarily in opposition to one another.

Amid the rise of global information capitalism, the binominal framework of civic nationalism and ethno-nationalism is not applicable in analysing nationalism. The citizen is now increasingly a consumer who is compatible to the global market mechanism and global coevalness. Nationalism today exists within the market mechanism and the logic of 'self-responsibility'. So who are the main agents of the rise of neo-nationalism in the advanced capitalist states like Japan? They are the internal exiles who fear being left out of global coevalness. As Ghassan Hage says, this is the paranoid nationalism of the internal exiles. It is the cry of internal exiles that they must be the first ones to be saved by the nation state. As mentioned above, such nationalism has a strong sense of victimization and is directed against the minority living in Japan, who are domestic rivals, and the nation states who rebel against the ideology of global coevalness. In Japan's context, the former consists of ethnic minority groups such as Zainichi Koreans, Chinese and other minority groups living in Japan, and the latter is North Korea and Kim Il Song. Zainichi Koreans became particular targets of the majority’s phobia because they symbolize the linkage of both foreign and domestic phobic subjects.

In this ethnic 'phobic' category, the nationalist politics of 'inclusion' and 'exclusion' are being practiced on the border of global coevalness. In this thesis, I use the term phobia as the consumer-oriented expression of fear and hate against 'Others'. Phobia is a seemingly passive attitude to that expresses the fear and hatred of 'Others' and it is not regarded as the behaviour of decent citizens, as the political subject. However, phobia is not regarded as deviant consumer behaviour as long as it does not bring explicit confusions to public consumer space and time. Therefore, I consider that phobia is a sophisticated form of discriminatory practice, which secured the consumer's individual interest by avoiding any political commitment. It is the 'flexible phobia' of the internal exiles, who are afraid of being or remaining as 'flexible workers' in the future or for rest of their lives without the protection and love of the nation state. For example, South Korea and Zainichi Koreans who are compatible with global coevalness become something to be consumed, as illustrated by the Kanryū (South Korean boom), the mania for Korean TV dramas, movie stars and other forms of popular culture which swept Japan in the first years of the 21st century. On the other hand, when Zainichi Koreans emerge in the context of demands for reparation by victims of war and colonialism such as the so-called 'comfort women', they become the subject of phobia because they cannot be consumed, and appear to disturb the comforting space of
This seems to be similar to the structure of the “white tolerance” which Hage criticized in the context of Australian multicultural ideology. Hage regards the majority’s practice of discrimination and racism as the practice of nationalism. He analyses the practice in the cases of everyday life. In analysing the ‘loser’ white majority living on the outskirts of Sydney side-by-side with other ethnic minority groups, he insists that it is important to consider their discriminatory discourse and behaviour as the practice of nationalism rather than that of racism. Based on Lacanian psycho-analysis and Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of practice, he describes the perception of the majority who are discriminating against the minority as “national fantasy.” Hage is indicating that practicing racial discrimination itself is not the majority’s primary interest. What is more important for the majority is the claim to ‘ownership’ of national space and material abundance. Hage’s analysis of the internal exiles seems to be effective in examining the practice of nationalism today, and is based on the perception that the central player of nationalism has shifted from labourer to consumer. As Hage’s work suggests, in order to analyse the nationalism of consumers linked globally by global coevalness, it is important to understand the process of consumption and the practice of nationalism empirically, based on case studies.

On the other hand, the ideologies of globalization and nationalism confront each other in many contexts and in diverse ways. The actual implications of the production of similar discourse can be very different, depending on whether the discourse is produced by Tokyo governor Ishihara and my friend’s mother. As indicated clearly in the status gap between these two, agents of nationalist discourse cannot readily be subsumed into the conventional communal sociological frameworks such as class, ethnicity and gender, which are established through identity politics. Each agent is highly individualized, and nationalists are scattered across the conventional communal sociological genres. Meanwhile, the stories of nationalists are also highly individualized and it is not possible to find common interests among them except the use of nationalist discourse. While the project of reconfiguring the nation state continues, the practice of nationalism in everyday life on the national border is highly diversified. So what is the actual practice of nationalism in everyday life and who are its agents? It is diversified indeed, but we must start from the landscape of everyday life.

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life and illuminate the theory in order to critically deal with the social and historical implication behind the rise of neo-nationalism and North Korea-bashing.

1.3. The emergence of internal exiles and its socioeconomic implications

1.3.1. Shift in industrial structure

What are the socioeconomic forces behind the rise of neo-nationalism and internal exiles? Iyotani Toshio interprets the new division of labour that occurred after the 1980s and 1990s as a transition to the “post-new international division of labour”.\(^{22}\) This new trend divides the global elites, who engage in “symbolic production”, and “flexible labourers” who are the accountable labour forces based on the principle of market mechanism. It also creates an increasingly complex division of labour within nations, both developed and developing states. In the advanced capitalist states, the division is between labourers engaged in the symbolic production and other flexible labourers. As Castells mentions, there is an emergence of a “Fourth World”. This is a world of a substantial section of the population who are isolated from the age of information capitalism, and become internal exiles.

The critical difference between the symbolic producers and flexible workers is that there is no respect for the quality of labour in the latter. In other words, the flexible labourers are the labourers without any names. It is very difficult for them to explore the meaning of their labours. The skills that their labour involves are not recognized as craftsmanship. It is only consuming activities which provide the meaning of life. The nameless labourers try to maintain their pride by seeking the meaning of their lives through the acquisition of consumer commodities.

More importantly, the division between symbolic producers and flexible labourers cannot be clearly drawn. Rather, they are divided into complicated and intertwined mosaic-like forms. On the one hand, this means that the subjects of identity politics (women, labourers, ethnic groups and so forth), are now disaggregated into consumer-oriented individualized subjects. On the other hand, it means that each individual is linked to others as a network in a complicated way. For example, the division of labour also involves the division among the members of the same family. It is possible that while an elder brother works at a mobile phone shop as a flexible labourer, his younger sister becomes a lawyer. Furthermore, it is apparent that there is

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a huge difference between the future prospects of a worker at a mobile phone shop and a limited-time contract college professor.

So who are the flexible labourers? Who are the internal exiles? Generally, the flexible labourers are those who are not in regular employment such as contract employees, dispatched employees, part-time employees and so forth. However, not all of them become internal exiles. It is even possible that symbolic producers might become or speak for internal exiles. In fact, it is almost impossible to specify a priori who the internal exiles are. For example, my informants are majority Japanese who work at a small company in a regional city of Japan. They are not symbolic producers in the sense that they are working at a small company in a regional city. However, since they are engaged in the sewage consulting business, they are also symbolic producers at the very local level. As this example reveals, the surrounding environment of each flexible labourer and internal exile is complicated and intertwined. It is important to mention that it is difficult to essentially define who the internal exiles are, but it is possible to define when the majority speak for the internal exiles. As the case of North Korea-bashing reveals, it is not only the people who are involved in the incident such as the family members of victims but also the people who feel sympathy toward the unrewarded or unlucky majority. In this thesis, I define my informants at a small company as the majority who might potentially speak for such a poor majority as internal exiles. It is not only those who have already become an internal exile, like my friend’s mother, who raises her voice against North Korea and Kim Jong II, but also the people who fear losing their privileges as a majority on the national border in their everyday lives. Such a majority may become internal exiles when they speak for kidnapping victims after watching TV news programs about issues involving North Korea. However, the majority who are on the border of internal exiles are not isolated, but they are linked to each other in a very complicated manner.

1.3.2. Change in contemporary society

In postwar Japanese society, what motivated the people in routine or manual jobs was the middle-class fantasy. Shibuya Nozumu points out that the dismantling of the middle class became very real since the Japanese-style management based on the lifelong employment and the age-based remuneration system was unilaterally abrogated by management side.23 As Miura Atsushi argues, the middle-class fantasy among

Japanese was constructed around the image of “family”, and was considered to be achieved by pursuing the American model not only in industrial and occupational structures but also in consumer life. As many have argued, the idea of the middle class was more myth than reality, but it also seems to be true in that it provided an identity to the people to some extent. Such fantasy was realized through acquiring durable consumer goods: a suburban residence, automobile, home electric appliances and so forth. So the condition of being a member of the middle class was to be a sophisticated consumer. Furthermore, it is important that it was believed to be achieved through the accumulation of wealth and social status, the image of a steady rise in prestige and life-style continuing into the future. The very reason that the former middle class turned into internal exiles is due to the fact that they feel insecure about sustaining their status as sophisticated consumers into the future, fear being overwhelmed by the market mechanism. To sustain their pride as sophisticated consumers, the nameless labourers seek for a master narrative that explains the meaning of their lives.

As Zygmunt Bauman indicates, consumption is a very individualized activity. Consuming activities are based on the exchange of a commodity for the equivalent currency. Consumers purchase a commodity based on their ‘aesthetic’ judgments, such as hobbies and tastes, likes and dislikes. This “aestheticity” links people to people, people to place, and people to commodity, beyond the frameworks of nation-state, intermediate community, family, and so forth. Such linkage is established beyond the ideology of identity politics: class, gender, ethnicity, and so forth. For example, ethnicity does not really explain one’s purchase of an Ipod. In addition to advertisements, what explains and influences the consumer’s choice is the actual linkage with intimate ‘Others’: friend, lover, colleague, classmate, and so on. This world of consuming activities becomes a meaningful “society” for each individual.

p. 74.

24 Miura, Atsushi, Kazoku to kōfuku no sengoshi: kōgai no yume to genjitsu, Kōdansha, 1999.
Nicholas Rose’s insight into power is very helpful in analysing the individualized subject and power in consumer society. Individualized consumers try to seek the meaning of their lives within the interior of their individualized linkages. Rose explains this tendency as withdrawal from the society – the conversion of society into a private space to achieve “self-actualization”. This eventually leads to “depoliticization”, since consumers are satisfied as long as their private lives are meaningful and pleasant rather than seeking for changes through participation in party politics. Meanwhile, the state and society also encourage individuals “to take responsibility for themselves” through independence from welfare. However, those consumers’ choices are not simply based on their ‘freedom’. They are not free from power. As Rose argues, what is at work here is not the discipline-oriented power of modern society, but it is the mechanism of self-discipline through the ‘governmental’ point of view in consumer society. This is not the modern type of power, which is ordered from top to bottom. Rather, it is the postmodern mechanism of everyday self-discipline through consuming activities in the information capitalist society.28

The consuming subject is constructed through consumers’ everyday activities in the shopping malls, gas stations, and so on. For example, consumers may choose the self-serve gas stations rather than the one where the employees escort, put in gas, and clean windshields for customers. It is cheaper and there is no bothersome communication with employees. Instead of employees, consumers are now in charge of taking off the filler cap, sliding in the credit card, selecting the type of gas, and finally putting in gas. In this context, the relationship between the workers and customers at the local gas stations become increasingly remote. At the same time, what is important is that the customers put in their gas under their own responsibility. Therefore, in order to avoid accidents, the customers put in their gas with extreme caution in the name of free choice and self-responsibility. This customers’ behaviour internalizes the discipline required by the government and the owners of the gas station. The customers (who are also employees at the same time) share the entrepreneur’s governmental point of view through consumption at a randomly selected gas station, and he or she acts for a brief moment as if he or she is the owner of the gas station. Rose describes such banal everyday activities as the mechanism for “making employees into entrepreneurs”.29

29 Ibid., p. 142.
Individualized and depoliticized consumers wish to drop anchor on the interior of the self-actualized world and try to make it sustainable. Meanwhile, their imagination of ‘Others’ who live outside of their world becomes very poor. The depoliticized imagination of ‘Others’ based on the consumer-oriented aestheticity tends to judge ‘Others’ in terms of like or dislike. ‘Others’ tend to be treated as a commodity. For example, in Japan’s context, we have two contrasting perceptions of Korea: North Korean bashing and Kanryū (South Korean Boom). They are different sides of the same coin in the sense that they are solely based on aesthetic judgment. In that context, there is no imagination of people’s historical and social backgrounds. So, the aesthetically unattractive ‘Others’ are constructed as “strangers” intruding into “our” consumer space, and this generates the phobic sentiment against them. Such phobic practices are performed in a way that does not deviate from the etiquette of the sophisticated consumers. Unlike hate, phobia would not be explicitly acted out in the consumer sphere, where it might be regarded as a deviant activity. Rather, it is performed in a passive manner without breaking the rules of consumer society.

Complex and diversified consumer society seems to be spreading what Bauman describes as “mixophobia”. It is the sentiment of people who hesitate to mix with the different, the strange, and minorities. Bauman writes that “the roots of mixophobia are banal – not at all difficult to locate, easy to understand if not necessarily easy to forgive”. Mixophobia promises some spiritual comfort such as “the prospect of making togetherness easier to bear by cutting off the effort to understand, to negotiate, to compromise, that living amidst and with difference requires.”

The social condition behind the practice of nationalism by the internal exiles is strongly driven by the consuming society. It is intertwined in a complicated and individualized manner beyond the framework of identity politics. There is an emergence of mosaic-like border among individuals. On the border, it is not only the gender, class, and ethnicity but also occupation, income, hobby and taste that will be questioned. It is in this context that the internal exiles are constructing the national border aggressively or passively, by sharing a national fantasy. In the following section, I would like to examine and classify the actual form of the practice of

30 Bauman discusses the marginalization of “strangers” in the consuming era. See, Bauman (1997), pp. 17-19.
nationalism in everyday life. In order to deal with a nationalist today, who will likely not admit that he or she is a nationalist, I shall provide a new critical measure to deal with him or her. I will focus on a nationalist's accounts when he or she is accused of being a nationalist. Furthermore, this is not only the theoretical classification of nationalists, but also something one can practice in everyday life as a practical weapon against them. So the following is also a guideline to dealing with nationalists.

1.4. Nationalism for idiots – how to deal with nationalism

It is extremely difficult to find and criticize nationalists in today's consumer society. Ishihara Shintarō, John Howard, George Bush or my friend's mother would deny that they are nationalists. Then how can we find the nationalists of the consuming era? The technique for identifying nationalism is rather a simple one. We can focus on nationalists' excuses to justify themselves. Nationalist excuses can be categorized into the following two patterns. The first is the innocent nationalism, which alleges innocence with the following excuses: humour, ignorance, and apathy. The second is the loving nationalism which admits its nationalism, but offers the following reasons: love, pride, and fear.

1.4.1. Innocent nationalism

The most popular form of innocent nationalism is jokes. The discriminatory joke can be exclusive or inclusive. Innocent nationalists make jokes about the name of the ethnic minority, food culture, pronunciation of majority language and so forth. For example, against Zainichi Koreans in Japan, the jokes about "smelling like Kimchee" or imitating the Japanese accent of the first generation can be regarded as this type. By the majority, these jokes are considered "innocent" since they are not very serious or full of animosity.

But explicit and exclusive jokes of this type seem to be disappearing today. The reason for this is such an explicit form of exclusive act in the consuming sphere would be regarded as behaviour which deviates from sophisticated consumer manners. The more popular version of the joke today is implicit and inclusive, such as the ones which I encountered many times through fieldwork research in Okayama. During my research period, the target of discriminatory jokes was North Korea. North Korea and Kim Jong II were stereotyped into something exotic and dangerous. They are banally shared among the majority in their everyday lives. But in the case of Zainichi Koreans, since they are using their Japanese names in their everyday lives, their presence are often not recognized by the majority. The everyday banal imagination seen in
discriminatory jokes is based on the national fantasy that ‘we’ are Japanese. For example, North Korea is assumed to be the unaesthetic “Other”, outside our space of consumption. But if some of the people listening to the joke actually have North Korean nationality, their right to exist in this consumer space is suddenly destabilized. This kind of joke in everyday life is tricky because the joke has a role to lubricate the communication among people. So people justify to themselves that they are joking not for a discriminatory purpose but for a practical reason – to smooth everyday communications. Such jokes are very inclusive in nature. So the person who cannot share the joke tends to be regarded as an object of phobia, who denies global coevalness. Since the internal exiles are preoccupied with asserting global coevalness, they produce phobia and cynicism against those who deny it.

Secondly, some innocent nationalists claim their innocence. They claim that they did not know the historical and social backgrounds of the ethnic minority. For example, if we ask those who commit North Korean bashing, they might just deny that they are nationalists innocently and allege their ignorance about colonial responsibility toward Korea. The logic is “We did not know so we are innocent. And please do not get too excited!” This kind of excuse was particularly popular among my young informants who were born after the 1970s. Most of them do not know the social and historical backgrounds of Zainichi Koreans. So they ask innocently, “What did they come to Japan for?” Furthermore, they would insist that they have nothing to do with discrimination issues: because they personally have not actually committed discriminatory activities or ever met Zainichi Koreans before. However, as my fieldwork research shows, in most cases this claim that they have no relationship with Zainichi Koreans turns out not to be correct. “Majority Japanese” were linked to Zainichi Korean in diversified ways but they just did not feel a need to be aware of the fact. This is because the consumer space of contemporary Japan is constructed in such a way that it is easy to ignore these linkages. In that sense, their excuse – “I didn’t know” – only makes sense in their individualized and self-actualized world.

Thirdly, some innocent nationalists express apathy. In this case, they do not care whether they know or not since they do not have any interest. Such reaction can be both positive and negative. For example, many of my young Zainichi Korean informants told me of their experiences when they ‘came out’ as a Zainichi Korean to their friends. In order to express friendship and to show a lack of discriminatory sentiments towards Zainichi Koreans, the Japanese friend usually says “it doesn’t
matter; there is no difference between us at all”. For the majority, this is often expressed with the positive intention of reconfirming their good relationship. On the other hand, for young Zainichi Koreans, it is nothing but denial of their postcolonial identity. Some of my informants at a small company expressed their strong apathy. When I asked them about Zainichi Koreans, they usually answered that they do not know anything about them at all. In one case, one male employee answered that he has no interest in Zainichi Koreans, yet he actually had several books written by Zainichi Korean authors. He said he enjoyed the novels but he still clarified the point to me that it has nothing to do with any interest toward Zainichi Koreans. Such cases are very passive and silent. People feel that they do not have to know because such knowledge is not useful for their individualized and self-actualized world. They can be only apathetic by believing that they are living in the interior of their own world.

1.4.2. Loving nationalism

There is loving nationalism which is expressed by people who range from people like Ishihara to my friend’s mother. They claim that they are not expressing an exclusive nationalistic sentiment but rather expressing love toward the people they know. Such love is, however, exclusive. Exclusive love toward the people with whom they feel the sense of solidarity precedes the love toward the ‘Others’ they do not know. For example, this is typically seen in the majority’s backlash against affirmative action. The logic of those who practice this nationalism is that they have no intention of assaulting the ethnic minority but they must recapture their own rights to protect themselves. Furthermore, this is often expressed as sympathy towards the unfortunate who happen to be like “us”. My friend’s mother’s case is also a typical one. Her sincere love and sense of sorrow toward families of abduction victims in Niigata turns into the sentiment that the Japanese government should not support the people suffering in North Korea, since the North Korean government does not respond to the demands of the kidnap victims. In this context, her love toward the families of victims ends up in a very “focused” love, excluding the possibility of compassion toward the people in North Korea who are severely suffering from the shortage of food.

Secondly, the “love” is often reinforced by pride. They insist that being proud of one’s nation is a very natural and healthy thing. The internal exiles try to make their world meaningful in order to maintain their identity and pride. However, such pride is not something substantial. In other words, the internal exiles are not creating a national fantasy only for the sake of pride as a member of nation state. In Japan’s
context, it is the pride to sustain their status as sophisticated consumers. For example, the repeated showing of sections from North Korean news on Japanese TV gives the message to Japanese consumer that “isn’t their TV crude and unaesthetic unlike our sophisticated TV programs?” This also reveals that love is linked to a realistic desire to sustain one’s consumer status.

Thirdly, fear is another good excuse for loving nationalists. They reproduce the media discourse of fear, for example, that North Korea and Kim Jong Il may attack Japan with atomic bombs. So it is very natural for them to attack North Korea since North Korea is dangerous and scary. Such logic is harmonious to the fear of people in consumer society. For example, it is harmonious to the idea of risk management. Before something happens, one must establish a system for prevention. In that sense, this is complementary to the fear of becoming internal exiles. North Korea and Kim Jong Il become the scapegoats to exorcise the sense of fear in everyday life: the fear of losing status as sophisticated consumers.

This nationalist discourse expressed as jokes, ignorance, apathy, love, pride, and fear, generates the sense of phobia against ‘Others’ within the consuming activities of everyday life, and without violating the proper etiquette of the sophisticated consumer. The main motivation behind this nationalist practice is to make the individualized self-actualized world sustainable. The social and historical implications of ‘Others’ are considered as impractical information. It is this idea of ‘sustainable individualism’ that legitimates the practice of excluding and including minorities.

Finally, the above critical analysis of nationalist practice in everyday life cannot be applied in a simplistic manner. Nationalist practice in everyday life is highly complicated and often contradictory. Discourse and practices are very individualized and cannot be simply criticized without carefully investigating the social and historical backgrounds of each actor. So in order to actually use above analysis, please listen very carefully and try to understand each actor individually.

1.4.3. Nationalist’s images as a shopping-mall-like-fantasy

The practices of nationalism discussed above are shaped in people’s everyday life. The most important agenda is to make their individualized world meaningful and make it sustainable. This agenda is pursued through consuming activities in the shopping-mall, driving to tourist attractions, cultural consumption such as TV, films,
and music, and so forth. Since these activities are harmonious with consumers’
everyday lives, they are not deviant activities but rather very natural things. As long as
they do not deviate from the rule of the consuming society, there is no problem.
Therefore, nationalism is practiced by following the rules of consumer society. In that
sense, jokes, ignorance, apathy, love, pride and fear are harmonious to consumers. As
long as they do not practice what Billig calls “hot nationalism”, they would not be
blamed for being nationalists. Such “cool nationalism” may be understood by
considering the consumer self-discipline of the shopping-mall.

Firstly, one cannot dress scruffily and filthily in a shopping-mall. The lights of
information capitalism illuminate dirty clothes and shoes, and stigmatize them. Consumer items that are either too expensive or cheap, which are not sold at the
shopping-mall are also not very welcome. There is a strong prohibition on engaging in
any activities which inhibit the promotion of consumers’ appetites. In order to increase
consumer appetite, the place demands homogeneity from the consumer. For example,
they may provide a space for UNICEF to engage in volunteer activities but not for some
other radical groups or religious cults to engage in their practices. Furthermore,
deviant activities are prohibited as well. Such activities as discriminatory abuse and
behaviour in the shopping-mall might be regarded as decreasing people’s desire to
consume. They are enemies of the free market rationality.

More importantly, in a shopping-mall, the consumers know where to go in order to
get exactly what they are looking for. The consumers have an illusion that they
possess a god-like overhead view. Those consumer items at the shopping-mall are all
the same all over the world and they never threaten consumers’ fantasy. They are
predictable, so the risk of not achieving consumption can be reduced. For example,
there is almost no difference between sunscreen from Body Shop or Tall Café Lattes
from Starbucks Coffee in any shopping mall all over the world. On the contrary, the
variable factors to destroy their fantasy would irritate consumers since they are not
manageable risks. This is because the variable factors make consumers uncertain
about their self-actualized world, and invoke the fear of losing the meaning of their life.
It is in this context that nationalists with shopping-mall-like-fantasy emerge. They do
not believe that they are devoting their lives to the nation-state. In busy everyday life,
they are devoting their lives to sustaining their status as sophisticated consumers in the
shopping-mall, in order to make the meaning of their individualized and self-actualized
world sustainable.
Yet the unintended result of their action is to support the reconfiguration of the nation state in the age of global information capitalism. As Saskia Sassen points out, the impact of globalization on the nation-state is not enhancing the "denationalization" but the process of "renationalization".

Economic globalization denationalizes national economies; in contrast, immigration is renationalizing politics. There is a growing consensus in the community of states to lift border controls for the flow of capital, information, and services and, more broadly, to further globalization. Burt when it comes to immigrants and refugees, whether in North America, Western Europe, or Japan, the national state claims all its old splendor in asserting its sovereign right to control its borders.32

This is where individualism meets nationalism. In order to go to the shopping mall, one must have an automobile. One needs money to do shopping. In order to take out a loan, one must have a steady income. So one cannot be dissatisfied with or quit his or her job very easily. Rather, it is considered a virtue to work hard to sustain one's individualized and self-actualized world.

1.5. Objective, methodology, and chapter breakdown

1.5.1. Objective: Thinking about nationalism critically in the practice of building a multicultural society in a regional city of Japan

What kind of research method is most effective in dealing with the nationalism that emerges on the border in everyday life? Perhaps this cannot be analysed from the bird's-eye view. In other words, it is not possible to delineate a grand critical theory of nationalism in such banal everyday events. Analysis of nationalism must be a political intervention from the critical perspective. Furthermore, special attention must be paid to how nationalism is highly individualized in its practice. It is eventually emotionally articulated into the process of the reconfiguration of the nation state; however, its actual practice can take various forms. It is often ambiguous, tepid, nonsensical, and the logic of 'exclusion' and 'inclusion' are frequently confused. This fact makes it easy for the majority to believe that they are not practicing nationalism but something else, and also makes it difficult for the minority to determine what the majority's practice is,

whether it is nationalism or not. Therefore, for both majority and minority, it is more effective to deal with specific cases of the practice thoroughly in order to invoke the critical imagination. For that reason, this thesis focuses particularly on the locality of each case rather than seeking for consistency among cases to support an overarching theoretical framework. This may make readers think that the displays are of disorderly and disparate examples of nationalism. However, I consider that writing is a project of co-authoring with informants and readers, and I tried to present my research data as intelligibly as possible for the informants and readers. In that way, it is not only myself dealing with the critical study of the practice of nationalism: this is also a critical cooperation with informants and readers. The reader will find transitions in my theoretical framework reflected through this thesis. My perceptions of informants and nationalism changed over the time of fieldwork research and the writing of this thesis. In other words, the original theoretical framework was questioned through the empirical case studies, the involvement in local political practices, and writing up this thesis. Therefore, the thesis attempts to re-examine critical theories of nationalism through empirical studies focusing on cases of both majority and minority regarding the practice of nationalism. Finally, as I engaged in fieldwork research of nationalism, I also engaged in the local practice of anti-nationalism in seeking to build a multicultural society in the regional city, my hometown Okayama. Through the encounters with so many interesting people by being involved in the local political practice, I received many hints on how to think about nationalism critically. So this thesis is not only empirical but also practical in the local political context.

1.5.2. Methodology

In order to pursue my objective, firstly, I reviewed the previous studies of nationalism in the everyday life of Japan by Sugimoto Yoshio, Yoshino Kōsaku, and Iwabuchi Kōichi. Sugimoto, Yoshino, and Iwabuchi critically examined nationalism in everyday life while completing their PhD theses and engaging in their research overseas; in the United States, Great Britain, and Australia. In their perspective, the process of diffusion and consumption of the discourse of nationalism overseas is critically examined.

However, they do not explicitly address the issue of being native anthropologists who are restricted by the academic institution as well as global coevalness. In their studies of nationalism, the subjectivity of researchers is not the subject on analysis. In other words, they do not articulate their past memories and experiences as Japanese, although
they undoubtedly have an implicit influence on their analysis. Furthermore, nationalism is only considered at the level of text and discourse. So, there is no intervention in the context of local politics and how nationalism is actually practiced in the everyday life, nor is there any direct discussion of the way in which the practice affects the everyday life of the minority.

Therefore, in order to be self-reflexive about my position as a native anthropologist, I selected my friends in my hometown as informants for the starting point of research. This is because my friends in my hometown are the starting point of my subjectivity as a Japanese, and this time and space is based on my memories and experiences. I critically examined nationalism as the obstacle to build a multicultural society in my hometown, Okayama. This thesis is broadly written in the chronological order of my fieldwork research, which begins with my friends and ends in the local practice of building a multicultural society in Okayama. At the same time, I used this approach in an effort to destabilize the theoretical framework of the “native anthropologist” which is embedded in academic positions, and the fact that scholars have removed themselves from personal memories so as to be able to speak with authority about the “community” or the “nation” as a whole. Firstly, I decided in Canberra to engage in one year-long fieldwork research at a small company in Okayama where my friend is working. So I worked at the company with my friend and sixteen other workers and spent some private time with them for one year. Naturally, and secondly, I became familiar with people working at the company and decided to visit their houses and interviewed them privately. So I interviewed workers regarding their general perception, experiences, and memories regarding Zainichi Koreans. I focused on their perceptions toward Zainichi Koreans because they are ‘old comer’ immigrants and almost invisible in everyday life. In that sense, they are not only subjects of exclusion but also inclusion through their assimilation into Japanese society in the everyday creation of borders. In particular, young Zainichi Koreans on whom I focused in this thesis were living with suburbanization and the individualization of consumer society in the era of global information capitalism. Thirdly, I started to engage in the fieldwork research of Zainichi Koreans, none of whom I knew before. I spent most of the time with many young Zainichi Koreans when I was not working and spending time with workers at the small company. As I made many young Zainichi Korean friends, I naturally started to meet their Japanese friends, neighbours, lovers, colleagues, classmates and so on. So fourthly, I decided to interview Japanese who are attempting to cross the border through encounters with Zainichi Koreans. Through this chain of fieldwork research, I became
interested in how the ambiguous and abstract practice of emotional nationalism from the 'bottom' can be articulated by politics. I also engaged in fieldwork research and interviews with the Okayama Guardians, the local vigilante group. Further departing from the theoretical framework, the standard methodology of the "native anthropologist", finally I organized the events Dialogue 1 & 2 to establish dialogue among young Japanese and Zainichi Koreans living in Okayama in building a multicultural society. In this thesis, the research and local political practice against nationalism are organized as a self-reflexive story.

1.5.3. Chapter breakdown

The organization of this thesis is as follows. Chapter 2 represents the theoretical framework of the fieldwork studies of nationalism. Chapter 3 discusses my hometown Okayama and its transformation amid globalization. Chapter 4 focuses on where the emotional nationalism of majority articulates to the local politics which is enhancing the reconfiguration of the nation state in the decline of the welfare state and privatization adjustable to the era of global information capitalism. I engaged in the fieldwork research and interviews with the members of the Okayama Guardians, the grassroots vigilante group in Okayama. Chapter 5 and 6 analyse the practice of nationalism of the majority in their everyday life based on the empirical data from the fieldwork research at the small company and its workers. In particular, I focused on the workers' perceptions, memories and experience of Zainichi Koreans, and how these are consumed in the everyday workplace. Chapters 7 and 8 are about young Zainichi Koreans living in Okayama. They focus on the history of Zainichi Koreans in Okayama and experiences of nationalism encountered by young Zainichi Koreans based on the interviews. Chapter 9 is based on the interviews with Japanese living with Zainichi Koreans in their everyday lives. It begins with the interviews of my friends in Okayama who have Zainichi Korean friends, and is followed by interviews with Zainichi Korean's Japanese friends, colleagues, classmates, and neighbours. I also focused on their perceptions, memories, and experiences regarding Zainichi Koreans. Finally, in conclusion, I am going to introduce the events, which I organized with Zainichi Korean friends in Okayama, Dialogue 1 and 2 as a local practice and experiment to build a multicultural society. It discusses the possibilities and limitations of local practice against nationalism. Over all, except for the theoretical chapters 1 and 2, and history writing in Chapter 7, my writing style is ethnographic in order to delineate the presence of people and locality effectively.
Chapter 2

Fieldwork research on nationalism

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the methodology for my fieldwork research on the practice of nationalism in everyday life will be examined. Firstly, previous fieldwork research on nationalism in everyday life is critically reviewed. Such approaches were developed by Japanese scholars who acquired their PhDs outside Japan. I will particularly focus on the work of Sugimoto Yoshio, Yoshino Kōsaku, Iwabuchi Kōichi, and others. Secondly, I will make the following two points in order to further develop the method of fieldwork research on nationalism. Firstly, I selected my friends in my hometown as informants in order to critically examine my inevitable academic position as a native anthropologist. Secondly, I seek a method of understanding nationalism in everyday life through the researcher's experience. In order to write about such small, contingent, and sometimes seemingly random experiences and memories of everyday actions, I will apply historical and anthropological approaches. Thirdly, this study examines the interaction between communities, to show how this interaction becomes at times a source of 'border formation', and at other times has the power to shift or break down borders.

2.2. Viewing Japan from overseas

In examining nationalism in everyday life in contemporary Japanese society, I will focus on the approach to Japan from outside its time and space. Since the Meiji period, many Japanese intellectuals who crossed the border to other countries provided accounts of the uniqueness of Japan. In this chapter, I will focus on the method of thinking critically about Japan based on the sensations fostered by such border-crossing experiences. Cross-cultural experience also involves questioning one's memory and experience through encounters with different cultures. Such questioning of 'self' or 'subjectivity' is very similar to the method and philosophy of critical anthropology. My attempt is an adventure in fieldwork research, evoking one's experience and memory in encounter with the 'Otherness' of oneself. By being self-reflexive in different times and spaces, it becomes possible to critically
examine the time and space of nation-state, to which I originally unthinkingly assumed that I belonged.

In the following section, I will focus on critical studies of nationalism in Japan by scholars whose methodology is based on their physical experiences of border-crossing. I will focus on the genealogy of criticism of Nihonjinron, or theories of Japanese uniqueness, which emerged in the late 1970s in the context of the rise of neo-liberal government and the discourse of the declining state in the United States and Great Britain. Hundreds of Nihonjinron studies were written both by Japanese and foreign writers who are specialists on Japan, both in Japanese and English. In particular, after the rise of the Japanese economy in the late 1970s, these texts often tried to explain in nationalistic tones, the uniqueness of Japanese society which accounted for the economic ‘miracle’ of this non-Western country. This trend was criticized by some scholars who acquired their PhD in the United States, Great Britain, and Australia; including Sugimoto Yoshio, Yoshino Kōsaku, and Iwabuchi Kōichi. Unlike conventional studies of nationalism focusing on international politics or the history of thought, their work attempted to critically intervene in the nationalism in everyday life.

2.2.1. Methods of border-crossing

So, it tends to be that one [a Japanese who had travelled to Western Europe] reaches the conclusion that Japanese also must be explicitly nationalistic about their own cultural traditions as they [Westerners] are. In fact, such conclusions were made very many times in the past [by many Japanese intellectuals], and I was also moved toward such conclusion while I was travelling in Western Europe. To express it with slight
exaggeration, I only realized that this is wrong at the moment that I saw the coast of Japan from the deck of my ship returning to Japan [in the return trip from Western Europe].

This quotation is from the article “Nihon bunka no zasshusei” (The hybridity of Japanese culture) by the literary critic Katō Shūichi, written in 1955. It was written against the idea that Japanese culture as homogeneous, which was prevalent at that time. In this article, Katō grounded his accounts of the hybridity of Japanese culture on the sensations caused by his border-crossing experience. This led to a criticism of an upsurge of nationalism in Japan some years after WWII. Katō does not offer any methodological reflection on his experience of border-crossing. However, it was clearly his experience of border-crossing which brought him to the above conclusion. It must have resulted from the physical dialogue between his experiences and memories in Japan, and his experiences of travel to Europe and Asia.

The American Japanologist Ezra Vogel’s Japan as Number One was published in 1979. It appeared amid the rise of neo-liberalism in the United States while there was approbation toward Japan’s economic success. Much of the Nihonjinron which emerged from the 1970s reflected the perception of Japan as a highly developed nation. Under such trends, Sugimoto Yoshio and other academics based on Australia criticized Nihonjinron. As Kutsuwada Ryūzō mentions, Sugimoto refers to his experience of border-crossing and the concreteness of body sensation due to global transmigration in his research. This enabled him to criticize nationalism in everyday life rather than adopting the conventional approach of criticism of Kokutai (national polity) nationalism in Japan. Sugimoto’s sensations of border-crossing are discussed in one of his stories about an encounter with an Australian security guard at La Trobe University.

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“With the approach of dusk, the sounds of birds singing have become even more lively. All the buildings on campus are four-storied. They were primarily designed to harmonize with the surrounding natural forest, they appear to be very simple. My office is on the fourth floor. With the approach of gloom, the area is thrown in commotion with the sounds of birds crying. Jim, who is a security guard of the building, usually comes to look at every floor of the building around this time. He is stoutly built with a red face. He is over sixty years old. He usually says “konnichiwa” in Japanese with a particular accent, every time he passes my office. He stayed in Japan for two years as a member of the Occupation troops in the late 1940s. Sometime, he sits on a chair in my office and has a conversation. He comes up with various stories of his old days in Japan, which are derived from his memories from about forty years ago. The contour of his everyday life in Japan can be seen from the names of places he mentions such as Kure, Sasebo, Kobe, and Mt. Fuji, and vocabularies like Yoshiko-san and Mama-san. I have met many people who were stationed in Japan with the Occupation forces. There would be more than one hundred of them including the people I met in the US and those who happened to be passing. Jim now does not have any relationship whatsoever with Japan. Those who came to Japan with the Occupation forces just have memories of their time of as Occupation troops, as a memory of their twenties...... Most of those are in their late 60s or older. When they were in Japan, I was a student at elementary school. I was a student of Ikasa Elementary School in Kita-ku, Kyoto City. There were crowds of Shinchūgun no heitai-san (soldier of the Occupation troops) at the place commonly known as Sumitomo no bessō (Villa of Sumitomo).”

In this dialogue with the security guard, Sugimoto is clearly reflecting on his past memories and experiences through contact with the middle-aged Australian man’s past memories and experiences. In this context, Sugimoto is not just simply

reflecting on his past by himself. Rather, it is experienced through encountering the memories of ‘Others’. It is experienced in the campus of the university in Australia, living apart from places familiar to him, and meeting with an Australian middle-aged security guard. In that sense, it is a cross-cultural sensation of crossing national time and space.

Having received his PhD from the University of Pittsburgh in the United States, Sugimoto started his teaching career at the School of Social Science at La Trobe University in Australia from 1973. He undertook joint research with Ross Mouser who was originally from New York, and who spent seven years in Japan and then taught Japan Studies at Griffith University in Australia from 1976. They met at a conference in Melbourne in 1977, and wrote three series of articles about Nihonjinron in the journal Gendai no me in 1979. Based in Australia, Sugimoto engaged in the criticism of Nihonjinron both in Japanese and English with Mouser and other academics in Australia, Japan, and the United States.

There is a clear distinction between academic and non-academic in the works of Sugimoto. Firstly, most of his Japanese books are the latter type. They look at Japanese society from the everyday point of view while they do comparative analysis of Japan and Australia through descriptions of contemporary Australian society and criticism of Nihonjinron. In his Japanese books, Sugimoto attempts to actively appeal to readers spending their everyday lives in Japan. He is also clearly aware of this publishing market. According to him, “for Japanese people living in non-Japanese society, what is Japan inevitably becomes the brainstorming agenda of everyday lives in the different culture.” Therefore, “the idea of comparative analysis is an important theme not only in academics-based textbooks and articles but also in everyday lives.”

From this statement, we can observe that he considers actions in everyday life as a form of text, although they would often be regarded as outside the domain of academics. It could be said that in discussing everyday actions in Australia, he is critically examining memories and experiences of his past everyday life in Japan. This critical gaze towards Japanese society is revealed to readers spending their everyday lives in Japan. For example, the following is an

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advertisement for *Chōkanri retto Nippon: watashitachi wa hontō ni ji'yū nanoka* (Japan, the super-controlled archipelago: Are we truly free?), published by Kappa Books in 1983. “Don’t you find it hard to breathe in your company, school, and street? – a spirited Sociologist based in Australia comparatively provides a detailed examination on the quality of living between Japanese and that of the overseas populace!” Sugimoto’s criticism of nationalism based on the concerns fostered in his everyday actions is uniquely deployed, and emerged from a different context to the discourse about nationalism in Japanese academia such as debates about *Kokutai* (national polity) and the Imperial household system.

On the other hand, it is important to look at his academic position as a native researcher and Japan specialist in Australia in considering his method of critical studies of nationalism. Having received his PhD in the east coast of the United States, he found Japanese studies in Australia a frontier which was in a “marginal state” and “the academic establishment culture is rather weak”. The frontier genre of Japanese studies was opened up for him in the geopolitical location of Australia. He sheds light on Japan from Australia which is hardly observable under the US hegemony. For example, Sugimoto indicates that “Nihonjinron only focuses on the difference with the United States. There is no focus on similarity.” He then questions how the conservative mainstream Japan scholars in the United States created an eclectic model of tradition and technological development of Japan under a liberal view of history to oppose the Marxist view, influential within Japanese academia itself at that time.

Furthermore, it is probably his daily encounters and experiences living as an academic in Australia that inspired him to be critical about stereotypical images of Japan. *Nihonjinron* discourse and its “cultural intermediaries” such as Japan Studies scholars, students, businessmen, etc., pressure him to be a part of homogenous “Japanese subjectivity” in Australia. His attitude reveals a sharp contrast with that of Nishio Kanji, a leader of Tsukurukai (see Chapter 1 for further explanation), and

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many others who became increasingly nationalistic after the experience of living in the United States and other Western countries. The critical attitude of Sugimoto was further fostered by sharing a similar sense with other Japan scholars.  

It is Sugimoto's sensation that he is a 'subject' researching Japan as well as an 'object' being studied which provides him with a critical viewpoint. This bodily sensation was constructed through venturing back and forth between present and past experiences. It is indeed a critical view of himself as a "cultural intermediary".

Nonetheless Sugimoto's role is also that of a native anthropologist. His positionality as a native anthropologist is the foundation of his criticism of Japan's ordered society and its cultural base. Sugimoto criticizes not only the orientalist representation of Japanese society but also the consumption of such self-image. Unlike his Japanese-language writings, his English-language writings mostly criticize Nihonjinron from the academic approach. Here, he established "empirical comparative studies" of Japan "from the social science perspective of the construction of systematic theory" to oppose "books praising the secret of Japan's economic growth". Sugimoto sought to construct a systematic sociological theory. However, in these writings he did not methodologize his inevitable position as a native Anthropologist.

In these academic writings, Sugimoto does not methodologize his experience: i.e. he does not examine the sociological context of border-crossing by a member of the middle-class from the advanced capitalist nation. He only refers to his general experience of being a student and "salaryman" in Japan. His more popular Japanese-language work provides discussion of his border-crossing experiences and their impact on his personal perspective, but his academic English-language work

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10 Sugimoto, Yoshio, Nihonjin o yamerare masuka, Asahi shimbunsha, 1996. This was published under the new title with revisions. It was originally published under the title Shinka shinai Nihonjin e, Jōhō centaa shuppan kyoku, 1988. In this book, Sugimoto develops his methodology of "border-crossing" against the nationalism in everyday life through critical friendship with other Japan scholars from Japan, the United States, and Europe.

does not question Sugimoto’s subjectivity as a middle class Japanese native anthropologist.

2.2.2. Fieldwork research on consumption of nationalism

Yoshino Kōsaku indicates the following two limitations of criticisms of Nihonjinron, such as that of Sugimoto, in his PhD thesis from the London School of Economics. Firstly, he mentions that it lacks comparative analysis. Thus, while it criticizes the overemphasis of Japanese uniqueness by Nihonjinron, it is part of the same intellectual culture in sharing the same hypothesis that Nihonjinron is something unique to Japan. Secondly, while criticism of Nihonjinron heavily focuses on textual analysis of Nihonjinron, it does not look at how Nihonjinron texts are actually consumed and reproduced.12 Yoshino put the texts into the academic framework of Japanese ‘cultural nationalism’, and compares this with the ‘cultural nationalism’ of other nation states. This theory is based on the framework of the sociology of nationalism, which he developed through his study of nationalism at LSE. So his idea of selecting contemporary Japanese society as a research subject is also fostered through his study at LSE.13 Based on this theoretical framework, he empirically analyses the consumption and reproduction of the discourse of nationalism by cultural elites, whom he terms “cultural intermediaries”. While Sugimoto separates the academic from the non-academic in criticizing Nihonjinron, Yoshino put them both into the academic framework of the sociology of cultural nationalism.

Yoshino engages in empirical studies of the consumption of nationalism through anthropological fieldwork research. He states that fieldwork is “the realistic way to approach the seemingly macro-phenomena subjects from the sociological approach.” Based on the concept of “intermediate group” defined by William Kornhauser, he focuses on the role of agency in disseminating the discourse of nationalism. Defining the school and workplace as two major “intermediate groups”, Yoshino selects 35 educationalists (school principals and teachers) and 36 entrepreneurs as informants. These “intermediate groups” are considered to be “cultural intermediaries” who reproduce and disseminate the discourse of nationalism. In fact,

12 Yoshino, Kōsaku, Bunka nashionarizumu no shakaigaku: gendai nihon no aidentiteii no yukue, University of Nagoya Press, 1997, pp. 5-6.
13 Ibid., pp. 289-292.
to some extent, under the power relations of the school and workplace, the nationalist discourse reproduced by the “cultural intermediaries” functions as a pedagogic as well as a pragmatic philosophy for the people.

For example, at the small company with seventeen employees where I did my fieldwork research, the president of the company often appropriated a nationalist discourse to develop the workers’ ethics. So, for the pragmatic purposes of the everyday workplace, words like “in Japan” or “Japanese are” are appropriated to enhance the work ethic. For example, one morning, the president mentioned in one of his morning speeches that he saw an old lady cutting grass along the road, on the way to his office. He admired the old lady and lamented the collapse of such volunteer spirit in the local community. He emphasized how, “We, Japanese” used to be more actively committed to local volunteer activities but now that spirit is lost. This discourse by the president only becomes meaningful based on his employees’ inward everyday logic. In other words, such a statement is not based on abstract ideas thought up by the president. He appropriates nationalist discourse to express and discuss a particular experience, which all workers share at the moment. So he implies the necessity for a volunteer spirit in the workplace in order to enhance the efficiency of work through engendering a sense of solidarity, but not just talking about “Japanese” in general. Therefore, it is not enough for research to focus on the macro level, the reproduction capability of “cultural intermediaries” disseminating discourse, but it must also focus on the consumption at micro, individual level. Within the currents of global information capitalism, it is more and more important to focus on the individual accounts in everyday life in consuming the nationalist discourse rather than only to look at the mechanism of consumption.

A similar idea is reflected in Yoshino’s selection of a local middle-sized city, Nakazato City. He selected the location because it is one of Japan’s typical cities. Nakazato City’s population, and social and economic indexes such as the demographic composition by industry, age distribution, the size of family, advancement rate to high school and college are about the average of those of Japan. The focus on a local city is very important since nationalism is often delineated as an elite-and-urban-centred phenomenon. Yoshino’s approach rather depicts it as a decentralized, everyday, omnipresent phenomenon. On the other hand, the objective
selection of an average Japanese local city presumes the mass production of the discourse all over Japan. Yoshino considers nationalist discourse as homogenously reproduced and omnipresent throughout Japan. This assumption is based on an essentially Fordist vision of mass society. However, nationalism has in fact never been reproduced homogenously. That is even more obvious in the era of Post-Fordism since nationalism exists in a more ‘fluid’ manner than it used to, and the reproduction process is much more individualistic. Under the trends of global information capitalism, there are huge divisions created between local cities and between winners and losers within individual cities. So the reproduction process of nationalism must be considered at a more local and individual level.

Furthermore, a parallel assumption is also reflected in Yoshino’s idea of consumption. The introduction of the idea of the consumption of nationalism is valuable. It goes beyond the conventional theory of nationalism which heavily focuses on the aspect of the production by the nation-state, elite bureaucrats, intellectuals and so forth. Yoshino’s idea of consumption shows how the people in everyday life actively participate in nationalism from the ‘bottom’. However, Yoshino’s idea of the consumption of nationalism is very much limited to discourse analysis and its reproduction. It assumes that the discourse of nationalism is consumed and reproduced in through active and explicit verbalization by the people. However, it does not look at how nationalism is consumed in the everyday life accounts of individuals. In other words, it only focuses on the consumption of discourse but not the accounts of everyday life behind such consumption.

In order to intervene in nationalism in the privatized era, we need a critical viewpoint to analyse the process, such as that of cultural studies. Cultural studies emerged as a critique of Thatcherism in the context of the decay of the welfare state and the rise of neo-liberalism in Great Britain in the late 1970s. Using that framework, Yoshino’s perspective on the consumption of nationalism can open new possibilities to intervene in the everyday practice of nationalism. Such consumption is not limited to the language and ideology of nationalism but includes the everyday life accounts of the people under global information capitalism.

2.2.3. Fieldwork research on transnationalism
In his PhD thesis from the University of Western Sydney, Iwabuchi Koichi analyses the discourse of nationalism based on media studies, cultural studies, and postcolonial studies. Like Yoshino’s book, it was published in both Japanese and English. It looks at power relations surrounding Japanese popular culture and transnationalism in the vortex of global flows of media. It focuses on the transition from “hard-techno nationalism” to “soft-techno nationalism.” While the former emphasized Japan’s technology of mass-produced products such as automobiles and electric appliances, the latter emphasizes the superiority and influence of Japan’s popular culture such as the TV dramas and anime. A characteristic of the soft nationalist discourse is the self-approbation of essentially defined hybridism which says that Japan is uniquely capable of adapting to foreign cultures so well. Iwabuchi critically captures this as the discourse of the “return to Asia”.

Like Sugimoto, who was a journalist at one of the major newspaper companies in Japan, Iwabuchi was also a journalist at one of Japan’s major TV broadcasting companies. He quit his job in his mid-30s and went to Australia to study in graduate school. Using the advantage of experience and knowledge about the media industry and networks, Iwabuchi engaged in fieldwork research on a large scale in Tokyo, Taipei, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Kuala Lumpur. Based on this fieldwork research, he not only delineates a critical theoretical framework of Japan’s return to Asia in the context of the globalization of media but also examines the process of consumption empirically. Iwabuchi focuses on the “cultural intermediaries” in the process of consumption of Japan’s soft-nationalism discourse.

The “cultural intermediaries” in this context are the producers and consumers of discourse spread throughout Asia: in other words, people working in media industries dealing with Japanese TV drama and anime, and the audience consuming their products. Firstly, he focuses on the consumption of Japanese TV dramas and pop music in East and Southeast Asia, as well as the consumption of Asian cultural products in Japan. He collects data on marketing strategy, circulation, and

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consumption, and engages in interviews with over 100 people working at the forefront of the TV, music, publishing, and advertising industries. Furthermore, in Singapore and Kuala Lumpur, he engages in interviews with the people creating the TV program Asia Bagus! and its audience. In Taipei and Tokyo, he also engages in interviews with favourer of Japanese and Hong Kong TV dramas, pop music and movies.

In his research on nationalism, it is important to note that Iwabuchi is self-reflexive about his border-crossing experience; that he is from the middle class of the “First World”. Firstly, he problematizes “coevalness”\(^\text{15}\), which he critically considers the foundation of Japan’s transnationalism. His attitude is clearly seen in the postscript of his thesis published in Japanese.

While I was researching at the university, I was always attracted by concepts that indicate linkages which transgress national and cultural boundaries, such as ‘globalization’, ‘transnationalism’, and ‘cultural hybridity’. However, as my experience of making linkages beyond the national boundary becomes my everyday affair and becomes increasingly multifaceted, I have realized there is a gap between the desire to link to the world and actually overcoming national boundaries. For example, I repeatedly learned the hard way that my border-crossing experience is privileged compared to that of refugees and defectors.\(^\text{16}\)

In the above statement, Iwabuchi critically examines his desire to link the transnational world inevitably exists. He realizes that we can share the same “coeval” border-crossing only on the basis of political, economical, and cultural inequality in the globalizing world.

While Iwabuchi critically focuses on the transition from “hard-techno nationalism” to “soft-techno nationalism” under the “coevalness” enhanced by transnationalism, however, he does not look at the conflict between transnationalism and grassroots nationalism. However, the grassroots nationalism of internal exiles is merely the

\(^{15}\) Fabian (1983), page 31.

\(^{16}\) Iwabuchi (2001), page 329.
other side of the coin of adaptation to transnationalism by the global winners. Therefore, we must look at how transnationalism can be articulated.

Furthermore, as he admits in the postscript of the Japanese version, he does not look at the “domestic linkage with Asia”. For example, in his book *Recentering Globalization*, he does not consider the ethnic minorities living in Japan, although this topic has been taken up in his later works. In the fieldwork research on nationalism by Sugimoto, Yoshino, and Iwabuchi, it seems that nationalism is essentially defined. In other words, it takes the nationalism of ‘ordinary people’ in Japan as a given. This leads to a neglect of the existing linkages between majority and minority, and between Japan and other parts of the world.

In order to overcome the problem of identifying ‘ordinary people’ and their linkages, I have selected my friends in hometown as informants. They are not abstract ‘ordinary people’ but people I know intimately. Furthermore, in order to seek the existing linkages between majority and minority, I also engaged in fieldwork research with Zainichi Koreans living in my hometown. While I am clearly aware of the increasing number of ‘newcomers’, and the everyday practice of prejudice toward them, I am only focus on the ‘old comers’ in this research. In this way, I critically focused on the internal border between majority Japanese and Zainichi Koreans. There are several reasons for this selection, which I will explain in detail in the following chapter. Most of all, my focus is based on the simple question which is the starting point of this research: If my family or friends, whom I know very well make nationalistic statements, are they nationalists? At the beginning of this research project, a part of me said ‘no’ to this question. This was because I trusted my intimate contacts and knew a great deal about their backgrounds. In that sense, my sense of discomfort in naming my intimate contacts also reflects the individualized context of present daily life. My research made me realize that there is no solid ground on which such intimacy can overcome nationalism. Rather, my initial perceptions exposed how my individualized intimacy neglected many historical and social aspects of my intimate contacts. Indeed, there were many things I did not know about my family and friends, which I found out through the fieldwork research. My love toward my family and friends was not only nationalistic and exclusive to ‘Others’ but also neglected key aspects of the lives of those intimates themselves.
However, the nationalism of my friend in my hometown is not something to be generalized or the subject of abstract criticism. The practice of nationalism can be captured in the context of the agenda of creating a multicultural society from a local standpoint.

There are two points that must be examined in order to further develop the method of fieldwork research into nationalism. Firstly, the position of academic research as a native anthropologist must be critically examined. That is, we need to consider the issue of power relations between the researcher and informants and how the native researcher represents his or her own ‘native’ place. There is no doubt that the analysis of nationalism in Japan by Sugimoto, Yoshino and Iwabuchi is persuasive because they are native Japanese. The persuasiveness of their analysis and power relations in representation is not separable issues. It is important for researchers to examine the reality of relations between researcher and informants explicitly so that the readers can access the reality as well. I assume that the researcher is always experiencing nationalism with his or her informants, and the experience must be written. Facing the experience of nationalism truthfully seems to be the only way to overcome it. In order to do this, I will introduce the perspective of ‘experiencing nationalism’ as a fieldwork research method. This method seeks a critical intervention arising from the researcher’s own experiences of nationalism.

2.3. Writing about hometown

In the beginning of City of Quartz, in which Mike Davis researched Los Angeles where he grew up, he cites the following sentences of Walter Benjamin.

The superficial inducement, the exotic, the picturesque has an effect only on the foreigner. To portray a city, a native must have other, deeper motives - motives of one who travels into the past instead of into the distance. A native’s book about his city will always be related to memoirs; the writer has not spent his childhood there in vain.17

As Benjamin indicates, when researchers try to write about their hometown, it is important to consider the memories and experiences. To borrow the term “contact zone” defined by Mary Louise Pratt, the “contact zone” between the native anthropologist and native must be opened to the scrutiny of informants and readers. This contains an asymmetrical power relationship as well as the reciprocal practice. The text of the thesis can thus be opened to the diversified imaginations of informants and readers, and also be opened to the possibility of rewriting. In the postscript to *Toransupozishon no shisō* (Idea of transposition) the Japanese anthropologist Ōta Yoshinobu indicates to readers that his starting point for establishing his subjectivity as an anthropologist goes back to his experience of studying abroad in high school in the United States and to the culture shocks he encountered. He mentions to readers the relationship between his personal experience and anthropology, and names it “contextualization”. Having been brought up in Japan and having studied anthropology in the American universities, he is often considered as a native anthropologist in the United States, while he feels that he is excluded by the Japanese anthropology establishment since he is not familiar with its academic context. Borrowing Paul Gilroy’s term, he considers his positionality to be that of an “outer national”.

I also regard it as important to contextualize my positionality. Having studied abroad for one year in a small town outside of Flint, Michigan, I started my academic career by majoring in Japanese Studies for my undergraduate degree in Los Angeles. I have always researched Japan based on my experiences of border-crossing. And there is always a gap between the Japanese Studies in which I have been engaged and the Japan which I physically experienced.

The hometown is an ex-post invention which I found through my border-crossing experiences. “Hometown” does not always exist as the same imagined scenery. Different memories of hometown are created through my new encounters in the everyday lives of different places, and hometown is constantly changing. My subjectivity as a Japanese was transformed by everyday life in the small town near Flint, Michigan, in the university near Beverly Hills, and in Minami Uonuma-gun in

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Niigata Prefecture in Japan, and in Canberra, the artificial capital city of Australia. I must note that in this context, I remembered my hometown and the familiar faces of people living there in brainstorming the theme for my PhD under the blue sky of Canberra. The thesis draws on my memories but it is not free from the academic establishment: It was constructed by a PhD student who must finish his PhD as soon as possible, looking daily at the PC screen and books, and discussing with supervisors and colleagues.

The hometown was once a place that I longed to leave in order to be a successful individual in Japanese society. I always thought that I had to go to Tokyo or Osaka for higher education and to get a decent job. Thus, when I think of my hometown, my feelings are both positive and negative. The issue of love and hate is not limited to my past feelings but also continues today in my attitude toward my hometown and people living there. In fact, this was one of the most difficult issues to be resolved during the year-long fieldwork at the company where my friend is working.

While I deepened my understanding toward the consumption of nationalism in the everyday life of people working at the company, I always felt an indescribable tedium. Very often, what my informants said and did reminded me of my past tedious everyday life in this small Japanese city. At that time, I felt the fieldwork to be boring and even my research to be meaningless, in the sense that my informants did not give me any inspiration to write something sensational. While I was doing fieldwork, I originally thought that my boredom arose only because I could not overcome the nostalgia and exoticism in researching intimate places and people. However, I also had a phobia about intimate places and people, which I only realized after I came back to Canberra and started to write my thesis. My tedious feeling was created due to my being unable to accept that I have some kind of phobia toward intimate places and people. My phobia was directed against the sense of intimacy, which I believed to be a hindrance for me to be a successful individual. It was indeed a very individualistic phobia. In that sense, the nostalgia and exoticism functioned to manage the phobia so that I could deal with my hometown and the people living there without conflict. My practice of researching about my hometown has been a continuing 'unlearning' process about my love and hate toward my hometown and the people living there.
This nostalgia and exoticism must also be examined. 20 These feelings can be understood as reflecting the asymmetrical relationship between native anthropologist and native in the "contact zone". My nostalgia toward my hometown and friends was perhaps inevitable. While I was away from my hometown, my friends remained there. There was no chance for me to share their lives and experiences. Even when I have returned to my hometown in the last ten years for vacations, the foundation of the communication has been past memories and experiences. In that context, my friends in hometown are buried in my past nostalgic world. They are being marginalized in my imagination.

As well as nostalgia toward my friends, my attitude towards them was also tinged by exoticism. My memories about my friends in my hometown had not been updated since I left Okayama. My exoticism is not only the act of overcoming the current gap in experience that exists between me and my friends by viewing them as nostalgic presence. It also strongly influences how I represent my friends' past memories and experiences. When I represent my friends, I do not only represent their current situations but also their past. In that context, I illuminate only one aspect of my friends' histories, which we once constructed together, and this does not illuminate their pasts which I have not encountered. Therefore, when the native anthropologists research their natives, it is important to begin establishing a dialogue with the past. So I must illuminate the untold past of my friends in hometown.

Furthermore, the exoticism is also problematic in the present tense, between the academic researcher, myself, and the people spending their everyday lives in my hometown. This is an attempt to reconsider the memories and experiences of hometown and to re-imagine them through the new encounters with 'Others'. The encounter with Zainichi Koreans living in my hometown was crucial for me to

20 Like many of the native anthropologist works, the research about Japan by Japanese scholars naturally inherits exoticism in its methodology. For example, it is clearly seen in the ethnographic work of Japanese motorcycle gangsters by Satō Ikuya, who wrote his PhD thesis at the University of Chicago based on fieldwork research in Japan. Satō Ikuya, Bōsōzoku no esunoguraffi: mōdo no hanran to bunka no jyubaku, Shinyōsha, 1984. Satō, Ikuya, Kamikaze Biker, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991. Satō Ikuya, Fiirudo waak no gihō o sodateru: toi o sodateru, kasetu o kitaeru, Shinyōsha, 2002.
re-memorize and re-experience the hometown. People living in my hometown are not only those intimate others who are present in my past memories and experiences. There are also many ‘Others’ living in my hometown whom I have not met. The people who inhabit my hometown are not all Japanese. There are 17,646 people with foreign citizenship living in Okayama. The largest number of them is those with North Korean and South Korean nationality, of whom there are about 7,786 living in Okayama. Among them, 7,074 are Zainichi Koreans (people who came to Japan during the colonial period and their descendents).21 The encounter with Zainichi Koreans dissolved my nostalgia and exoticism toward my hometown. It also led me to the complex and intertwined histories of my intimate friends and places, which I have presumed as something very familiar and thought I knew so well. It also resulted in a new encounter with my intimate friends. In addition, although I could not research it enough to put into my thesis, fieldwork encounters with the people living in hisabetsu buraku (see chapter 6) and gays and lesbians living in Okayama also stimulated a rethinking of my image of my hometown. The familiar landscape was transformed into an unfamiliar one.

2.4. Fieldwork research on nationalism in everyday life

In the following section, I will examine the practice of nationalism in everyday life by following two approaches. The first approach is an anthropological one. It tries to understand nationalism critically through sharing in the experience of the nationalism and its emotion. The second is the historical approach. It examines the way for the people to think about nationalism critically through historical practice.

2.4.1. Fieldwork research on emotions

In order for the researcher to understand their everyday practices, the researcher must understand the emotions and realities experienced by people. It means becoming immersed in their everyday lives; the repetition of work from 9 am to 5 pm for loan payments, the consumer activities in their non-work time etc. So the

21 Zainichi Korean citizenship is not related to their origins. In fact, most Zainichi Koreans today come from parts of South Korea. Chōsenseki (North Korea citizenship) and Kankokuseki (South Korean citizenship) were selected by Zainichi Koreans. Only Chōsenseki existed in early postwar Japan, but Kankokuseki rapidly increased after the normalization of relations with South Korea in 1965. Today, the number of people with Chōsenseki is decreasing, particularly after Koizumi’s visit to Pyongyang in September 2002.
researcher must also experience people’s compulsion and phobia. From such a perspective, it is important to examine how people in my hometown are actually living in histories that are connected to ‘Others’, and why they are often unaware of those histories in their everyday lives. The task is not easy. In the age of global information capitalism, the values of the consumer are much more respected than the value of history. This has been a characteristic of modernization, and it now seems to be becoming increasingly evident.

The neon lights invented by French physicist Georges Claude in the beginning of the 20th century spread in the period of high economic growth in Japan as commercial outdoor advertisements are now replaced by the strong white illumination of shopping malls. The dark places between the illuminated areas are now treated as if they do not exist at all. The darkness between the new illuminated spaces of the 21st century conceals the following two things: First, it conceals the practice of discrimination against the minority living in postcolonial Japan. Second, it also conceals the existence of the majority losers in the consumer era who cannot adapt to globalization. These two can be critically understood by the concept of “mixophobia”.

The mixophobia is a form of postmodern phobia. It consists of a fear about being in the presence of who are seen to be different from oneself. It is passive because it is ‘depoliticized’. But it is also aggressive in its protection of peoples’ narrow-minded philia and ‘pride’. It is not only the winners of globalization living in the gated-communities and the marginalized nationalists who foster mixophobia. It exists in people’s everyday lives. For example, it is the sense of discomfort in contact with the people who belong to different categories in terms of class, gender, ethnicity, occupation, and further extends to salary, hobbies, knowledge, residential areas, etc. The interior logic of everyday life in one’s specialization and category would be considered as the most important. It is also consumer-disciplined behaviour that excludes or includes the unfamiliar and disturbing in the same way that they are excluded or included by the routines of behaviour in shopping-malls. People only consume what they prefer. Otherwise, they avoid anything unfamiliar and disturbing. This leads to hatred toward the people with different citizenships

and ethnicities, and ‘losers’ in the consumer era such as homeless people. There is a fear of contact with the unknown. Instead, in order to prevent such confusion, it is more convenient to treat “Others” as non-historical individuals.

The anthropologist Renato Rosaldo’s approach seems to be very helpful in understanding mixophobia of people. In researching the practice of hunting human heads by Ilongots in northern Luzon, Philippines, Rosaldo first could not understand an Ilongot elder’s account of the practice. According to Rosaldo, the elder’s reason for practicing head hunting was that “rage, born of grief, impels him to kill his fellow human beings.” Eventually, Rosaldo found a way to understand the accounts through his experience of the loss of a much-loved partner, Michelle Rosaldo.23 However, this was not simply a matter of understanding ‘Others’ by amplifying the researcher’s real experience, and replacing it with that of ‘Others’. Instead, the researcher’s experience of emotional distress made him accept the message of the emotional distress of the informants. It is a process of establishing a dialogue between the researcher and informants through sharing a common experience. As the subtitle “the remaking of social analysis” indicates, Rosaldo is critical toward the tradition of social science, which clearly separates the researcher and informant into the binominal subjectivity and objectivity relationship. It is a challenge to deepen the communication and understanding in the field, and to write about the experience. In Rosaldo’s approach, there is a critical consideration toward the desire of researchers to write intelligibly for readers. It is a sincere effort to write through interactive communication. Thus, rather than speaking for informants, this is a practice of co-authoring by the researcher and informant. Taking this approach, in this thesis I will co-author with my friends and family living in my hometown to delineate the practice of nationalism in everyday life. This seems to be the only way to understand the philia and phobia of people spending their everyday life under the global information capitalism. The practice of nationalism would be critically understood through deepening the understanding between the researcher and informants by sharing our philia and phobia.

My friend Sanada Akira works at a small consulting company dealing with the design of the sewage systems. Seventeen employees work at the company. It is located only five kilometres south from the house where I was brought up. I had not been to my friend’s office before the fieldwork research. However, at the same time, it is a place that I thought I knew very well. None of the other employees are strangers to me either. Although I had not met them before, my local knowledge profiled them by where they live, their educational backgrounds, the kind of place they go shopping, the hobbies they like and so on. Such local knowledge is in fact a hindrance to understanding my informants. Local knowledge and intimacy become obstacles in seriously understanding the histories of each individual. For example, when they tell me about trips to the shopping mall AEON Kurashiki, or about their favourite cafes, I can understand it by referring to my past experiences and knowledge. However, in reality, this is not really understanding. Rather, it is the postmodern geographical imagination of the researcher toward hometown and superimposing his or her memories and experiences on the everyday lives of others. In reality, I do not know anything about them at all. It is a violent representation on the cognitive level.

The issue of mixophobia clearly emerges in this process to profile the ‘Natives’ based on my local knowledge. In particular, I strongly felt the phobia when I had to encounter the things I used to think ‘very boring’. The following is one such example.

It was one afternoon during the lunch break on the way to the fast food restaurant Yoshinoya. There were three young male workers from Sanyō Consultant in the car. Passing-by some female high school students walking on the sidewalk of the road, Shimada-san made the following statement with a strong Okayama accent.

“Hey, she was wearing such a tiny skirt! Her face wasn’t that good though.”

Akira and Yoshida-kun responded to the topic of tiny skirts on high school students. The responses were moralistic general opinions about how high school students should not wear tiny skirts, and that recent high school female students are better looking than they used to be or otherwise. Nobody was really serious about the subject. In the five minutes in the car on the way to Yoshinoya, they tried to make their everyday life meaningful and maintain it. The landscape from the seat in the
well-air-conditioned silver Toyota company car becomes a reality TV show. The landscape thus becomes an object to consume. I tried to respond without raising any conflict, as I used to deal with such conversation in my teens. It was extremely tedious. I felt no sympathy or nostalgic feeling toward such conversation. Nor did I feel only anger toward the sexist statement. It was a very banal feeling, a blend of love and hate. When I fell into this feeling, I could not see my friends with any interest. The blended feeling of love and hate only reminded me of my boring memories and experiences in my hometown. It is my memory of hometown that makes me to hesitate to even make an appeal such as “let’s change the subject because it’s boring!” It is a form of mixophobia. I can just let them talk about any subjects even if I do not like it. I do not have to be a part of it because I can leave this place. However, I could not accept my tedious feeling as a form of phobia until I came back to Canberra. It was difficult for me to admit that I was angry because my hometown is also a very familiar place with intimate people. In that sense, my hometown is an intimate and lovely place as long as I do not face the bitter side of it.

I was not aware my tedious feeling as a sense of phobia. I have tried to face such feelings thoroughly when engaging in fieldwork research. Then I had to face another problem regarding the phobia. I began to be conscious of the sense of phobia in the busy life at Sanyō Consultant by sharing the feelings of other workers. It is a situation in which I myself cannot distinguish whether I am the researcher or informant. For example, under the repetition of working from 8:45 am to 5:30 pm everyday, I have realized that it became more and more difficult for me to read the academic textbooks which I was supposed to read. When I got back from work, I longed to drink beer with dinner and watch the baseball matches. On the weekend, I desired to engage in consuming activities with my friends in my hometown. While I hate being buried in everyday life and felt frustration with my fieldwork research, I have gradually accepted that I do need the break. Gradually, I came to understand how people feel in their everyday lives and to comprehend their sense of phobia. It is this understanding that led me to the unknown aspects of the familiar place and intimate people in my hometown. Encountering the unknown friends in my hometown, my phobia towards being part of a small town was gradually resolved. This approach is an experience of nationalism through sharing emotions in everyday
life, and an attempt to co-author writings on nationalism with my informants. At the same time, it is also a process of re-historicizing myself, friends, and hometown.

2.4.2. Historical practice in the everyday life

The encounter with Zainichi Koreans living in Okayama historicized the everyday landscape of my hometown. It also made me conscious of my phobia toward my hometown and the intimate people living there. Through the historicization of the everyday landscape, I would like to delineate the linkages of people in everyday life. In order to explore a way to historicize the everyday landscape, I would like to borrow Hokari’s idea of “dipping” (discussed further in Chapter 6) in order to shed light on everyday historical practice.24 Through encounters with multilayered and complicated histories, the familiar landscape and intimate people become something unfamiliar.

The landscape from the JR Okayama Station Shinkansen platform

The final destination of the journey from Canberra to Okayama is the JR (Japan Railways) Okayama Station. Arriving at the Shinkansen platform of the station, I could feel that I had come back to my hometown. The view of the Okayama

business and commercial district spread on the east side of the station has often led me to feel some kind of *deja vu*. I am assailed by a feeling of *deja vu* every time I see this view. It is the landscape of a small city. It is a view of a small city without excitement. Having lived away from the small city, the smallness even evokes nostalgia. This may be no different from the feelings of tourists gazing at the countryside as something exotic. However, there is a sense of phobia beneath my nostalgia and exoticism, which I came to understand through encounters with Zainichi Korean friends living in the east side of the JR Okayama Station. The encounters stimulated my temporal and spatial imagination of the familiar landscape, which I used to view from the platform.

There is a shopping arcade – *Ekimae shōtengai* – on the east side of the station. It is rather rustic compared to *Omotecho shōtengai* shopping arcade, which is located at the centre of the commercial area in Okayama. It is what Bauman would call an "empty place."  

When I was a teenager, it was not a popular place for shopping and I only sometime stopped by my favourite *ramen* noodle shop. And maybe once, I lined up through the night at the toyshop in the arcade, waiting for the release date of the popular Nintendo game software *Dragon Quest*. We expected that since it was a

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small toyshop in a rustic shopping arcade, there would be less competition. But that was the only reason I came here. In other words, it was a desolate shopping arcade which could not even satisfy the customers. I had always thought that I would find a better place when I went to a bigger city. I did not have any historical interest in that place. The history of the shopping arcade was marginalized in my everyday life.

In order to start the fieldwork research of Zainichi Koreans living in Okayama, I contacted a friend who graduated from the same high school in the same class as me, and who is working at the International Affairs Division in the Okayama city government. I was advised by her to visit the local head office of Mindan (Korean Residents Union in Japan). It is located two streets north of the shopping arcade. There I met Kim Chang-Ho, a third generation Zainichi Korean who is also the president of the Korean Youth Association in Okayama. He is the same age as I, and now lives with his parents. His father runs a liquor store in front of the Mindan office. His mother runs a Korean restaurant and bar called Zai next to the Mindan office. Kim Chang-Ho works as an employee on short-term contract at the International Affairs Division in the Okayama city government. Often over beers and Soju (Korean rice whisky), we have talked about many things, from social issues to everyday matters, with other Zainichi Koreans, Korean exchange students, and Japanese friends. Through these new encounters, my way of seeing the landscape of the east side of the JR Okayama Station has changed. It changed from a desolate shopping arcade to the place where my friends are living their everyday life. The place was historicized. Through the encounters with Chang-Ho and other Zainichi Korean friends, my past memories and experiences of the shopping arcade were destabilized by the history of Japanese imperialism. As I engaged in fieldwork research on the Zainichi Korean community in Okayama, I came to know that this place used to be the largest black market in Okayama after WWII. The Zainichi Korean community was also established during that period.

26 There are two major Zainichi Korean organizations: Mindan and Sören. Mindan (Korean Residents Union in Japan) has close ties to the South Korean government, and it was established in 1946. Chosen Sören or Chongryon in Korean (General Association of Korean Residents in Japan) has close ties to North Korea, and it was established in 1955.
I was also informed that my favourite *ramen* (noodle soup) shop was owned by a Zainichi Korean. My present fieldwork research transformed my past experiences and memories of the same place. It was not only my perception that was changed. It also changed what now I remember about the *ramen* shop. Before the fieldwork research, my memories of the shop focused on a table surrounded by myself and three friends, cold water in a plastic glass, the flavour and smell of *ramen*, soup, and a large amount of sweet-flavoured BBQ pork and corn. This memory has not disappeared. However, what I also remember now with a vivid visual image is the face of the male Zainichi Korean owner putting the yellow noodles in the bowl. He is very skinny and perhaps in his early forties. My memories transformed drastically. I do not feel any sense of *deja vu* from the Shinkansen platform any more. I am rememorizing my past experiences and history is coming to surface of everyday life.

Furthermore, my experience of re-encountering the landscape of my hometown as seen from the platform also made me realize how Japanese and Zainichi Koreans are linked to each other in the actions of everyday lives. The linkage led me to an unknown history of the familiar landscape, family, friends, lovers, and neighbours in my hometown. Through fieldwork research, I became amazed at how the people are somehow linked with each other somehow in a local city with 0.6 million population.
The fragmented memories full of historical contingency exist somewhere at the back of people's minds without being verbalized. To verbalize the fragmented memories is to recover information usually seen as useless for survival in the era of global information capitalism. The voice of these fragmented memories is very small, ambiguous, and has little confidence. But if one listens to the small voice carefully, it occasionally has the power to change the historical imagination of the landscape of a small city.
3.1. Landscape of my hometown

I was born in Okayama on 11 November 1974. I spent my first two years of childhood in Hiroshima where my father was working at a branch office of local Okayama newspaper company, and then returned to Okayama with my family. My childhood memory begins with the house where I lived in Okayama with my father, mother, and elder sister. The style of two-story house in which I was brought up, is a blend of Japanese and Western elements, typical of that time. It was originally built by my grandfather on my father’s side as a place to live with his fourth son and his family in 1969. In the end, due to my grandfather’s job, he had to move to a private high school residence when he was appointed as principal. My grandparents returned but built another house behind the house where the four of us were living in 1978. The two houses were linked by internal phones, and both of them were under the name of my grandfather. However, we had separate household accounts, and we ate separately most of the time. It was something in between a three-generation family and a nuclear family. I was told by my father that it was my grandfather’s idea that we maintained the appearance of the nuclear family while we were living at the same address and using the phone under his name. He thought that it was not right to interfere with his son and daughter-in-law and grandchildren, and he never did. In that sense, he was an idealistic modernist who believed the nuclear family was the most rational style.

My house is located along Route 180, which links Okayama City and Yonago City, in Tottori Prefecture on the Japan Sea coast. The area is founded on the historical
heritage of the Kibi Kingdom which appeared by the end of 3rd century, represented by the large keyhole-shaped tomb mounds, and Kibitsu Shrine and Kibitsuhiko Shrine, established by the Heian Period, which have now become attractions for tourists. My house is located at the border of the ancient province of Bizen and Bitchü, though this has now become almost meaningless to the people living in that area. My grandfather considered the location as the “Kibi no Nakayama no fumoto nite” (at the foot of Mt. Nakayama of Kibi Kingdom), as he mentioned in the postscript to one of his books.1

However, the house in which I was brought up is not like those in Levit Town in Rhode Island or Tama Newtown in Tokyo, suburbs which are designed for the nuclear family to pursue their idealistic consuming lives near the large urban areas. There were so many local factors in our nuclear home. My grandfather was born in 1907, and brought up in a rural area in Sōja City, located 30 kilometres north from my house along the Route 180. Since he was the second son of a tenant farmer, he sought to be independent from the communal family by becoming a teacher at middle school under the old system of education. So he went to Takahashi middle school and Hiroshima higher normal school. His ideal house after his retirement was built along the Route 180, in between Okayama where he used to work and Sōja where he originated. Besides, the area which I was brought up is very different from the suburbs and suburban estates surrounding the major urban areas of Japan. Most of the neighbouring families were nuclear families, although the scale of the housing developments was rather small due to the geographical setting. The small congregations of several residential areas in the basin of the “foot of Mt. Nakayama of Kibi Kingdom” are not the homogeneous landscapes of the typical suburbs. It was difficult to categorize: neither urban nor rural, neither a communal nor nuclear family.

In the area where I was living, there was also diversity, and many people came from different regions of Japan. My friend Akira moved to the neighbouring area 500 meters from my house in 1989. This was originally a rice field, which belonged to one of the local landholders, and it was one of five new ready-built housings built by a housing developer. Waves of housing development occurred in that area to create commuter towns for Okayama in the late 1960s. Usually, five to ten ready-built housings were built on the rice fields sold by the local landholders at a time. In Akira’s case, both of his parents were originally from the Kansai region, and in that sense, they were totally uprooted from a familiar locality. His father was working at a

1 Kawabata, Kiyoshi, Kishukusha, Okayama-ken nōkyō insatsu kabushikigaisha, 1980.
company in Osaka but decided to seek a business opportunity in Okayama, which he thought was the frontier for sewage developments in the early 1970s. Both of Akira’s parents speak with a strong Kansai dialect, and he himself also mixes Kansai dialect in his Okayama dialect.

3.2. Everyday landscape in the post high economic growth period

The Map of Okayama Prefecture

The population of Okayama Prefecture is about two million, and the centres of industry and commerce are in Okayama City with 0.6 million and Kurashiki City with 0.5 million people. The characteristic of Okayama is the fact that it is a typical average local city, similar to the Nakazato City described by Yoshino. The index of industrial and social structure reveals that Okayama is the average among 47 prefectures in Japan. More than 60% of people engage in tertiary industry followed by secondary industry, with more than 30% of the people. The unemployment rate as well is about the average. The political atmosphere is conservative, as is typical of local cities in Japan, and is mostly dominated by the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) that is represented by the former Prime Minister Hashimoto Ryūtarō and others.

While the premodern industrial and commercial centres developed along the three
major rivers – Yoshii River, Asahi River, and Takahashi River – they shifted and concentrated in Okayama and Kurashiki where the main roads and railways cross the Japanese archipelago from the east to west. Naturally, Okayama was overwhelmed by the modern development which affected all the major urban cities of Japan, and it developed in its own way under the modern reconfiguration of the nation state. My everyday landscape was based on the infrastructure of consumer society cantered on Okayama and Kurashiki in the time following the high economic growth period, after the 1970s oil crisis. It was developed upon ‘thick’ layers of historical heritage and transport networks dating back to the Tumulus Period: layers which were overwhelmed by the signs and advertisements of monuments to consumerism indiscriminately built along the roadsides: the supermarket, Pachinko parlour, convenience store, gas station, family restaurant and so on. The lights of those symbols of capital adorned and illuminated my everyday landscape. These grew out of projects to reconfigure Japan in the post-high economic growth period, such as those advocated by two former Prime Ministers of Japan: Tanaka Kakuei, in his Nihon rettō kaizōron (Plan to remodel the Japanese archipelago; 1972)2 and Ohira Masayoshi, in his Denen toshi kokka kōsō (Garden city state initiative; 1980).3 The landscape in which I was brought up was developed by such national policies and commercial activities. So my definitions of hometown, emerging from such transitions of industrial and social structure, naturally reflected the shift from ‘hard power’ based on mass production and consumption to ‘soft power’ based on the pursuit of an affluent consumer society. After the high economic growth period, the local city sought its future in the development of a ‘soft’ infrastructure environment for consumer affluence. This was strongly influenced by the LDP-oriented influence-peddling politics in the local cities, including massive investments in public work projects.

2 Under the slogan of Nihon rettō kaizōron, the Japanese government put a large amount of tax money into building roads, railroads, and other infrastructure. The central was to ensure balanced development among the cities in Japan, from local cities to the rural area. The public spending was tripled within 10 years after Tanaka became prime minister in 1972. This also became the foundations of the LDP’s influence-peddling politics. The local LDP members brought jobs and tax money to invest in the construction business in order to build the infrastructure.

3 This aimed to seek an alternative regionalism, which was not exclusive, and to achieve postindustrial cities throughout Japan. It advocates the creation of 200-300 major urban areas with populations around 0.1 – 0.3 million with a substantial urban function. Those cities are surrounded by smaller cities, and farming, fishing and mountain villages, with populations around 0.05 – 0.1 million, where urban life styles are developed in harmony with the nature.
This local city landscape fostered my identity. When I was asked by someone, "What kind of place is Okayama?", I would speak of the 'soft power' of Okayama and its consumer infrastructure. For example, on the one hand, I talked about its attractions, which did not exist in the major metropolitan areas. In such cases, my response was probably not very different from the advertisements used by Japan Railways or the Okayama City government to promote tourism. My descriptions of Okayama presented a city exotically decked out with tourist attractions and local specialties: Seto Ohashi Bridge, *Kibi dango* (millet dumplings), *Momotarō* (the legendary Peach Boy), peaches, muscat grapes and so on. These attractions were complemented by the features of a small yet global city, such as large department stores and the geographical advantage of being a hub for railways connecting to Shikoku Island and San-in region. This first set of descriptions is based on the development by the central government under the slogans of Prime Ministers Tanaka and Takeshita, the second reflects the strategies of large corporations for local city development. Neither describes Okayama from the local people’s perspective, but rather from the perspective of the Japanese government and large corporations. This corporate development is still continuing today through the development of 'soft' infrastructure adjustable to the age of global information capitalism in its process of reconfiguration.

Miura Atsushi, who is from Jōetsu City, Niigata Prefecture, critically points out that local cities all over Japan have become the *Shōhisha tengoku* (consumer heavens). He names this process "*ekijōka*" (liquefaction), a term inspired by Zygmunt Bauman’s idea of the "liquid modernity". He expresses alarm at the conditions of the local cities where the social infrastructure is replaced by consumer infrastructure, and names this "*faasuto fūdokā*" (the diffusion of the fast food/locality). As Miura observes, the roadsides of Okayama are overflowing with capitalist symbols: the shopping mall, consumer credit company, fast food restaurant, Pachinko parlour, Karaoke rooms, and so on. People in the local cities are indeed living amid such advertisements. The landscape hardly reflects the locality of the place and the people living there at all. It seems to be trying to demonstrate that the consumer infrastructure of the local city is 'not very different from that of the metropolitan areas'. Miura points out that it was the Japan-U.S. Structural Impediments Initiative established at the Japan-U.S summit meeting in July, 1989 which accelerated this phenomenon in local cities. According to Miura, this "enhanced the development of the road networks and motorization, wiped out the small business under the old retail distribution system, and increased the number
of large-scale discount retailers on the roadsides.\textsuperscript{4}

While the ‘soft’ infrastructure is steadily developing in the local cities in Japan, there is also a serious social problem which remains relatively invisible. This is the lack of human resources with ‘soft’ intelligence; those whom Robert Reich named “symbolic analysts”\textsuperscript{5}. There are extremely few job opportunities for “symbolic analysts” in Okayama. More and more people with such skills are concentrating in the global cities. Meanwhile, the people in the local cities seeking social mobility leave in search of opportunity in the global cities. There are not many jobs for elites in Okayama. They are limited to professional jobs such as doctors and lawyers, local public servants, teachers, and positions in local companies of good standing such as banks, the media, department stores, and some other well-recognized companies like Benesse Corporation. Furthermore, the local branches of multinational corporations in Okayama hire local staff members, but there are not many chances for them to be promoted beyond the local branches. Naturally, this deprives local cities of the capability to produce ‘soft power’, and transforms them into places primarily for consumption. As I have argued in the previous chapter, this is often the case because the local cities are considered as lacking opportunities for individual success and for people to become sophisticated consumers. The Okayama City government now advocates the slogan of “Kokusai fukushi toshi” (International welfare city) as a means to increase its ‘soft power’ in preventing population decline. Isn’t there a different way to describe Okayama without such slogans? Isn’t there a way to describe Okayama from the perspective of the people who live there? I strongly feel the sense of resistance against the international welfare city project, which deprives my imagination of words to describe my experiences and memories of Okayama.


\textsuperscript{5} Reich includes followings as symbolic analysts: research scientists, design engineers, software engineers, civil engineers, biotechnology engineers, sound engineers, public relation executives, investment bankers, lawyers, real estate developers, creative accountants, management consultants, financial consultants, tax consultants, energy consultants, agricultural consultants, armaments consultants, architectural consultants, management information specialists, organization development specialists, strategic planners, corporate headhunters, system analysts, advertising executives, marketing strategists, art directors, architects, cinematographers, film editors, production designers, publishers, writers and editors, journalists, musicians, television and film producers, and university professors. See, Robert B. Reich, \textit{The Work of Nations – A Blueprint for the Future}, London: Simon & Schuster Ltd., 1991, pp. 177-180.
3.3. International welfare city project of Okayama City

The slogan of the Mayor of Okayama City, Hagiwara Seiji, “for creating the international welfare city” is printed on the front page of the booklet about the outline of city administration issued by the Okayama City Planning Bureau in 2002. What this dated slogan is actually intending is to reconfigure Okayama City in the globalizing era. There is a message next to the slogan, “The city that is blazing forcefully outward and kindly inward.” It is a policy heavily oriented toward increasingly the soft power of Okayama City. How are this policy and its slogans actually implemented? Is it truly the policy to create a “forceful” and “kind” city? Or is it only the local version of the reconfiguration of the nation state in the globalizing era? The policy is not for the people living in Okayama but is a reconfiguration to allow Okayama City to be able to compete in the global society.

In one of his talks to public servants at Okayama City in 2003, Mayor Hagiwara said that he is planning to create a “sustainable international welfare city”. It is not very difficult to discover that this 1980s-sounding slogan is actually a plan to recreate Okayama as a global city. He sets out five objectives as follows:

- Recovery of the central districts as a place where smiles gather together
- Enrichment of education to foster the zest for life
- Improvement of the natural environment to vitalize Okayama
- Creation of the welfare society where people come in contact with each other
- Establishing an international city which we can show the world with pride

It seems that the actual policies listed under the above five objectives are not “kind” to the people living in Okayama at all. They were probably designed by an advertising copywriter with an impoverished imagination. The fundamental idea of creating such a city is based on the risk management needed to adjust to global information capitalism and its market. Such spirit is not very different from that of the entrepreneur. Indeed, Okayama City government is aiming to “reform the city administration to act with the business-oriented mind” under the name of “the expansion of 21st Century style city management.” In the following section, the serious problems of the “business-oriented mind” will be critically analysed based on those two keywords: international and welfare.

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3.3.1. *What is the international city?*

What is the international city advocated by Hagiwara? It means creating a global city, so the top priority goes to the development aimed at increasing soft power. For example, the main agendas are the development of infrastructure and training for human resources in information technology, holding an art festival, international cultural exchange projects with cities in Asia, together with political participation of the foreign residents, land readjustment focusing on the scenic attractions, and development of infrastructure for transportation. The agenda emphasizes internationalization by outsiders; global capital, tourists, consumers, and so forth. This problem is clearly reflected in the practical projects for creating an international city initiated by the Okayama City government. I am going to critically focus on two such projects: the “Salad Bowl” forum for regional internationalization, and the Convention for Foreign Residents in Okayama City.

Firstly, the “Salad Bowl” forum for regional internationalization was held on 24 and 25 October 2003, organized by the Okayama City International Exchange Council in the International Affairs Division of the city government. According to the International Affair Division, Okayama should become a “salad bowl” where distinctive individuals construct a sense of solidarity as well as respect toward other individuals from different cultural backgrounds. The forum began with a speech by Hagiwara, and was followed by talks by two foreign residents living in Okayama: an Indian man who is an executive at a local company, and an American woman who is teaching English at a local private elementary school. They reported their evaluation of the conditions and environment of internationalization in Okayama. The speeches were followed by a panel discussion, in which a professor from the local university, a fulltime worker at the South Korean affiliated community association Mindan, and a Filipina housewife discussed the agendas of internationalization in Okayama, under the slogan “Creating the society in which all individuals shine.” However, there was no critical discussion from the viewpoint of each foreign resident in Okayama. Rather, they discussed the conditions that make foreigners want to live in Okayama, and the internationalization of Okayama as evaluated in terms of global standards. I felt that the representatives of foreign residents were just used as model minorities who spoke of the necessity for Okayama to become a global city. For example, they did not discuss the social problems which foreign residents in Okayama experience in everyday life: the attack on Chōgin (Association of Credit Unions for Korean Residents in Japan), discrimination against
Soren (General Association of Korean Residents in Japan), the discrimination against foreign residents in job hunting and marriage, the discrimination against new-comer Chinese students in getting part-time jobs and renting apartments, and so on. In this way, the foreign residents are placed at the exterior of Okayama City as a measure to evaluate its soft power.

Secondly, Okayama-shi gaikokujin shimin daihyōsha kaigi (the Convention for the Foreign Residents in Okayama) was formally established in 2004 in order to discuss and deal with the everyday issues of the foreign residents in Okayama. The preparations for establishing the convention started with a first meeting on 19 December 2002. According to the proposal, its aim is “to discuss a broad array of problems centering on work and living such as human rights, social activity, healthcare and insurance, education, and residence.” On May 2003, it conducted an opinion survey consisting of 38 questions posed to 1,600 out of the 7,800 foreign residents living in Okayama City. The content of the questionnaire related to the agendas of the convention, the number, the selection, composition, and qualification of the convention member, residents, language, social activity, education, work and living, healthcare and insurance, human rights, and use and services of the public administration. However, as one foreign resident wrote in the free comment space on the survey, “It was so difficult to choose the answer, and the questions I wanted to be asked were hardly there.” Most of the questions focused on how to create an Okayama which attracts foreigners and not on how to enhance the government to deal with the variety of problems which individual foreign residents face. Furthermore, they were not very practical questions, and they amounted to nothing more than a consumer survey of the sort which asks respondents to express their ‘liking or dislike’ for commercial products. This clearly reflects that the convention is primarily intended to attract outsiders, rather than respond to the actual needs of the people. For example, it is clearly stated in the proposal for the convention, which defines the significance of its establishment, that: “We consider that having the new energy of foreign residents with their diversified ideas, values, and different historical and cultural backgrounds, is one important factor in promoting the vitality and appeal of the city suitable to be international.”

3.3.2. What is the welfare city?

8 Okayama-shi shiminkyoku kyōdōbu kokusaika, Okayama-shi kokusai kōryū kyōgikai hen, Okayama-shi gaikokujin shimin daihyōsha kaigi-shimin ishiki chōsa hōkokusho, March 2003, p. 4.
9 Ibid., p. 58.
Hagiwara explains the welfare policy of Okayama as follows: “In addition to the narrow definition of welfare as something for the handicapped and elderly, it is important to improve the quality of life of the general public in this difficult time.” He further advocates the necessity for welfare to be reconfigured so as to adjust to globalization: “We must put in a lot of effort to create a city associated with international relations.” In seeking the consolidation of municipalities and to be selected as Seirei shitei toshi (the cabinet-order designated city) by the government, he emphasizes the increase of the population and sustainability as the primary agenda. Cantering on such a global city building project, he points to education, the expansion of employment, the living environment, and security as the areas in which to increase the soft power of Okayama. However, he is not very enthusiastic about the actual plans for city building by the people, but just vaguely mentions the importance of cooperation with the public sector. Instead, what he explicitly emphasizes is the infrastructure needed in order to be one of the global cities. This policy would provide the infrastructure for “the improvement of the quality of life of the general public”. On the other hand, it disregards the socially disadvantaged, the weak, and minorities. Such lack of consideration toward the disadvantaged in Hagiwara’s policy is clearly reflected in his urban planning and crime prevention policies.

The booklet issued by the Okayama Urban Planning Bureau Yasashisa ga irodoru machizukuri (urban planning coloured by kindness) explains the redevelopment of the Okayama central district in phrases brimming over with the rhetoric of kindness. However, it is not particularly “kind” to the people living in the city centre, particularly to “strangers”. Rather, a gimmick for risk management is implemented that recalls one described in Mike Davis’s City of Quartz. The urban space based on the ideology of risk management is designed to eliminate the scruffy losers of the consumer era under the slogans of ‘scenic attractions’ for the general public. It proposes to target the three main streets in the central district, the historical heritage district, cultural capital districts such as museums and libraries, the greenway park district, and the redevelopment area near JR Okayama Station. In creating these spaces, the risk management strategy would emphasize restrictions on construction of new buildings: open space, usage of colour, palette, and painting material that harmonize with the scenic attractions, use of the types of store shutter for tenants, signs and advertisements, and things in the roof of

10 Shichō kōenkai: Yōshi.
11 Ibid.
12 Davis (1990).
a building which might spoil the sight.\textsuperscript{13} In this booklet, "kind" urban planning is considered the same as the creation of pleasant scenic attractions. The development of such scenic views would provide a pleasant urban space for the consumers and tourists. Meanwhile, the "strangers" who are not qualified to be part of the scenic attractions become the subject of purification and elimination. Signs announcing the designated purification areas stigmatize the area in the city where the sex industry is concentrated; the architecture of the open space prohibits the playing of music and skateboards; and the homeless become the target of elimination because they desecrate the scenic attractions. This would create a city shaped by risk management policies, and the "open space" created for the scenic attractions would become a "dead space," like La Defense in Paris, as described by Bauman.\textsuperscript{14} The city would change from a place for the people to live under civic administration to the place for consumers to be surrounded by the infrastructure of risk management under the market control.

This top-down risk management approach to urban planning is complemented by the volunteer activities of the people from the 'bottom'. This is clearly reflected in the grassroots activities in crime prevention in the central district. Okayama City and the Okayama Prefectural Police are advocating "creating the city of safety and security designated for crime prevention." They insist on the necessity of building the city from the perspective of crime prevention through the control of environments which might invite the crimes. Such environmental design by the government and police is complemented by the "creation of the safe and secure community" through the "patrolling the local communities to foster a sense of solidarity."\textsuperscript{15} For example, on 4 April 1998, the Okayama Guardians was initiated as a contract project funded by the Okayama Prefectural Police Headquarters, and implemented by the Okayama Association for the Prevention of Crime. The project consists of volunteer members including adults and students. They mainly patrol the Okayama central district from 8 pm to 10 pm twice a week. The target of their patrol is not to catch major criminals but to prevent minor crimes. Their main activities are removing pinku bira (the stickers advertising sex services), chatting with youths in the street, the homeless people living in the park and so forth. Therefore, their targets are youths in the street, pimps

\textsuperscript{13} Okayama-shi toshi-seibikyoku toshi-kenchikubu kenchiku-shidōka kenchiku-kikaku-chōseishitsu, Machinami seibi shishin – Yasashisa ga irodoru machizukuri.

\textsuperscript{14} Bauman (2000), pp. 96-97.

and sex workers in the sex industries (including foreigners), homeless people, and so forth. These are the "strangers" in the consuming society who pollute the scenic attractions. In such grassroots activity, the historical and social backgrounds of people are not the concern of the members. Indeed, the project of the international welfare city in Okayama reflects the market intervention into the public, and it is the project to eliminate the "strangers" who are not suitable to the consuming society.

Therefore, it is important to mention that the "risk management approach to urban planning" is accompanied by grassroots border creation by vigilante groups. This is one form of contemporary nationalism. However, it is a form which is itself shaped and permeated by consumerism. In the following chapter, I will examine the activities of the Okayama Guardians and critically focus on their border creation.
Chapter 4

Creating borders: the case of the Okayama Guardians

variety is a promise of opportunities, many and different opportunities, opportunities fitting all skills and any tastes – and so the bigger the city the more likely it is to attract a growing number of people who reject or are refused accommodation and life chances in places that are smaller and so less tolerant of idiosyncrasy and more tight-fisted in the opportunities they offer. (Zygmunt Bauman)¹

I can’t (leave you alone.) Not any more. You really piss me off. Why don’t you try looking at what’s right in front of you? Huh? Why can’t you try facing this reality? Because it’s scruffy and filthy? Well, that’s insulting. Because this reality also happens to be my reality. You have no right to treat it with such contempt, you fool! You’re going to run? Run then. But where can you run to? Nimura, where can you run? You’ll only end up in one of two places if you run. Either inside your dreams, or inside a prison. Got that? (Kurosawa Kiyoshi)²

4.1. The politics of the consumption of fear/justice and everyday life

Sometime after 11 pm on 23 August 2003, a bullet was shot into the glass of the front door of the headquarters of the Chōgin Nishi Shinyō kumiai (a credit union affiliated with the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan), which is located in the Zainichi Korean community near Okayama station. A group who announced themselves as the Kenkoku Giyūgun (the volunteer army for nation-building) and Chosen Seibatsutai (the Korea-conquering forces) made the following statement. “We launched the attacks in protest against a port visit to Niigata tomorrow by a spy ship belonging to the lawless state of North Korea. Unless North Korea shows regret for what it has done, we’ll step up our attacks.”³ Later the suspects were arrested and found to be members of a group called Tōken Tomo no Kai (The Sword Friendship Society), a group set up by collectors of samurai swords. In the above statement, we can observe an interesting perception of suspects. That is, the image of an ‘enemy’ outside of the border is replaced by that of an ‘enemy’ living nearby. This kind of xenophobic emotional perception, which is similarly seen in a series of racist statements by the Governor of Tokyo, Ishihara Shintarō, is highly problematic in building a multicultural society in Japan.

¹ Bauman (2003), p. 112.
² Kurosawa Kiyoshi, Akarui Mirai, Japan, 2002.
On 24 and 25 August, the *Sanyō Shim bun*, a local newspaper in Okayama, reported in both its morning and evening editions on the port visit of the ship *Man Gyong Bong 92*, the related Port State Controls implemented by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport, as well as the anxieties of local residents. For example, as mentioned in an earlier chapter, in the morning issue of 25 August, a middle-aged man is reported as having said, "I was expecting that the North Korean issue would cause this kind of thing. The general public can be involved in it, and it is very scary." With such a hostile atmosphere against North Korea, some LDP members attempted to promote economic sanctions, and to ban North Korean vessels from visiting Japan.

The sense of fear provoked by North Korea was stimulated by anxieties about an enemy linked to the North Korean government existing somewhere nearby. Such fears lay behind the idea that Chōgin is linked to the North Korean government and that the attack was justified in order to remove the fear. Meanwhile, the local newspaper’s discourse promoted the hysterical secular feeling in people’s everyday lives that it is only natural to enhance border controls. However, there is no tangible linkage between the subject of fear (the people), the object of fear (Zainichi Koreans) and issuance of supposed justice by Seibatsutai, and so therefore, there can be in fact no justice at all for anyone. Rather, there was only the consumption of the image of fear/justice, with bare violence being practiced as justice in a reckless manner. In such practices of consumption, the mass-produced exchangeable image of fear/justice creates an 'imagined community'. What we can observe here is what Etienne Balibar called “crisis racism”. In the age of consumption, it is often the acts of consumption which link people’s imaginations and realities. In that sense, the mass-produced / mass-consumed images of North Korea and the *Man Gyong Bong 92* ‘others’ Zainichi Koreans through “crisis racism” and constructs an ‘imagined community’ of Japanese. Furthermore, in the age of consumption, the range of crisis management goes beyond one’s race. ‘Neo-races’ become the targets of crisis management. Particularly, in the era of the dismantling welfare state, they are regarded as the newly emerging uncertainties. So we should call this phenomenon a crisis of ‘neo-racism’ that tends to be ‘mixophobic’. As Zygmunt Bauman indicates, “Mixophobia manifests itself in the drive towards islands of similarity and sameness amidst the sea of variety and difference”.

This chapter will examine the role of fear/justice in the everyday life of consumer society. Particularly, I will examine the use of fear/justice in the politics of border control in relation

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to the 'crisis of neo-racism' or mixophobia. As a case study, I am going to look at the activities of the Okayama Guardians, the vigilante group established in 1998 in Okayama. To begin, I would like to outline the structure of this chapter. Firstly, building on the analysis in Chapter 3, it will deal with the significance of research into a regional city in the global era. Secondly, vigilante activism in this regional city will be positioned as grassroots activity in the context of globalization and the decline of a welfare state. Thirdly, the ideological assertions of the Okayama Guardians will be critically examined through an ethnographic account of their patrolling activities. Fourthly, the relation between the subcultural nature of the Okayama Guardians and consumer society will be critically examined. Fifthly, how their practice towards the subjects of their patrolling activities is actually complementary to the local authorities and neo-liberal ideology will be discussed. Finally, I will propose that the limitations and possibilities of vigilante activism hinge on the establishment of networks with other social movements.

4.2. A declining welfare state and the rise of grassroots movements

Viewing the United States from Europe, Zygmunt Bauman points to the transition from a 'labour society' to a 'consumer society' in the 1970s, and to the decline of the social welfare society and the rise of the market economy-oriented society. Bauman indicates that the 'loser' in the social welfare system used to be treated 'collectively', as the subject of protection. In the consumer era, the 'loser' has come to be treated as an 'individual'. Therefore, the political, economic, cultural, historical, social or any background factors of the 'loser' would not be questioned, and the reasons for their 'defeat' would be reduced to 'individual responsibility' as a consumer. In this situation, the 'individual' would be judged by things such as consumer tastes toward items that he or she acquires, which are infinitely categorized into smaller and smaller factions. It is the clothes one wears, the cars one drives, the house one lives in, the restaurant one goes to, and so on, which became the scale for

7 *The researcher observed the vigilante activities of the Okayama Guardians four times during December 2003 and January 2004. During their patrolling activities, I followed ten to twenty meters behind the members with a police officer from Community Safety Planning Division, Safety Department, East Okayama Police Station. After the patrol, I interviewed eight members of the ten who participated in patrolling activities during that time. In 2001, there were thirty-four members (twenty-nine male/five female). Currently, there are twenty-three members, of whom I met ten during the investigating period. The nicknames of the members that I have interviewed are as follows: Pond (representative of the Okayama Guardians, male, small construction business owner), Piano (male, company employee), Ken (Female, company employee), Sniper (male, college student), Alf (female, job seeker), Sleepy (male, college student), Been (male, small business owner), Hao (male, student). In interviews, I did not use a voice recorder, but took notes.

judging people.

The collapse of the bubble economy and Cold War structure swept away the myth of the middle class nation – it is said that 90% of Japanese people used to believe that they belonged to the middle class. The winds of neo-liberalism promoted lay offs in the name of economic rationalization, thereby increasing the number of unemployed people, and disrupting the economies of many families. But in the consumer society the reasons why homeless people overflow in urban areas, why delinquent youth are on the street, why more and more people are involved in sex industries and so forth remains unquestioned. Such people will simply be labeled individually as ‘losers’ in the consumer society. Furthermore, as Bauman indicates, they may even be considered as criminals. Because of their lack of public appeal, they become scapegoats of ‘fear’, threats to security, and so subjects to be managed as ‘a reserve army of criminals’. The practice of ‘justice’ and such epistemologically consumed ‘fear’ are different sides of the same coin. Namely, it is the consumption of ‘justice’ that is consumed as ‘justice’.

It is indeed ‘the reserve army of criminals’ who are actually being targeted by the vigilante activities of the Okayama Guardians. The model of the Okayama Guardians is the Guardian Angels, established in New York’s South Bronx by Curtis Sliwa in 1979, two years before Ronald Reagan became the President of the United States. Their original activity was to patrol unarmed in the subway line #4, which was considered a ‘muggers express’ at that time. In Japan, the Guardian Angels were established in Tokyo in 1996 by Oda Keiji, who had served as the director of the New York Guardian Angels for five years. It was one year after several events such as the ‘Hanshin-Awaji earthquake’ and ‘Aüm Shinrikō incident’ created confusion in Japanese society. According to Oda, he ‘felt’ Japan was not a safe place any more, when he encountered the sarin gas incidents by Aüm Shinrikō during his visit to Japan to inspect the damage caused by the ‘Hanshin-Awaji earthquake’. Indeed, there seem to be several anti-establishment grassroots movements somehow linked up with the ‘fear’ toward the decline of the welfare state in Japan. So, who is being fearful? It is obviously

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10 For example, grassroots nationalism movements such as ‘Jiyū shugi shikan kenkyū kai’ and ‘Atarashi rekishi kyōkasho o tsukuru kai’ were established in 1996. In those grassroots-level movements, former leftist activists took important roles. However, in contrast, there are no former activists of any sort in the vigilante activities of Okayama Guardians. In fact, it is supported by the local police and *Bōhan kyōkai* (Association for the
not the people living in ‘gated communities’ or wealthy neighborhoods, the winners of the age of the neo-liberal economy. Rather, it is the people who cannot afford to live in ‘gated communities’ and who feel uneasy about the coming future, whom Ghassan Hage refers to as “refugees of the interior”.

Following a series of events, the Okayama Guardians were established in 1998 in the business districts of Okayama City. Spread all over Japan are two district headquarters, five district branches, and eighteen patrol districts of the Japan Guardian Angels. The Okayama Guardians does have informal exchanges with them, such as member training, but it does not affiliate with them, seeking its own way. According to Pond, a representative of the Okayama Guardians, they chose not to affiliate with Japan Guardian Angels since it was not an equal relationship, and they would be considered as a lower branch of an organization. However, the main manuals and activities are based on those of the Guardian Angels.

The nature of the Okayama Guardians differs substantially from the grassroots nature of the Guardian Angels established in New York. Originally, the Community Safety Planning Division (Safety Department, Okayama Prefectural Police Headquarters) came up with the idea of Guardian Angels in seeking to establish a youth crime prevention volunteer group. They recruited members under the name “Okayama Guardians.” However, it was not announced to the general public, and members were recruited through groups affiliated with the police and local colleges. Preparations were initiated in September 1997, and police officers provided instructions on establishing purposes and guidance techniques to thirty prospective members. On 4 April 1998, the guardians were initiated as a contract project funded by the Okayama Prefectural Police Headquarters, and implemented by the Okayama Association for the Prevention of Crime. The annual budget was 5.012 million yen in

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12 In their daily activities, the members of the Okayama Guardians use their nicknames rather than real names. According to them, the reasons for this are to prevent prejudice in difference of age, gender, and occupation. Furthermore, it is also for the protection of privacy and organization.

13 The Okayama Association for the Prevention of Crime was established in 1985, and the governor of Okayama is its representative. Its eight projects of 2003 are as follows. (1) Promotion of crime prevention ideology, (2) Coordination of crime prevention organizations, (3) Coordination of affiliated organizations, (4) Cooperation and support for activities fostering healthy youth, (5) Purification activities targeting the entertainment and amusement environments, (6) Comprehensive research of crime prevention measures, (7) Commendation of the crime prevention organization and distinguished services, (8) Any other projects to achieve this organization’s purposes.
1998, and 4.739 million yen in 1999. And in 2003, they were budgeted 3.16 million yen as a community safety project.

Quickly, discord arose between the police officers (including affiliated members), and the public volunteer members. From 1999, the Okayama Guardians was restarted solely by volunteer members consisting of mature adults and students, and they confirmed that they could patrol by themselves. Pond, a leader of the Okayama Guardians, looked back at the first year and said, “We can’t act effectively if we are considered by the public as an agent of authority such as an organization affiliated with the police or with campaign groups”. Then he emphasized the importance of communication on the horizontal level with the public instead of the top-down approach of the police. He says proudly, “We began to be recognized as one of the crime prevention organizations after the police stepped back two years ago”.

Cannot this anti-establishment perspective from the “bottom” be considered as the other side of the ‘fear’ that the welfare state is declining? Because nobody will protect them, they must take care of themselves. What Pond proudly told me reminds me of one of the scenes from Michael Moore’s film, Bowling for Columbine. Members of a militia group in a country village of Michigan, battered by the winds of neo-liberalism, are training with M16s and other automatic weapons, insisting that nobody would protect them, so they must protect themselves, with their own arms.

This is an American tradition. It’s an American responsibility to be armed. If you are not armed, you are not responsible. Who is gonna defend your kids? Cops? Federal Government?

4.3. Dare to Care!

On 16 December 2003, the members of the Okayama Guardians participated in the end of year crime prevention campaign, which was held under the auspices of the Okayama Prefectural Police Headquarters and the Okayama Association for the Prevention of Crime.

16 Michael Moore, Bowling For Columbine, Canada, 2002. Produced in 2002 by the journalist and movie director Michael Moore, it won the Oscar for best documentary at the 2003 Academy Awards, the 55th Anniversary Prize at 2002 Cannes Film Festival and many other awards. The village of Deckerville where the militia groups are living is located one hundred km northwest of Flint, where Michael Moore is originally from. It is a small village with a population of less than one thousand.
The event was held in the underground open space in Omote-chō, the business and shopping quarter of Okayama City. The brass band of Okayama Prefectural Police Headquarters played the popular songs by artists such as SMAP, Matsutōya Yumi, and of course, the image song for the 2005 National Athletic Meet to be held in Okayama. Behind the band, there was a banner saying, "The end of year special guard enforcement – exterminate street crimes – have a nice end of year and New Year". The place was surrounded by hard-faced policemen and by people working in the local TV, radio, and press. Amid a number of organizations at this theatre of crime prevention, there were Guardian angels, wearing black pants and boots, and red jackets with the message printed on the back, "We are volunteer staff". Seven members, including Pond, Bean, Sniper, Piano, Alf, Sleepy, and Haō, participated in this campaign. One of the highlights of this event, the governor of Okayama, Ishii Masahiro’s speech, confirmed the reason why people were there: "The number of crimes has increased in the last six consecutive years."

The ceremony ended, and the Governor Ishii walked down the Omote-chō shōtengai (Omote-chō shopping center) and pronounced the necessity of crime prevention to shop owners and passers-by. Stopping at the newly installed security cameras, a middle-aged man in a suit explained to the governor about crime prevention techniques of the new era. It was the members of the Okayama Guardians who walked at the head of the group.

"Good evening!"

"Please get off your bike!"

Using small transceivers, they communicated with each other, reporting on what was going on. The camera of RSK, the local TV station, shot the red and black angels. The whole event was finished within one hour when the governor and his entourage reached the local department store Tenmaya, the centre of the shopping quarters in Omote-chō shōtengai. Back to the normal routine, forming a straight line, the angels patrol on the way to their office. Rather unilaterally, they greet the people passing by, the shoppers, salary men and students on their way home.

"Good evening!"

People look back at the angels, and their activities draw ridicule from passers-by.

"What is that all about?"

Nevertheless, the angels carry out their duty, the practice of 'justice'. They warn the group of students riding bikes on the shopping street, where it is prohibited to ride bikes.
“You must not ride bikes here!”

Some students warned by the unfamiliar red and black angels get off from their bikes in a fluster. But others just ignore the admonitions.

Along from the shopping street, they find some pinku bira - stickers advertising sex services - covering a public phone booth. They remove the stickers, decorated with smiling female pictures and phone numbers, carefully erasing all traces of evil. While removing stickers, other members do not forget to take defensive positions in case of attack. Having removed these stickers peacefully, they put them into a plastic bag, and go to the police station located at the JR Okayama Station. They report what is going on the streets and hand over their takings to the police officer.

The streets and underground shopping areas near JR Okayama Station are where the young street musicians, poets and their fans hang around until very late at night. Most of them are teenagers and in their early twenties, and they are the targets of the angel’s patrolling activities, namely the project of ‘fostering a healthy youth’. The members exchange conversation with young musicians and fans, and advise them not to litter the area with trash - juice bottles and cigarette butts - and to keep the area looking clean. Sometimes, the Angels buy the works of musicians and poets as if in testimony to the concrete existence of horizontal communication. However, without penetrating too deeply into conversations with young artists and fans, they leave the place within a few minutes and head for their next targets.

Passing the amusement quarters not far from there, they go to a park where their next targets - skateboarders and homeless - stay. On that day, around 8 pm which is slightly earlier than their regular patrol, they found a couple wearing high school uniforms, chatting on top of a climbing frame. They expose the couple with strong light generated by the American-made high-powered flashlight ‘Scorpion’ and tell them in a friendly tone.

“It is pretty late at night. Maybe you guys should go home.”

Diminishing the satisfaction of Angels, and perhaps their confidence that they are fostering a healthy youth, the highlighted couple got off the climbing frame and left the place wordlessly.

The young angels Sleepy and Haō try to communicate with two middle-aged homeless men, which is generally the task of Pond, the senior leader among the members. After a while one of the homeless men continues to talk and talk, and the two young angels do not
know what to do, confronted with the bitter accounts of the homeless man’s life. The unilateral conversation continues for about half an hour.

Originally advocated by Curtis Sliwa, the founder of the Guardian Angels, “Dare to Care” is the motto of the Okayama Guardians. The idea is based on the ‘broken windows theory’, which was advocated by an American psychologist Philip Zimbardo in 1969. The theory is based on empirical studies that indicate leaving a broken window causes another window to be broken, eventually leading to a chaotic situation, and an increase in the number of crimes. This theory was further developed by the social criminologists James Wilson and George Kelling in 1982. In short, the theory states that minor crimes encourage chaos and disorder, thus, they should not be neglected. Therefore, it is ‘the reserve army of minor criminals’ who must be the target of patrolling activities. In fact, the patrol activities of the Okayama Guardians target the uncertain ‘losers’ of consumer society, namely the youths in the street, pimps and sex workers in the sex industries (including foreigners), homeless people, and pinku bira. As Shibuya Nozomu states, “in order to arouse fear towards poverty, it is effective to isolate poor people by criminalizing them.” The eliminated ‘loser’ can be managed as ‘the enemy inside’.

In the Okayama Guardians – 2002 Annual Report, Pond states his opinion as follows: “Communication which does not care about others and preventing unpleasant feelings will only create self-centered ideas, and enhance the culture of ‘pretending not to see’”. He thinks that we should overcome such social conditions by revitalizing “communication between people”. This idea of Pond against politics and social movements may be interpretable as an earnest ‘fear’ that the era in which the nation-state protects the people is in decline. However, his idea of ‘apathy’, which he believes is widespread among Japanese people is not based on any empirical data, but merely ‘feeling’. In the very foundation of such notions, there is illogical thinking that a Gemeinschaft-type of

21 I am using the term ‘nihilism’ in the sense that Pond is generating ‘nihilism’ himself by representing people as they are falling into ‘nihilism’. However, it is not the case that I am essentializing the existence of nihilism.
community has disappeared and that a Gesellschaft-type of community has not yet been established. There is nihilism which underestimates the various rights established through the practices of social movements, and nostalgia for a Gemeinschaft-type of community. Indeed, he himself is generating ‘apathy’ by not looking at the political, economic, historical, social, and cultural ties and networks which actually exist.

4.4. ‘Good’ & ‘Cool’

A distinct characteristic of the Okayama Guardians that is visible in their vigilante activities is the fusion of the subcultural sense of ‘good’ and ‘cool’. It is that sense of ‘good’ and ‘cool’ which attracts and motivates members to engage in the volunteer vigilante activities. The vigilante activities, for them, are ‘good’ and ‘cool’, just like heroes and heroines in TV dramas, cartoons, and anime. The ‘good’ becomes consumable without a solid social knowledge because it is ‘cool’. This characteristic of the current vigilante activities indicates that their sense of ‘justice’ is the by-product of the consumer society. Their fantasies of ‘good’ and ‘cool’ come from the very fact that it is a volunteer activity, and also manifest several subcultural features related to fashions, anime cultures, nicknames, military subculture, and martial arts.

Firstly, the very fact that it is a volunteer activity provides a legitimation, allowing the notion that because they are practicing ‘justice’, therefore, their activities are ‘good’. As the back of their red jackets clearly elucidate: “We are volunteer staff”. The members participate in the activities of their own free will, and without being paid. They are indeed sacrificing their precious time after work, school, and part-time jobs, from 7 to 10 pm on Tuesday and Saturday nights. Unlike the Japan Guardian Angels and the Fukuoka Street Hawks, the Okayama Guardians as an organization do not support any particular political groups. The members are non-political as well. On the other hand, they believe that they are practicing ‘good’ because it is voluntary, free work. So are they doing ‘good’ without any political intentions or desires? How is that possible? A senior at a private college, Sleepy talks about himself as “having a strong sense of justice” and “knowing good from evil”. For him, the practice of the Okayama Guardians is to “cut off the root of evil.” His simple sense of ‘justice’ is not connected to social justice with any political meanings. What he feels as ‘evil’, what he refers to as “environmental pollution” such as “pinku bira, graffiti, and syūkaizoku” (‘let’s-meet-up-and-hang-around-tribe’) merely exist in everyday life, but

22 The term social knowledge is used here to reveal the contrast between intellectual and secular knowledge.

23 This vigilante group was established in December 2000 by a conservative local politician (not affiliated to a particular party), Mizuki Shirō, a member of the Fukuoka municipal assembly. The information can be acquired through their website: http://www.street-hawks.com/
without clear antecedents. On the other hand, unlike a rural village society where people know each other, the post-modern Japanese society is complex enough that one's feeling of 'justice' would not be able to directly deal with it. Sleepy's practice of 'justice' is shaped in the consumer era, and in that sense, it takes the form of the 'consumption of justice'.

Secondly, the practice of 'justice' by the members of the Okayama Guardians also reveals that it is the by-product of the consumer era. The 'good' is complemented by the subcultural sense of 'cool'. First of all, this is apparent in the styles of activities, fashions, nicknames and so forth; the subculture taste associates with Guardian Angels, which fascinates the members into becoming members. According to the criminal sociologist, Komiya Nobuo, 'cool' plays an important role for the members of the Japan Guardian Angels.24 The style of the Okayama Guardians is based on the Guardian Angels that originated in New York, and some of the members actually trained with the Japan Guardian Angels in Tokyo. So it is the subculture of Guardian Angels that is being practiced and considered 'cool'. But what is 'cool' about it? In the following, the subculture of Guardian Angels; TV drama or anime-type of thinking, nicknames, clothing, military subculture, and martial arts, will be briefly examined.

Pond says, "Our goal is to make criminals recognize that 'we should stop this because they (the Guardians) are around' and to make the citizens recognize, 'they will help us'". Then he tried to explain to me his inspiration and image of their destiny, which was engendered by the popular TV show *The Guard Man: Tokyo keibi shirei* (1965-1971). It was an extremely popular show during that time, modeled on *SECOM (Nihon Keibi Hoshō)* which is the security company established in 1962. The theme of the story is well reflected in the opening narration by Akutagawa Takayuki.

The Guard Man is a story of brave men whose business is guarding and security, to face up squarely to the crimes surging in the big city. During the day, they secure people's lives, and during the night, they allow people to sleep peacefully. The Guard Man are unknown men who work hard every day in the names of liberty and responsibility.25

Pond continues, "Like Utsui Ken in the *The Guard Man*, my goal is to clean up by patrolling." Behind Pond's fantasy of justice, there is a strong desire to be the 'cool' hero of the drama.

The nicknames of the members; Pond, Musashi, Sniper, Piano, Peach, Ken, Sleepy, Alf,

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Haō, Sanji, Jesus, recall heroes and heroines from the animations. The nicknames, written in Katakana, are fanciful, and enable them to identify as ‘cool’ heroes and heroines of the fantasy.

One can readily see links between their activities and cosplay, which literally refers to “costume” and “play”. Participants in the very popular type of cosplay dress up and pretend to be a fictional character, usually the heroes and heroines of science fictions, comic books, and anime characters. The keynote colour of the caps, jackets, T-shirts, and pants of Okayama Guardians - red, black, and white - are the same as those of the Guardian Angels. According to Komiya, “This flamboyant uniform establishes members’ identities on the one hand, and is expected to visualize the role model for youth on the other”.26 Their original symbol is the griffin from the Greek mythology who “protects the treasures of gold”. Pond says, “The Okayama Guardians are willing to be guardian deities who maintain security, which is gold treasure for the people in the local community.”

As animation-inspired heroes, they need grounding for their strength, to become a guardian deity. Their military-flavoured fashions, ‘Scorpion’ and transceivers engender a sense of the macho. More importantly, the martial arts culture also plays a significant role, as the basis of their strength. Pond, Piano, Haō, and Sleepy are masters of the Chinese martial arts, Shaolin Kempō. So protecting themselves without any weapons but their very physical skills is believed to be sufficient against ‘the reserve army of minor criminals’.

There is strong interest in ‘security’ among the four young members; Sleepy, Alf, Haō, and Sniper, who are seeking to get jobs after graduation from college. Their expected future careers are: policeman, juvenile officer, and a member of the Self-Defense Forces. In fact, Alf was offered a position as a police officer with the Tokushima Prefectural Police and as a juvenile officer in Okayama, choices from which she eventually chose to become a juvenile officer.

Their patrolling manuals are based on that of the Guardian Angels, whose they refer to as ‘G. A’. The self-defense designed in US society, where the opponents are assumed to carry guns, seems to be rather an exotic performance when it is practiced in the shopping streets, office buildings, crossroads, and so forth in Okayama. The dissociation between their patrolling ideology and practice seems rather comical. It often induces passers-by to burst into laughter. On the other hand, the performance seems to be engendering confidence in the members to engage in such activities.

The innocent sense of ‘good’ and the subcultural sense of ‘cool’ are the two main

foundations of the Okayama Guardians. This sense of 'good' and 'cool' is not related to the
demands of particular people, therefore, it lacks certain elements of social movements. In
fact, no members have been engaged in any types of social movements. Rather, they tend to
reduce all social problems to security issues. In their view, the homeless people, young
people, pimps and sex workers on the streets are nothing but social terrorists endangering
Japanese homeland security.

4.5. Managing 'the reserve army of minor criminals'

Bauman states that the "dangerous classes" of the era of the welfare state were redefined
as the "classes of criminal" in the era of the market economy-oriented society.

Given the nature of the game now played, the hardships and misery of those left
out of it, once treated as a collectively caused blight which needs to be dealt with
by collective means, can be only redefined as an individual crime. The
'dangerous classes' are thus redefined as classes of criminals. And so the prisons
now fully and truly deputize for the fading welfare institutions.27

For the people engaging in vigilante activities, who are practicing crime prevention
measures, the "classes of criminals" are 'the reserve army of minor criminals'. They are the
targets of the Okayama Guardians patrols: youths in the streets, homeless people in the park,
people in the sex industries, and so forth. What we can observe from the practice of the
Okayama Guardians is that there is a conflict between the police authority exercised from
the top and the vigilante activities generated from the bottom. On the other hand, their
actions are complementary in terms of the management of 'the reserve army of minor
criminals'.

'Foot patrolling' is the core activity of the Okayama Guardians, and the core practice for
managing 'the reserve army of minor criminals' from the bottom. The members usually
patrol the business and shopping quarters. The patrolling course is not strictly designed but
the targets that they are looking for are: the street musicians and poets sitting and performing
in the streets in front of JR Okayama Station, the young people smoking and chatting at the
underground shopping complex of JR Okayama Station, pimps and sex workers standing on
the street corners and in front of shops, the homeless in the park, and the public telephone
booths covered with pinku bira. They also conduct managing activities such as moving
bikes from studded paving blocks to aid the blind people, calling out for bikers to turn their
lights on and to stop dinking, not to cross streets on red lights, and not to litter. These
patrolling activities are reported to Ken who is sitting by the radio in the office, writing
down one by one whatever is reported by the members. This contributes to the invention of

an 'imagined community' of people practicing 'justice'.

In the case of the Okayama Guardians, although they are certainly aware of the existence of the female foreign pimps and sex workers whom the members think are Chinese, these are not considered as important targets since their number is small. Furthermore, when I participated in Okayama Guardians' patrolling activities, they did not patrol the entertainment districts where the bars and sex industries are concentrated and ‘general crimes’ occur more frequently. Instead, they focus on ‘the reserve army of minor criminals’ in the underground shopping complex, streets, and park. What is being practiced here seems to be the concept that ‘minor crimes’ are more crucial than ‘vicious crimes’, an idea advocated by George Kelling, who took a leading role in the public security of New York City from the mid-1980s. 28

In managing ‘the reserve army of minor criminals’, the members of the Okayama Guardians aim to communicate with them equally but oppressively. Pond thinks the ideal relationship with them is to be their “father and friends”. However, this observer’s impression is that it is highly likely that it is not a father-son or friend-friend relationship that is being established. On the contrary, it is the image of ‘communication with youth’ being achieved, which is unilaterally being ‘consumed’ by the members. Their interests are exclusively with security issues, so the social and family backgrounds of the young people are out of the range of their patrolling activities. Rather, the young people are simply gazed at as individual/consumer, detached from any kinds of social contexts.

More importantly, the members are playing an important role as agents complementing the local police and government demands for security and urban purification from the ‘bottom’. Their activities to ‘purify’ people’s manners in public places seem to be synchronized with the promotion of the redevelopment of the business and shopping quarters of central Okayama. How it ‘looks’ is the key for its management. For example, the homeless people in a park who symbolize the economic stagnation and lay offs of recent decades are managed as subjects who pollute the public toilets of the ‘citizens’. It is not accompanied by bare violence, but the conversation which seems to be building mutual confidence between the members and homeless men is actually a way to manage the shabby subjects. Thus, the members attempt to talk to them, but they do not have any intention of dealing with the social issues behind the homeless people. Another case is their graffiti cleaning activities, organized by Omote-chō shōtengai. The graffiti is seen as the subject to be removed, but without reference to reasons why the young people want to draw graffiti. Distant from public eyes, ‘the reserve army of minor criminals’ is eliminated to the

28 The idea advocated by George Kelling has been introduced to Sapporo Central Station in 2001, and it is reported that the rate of crimes decreased by 12%. 87
periphery of people’s imaginations as a spectacle of everyday life in the consumer society.

The police also play an important role. The support of the police is crucial in the ‘foot patrol’. Usually, a police officer from the Community Safety Planning Division, Safety Department, East Okayama Police Station follows the members from ten to twenty meters behind. Sometime, he films them with his digital camera for the purpose of advertising the activities. Therefore, while the members of Okayama Guardians advocate ‘justice’ from the ‘bottom’, it is obviously under the management of the local police. Furthermore, the strong presence of police also can be seen after every patrol when they hand in the removed *pinku bira* to the police station at JR Okayama Station, with reports on what is going on. Nevertheless, despite such management by the police authorities, Pond and other members believe that they are practicing ‘justice’ from the ‘bottom’.

Overall, under the management of the local police and government, the members of the Okayama Guardians manage the homeless people, street musicians and poets, youths in the streets, foreigners, *pinku bira* and so on, as subjects to be eliminated. And such elimination is a practice drawing a border between ‘us’ and ‘the reserve army of minor criminals’. It is a domestic border control movement from the ‘bottom’ to complement the local authority, reflecting the psychology of the internal exiles. Their fears come from a very earnest reality where global and neo-liberal competition is the most severe: the borderline between ‘us’ and ‘Others’. For them, ‘the reserve army of minor criminals’ are the ‘Others’, which they themselves must not become. They fear that ‘Others’ might be their own future. In that sense, we may call this as a competition between those to not desiring to become part of ‘the reserved army of minor criminals’.

In contrast to the grassroots border creation by the Okayama Guardians, the border creation in everyday life is much more subtle and banal. In the next chapter, I am going to examine the border creation of seventeen people who work at Sanyō Consultant by focusing how they banally create the border in their work place.
Chapter 5

The practice of nationalism in everyday life

Do people always in fact describe most thickly what matters most to them? (Renato Rosaldo)\(^1\)

First of all, it is necessary to seek an internal subversive possibility. This is because, nobody stands ‘outside’ of capitalist mode, and each of us has already been caught up in the dynamism which maintains its governance. Therefore, we must transform our subjectivity to one that can contest the governance under the current situation. This is because we are living in the environment that makes us feel it is very ‘obvious’ and ‘natural’ to live and work in complicity with maintenance capitalism. (Sakiyama Masaki)\(^2\)

5.1. What is nationalism?

During preparatory fieldwork in summer 2002, I gave a brief questionnaire to the seventeen people at Sanyō Consultant\(^3\) in my hometown Okayama. The first question was, “What is nashonarizumu (nationalism)?” If they could not think of an answer, they were just asked to circle the number of each question. Most of the answers to the first question were either “nothing” or blank. The following are some of those answers;

“I don’t know”; “Kokka shugi”;\(^4\) “Kokusui shugi”\(^5\); “I don’t understand the meaning of

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3 Sanyō Consultant co., is a small company of my friend’s father, where my friend also works. The main work is consultancy regarding sewage systems and their design. Most of the work is entrusted by the city and town governments. The company was established in January 1985 in Okayama City by Sanada Kōtarō who originally came from Kobe, with 3 other friends. Two of them, Yoshida Masao and Igarashi Ryūichi still work under his management. In 1988, they moved to the current office in Okayama while they expanded the size of the company and number of employees. At the time of starting fieldwork, there were seventeen employees (twelve male and five female) but one female employee retired in the summer of 2003 due to marriage.
4 This term has the strong connotation of feudalism based on the Japanese imperial system. This term and its movement led to support for the fascist government, particularly after the 1930s and toward WWII.
5 This term emerged in the late 19th century, in the newspaper *Nippon* edited by the journalist and critic Kuga Katsunan, and journal *Nipponjin* edited by the members of
nationalism very well”; “Patriotism/War”; “Nazis Germany or Fascists Mussolini?”; “War”.

The answers of these seventeen people are hardly concerned with the icons of the rise of neo-nationalism in Japan; Ishihara Shin’trō, Kobayashi Yoshinori, and the Tsukurukai. Rather, their answers seem indicate that the word ‘nashonarizumu’ (nationalism) is not familiar in their everyday lives at all. Of course, I am not intending here to argue that their answers represent the average perception of Japanese. But when we reconsider the academic term “nationalism” from an average person’s perspective or in the everyday life, the answers of these seventeen people at least seem to indicate the necessity for further consideration of the term. This is because, in most of cases, the people surveyed do not consume or practice nationalism in the form of explicit language, sentences, and texts, in the way social scientists expect. Amid the tide of globally experienced nationalism, many scholars and critics attempted to diagnose the rise of nationalism in Japan after the mid-1990s as “neo-nashonarizumu” or neo-nationalism. For example, a psychiatrist and critic, Kayama Rika, empirically examined her private college students in Tokyo, using questionnaires. The motivation behind her book was a serious concern toward the “youth drift to the right”, which she allegedly felt strongly at the time of the 2002 Soccer World Cup co-hosted by the Republic of Korea and Japan. As a result of the questionnaires, she made a rather quick diagnosis that students as well as youth in Japan were suffering from the “petit-nationalism syndrome”.6 There seem to be various problems with such a diagnosis. Particularly, the diagnosis of the “petit-nationalism syndrome” is written rather deductively without a careful empirical examination of individual reasoning. I wonder how the students would actually practice their ‘answers’ in their everyday lives. In reality, it is almost impossible to detect the consumption and practice of nationalism in everyday lives. Of course, it is not very difficult to find fragmented pieces of evidence here and there. However, this cannot be directly connected as empirical data

the nationalistic political group Seikyōsha such as Miyake Setsurei and Shiga Shigetaka.

6 Kayama, Rika, Puchi nashonarizumu shōkōgun: wakamono tachi no nippon shugi, Chūō kōron shinsha, 2002. The petit-nationalism (puchi nashonarizumu) indicates the rise of neo-nationalism among the Japanese youth. The term petit or puchi is used to indicate that they do not devote themselves to nationalism with a full commitment as Japanese youth once did in the time of WWII. Instead, they make a nationalistic statement as a fashion that is something cool to be consumed. The word petit or puchi are often used by Japanese youth to express their sense of light commitment to the issue.
to demonstrate the rise of nationalism. To some extent, it is an invention rather than a solution.

In order to avoid giving an essentialist definition of nationalism in the process of creating the theory itself, we must carefully examine each case uniquely and empirically. In that sense, this is an empirical attempt to make a critical theory of nationalism. But I must note that readers should not expect that there will be abundant empirical examples of the consumption of nationalism in terms of support for the view of Koizumi and Ishihara, consumption of nationalistic statements through media, discriminatory attitudes toward minorities and so forth. Rather, nationalism is practiced in the form of everyday actions: driving to work, working, making conversations, having lunch and tea breaks, finish working, driving home, eating dinner, etc.

In this chapter, I am going to focus on the nationalism of the people at Sanyō Consultant in their everyday lives by spending time with them at their workplace and in their private lives. This is a detailed description of daily life in order to critically understand nationalism. As I have discussed in Chapter 1, the focus will be on the sense of phobia of the people in their everyday lives under global information capitalism. As a case study, I am going to focus on their perception of the 'old comer' Zainichi Koreans. In particular, I will focus on how workers' nationalism is practiced against Zainichi Koreans. These practices generally do not take form of direct violence and abusive words. Rather, they take such forms as the use of 'jokes' as a lubricant to release people's phobia and stresses in their work and other everyday problems. Most of the time, nationalism is practiced very silently. But also very occasionally, only several times in number through a year-long fieldwork, the discriminatory 'jokes' ambiguously but suddenly become linked to the conservative media discourse in people's everyday lives.

5.2. Commuting

A day at Sanyō Consultant begins with commuting. On sunny days, my friend since high school, Akira (28), and his youngest colleague Yoshida Arata (27), occasionally commute to the work on their American-made "TREK" mountain bikes. Most of the employees, including Akira and Yoshida-kun, commute by cars, in which they are

7 The usage of 'kun' indicates the social relationship that it is generally used from senior to younger. I use this because that is how I called him during the fieldwork.
investing a great amount of salary through loan payments. The office is located in a residential area three kilometres west of the central business district of Okayama City. Public transport such as trains and buses are not very good for commuting. The area was developed under the urban planning law in the mid-1950s, which was implemented to deal with the urban environmental issues caused by the urbanization of Okayama City. The area was designated as the South Okayama extensive city planning zone in 1970, and the west end of the South Okayama extensive city planning land readjustment zone in 1972. It was completed by 1988.

The office building of Sanyō Consultant

The two-storied office building of Sanyō Consultant was constructed as a residence and is the product of city planning. This area is considered to be a second-class mid-high rise residential area. The office was moved to this building in 1988, the same year the construction was completed. Away from the hustle and bustle of the business districts with businessmen and students going to their workplaces and schools, research. Although I was obviously aware of the hierarchical nuance in it, I used it because I felt it is what was expected at Sanyō Consultant.

Except for Sanada Makiko, the wife of Kōtarō, the other sixteen employees own their private cars. Six of them made single payments and rest of them are paying off their loans, which amount to 7-25% of their residual income.

Okayama kōki toshi keikaku kukaku seiri (Okayama-shi), sōkatsuzu, kuiki/chiki/chikuzu, No.3, August, 1996.
the place is very quiet. It is a formerly rural small-size suburb where the land was reclaimed from rice fields. Sitting in my chair in the office, listening very carefully, I could hear the familiar voices which I used to hear a long time ago, such as the shrill voice of the man selling the laundry poles from his car; “Take ya, saodake” (bamboo, bamboo poles). On other occasions, it is a machine-like female voice from a small advertising airplane.

It takes around thirty to forty minutes by car for most Sanyō employees to commute to work. For Sanada Kotaro and his wife Makiko, driving a silver Toyota Windom, it only takes about five minutes. On the other hand, Takeda Hiromi (39 years old, Office Automation Staff, Technical Development Department)\(^{10}\) drives her white Toyota Altezza from Satoshō County, thirty-five kilometres west of central Okayama City. In the morning rush hour, it takes her ninety minutes to get to work. I visited her once to research where she was living and spending her private time.\(^{11}\) I drove down Route 2 at around sixty to seventy kilometres per hour, and took note of what I could recognize with my eyes. A landscape of the “faasuto ōdo” (fast food) emerged.\(^{12}\)

The speed of the car obscures the rich natural environment which remains in the suburb of the local city, and transforms the landscape into a vista of advertisements for the consuming world. Pushing aside the natural landscape of the hilly areas and flatlands of Okayama, the dazzling advertisements of shopping malls, Korean BBQ restaurants, Pachinko parlours, Labu hoteru (love hotel), consumer credit companies, gas stations and so on dominate my vision. Stopping on a red light, I take a look around, and the rich natural environment of the country suburb landscape returns to

\(^{10}\) It is interesting that each employee has a title of their own in this small company, titles originally created in larger corporations. This seems to indicate how the job title is being utilized to motivate workers by providing them with responsibility as well as the governmental perspective to some extent, which eventually leads them to self-discipline. Also, the title seems to be part of the game of “self-actualization”.

\(^{11}\) I have engaged in interviews at employees’ homes. Usually, I asked them to give me directions with their colloquial explanations in order to understand their cognitive maps of commuting. During the home visit, I have asked them about their personal histories regarding Zainichi Koreans. Interviews were conducted personally or with other family members when they were around. I did not force them to make any arrangements and tried to make it as spontaneous as possible. The interviews were conducted by using an IC recorder with their permission.

\(^{12}\) Miura Atsushi argues that globalization effects are much more clearly revealed in the local city of Japan. He uses the term “faasuto ōdo” to indicate the McDonaldization of the local city of Japan. The ōdo here also implies nature and the culture of Japan. See, Miura (2004), and Miura Atsushi, Kershō chihō ga henda!: chihō ga faasuto ōdoka shi ekiyōka shiteiru!, Yōsensha, 2005.
view.

This commuting experience is much more relaxed than that of the subways of metropolitan areas such as Tokyo and Osaka, fully packed with passengers. Hectic rush hour commuting cannot be generalized as the Japanese experience. However, what is very similar seems to be the fact that it is difficult to describe the everyday landscape of the country suburb except through reference to the advertisements of the consumer society.

Landscapes of Faasuto fūdo

5.3. Arriving at work

The electric sound of the starting bell set on the computer rings at 8:45 am, and the people gather in the assembly room on the second floor of the office for the morning meeting. In order to see each other’s faces, they stand back around the walls of the room. The assembly begins with a speech from one person, and each of us must take turns every eighteen days, including myself. According to the president, this started because “since we are consultants by profession, we always must be able to express our opinion clearly in front of clients.” The speech lasts only a few minutes, but it reflects the employees’ imagination in their everyday lives. The topics are information gained through the media (Hanshin Tigers, North Korea, SARS, and the war in Iraq), their private everyday lives (gardening, the beauty parlour for dogs, hay fever, the future of their children, a concert by the folk singer Sada Masashi), and the link between public
ethics and work ethics (compassion, the spirit of cooperation, public morals). Sometimes, the consumption of nationalistic discourse can be observed through such topics as North Korea; however, it seems to be picked as a topic simply because it is sensational in the media. It is difficult to discover the individual motivations for selecting such topics; such motives can be only sought through their individualized histories. As a response, the president makes a brief comment on each speech. Some of his comments, such as those on the issue of moral decay, seem to fit the role that Yoshino called that of "cultural intermediary". However, again, these are not simply statements to promote nationalistic sentiments. Rather, they are used as tools to motivate workers in order to make his business successful.

2nd floor of Sanyö Consultant

After the meeting, everyone sits on a chair, facing each other over one of two folding tables, and the operational meeting begins. In the meeting, Nakagawa Keiji (48 years old, Assistant Manager, Design Division, Technical Development Department) calls each name, and reconfirms the details and procedures of the ongoing work. Each person must understand specifically what they themselves are doing as well as what others are doing. The meeting usually ends in fifteen minutes. Some people go to visit the local governments and working sites, where others stay in the office and deal

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with the general affairs and design work.

There is an important task for the female workers. The wife of Kotarō, Sanada Makiko (57 years old, Administrative Manager), Sayama Michiko (34 years old, General Affairs), and Yamauchi Miki (33 years old, Technical Development Department) prepare the morning teas. They serve the coffee, tea, green tea, and wheat tea, depending on the orders in everyone's personalized cups, and carry them to the table of each person. Some people are fastidious. For example, during the cold winter months, Hashimoto Kenichi (34 years old, Technical Development Department) demands that they put in plenty of milk and sugar in his tea and microwave it. The three female workers (and myself) do not make any complaints about this and do our work quietly. They do not show much resistance toward their obligations. However, my friend Akira, Tanizaki Yoshikazu (37 years old, Chief, Office Automation Staff, Technical Development Department) and Takeda-san prefer to serve themselves. It is hard to distinguish whether they are doing this in opposition to the paternalistic system of tea serving, or following the logic of 'self-responsibility'. However, this notorious tea serving ended when one of the tea servers, Yamauchi-san, left her job on account of marriage. Since one of the tea servers left, the tea-serving became a burden for two, and the long tea-serving tradition at Sanyō Consultant collapsed after fifteen years. No one made any reference to it and accepted it naturally. The tradition collapsed and the principle of 'self-responsibility' remained, as if symbolizing the victory of market over tradition.

The main business of Sanyō Consultant is sewage surveying and design. Most of the projects are on private consignment by the local governments in the southern part of Okayama prefecture. The employees are engaged in general affairs, sales, system engineering, and Design. So their everyday working landscapes are very different from one to another. For example, Yoneda Kunio (54 years old, sales) who is the only sales-person, leaves in a company-owned white Toyota Corona after the morning meeting. He will not be back until 5:00 pm. He spends most of his working time in the car, and it had racked up more than 80,000 kilometres in only two years. In Japan, where freeway access is not very good and is extremely expensive, it is said that the average driver would drive 10,000 kilometres per year. So one can see how much he is driving everyday. On the other hand, the workers engaged in the system engineering and computer-aided design, Tanizaki-san, Koshinaka Kazuko (39 years old, Chief, Office Automation Staff, Technical Development Department), Takeda-san, Mizutani
Hiroki (29 years old, Office Automation Staff, Technical Development Department), and Sanada Makiko and Saitō-san engaged in the general affairs, usually do not leave their office until the end of a day. Their working landscapes are obviously very different from those of Yoneda-san, whose landscape is the sights seen through the front of the car. The office-bound employees see the charts of Excel and design of CAD, as they sit on their chairs in the very quiet office. Furthermore, the members of the Design Division, Technical Development Department: Yoshida Masao (42 years old, Director of Design Engineering, Design Division, Technical Development Department), Matsuda Hajime (41 years old, Assistant Manager, Design Division, Technical Development Department), and Nakagawa-san, Akira, Yoshida-kun, Shimada Haruo (30 years old, Design Division, Technical Development Department), Hashimoto-san, and Yamauchi-san often visit the local governments and working sites. So they do not merely stare at their computers all day long but also negotiate with local officials and walk around the working sites to conduct investigations. However, they are also the ones who must stay at work until very late. For example, when the company had to make a final push with their public projects in March, they did not have any holidays at all and worked until very late, sometimes until next morning. Under the long-lasting economic stagnation, Sanyō Consultant is in the same situation as other firms, and they must work without sufficient overtime pay. Though they are not fully satisfied with such working conditions, the time just goes by.

5.4 Walking the worksite

Although the Sanyō Consultant people work at the same workplace, the knowledge they gain is different based on their specializations. In highly specialized contemporary society, the specialization of each individual is extremely multifaceted. The people try to understand the world and engage in signifying practices using the knowledge they possess. However, such everyday knowledge and practice cannot be analysed by taking a comprehensive, panoramic view using the academic sense of knowledge. In this regard, Michel de Certeau’s following statement is very meaningful.

The presence and circulation of a representation (taught by preachers, educators, and popularizers as the key to socioeconomic and advancement) tells us nothing about what it is for its users. We must first analyse its manipulation by users who are not its makers.14

The work of the Design Division is to design a draft of sewage system construction with Computer Aided Design to meet demands of the clients. Firstly, they are commissioned by clients such as local government to design the sewage system for a specific site. Then, they go on fieldwork in order to design the construction site, and take the pictures of the planning route of the sewage of the construction area with a digital camera. Taking the pictures to the office, they print them out, and use them as the reference materials for the design. The blueprint made by Computer Aided Design then would be finished by the workers at the Office Automation System, Takeda-san and Koshinaka-san.

One morning in August, I went to a working site in a county 20 kilometres north of central Okayama City with Yamauchi-san and Shimada-san. Feeling groggy under an unrelenting sun, and with the temperature over 35 degrees Celsius, we walked to the site. Walking down the country roads, we were looking down on the asphalt and seeking for the indication bolts of the altitude, longitude, and latitude such as “KBM” and “T23” implanted in. This way of walking is literally a practice of viewing Japanese society from the very ‘bottom’. Yamauchi-san and Shimada-san were imagining the blueprint of sewage system, which would be designed and constructed under the asphalt they were walking on. Based on the knowledge of the sewage design, they engage in their fieldwork studies. However, the goal of such fieldwork is to design the sewage system not to engage in sociological or anthropological analysis, yet it also involves social interaction with diverse aspects of local society.

For example, when Akira was explaining about a takoyaki (octopus dumpling) shop named Tako hachi, he mentioned a survey of a nearby working site, where the company was previously engaged in Design the sewage system. Recalling such surveys, people like Akira remember their physical interaction with the place: the weather, what they ate for lunch, investigations at the sites, characteristics of the sites, their technological difficulties, and so on. Akira and Hashimoto-san were charged with investigating this particular site. It was adjacent to a buraku community. According to Akira, “I had to make a courtesy call to the Minshu kaikan (buraku community centre)\textsuperscript{15} with two people from the local government, a main contractor and Hashimoto-san, in order to

\textsuperscript{15} Minshu kaikan was established as one of the settlement house projects promoted after the Social Integration Special Measures legislation was established in 1969. In 1999, there were about one thousand settlement houses in Japan. See, Rimpokan no homepage: http://www.rinpokan.com/
start the work in the area”. As in the case of the buraku community, Sanyō Consultant employees must sometimes spend extra time exchanging courtesies with the communities. This tends to be an annoyance for them, rather than an interesting opportunity to understand local society where they work. In particular, this case involving the buraku seems to be revealing the nature of banal nationalism amongst the majority in that they try to avoid the issue and express their attitude in a very passive way. This is also relevant in considering the nationalism by avoidance against Zainichi Koreans. As we shall see in further detail in the following chapters, this demonstrates how majority people in Okayama have links to “Others” but these links are usually neglected and the majority prefers to avoid to deal with local social issues. (See Chapter 8.1.3. for further discussion)

5.5. Lunch break, Yoshinoya, and Waratte iitomo!

A signal from the computer at noon lets us know that it is the lunch break. The break is only 45 minutes long. It was originally one hour long. Then it was shortened by 15 minutes because Sayama-san wanted to leave the office as soon as possible in the evening in order to pick her children up at the preschool. It is a small company, and everyone agreed to shorten their lunch time. Therefore, we have very limited alternatives of places where we can eat outside during the short period. The people who do not bring lunch go to the restaurants or convenience stores nearby. I usually went out with three young male workers, Akira, Yoshida-kun, and Shimada-san. The places were generally limited to Lawson (the convenience store), Hokahokatei (Bentō box express), Udon Donbei (Fast food Udon noodle shop), Yoshinoya (Fast food beef bowl shop), CoCo Ichiban (Curry shop), and Macdonald’s. The key word is that in the advertisement of Yoshinoya: “hayai, yasui, umai” (fast, cheap, tasty).
In the compressed time and space of the Yoshinoya outlet, the relaxing lunch times and spaces turns the consumer into the domestic livestock of market capitals. I often softly complained to my friends how they eat in the domestic livestock environment almost everyday. The people in charge of the restaurant are part-time workers called ‘kyasuto’ (cast; staff). One of the female employees at Yoshinoya, around her mid-twenties, performs her work with tremendous physical agility. Sitting on the counter, she takes our orders, “medium beef bowl and egg, medium beef bowl and egg, medium beef bowl with tsuyudaku (extra soup on rice) and egg, medium beef bowl, egg and miso soup.” We are almost sure that she already knows what we are going to order as soon as she brings us our four green teas. She memorizes the orders without taking any notes, and comes back within one minute with four beef bowls, four eggs, and one miso soup. Then she repeats: “the customer with the medium beef bowl and egg, the another customer with the medium beef bowl and egg, the customer with the medium beef bowl with tsuyudaku and egg, and the customer with the medium beef bowl, egg, and miso soup”. But we are not sure whether this is in the staff manual of Yoshinoya or her born nature. Anyhow, ‘the customer is god’.

Yoshinoya’s radical price cut, which was started from the summer of 2001, was sensational. The price of the medium beef bowl was reduced from 400 yen to 280 yen. This is cheaper than the price in 1975. For us, the most important factor in eating at Yoshinoya is price. Yoshida-kun, who must make payments for his newly purchased VW wagon, always comes up with the same sentence when we get into the car to decide where to go: “let’s go somewhere cheap”. As if there is an unspoken agreement, we always ended up going to Yoshinoya or Udon Donbei where we can eat for under 300 yen.

Matsuda Eikichi, the founder of Yoshinoya, originally started his business as a family-type operation in 1898 at the fish market in Nihonbashi, Tokyo. He moved his restaurant to Tsukiji when the fish market transferred after the Great Kantō Earthquake in 1923. His son Matsuda Mizuho took over the business from 1958. The first franchised store was established in Odawara City, Kanagawa Prefecture in 1973. After it once went bankrupt in 1980, they reconstructed the company and in 2001 there were 1,020 franchised stores all over the world.16

Perhaps the physical agility of the female employee at Yoshinoya is not just due to her nature. At Yoshinoya, the ‘kyasuto’ must deliver the meal within one minute after the order at the latest. In order to promote this system, they have established a skill contest. The contest takes place at some of the busiest stores during business hours. The performance is judged by video recording, and only one Grand Champion is selected per year. But our local candidate for Yoshinoya Grand Champion is not created only by the ‘Yoshinoya Manual’ or ‘Yoshinoya Guidebook’. What probably complements Yoshinoya’s business strategy is the self-discipline fostered by education and society. For example, her behaviour and smile reminds me of the process of discipline which I experienced through playing baseball in my school days. It goes without saying that the athletic activities at school club teams inherit the militaristic discipline of war time, or even have their origin further back.

Finishing lunch within ten minutes or so, we usually stopped by the bookstore or convenience store to browse. We always went there on Mondays when the weekly magazines generally appear on the shelves. For example, one Monday in late January, we stopped by the convenience store Lawson after lunch. Yoshida-kun was reading the comic magazine *Shūkan Supiritsu* (Weekly Spirits), Shimada-san was reading *Gekkan Tsuri Jōhō* (Monthly Fishing Information), and Akira was reading *SMART*, introducing fashionable furniture and interior goods. They consume their everyday interests through the magazines within three minutes.

The other workers usually ate their lunch together in the assembly room on the second floor. Takeda-san, Koshinaka-san, and Yamauchi-san usually bring their own lunch. Tanizaki-san usually brings some instant noodles and fried rice, and microwaves them in the kitchen on the first floor. Unfreezing the time-and-space-compressed instant food, he usually finishes it as quick as possible, so that he can concentrate on his favourite readings, such as books of Stephen King and Natsume Sōseki at his desk, using his yellow earplugs. The president and his wife often went to Udon Donbei for their lunch. It is a fast food udon restaurant. The four of us often went to Donbei as well for the same reason we went to Yoshinoya. In fact, the fast food udon restaurants were experiencing a boom in Okayama and other places in Japan. As far as I know, ten new fast udon restaurants opened while I was in Okayama during 2003. Again, the attraction is the price; we can eat within 300 yen. Other

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workers eat Bentō boxed lunches ordered by the company every morning. While I was there, they ordered Bentō from two Bentō catering places Kibiji and Kitchen Mama, and switching between them in every two weeks.

On the screen of the TV in the assembly room during the lunch break, Waratte iitomo! is always on. Whether the employees are watching it seriously or not, the ideology of the ‘banal nationalism’ exists behind the everyday feelings of support for this popular TV program. Waratte iitomo! occupies the TV screen at noon for about an hour from Monday to Friday. Tamori, a male comedian in his 50s with trademark large square sunglasses, has acted host from the beginning of this show for more than twenty years. The main performers on the program are the regular members: actors, actresses and comedians, and one guest stars on each show. The guest stars include politicians such as Ishihara Shintarō, college professors, writers, actors, actresses, musicians, comic artists, comedians, baseball players, pro-wrestlers, and so on. This program started on 4 October 1982 when I was in the third grade at elementary school.

From the dawn of the bubble economy in 1982 until 1 November 2002, Waratte iitomo! has been broadcast 5,150 times. With very few exceptions, the producers have not changed their programs at all. It is very interesting to pay an attention to these exceptions. For example, in one of the sections of the show Telephone shocking, Tamori chats with the guest star of the day. It is entitled ‘shocking’ because the guest of the day contacts his or her friend to be the guest of the following show during this live program. This section has only been omitted thirteen times in the past twenty years, and replaced by a report of ‘urgent’ events of the day. I will list them chronologically:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Account</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9-13 January 1989</td>
<td>The death of the Emperor Showa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 February 1989</td>
<td>Emperor Showa’s funeral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 July, 1989</td>
<td>Election of the House of Councillors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 January, 1991</td>
<td>The Gulf War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 January, 1993</td>
<td>The Imperial household council meeting on the marriage of the crown prince</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 June, 1993</td>
<td>The marriage of the crown prince</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17-20 January, 1995</td>
<td>Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 March, 1995</td>
<td>Tokyo subway sarin attack</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
First of all, it is obvious that the Imperial household issues are regarded as more important than *Telephone shocking*. However, this does not indicate that the audience has more interest in the Imperial household issues. During the time death of Emperor Shōwa, it was often cynically said that the rental video places make great profits because no one is interested in a week-long funeral show. For example, the most popular movie at a rental video shop in Edogawa-ku, Tokyo in 1989 was *Die Hard*. The audience preferred enjoyed the Hollywood macho-ness of Bruce Willis to watch the news reports of the death of the Emperor. Nevertheless, the ‘coded’ message of programs like *Waratte iitomo!* informs its viewers that the Imperial household issues should be regarded as more important in the everyday interests. Michael Billig analyses how the British monarchy is maintained in everyday life, and indicates the importance of the role of everyday chatting about royal issues.

Apparently trivial talk about the Royal Family is not trivial, but flowing through it are themes of ideological importance.

Maybe I should say, ‘Watching a Hollywood movie instead of the report of death of the Emperor Showa is not trivial, but flowing through it are themes of the imperial household system against individual consumerism’. Thus, it is extremely important to intervene in the “the politics of mundane” to prevail over the ideological importance of the Imperial system.

Furthermore, the ideological significance of two events involving the United States, the Gulf War and the 9/11 attack should be considered. For the Japanese watching the news on the TV screen over the Gulf War and 9/11, anti-American sentiments are not welcomed. This prohibition of anti-American sentiments and passively watching the

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TV news are actually the practice of nationalism. Such passivity is not accidental. The Japanese who are the audience to the US occupation of Iraq are fully aware that their military power is backed by Japan. However, a passive consumer attitude is promoted by the media image of Japan as merely “peacefully” supporting US action.

5.6. Work in the afternoon, radio, and jokes about North Korea

The tea servers prepare and serve tea again when the bell on the computer rings at 12:45 pm. This takes place again at 3:00 pm when tea and snacks are provided. In the office after lunch, the time runs very slowly. There are two CD/radio cassette players on each floor of Sanyō Consultant. The CDs playing are usually Japanese and foreign pops, or a tune from one of the three local FM radio stations; FM Okayama, Radio Momo, and FM Kagawa. The favourite one is FM Okayama. The news and information that come from radio are also a part of people's everyday knowledge. The information from the radio encourages impromptu conversation.

For example, the radio advertisement of the Japan Advertising Council, which was created by the Sendai Branch of Hakuhōdō, one of the two major advertising agencies in Japan, goes as follows.
Male voice-over narration (with the sound of a stream in the background):

“This is Ginzan hotspring in Yamagata Prefecture. It is ten years since California-born Ginny-san married into this place.”

Ginny (speaking in her fluent Japanese):

“I think that Japanese are forgetting what is good about their own country”.

The male voice of narrator:

“For Japanese to realize about Japan, that is how the international exchange begins.”

Female voice:

“AC”.

The advertisements of Japan Advertisement Council have been broadcast since 1971. Their themes extend to public manners, environmental issues, welfare issues, natural resource issues, education issues, bone-marrow donor registry, vaccines for children, and promotion of book reading. The commercial described here is used for TV, radio, and newspaper. The message is that nationalism is healthy, and that internationalism is impossible without nationalism. How is this message consumed by the people at Sanyō Consulting? The radio program is treated as background noise, but it certainly appeals to the listeners. For example, one rainy afternoon in mid-June, Hashimoto-san made mimicked the advertisement, mocking Ginny’s accent.

“Yoshida-kun is forgetting that there are so many good things about Yoshida-kun.”

This is only intended to tease Yoshida-kun, the youngest worker at Sanyō Consultant, and it indicates how the radio commercial is being 'consumed'. However, in this case, Hashimoto-san is rather what Certeau called a “poet of his own acts”22, and it is a joke to lubricate tedious works. For “poets of their own acts”, signifying practices are

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21 AC is the abbreviation for the advertising council, and it is how Japan Advertising Council refers to itself.
conducted within the logic of their own everyday lives. They do not consume the products or discourse directly, but modify them based on their own needs and tastes. Hashimoto-san’s ‘appropriation’ of the radio discourse has nothing to do with the ideological speculation of Japan Advertising Council. Rather, it can be interpreted that for him, whether to use “Japanese” or “Yoshida-kun” in this context does not make any difference.

However, the jokes of “poets of their own acts” sometimes are not funny at all. When Prime Minister Koizumi visited North Korea on 17 September 2002, Kim Jong Il admitted that North Korea was involved in the abductions of thirteen Japanese back in the 1970s. Since then, discourse about North Korea; ‘abduction’, ‘Kim Jong Il’, ‘Taepodong’ and so forth, and depicting North Korea as a barbaric and dangerous ‘terrorist state’ has spread through NHK news, TV gossip shows, etc. Furthermore, books criticizing North Korea, Kim Jong Il, and Chōsen Sōren established an entire genre of Kitachōsenbon (North Korean related books). However, as historian Wada Haruki states, “those books are not self-reflexive at all about the pain and suffering which Japan gave to the people in Korea through the colonization. They also do not mention the hostile North Korea-Japan relationship since the Korean War at all. Finally, they do not talk about continuing oppression and discrimination which still exist today against Koreans living in Japan.” The people at Sanyō Consultant are no exception and they ‘consume’ the image of North Korea in the media in their everyday conversations. On 24 February, North Korea tested a ‘silkworm’ missile in the Japan Sea area, and it was widely reported by the media as a great threat. The following day, Hashimoto-san, who was typing, remarked.

“We better watch out what North Korea gonna do.”

On that occasion, there was no response from other people around his desk.

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23 North Korea launched a Taepodong ballistic missile that flew over Japan in 1998. The word Taepodong is widely recognized and used in Japan to represent the potential danger of North Korea.

24 Wada, Haruki, and Takasaki, Sōji, eds., Kitachōsen bon o dō yomuka, Akashi shoten, 2003, p. 9. According to Wada and Takasaki, the foundation of the boom of “North Korean related books” after the disclosure of abduction cases was in the 1980s. In fact, 107 such books were published from 1984-1990. Furthermore, 522 books were published in 1990 and another 36 books were published in the three months after the disclosure in 2002. The conservative discourse in those books and other monthly conservative magazines are reproduced in the weekly magazines and TV gossip shows.
However, no one makes critical comments either.

One afternoon in April, having had overtime duties until the early hours of the morning day after day, Hashimoto-san did not come to work and gave no notice. This was very unusual for him or any other employee at Sanyō Consultant. We could not contact him through his mobile phone either. While other workers worried about what was happening with him, someone started to make a joke out of it.

"He must’ve been abducted by North Korea."

As Ghassan Hage indicates, in the context of Australian multiculturalism, national “fantasies” are practiced through spatial perception. The postcolonial historical relationship between Japan and the Korean Peninsula is rather different from the multiculturalism in Australian context. Yet the recent attacks on female students at the Korean ethnic school, whose Chimachogori (traditional Korean clothes) have been slashed by passers by are acts similar to those performed by the people whom Hage named the “evil white nationalists”. Such attacks with paper cutters on female Korean ethnic school students are often reported to happen on the streets and trains. In the consumer age, such explicit violent forms of the practice of nationalism are often marginalized. For sophisticated people, it is not ‘cool’ to practice nationalism conspicuously. The practice in the form of a joke to make their colleagues laugh is cool, safe and convenient, and would not make life difficult. Such people are not unlike those Hage describes as “good” or “tolerant” white nationalists. However, as Hage also notes, the “tolerance” of “good nationalists” and the violence of “bad nationalism” cannot entirely be separated.

For example, the practice of nationalism is not something repeated everyday. It only erupts as a joke when certain events intrude into their surrounding environment. The “poets of their own acts” try to decode events in the media by replacing them with the events taking place in their everyday lives. Here is another example.

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Hage (1998), p. 28. Hage focuses on the spatial perception of the nationalists in their practice. He states the theoretical accounts of the practice of nationalism as follows: "I will maintain that they are better conceived as nationalist practices: practices which assume, first, an image of a national space; secondly, an image of the nationalist himself or herself as master of this national space and, thirdly, an image of the ‘ethnic/racial other’ as a mere object within this space."
In late August, protest erupted in an effort to stop the North Korean ferry *Man Gyong Bong* 92 being allowed to enter the port of Niigata. Among the most militant protest groups was an organization calling itself Kenkoku Giyūgun (the volunteer army for nation-building) and Chōsen Seibatsutai (the Korea-conquering forces). On 23 August, in protesting the North Korean passenger ship *Man Gyong Bong* 92 entering the port of Niigata, a group who announced themselves as the Kenkoku Giyūgun and Chōsen Seibatsutai fired at Chōgin Nishi Shinyō Kumiai (a credit union affiliated with the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan), located not very far from the JR Okayama station in an area where the Korean community resides. (See Chapter 4) A few days after this incident, we had a farewell party at the izakaya (Japanese-style bar) for Yamauchi-san who was going to retire to get married. This place was located only two or three hundred meters away from the Chōgin. After the party, some of us went to the “Blue Moon” bar nearby. During this time, the media was overflowing with daily reports of *Man Gyong Bong*’s visit to Niigata and protests by Association of the Families of Victims Kidnapped by North Korea (AFVKN). In such circumstances, the issue became a topic that everyone shared. Yoshida-san and Hashimoto-san enjoyed repeating the exotic syllables *Man Gyong Bong* meaninglessly and raised the topic at the party. Then, someone made reference to Matsuda-san.

“Don’t you get abducted in Ishikawa as well?”

Matsuda-san smiled at the joke, and answered that there were no kidnappings in Ishikawa Prefecture. He was picked on to entertain everyone at the party. Matsuda-san originally came from Ishikawa Prefecture in the Japan Sea coastal area adjacent to Niigata Prefecture, where the series of abduction incidents were disclosed to have happened. In this case, the issue of security on the national border is replaced by the personalized comments about Matsuda-san. What would have happened if I had criticized the joke as the practice of nationalism? There would probably have been open-mouthed astonishment. It is very natural to entertain the party with jokes, enjoying quips about Matsuda-san. It is even considered as something positive because it engenders a sense of intimacy among the people in the bar. They do not have a clear imagining of North Korea or *Man Gyong Bong* 92. However, the discussion also reveals important aspects of the perception of ‘Others’. It is not only an effort to relate ‘Others’ to familiar experience, but also a way of ‘consuming’ them as commodities. In the conversation above, the participants feel that what is important is this present relaxing moment with alcohol, and they want to forget about the highly
complex historical background of colonialism and postcolonialism. That is gone and now we are here. So, in the busy everyday lives of people under the global information capitalism, all you have to do is to deal with reality, and no time for history.

The nationalism is not only against Kim Jong Il, North Korea, or terrorists who do not welcome global coevalness. As is obvious in the case of the attack on the North Korean affiliated bank, the nationalism is also practiced against Koreans living in Japan who share the everyday time and space. However, such practice cannot easily be found by the researcher, it only unilaterally visits the minority without any prior notice. In fact, I felt that there is massive frustration in the jokes of people at Sanyō Consultant. It is the frustration toward their busy everyday life, often being overwhelmed by global information capitalism.

Kanemura Narumi (see 8.2.5.), a fourth generation Zainichi Korean, works at a local company in Okayama, which is located three kilometres east of Sanyō Consultant. At her workplace, since the disclosure of the kidnappings by North Korea, she always has to be “in a state of suspense” because she is often asked by her colleagues to conform to the nationalistic attitude against North Korea. Like Narumi, Koreans living in Japan who work for Japanese-owned companies usually hide their nationality by adopting tsūmei (“pass-name”: see 8.2.1.), a registered Japanese name. For Koreans brought up in Japan under the Japanese education system, their nationality is not distinguishable by their appearance. For the new generation Koreans brought up in Japan, what is functioning as nationalism is the reality of Japanese society that prevents them from using their real names, rather than conspicuous discrimination against them. Only one of Narumi’s colleagues knows that she is a Korean. For her, people’s jokes and consumption of nationalist discourse are experienced as unexpected attacks in the midst of everyday life. In using jokes about kidnapping and Man Gyong Bong to deepen their intimacy, the people in the “Blue Moon” bar were amusing because there were no Zainichi Koreans among them. And their bland assumption helps to create a world in which Narumi and others like her feel it necessary to use Japanese names at work.

5.7. Globalization, overtime work, and emotional labour

The bell at 5:30 pm from the computer tells us the end of fixed working hours. As soon as it rings, Sayama-san leaves the office in order to pick up her children at the preschool. As anyone else leaving earlier does, she lets people on both floors know that she is leaving.
"Excuse me for leaving before you".

Soon after that, usually, Mr. and Mrs. Sanada leave. They are followed by the people in the Office Automation System who leave earlier than other people in the Technical Development Department. The workers in the Technical Development Department can leave early if they don’t have any overtime work to do. Usually, they work until around 8:00 to 9:00 pm, and it is not unusual to work until very late. As with other construction related small companies in Japan, the business at Sanyō Consultant is not doing very well. The workers must work overtime for very little recompense. The workers give up their private time without any pay in order to contribute to the company. Throughout the year 2003, late March to April was the busiest time of the year. It was about the time when Matsui Hideki from the N.Y. Yankees and the American invasion of Iraq was preoccupying the media. One day in early April, Akira and Shimada-san were working until 4:00 am in the morning. On the following day, I asked Hashimoto-san about his weekend schedule. His response was very cynical.

“There is no doubt that I will be here working”.

Although he is unsatisfied with the working environment, he has no intention of protesting about the current working conditions, in which he has to work late hours and weekends without being paid overtime. Unlike the large corporations, Sanyō Consultant has a family-like atmosphere, and everyone knows each other very well. They also spend their private time together after working hours and on weekends, playing soccer and badminton, shopping, fishing, attending a confectionary making class and so on. And every Monday, the female workers who are in charge of household duties order and buy food products brought by the Okayama Civic Cooperative Society. The president of the company also tries to put some efforts into making the workplace more family-like. For example, in order to discuss the working conditions and build the firm relations with his employees, he sometime engages in hours-long personal interviews. According to the president, this is because that he did not like the company where he used to work in Osaka, where no family-like communications existed. However, it is not difficult to predict that this family-like ideal poses a dilemma for employees. Employees are forced to commit to what Arlie Russel Hochschild has termed “emotional labour”.26

26 Hochschild, Arlie, Russel, The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling,
In order to survive in globalization and adapt to its standardization, "emotional labour" deprives workers of the labours and holidays. In this context, the node where the people's nationalism, the nationalism in globalization, and neo-liberalism emerge is intertwined at multiple levels. In the following section, the power relations amid the neo-liberalism which fosters nationalism in the people's everyday lives will be considered from their perspective.

From the year 2003, the workers at Sanyō Consultant must attend a study group about the "International Organization for Standardization (ISO) 9000 Family" outside working hours. This study group is held in the assembly room on the second floor, and each worker becomes a lecturer on his or her area of specialization regarding ISO 9000 to other workers. For example, one day in mid-December, Koshinaka-san lectured us about ISO in relation to her specialization of computer-aided design. During her lecture, the senior members, the president and Ueki-san intervened and asked questions to lead the discussion, turning the session into a learning process for the whole body of workers. The workers sometime use their precious weekends for the study group, but they all participate since they understand that a small company like Sanyō Consultant would not survive without earning ISO 9000 in very near future.

ISO was established as a non-governmental organization with its headquarters in Geneva in 1947. From the 1970s onward, the importance of quality control and assurance came to be emphasized by Great Britain, Germany, and the United States. In March 1987, ISO 9000S was established as the international standards guideline for the quality system, which was established on the basis of British and American standards. This is reviewed every five years and was revised in 1994 and 2000. Furthermore, ISO 9001, since its establishment in 1994, was virtually required practice for the large corporations in Japan such as the electronic manufacturers in order for them to export to the European region. In 1996, the Ministry of Construction introduced it as a pilot program, and it is now required for the small to mid-sized companies engaged in the construction business to survive. What is remarkable above all is that the promoted title 'quality assurance' in the 1987 and 1994 standards disappeared and was replaced by 'quality management'. This indicates that they are now not only assuring the quality but also committing to the improvement of the customer satisfaction.27 In this

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27. Nihon gijutsushikai chūbu shibu purojekuto chiimu chūbu gijyutsu shien centaa hen,
regard, Japanese sociologist Shibuya Nozomu indicates that neo-liberalism “drives” and “exploits” the “emotional labour”. It promotes employees’ participation in management amid the social transformation from the “production society” to the “consumer society”. In this context, according to Shibuya, “the consumers are forced to face the clients, and it even demands to be the clients”, and this leads to the emergence of the classes of the “emotional labourer/consumer”.28

This structure of “emotional labourer/consumer” is reflected in the workers’ everyday lives at Sanyō Consultant. The workers are trying to obtain ISO in order to meet the needs of consumers. On the other hand, as consumers, the Sanyō employees complement the structure themselves, becoming both consumers and “self-service workers”. For example, on his way to the work site by car, Akira stops at the JOMO self-serve gas station. Akira unscrews the black filler cap of the Toyota Probox, selects the regyuraa (regular) gas, puts in petrol, puts the cap back, and then pays with the credit card. Another example is the udon restaurant we often go to for lunch. Once you enter the udon restaurant, you pick the large or small udon, reheat the noodles by yourself, select your favourite toppings, push the lever to pour the soup from the soup pot, and finally add the green onion and dried tuna. This is not the end however. If you finish eating, your final obligation is to take the role of waiter and waitress, and separate the soup and chop sticks to dump. In this everyday consumption, the workers also discipline and internalize themselves as the good customer that neo-liberalism demands.

Why is the issue of globalization and neo-liberalism important in discussing nationalism? It is important because the rise of neo-nationalism in Japan is connected to a global trend of rise of nationalism in the advanced capitalist states. When we look at globally experienced neo-nationalism from the ‘bottom’, we encounter the everyday life of each person who must sacrifice their after-hours and weekends. As Ghassan Hage indicates, the globally experienced neo-nationalism is supported by the refugees of the interior, the internal exiles.29 As I have been delineating, the works of the “poets of their own acts” are fostered in such everyday lives. It is the phobia fostered in busy everyday lives which is promoting the practice of nationalism. The lack of time to

develop deep relationships among employees is preventing them from considering one's place in the local community in the globalizing world.

5.8. Returning home, cynicism, and never ending everyday life

Exhausted, stressed-out, the Sanyō Consultant people return to their home to take a short breath from their never-ending everyday lives. It is often past 9 pm or even midnight and they are still busy. There are conversations, phone calls, or email with their family, lovers, friends, and so forth, on which workers would spend their time after work? Maybe they would watch TV while drinking beers with their late dinner.

Overall, I have focused here on the practice of nationalism in the peoples’ everyday lives within the current of global information capitalism. In the next chapter, I will focus on the private accounts of the people at Sanyō Consultant. In particular, I will focus on their personal history related to Zainichi Koreans and their perception of Zainichi Koreans. In illuminating fragmentary memories about Zainichi Koreans suppressed in the rush of everyday life, I shall seek the postcolonial linkages between the employees and Zainichi Koreans. I will delineate postcolonial linkages from the ‘untold’ history, the linkages which do not appear in the conversations of the busy everyday life. In the process, the poem will be created based on the concept of what Tessa Morris-Suzuki advocated as “implication”.30 On the other hand, and more importantly, I will question why the people with ‘untold’ history which contradicts nationalism had to end up practicing nationalism.

Chapter 6

People’s historical practice and implications regarding Zainichi Koreans

There are illegibilities of the layered depths in a single place, of roses in action and of historical accidents. (Michel de Certeau)

We are ‘doing history’ in many occasions of everyday life. (Hokari Minoru)

6.1. People’s historical practice and its implications

As I was engaging in the fieldwork research at Sanyō Consultant, I started to realize that I should know about the employees’ personal lives and histories in order to know why they consume and practice the discourse of nationalism in their everyday lives. Do they tolerate discriminatory jokes against North Korea because they have reasons to dislike North Koreans? Or they do tolerate the jokes because they do not have any Korean friends or acquaintances at all? So I visited their homes on the weekend and conducted interviews with them and their families. Most of them live in Okayama City and I usually drove my car to their homes, which were usually within an hour’s distance. Through the interviews, I realized that most of the people at Sanyō Consultant were somehow linked to Zainichi Koreans and no one had any strong hostility against North Korea or Zainichi Koreans. However, I clearly realized that most of these personal experiences and histories are rarely expressed and remained in the form of silence in the workplace. These home visits and interviews made me more interested in the seventeen people and my views toward them in the workplace also changed in the process. I encountered ‘Otherness’ in the intimate people of my hometown and I became more interested in them as I came to know about the social and historical backgrounds.

There were ‘untold’ histories in the everyday lives of the people of Sanyō Consultant.

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In delineating and examining their 'untold' histories critically, we need to focus on the localities of their narratives. The locality here does not mean the converse of the dominant view of history; global, central, and master narrative. Rather, it should be considered as the point of intersection of two; global and local, centre and periphery, urban and rural, and so forth. The locality is not something essential, but emerges as a time and space of continuous encountering, intersecting, and transforming. It exists not in the form of a homogeneous community but as a diversified network. In critically delineating this local history, the following two approaches will be introduced.

First, my approach is to consider people and their everyday lives as the subjects of history. This is what Hokari Minoru advocated as ‘historical practice’. Hokari considers that it is not only academic historians who should be authors of history. Instead, we should consider the everyday landscape surrounding people as the place to practice history. Hokari named this “dipping” and “doing history”. What this projects is not the scale or size of the history or events, but the richness and contingency of the local experience in the narrative of the people living in everyday life. On the other hand, since it is not necessarily the sort of writing which has a strong impact upon readers, such a historical narrative itself interrogates the reader’s sensitivity toward the silence behind the narrative. The critical possibilities of the silence within the locality depend on the local and critical imagination of the readers. Borrowing Hokari’s term, this historical approach can be described as “experiential historical truthfulness”.3

Secondly, historical practices in everyday lives must be delineated critically. In order to delineate the local historical practices critically, Tessa Morris-Suzuki’s idea of the historical being “implicated” in the past is useful. According to Morris-Suzuki, the idea of “implication” is as follows.

We may not have involved directly to the land-grab, but we are living on the deprived land. We may not have involved directly in the genocidal killing, but we are related to the process of denying the history. We may not have directly victimize ‘Others’, but we are living in the society benefited by the past victimization without rightful treatment.4

Morris-Suzuki’s concept of “implication” explores a way for Japanese who are not

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3 Ibid., pp. 19-41.
directly involved in the past colonial history to critically think about the link between their everyday lives and past imperialism. It is an approach which seeks to imagine each historical case and person, and reconsider the meaning of being Japanese. This is not to think "we are the heirs to imperialism because we are Japanese". Instead, we must think "we are Japanese because there was an imperial history". This is the historical imagination in everyday historical practice which links mundane events with history; the car one drives, the make-up and dresses decorating the body, the meals on the table and so forth. This historical practice reveals to us who we really are. Such practice seeks a way to postcolonial historical consciousness from the interior of everyday life. It may be called the postcolonialization of the everyday historical landscape. In this chapter, against the busy everyday life where globalization, neo-liberalism and nationalism cross-over at multiple levels, the people’s perception and memory of Zainichi Koreans will be postcolonialized.

Before starting the personal interviews, I thought that the people at Sanyō Consultant would be either not be interested in or not have any knowledge about minorities in Japan. But the interviews proved that I was wrong. They told me about their personal histories in relation to Zainichi Koreans. This fact exposed that I had not really been interested in the people living in my hometown. Instead, I had been expecting my informants to be my preconceived anthropological subjects. Furthermore, it also revealed that my perception categorized Japanese and Zainichi Koreans as two separate communal entireties. However, this experience of finding a link between Japanese and Zainichi Koreans living in my ‘hometown’ made me realize how the people’s lives are actually linked to each other. This inspired in me a hope for an alternative public, which is neither a Gemeinschaft-type community nor a "postmodern-animalized" society. The latter notion was developed by the young Japanese philosopher and critic, Azuma Hiroki, based on case studies of the consumption patterns and sexuality of otaku. "Postmodern humans cannot fulfil their desire toward meaningfulness through something social. Rather, they fulfil it individually and alone by reducing it to the animal-like desire." Azuma indicates that while Japanese otaku reveal excessive sympathy toward the "small story", they cannot feel linkage toward the "grand narrative". He calls this phenomenon 'animalization'. In contrast to above two models of society, "implication" is the way to realize how the people living everyday lives are historically linked to each other.

How is the practice of nationalism in their everyday lives grounded in the people’s personal memories and experiences? As was clear in my co-workers’ dialogue about North Korean issues, their personal histories tolerate nationalism against Zainichi Koreans. At least, no one makes a critical remark about it. On the other hand, the personal histories of people at Sanyō Consultant brim over with historical experiences contradictory to nationalism. In the following passages, I will examine why the personal historical experiences which contradict nationalism tolerate its practice instead of eliciting people to think about “implication”. Therefore, we must engage in the historical practice of postcolonialization of the everyday life. It is a trial-and-error method to face the phobia of the people at the critical point between the historical “implication” and nationalism. In particular, I will critically focus on their “depoliticized” knowledge of Zainichi Koreans.

6.2. Invisible Zainichi Koreans

At the beginning of my fieldwork research, none of the seventeen people at Sanyō Consultant had an ongoing relationship with Zainichi Koreans. They were spending their everyday lives without paying any special attentions to Zainichi Koreans; however, they were actually linked to Zainichi Koreans in their everyday activities. None of the seventeen people expressed overt discrimination against Zainichi Koreans of the type demonstrated by Hage’s “evil white nationalist” 6. However, at the same time, the absence of negative remarks on Zainichi Koreans is the other side of the coin of a lack of interest in their histories.

For example, a third generation Zainichi Korean, Lee Yeong-Wi (27), who is currently supporting one of his family businesses, told me about his experience. When he was a first-year college student in Himeji City, he went back to Okayama for his first summer vacation. When he met his friends from high school who did not know Yeong-Wi was a Zainichi Korean, Yeong-Wi ‘came out’ about his ethnicity. However, his tremendous emotionally demanding effort ended up with his Japanese friends’ anticlimactic response.

“You are no different from us!”

Yeong-Wi is a Zainichi Korean with a colonized history of long-lasting discrimination

in postwar Japan, and he had been afraid that ‘coming out’ might make his friends discriminate against him. How this can be “no different”, he thought. On the other hand, he was relieved to hear his friends express their firm friendship. Thanking his friends for their warm response, Yeong-Wi nevertheless had an uncomfortable feeling about the words “no different”. In fact, it was not only Yeong-Wi who indicated this problem; I have encountered many young Zainichi Koreans who faced a similar response.

I interviewed people at Sanyō Consultant about Zainichi Koreans during my home visit interviews. I tried to avoid having a formal interview in a specially-created time and space of ‘non-everyday life’. Rather, I interviewed them in the flow of everyday conversation without preparing any format of questions. What I realized through those interviews was that they have perceptions which foster nationalism as well as the memories and experiences which contradict such practices of nationalism. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, the contradictory memories and experiences do not foster critical views of nationalism. The reason for this is that in most cases, their views about Zainichi Koreans are consumer-oriented and “depoliticized”. In that case, they state that they do not care because “I don’t have any Zainichi Korean friends.” So Zainichi Koreans are invisible. They are invisible until one of them has the courage to ‘come out’ as Yeong-Wi did. But if one does ‘come out’, as Yeong-Wi did, this is likely end up with his being treated as an individual without any historical implications. My friend Akira told me how he thinks dialogue can be established between Japanese and Zainichi Koreans.

“I think that we should become friends. I can’t be interested if there aren’t any individual relationships.”

It was one hot humid day in mid-July. I interviewed him in his air-conditioned American-made SUV. This was after he had started to have some Zainichi Korean friends after his participation in Dialogue 1, the event to promote dialogue among Japanese and Zainichi Koreans living in Okayama, which I will discuss in the conclusion. Akira seems to be developing an image of ‘Others’ after he actually met the visible ‘Other’. In other words, he believes that becoming friends would overcome the past history between Japanese and Zainichi Koreans. However, this poses so many questions. The simple one is this. What if they are not your friends? Here, it is obvious that ‘becoming friends’ does not only indicate a natural promotion of the
friendship between two people, but also it is set as a prerequisite to establish a historical dialogue between them. But do you have to be friends by establishing an individual relationship in order to listen to the social and historical implication in relations with ‘the Other’? In other words, do the social and historical implications of ‘Others’ not exist without personal friendships? His solution of ‘becoming friends’ is ahistorical and “depoliticized” because he is actually linked with ‘Others’ socially and historically in his everyday life. Instead, in his perception, ‘Others’ are regarded as something to be dealt with individually through his practice of “self-actualization”. In the following section, in order to think profoundly about this difficulty in these questions of theory and practice, I would like to analyse several cases of people’s perception of Zainichi Koreans.

6.2.1. Four sentence interviews about Zainichi Koreans

In some of the interviews, the conversation about Zainichi Koreans ends in four sentences. That means, I asked two of my questions and received two responses, but there was no chance to ask a third question. Of course, I could have continued asking questions as much as I wanted. However, I preferred to respect the people’s choice of answers and the feelings associated with them. Below, I will analyse two such cases.

6.2.2. Mizutani-san’s case

I visited Mizutani-san one weekend. He is my age and still single, and lives with his parents in Okayama City. I interviewed him while we were playing the computer soccer game, Winning Eleven, on his Playstation 2. Since I knew that there was a Zainichi Korean community in his junior high school district, I started with the following question.

“Were there any Zainichi Koreans in your junior high school?” (Researcher:R)
“What?” (Mizutani: M)
“Were there any Zainichi Koreans...” (R)
“No, there weren’t any at all.” (M)

First of all, his perception of “there weren’t any” is different from the reality. There is one Zainichi Korean community in his school district (refer picture on p.138), and I actually met a Zainichi Korean who went to the school at the same time as Mizutani-san. Thus, his statement does not mean that there were no Zainichi Koreans. It is merely an expression indicating the fact that he had not thought seriously about the existence of
Zainichi Koreans. However, despite his lack interest in Zainichi Koreans, his everyday life is not separate from them. Such evidence was not very difficult to find. For example, one of his hobbies is playing Pachinko (pinball), which is one of the most popular forms of gambling in Japan, and well known as Zainichi Korean business. In fact, the one parlour he often goes to is owned by Zainichi Koreans. If you win at Pachinko, you can exchange your winnings for either cash or gifts. The gifts extend from designer goods such as Louis Vitton bags to the candy bars. In Mizutani-san's room, most of his CDs of Japanese pop music is the booty from the Pachinko parlour. He said that he got most of his CDs there except for those of one Japanese popular band, Southern All Stars. How can then his life be considered as having no relationship with Zainichi Koreans? His life intersects with the histories of Zainichi Koreans; Pachinko owners, employees, the owners' families and relatives, the community, while he is sitting on the chair glued to the destiny of the Pachinko balls. His claim is this: he is an individual consumer just enjoying Pachinko in order to escape from the reality of his busy everyday life. In that context, the historical encounters of Mizutani-san are reduced to an individual consumer activity.

6.2.3. Tanizaki-san's case

I had another four sentence conversation with Tanizaki-san. He now lives in a house newly-built for his parents, wife, and his son to live together. When I visited him, his wife and son were together. I interviewed him when he was showing me his book collections in his book storeroom on the second floor of at his house.

"Are you interested in Zainichi Korean issues?" (Researcher:R)
"I am not interested in Zainichi Korean issues. (Tanizaki:T)
"Do you know anyone?" (R)
"No, not at all." (T)

When he was in high school, he was a member of the social problems study circle, and dealt with issues such as buraku (social outcast in Japan). However, he is not interested in Zainichi Korean issues. His statement seems to be suggesting that he is interested in a variety of issues, as he likes to read a lot, but he wanted to emphasize that he is non-political. However, this does not mean that he has no relationship to Zainichi Koreans. Among the people at Sanyo Consultant, he is the one who has read the most books. His house contains two married generations under the same roof: his parents, wife, and one year-old son. One of the rooms on the second floor is his book
storeroom. He is a big fan of Ōe Kenzaburō, who was awarded Nobel prize for literature in 1995, and told me that “he is almost God to me”. Among hundreds and thousands of books, I found two books *Taxi driver’s diary* and *Gambling the night* written by Yang Sogil, a well-known second generation male Zainichi Korean writer.

“Oh, I wanted to read this. How did you like it?” (R)

“Yang Sogil?” (T)

“Can I borrow this *Taxi driver’s diary*?” (R)

“Sure you can.” (T)

“I haven’t read this *Gambling the night* either.” (R)

“All your friends must be reading this sort of stuff.” (T)

While Tanizaki-san initially responded to me that he is not interested in Zainichi Koreans, there are books by Zainichi Koreans on his book shelves. And he said that he enjoyed them as well. As in the case of Mizutani-san, his interest is “depoliticized”. He could have answered my above questions differently by telling me how he enjoyed the books written by Zainichi Koreans. Instead, the history of the Zainichi Korean writer and the book’s contents are only consumed as entertainment. He read it because it was entertaining, not because he was interested in Zainichi Koreans or inspired to be
interested in Zainichi Korean issues. History is not important to his individualized hobby in busy everyday life. On the other hand, there is no doubt that his pleasure in reading Yang’s book could not exist without Japan’s imperialism and colonial history.

6.3. Zainichi Koreans in the everyday landscape

There are people at Sanyō Consultant who have experience of living adjacent to Zainichi Korean communities. Their situation is very different from the cases of Mizutani-san and Tanizaki-san who only know about Zainichi Koreans through the media. The actual experience of encountering, talking, living, being friends, and so forth gives these people different images to the media reports. Unlike Mizutani-san and Tanizaki-san, they have physical references for their imagination. This is a completely different form of knowledge from the abstractive imagination without any real experiences. However, this does not mean that such experiences foster rich knowledge and understanding about Zainichi Koreans. The only difference is that when they talk about Zainichi Koreans, they actually picture the real experiences and stories about Zainichi Koreans.

6.3.1. Sanada Kōtarō and Makiko’s cases

I interviewed Sanada Kōtarō and Makiko at their house one evening, where I had often visited during my high school days. Sitting at the dining table, I interviewed both of them at the same time. They met in Osaka and married. Soon after they got married, they came to Okayama because Kōtarō thought it would be the “frontier of sewage system construction”. Kōtarō was brought up in Kobe and Makiko was brought up in Osaka. Unlike the local city Okayama, the presence of Zainichi Koreans was much more visible in the metropolitan areas like Kobe and Osaka. Especially at the time when they were brought up, in the 1950s and 1960s, the social discrimination against Zainichi Koreans was much more severe than it is now. Such experiences are clearly reflected in their narratives.

“I am originally from Kobe. So there were many Kankokujin (South Korean). I mean, there were so many Chōsenjin.⁷ I was studying with them in high school

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⁷ The usage of the terms ‘Kankokujin’ and ‘Chōsenjin’ by Japanese is very ambiguous and complicated. While the latter used to have negative and discriminatory connotations, the former has a neutral connotation. Young generation Japanese scarcely use the latter and rather say ‘Kankokujin’, Zainichi Kankokujin, Zainichi Koreans, and so forth. In this regard, not calling them ‘Chōsenjin’ indicates that their existence is excluded from the majority’s’ imaginations. In addition, use of ‘Chōsenjin’
together. In that sense, it was very natural for me that they were around.” (Kôtarô:K) 
“So you were clearly aware of their presence?” (Researcher:R) 
“Sure I was”. (K) 
“Were they using their real names?” (R) 
“They were not using Japanese names, they used such names as Yô and Chô. (K) 
“They pronounced the name differently, didn’t they?” (Makiko:M) 
“Yes, it was bit different”. (K) 
“The real name of the person I met was Mei Kahiô but he was called Narumi Tamotsu.” (M) 
“Yes, they were using Japanese names. They were using their last name. But since 
they were born in Japan, it became like Yô Tarô.” (K) 
“Didn’t some of them go to the different schools?” (M) 
“Yes, yes. They went to Chôsenjin gakkô (Korean ethnic school).” (K) 
“There was one near where I was living.” (M) 
“Was that in Osaka?” (R) 
“It’s a place call Denpôchô.” (M) 
“Denpôchô?” (R) 
“The Koreans (Chôsen no hito) over there were very isolated.” (M) 
“Isolated? Was it a Chôsen buraku (Korean hamlet)?” (R) 
“It’s nothing like a buraku, but they didn’t have any relationships with their 
neighbours.” (M) 
“When we were little, there was a chant making fun of Chôsenjin.” (K) 
“Right, there was such chant, wasn’t there?” (M) 
“I’ve only read about it in a book.” (R) 
“Yes, we often said, chôsen chôsen bakasuruna, onaji meshi kute doko chigau? (Don’t 
make fun of us by calling us Chôsen. What is the difference when we are eating the 
same food?)” (K) 

Their experiences in Kobe and Osaka back in the 1950s and 1960s are very different 
from that of their son Akira who brought up in Okayama after the mid-1970s. What 
they are picturing were the Zainichi Koreans living in highly urbanized Kobe and Osaka 
in a time when the social discrimination against them was much more explicit. As is 
obvious from the words of Kotarô at the very beginning of the conversation, they are 
or ‘Chôsen no hito’ like in Mr. & Mrs. Sanada’s case, could have a neutral connotation as 
well.
8 This chant is making fun of Koreans in Japan by mimicking Koreans’ resentment 
against Japanese everyday discrimination.
picturing Chōsenjin but not Kankokujin. In his perception, there is clear separation between Zainichi Koreans who were brought up in Osaka in the early postwar era under discrimination and South Koreans in a democratic and advanced capitalist nation. Kotaro was remembering how they used to study together in his high school at a time of severe discrimination. And Makiko was remembering how they were isolated near where she was living. In the background of those memories, there was a discriminatory chant, like the sound track of the movie. There is no open hostility expressed in their images of Zainichi Koreans. However, such nostalgic images about Chōsenjin are unilaterally viewed by the majority. There is not much concern about the experiences and memories from the Zainichi Koreans’ perspective.

6.3.2. Hashimoto-san’s case

Hashimoto-san was born in Mizushima, Kurashiki City, and still lives there with his parents. It takes forty minutes for him to commute to work. As a second-generation Zainichi Korean living in Mizushima states, “Mizushima is well known as a concentrated tonne (“settlement” in Korean) of Zainichi Koreans”.9 The ethnic community in Mizushima is the largest in Okayama.10 In September 1943, a Mitsubishi Heavy Industries aircraft plant was established. Adjacent to that, Kamejimayama underground factory was also established in order to escape from the US bombing strikes. This was a place which used the labour of Koreans conscripted as workers from the Korean Peninsula.11 In the chaotic aftermath of the World War II, Mizushima was also known for the illicit distilling of the crude home-brewed sake called Mizushima ikkyū (first-rated).12 Hashimoto-san’s house is located about one kilometre east of the community where the Kurashiki branches of Chōsen Sōren, Mindan, Okayama Chōsen shōchū gakko (Okayama Korean Elementary-Middle School), Chōgin Nishi Credit Union, Okayama Shōgin and so on are located. However, he has no acquaintance with Zainichi Koreans from that area. According to him, this is because his school district was somewhat separate from the Mizushima

9 Choe, Rakgi, Aikoku aizoku no tamashii de tatakatta Kurashiki dōhō no ayumi, Zai nihon chōsenjin sorengō kai, 1999, p. 3.
10 Kurashiki-shi gaikokujin tōroku kokuseki betsu jinjin chōsa hyō, 2000. There are 2,606 Koreans including both North and South living in Kurashiki city. Among them, 61% live in Mizushima. Furthermore, the number will increase if it includes Koreans who acquired Japanese nationality and ‘doubles’ who have both Korean and Japanese parents.
12 Higashikawa machi shi, 1986, p. 76.
school district. I interviewed him while we drove around the industrial roads of Mizushima where many commercial trucks roar past all the time. The following is the conversation we had as we were heading toward the Korean ethnic community (see 8.4.3.) in order to look for the site of the Kamejimayama underground factory.\(^{13}\)

Landscape of Mizushima from the top of Mt. Kamejimayama

“You are living very close to the Korean ethnic community but still don’t have any contacts, right?” (Researcher:R)

“That’s right, I guess.” (Hashimoto:H)

“Don’t any of your friends talk about that issue? For example, were there some Zainichi Korean classmates whose ethnicity you or your friends realized after the graduation or something?” (R)

“No, not at all.” (H)

“Is that right?” (R)

“Maybe I am just living in the slightly distant from the area, and there aren’t any (Zainichi Koreans) around where I was living.” (H)

“So, you don’t.” (R)

"Maybe, I just haven’t realized it.” (H)

Hashimoto-san has lived in Mizushima for more than thirty years but he has rarely visited the Zainichi Korean community, only five minutes drive from his house. Though he knew of the existence of the community, he had little interest in its historical background. To me, he did not express any discriminatory attitudes towards Zainichi Koreans. While Hashimoto-san practices nationalism at his workplace, he has not been interested in the community surrounding his everyday life over the past thirty years or more. It is true that most Zainichi Korean youths today go to school with their officially registered Japanese names, tsūmei (pass name). Amongst the people I interviewed, there was only one female high school student who currently goes to the Japanese school with her Korean name. It is not unusual for Japanese in their schools and workplaces to have no awareness of the existence of the Zainichi Koreans. The underlying reason for this is Japanese society’s intolerance towards the use of their real names in their schools and workplaces.

However, on the other hand, ‘unknown’ to the majority, there are many historical connections between Hashimoto-san and Zainichi Koreans. Hashimoto-san would have, without noticing it, encountered the concrete histories of Zainichi Koreans in so many places; schools, supermarket, firework festival, Korean BBQ restaurant, and so on. He just was not required to recognize it by Japanese society. However, the historical landscapes of Mizushima surrounding Hashimoto-san are postcolonial landscapes; the ethnic schools, Pachinko parlours, Korean restaurants, the wartime underground factory, and so on. In that sense, the Mizushima he imagined as a place to live, is not unlike that of Truman Burbank’s Sea Heaven in The Truman Show. In the movie, the leading character Truman, played by Jim Carrey, is the star of a reality TV show but he does not know this fact. He does not realize that his hometown is a giant studio set run by a director of the reality TV program. Like Truman living under the direction of the TV studio, Hashimoto-san does not question why he is living in Mizushima or the history of where he is living. He does not question his everyday landscape, as if it has existed there from the past and will exist from now on without history. It is a place to “self-actualize” in his intimate interior world, and “Others” do not appear in his version of the story.

6.3.3. Yamauchi-san’s case

I interviewed Yamauchi-san at her apartment where she moved in June with her partner. Yamauchi-san was born in Mizushima and spent time there until the fourth grade of the elementary school. Her family is not originally from Mizushima but her grandfather was running a private printing business there, and her father was brought up there as well. She got married in May. Her partner works in Mizushima as well. But they did not choose to live there because they did not feel like living in the “rustic” town. In fact, Mizushima is depopulated. For example, Mizushima Elementary School, which Yamauchi-san used to attend, had 684 students at its peak. It is said that the school has the most Zainichi Korean students in the area. It now has only 168 students. According to the principal of the school, “the young generation moved to other places because there is no space to build a new house in the urban area, and less job opportunities at the corporations of the industrial complex.”

Looking at her pictures of Mizushima back in the 1970s, Yamauchi-san told me her memories and experiences of Zainichi Koreans.

“Most of the people living in the same block were Zainichi Koreans.” (Yamauchi:Y)

“Did you know any of them?” (Researcher:R)

“Well, I’m not sure, you know, you don’t ask them if they are Korean or not when you become friends. Well, I moved when I was in the fourth grade, and didn’t have a chance to ask them again. But I suppose that most of them were.” (Y)

Then she told me that she does not know because they usually hide their real ethnic names. Therefore, she could not ask and there was no way for her to realize it.

“I think that there must be reasons why they can’t use their real names. As you said, each person must have a reason. But, I haven’t contacted them since I moved from there, and there is no way to make sure about it any more. There is no one around. Well, even after I became friends with Chōsen no hito (the people of Korea), it would have to be a very profound relationship to ask that kind of thing. In other words, it is rude or something that I shouldn’t ask.” (Y)

However, she thinks that she probably feels more familiar with Zainichi Koreans than ordinary Japanese do since she used to live there.

15 Sanyō shimbun, 30 December, 2003.
"So, since I used to live there, I was sort of interested in that kind of issue more than ordinary Japanese. Well, maybe not interested, but I do care about the issue. But, it doesn’t mean that I ask anyone that I meet ‘are you Japanese?’". (Y)

Apparently, Yamauchi-san was more interested in Zainichi Korean issues than Hashimoto-san who was brought up in a suburb nearby. It is true to some extent that she believes that she has never identified any Zainichi Koreans. However, at the same time, her personal memories and experiences of Zainichi Koreans are marginalized in her historical imagination. It is considered something of the past and not very important right now in her everyday life. So she reinterprets the questions of historical perception toward Zainichi Koreans as the everyday concern of whether she can identify who is Zainichi Korean or not. It seems that when she remembers past experiences, like Hashimoto-san, she is not eager to interrogate the fragmented memories about Zainichi Koreans. In other words, she has no intention of transforming her memories and experiences as they are now and does not feel any necessity to changing them. She asked me:

"Do you think you would like to go there (North Korea) in future?" (Y)
"Yes, I wouldn’t mind travelling anywhere." (R)
"But you wouldn’t be able to come back once you went there." (Y)

I responded in a rather soft manner that I do not think so and that there are people travelling to North Korea. Her idea that “you won’t be able to come back” clearly suggest that she has absorbed nationalistic media stereotype about North Korea. In reality, many Zainichi Koreans, as well as Japanese and other visitors, go to North Korea and come back again. Her interest in Zainichi Koreans, which she alleges runs deeper than that of “ordinary Japanese”, does not help her to imagine the postcolonial relationship between Japan and Korean peninsula in this context. She may answer that North Koreans and Zainichi Koreans are two different issues. But such disregard of history does place North Korea and Korean communities in Japan together through discriminatory practice. For example, when the right-wing group attacked Chōgin in Okayama on 23 August 2003, this was reported by the local newspaper on the same page as reports of the port visit of the ship Man Gyong Bong 92 and the related Port Controls used to restrict visits by the ship. If one read the newspaper on that day, you would probably imagine an ongoing linkage between the two; a discriminatory attack against a Zainichi Korean community and the issue of border control and national
security against North Korea. So for the newspaper reader, the attacks on the Zainichi Korean community make sense. This discriminatory perception becomes more obvious in the reality of Kanemura Narumi, the third-generation Zainichi Korean who was “so nervous” about the talk over the recent North Korean issues. Why is it difficult for Yamauchi-san to link her memories and experiences to the context of postcolonial history?

6.3.4. Koshinaka-san’s case

Koshinaka-san lives near a small Zainichi Korean community in Okayama City. However, she was not aware of it at all. The second-generation Zainichi Korean Kim Young-Sam (1929- ), the grandfather of Kanemura Narumi (see 8.2.5.), started his Korean BBQ restaurant business in this community. It is located in the Western First District of the South Okayama Extensive City Planning Zone. Many Korean families used to engage in pig farming in this community. However, after the land readjustment in 1965, all that remained were a few households of Zainichi Korean families and the Korean BBQ restaurant now inherited by Narumi’s parents. According to Young-Sam, there are only four or five families remaining in that area. When he moved here from Naoshima, an island in the Seto Inland Sea, with his parents in 1948, there were twenty-four to twenty-five households in the community. One kilometre east of the community, the temporary building of the Korean ethnic school was established. This school was forced to close from September 1950 to September 1952 by the order of GHQ and the Japanese government. In April 1956, the Okayama Chōsen Shōchūkyū Gakkō was reestablished 700-800 meters east of the community.

Koshinaka-san was brought up five hundred meters south of the community with her elder sister, and younger brother. She now lives with her parents and her partner. She was born two months before the land readjustment started in February 1965. The landscape of the community transformed into a “modern” one as she grew up. When I visited her house for the interview, I asked her whether she knew the Zainichi Korean community is around. First, she answered, “I don’t know anything at all”. Then something flashed a memory into her mind.

“I got it! Isn’t that Shimpo?” (Koshinaka: K)

“Well, Shimpo is...there are sort of public housing buildings around Tōshinden. But it is not that one. There are dilapidated unit-type corporation houses remaining.” (K)
"Where is that?" (R)
"I can't explain it well. But, I think I was told that I shouldn't go there (by her parents)." (K)

She said that she has seen students wearing *Chimachogori* (The ethnic school uniform for female Korean students) stepping on the school bus of the ethnic school near her house but that is the only thing she was aware of. She did not even question why the school bus was around. (After the school moved to Fujita, the south end of Okayama City, the students had to take school buses to go to the school in Mizushima.) In responding to my questions regarding Zainichi Koreans, she remembered about a place where her parents used to tell her she “shouldn’t go”. However, there is not any Zainichi Korean community around the place where she mentioned. Rather, what she mentioned is probably the public housing of a buraku community. In either case, the community is marginalized in her memories. The history of Zainichi Koreans who surrounded her everyday life has been obscured in her local narrative.

6.3.5. Matsuda-san’s case

I visited Matsuda-san’s house one weekend. In the personal histories of Matsuda-san, the memories of Zainichi Koreans emerged often. I visited his house, and interviewed him in the living room together with his wife, daughter and son. Matsuda-san is originally from Ishikawa Prefecture, and was brought up there. He is a relative of a famous professional baseball player in the Major League Baseball. His next-door-neighbours in Ishikawa were a Zainichi Korean family. After he moved to Okayama, he had Zainichi Koreans living next door twice. In total, he was living next to them for fifteen years. Now, he is living at the south end of Okayama City where the rice fields spread across the Okayama Plains. The area, reclaimed land designed for rice fields to provide food for Okayama, is in the process of development. In June 1974, Okayama Chōsen Shochūkyū Gakkō was transferred to this place from where Koshinaka-san is living. There are some Zainichi Korean families living in this frontier area of Okayama (see 8.3.5.).

Matsuda-san’s first memory of knowing Zainichi Koreans goes back to his days in Ishikawa. One Zainichi Korean family engaged in the weaving business was living next door until he was in fifth or six grade of the elementary school.

“Did you have any Zainichi Korean acquaintances? What about in your school?”
"No, not in school. But my neighbours next door in Ishikawa were Chōsen no hito."

"So, you used to live next door to them in Ishikawa?"

"That's right. When I lived in Ishikawa, Chōsen no hito were living next door. Well, Chōsen isn't a very proper expression though."

There is no hostility in his usage of the word “Chōsen”. But he is certainly aware that it has a discriminatory connotation. According to him, his mother learned to make some Korean dishes such as Chōsen zuke (Kimchee). In the rural small town where he was from, there was a discriminatory atmosphere against Zainichi Koreans.

"So, did you realize that they were Zainichi Koreans?"

"No, I didn’t know at that time. Well, you see, it was the countryside so people wouldn’t like you if you were Acchi no hito (people from over there)."

"I see."

"Well, I suppose that some people didn’t like them being around. My mother didn’t hate them or anything, but she would probably have said no if it was a question of choosing them as a marriage partner or that sort of thing. She would have said “that’s no good”. I suppose just having a casual communication with them didn’t matter to her at all."

It is obvious that his Zainichi Korean neighbours were not living in conditions where they can be explicit about their ethnic identity. Moreover, they were recognized as foreigners by neighbouring Japanese in a secretive as well as discriminatory way. It was something that everyone knew but it could not be clearly expressed in public. This ‘strange’ but probably really quite ‘normal’ connection to Zainichi Koreans continued after he moved to Okayama. In the late 1980s, he lived next to another Zainichi Korean family for about three to four years.

"Coming to Okayama from Ishikawa, moving from one place to another, I stayed here and there. By the time I met my wife (in the late 1980s), I was living in Fukutomi Higashi, and the next door was again Zainichi Koreans. They were running a Korean BBQ restaurant."

His mother again learned Korean cooking from her neighbour. Matsuda-san
remembers that his mother said, “The next door family are Chōsenjin again! What a coincidence!” He moved to his current place in 1997. I asked him whether he now knows any Zainichi Koreans.

“There is probably one over there. The name (of the restaurant) is Kinchan. It had a different name before. He said he was a school principal, didn’t he?” (M)

“Yes.” (Matsuda-san’s wife Keiko: K)

“Was he a principal of the school?” (R)

“Yes, yes.” (K)

“He said that he was a principal of a Korean ethnic school. The restaurant is located several houses away along the street in front of our house. They may have changed their name after it became an Izakaya (Japanese style pub). They used to run a Korean BBQ restaurant but it recently became an Izakaya.” (M)

“So, it changed from a Korean BBQ restaurant to an Izakaya. What is the name of this place?” (R)

“It was more like a meat shop rather than a Korean BBQ restaurant.” (M)

“A meat shop? So what was the name of the meat shop?” (R)

“Name? They’ve told me but I forgot.” (M)

“I always passed by but never went there. So, I don’t know (the name) either.” (K)

“So it is an Izakaya now?” (R)

“Well, I am not so sure.” (M)

“Then where is it located?”

“Several houses away from here.” (M)

“Several houses away?” (R)

“It’s not difficult to find because there is a cigarette vending machine by the tobacco shop.” (M)

“What is their family name?” (R)

“I don’t know.” (M)

“Have you talked to them?” (R)

“I’ve talked with the wife a little bit when they were running a meat shop.” (M)

Kinchan is located about 100 meters away from Matsuda-san’s house within the same residential area. The sign of the restaurant says “Korean BBQ ingredients set - Kinchan”. As Matsuda-san said, there was a cigarette vending machine in front of the shop. It was difficult to see whether it was the Izakaya or not from the outside, as they said. But for them, Kinchan and the smoking vending machine are perceived as the
same everyday landscape, as if they are the almost same objects but have no intimate relations. However, the historical background of the Zainichi Korean who owned the Izakaya and the vending machine are completely different in nature. While the former is 'dipped' in postcolonial history, the latter was manufactured for the cigarette company in a factory, probably in the past 20 years or so. In other words, the people's histories are not something consumable because they are not manufactured in a factory, while the vending machine is consumable because it is an ahistorical existence which is mass-produced in the factory. This is not only a problem in regard to Zainichi Korean history. In the everyday landscapes, the symbols of the consumer products appeal much more strongly than that of un-manufactured history; people, places, nature and so forth.

As is obvious in Matsuda-san's perception and memories of his mother, clear hesitation toward marriage with Zainichi Koreans is expressed. They can be a Kimchee-making friend or teacher but not part of 'us'. In that sense, although Kimchee is not a factory-manufactured product, Kimchee diplomacy conducted in the little neighbourhood did not envisage the historical relationship between them. By telling me about his mother's perception, Matsuda-san is reproducing the sentiment that fosters the discrimination against Zainichi Koreans, perhaps without clear awareness and animosity. This occurs not only because of Matsuda-san's lack of interest toward Zainichi Korean history but also towards his mother's history. He did not even ask his mother whether she would allow him find a Zainichi Korean partner or not. She may have answered yes or no. But he did not actually ask about it. This indicates that lack of consideration toward 'Others' with capital letter is actually very much linked to lack of consideration toward intimate 'Others' with whom one spends everyday life. This is even more clearly observed in the following case of Yoshida-san.

6.3.6. Yoshida-san's case

Yoshida-san is living in a house which is located at the east end of Okayama City with his wife, daughter, and son. I visited him during the New Year's holidays in 2004, and interviewed him in the living room with his wife and children. He does not have any Zainichi Korean acquaintances now, but he heard the rumour that one of his classmates from the high school was a Zainichi Korean.

"Did you know any Zainichi Koreans in junior high school or high school?" (Researcher: R)
"Well, you see, there were in my high school, but I didn’t know then." (Yoshida-san: Y)
“Is that right?” (R)
“So after I graduated from the high school, one of my friends told me that ‘that’ guy’s family is running a Korean BBQ restaurant.” (Y)

According to the Zainichi Korean youths I have interviewed in Okayama, it is very unusual for them to go to school using their real names. I have a very similar experience as well after graduating high school. Like Yoshida-san, I realized that I had Zainichi Korean classmates after graduation from the school. I did not realize while I was in school, and I did not have any interest in the issue either. It was maybe too young for a high school student brought up in the late postwar era to be interested in such issue. For me, the revelation of this ethnic “secret” was associated with the feeling of exoticism, but it also made me realize that my accepted image of my high school as a homogeneous time and space was an illusion. The destruction of the illusion was surprising and interesting, similar to the surprise one might feel on discovering his or her former classmates have become famous. However, there is another side to this perception as well. The perception is accompanied by an ahistorical and exotic representation of Zainichi Koreans. They are remembered exotically because they had secrets. In that context, I was once merely enjoying the pleasure of knowing the secret but was not interested in the postcolonial historical context. The exotic gaze toward the minority is based on the perception that majority and minority are clearly divided into two in a confronting manner. But in reality, the majority lives their everyday lives and landscapes surrounded by the minority.

Yoshida-san’s wife also had memories and experiences of Zainichi Koreans. However, her ‘untold’ history about Zainichi Koreans has not been shared with her family. Yoshida-san knew only a few details about her story. So Yoshida-san listened to his wife’s story in full detail for the first time when I interviewed them. This shows exactly how the histories of the small, contingent, and marginalized are not something distant from one’s everyday landscape but are somehow linked to each other. His wife, Kumiko, told me about days when she used to live next to the Korean ethnic school, which was located at near Koshinaka-san’s house.

“Now the school has moved to Fujita or somewhere, but it used to be located in front of my house” (Kumiko: K)
“Are you talking about the Korean ethnic school?” (R)
“Yes, and it was a playground for me.” (K)
"Is that so?" (R)
"I used to climb over the wall with my friends." (K)
"Where was the school located at then?" (R)
"It was in Higashi Furumatsu." (K)
"So your family home is still at Higashi Furumatsu?" (R)
"It wasn't a family home. It was a residence, belonging to the company, which my father worked for. There was only a wall made of the concrete blocks between the company residence and the school." (K)
"So when was this?" (R)
"This was until the second grade of the elementary school." (K)
"I see." (R)
"So, it was a good play-ground for us." (K)
"So, it moved to Fujita after that then." (R)
"I suppose so. It doesn't exist there any more. So it was when I was in the second grade, which year of Showa was this? Probably it was around the year 44 of the Showa period (1969). It was the safest play-ground, and traffic-free." (K)
"I see." (R)
"In the early evenings during the summer vacation, I often entered into the classrooms to test my courage with other friends in the same grade living in the company residence. (K)
"So you could go inside?" (Y)
"Well, it wasn't exactly the classrooms but we walked around the corridors. Well, nowadays, the security is very tight everywhere. But we could get in because it wasn't so tight back in those days. It was really a safe playing ground for us." (K)

The history of the Korean ethnic school is imprinted on her memories of childhood. She was born three years earlier than Koshinaka-san, who was brought up and still lives near the area. Her strong memories might have a lot to do with distance. It is interesting indeed that although both Kumiko and Koshinaka-san (see 6.2.4.) were brought up in the same area, the historical perceptions of both are so different. She not only relates to Zainichi Koreans in her past memories but is also still interested in the issue today. She told me about the story of one Zainichi Korean female student, Ang Misa, who graduated from the Korean ethnic school in Okayama. She won two straight victories in the all-rrounder category of the Okayama high school rhythmic sportive gymnastics competition in 2002 and 2003. However, by the time she entered to the Okayama Minami High school, the school did not accept any students from the
Korean ethnic school. So, signatures were collected to help her get into the school. Kumiko also agreed the treatment was wrong, and signed so that the girl could get into the school. Although it is on a small scale, this action is a step towards postcolonializing the everyday landscape. Just signing a petition to oppose unfair treatment regarding the Korean ethnic school is a very small act, but it is still an act of opposition to the persistent social discrimination against Zainichi Koreans. However, this story of signing the petition for a Zainichi Korean female student is not fully shared by her husband. He vaguely knew that she signed the petition but it was probably not very important for him. This is how the small but firm historical practice can be buried ‘untold’ in busy everyday life.

6.3.7. Akira’s case

Among the people at Sanyō Consultant, it was my friend Akira whose memories are most heavily tinged with recollections of Zainichi Koreans. It is interesting indeed that I had not paid any attention to this fact until I interviewed him in the preparatory fieldwork in the summer of 2003. When he was in the senior year of the high school which we attended together, one of his friends Takamura Hiroshi ‘came out’ that he was the son of a Zainichi Korean father and a Japanese mother. I also did not know that he was a ‘double’ Zainichi Korean until he told me so. The interview with my friend made me realize how the Zainichi Korean histories have existed in my everyday landscapes. Coming across the ‘untold’ histories of my intimate friend made me realize the richness and contingency of the historical experiences of an individual. It was one of those experiences when someone you knew very well transforms into someone unfamiliar.

“I realized that there are many more Zainichi Koreans than I used to think. The first experience of this was when I did a part-time job during high school.” (Akira: A)

“Where did you work at?” (Researcher:R)

“In Mizushima, Kurashiki City.” (A)

“Did you do that? I didn’t know.” (R)

“I was surveying the water pipe-line.” (A)

“Right, that one in Mizushima, I remember now.” (R)

“When I went to survey the water pipe-line in Mizushima, there was a Kankokujin gai (Korean district). There was a Korean ethnic school, Korean community, the old ladies were speaking broken Japanese, and there were plenty of aloe plants and red peppers in the front yards of the residents. And then, I felt that the gap between the
rich and poor among the residences of the Korean community was huge. There were huge houses whereas the poor lived in the small rows of houses.” (A)

“Is that so?” (R)

“I remember that. It was usually the old ladies or the elderly usually living in that kind of place.” (A)

There is a mixture of exoticism and surprise in Akira’s perception of his first encounter with the Zainichi Korean community in Mizushima. However, there is no noticeable interest toward their history and why they are living there. Instead, they were viewed as exotic people by the eighteen year-old Akira. On the other hand, a Zainichi Korean he knows well was perceived as a friend.

“Did you know any Zainichi Koreans before then?” (R)

“In high school? As I have mentioned to you before, I didn’t know in the beginning. But later I knew that Takamura Hiroshi (see 9.2.) and Takeda are Zainichi Korean.” (A)

“Did you know about Takeda as well?” (R)

“Someone told me so.” (A)

“When we were in high school?” (R)

“Yes, it was when we were in high school.” (A)

“So, who told you that?” (R)

“Who was that? I can’t remember now.” (A)

“Someone from the same junior high as Takeda?” (R)

“Yes, I think that it was someone from the same junior high. Someone told me that ‘around there’ along the river is so.” (A)

“Someone told you when we were in high school?” (R)

“Right, someone told me that is a buraku community. Wait, maybe I was told that it is a buraku. It probably wasn’t a Zainichi Korean community. After I heard it so, I realized that there are so many barrack-like houses.” (A)

“So you were told Takeda is from that buraku community?” (R)

“I can’t remember whether I knew he was living there before or after someone mentioned about it. But I thought he is living there.” (A)

“So was it Hiroshi that told you he was a Zainichi Korean himself?” (R)

“I think so. At least, I was directly told only by him.” (A)

“When was this?” (R)

“Senior year of high school. Sometime in the middle of the senior year.” (A)

“Middle of the senior year?” (R)
“Yeah.” (A)
“After you got your driver’s license?” (R)
“I got my driver’s license in the summer. But I think it was around when I got a moped license.” (A)

Zainichi Korean community along the river, which Akira mentions

“I see. So where were you when he told you about that?” (R)
“I think it was in school.” (A)
“In school?” (R)
“Well, at that time, it was only me and him in school. He said that “I am Zainichi Korean”. I reacted like ‘is that so?’” (A)
“But I thought that you visited his house before then, right?” (R)
“Yes, yes, yes. I realized that his grandma was singing some strange songs. But I didn’t think it was in Korean then.” (A)
“So you thought that his grandma was singing some old songs?” (R)
“Exactly. He told me ‘my grandma was singing in Korean, wasn’t she?’ I said, “Was that so?” And then he told me that his father is haafu (half)... no I mean second generation.” (A)
“Zainichi Korean, right?” (R)
“He told me that his mother was Japanese. And his mother was kicked out by her family and severed relations with her relatives in order to be with his father. That’s
what I was told.” (A)
“You mean he told this to all his other friends? Maybe some close friends?” (R)
“Yes, I suppose that it was only to his close friends, perhaps it was only a small number of us.” (A)
“I see.” (R)
“But he never talked about it when everyone was around. He only talked about it when we were one on one.” (A)
“I see, I see.” (R)
“Well, that’s it. He didn’t talk about it after that day. I don’t know even why he wanted to tell me that. I can’t remember now.” (A)
“So you didn’t ask him about it at all after that?” (R)
“No, you know, I just didn’t care about that kind of issue, so I didn’t ask him at all.” (A)
“I see. So you haven’t met him since the graduation?” (R)
“No.” (A)
“Ok, I see. So you didn’t meet any other Zainichi Koreans, right?” (R)
“No.” (A)
“Has knowing Hiroshi as a Zainichi Korean made you see anything differently?” (R)
“Well, I realized that there were actually people around me (who is Zainichi Korean). But I thought what’s the difference anyway?” (A)
“So you knew about it when you visited Mizushima (for your part-time job)?” (R)
“About Hiroshi? Yes, I did. But the two things weren’t connected (in my mind).” (A)
“Is that so?” (R)
“Well, I was a friend before then. The fact that he is a Zainichi Korean doesn’t make me feel that he is a foreigner (Gaijin). Well, you know, at that time, I didn’t know that they don’t have any voting rights and that sort of issue. So, Hiroshi and Zainichi Koreans in Mizushima were two completely different matters at that time.” (A)

What he expresses as ‘what’s the difference anyway’ is very similar to what Yeong-Wi (see was told when he ‘came out’ about his ethnicity to his friends. For Akira, Hiroshi is a good ‘friend’, and that should be good enough. On the other hand, Zainichi Koreans in Mizushima, who share the same postcolonial history as Hiroshi, were seen as something exotic. Even though his casual reaction – “is that so” – was based on his sincere feeling of friendship, it disregards history. Such historical perception which regards people as individuals without any historical context is “depoliticized” as well. Without the colonial and postcolonial history, Hiroshi’s
‘coming-out’ could not have happened. The everyday sentimental ‘friendship’ replaces colonial history. In that historical perception, Akira is not concerned or reflexive about his positionality as Japanese. Regarding ‘Japanese’ as something natural and essential without any historical background, he seems to feel that ‘Others’ exist without any historical background either. In this way, the friendship is considered as an all-purpose idea to explain any social relationships.

6.4. Conclusion

In the personal memories and experiences of people at Sanyō Consultant, there are many historical links with Zainichi Koreans. However, they are not expressed in their everyday lives at the workplace. Their memories and experiences of Zainichi Koreans show that the everyday lives of Japanese and Zainichi Koreans are not segmented. Instead, both of them share the same everyday living time and space. This possibility suggests that we should be able to seek a path to establish a dialogue with histories of ‘Others’ in the historical practices of intimate everyday landscapes.

Nonetheless, in the everyday actions of the people, the practice of nationalism is tolerated. There is a lack of interest in history in people’s historical practices. This is not only lack of interest in Zainichi Koreans but more generally, even in the intimate others who share everyday spaces; colleagues, partners, friends, classmates, neighbours and so on.

On the other hand, after the disclosure of the abduction cases, the media environment of – TV, radio, internet – was filled with discriminatory discourse against North Korea and the Zainichi Korean community. The workplace enhances such media discourse by practicing the nationalism in the form of jokes. The trends of globalization such as the introduction of ISO overwhelms the small consulting company in the local city of Japan, and encourages people to take on “emotional labour” late at night and on weekends. In such busy everyday lives, it is extremely difficult to seek postcolonial “implication” from the everyday historical landscapes. In fact, postcolonial “implication” would be refused flatly in the people’s busy everyday life. In that context, the historical practice can be easily twisted and distorted by a simple sentence, “I am sorry but I am busy.”

What we have to face is global information capitalism, which fosters the sense of indifference toward history. It is the mechanism of the ‘marginalization of historical
practice' in everyday life. But as we can see in the interviews, we do not have to go very far to fight against this marginalization mechanism. The rich historical imagination can be fostered from the historical practice in everyday landscapes. I would like to seek this hope in the words of my friend Akira. The following is his comment after his participation in Dialogue 1. I have to note that this kind of hope is very marginal and contingent, so we should be careful not to miss it.

"It is very exciting. Meeting someone different and acquiring new knowledge. The unknown world, the gray zone was lightened as if a fog had cleared away."

In the following chapter, nationalism will be interrogated by focusing on the other side of the same coin. This will be done through interviews about the experiences of nationalism of Zainichi Koreans living in Okayama.
Chapter 7

Okayama and Zainichi Koreans

Zainichi Koreans in this present time are not constrained by the overt colonial violence. Rather, we are constrained several times over by the institutional inheritance of colonialism. We are under conditions that bruise human dignity and deny rightful social treatment. (Yun Kon-Ch’a)1

7.1. Okayama and the Zainichi Korean community

7.1.1. The nationalist discourse on the wall of a public toilet in a rustic subterranean shopping mall

On the afternoon of 25 December 2003, I noticed discriminatory graffiti about the local Pachinko parlour and North Korea on the wall of a public toilet in the Okayama Chika Sanbangai (Okayama Third Subterranean Shopping Mall). On the wall of the toilet, “Seibatsutai” (Conquering Force) is written with a black felt-tip pen. This graffiti presumably picks up the name “Seibatsutai” from the Chōgin incident. On the walls of one of the Japanese-style toilets, it said “Kim Jong Il – Hollywood (the name of the pachinko parlour) is owned by North Korean – Death Kill Conquering Force”. There was some other graffiti mixed among them which is not related. In the red pen, there was written the number “229-1429”, and beneath that, “090-4984-8041 – 19 years old – Yumi”. Under that, there are other discriminatory writings in pencil.

“Hollywood is managed by North Korea
Transferring money (backdoor money) to North Korea
Wake up Japanese!
By North Korean Conquering Force
Right wing alliance”

Sanbangai is the most rustic subterranean shopping mall in Okayama City. It was created in 1962 as part of the city infrastructure for the Okayama National Athletic Meet held in the same year. The public toilet with the graffiti is by the stairway to the west end of the Ekimae shopping street. This was the site of the largest black market in

1 Yun, Kon-Ch’a, Zainichi o kangaeru, Heibonsha, 2001, p. 347.
Okayama after WWII. Hollywood is one of the largest Pachinko parlour chains in Okayama. However, the owner of Hollywood has Japanese nationality, and not that of North Korea. Maybe the writer of graffiti lost at Pachinko and it was just revenge. Anyhow, in the age when you can write any discriminatory graffiti you want on the internet, it is not very productive to write on the wall of public toilets with pencils and felt-tip pens. Maybe, the simple discriminatory graffiti may foster people’s imagination as if anti-North Korea “hot nationalists” are still very active. On the one hand, many people would react rather cynically toward an unfashionable nationalist ideology written in the corner of the sleazy toilet. On the other hand, this might leave an impression of the existence of the nationalists against North Korea and the Zainichi Korean community. Finding this graffiti, one may say “there are so many people worried about North Korea. I found graffiti on the public toilet. It is really scary”.

In dealing with the practice of nationalism in everyday life, we must examine the details of each case: the time, place, style, scale, agent and how such practices and discourse circulates. Instead of explaining them as abstract phenomena evoked by a collective subjectivity, we must examine specifically how they are produced in everyday life. As a first step, I am going to focus on the history of Zainichi Koreans and their community in Okayama in the postcolonial context.

7.1.2. Imperialism and Colonialism

The “roots” of Zainichi Korean youth of my age who were brought up after the end of the high economic growth period, go back to the history of imperialism and colonialism. The Zainichi Korean youth network today would not exist without the history of imperialism and colonialism, and postwar creations of Zainichi Korean ethnic communities. Today, the Zainichi Korean community cannot be monolithically defined as one ethnic entity, and its diversified identity contains a number of variants; North Korean citizenship, South Korean citizenship, Japanese citizenship, ‘double’ Zainichi Koreans and so on. However, there is only one “root”, and it is Japan’s imperialism and colonialism. The attempt to postcolonialize the everyday landscape involves delineating how our everyday actions in contemporary society are based on its inheritance. In order to resist people’s everyday imagination, which marginalizes the postcolonial history, I will delineate the postcolonial relationship between Japanese and Zainichi Koreans living in my hometown.

7.1.3. Loss of home and Korean diaspora
The recorded population of Koreans in Okayama can be traced back to 3 people in 1902. There was no major shift in the number until the annexation of Korea in 1910, and they still did not number more than one hundred. According to Kang Jae-Eun, Koreans living in Japan before the annexation were very temporary migrants and they became more permanent only after WWI. Due to the shortage of labour, labour brokers found their ways to the Korean peninsula for recruitment. Furthermore, many peasants left the land as a result of the colonial policies such as the undertaking of a land ownership survey (1910-1918) and the program to increase rice production (1920-1934). Due to those policies, many Koreans were more or less forced to leave their homes for Japan, China, Russian Far East, Central Asia, and so on. In Okayama, there was a sharp increase in the number of Koreans from 67 to 350 between 1916 and 1917. While the ratio between men and women in 1916 was 62:5, that of 1917 was almost equal. According to Nishikawa Hiroshi, this indicates the transition from male migrant workers to family migration. Furthermore, in Okayama, Koreans supplied cheap labour for back-breaking work in the 1910s. There were also students who came to study at Japanese schools. In Okayama, it is recorded that there were six students in 1918, and eight in 1920. The Korean population of the prefecture increased to 3,246 by 1930. As a result of mobilization in the deployment from the Manchurian Incident in 1931 to the time of the Sino-Japanese War, the Korean peninsula became the logistic base for the war of invasion. Exploitation of natural resources and labour increased the influx of Korean migrants to Japan. Meanwhile, the Japanese government promulgated the National Mobilization Law on April 1938, and issued a decree in May, “On the enforcement of the National Mobilization Law in Chōsen, Taiwan, and Karafuto”. Based on this, the Program of Labour Mobilization was announced in July 1939. By September 1939, the supply of labour turned into the

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2 Okayama kenchijō kanbō ed., Okayama ken tōkeisho, Meiji 35 nen, 1904, p. 102.
5 Nishikawa, Hiroshi, Okayama to chōsen: sono nisennō no kizuna, Nihon bunkyō shuppan kabushiki gaisha, 1982, p. 147.
7 For example, among eight students in 1920, only one of them was government-sponsored and the rest were private. Four went to Dairoku kōtō gakkō (The Sixth higher school), three of them went to Okayama igaku senmon gakkō (Okayama medical training centre), and one went to Kanzei chū gakkō (Kanzei junior high-school), under the old school system.
more coercive process and this became known as Kyōsei renkō (forcible recruitment); boshū (recruitment) in September 1939, Kanatsusen (official recruitment) in February 1942, and Chōyō (compulsory recruitment) in September 1944. In fact, in Okayama, the population of Koreans increased at an accelerated pace after 1939, and there were 41,000 Koreans in Okayama as a whole by 1945. Forced labour was used in the seventeen sites managed by Mitsubishi and Mitsui in Okayama, Kurashiki, Tamano, Kasacoka, Bizen, Kume, Maniwa, and Wake. The workers were forced to engage in the work at mines, military plants, military compounds, underground plants, and other construction working sites. In November 1939, the Sōshikaimei ordinance which forced Koreans to use Japanese names was promulgated and implemented from February of the following year.

The mobilization of Koreans as a labour force established the foundation of today’s Zainichi Korean community. There were 2.3 million Koreans in Japan at the end of WWII. The largest Zainichi Korean community in Okayama prefecture today, Mizushima Zainichi Korean community, was created when large-scale military-related construction projects were started by the Mitsubishi Aircraft Plants, Chūgoku Railways, Ōbayashi-gumi, Nakatani-gumi, Okamoto-gumi, and Ōji-gumi from the late 1930s. According to a second-generation Zainichi Korean brought up in Mizushima, “two thousand Korean youths (who already lived in Japan) recruited for the compulsory labour and Korean compatriots (who were recruited recently) living in the temporary living quarters in the neighbouring areas were coercively recruited.” According to him, there were 6,500 Koreans and 2,000 compulsorily recruited Koreans in Mizushima. The creation of the Zainichi Korean community in Okayama can be confirmed by cross-checking the locations of those working sites and Shibu (branch office) and Bundan (sub-branch office) established after WWII by Sōren and Mindan. For example, Shibu and Bundan of Mindan are Okayama-shibu (Shuku-bundan, Fukushima/Hama bundan, Nishiguchi/Mikado/Mannari bundan), Kurashiki-shibu, Tsuyama-shibu (absorbed Kume-shibu and Yanahara-shibu), Wake-shibu, Niimi-shibu, Tamano-bundan, Kojima-bundan, and Soja-bundan were established by Mindan. Most of these were founded on former working sites.

11 Ibid., p. 421.
12 Choe (1999), page 25.
13 Okayama Mindan yonjū-nen-shi hensan iinnkai ed., Okayama Mindan yonjūnenshi, Zainihon Daikanminkoku kyoryū Mindan Okayama-ken chihō honbu,
7.1.4. Liberation and division

Zainichi Korean organizations were soon established in Japan after WWII. In the 11 October 1945 issue of the Gōdō Shim bun (today’s Sanyō Shim bun), there is an advertisement announcing the establishment of the Okayama local headquarters of Zai Nihon Chōsenjin Renmei or Chōren (League of Koreans in Japan). An air of excitement can be sensed from its slogan, “Come! Our compatriots! Let’s be united!” It also states that the event would be carried out even in the case of rain. They gathered at 10 am, 13 October 1945 at the terminal of the bus route to Fukushima (the southern end of Okayama City), where many Koreans lived and worked. Chōren was established on 15 October 1945, and its local branch offices were established in Kurashiki, Tamashima, and Kojima. Each local branch office enhanced the build-up of the organization by establishing subordinate organizations in various groups and communities. By the beginning of 1946, the local branch offices of Zai Nihon Chōsen Minshu Seinen Dōmei (Democratic Youth League of Korean in Japan) and Zai Nihon Chōsen Minshu Josei Dōmei (Democratic Women League of Korean in Japan) were established.

However, the representation of Koreans in local history after their liberation indicates their status as Sangokujin (the third nation people). This term was used to indicate Korean, Taiwanese, and Chinese during the occupation, and is still used today as a discriminatory term. This term was highlighted when the governor of Tokyo, Ishihara, used this term in a speech at a ceremony of the Japanese self-defence force in April 2000. In another example, in Tamano-shishi (History of Tamano City), the “white” US allied prisoners-of-war and Sangokujin (Koreans and Chinese) are delineated antithetically.

Japanese returned to their hometowns. Japan has a responsibility to send back the workers recruited from China and Korea. However, Japan could not send them back freely (after the loss of war). At this time, there were 1,500 Korean labourers at Mitsui Engineering & Shipping, 100 Chinese and Korean labourers and 200 white prisoners-of-war at Mitsui Mining & Smelting Company Hibi Smeltery

1987.
14 Gōdō shimbun, 11 October 1945.
15 Choe (1999), pp. 33-34.
16 Tamano City is located at south of Okayama City along the Seto Inland Sea.
engaged in labour in Tamano City. The white prisoners-of-war often received confectioneries, cigarettes, and canned foods packed in drums attached to parachutes from aircraft after the end of war. They shared a variety of things received with Japanese working with them, and Japanese labourers also took care of them well. They believed that the allied forces would come to get them very soon. In fact, those white prisoners-of-war were soon escorted away by the US military police who came from Hiroshima. Scenes of amicability were observed; some of the Japanese gave things that they regard as exotic, such as Japanese folding fans as souvenirs, and they (the prisoners-of-war) also left us canned foods and cigarettes.

The above quotation is the representation of the “white” people. By contrast, Koreans and Chinese were represented with a rather discriminatory gaze.

On the other hand, the project to send back Chinese and Korean labourers started in the beginning of October. The ship named Eihōmaru built at the Mitsui Engineering & Shipping at that time was used as a repatriation ship. They boarded the ship on 8 October, and got under sail from the port of Tama on 10 October. Unfortunately, there was some trouble with the Eihōmaru and it returned to the port of Tama. It was estimated that it would take more than two weeks to repair the ship. Since the labourers could not remain on the ship while it was repaired, they were returned and placed in the quarters where they used to live, until the ship was able to sail again. At that time, many of labourers from Korea departed to other places and most of the others were placed in the quarters where they used to live...... Especially, the situation in the city of Hibi was not very good. The labourers carried the rations of udon and sōmen noodles on their shoulder and put them into their carts. And they also randomly took out merchandise from other stores. Chinese and Koreans even fought each other often......The police could not do anything but let them be, and put all their effort to moderating the (Japanese) people in town, who were burning with anger......After a report to the Allied Occupation, it took three days until the military police arrived......Soon after the military police arrived, the Chinese and Koreans become docile, as is to be
expected.....On the 3 November, all of them were moved to the Allied Occupation Quarters in Okayama. Eventually, they were sent back their own countries from Okayama by railway. By this time, there were 5,000 American soldiers stationed in Okayama.\textsuperscript{17}

Just after the end of war, the ports of Shimonoseki, Hakata, Senzaki, Sasebo, Maizuru, and Hakodate were filled with Koreans wishing to repatriate to their home country. They crossed paths with Japanese civilians and soldiers returning from foreign parts. This brought confusion due to the shortage of ships and poor transportation arrangements at the boarding ports. There are no sources which provide accurate statistics of the number of Koreans who returned during the chaotic period just after the end of war. Kang Jae-Eun estimates that 1.4 million Koreans were returned by March 1946.\textsuperscript{18} According to the "Chosonjin no tōroku" (the registration of Koreans) conducted by the Ministry of Health & Welfare on 18 March 1946, 17,858 Koreans remained in Okayama. So, it can be estimated that there were more than 23,000 Koreans returned or who departed to other places in Japan by that time. Some of them did not return under governmental repatriation projects, but returned at their own expense by finding their own transport from Mizushima, Tamano and Hinase.\textsuperscript{19} It must be noted that most registrations at this time were quite inaccurate. However, under the emerging Cold War structure, the north and south of Korea were divided, and the country was in a state of political and economic confusion. Furthermore, the currency and luggage which repatriates could bring back were limited, and this prevented them from going back since they did not have any basis for livelihood in Korea after their long stay in Japan. The population of Koreans in Okayama dropped from 15,635 in October 1947,\textsuperscript{20} to 12,960 in late 1952 after the conclusion of the San Francisco Peace Treaty,\textsuperscript{21} and to 8,745 in March 1962, three years after the repatriation projects to North Korea started.\textsuperscript{22} Since then, it has not changed that much, and is around 8,000.

Meanwhile, a forest of tenements and black markets emerged around the major

\textsuperscript{17} Tamano-shishi hensan iinkai ed., \textit{Tamano-shishi}, 1972, pp. 763-765.
\textsuperscript{21} Okayama ken sōmubu tōkeika ed., \textit{Okayama ken tōkei nenpō, Shōwa 28 nen}, 1953, p. 54.
stations of the arterial railroad linked to the shipping ports. Among the black markets in Okayama, the largest of all was Ekimae Shōtengai shopping street, extending from Okayama Station to Nishigawa river, which was the route for incoming and outgoing passengers. An arcade was built along the street in 1962 when the Okayama National Athletic Meet was held. This street was further refurbished as SKY MALL 21 in March 2001. In Okayama-ken shi (History of Okayama Prefecture), the scene of the postwar black market on this street is depicted as chaotic but lively.

One could not tell where the merchandise came from. There were military clothing, the best ladies’ kimonos, and even military medals were sold. But the main items were food. There were old-time foods such as rice balls made of white rice, red bean soup with pieces of rice cake, and bean cakes. On the other hand, there were food stores standing side by side selling products which reflected the reality of the time – whatever you can instantly put into your mouth – such as the mock pork soup with mysterious simmered meats in it. The street was in chaos with a variety of people. There were customers looking for good and cheap products, war orphans running around the street, demobilized disabled soldiers begging in their white garments, and even beggars.²³

There is no clear indication of the presence of Zainichi Koreans in the description, though their presence may have remained in the memories of this author. During the troubled days after the end of the war, many Koreans and Japanese occupied the blocks along the market street. Today, there is still an atmosphere of the Korean town although it is much smaller in the scale than Tsuruhashi, the Korean district of Osaka. On the north side of the street, there are the main local offices of Mindan and Sören, Chōgin, Korean grocery stores, Korean BBQ restaurants, Korean-style bars and restaurants, business hotels managed by Zainichi Koreans. There were many Zainichi Korean-owned shops and restaurants on the street but many of them left when the supermarket Daiei opened its branch on the south side of the street. They were the glory days of supermarket: the so-called “distribution revolution” during the period of high economic growth. However, today, there are twelve Zainichi Korean-owned shops including Pachinko parlours, Korean BBQs, cafes and so forth.

The head of Mindan Okayama local main office, Park Ki-Beom, is a second generation Zainichi Korean born in 1946, and brought up in the street. When I interviewed him, he repeatedly described the street before the land readjustment as "chaotic" (Zatsuzen to shite ita). According to him, in the "chaotic" market street, Zainichi Koreans ran "eating places, shoe shops, clothing shops, and bars". And "those who have money" engaged in the hotel business, and still some of them remain in that area. During those days, the north side of the street was called "93 banchi" (block number 93), and it symbolized the Zainichi Korean area. For him, it was a "labyrinthine place" as well as a "playground". He estimates that there were about 500-600 Zainichi Koreans living in the small area of "93 banchi" in the days of his childhood. However, this was seen rather differently from Japanese who were brought up in the area nearby. I interviewed three Japanese who were brought up and live around the area.

7.1.5. Shopkeeper of the vegetable store

I interviewed a shopkeeper Kirishima Genta (65) of the vegetable store near the Ekimae shopping street. I worked for him part-time for two months in the summer of 2001. Kirishima-san was brought up near the Ekimae shopping street in the postwar era. While I was working under him, he was just a kind boss who did not even blame me for mistakes I used to make. It was very difficult to interview and listen to what he says because his perception and narrative of Zainichi Koreans is very similar to what Hage defines as "white evil nationalists". On the other hand, Zainichi Koreans are good customers of his business and 'customer is god' (Okayakusama wa kamisama). Karashima-san shows two contradictory but complementary faces as a nationalist and businessman, which seem be clearly reveal the nature of nationalism. I did not have to ask him that much, but he started to talk about his perception of Zainichi Koreans.

"So everyone used to make fun of Chōsen [Korean] by copying [how they speak]. Yes, we used to consider them someone one or two classes lower than us. That's how we used to treat them before the end of the war. So how can that be changed to the equal one only because Japan was defeated in the war? Things won't be like that. Well, now, I am always cringing to them [Zainichi Korean customers] and selling our goods. Ha ha ha ha ha ha! It's so selfish of me huh?"

His memories of Zainichi Koreans in the Ekimae shōtengai shopping street begin
with their squatting on land. In reality, it was not only Koreans who illegally occupied land but also Japanese who also took land in the chaotic period of the postwar.

“Yes, yes, yes. So they stole land without any permission when the police and military have no power, just like children do it in playing jintori [the game played in the field to compete for taking other’s territory].”

“So they stole it?” (Researcher)

“They stole the land which used to belong to Japanese without permission.”

In his memory, the prewar colonial system and ‘forced labour’ are completely disconnected and forgotten. When he talks about Zainichi Koreans, they are represented as foreign barbarians in his time and space of national fantasies. In his ‘othering’ mechanism against Zainichi Koreans, the numbers are expressed to measure the sense of threat they induce.

“The numbers are decreasing today and it is not obvious as it used to be. They also have Japanese names. Well, but, there are so many Sangokujin in Okayama. We have too many here particularly.”

In his national fantasy, the dismantling Zainichi Korean community near his shop is perceived as the decrease in the number of Sangokujin. It is apparent that how he counts the number of Zainichi Koreans reflects his nationalist fantasy of ‘our’ time and space.

Such perception is also complemented by other ambiguous memories. In his stories about Zainichi Koreans, he often referred to the area “Airin chiku”. I asked him where he is referring to and he said it is somewhere in Fujita. According to him, it is the area where many Zainichi Koreans from the old communal area near Asahi River moved to. However, there is no place called “Airin chiku” in Fujita. It is in fact another name for Kamagasaki in Osaka, where it is known as a place of people seeking daily employment, flophouses, and homeless people. I could not find the area he was referring to as Airin Chiku. In Fujita, there is only the building of the former Korean ethnic school and the small number of Korean residents. According to him, a few decades ago, the small delivery truck of the shop driven by one of his employees was stolen while it was just
temporarily parked on the street. They did not even catch the person who took it but they think that it was done by Zainichi Koreans. Kirishima-san continues,

“Well, they are the people who do that kind of stuff. For them, it is just lifting bikes on the street. They steal the car instead. They are pretty bad. Yes, they are pretty bad without doubt.”

The kind boss of the vegetable shopkeeper willingly accepted the interview with his former part-time young worker and talked about his memories and perceptions of Zainichi Koreans with a sense of humour. His narrative was not merely a discriminatory perception of Zainichi Koreans. It was also a nostalgic story created for a young Japanese man so that the two of them can share the sense of Japanese-nessness in the stories of Zainichi Koreans. In other words, there is no chance that Kirishima-san would tell this story to Zainichi Koreans, for they are some of the best customers of his vegetable store who support his business and everyday life. It was nostalgia, which only “we” Japanese can share, and that is how and why this story was told.

7.1.6. Managing the Okayama Ekimae shopping street

There is an urban rumour that the Okayama Ekimae shopping street is not as prosperous as other shopping streets, such as the Omotechō Shōtengai shopping street, because there are always conflicts among Japanese and Zainichi Korean shopkeepers. I often heard this rumour after I started my fieldwork research in Okayama. I was not particularly familiar with that ethnic stigmatized version but I had heard the rumour for a long time that the shopping street is not prosperous because of lack of solidarity among shopkeepers. Maybe it goes back to sometime in my teens. So I was curious what the person who manages this shopping street considers to be the problem and to find out whether it is rumour or not.

I visited Yamamoto Yukio who is the head manager of the Ekimae shōtengai shopping street union in the second floor of the small old building. The building is located in front of the Mindan local head office. I was going to ask many questions to find out about the rumour and relationships between Japanese and Zainichi Koreans in general. However, he was just appointed there about one and half years ago after he retired from another job. So from the beginning of the interview, he emphasized that the he does not know the details of history between Japanese and Zainichi Koreans in the shopping street. Besides, his overt attitude toward the interviewer was that the fact
that they are Japanese or Zainichi Koreans has not anything to do with his business. However, as I interviewed him, I found out that there is a clear separation in his imagination between Japanese and Zainichi Koreans.

“So what do you want to know?”

“I am researching the history of the Okayama Ekimae shopping street, and particularly focusing on the relationship between Japanese and Zainichi Koreans.” (Researcher)

Unsmilingly, he took out the map of the shopping street and copied a page. Instantly, he marked the Zainichi Korean owned shops with a pink fluorescent pen, and gave it to me. So he was clearly aware of the distinctions between Japanese and Zainichi Koreans. Then he became silent as if there was nothing more to say. He said that he sometime feels “something is different” but he “doesn’t have to know” what is different. He continued rather reluctantly and said the relationship between Japanese and Zainichi Korean shopkeepers might not be that good but it has never been revealed in public.

After fifteen minutes passed, he seemed to want me to leave. So I decided to ask him about the current issue, and I asked his opinion about the attack on Chōgin, which is located only a few hundred meters away from the office. He said, “It was when they were talking about the arrival of the [North Korean] ship, right?” and continued “but we didn’t talk about it with the neighbouring residents.” His perception of the event is nothing more than that of an exotic gaze. He continued as follows.

“I only know about the underground money issue [regarding North Korea and Chōsen Sören] and I don’t know any details behind its truth. So it is nothing more than my curiosity.”

In his post-retirement, probably the issue of Zainichi Koreans is not his concern at all. Whether shopkeepers are Japanese or Zainichi Koreans probably does not matter as long as they are not giving him any trouble. It was clearly reflected in the pink colour on the copy of the map of the shopping street. He missed marking some of Zainichi Korean-owned shops, and the Pachinko Parlour owned by Taiwanese was also marked with pink. However, the pink colours were firmly drawn, which clearly reflects his national fantasy. As in the case of the shopkeeper of the vegetable shop, his fantasy is also ambiguous and incorrect, but it is very clear, as clear as the pink lines on the paper.
7.1.7. Brought up in the Okayama Ekimae shopping street

One day, I asked my father whether he knew anyone living around the Ekimae shopping street. He introduced me to his classmate from his high school, Akiyama Yoshio (57). My father Kawabata Hideo, Akiyama Yoshio, and Park Ki-Beom in his Japanese tsūmei Kaneda Masakazu were classmates in their senior year at high school in Okayama City. In my father’s yearbook of the high school, I found black-and-white photos of all three of them in their teens. I visited Akiyama-san’s bike shop in the residential area near Sanyō Consultant. I told him at the main entrance of his shop that I am a son of Hideo Kawabata and researching about the Ekimae shopping street. He looked at me for a few seconds and then smiled and said, “why don’t you come inside and sit here?”

Akiyama-san was brought up in the Ekimae shopping street in the postwar era where his father was running a haberdasher’s shop. Having graduated from college, he supported his family business and inherited it. From 1977, he made the shop into a bicycle shop but he sold it in 1991 and is now running the business in the residential area near Sanyō Consultant. What Park Ki-Beom, the head of the Okayama Mindan local head office, referred as “chaotic” is perceived differently by Akiyama-san. The “chaotic” highly concentrated Zainichi Korean community in the largest black market in Okayama is “othered” as exotic in his memory.

“When I stepped inside [of the Zainichi Korean community], there was a person wearing shoes with a top like that [he indicated a pointed shape] and some of them wore Chimachogori. I remember seeing the old people from Chōsen [North Korea] and Kankoku [South Korea]. They were doing business raising pigs and chickens.”

Until he was in the lower grade of the elementary school, he often played with other children regardless of who they were and where they were playing. He said, “it was the matter for adults and it had nothing to do with children.” Although, “as I grew up, I became aware that they are different”. He considers that he learned his parents’ sense of discrimination as he grew up. “I felt the sense of discrimination from my parents’ generation who lived in the prewar era; I also gradually became distant from Zainichi Koreans.” Now, he does not have any Zainichi Korean friends, but only in his memories. His narrative is based on the perception that social discrimination against Zainichi Koreans has been gradually disappearing.
Two streets north of the place where he was born, there is the local head office of Mindan. I asked him when it was established. "I realized it was there when I was in college, but I didn't know about that area well before that." In fact, he rarely walked in that area, although it is less than one hundred meters away from his house. The neighbouring Zainichi Koreans’ histories are marginalized in his personal history.

However, on the other hand, due to the recent Korean boom, he realizes that the same place is now seen by the Japanese customers as the target of consumption with a positive ethnic image. The “chaotic” place now begins to be illuminated as a consumable place.

"There are many people visiting that area now because there are so many shops selling ingredients of Korean food."

There is a clear transition in his representation of Zainichi Koreans. The highly concentrated and stigmatized Zainichi Korean ethnic community is now replaced by the shopkeepers of Korean grocery stores and Japanese consumers. He is not aware of the existence of many other Zainichi Koreans who are not represented in his current image. However, he has a sense of hope that the community which was discriminated against now became welcomed by the majority. While his hope is certainly one of the positive elements for Zainichi Koreans living in Japan, there is also the idea of ‘tolerance’ of the majority toward the minority in his perception: a sense that the presence of Zainichi Koreans is now tolerated by the generous majority in the consuming era. Zainichi Koreans have in this sense acquired ‘consumer citizenship’, but this is a citizenship which denies history.

7.2. Postwar and the Zainichi Korean community

The Korean ethnic group organizations were established in order for Koreans to repatriate to their own countries and to secure their lives and safety after the postwar liberation. On 15 October 1945, 5,000 Korean representatives from all over Japan gathered at Hibiya Kokaidō Public Hall in Tokyo, and Chōren was established. As stated above, 2,000 Koreans had participated in the establishment ceremony in Okayama two days before. Furthermore, on 25 October of the same year, the Okayama west branch was established in Mizushima.24 According to the Sanyō

The dawn of the Cold War era brought division between the north and south of the Korean Peninsula. This also affected Koreans who stayed in Japan. The local power struggle among the Zainichi Korean organizations took the form of an ideological controversy. Chören supported the North Korean government, but it was dissolved by GHQ during the occupation. Thereafter, Sören which supported the North Korean government was established in May 1955. On the other hand, some small groups established Zai nihon chōsenjin kyoryū mindan on 3 October 1946. This was officially recognized as a self-governing organization by the South Korean government and was renamed Mindan on 5 October 1948. In the case of Okayama, the foundation of Mindan aroused controversy among the members of the Chören north branch in Tsuyama City. The movement was initiated by the chairman of the branch, So Hyong-Su, who was concerned with the leftward drift of Chören. While he was a member of Chören, he established Chōsen kenkoku sokushin seinen dōmei: kensei (Youth alliance for promoting Korean Nation-Building) on 16 November 1945. However, after a clash which led to some injuries, he broke away from Chören after 1948, and established the Kensei office in Tsuyama City, with other members who later supported Mindan Okayama in its initial stages. After the establishment of the Mindan central office, some Zainichi Koreans in the Kameshima area of Mizushima sought to establish a branch office of Mindan, and a deepening of the confrontation with Chören became apparent with some armed conflicts. In 1947, the Tsurajima branch office was established in Mizushima. On 21 December, the Okayama local main office of Mindan was established under the leadership of Pak Ringu, who was engaged in the construction business. Ultimately, the local power struggle was overwhelmed by the Cold War structure, and the controversy was ideologically coloured as that of north versus south.

The normalization of diplomatic relations between Japan and South Korea in 1965 brought a contrasting outcome for the two organizations, Sören and Mindan. The legal status agreement based on the Japan-South Korea Basic Relations Treaty insured permanent residency only for Zainichi Koreans with South Korean citizenship. This
remained the case until special permanent residence was established for both North and South Korean citizenship under the Special Immigration Law of 1991. Zainichi Koreans with North Korean citizenship therefore had to put up with very unstable social status. In Okayama, Zainichi Koreans with South Korean citizenship were less than 10% of the total in 1952. Five years after the normalization in 1970, they exceeded 43%. Presumably, this was also partly a result of repatriation to North Korea. This also brought the advantages to Mindan. Today there are 3,650 Koreans living in Okayama City (including newcomers), and there are only 551 Koreans with North Korean citizenship, little more than 15% of the total. Presumably, this was also partly a result of repatriation to North Korea. This also brought the advantages to Mindan. Today there are 3,650 Koreans living in Okayama City (including newcomers), and there are only 551 Koreans with North Korean citizenship, little more than 15% of the total. However, their nationality does not necessarily directly reflect ideological support for the two organizations. Even within Zainichi Korean families, it is not very unusual for these to be a mixture of those with North Korean, South Korean, and Japanese citizenships. So there are many Zainichi Koreans with South Korean citizenship who attend Sören-affiliated organizations’ activities. And, as depicted in Zainichi Korean novelist Kaneshiro Kazuki’s GO, in everyday life, it might be not very unnatural for Zainichi Koreans to choose South Korean citizenship to travel to Hawaii. Because of the North Korean-bashing after the disclosure of the abduction cases, there is an accelerating trend to acquire South Korean rather than North Korean citizenship.

Although it is far outnumbered in terms of membership, the organizational powers and activities of Sören are much stronger than those of Mindan in Okayama. One of the major factors is the network created by the Korean ethnic schools. There are 140 schools all over Japan, with 20,000 Zainichi Koreans attending. They consist of Chosen Daigaku (Korea University), twelve Kōkyū Gakkō (high schools), fifty-two Chūkyū Gakkō (middle schools), and seventy-five Shōkyū Gakkō (elementary schools). Amid the dissolution of the Zainichi Korean community today, the Korean ethnic schools are fostering and maintaining a solid network among Zainichi Koreans. The origins of the ethnic schools are the Chōren gakkō (school managed by Chōren) established soon after WWII. There were 525 elementary schools, four junior high schools, and twelve senior schools. Three schools were established in Okayama after October 1945; Kurashiki Chōsenjin Gakkō (85 students), Mizushima Chōsenjin Gakkō (511 students), and Kojima Chōsenjin Gakkō (58 students). In November 1946, Okayama Chōren Gakkō was established. On the other hand, Kurashiki Kankoku

30 Choe (1999), p. 34.
Gakuen was established as an adult night-school in July 1946 in the former communal bathhouse of Mitsubishi Engineering & Aircraft. After GHQ and the Japanese government enforced the closure of Korean ethnic schools in 1948, it started to provide education for Zainichi Korean children in 1951. Kurashiki Kankoku Gakuen closed in the late 1970s due to the phenomenon of Zainichi Koreans leaving the community.31 This probably also had a lot to do with the reopening of the schools managed by Sōren. Okayama Chōsen shochūkyū gakkō (April 1956) and Kurashiki Chōsen sho-chūkyū gakkō (September 1957) were established. The period of high economic growth also brought economic prosperity and enhanced the standard of living of Zainichi Koreans. New school buildings were constructed in Mizushima (1970) and Fujita (1974). However, the trend of the dissolution of the Zainichi Korean community and discriminatory policy against the Korean ethnic schools are fostering their assimilation to Japanese society. In the case of Okayama, the school in Fujita was abolished from April 2000 and integrated into Mizushima campus as Okayama Chōsen sho-chūkyū gakkō. Since the schools in Shikoku and Sanin regions were closed recently, now those children come to the school in Mizushima and board at the Pinara-ryō dormitory adjacent to the school. And many students do not live in the Mizushima area, but come to school by the school bus. Driving the school bus is the job for third-generation Zainichi Korean Lee Jung-Yul (27), who is in charge of teaching the third grade students at the school.

Amid the dissolution of the postwar Zainichi Korean community, it is young Zainichi Koreans who are establishing the new networks. Most of them are third and fourth generation, ‘daburu’ (double)32, and some of them acquired Japanese citizenship but are actively involved in the community. In Okayama, the leading roles in bringing young Zainichi Koreans are taken by the Korean Youth Network and Korean Student League in Japan affiliated to Sōren and the Korean Youth Association in Japan affiliated to Mindan. My fieldwork research on young Zainichi Koreans in Okayama found that the realities of their lives are so diversified so that they can not be simply represented by a single solid identity. In that sense, young Zainichi Koreans are the reflection of emerging new networks, and their identities consist of multilayered factors: generation, gender, ‘double’, Japanese citizenship and so on.

32 The term ‘daburu’ (double) is preferred to ‘haaf’ (half) because it empowers those Zainichi Koreans who were born between Korean and Japanese parents.
7.3. Young Zainichi Korean networks

There are two main networks of Zainichi Korean youth in Okayama. Two youth organizations are affiliated to Sōren, Chōsen seinen dōmei (Korean Youth Network: KYN) and Ryūgakusei dōmei (Korean Student League in Japan: KSL), and one youth organization is affiliated to Mindan, Zainichi kankoku seinenkai (Korean Youth Association in Japan: KYA). There are no alternatives among young Zainichi Koreans except those two networks in Okayama today. However, it must be noted that young Zainichi Koreans involved in the local networks are the tip of the iceberg, and the rest spend their everyday lives outside the network. It should be pointed out that my fieldwork research and interviews with young Zainichi Koreans were conducted under the limitations of one-year academic fieldwork research. Therefore, I first selected informants who are actively involved in the Zainichi Korean community and its activities. Based on that network, I extended my informants by following their networks, such as family, partners, friends, colleagues, and so on. I must admit that my research methodology does not focus on young Zainichi Koreans who have no opportunity to identify their ethnic backgrounds and I am unable to examine silence of their conflicts and hardships within the scope of this thesis.

7.3.1. Mindan Youth Network in Okayama

The Korean Youth Association was established in 1972, and it underwent several transitions under the names Chōsen kenkoku sokushin seinen dōmei (1945-1950), Zainichi daikan seinendan (1950-1960), and Zainichi kankoku seinen dōmei (1960-1972). The Okayama main office was established in July 1974, and branch offices were established in Tsuyama (November 1974), Niimi (December 1974), and Kurashiki (June 1975). After the exclusion of the Zainichi kankoku seinen dōmei, who sharply opposed Mindan and the South Korean government in 1972, the anti-establishment attitude disappeared from the group. The main activities of KYA in Okayama since then have been social programs such as summer camps, Christmas parties, visiting South Korea, softball tournaments, ski workshops, baseball and tennis clubs, and Korean language courses. The main slogan of their activities is “to recruit and educate” young Zainichi Koreans. They have also engaged in political movements. They assumed a leading role in the campaign for Alien Registration Law Reform in Okayama in 1984. In the campaign, they visited 200 Zainichi Korean households to discuss the issue and established the Alien Registration Law Reform Strike Committee of the Chūgoku region in December. In June of the following year, they undertook a
grass-roots protest meeting. However, their activities in Okayama went into gradual decline since the mid-1980s, the peak of the bubble economy. It seems that there was a cessation of activity after 1996.

The activity of KYA in Okayama was restarted in 2002, when Jin Han-Kwon (30, South Korea) prompted young Zainichi Koreans in Okayama to reestablish the network. Han-Kwon was the senior adviser at the Okayama local main office until July 2001. Unlike other members of KYA in Okayama, he graduated from a Korean ethnic school in Osaka. After he graduated from high school, he went to Kochi prefecture to help his family business for two years. Then he moved to Okayama and worked at Mindan until he was twenty-four years old. He transferred to Mindan central office in Tokyo and stayed there for five years. Although he graduated from a Korean ethnic school affiliated to Sōren, he now works for Mindan. According to him, he “couldn’t see a future with Sōren”. He is taking an important role at KYA in Okayama. He learned Korean language in school and received a history education that included Japan’s colonialism. This critical historical view of Japan’s colonialism would not be fostered in Japanese schools, which other members of KYA in Okayama attended. Furthermore, since he has worked for Mindan for more than ten years, he is very familiar with organizational operations. For other young members, his organizational personality seems rather “stuffy” because of his use of vocabulary such as the term minzoku. The term minzoku in Japanese generally refers to an ethnic group, and it is used by Zainichi Koreans, particularly among old generations, to confirm the unity of their Korean ethnic identity. However, Han-Kwon’s “stuffy” character is the very foundation of the activities of KYA in Okayama.

KYA in Okayama was formally established on 18 May 2002. Under the leadership of the president Kim Chang-Ho (29, South Korea), six young Zainichi Koreans participate in the weekly meeting every Wednesday from 8 pm to 10 pm at KYA room on the third floor of the Mindan local main office in Okayama. The other members are Lee Yeong-Wi (27, South Korea), Kim Hye-Mee (25, South Korea), Kanemura Narumi (27, South Korea), Kim Sachiko (29, South Korea), and Lee Han-Kwon. There are other young members who occasionally participate in the meeting but the above are the

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35 The number in the parentheses indicates age, and it is followed by nationality.
regular members. The weekly meeting takes place in a relaxing chatty atmosphere. During the meeting, they discuss upcoming events and make role-sharing arrangements. With the cooperation of Kwon Seung-Hee, who is the Director of Secretariat at the Okayama local main office, the six young members promoted activities to create a network among young Zainichi Koreans in Okayama. In 2003, the members were involved in a New Year party, a party for senior Zainichi Koreans, celebration of the Korean Independence day, a chango (Korean traditional drum) circle and concert, an exchange visit with Nagashima Aiseien (National Hansen's disease sanatorium in Okayama), an end-of-year party, a human rights festival, the You SEA Ushimado Eegekai fesutivaru 2003 (the festival held at Ushimado City at the west end of Okayama Prefecture), autumn camping, autumn festival, Christmas party, bowling competition, a lecture series on South Korean-related issues, and so on. Besides these formal events, the members often meet each other casually. Especially, they often get together at the Korean restaurant & bar Zai next to the office, which Chang-Ho’s mother manages. With delicious Korean food and drink, they build intimacy through chatting about their everyday lives. Since there are no full-time workers for KYA in Okayama, they have jobs at different places. So, in order to enhance the network among young Zainichi Koreans in Okayama, they devote their private time to the organization as volunteers.

7.3.2. Sören Youth Network in Okayama

The Sören network is firmly established on the network of the Korean ethnic schools all over Japan. For example, Zainichi Korean children living in rural areas such as the Shikoku and Sanin regions go to the Korean ethnic school in Mizushima, with its student dormitory, in order to receive an ethnic education. Once they have finished the middle school in Okayama, most of the students go to high school in Hiroshima. Eventually, they go to Korea University in Tokyo, and meet other Zainichi Korean students who have graduated from the schools in the different regions all over Japan. This naturally establishes a network of young Zainichi Koreans throughout the linkage of the schools from regional hub cities, major urban areas, to Tokyo. These schools are mostly residential, and this naturally enhances the intimate relationship among the graduates of the schools. The parents are very education-minded. Under the discriminatory systems of Japanese society, they send their children to schools, which involves a greater financial burden than sending them to Japanese schools. This is particularly obvious in relation to educational grants. The educational grant to a student going to a private school is 250,000 yen per annum, and the state contribution to the compulsory education at public elementary school is 816,000 yen per annum.
On the other hand, the average educational grant to the Korean ethnic school for one person is only 96,000 yen per annum. So the financial burden on Zainichi Korean parents is tremendous. It is the passion of Zainichi Koreans to receive education in the history and language of Korea, against the background of the discriminatory socio-economic structure of Japanese society, which firmly supports the Korean ethnic school, the core of the Sōren network.

The activities of the Sōren Zainichi Korean youth network are promoted by the Korean Youth Network’s Okayama branch and Kurashiki branch, and Korean Student League’s Chūgoku and Shikoku branch office in Okayama. All full-time workers are graduates of Korea University. Most of the events held in the Zainichi Korean community are promoted by full-time workers of the KYN and KSL and others who work in the Sōren-affiliated organizations such as Zainichi Chōsenjin Shōkōkai (commerce and industry association), Chōgin (Bank of Korea), as well as faculty members of Korean ethnic schools. They voluntarily support and work behind the scenes of the various events in the community such as the New Year parties, end-of-year parties, cherry blossom viewing parties, festivals, school talent shows, parties for senior Zainichi Koreans, lectures, the local Momotarō festival of Okayama, the performance of Kumgangsan operetta company, Japan-North Korea Youth Friendly Walk, and organizing forums to protest against the discriminatory education system regarding college entrance exams. Furthermore, they also support regular activities such as basketball club, volleyball club, Korean language lessons, and so forth, which daily enhance the intimacy among the young Zainichi Koreans in Okayama. Such activities in Okayama, and all over Japan, are reproduced through the Korean ethnic media in Japan such as Sesede, and Kochukaru tsūshin. There are also Okayama local ethnic media such as Okayama dōhō dayori and Chūtama times. These Korean ethnic media seem to be creating an ‘imagined community’ among the Zainichi Koreans.

36 In March 2003, Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology admitted qualifications of candidacy for the national universities’ entrance exams only to American schools in Japan but not to other Asian ethnic schools such as that of Korean and Chinese. See the conversation with Lee Jung-Yul in Chapter 8.3.5. for more details.
Chapter 8

Zainichi Koreans’ experiences of nationalism

You are Japanese! (Lee Yeong-Wi)

8.1. Discrimination and nationalism

8.1.1. Invisible nationalism against ‘old comer’

There are several points that must be kept in mind in examining the practice of nationalism by Japanese against Zainichi Koreans. Especially, the historical context of Japanese and Zainichi Koreans in its form of the practice of nationalism should be considered. I would like to name this practice of nationalism an ‘invisible nationalism’. In this context, as Etienne Balibar indicates, it must be noted that the practice of racial discrimination is compatible to the nationalism. Furthermore, as Hage argues, it is effective to consider the practice of racism as a practice of nationalism.

Furthermore, it also should be mentioned that such practice is slightly different in the Japanese context from that of ‘white’ against ‘black’, on which many of the critical studies on racism and nationalism are historically founded. This is because it is almost impossible now to visually distinguish between Japanese and Zainichi Koreans in everyday life. This is also due to the fact that they ceased to be ‘newcomers’ and became ‘old-comer’ immigrants over the period of about one hundred years since the beginning of the colonial period. Most young Zainichi Koreans whom I have interviewed are third and fourth-generations who were brought up after the period of high economic growth in Japan. The first generation who were not so much assimilated to the Japanese culture and society have been visible presences to be stigmatized by factors such as their residential areas and accents.

1 The interview with Lee Yeong-Wi. Yeong-Wi was told that “you are Japanese” by his friends from high school when he came out his ethnicity as a Zainichi Korean.
3 The issue of identity of Zainichi Koreans has been widely discussed. Consult, Fukuoka, Yasunori, Lives of Young Koreans in Japan, Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2000. Kim, Tae-Yong, Aidentitii poritikusu o koete: zainichi chōsenjin no
This discrimination obviously still exists, and recent ‘newcomers’ including students and immigrants from China, Southeast Asia, South America, and the Middle East are the visible presences who are discriminated against today.

However, the fact that nationalism is ‘invisible’ does not mean that it is nonexistent. Rather, it seems to have disappeared from the ‘social’ area as symbolized by the dissolution of stigmatized ethnic community and identity. The majority of Zainichi Koreans today live outside the postwar ethnic communities. Most of the communities in urban areas today have been redeveloped and melted naturally into the Japanese landscape. In Okayama, there is only one former stigmatized community left along the Asahi River. However, the community is shrinking and several fire incidents made quite a number of residents leave the place. As a result, the community is rapidly aging. As it is located on the outskirts of Okayama, the community is not redeveloped nor receiving other low-income groups.

Also, there are many Zainichi Koreans who acquired Japanese citizenship, married Japanese partners or were born to Japanese-Korean couples. In that sense, ‘invisible’ is almost synonymous with ‘individualized’. Furthermore, it is ‘invisible’ in the sense that it is only ‘invisible’ to the majority Japanese. Since the visible discrimination and practice of nationalism has disappeared from the public arena, it is now experienced by each member of the community unilaterally and individually. In other words, this is the other side of the coin of nationalism. It seems to be passive because the majority has now lost the visible target to discriminate aggressively. However, it is aggressive because each Zainichi Korean today still faces various forms of discrimination and difficulties living in Japanese society in a very individualized manner. In particular, many young Zainichi Koreans today have not experienced being discriminated against collectively as a part of community, but have experienced discrimination in a very individualized way in their everyday lives.

8.1.2. Orientalism

Firstly, the postcolonial encounter of Japanese and Koreans will be placed in the context of world history. In examining the violent colonial encounter, the orientalism of Japanese society against Zainichi Koreans must be historicized. Kang Sang-Jung explains the mechanism of Japanese orientalism against Zainichi Koreans as follows.

The orientalism of Japanese is not rooted on the well-established centrality of Western Europe. However, at the same time, there was a basic motif: how to escape from an incurable psychological trauma of the geographical violence of the Western Europe, while exercising the hegemonic power of orientalism against other Asian nations. Kang’s explanation clearly reveals the genealogy of the orientalism of Japanese elites and intellectuals against Zainichi Koreans. In addition to this, we must look at orientalism in the practice of everyday life.

Based on Kang’s perception, historian Sugihara Tōru argues that Zainichi Koreans are the ‘interior others’ who embody the ‘shabby Asia’ in visual form. They are both subjects to be eliminated and are given an important status as something indispensable in order to enhance the sense of unity among Japanese. Therefore, he argues that it is important to focus on local and everyday orientalism. The orientalist perception toward the first generation and second-generation who were brought up by marginalized parents must be historicized in postcolonializing the practice of nationalism in everyday life against young Zainichi Koreans; the third-generation, fourth-generation, ‘double’, and Zainichi Koreans with Japanese citizenship. This is because such orientalist perception is still strong among Japanese who experienced those times. Orientalism is also consumed and reproduced even among young Japanese born after the period of high economic growth, and after the time when the visually stigmatized presence of communities started to be dismantled.

8.1.3. Hisabetsu Buraku and Zainichi Koreans

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In examining the practice of nationalism against Zainichi Koreans, the history of social discrimination against the people living in *hisabetsu buraku* (or *burakumin*) should also be considered. Burakumin are often referred to as Japanese social outcasts. However the historical origins of burakumin are diversified and varied in each historical and local context. Their historical subjectivity as outcast was established by their movement from the early 20th century, which developed into the *Suiheisha* movement from 1922 to 1942. This movement was reorganized after WWII, and in 1955 the Buraku Liberation League was established. Like discrimination against Zainichi Koreans, the practice of social discrimination against burakumin cannot be distinguished by a colour such as ‘black’ and ‘white’. Rather, the characteristics of the practice are represented in the concept of *kegare* (impurity). The concept of kegare is applied as “*Chi no kegare*” (impurity of blood) for example, as a discriminatory practices in cases such as marriage. This sense of *kegare* seems to be very similar to what Julia Kirsteva defined as “abjection”.6 Based on Kristeva’s argument, Iris Marion Young’s accounts of the practice of discrimination by the majority in the United States is very suggestive in critically analysing the sense of *kegare*.

Abjection is the feeling of loathing and disgust the subject has in encountering certain matter, images, and fantasies – the horrible, to which it can only respond with aversion, with nausea and distraction. The abject is at the same time fascinating; it draws the subject in the order to repel it. The abject is meaningless, repulsive in an irrational, unrepresentable way.7

Furthermore, as well as in marriage, discriminatory practices in the process of getting jobs have been another major problem for burakumin. As in the case of burakumin, marriage and employment are the two major areas of discrimination against Zainichi Koreans. These are still the major problems today for young Zainichi Koreans. In that sense, the practice of discrimination toward the two groups is very

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similar in structure. And today, in terms of employment and marriage, since most of them do not have Japanese citizenship, it can be said that it is even severer for Zainichi Koreans. They are suffering from “abjection” in everyday practice as well as in the official laws and policies of the nation state.

From the socioeconomic historical perspective, there is a close relationship between Zainichi Koreans and burakumin. Ha Myong-Hae explains the presence of a considerable number of Koreans living in the buraku community during the colonial period as follows; cheap rent, no lease repayment and deposit, customs of sublease and sub rent, availability of cheap food products, and substratum labour market for unskilled workers. As a result, Ha argues that Koreans settled in buraku communities near industrial areas. Furthermore, Miwa Yoshio researched areas where more than 10% of the populations are Koreans in Japan based on the national census in the 1970s, and classified the characteristics of the areas as follows; residential areas along rivers, commercial and business districts in front of railway stations, residential areas with industrial districts, coastal industrial zones, buraku communities, buraku communities along rivers, and buraku communities in residential areas with industrial districts. This analysis is based on research about Korean settlements in urban areas around Tokyo and Osaka. It is not focused on local cities and there are no data revealing the relationship between Korean and buraku settlements in the case of Okayama. However, the Zainichi Korean community established in postwar Okayama follows the pattern revealed in the two research projects quoted above. In that sense, to some extent, it is possible to say that the discriminatory gaze against burakumin was projected onto Zainichi Koreans by the majority Japanese. As a mechanism of orientalism and “abjection”, the social discrimination against Koreans was based on the conventional ways of discrimination against burakumin, as can be observed in the history of “abjection” which shows how discriminatory perceptions against Blacks were inherited from those against Irish in the United States in the early

to mid-19th century. This social discrimination seems to now be shifting to the newcomers, particularly Chinese. Furthermore, there is a slight tension between new and old-comer Koreans.

Regarding the historical particularity of the social discrimination, we should consider how it is actually practiced in everyday life. An American anthropologist, John Cornell from University of Michigan, engaged in fieldwork research in a buraku community of Matsuzaki in Okayama from 1957 to 1958. It is a buraku community only a few kilometres from my house and the first buraku which I encountered. It was on the way to a shopping centre to which I used to go with my friends by bicycle. I remember that my friend’s father who was coming to the shopping centre with us told us that “You guys should be careful of passing the hill (where the buraku is located) because there are many strangers living around there.” When Cornell conducted interviews with ‘ippan’ (general or majority) Japanese living near the buraku community, he was puzzled because he could not hear any discriminatory words or attitudes against burakumin. Even more, no one really could specifically identify who a burakumin was. His experience indicates that the practice of discrimination against burakumin is difficult to analyse solely with the terms such as racism. In this research situation, Cornell describes the practice of discrimination against burakumin with the following example.

..... a young wife ran away from her husband’s house in Matsuzaki, and within a few hours the gossip had spread widely through other communities and was being discussed quite freely without the inhibitions which usually accompany references to the outcaste Buraku. It would seem that this choice tidbit was being treated just as if there were nothing special about the persons involved, yet the manner in which it was discussed conveyed the impression that this type of loose behaviour was to be expected among outcasts.11

The practice of discrimination against burakumin such as that above cannot be generalized as a peculiarity of Japan’s discrimination. Rather, it seems to be the sense of “abjection” that Cornell was trying to describe in the passage just quoted. In critically examining the practice of social discrimination and nationalism today, the historical foundations should be also critically linked to the present. This is important because the practices of nationalism and social discrimination against minorities should be critically articulated as interconnected rather than as distinct problems. In the following sections, I would like to focus on the frontier of the practice of nationalism against Zainichi Koreans today. In order to focus on the cutting edge, I will focus on the nationalism encountered by young Zainichi Koreans whose experiences are more individualized and diversified in nature than those of older generations. This will effectively illuminate the aggressive phase of the nationalism in contemporary Japanese society.

8.1.4. Young Zainichi Koreans in Okayama

The following section, based on interviews with young Zainichi Koreans living in Okayama, will focus on their experiences of nationalism. It is the other side of the same coin of “banal nationalism”, which involves the consumer’s practical knowledge, such as jokes that lubricate the everyday life of the majority. At the same time, it is an issue of identity for young Zainichi Koreans. Their experiences of nationalism are diversified in form, depending on their identity; as North Korean citizen, South Korean citizen, Japanese citizen, or ‘double’ Zainichi Koreans. In order to delineate their experiences of nationalism, I used Sören and Mindan organizations as two reference points. However, the confrontations between the two major organizations of Zainichi Koreans are more at the organizational level, and are not necessarily applicable to the individual level. By focusing on the relationships beyond each organization and delineating the realities of young Zainichi Koreans living apart from these groups, I intend to describe the process of establishing a Zainichi Korean network. Such a network is also linked to everyday lives of majority Japanese.

In my fieldwork research, I met many young Zainichi Koreans, and interviewed more than 40. The interviews were conducted only after building some friendships. In other words, in most of the cases, I interviewed them six months after I met them. So the young Zainichi Koreans who appear in this chapter are friends.
8.2. Mindan network in Okayama

8.2.1. Living with Japanese names

Except Jin Han-Kwon, all members of KYA went to Japanese schools, and hid their real ethnic names. Instead, they used tsūmei in going to schools, workplaces, and so on. When I was in high school, there was one female student who graduated from a Korean ethnic school and used her real ethnic name. However, she was the only one. There were two Zainichi Korean students in the same class year who used tsūmei. I only found out after graduation that they were Korean. The tsūmei is the legacy of Japan’s colonialism and its policy of assimilating Koreans through Sōshi kaimei toward the end of WWII as a means to assimilate Koreans as Japanese by forcing them to adopt Japanese surnames and forenames. Having not formally been allowed to use their ethnic names in public, many young Zainichi Koreans today still use tsūmei in their postcolonial everyday lives. Most of the young Zainichi Koreans whom I have interviewed were born many decades after the end of colonialism. However, it is still difficult for most of them to announce their ethnic names in public in today’s Japanese society. In order to not to stand out at school, workplace, residential areas, and so forth, they still strategically use Japanese names in public.

Furthermore, there is also another aspect of adapting tsūmei, and its actual appropriations are diversified. For example, when I interviewed young Zainichi Koreans in Okayama, some of them choose to use their ethnic names with Japanese pronunciation. In some cases, they feel obliged to do so to be accepted by Japanese society. But in other cases, they also feel attachment to their Japanese pronunciation since they have been called by those names by the families and friends since they were little.

Having been brought up after the end of period of high economic growth and not living in a stigmatized ethnic community, it maybe felt very natural for them to use both their Japanese and Korean ethnic names when living in Japanese society. In fact, there were many young Zainichi Koreans who told me that they’ve never experienced any kinds of discrimination at all. However, this was only their first response after I started my interview. While some of them could not clearly verbalize their
discriminatory experiences, it is clearly seen from their words that they are living in very disadvantageous and discriminatory environments.

8.2.2. "I don’t have that much experience of being discriminated against"

Kim Hye-Mee (25, South Korea) is a third-generation Zainichi Korean. She lives in the south end of the Okayama City with her parents, sister, brother, brother’s wife, and their child. She went to the local public elementary school and junior high school. Then she went to a women’s private high school located in central Okayama City, which is about 15 kilometres away from her house. It is located near a café facing Lake Kojima, where I used to go very often. After graduation from the high school, she worked for a couple of years but then she quit. From October 2003, she started to work part-time at Starbucks Coffee, which she had longed to work for since it opened in Okayama in November 2000. Nowadays, no one thinks it is ‘cool’ to work for McDonald’s anymore: it is just seen as a tasteless hamburger chain. But, initially, it is always ‘cool’ to work at a newly fashionable place.

What she repeatedly told me was, “I don’t have that much experience of being discriminated against”. From the time she went to the elementary school, she has never hidden her ethnic identity as Zainichi Korean. She did not think that it was "a big deal", and told her friends about it. In high school, she belonged to a social problems study circle. The club was organized by a female Zainichi Korean teacher and male Japanese teacher at the school. The latter teacher used to work with my grandfather and he is also the father of my friend from high school. As a club activity, they enjoyed playing the drum-like Korean traditional music instrument Chango and enjoyed wearing the Korean traditional clothes. They also went on a trip to South Korea. She also told me about how she had fun at the one-month home stay program in Oregon, and other experiences of travelling overseas. It is as if she has only pleasant memories and experiences of being a Zainichi Korean. However, I wondered what real feelings underlie her statement that "I don’t have that much experience of being discriminate against". The second-generation Zainichi Korean writer Suh Kyung-Sik critically responds to the similar type of comment by young Zainichi Koreans.
When I talk with young Zainichi Koreans, it is true that they frequently state that ‘the terms like minzoku (ethnos) or sokoku (homeland) don’t sound realistic to me’. However, without examining where the sense of ‘realism’ comes from, we cannot talk about the future of Zainichi Korean society. Their sense of ‘realism’ is originally derived from the systematic ethnic elimination policy by the Japanese state. However, the reality beyond our sense of the ‘realistic’ contracts and restricts our lives both temporally and spatially.12

As I continued my interview with Hye-Mee, behind her rather cheerful statement that “I don’t have that much experiences of being discriminated”, it is not very difficult to find the existence of discriminatory reality influencing her everyday life. First of all, her father is a fisherman, but he cannot engage in sea fishing. So the financial income of her family is very much restricted by the Japanese fishermen’s conventions which are based on a hereditary system and rarely allow outsiders to engage in sea fishing. Furthermore, she faced several difficulties in pursuing her interests. When she graduated from high school, she was interested in becoming a member of Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers. But the guidelines for the applicants indicate Japanese nationality as one of the requirements, which she felt to be absurd. She thought that she could not go on a working holiday either. (Actually, she could go to Australia and New Zealand.) Furthermore, when her brother married a Japanese partner, his partner’s parents refused to see him until their daughter was born. Apparently, she is surrounded by the discriminatory systems of Japanese society. So her statement actually does not mean that the discriminatory practices do not exist. Instead, she seems to be accepting the discrimination not as something ‘social’, but as an individual problem that should be managed by herself. In that sense, the implication of saying to a Japanese interviewer that “I don’t have that much experiences of being discriminated” is a very serious one. It sounds as if she is forced to say by the Japanese society that “it is not a big deal and I can manage that”.

8.2.3. “You are Japanese!”

Like Hye-Mee, Kang Yeong-Wi (27, South Korea) used to believe that there is no discrimination against Zainichi Koreans. He is a third-generation Zainichi Korean living with his parents and younger brother in the west end of Okayama City where Yoshida-san (See 6.3.6) is living. He also has a younger sister going to a college in Oita prefecture. He now works at a rental video shop which his parents are running. He went to the local elementary school and junior high school. Then he went to a public high school near his house. Until he graduated from high school, he had avoided facing the issue of being Zainichi Korean. He unconsciously tried to not to think about it. Having entered a private college in Himeji City, 90 kilometres east of Okayama, he ‘came out’ about his ethnic identity to his new friends at the college who did not know about his background at all from the beginning. When he went back to Okayama for his first summer vacation, he also ‘came out’ about his ethnicity to his old friends from the high school fencing team. However none of their responses really satisfied him; “So what?”, “You are no different from us!”,”You are Japanese!” As I have mentioned in the previous chapter, his Japanese friends from the high school fencing team do not realize the postcolonial reality that many young Zainichi Koreans today still cannot use their real names in public. The responses of his Japanese friends, which were probably intended as expression of their friendship and trust to Yeong-Wi, actually ended up making him refuse to talk about the differences with Japanese.

The experience of ‘coming out’ did not lead him to be clearly aware of the existence of discriminatory practice in Japanese society. However, he just recently had to face this in the relationship with his ex-girlfriend. Yeong-Wi had a Japanese girlfriend who was a nurse. They met each other at Yeong-Wi’s high school classmate’s wedding party. One day some time after they got together, he ‘came out’ to her that he is a Zainichi Korean. When he told her, she suddenly started to cry. Yeong-Wi asked him why she was crying. She answered that her mother, who has a very close relationship with her often mentions that she will not let her marry a Zainichi Korean. So she said that she cannot be with him anymore. On the same day that they broke up, she called his mobile, and told him that she did not want to break up only because he is a Zainichi Korean. They tried to find a way to get back together but then her parents, especially her mother, resisted it strongly. Finally, her mother threatened that “I will commit suicide if you marry him”. The girlfriend asked her
mother why she resisted it so strongly. Her mother replied “chi ga chigau” (the blood is different). Though, Yeong-Wi still tried to arrange a dinner to discuss it with her parents, this was absolutely refused. Yeong-Wi told me that he is now afraid of establishing a relationship with a Japanese partner.

On the one hand, his friends from high school told him “you are Japanese!” On the other hand, he is refused marriage because his “blood is different”. This is the everyday practice of nationalism by the majority in the postcolonial era, which banally but unilaterally assimilates and eliminates the minority. A few months after the interview, however, Yeong-Wi regained confidence and found a new Japanese girlfriend. He is already expecting difficulties in this new relationship in the near future. When her parents invited him to dinner at her house, he saw Sensōron by Kobayashi Yoshinori13 on her father’s bookshelf.

8.2.4. Refused to be married

Like Yeong-Wi, Lee Sachiko (29, South Korea) realized the discriminatory practice in Japanese society when her Japanese boyfriend refused to marry her. She said, “I wouldn’t have become a member of KYA without that experience”. She is a third-generation Zainichi Korean. She now lives a few kilometres east of central Okayama City with her parents, who run a barber’s shop, and an elder sister. She also has an elder brother living in Okayama. She went to the local public elementary school and junior high school. Then she went to the public commercial high school. Having graduated from high school, she studied at a private women’s junior college in Okayama. Now she works at a small company, a job which her elder brother found for her.

She is extremely careful about hiding her ethnic identity, and she was taught to do so by her parents. Her parents run a barber’s and they have never exposed their ethnic background to their neighbours and customers because they think it would affect their business. Sachiko said, “You know, it is not like owing the Pachinko parlor or Korean BBQ restaurants, which people know as Korean businesses.” For example,

13 Kobayashi Yoshinori is a comic artist who was a member of Tsukurukai. He left Tsukurukai but his comic books are depicted from a nationalistic and revisionist perspective. For details, see Chapter 1.2.1.
they are always afraid that the postman may accidentally send their mail such as letters from Mindan with their Korean names to the wrong address. Brought up in such an environment, she has only ‘come out’ whom she is a Zainichi Korean to a few friends that she thinks she can trust. When meeting a new friend or partner, she always observes in the beginning to see whether they seem trustworthy or not. If she feels that they are in some way racist, she always hides her ethnic identity. Even with her boyfriends, she would not ‘come out’ if she thought that “the relationship will not last that long”.

This is due to her traumatic experience with her ex-boyfriend. She had a Japanese boyfriend with whom she was together for four years from the age of 18 to 22. Both of them were hoping to be married. However, his parents did not allow them to marry. She expected that her boyfriend would resist his parents. However, he did not and suggested that they break up instead. Since then, she has not met him even once. As she said, she became clearly aware of the existence of the discriminatory practices, and this made her participate in the activities of the KYA.

8.2.5. *Intimidated by chatting about North Korean issues*

Kanemura Narumi is a fourth-generation Zainichi Korean. Unlike the first three interviewees, her experience of being discriminated against goes back rather earlier, to the first grade at elementary school. She was brought up near where Koshinaka-san (see 6.3.4.) and Yoshida-san’s wife (see 6.3.6.) were brought up, in a place which used to be a small Zainichi Korean community. The main local office of Sören was once established there, and the Korean ethnic school used to be located near the community until 1974. She now lives with her parents and grandparents. She has a younger brother Masaaki working at a famous Korean BBQ restaurant in Tokyo. She is engaged in the activities of KYN affiliated to Sören. Her parents now own two Korean BBQ restaurants in Okayama, which were inherited from her grandparents. One of the restaurants is still located where the ethnic community used to be.

Her first experience of being discriminated against was when she entered the local elementary school. Some of her friends from preschool and kindergarten changed their attitudes toward her and became aloof. Since these early days, she has realized that she should not ‘come out’ to just anyone. Like Sachiko, she only ‘came out’ her
ethnic background to friends whom she thought she could trust. It is apparent that five or six years-old children do not have any idea who Zainichi Koreans are. The information must somehow have been mediated by their parents who knew about the stigmatized Zainichi Korean community.

Like Sachiko, she is also concerned about her Japanese partner. Since she was little, she has been told by her parents that she should only marry a Korean. Until very recently, she had a Japanese boyfriend. But her mother advised her that "if you are not serious enough to marry him, there is no point in going out". So she broke up with her partner. It was not only her mother's advice which made her decide to break up. There were many difficulties she faced being with her Japanese boyfriend. For example, she watched the Japan vs South Korea soccer match during the pre-tournament of 2002 Korean-Japan World Cup with her Japanese boyfriend. He booed the South Korean national teams. She could not say anything to him about it, but quietly watched the match with him.

Both her parents originally had North Korean citizenship. Furthermore, since her grandfather is involved in Sören activities, and one of the branch offices used to be located next door to her house, she often participated in the activities of the Sören network when she was little. In fact, her grandfather Kim Young-Sam wanted to send her to the Korean ethnic school. However, her father, who went to the ethnic school and had difficulty in getting jobs, was opposed to the idea, and Narumi and her younger brother Masaaki went to the local Japanese schools. However, she participated in the summer sessions at the branch office when she was in the elementary school and junior high school. She also participated in Sören summer school and made many Zainichi Korean friends, although she did not feel comfortable joining the activities of KYN since it is dominated by the Zainichi Koreans who graduated from the ethnic school. It was in the summer of 2002 that Jin Han-Kwon contacted her to become a member of KYA. Since she has been involved in the activity and met many Zainichi Korean friends who went to Japanese schools like her, she feels that she "can share the things which I couldn't with my Japanese friends". She said her relationship with other members became very close within just one year.
What bothers her most these days is the anti-North Korea atmosphere in everyday life since Koizumi’s visit to Pyongyang on 17 September 2002. As mentioned earlier, only one friend at her workplace knows that she is a Zainichi Korean. So other colleagues talk to her about issues related to North Korea; Kim Jong-Il, the abduction cases, nuclear power plants and so forth. For her Japanese colleagues, these are nothing but jokes and gossip to lubricate everyday life at the workplace. For her, they are not jokes at all but subjects which make her nervous and frightened.

8.2.6. “That one”

The president of KYA, Kim Chang-Ho (29, South Korea) is a third-generation Zainichi Korean. He was also one of my key informants and friends in researching Zainichi Koreans in Okayama. He now lives with his father who owns a liquor shop, and his mother who is running the Korean restaurant and bar Zai in the Korean community in front of Okayama station. He has three elder brothers, who are children of his father and his father’s Japanese ex-wife, and one younger brother. Now he is the only one living with his parents. Chang-Ho went to the local elementary school and junior high school. Then he went to a boy’s private high school. Having graduated from high school, he studied at a private college in Chiba prefecture. Like Yeong-Wi, Chang-Ho changed his name in college, but only his last name, from his tsūmei, Yoshimoto Takanori, to Kim Takanori.

It was his third year at college when he started to think seriously about his ethnic identity. He went to the University of California, Riverside, to learn English for six months. Then he met a Korean American friend who asked him why he had to use Japanese name Takanori for his first name. After graduation from college, he worked for one year to make money to study in South Korea. Then he studied in Seoul for three years; one year at language school and two years for another bachelor degree in International Politics at the Dongguk University. He finally changed his name to Kim Chang-Ho. After graduation from the university, he helped his mother’s business for a while. From April of 2003, he started to work in the International Affairs Division at Okayama City government.

When he had a chance to meet Suh Kyung-Sik, a Zainichi Korean writer cited above, he recalled that he “impertinently” appealed to him, “please don’t lump all
Zainichi Koreans by saying dōhō (compatriot). Chang-Ho generalizes the three generations of Zainichi Koreans as follows. “The first generation is Korean. The second-generation lament their unfortunate identity as Zainichi. And for the third-generation, the identity of Zainichi is very natural.” Talking about his school days in the local city of Japan, his stories reveal the reality of third-generation Zainichi Koreans in Okayama.

Some of our experiences are not so different from each other. We both agreed how we did not like the compulsory education system. Chang-Ho did not enjoy much of junior high school, and he said that sometimes he did not go to school for a month. He often caused trouble at school. He had to walk to school because, according to the school rules, it was not far enough to take bikes. However, he often went to school with his bike without wearing a helmet, which was also against the regulations. Once, a teacher made him kneel in front of the school entrance gate. At that time, it was even announced throughout the school by loudspeaker that “We’ll take Yoshimoto’s bike away”. He also told me how he quit his junior high school basketball team after he was told before the game, “You have to shave your hair if you lose this game”. Such bittersweet memories of junior high school are not so different from my experiences. Except for his roots, his everyday environment is almost the same as that of other Japanese. We have a different history but we are surrounded by the same Japanese environment in the local city.

On the one hand, his identity as a Zainichi Korean is constantly changing through his life course: meeting with the Korean American friend who questioned him about using his Japanese first name in California made him decide to study in Korea; being discriminated against by Koreans in Korea by being called ban chokbali (half cloven hooves; insulting term for Zainichi Korean, often made by Koreans who live in the Korean Peninsula), and meeting with many Zainichi Koreans at an open-air bar in Seoul. The attachment to his ‘roots’, the distance from the term minzoku, and the reality he is not a Japanese are contradictory but coexist with each other in his busy everyday life in Japanese society. They are sometimes remembered, and sometimes forgotten.
However, occasionally, and sometime violently, Japanese remind him that he is a Zainichi Korean. Recently, he went to a *gōkon* (matchmaking party) with a female friend from junior high school towards whom Chang-Ho used to harbour a crush back in his junior high school days. At the party, everyone introduced themselves, one by one. When Chang-Ho introduced himself as “Hi, my name is Kim Chang-Ho”, there was complete silence. After his introduction, his friend did not like the fact that he introduced himself with his Korean name at the party and murmured “Socchi ka” (that one). His friend wondered why he had to intimidate people by announcing his Korean name while she knew him by his Japanese name, Yoshimoto Takanori. I cannot clearly judge the naive connotation of “that one”. While Chang-Ho introduced me to the story as an amusing one, he seems to harbour some bitterness about it.

8.2.7. “Beat him up”

Nakagawa Keiji (29, South Korea) works at the *Okayama Shōgin*, the Zainichi Korean credit union, which is closely affiliated to Mindan. Keiji does not come to the weekly meetings of KYA. He occasionally participates in some events organized by KYA such as the autumn camp, Christmas party, and so on. In his private life, he spends time with other members of KYA. To commute to his work in Mizushima, he rides his bike to JR Okayama Station, and then takes the Sanyō Honsen line and Mizushima Rinkai Tetsudō line (a half public, half private venture). On the way home, he often stops by Zai, and usually has dinner and beer there. He sometimes comes to the weekly meeting on Wednesday in his suit, looking for someone to talk to. Zai became a base for the Zainichi Korean network in Okayama City. Many people working at Mindan, Sören, other Zainichi Korean organizations and neighbourhoods go there and have Korean dishes and drinks. There are also some Japanese customers as well. Stopping by Zai in his suit, Keiji often gets so drunk that he cannot walk straight. One time, we had to send him and his bike home by car.

He went to the local public elementary school and junior high school. Then he went to a public industrial high school in Okayama. After that, he moved to Osaka to study at a technical school. Having graduated from school, he worked in a small construction company in Osaka. When he got injured and hospitalized for several months, he decided to come back to Okayama in 2001. Then he started to work at Okayama Shōgin where his father was working.
One day, he told me his life history. We were in his room at his house. He showed me pictures and school year books from elementary school, junior high school and high school. In his year book, I found several people I know and we talked about them. It was an interesting experience, since his memories of the past connect to my past and remind me of old times. When we talked about a person we both know, we could establish a dialogue about the memory. However, the dialogue of our memory about a common person is based on the two different historical backgrounds.

His story begins with the experience of discrimination in his elementary school days. When he was in elementary school, he hid his ethnic identity. But then he told his friend about his family’s ancestral memorial services Chesa, since he did not know that there is any difference between Japanese and Korean commemorations. One of his classmates found out that he was a Zainichi Korean and talked about his secret around the school. He searched for the person who had told on him, and “beat him up”. When he entered junior high school, he moved to the neighbouring school district. By that time, he did not hesitate to talk about his ethnic identity to his friends. He made good friends with his classmates, and exacted revenge on anyone who abused him about his ethnic background. He was bullied, bullied back, and sometimes got hurt.

He now has a Japanese girlfriend. He often takes her to the events organized by KYA. He is sure that she will not refuse his offer of marriage. But he is afraid of the reactions of her family and relatives. He was once rejected as a marriage partner by a Japanese girlfriend’s parents. His brother married a Japanese partner but had a very difficult time because of the opposition of her parents. While he expressed to me that he is quite confident about the ongoing relationship with his Japanese girlfriend, he must be feeling pressure that the same things could happen to him.

8.2.8. “It became a big deal in my classroom”

Lee Reung-Nae (23, South Korea) is a third-generation Zainichi Korean. Like Keiji, she often participates in activities organized by KYA, but she does not come to the weekly meetings. She has one younger brother attending college in San Jose, one
younger sister attending college in Tokyo, and another younger sister attending the local junior high school. Her father is originally from Yanahara in Kume County, in east Okayama, which is believed to be the place where at least five hundred Koreans who had been recruited from Korea for forced labour used to live.\(^{14}\) I once visited one of the cemeteries in Yanahara. There are several cemeteries of Koreans. Some of them have Korean names, and others have Japanese names. However, Reung-Nae does not know any of the history behind Yanahara. Her father came to Okayama City when he was 23 in the 1970s. This was when production at the Yanahara mines had passed its peak. He met Reung-Nae’s mother when they were both working at Chōgin. Now he runs a sword shop in central Okayama City.

Reung-Nae went to one of the two private elementary schools in Okayama. Then she went to the local junior high school where Keiji also studied. Having graduated from the public high school in Okayama, she entered a private university in Kyoto. While she was in college, she went to Koryo University in Seoul to study the Korean language for one month. She could not speak or write any Korean then and she even asked her mother to write the application. When she graduated from the college, her mother advised her to study in Korea since she thought it would be advantageous for her to get a job. Later she studied at the language school of Seoul National University for one year. She came back to Okayama in June 2003. Now she works at Mindan part time, and also helps in her family business. In the future, she hopes to run a business by herself.

Her story of her ethnic identity goes back to her elementary school days. Once, she told her teacher that she was a Zainichi Korean. She was told that she should not hide such an important thing. The issue of Reung-Nae as a Zainichi Korean was widely shared by other classmates. She said, “It became a big deal in my classroom”. After this event, she became reluctant to tell people about her ethnic identity. In junior high school and high school, she only ‘came out’ about her ethnic identity to some of her close friends. However, like Yeong-Wi and Chang-Ho, the situation changed when she entered the college in Kyoto. Many of the people she met had experience of studying abroad, and were not uncomfortable to hear that she is a

Zainichi Korean. While she was in college, she was asked to participate in the activities of KSL but she did not feel very comfortable with the atmosphere, which is dominated by the graduates from Korean ethnic schools.

As mentioned above, she does not come to the activities of KYA regularly. She thinks she should try to attend weekly meetings in the future. In reality, though, she does not feel like going to them. Maybe in her busy everyday life, seeking for job opportunities, she feels that activities committed to social change are not very important. On the other hand, when we discuss the various social problems regarding Zainichi Koreans, she said “maybe I should engage in the social activities for a change”. Having finished the interview, I asked her if she was going to attend the next weekly meeting. She responded, “I am busy this week so maybe next week”. So far, she has not participated in any meetings. This clearly indicates that young Zainichi Koreans are also living in the age of global information capitalism. In order to be a successful ‘individual’, the society and history surrounding them might not have such importance. On the other hand, this poses a difficult question. Does a young Zainichi Korean always have to be political and advocate their ethnic identity in public? For some, it might be more important to achieve their individual success to survive their everyday life, which might eventually lead them to think about their identity thoroughly. This clearly shows how difficult it is for young Zainichi Koreans to be political about their ethnic identity in this individualized age.

8.2.9. “There is nothing special about me. I haven’t faced that much difficulty”

Nishida Hikaru (29, South Korea) is a third-generation Zainichi Korean living in Kojima, Kurashiki City, which faces the Seto Inland Sea. She now works as a staff member at a hotel in central Kurashiki City. She lives with her parents. She also has an elder brother. Hikaru was a classmate of Sachiko at the junior college, although neither knew that the other was Zainichi Korean. They were not particularly good friends either. It was Sachiko who first realized that Hikaru was a Zainichi Korean just before graduating from the college. In one calligraphy class which they were taking, they practiced writing their resumes. In one section of the resume to fill in one’s registered domicile, Sachiko saw that Hikaru filled it in as “Kankoku” (South Korea) without any hesitation. On the other hand, Sachiko filled it in just as “Okayama”. Telling me this story, Hikaru describes her personality as follows.
"I am very open. I am so open that I tell people anything about myself."

However, this does not mean that she has never experienced discrimination in Japanese society. Her first experience was when she tried to look for a job after graduation from junior college. She had a job interview with a consumer credit company in Kurashiki. Having received an offer and set a schedule to start work, she received a call cancelling the offer. She murmured, "They really liked me." The reason for the cancellation was just "the boss said no."

"However, I did not realize it then. People around me told me so, and I finally realized that it had to be so."

This was her first experience of facing institutional discrimination. The shock of the phone call to cancel the job offer gradually taught her that there was discrimination against Zainichi Koreans. At the same time, she had to face another discriminatory practice in her private life. Her Japanese boyfriend's parents opposed their relationship after knowing she is a Zainichi Korean. The boyfriend's parents' attitude changed dramatically after their son informed them of her ethnicity. But she did not show any signs of being daunted and kept seeing him.

"I would say 'May I come inside?' but they just ignored me."

While she confidently told me that she is open about herself, she also showed fear and hesitation to be open after these hardships.

"I think that it must be the reason. I found myself hesitating about being open after the reaction from [my boyfriend's] parents."

Until she met Sachiko, she did not have any relationships with other Zainichi Koreans except her relatives. She is not interested in the activities of KYA either. She only twice attended the Christmas party organized by KYA in the last two years. Having gotten older, she faces individual instances of discrimination, and then they pass and are forgotten, but the problem remains unsolved. Like Hye-Mee and many
other Zainichi Koreans, she repeatedly tells me that she has a kind of reluctance to think of her problem as something ‘social’, and tends to think of it as something to be managed individually.

“There is nothing special about me. I haven’t faced that much difficulty.”

8.2.10. “Please stop talking about the driver’s license”

Ishikawa Akiko (29, South Korea) lives near the central city of Okayama with her mother, a younger brother and his son, and a younger sister. She is a third-generation Zainichi Korean. She went to the local elementary school and junior high school located at the centre of the Okayama business district. Then she went to a girl’s private high school in Okayama City. She played in a volleyball team belonging to the Okayama Junior Sport-club Association from the fourth grade of elementary school, and continued to play in junior high school, and high school. Her high school has a reputation for the best volleyball team in Okayama. She played volleyball in high school day and night. Having graduated from high school, she started working at one of the companies affiliated to the Mitsubishi Chemical Corporation in Mizushima. Until she participated in the Christmas party organized by KYA at the end of 2002, she did not have any Zainichi Korean friends except her relatives. She made some Zainichi Korean friends after the party. Her links to the Zainichi Korean community became weak after her mother from Osaka divorced her father, who is originally from Okayama and who graduated from Korea University.

She went to school using her tsūmei, and no one at her workplace knows that she is a Zainichi Korean. When she was in high school, she only came out to one really close friend. In relation to ‘coming out’ about her ethnic identity, she says, “I know it is not anything bad but something makes me hesitate to do so.” So, for example, when she applies for membership of a rental video shop, she presents her insurance card instead of her driver’s license, which gives her real name. The issue of her driver’s license is very stressful for her. Whenever the issue of driver’s licenses pops up as a topic of the conversation, she just prays, “Please stop talking about the driver’s license.” But she usually ‘comes out’ to her boyfriends, and so far it has not caused a break-up.
A few days after the interview, she was going to take part in the Honolulu Marathon in Hawaii. This was the second time she had participated in the marathon. When she participated in the marathon for the first time a few years ago, she and other members of her family thought that it might be an opportunity to change their citizenship from North Korea to South Korea. After she changed her citizenship, she went to South Korea in July 2003 for the first time with a Zainichi Korean friend met at the KYA's Christmas party the year before. She said that she had no interest toward South Korea before, and travelling to South Korea has nothing to do with her ethnic origins. She became interested in it because of the Korean boom since the success of the movie *Shuri* in Japan. Obviously, her experience of becoming interested in Korean popular culture is not quite the same as that of Japanese. For example, as some of my Zainichi Korean informants told me, in order to hide their ethnic identity, they attempt to not to deal with any icons associated with Koreans or Zainichi Koreans. So Akiko travels to South Korea not because it is where her origins are but because it is now widely perceived as a popular place to travel. This clearly reveals that she is also not free from global coevalness, which 'includes' things if they are contemporary and consumable but 'excludes' them otherwise.

8.2.11. "*They take it more lightly than we think*"

Yu Miki (23, South Korea) is a third-generation Zainichi Korean. She now lives with her parents, who run an *Okonomiyaki* (Japanese styled pancake) restaurant. She has a younger sister attending a private college in Nishinomiya City, 150 kilometres east of Okayama. Miki was born in Mizushima, which is where her father is originally from. Then she moved to Okayama and went to the same elementary school as Narumi (see 8.2.5.). She lives on the second floor of the Okonomiyaki restaurant. She studied in a public high school in Soja City. Having graduated from high school, she entered a private college in Kyoto, where she majored in ceramic arts.

She never 'came out' about her ethnic identity until she went to college. It was in her freshman year of college that she went to South Korea for a foreign study program in ceramic arts with twenty other students from the same faculty. Before the trip, she had to give her passport to a Japanese student who was responsible for taking a photocopy of it. When she submitted her South Korean passport, the student did not make any particular remark. "I think that I was very nervous about it," she says. "But
their reactions were just like ‘is that so?’, and I thought that they take it more lightly than we think.” Although one of her close friends knows that she is a Zainichi Korean, they have not discussed the issue that profoundly. Miki says, “I think that I told her at some point. But I vaguely remember that she just said ‘is that so?’ I now feel it is strange to tell her about it again.”

Currently, she works as a baker at one of the bread shops in the Okayama business district. She works for approximately fourteen hours from 5 am to 7 pm. In her busy everyday life, she may not feel like thinking about her identity all the time. She said that she is too busy to attend the weekly meeting of KYA. However, she started to come to some of the events organized by KYA after she participated in the autumn camp in October 2003. She thought very hard about whether she should participate in it or not. Finally, she thought that nothing will change if she does not accept something new in her busy everyday life of baking bread. Since the camp, she began to participate actively in some KYA activities such as the Dialogue 2 and Christmas party.

8.3. The Sören network in Okayama

8.3.1. In the midst of the North Korea bashing

Since Koizumi’s visit to Pyongyang and the disclosures about the abduction cases, the Zainichi Korean community based on Sören became the target of criticism by Japanese right wing groups, media, and the general public. However, as has been discussed, one cannot distinguish North=Sören and South=Mindan in the practice of everyday life. In the following section, I interview young Zainichi Koreans who are involved in the activities organized by Sören-affiliated organizations. This is a network based on its ethnic schools, youth activities, club activities, and several annual events. Based on the interviews, I focus on how they are experiencing the practice of nationalism in their everyday lives.

The discrimination experienced by the young Zainichi Korean members linked to Sören is mediated by a strong network including the affiliated organizations and schools, which are the actual targets of such discriminatory practices. The clear impression I got from these interviews is that they verbally express the perception that “we” are being bashed by the Japanese media and so on. It is a sort of “imagined
community” maintained through their solid ethnic school network, business network, annual communal events, ethnic media, and so on. It must be noted, however, that their experiences of discrimination are diverse. The collective experiences of the practice of nationalism against the “imagined community” in 2003 are as follows; media reports, the discriminatory system of qualifications to enter the national universities, hate crimes against students at ethnic schools, discriminatory graffiti, violent protests by right-wing groups, the attack on the Chōgin credit union in Okayama, discriminatory crank calls, discriminatory postcards, discriminatory writings on the internet discussion boards and so on. These practices and discourses of nationalism spread throughout the network. Again, these experiences cannot be clearly distinguished between the two networks. In particular, the network of Mindan is relatively less communal, compared to that of Sōren. This is particularly apparent in its young stratum.

In this section, various cases of “hot” or “aggressive” nationalism will be examined. These clearly reveal that the nationalism and jokes of the seventeen people at Sanyō Consultant are hardly benign. They are part of a wider spectrum of practices which include overt, aggressive action. On the one hand, jokes act as a bond between the members of the majority community in the interior logic of everyday life. When discriminatory jokes are told, they release the frustrations among the members who share everyday time and space. However, on the other hand, the majority’s jokes have very little concern toward the subjects discriminated against. When the members of the majority joke, they do not imagine ‘Others’. Instead, they are imagining their fantasy vision of the “abject”. They are expressing the fear toward the “abject” that “we” do not want to be. In this way, the jokes bind the majority together through such fantasy, based on an implicit agreement of that ‘we are not and will never the “abject”’. It is an intermixed feeling of pride and philia, which is engendered within the community. Furthermore, the minority who is the subject of “abjection” themselves cannot easily escape from the commitment to the jokes. In fact, many young Zainichi Koreans, particularly those who are not affiliated to the Sōren network, tell jokes about North Korea and Kim Jong Il. Obviously, the younger generations brought up in the post-high economic growth period have relatively weaker attachment to and imagination of the Korean peninsula, and it may not be very difficult for them to make negative references. However, more
importantly, it seemed to me that many of them that I have interviewed desire to exclude the cause of potential threat of “abjection” against them, in a far more complicated manner than the Japanese. I also heard that some of the Zainichi Korean parents sending their children to the ethnic school in Okayama are requesting the school not to celebrate North Korea and Kim Jong Il any more.

During the year 2003, the phobia and pride of nationalism took its most phobic forms against anything related to North Korea. These are not merely practices of discrimination and racism, but practices of nationalism in the sense that they are used to reconfirm the national identity of Japanese, which is eventually articulated to the process of the reconfiguration of the nation state. In this sense, it is connected to the global information capitalism and neo-liberal ideology; individualization, self-actualization, self-responsibility, freedom, consumerism, privatization, and so on. Another part of this reconfiguration is the very contradictory trend of Kanryū (South Korean boom). In other words, the reconfiguration does not necessarily take the violent forms. In a sense, North Korea bashing and the South Korean boom are the opposite sides of the same coin. They are consumable stories designed to restore the national identity of Japan.

8.3.2. “No one expected that this situation would emerge after last September”

The core group organizing the young Zainichi Koreans in Okayama is KYN. The head of KYN in Okayama is Lee Seong-Kwon (29, North Korea). He now lives by himself in an apartment in the business districts of Okayama City. His father runs a business by himself, engaged in processing plate metal. His younger brother works at Chōgin in Okayama City, the credit union was attacked by Kenkoku Giyūgun (See 4.2). Seong-Kwon currently plays the most important role in networking the young Zainichi Koreans living in Okayama. There are two major branches of KYN in Okayama and Kurashiki (located in Mizushima). There have regular meetings every two months at KYN Okayama, and every month at each Shibu (branch). There are four fulltime workers at KYN Okayama: Seong-Kwon, Pak Young-Sam, Kim Min-Soon, and Yoon Hyo-Kil. Their office is located on the second floor of the local head office of Sōren.
When he was a child, Seong-Kwon used to live in the central part of Okayama along the Asahi River. Both of his parents were working at Chōgin and at preschool he used his ethnic name but pronounced his family name in the Japanese way, as Yun Seong-Kwon. Neither of his parents had graduated from the ethnic school, but they became passionate about ethnic education when they were involved in the Sōren community through their workplace. From kindergarten, he went to the Korean ethnic school in Fujita. His parents had to work hard to send him and his brother to the school because it was much more costly to send them to Korean ethnic school.

Until he was a junior high school student, he thought that he was going to take over his father's business, because his father worked so hard for his family. Having met so many Zainichi Korean friends at high school in Hiroshima, he started to feel that "I want to do something to help compatriots who are living in difficult conditions". His teacher, who was a guidance counsellor, advised him to study at Korea University in Tokyo. While he was studying at university, he often came back to Okayama during the vacation. Then he was asked to help with KYN activities by his seniors who had graduated from the same school. He helped to organize the summer school for Zainichi Korean students attending Japanese schools, so that they could receive Korean ethnic educations. By the time of graduation, he decided to be involved in Sōren. When he finishes his position as head of KYN in Okayama, he will work for the Korean Youth Commerce Community (Chong Sang Hoe).

His feeling that he wants to devote himself to the Zainichi Korean community became even stronger in the last three years of working as a head of KYN in Okayama. Regarding the bashing against North Korea and Sōren after Koizumi's visit, he said that "no one expected that this situation would emerge after last September." Since the attack on Chōgin on 23 August 2003, two plain-clothes police officers from the East Okayama Police Station are on standby in a car parked in front of the local head office during the day on each occasion when the Man Gyong Bong 92 enters the port of Niigata. The office is a four-storied building named the Chōsen Kaikan. A sign outside says "No consultation fees for bridal services – from arranged marriages to the reservation of wedding venue" in red characters, and "Okayama dōhō seikatsu sōdan centaa" (Okayama Koreans life consulting centre) in blue characters. The building is surrounded by the ordinary landscape of the central business area of Okayama.

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local city, but it has become a target of police security operations. The local head office is the subject of surveillance by the local police as a potential threat to the national security. Seong-Kwon deals with the police officers and communicates with them. In this difficult situation, it is his main agenda to recruit young Zainichi Koreans. However, as the community disperses, it is becoming more difficult to maintain a unifying force.

8.3.3. "She keeps talking about the same thing over and over"

Yoon Hyo-Kil (24, North Korea) is a third-generation Zainichi Korean who is also working full-time for KYN. His father Yoon Koun-Nam is the chair of the Sōren Kurashiki branch office. Hyo-Kil now lives with his parents in Fujita, only a few hundred meters away from Matsuda-san’s house (see 6.3.5.). Like Seong-Kwon, he went to elementary and middle school in Fujita, high school in Hiroshima, and Korea University in Tokyo. When I interviewed him in November 2003, he was very busy with the preparation for bōnenkai (the end of year party) and the seijinshiki (Coming-of-Age-Day celebration). His friends often ask him what kind of job he is doing for KYN. He usually answers that “it’s a kind of event-company, doing a variety of things.”

Since Hyo-Kil is working at the local head office, he sometimes has to deal with phone calls from nationalists. There is a middle-aged woman who calls them regularly. Many of the full-time workers at the local head office have dealt with her, and their conversations are very similar to one call to another. Hyo-Kil said, “She keeps talking about the same thing over and over”, and then he imitated how the middle-aged nationalist talks.

“I live near the Korean ethnic school in Kurashiki, and I always see on TV what is going on with North Korea and Kim Jong Il. While we know those things from TV, why are the children at the kindergarten singing Chōsen (North Korean) songs at the tops of their voices? Isn’t there something wrong with that? It’s no good!”

“She sounds really strange but I guess that she is concerned about security somehow”, Hyo-Kil said. As it will be mentioned later, another young Zainichi Korean also dealt with her a couple of times. As well as the rather strange middle-
aged female nationalist, the members of the right-wing group in Okayama sometimes visit the office with their trucks equipped with loudhailers. According to Hyo-Kil, they visited at least three times this year.

Some of the right-wing groups also visited the Kumgangsan Opera Company, which performed at Okayama Symphony Hall in 2003 when I went to see its performance. Hyo-Kil and other members of KYA were working as staff members. One member of the right-wing groups attacked the police during the tight security around the hall around at 3 pm, four hours before the play started. The loud din of male voices reached my ears from the several black right-wing sound trucks parked in front of the hall and driving around the central city. The sound is very loud and the quality is not very good so I could barely make out the words.

“Good fellow citizens of Okayama..... today in Okayama Symphony Hall ...... North Korea......”

Around 6 pm when people started to gather at the hall, there were three police vans, two police patrol cars, and more than 20-30 policemen watching for the trouble.

Behind this situation of North Korean bashing today, Hyo-Kil regards the mass media as the most blameworthy agent. “The Japanese media is using the Kyōwakoku (Republic of Korea) because they are desperate about their viewing rates.” Hyo-Kil considers one of the TV news programs, News Japan, created by Fuji Television Network (affiliated to Sankei Shimbun) as particularly problematic. With rage, he said.

“People in Japan are interested in the issue. Well, they sell so many books dealing with it. Because people buy them, they publish them. There is no justice at all. They must have no sense of shame, talking and writing such nonsense.”

8.3.4. “Bullied on the way home from school”

Lee Yeong-Chol (27, North Korea) is a third-generation Zainichi Korean. He also graduated from the Korean ethnic elementary and middle school in Fujita, high school in Hiroshima, and Korea University in Tokyo. Both of his parents used to be teachers
at the school. His mother now works at the Kurashiki branch in Mizushima where Yeong-Chol also works. His brother Jung-Yul teaches at the ethnic school in Mizushima, a few blocks away from the office. Now he lives with his wife Woo-Hyang, and a son just born in December 2003. He is the only full-time worker at KYN in the Kurashiki branch office, and coordinates the activities of young Zainichi Koreans in Kurashiki, particularly in the Mizushima area. Although there is only one full-time worker at KYN, there are more young Zainichi Korean participants in the activities, because Mizushima is the most highly concentrated area of Zainichi Koreans.

On the first Tuesday of every month from 7 pm to 9 pm, twenty to thirty young Zainichi Koreans living in Mizushima usually participate in a game of volleyball at one of the public gymnasiums in the area. This is a popular event, because most of the players have known each other since they were the graduates of the Korean ethnic school in Mizushima. They play volleyball in a rather relaxed atmosphere. I have often played with them as well. Each time, Yeong-Chol distributes the monthly Korean ethnic magazine Sesede (new generation) and a music CD titled Chochon CD which mainly copies the popular Japanese songs of the time. Such ethnic media seem to play an important role in maintaining the local Zainichi Korean network. After the volleyball, they go to eat at one of the restaurant-and-bar type of places in the Mizushima area, which are often run by Zainichi Koreans. Before the party starts,

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15 For example, there are four pictures on the jacket of the Chochon CD September 2003. There are pictures from the last volleyball games in August, the cooking circle consisting of young female Zainichi Koreans, and the pictures of food they cook. Furthermore, there was a picture of Lee Yeong-Chol when he visited North Korea in late August, just a few days after the shooting incidents of Chōgin. In fact, the shooting was a protest against the North Korean ship that entered the port of Niigata on 24 August 2003, which Yeong-Chol took on the way to Pyongyang. These pictures reveal the Sören network, and how it is functioning as intermediary to maintain the 'imagined community'. On the other hand, it is important to note that fifteen out of sixteen songs in this CD are Japanese popular songs. There are the Japanese popular songs shared through the network. The musicians and titles of songs are as follows: 1. Mellisa, Pornograffiti, 2. Miki no hana, Nakajima Mika, 3. Niji, Fukuyama Masaharu, 4. The last night, Matsuura Aya, 5. Moon Gate, Day After Tomorrow, 6. Dream Express, Flow, 7. Honjitsu wa seitena nari, Do As Infinity, 8. Another World, MINMI, 9. Kimini sasageru Love Song, Hamada Shogo, 10. Hitori jenga, Yaida Hitomi, 11. How to go, Kururi, 12. Omoide dakedewa turasugiru, Shibazaki Ko, 13. Dera shera mu, Chageasu & Stardust review, 14. Warabigami – Yamatoguchi –, Natsukawa Rimi, 15. Hare ame nochi suki, Momusume. Sakuragumi, 16. Atlantis, BoA.
Yeong-Chol makes a brief speech. He talks about the hardships of “the current situation surrounding our Zainichi Korean compatriots”, and how they should overcome it. In that way, anti-North Korean bashing is perceived as bashing against Zainichi Koreans as well. In fact, this perception is not wrong because, as in the case in the attack on Chōgin and other discriminatory events, the target of the practice of nationalism in everyday life is Zainichi Koreans as a whole.

Yeong-Chol’s experiences of being the target of nationalist practices are not only experiences of the media and everyday discourse. There was also his experience of visiting North Korea on the Man Gyong Bong 92, a few days after the attack on Chōgin in Okayama. In the port of Niigata where the ship was docked, grassroots and right-wing groups protested against them. They screamed “go back to North Korea.” But this was not first time that he was told to “go back”. He told me his first experience of this was when he was in elementary school. The person who made the statement was his Japanese friend, who lived in his neighbourhood.

“I told him that I am a Chosenjin (Korean), and he said; ‘what did you come here for?’ ‘When you going back?’ ‘When did you come?’ Although I was a small kid, I felt very angry. I knew from the education we had received in the lower grades of the elementary school that we were forced to come to Japan.”

Furthermore, on the way home from the ethnic school in Fujita, he was often bullied by Japanese junior high school students near the school. When he and his twin brother Jung-Yul were in elementary school, he was often caught by Japanese junior high school kids. They were often punched and kicked. He told me a story about the time he was almost attacked by Japanese kids, but was saved by his senior fellows. This was told in a rather comical tone.

“You know, it was only me and my twin brother, so we were small in number on the way home, and we couldn’t help being nervous. Here is our school, and the Japanese school is over there, and I have to pass by (the Japanese kids going home). This was both on the way to school and coming home. Then we would glare each other down. When I was in the seventh grade, we just kept refusing eye contact with them everyday. But by the time I was in the Ninth grade, we also started to act big. But I
really hated it, going back and forth to the school. One time, we could see that they were waiting for us. There were about twenty people. Our senior fellows took the other direction to their home and just told us you better watch out. So me and my brother were frightened as we passed them, and they asked us to stop. We asked them ‘what’s up’, but we thought we would be beaten up. Then our senior fellows eventually came over and saved us.”

8.3.5. “Discrimination against the Korean ethnic school”

Lee Jung-Yul (27, North Korea) is the twin brother of Yeong-Chol. Like his twin brother, he went to the Korean ethnic elementary and middle school in Fujita, high school in Hiroshima, and Korea University in Tokyo. Currently, he is teaching in the fourth grade of the ethnic school in Mizushima. There are six boys and four girls in the fourth grade and Yeong-Chol teaches Korean, math, Japanese, social studies, and science. PE, art, and music classes are taught by different teachers.

One day, I visited his classroom at the school. In the Japanese language class, the students were taught *Kanji* (Chinese character). Most of the classes are conducted in Korean. In this class, students are required to speak in Japanese. However, his young students get easily confused and respond to Jung-Yul’s question in a mixture of Japanese and Korean. Jung-Yul writes Chinese characters one by one on the blackboard, and asks for radical, reading, and idioms. Students then answer all at once. On the day I visited, they learned nine new characters.

The landscape of the classroom, blackboards, desks, chairs, black and red *randoseru* (ransel: school bags) are almost the same as that of a Japanese public school except for the size of the classroom. This is rather smaller than that of Japanese schools. The other difference is that there is a map of the Korean peninsula at the back of the classroom. The pictures of students on the wall create a homey atmosphere. Having finished the fourth hour, Jung-Yul eats lunch with his students. Like his students, Jung-Yul brings a lunch prepared by his mother. For the students who come from outside of Okayama and stay at *Pinnara-ryō* dormitory, which is designed for the children from outside of Okayama, lunch boxes are provided.
The present school building in Mizushima was newly established in December 1970. As mentioned already, since educational grants for ethnic schools are much smaller than those for Japanese schools, most of the investment in facilities such as computers comes from the donations by Zainichi Koreans. The discriminatory system of Monkashō (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology) against Korean ethnic schools was evident in the issue of qualification to enter the national universities. On 6 March 2003, Monkashō announced that they would allow graduates of Western international schools to take the exam to enter national universities. But this did not include Korean ethnic schools and other Asian ethnic schools. This recalls the idea of *datsua nyūō* (escape from Asia, enter the West). This policy clearly reflects the discriminatory perception of Monkashō. In contemporary Japanese society, in order to create a competitive transnational individual, Monkashō gives priority toward the education of English rather than that of Asian languages. Korean ethnic schools have been treated as “miscellaneous schools” which do not come under the definition of schools in the School Education Law. The idea is that they are not proper schools because their education does not produce ‘Japanese’. The principal of the Okayama Chōsen sho-chūkyū gakkō in Mizushima, Cho Son-Ho angrily states, “Schools are now rated based on our ethnicity.”

The everyday discriminatory practices against the students at the Korean ethnic schools are unending. Particularly, the occurrence of such practices has sharply increased after Koizumi’s visit to Pyongyang. According to The Association of Korean Human Rights in Japan, 114 cases of threatening Emails, phone calls, letters, postcards, harassing behaviour, verbal abuse, physical violence, and groping against students at Korean ethnic schools all over Japan were reported during the period 17 September 2002 to June 2003. For example, one female student of a Korean ethnic high school in Tokyo had her *Chimachogori* ripped about 7 cm on a train of the

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17 *Asahi shimbun*, 13 March 2003.
Saikyō line on the way to school. In Mizushima, it was reported that three men in their thirties with a ‘thuggish appearance’ stepped into the Pinnara-ryō around 5 pm on 26 September 2002, and intimidated the staff and students about the abduction cases. Two days after this incident, the school principal Mr. Cho requested a police presence around the school and dormitory at the time when students arrive and leave school from 19 September to 19 October. The request was made to the head of the Mizushima Police Station. Police officers from Mizushima Police Station and members of KYN in Kurashiki escorted students. Jung-Yul had not been keen to establish a close relationship with Japanese before. However, in order to deal with the problems after the abduction cases, Jung-Yul feels that it is important to establish a network with Japanese in order to get support for the fight against the discriminatory system and society. Regarding the current situation of North Korea bashing, he says:

“Media reports regarding North Korean issues are terrible. Because of those reports, I feel that we can’t be proud of ourselves. I have never felt this so much before.”

In order to preserve and promote ethnic education, he and other colleagues sometime make home visits to Zainichi Korean families to promote study in the school and participation in its events. One day around 6 pm in October, after Jung-Yul finished coaching the practice of the soccer team at school, he drove 30 minutes with his colleague Kim Ah-Mee and myself to the house of a Zainichi Korean family with a child going to the local public elementary school. The child does not go to the Korean school but she participates to the Korean classes organized by the school. Jung-Yul and Ah-Mee talked over the intercom and made some casual greetings in Korean. The mother opened the door, and there was a nameplate with Japanese tsūmei placed above the door. She seemed not to be very welcoming to visitors from the Korean ethnic school as her house is located in a residential area where they deal with their neighbours without revealing their ethnic origins. The conversation finished within five minutes, and we went to back to school again. Jung-Yul believes that such hard work without substantial reward is the only way to maintain the ethnic community.

8.3.6. “It was very shocking”

Following the attack on the Chōgin, a group who announced themselves as the Kenkoku Giyūgun (the volunteer army for nation-building) and Chōsen Seibatsutai (the Korea-conquering forces) made the following statement. “We launched the attacks in protest against a port visit to Niigata tomorrow by a spy ship belonging to the lawless state of North Korea. Unless North Korea shows regret for what it has done, we’ll step up our attacks.”19 Later the suspects were arrested and found to be members of a group called Tōken Tomo no Kai (The Sword Friendship Society), a group set up by collectors of samurai swords.20

Soh Kun-Sil (27, North Korea) was born to a second-generation father born in Tokyo and a third-generation mother born in Ehime Prefecture. She was brought up in Matsuyama City in Ehime, and went to Shikoku Chōsen syōchūkyū gakkō in Matusyama. Then she went to high school in Hiroshima, and Korea University in Tokyo. Now she works at Chōgin which was attacked by the above group. I interviewed her about ten hours before the credit union was attacked.

She said it was very difficult and painful for her to face the discriminatory discourse on the TV and news reports and internet. She repeatedly emphasized that while Zainichi Koreans are invisible presences for the majority Japanese, the situation is not the same for Zainichi Koreans. She expressed it by a hand gesture, drawing a border between her and myself.

“There is a clear border like this between Japanese and myself.”

This simple sentence left me with a very strong feeling and awareness that I am a majority Japanese. It was an experience which made me feel that the things I have been enjoying as familiar everyday experiences are actually based on the oppression

20 The top adviser of this group is Nishimura Shingo, a member of the House of Representatives from the Democratic Party. He is also actively involved in and taking a central role among the Diet members in the history textbook issues and North Korean abduction cases.
of the minority. My familiar experience of everyday life in my hometown became rather an unfamiliar one. In fact, what Kun-Sil was trying to describe to me was her experience of the practice of the nationalism in everyday life.

I interviewed her again the next morning and asked how she felt about the attack on her workplace the night before. She was at her apartment at the time of the attack, and it is only a few blocks away from the site of the attack. She described the situation that night.

"From my apartment, I heard the voice of a man screaming. But I was too scared to go outside and see what was happening. Maybe it had something to do with the incident."

According to a journalist from Sanyō Shimbun who reported the incident, "the voice of a man screaming" was not reported by the neighbours of the area. Whether "the voice of a man screaming" actually existed, or was related to the incident or not, it was remembered through her experience of the fear of the incident. The memory of "the voice of a man screaming" left a trace in her mind. This is a violent trace of the practice of nationalism.

8.3.7. "Well, this kind of incident is simply scary for us"

Kim Yong-Jun (24, North Korea) is a third-generation Zainichi Korean. He was born in Niigata and then brought up in Mito City, Ibaragi Prefecture. He went from elementary through to high school at Ibaragi Chōsen shōchūkōkyū gakkō. Having graduated from Korea University, he started to work for Sōren as a one of two full-time workers at the KSL Chūgoku and Shikoku regions branch offices. His office is located on the first floor of the local head office of Sōren. His main job is to establish a network of Zainichi Korean students in the region who go to the Japanese colleges. He often travels around the region to maintain the network of students. He was also one of my key informants in researching the Sōren network in Okayama.

21 This is based on the interview to a city news reporter at Sanyō shimbun.
Regarding the attack, Yong-Jun said, “well, this kind of incident is simply scary for us.” For example, when he has to leave the office as the last person at night time, he would feel uneasy if he found a car which he had not seen before around the office. This is a fear that he becomes a representative of the North Korean community in Okayama at the moment when he locks the door of the local head office. Since Koizumi’s visit to Pyongyang, there have been discriminatory phone calls, letters, postcards, and visit of right-wing groups to the local head office. According to him, the contents of the discriminatory letters and postcards often “don’t make sense.” I could not see actual letters and postcards, so I will examine their content based on his conversation. While some of the contents seem to be simply ridiculous, banal, or bad jokes, this is only so from the viewpoint of the majority. This is the mechanism of the marginalization of “hot nationalism” pointed out by Michael Billig, which I mention in Chapter 1. This mechanism is how the frustrations and dissatisfactions of the majority in everyday life under global information capitalism are released. For example:

(A) **Unilateral nationalists**

Case 1: A discriminatory postcard from a nationalist who is mixing private and public matters (The conversation between the researcher and Kim Yong-Jun)

Yong-Jun: “I really didn’t understand the contents of the [discriminatory] postcard. The postcard mentioned about an incident occurred in Mizushima, and explained who the owner [Zainichi Korean] of the ship was [involved in the incident] and the owner’s personal details.”

Researcher: “Isn’t that by someone close to that person [or within Zainichi Korean community]?”

Yong-Jun: “No, because it concludes with ‘disappear and go back, Chōsenjin’. So it didn’t make any connections with the explanation about the incident. We get that kind of really confused postcard.”

Case 2: Middle aged female nationalist who regularly makes strange discriminatory phone calls (The conversation between the researcher and Kim Yong-Jun)
Yong-Jun: “She said, ‘I think it is wrong, that the children at the Korean ethnic school sing Korean songs.’”

Researcher: “Where does she live?”

Yong-Jun: “She said that she lives by the school. So I asked her if she is living in Fujita, and she said yes. Then I told her that there isn’t a school in Fujita any more. And then she gets confused. Well, there isn’t school in Fujita any more but the school bus still takes students living in Fujita from Mizushima. Maybe she saw that or something.”

Researcher: “Right, maybe she has got confused with her past memories, and is mixed up. She is probably creating a story out of her past memories.”

Yong-Jun: “She continued, ‘you must think of the future of the children! You are almost Japanese now!’ Having she said that, maybe after one hour, she started to talk about studying Korean and wanting to know about the culture of the Korean peninsula.”

Researcher: “Well, that doesn’t make sense at all.”

Yong-Jun: “But she still calls us about every three months or so.”

Case 3: Discriminatory phone call from an aggressive nationalist
Yong-Jun explains that he says “Why do you come to Japan? What do you think about the ship [that entered Japan]? You asshole! If you can’t keep the laws of Japan, get out of Japan!, and he hung up.”

Case 4: Discriminatory phone call from a mischievous nationalist
Yong-Jun: “He just said mansei (banzai in Korean), and hung up.”

Case 5: A silent nationalist
Yong-Jun: “Some of them don’t say anything.”
They receive discriminatory messages more often when the ship from North Korea, *Man Gyong Bong 92*, enters the port of Niigata. Usually, the night before the ship enters, Yong-Jun and Park Ki-Beom (Head of international affairs at Okayama local head office) spend the night in the office just in case some problem occurs. At the end of August when Jung-Yul took the ship, they received at least five to six discriminatory phone calls every day.

(B) Cyber nationalists

The discriminatory practices still continue today in various forms. One of the popular means is the internet. One of those nationalists is the grassroots cyber nationalists. They actively participate in phobic activities through the internet bulletin boards such as 2 channeru. In considering the rise of neo-nationalism in Japan after the mid-1990s, the role of cyber nationalists is crucial. Many scholars and critics have seen and analysed neo-nationalism in Japan based on the tremendous amount of nationalistic discourse on internet homepages and bulletin boards. For example, many fans of Kobayashi Yoshinori reproduced and spread his nationalist discourse through the internet. 2 channeru and other internet media are now providing the space not only to consume discourse but also to engage as critics of cyber nationalists. However, discourse analysis is not enough to criticize writings of cyber nationalists. Through discourse analysis of cyber nationalists, one would only find the consumption and reproduction of the conventional nationalist discourse on a small scale. What is more important is to imagine the motivations and implications of these activities and to ask why they are doing this.

One of the internet discussion boards of the Zainichi Korean community also became the target of nationalist attacks. Most of the attacks during my research

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22 2 Channeru is the internet discussion board that was opened by Nishimura Hiroyuki in 1999. It is non-commercial and run by banner advertisement fees and support from a hosting service company. There are more than 600 groups discussing their own topics. Among them, there are many discussion groups that are extremely phobic to minority groups. According to Kitada Akihiro, the main users of 2 Channeru are people who were born in between the mid-1960s and mid-1970s. For the discussion on 2 Channeru and nationalism in Japan, see Kitada Akihiro, *Warau nihon no nashonarizumu*, NHK shuppan, 2005.

period related to abduction cases. Most cyber nationalists in the following cases consider that Sören is actively involved in and supported the North Korean government in abducting Japanese, since it is reported that some of its members were actually involved in the cases. Based on those reports, the cyber nationalists seemed to share a fantasy that people involved in Sören were messengers from the "axis of evil."

Here I would like to examine the discriminatory writing on the internet discussion board of the local head office for Chūgoku and Shikoku regions of KSL. The main users of the discussion board are the Zainichi Korean students going to Japanese colleges in the region, mainly in Okayama.

Case 1: Simple, lazy, and angry cyber nationalists

10:16 am on 2 January 2004, the message titled "it's scary" was posted under the name 'Mu' (There is no specific meaning in this name). The content of the message is a newspaper article which reported that about 5,000 Zainichi Koreans and members of organized crime groups named "dodaijin" (groundwork people) supported the abduction of Japanese to North Korea. This article was just cut and pasted from the website of sports newspaper Spōtsu Hōchi on the 10 February 2003. The same person had posted the message before under a different name. His or her message against North Korea and Sören is not based on his own research but just used the article written in the sports newspaper. He or she can do this without reading any books about North Korea or related issues. Against this posted message, Yong-Jun posted a warning message. The exchange between Yong-Jun and 'Mu' went as follows:

4 pm, 5 January, 2004

'Mu' and 'I' [the person who used to engage in the trolling activities in this board] have the same IP (Internet Protocol) address and they are identical. I have to take actions against any such kinds of trolling activities.

In response to this posting, there is a response from 'I am just a passer-by'.

24 Trolling is the term used in the internet and indicates harassing behaviour like posting unrelated or disturbing messages.
4:23 pm, 5 January, 2004

How could that be a trolling activity? Isn’t it a fact that there were people in Japan who collaborated in the abductions? In the case of the abduction of Harada-san in Osaka, the principal of the Korean ethnic school at that time was involved. Furthermore, there was a media report that indicated that staff at the Korean ethnic school were involved in the case of Chimura-san in Niigata.

According to the research on the absconders, it is suspected that many technical experts were abducted. Isn’t it obvious that there are people in Japan who must be selecting appropriate persons?

How do you explain your judgement that this constitutes trolling?

Replying to this posting, Yong-Jun responded as follows.

4:37 pm, 5 January, 2004

The posting [by ‘Mu’] is not related to the parent thread.\(^\text{25}\) Besides, he first posted the message under the name ‘1’, and has now switched to ‘Mu’, and repeated the message without self-introduction, which is prohibited by the moderator. Thus, I consider it as a troll. If you still have a problem with my decision, please send an email direct to me.

In response to this posting, ‘I am just a passer-by’ wrote as follows.

4:50 pm, 5 January, 2004

I was more interested in the issue of the ‘dodaijin’. Was the posting of a message without self-introduction prohibited?

I didn’t know. Please forgive me because I am not going to post any messages from now on. It is very personal thing but I am distrustful of Chôsen Sôren and North Korea, and I don’t want you to know my personal information.

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\(^\text{25}\) The ‘main thread’ or oyasure is the initial topic of discussion introduced on the discussion board.
It was imprudent of me to post messages on the BBS of Sören. I don’t want to attract the attention of you guys who are suspected for brainwashing and so on. Excuse me for leaving.

Case 2: Simple, convenient, and angry cyber nationalist 2

11:29 PM, 6 January, 2004

*Kimchi, Kimchi, Kimchi*, (Kimchee, Kimchee, Kimchee)
*Kimchi o taberuto*, (If you eat Kimchee)
*Atama, atama, atama*, (Brain, brain, brain)
*Atama ga ikareru*, (Your brain will be damaged)

Nidaa on the internet discussion board of KSL

Under each sentence, there is a pictorial image in ASCII Art, depicting a character named Nidaa. Nidaa is the character created in the internet message board 2 channeru. It was derived from the character Monaa. Nidaa indicates the most common Korean verb ending. I have heard young Zainichi Koreans bilingual in Japanese and Korean using Nidaa at the end of a sentence spoken in Japanese. So there is a discriminatory
ethnic representation of Nidaa. The sentence with musical notes recalls the song of *Osakana Tengoku*,26 which was extremely popular in 2002.

Yong-Jun said that dealing with the discriminatory messages seriously is just too exhausting. In both the cases above, they just cut and pasted an idea borrowed from somewhere in the short while, and they seem to have no sense of guilt. It is obviously much easier than drawing graffiti on the wall of a public toilet. Perhaps, the sense of guilt is not even the issue for them. While they referred to the abduction cases, they were not even speaking or trying to understand the feelings of the abductees and their family members. In that sense, they are irresponsible nationalists. However, their activities are fulfilled with the sense of phobia. Cyber nationalists enjoy communicating with messengers from axes of evil as if they are some kind of North-Korean-busters playing simulation-games on the internet. On the other hand, the case of the middle-aged female nationalist reveals that the practice of phobia is often contradictory and complicated. It shows how interest in and knowledge of ‘Others’ can be abused and transformed into the nationalistic and discriminatory practices. It is not simply hostility and ignorance that foster people’s practice of nationalism and discrimination. Rather, nationalism and discrimination are practiced on the borders among majority and minority, knowledge and ignorance, phobia and philia. Meanwhile, Yong-Jun is preoccupied with responses to the nationalists through personal interaction, phone calls, letters, postcards, and the internet.

Their activities are totally different from the discriminatory jokes by people at Sanyō Consultant in terms of expressing their frustrations through phobic practices. Like graffiti on the toilet walls, the phobic sentiments are explicitly expressed through language, but in a very secretive manner. It is probably the most “banal” practice of nationalism and discrimination which is written in a form of text. However, it is difficult to picture who, why, how many, and so forth of conducting such activities.

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26 Inoue, Teruhiko (words), Shibaya, Toshihiko (composition), Ishigami, Tomoaki (arrange), *Osakana tengoku*, © 2002 Pony Canyon Inc. This song was originally created by Chūō Seafood Centre at the National Federations of Fisheries Cooperative Associations for the promotion of eating fish in 1991. It was played in the seafood sections of the supermarkets, and gradually became popular. Eventually, the CD was released from Pony Canyon on 20 March 2003. The original lyric of the song which was cited by the cyber nationalist is as follows. “If you eat fish, your brain will be better”
The nationalists’ motives are highly individualized. In that sense, either expressed in the internet or by telephone calls, their phobic practices are the texts which are impossible to interpret without focusing empirically on their individualistic motives.

8.3.8. KSL in Okayama

KSL was originally established as Chōsen gakusei dōmei (Korean Student League) on 14 September 1945 when Korean students in Japan gathered for an emergency meeting in Tokyo. They changed their organization name to KSL when it became an affiliated organization to Sōren on 18 June 1955. Since then, it defined itself as an independent overseas student organization of those who consider North Korea as their home country. KSL was centred on Tokyo and Kyoto, and took an important role in various student movements. KSL also had an important role in linking Zainichi Korean students from Japanese colleges with Sōren, Korean ethnic schools, and the Korean commercial community. Currently, there is a KSL central office and thirteen local head offices in Hokkaido, Tohoku, Tokyo, West Tokyo, Saitama, Kanagawa, Hokuriku, Tokai, Kyoto, Osaka-Hyogo, Chugoku-Shikoku, and Kyushu. The activities of the Okayama local office from the last year includes; weekly meetings, a Coming-of-Age celebration day, study groups, lecture meetings, classroom visits to a Korean ethnic school, Korean traditional music performance, dinners and drinking meetings. The leader is Kang Chul (21, North Korea), a third-generation Zainichi Korean who goes to college in Kurashiki. Having graduated from Korean ethnic elementary and junior high school in Mizushima, and high school in Hiroshima, he decided to study at a Japanese college. Other members of KSL in Okayama have either graduated from the Korean ethnic school or are involved in Sōren activities such as gakuseikai (the group activity of Zainichi Korean high school students who go to Japanese schools). In 2004, there were fifteen members attending colleges in Okayama and Tottori Prefectures; University of Okayama, Notre Dame Seishin University, Kawasaki University of Medical Welfare, Okayama Junior College, and Tottori University of Environmental Science.

Since most of the members are living in the Kurashiki and Mizushima areas, the weekly meetings are held in Kurashiki. They usually have a few hours meeting and then go to dinner together. Here, I am going to focus on three young Zainichi Koreans’ experiences and perceptions of discrimination in their everyday lives. Since
they have the experiences of belonging both to the Sōren network and the Japanese community, particularly through school cultures, their perspectives are slightly different from those who only belong to the Sōren network.

8.3.9. "My name is Kim Jeong-Soo"

Hong Jeong-Soo (19, South Korea) is a fourth-generation Zainichi Korean. He was going to take over Chul’s position as leader of the KSL in Okayama from 2004. He currently studies at a junior college in Okayama. Jeong-Soo was brought up in the Zainichi Korean community in Mizushima. He went to the local Japanese elementary and junior high, and then went to public high school. He has an elder sister, who is going to marry a Japanese man and is planning to get Japanese citizenship. Now he lives in the area near Mizushima with his parents and a sister.

When he was in the local elementary and junior high school, he used his Japanese tsūmei Kaneda Takeshi. It was when he was in the eighth grade of junior high school that he participated in the summer camp which is designed by Sōren for Zainichi Korean junior high and high school students attending Japanese schools. Through learning Korean traditional music and history, he enjoyed a sensation of freedom as he met and talked to other Zainichi Koreans attending Japanese schools. He could identify himself through the encounter with Zainichi Koreans who shared very similar backgrounds and problems. He told me that he would have hidden his ethnic background and assimilated to Japanese society if he had not had the chance to attend the summer camp. Eventually, when he was in the senior year of the high school, he came out that he was a Zainichi Korean to his classmates. His classmates “treated him very gently.” After that experience, he became able to come out to the friends he meets in junior college.

However, one of his best friends from junior high school did not know that he was a Zainichi Korean. One day after he entered junior college, Jeong-Soo said to this friend, “I have something to tell you.” He thought that it would be difficult for him to just talk about it. He decided to watch the B-class Japanese horror movie titled Shisha no gakuen (Academy of Death) featuring a popular actress Fukada Kyoko with his friend, so borrowed the video at the local rental video shop. His friend was expecting that Jeong-Soo was going to talk about his love affairs. His friend said, “So, who are
you interested in now?” Jeong-Soo responded, “It’s not that. My real name is not Kaneda Takeshi, and it is Kim Jeong-Soo.” His friend was first astonished and responded, “you must be kidding. Are you serious? Well, that will not change our relationship and our relationship shouldn’t be changing because of that. It actually sounds cool that you are a foreigner.” This response of his Japanese friend seems to be very similar to that of Yeong-Wi’s friend. However, the reactions of the two are very different. Jeong-Soo acknowledges that some of his Zainichi Korean friends do not like that kind of response indicating ‘there is no difference among us’. In fact, in both reactions by the friends of Yeong-Wi and Jeong-Soo, there is not very strong concern toward the historical implications of young Zainichi Koreans. It is clear that Jeong-Soo felt certainty about his friendship through his friend’s response. Still, it is difficult to see whether it is due to their firm individualized relationship or Jeong-Soo friend’s positive attitude toward a young Zainichi Korean, which made Jeong-Soo happy. This also seems pose the question of the definition of friend in this individualized society. Is it something social or individual? Obviously, there is no clear answer to this question. But it is always important for the social movements in this age to look critically the linkages and interactions between the social and individual.

8.3.10. “Go back to your country!”

Kim Jong-Nam (20, South Korea) is a third-generation Zainichi Korean. He lives with his parents in a place which used to be a Zainichi Korean community. It is near to where Narumi’s parents’ Korean BBQ restaurant is located, and near to Koshinaka-san’s house (see 6.3.4.). Having graduated from the local elementary and junior high school, he studied at a public commercial high school in Okayama City. After graduation, he worked full-time at one of the suburban supermarket chains in Okayama. But he quit within six months. Currently, he works at a small automobile mechanic workshop, which also deals with used cars sales.

He found out that he is a Zainichi Korean when he was in fourth or fifth grade. Until then, he thought his grandmother (who often spoke Japanese mixed with Korean) was just speaking some kind of Okayama dialect. The turning point came when he was in seventh grade. One of his male cousins was actively involved in the activities of Sören gakuseikai (a group consisting of Sören-affiliated Zainichi Koreans
attending Japanese high school) and asked Jong-Nam to participate in its annual
summer camp. Jong-Nam refused once. However, his cousin sent an application in
without his consent. Contrary to Jong-Nam’s expectation, like Jeong-Soo, he had “so
much fun” meeting with other young Zainichi Koreans who attended Japanese
schools and who shared similar everyday problems. After he entered high school, he
became actively involved in the Sōren gakuseikai activities in Okayama and took a
central role. Now he is a member of KYN but not a member of KSL, since he does
not go to college, though he often spends time with other members of KSL who are
the same age.

Through these activities, he was able to ‘come out’ about his ethnic identity to his
friends in high school. However, he has bitter memories as well. One was when he
was playing soccer in his PE class. When he missed a shot, one of his “buddies at that
time” said, half in jest, “go back to your country!” Jong-Nam was “hurt” by his
friend’s joke. This “go home” is a typical remark of nationalists directed at Zainichi
Koreans. Amongst the reports of abuse by the Association of Korean Human Rights
in Japan, thirty-two cases involved students being told to “go home”. It is not merely
a discriminatory or racist practice. Such spatial perception is a practice of nationalism.
When Jong-Nam’s friend told him “go home”, he knew that it was meant as a joke by
his friend. It was because Jong-Nam knew that his friend was just joking that he was
at a loss as to how to respond. It was the blend of understanding towards his friend’s
joke and the violence of the words which indicated exclusion. Jong-Nam, in his teens,
had no words to say in response to such a joke.

Since he graduated from Japanese school, he has had many Japanese friends too.
It was also difficult for him in the beginning to be involved in KYN activities in
Okayama which mostly consisted of young Zainichi Koreans who had graduated from
the ethnic school. With his Japanese friends, he drives his hot-rod on the mountain
roads of Mt. Tanematsuyama where the local speed and thrill maniacs with their
automobiles and motor cycles gather. He said, “Cars and minzoku (ethnic identity)
are everything to me.” On the other hand, the time he spends with his Zainichi
Korean friends is a “high-tension” reconfirmation of his ethnic background. He is
also a member of KYN Okayama basketball team, of which I was also a member
during the period of fieldwork research. There are more than ten players who are the
members of KYN and KSL working for Chōgin, Pachinko parlors, real estate agents, and so on. The games take place every Saturday night from 7 pm to 10 pm at the gym of the former Korean ethnic school campus in Fujita. They sometimes even have a match with another KYN basketball team in the Kansai area. Two of Jong-Nam’s Japanese friends from high school and one from his former part-time job also participate in the practice. He spends his everyday life actively, in the company of Japanese friends and Zainichi Korean friends, involved with cars and minzoku.

8.3.11. “Living outside of the sheltered world”

Ha Kye-Sook (21, South Korea) is a third-generation Zainichi Korean. She lives with her parents and younger brother and sister. Both of her parents were working for Chōgin when they met each other. However, her grandmother on her father’s side is Japanese. Currently, she is in her senior year at the women’s college in Okayama. She is now looking for a job as a flight attendant. While she is busy with her graduation paper and job hunting, she is actively involved in the KSL. Her case reveals the difficulty of being successful without stepping out from the ethnic community, and it shows how Japanese society underestimates and discriminates against Korean ethnic schools.

Kye-Sook went to the Korean ethnic elementary and junior high school in Fujita. Having graduated from the school, she decided to enter a Japanese girl’s private high school. She was very curious to step into the “outside world” beyond the Korean ethnic community. However, when she and her immediate family made this decision, the plan was strongly opposed by her relatives and acquaintances. Her choice and that of her family was considered to some extent as a betrayal by other Zainichi Koreans in the Sōren network.

She attended high school and college using her Korean name. She said that she had never been discriminated against by other students. In college, she is quite open about her ethnicity and occasionally organizes events like wearing Chimachogori with other Japanese students. However, she is the only one in college who is open about her own ethnic identity. One day, a student came to see her and told her furtively that she is also Zainichi Korean. It should not be forgotten that there are many more Zainichi Korean students hiding their identity. This seems to indicate that the
discriminatory practice is highly individualized. For some, it is not difficult to overcome. But for the others, their existence is not historical but an individual matter that they must deal with by themselves. The practice of nationalism and discrimination in Japanese society cannot be reduced to the individual problem. During the interview, Kye-Sook said, “my existence might be annoying to other Zainichi Korean students.”

She enjoys spending everyday life at college. She fully acknowledges how important the Korean ethnic education is for her. However, she said passionately, “we shouldn’t just live in the interior of sheltered ethnic school communities, and we also must step into the outside world.” Her saying made me question why one has to give up ethnic education to be a successful individual.

8.3.12. “You have such a cute name”

Lee Mi-Hyang (North Korea, 16) is a fourth-generation Zainichi Korean. She went to the local elementary and junior high school, and is currently studying at a public high school in Okayama City. She lives with her parents, an elder and a younger brother. Her case also reveals how everyday life is surrounded by the conditions that create pressure to be a successful individual.

Until Mi-Hyang was in junior high school, she only ‘came out’ about her ethnic background to her close friends. It was only when she entered high school that she decided to use her Korean name in school. She is the only one who has a non-Japanese name at her school. There is one other female Zainichi Korean student at her school who also participates in the biweekly Korean class organized by KYN. They each found that the other was Zainichi Korean after Mi-Hyang ‘came out’ at her school. The other Zainichi Korean girl uses her Japanese name.

For Mi-Hyang, ‘coming out’ about her ethnic background was not such a weighty decision as it was for other young Zainichi Koreans who are slightly older than her. She described to me how her ‘coming out’ had rather positive effects on her life. She told me that one time, a girl student whom she does not know came up and said to her, “you have such a cute name.” Indeed, while there is North Korean bashing on the one hand, there is the Kanryū (South Korean boom) movement on the other hand. Under
such a trend, it is maybe not as difficult to ‘come out’ as a Zainichi Korean as it used to be.

Her current concerns about her everyday life sound similar to that of Japanese high school students who are considering the college entrance exam. It is not very different from my experience, either. She does not enjoy going to school that much. The main reason for this is that teachers just kept saying “study harder” repeatedly, and this discourages students from being actively involved in other activities such as Taiikusai (sports festival) and Bunkasai (cultural festival). She also goes to cram school to prepare for her entrance exam. In the cram school, the instructor told her “you won’t get into college if you are just learning from your (actually pointing her school name) school classes.” It is very difficult for her to pursue both high school and cram school work simultaneously. She works hard to make her dreams come true, and she has so many of them; to be a counsellor, lawyer, care worker, or psychiatrist.

While she goes to school with her Korean name and spends a busy student life, she gave me no indication of having difficulties regarding her ethnic background. In the future, she may have to face problems in relation to marriage and job hunting, which many young Zainichi Koreans who I have interviewed faced. Or, she may just continue to work hard to be a successful individual.

8.4. Between Zainichi Korean and Japanese
8.4.1. Diversified identities

It has become more difficult to understand the identity of Zainichi Koreans only by their citizenship and ‘blood’. As mentioned earlier, most marry Japanese, and the number of people getting Japanese citizenship is increasing. This indicates the transition from the Zainichi Korean community based on citizenship and ‘blood’ to a network, which transcends the narrow definitions of identity. Examining Zainichi Koreans whose identities transcend the conventional definition of ethnicity reveals that the practice of nationalism is not simply a binary relationship between ‘nationalist’ and ‘victim’. Rather, the dynamism and duality of nationalism is revealed. In practice, it is always exclusive as well as inclusive. In this section, Zainichi Koreans living among such duality due to their citizenship and ancestry will
be examined. Their experiences of nationalism in their everyday lives reveal how diversified it is in reality.

8.4.2. "I can't marry either Zainichi Koreans or Japanese"

Kanemoto Hiroko (27, Japan) is a third-generation Zainichi Korean but she acquired Japanese citizenship when she was twenty. Her parents, a younger sister and a younger brother also acquired Japanese citizenship at the same time. Both of her parents were born in Okayama. Her mother is from Yanahara where Reung-Nae’s father originally came from. Her father runs the scrap metal handling business inherited from her grandfather. Based on her parents’ decision, she acquired Japanese citizenship without taking it too seriously. Her parents said, “Since we will continue to live in Japan, it’s natural to change our citizenship.” She went to the local elementary and junior high school (the same junior high school as Chang-Ho and Narumi). Then she studied at public high school in Okayama. Since she was a member of an art club at high school, she decided to study at one of the design academies in Okayama. However, she could not find a clear objective in continuing school, and she decided to quit within a year. After that, she had several part-time jobs, and worked for a convenience store, cake shop, marriage hall and so on. Currently, she works as a temporary clerical assistant in an office in the Okayama business district.

She did not know that she was a Zainichi Korean until she was in the second grade of the elementary school. When her parents told her so, she was shocked to know the fact that she was a “gaijin” (foreigner). She experienced discrimination by her close friends at junior high school and high school. When she was in junior high school, she ‘came out’ about her ethnic background to a friend whom she had thought of as a “good friend.” However, after she came out, her friend’s attitude completely changed. The friend even bullied her because of her ethnicity. At that time, she realized that “it is not something to tell anyone.” Furthermore, when she was in the high school, she had a close friend until one day, her friend started to complain about her neighbouring Zainichi Koreans as follows. “An old man at the Pachinko parlor always parks his car anywhere. That is why I hate Kankokujin (South Koreans). He also abuses cats and is very barbaric.” After that conversation, they did not see much of each other.
However, acquiring Japanese citizenship did not solve the situation. It actually made the problem more complicated for her in some respects. When she had an arranged marriage with a Zainichi Korean man with South Korean citizenship, the parents of the man opposed the marriage if she did not change her citizenship back to South Korean. The man asked her to go out privately, but she refused because she thought it would not work out. She said, “After all, I can marry neither Zainichi Koreans nor Japanese.” Furthermore, she mentioned that she cannot identify herself as a Korean either. She has travelled to South Korea with her family, and she did not feel at home there, and thought it is impossible for her to live there. She can identify herself neither as Zainichi Korean nor Japanese nor Korean.

Her family has kept a distance from the organizational activities of the Korean ethnic community. Her parents do not like the idea of her or her brother participating in Mindan events. However, she stepped into the Mindan building for the first time when she participated in the Christmas party organized by KYA. She was asked to participate in it by her friend Hanafusa Hiroko who works at the same office. Hanafusa-san also works part-time at Zai. Having faced difficulties with the arranged marriage with a Zainichi Korean and involvement in the KYA activity, she started to feel that “Zainichi Korean issue is inseparable” from her. Her case clearly reveals that acquiring Japanese citizenship is not in itself a simple solution at all.

8.4.3. “Recently, I became aware that being a Zainichi Korean is a handicap”

Ikeda Yoshio (24, South Korea) was born to a third-generation Zainichi Korean father and a Japanese mother from Ehime Prefecture. I met him at one of the volleyball clubs organized by KYN in Kurashiki. He now lives with his parents, an elder sister, a younger brother, and a younger sister. Only he and his father have South Korean citizenship, the other family members have Japanese citizenship. His mother’s parents opposed his parents’ marriage, and he only visited his grandparents in Ehime a few times. He was brought up in Mizushima, the south of Mt. Kamejimayama (see 6.3.2.). There are many Zainichi Koreans in the area, and it is often referred to as an area where people belonging to Mindan are living, and where they have the regional branch office. There are also buraku residences in the area.
Yoshio went to the local elementary school and junior high school. His junior high school is said to be the one that has the most Zainichi Korean students among all public schools in Okayama. There was dōwa kyōiku (buraku education) in the school but there was no special education about Zainichi Koreans. According to Yoshio, there were several Zainichi Korean students in each class at his junior high school. I was interviewing him in his room in his house in Mizushima, and we looked through his yearbook from junior high school. He pointed out the Zainichi Korean students one by one. The names under their pictures are both Japanese tsūmei and Korean names, although most of them are Japanese names. He says, “this kid is also Zainichi Korean.” In such an environment, he did not have to hide his ethnic background. He said, “I didn’t particularly announce myself as a Zainichi Korean but I acknowledged it if someone asked me. Well, it was kind of obvious because there was Kimchee when I opened my bento box.”

Having graduated from his junior high school, he entered public high school in Kurashiki. He did not hide his ethnic background either but it was very different since the presence of Zainichi Koreans was invisible in his high school, only six to seven kilometres away from the area where his junior high was located. However, he was not particularly bullied or discriminated against. He did not find the school very interesting, and often skipped classes. Instead of going on the school trip, one of the major events in his high school, he participated in a summer school in Seoul, which was organized by Mindan. While most graduates from his high school studied at college, he decided not to. According to him, “there wasn’t anything I wanted to study seriously, and I wanted to make some money of my own.”

After graduation, he worked for a construction company for two years and engaged in physical labour. Then he decided to work for the small construction firm which his father runs with other two employees. Until very recently, he was proud of his ethnic identity and did not think of changing his citizenship. In part, he wanted to retain his South Korean citizenship to maintain a sense of connection to his father. He did not think his citizenship was disadvantageous either. However, he recently started to think seriously about taking the national civil engineering exam, which is needed to expand his family business. It means that he has to give up his South Korean citizenship. Everyone around him, including his father, recommends him to get
Japanese citizenship, and wonders what choice he should make. All he knows is that he will make his children get Japanese citizenship.

8.4.4. "I still have a complex about my identity"

Chung Moon-Sik (27, Japan) is also a ‘double’ Zainichi Korean like Yoshio. His citizenship has been Japanese since he was born. He was born to a third-generation Zainichi Korean father and a Japanese mother from Toyama Prefecture. He was born before his parents got married. His mother passed away seven years ago. Now he lives in Fukuyama-city, Hiroshima with his grandparents, father, and a younger brother who attends college.

Until he was at kindergarten, he used his mother’s maiden name, and then switched to his father’s tsūmei Kanaya Katsunori after he got into the local elementary school. It was when he was shown his cousin’s driver’s license in the fourth grade of the elementary school that he realized he was a Zainichi Korean. In school, he hid his ethnic background. One day, his teacher asked students in the classroom, “Please raise your hand if you have had Kimchee before.” Moon-Sik did not raise his hand because he thought that other students might find out that he was a Zainichi Korean. His teacher also asked, “Please raise your hand if you have had Bibimbap before.” Thinking Bibimbap was a Japanese dish, he raised his hand. It was not very hard to find out that it was Korean cuisine since he was the only one who raised his hand. By the time he was in the junior high school, he was fully aware that he was a Zainichi Korean, but his parents told him not to talk about it.

The situation regarding his identity changed after he entered the local public industrial high school. He described how the students at his high school were ‘bad’ students. He went to school with wearing Tanran (short black school jacket) and dokan (baggy black pants but extremely tight on the bottom), which symbolized the furyō (delinquents) of that time. He also organized a motor cycle racing group with his friends, named Chiimu dōkasen (Team blasting fuse). Alongside such rebellious activities, he also had a chance to face up to his ethnic background seriously. There was a high school teacher who was in charge of his class for three years. Moon-Sik humorously said, “a leftist high school teacher forced me to face it.” Since the buraku liberation movement was active in his high school and in its surrounding region, he
‘came out’ that he was a Zainichi Korean in front of other students as the other students from buraku did.

Furthermore, when he was in the junior year of high school, he started to be involved in the activities of KYA in Hiroshima, despite his parents’ opposition. He also started to learn to play the Korean traditional drum, Chango through the KYA activities, and became attracted by it. After graduating from high school, he decided to go to South Korea to learn Chango. His father was again opposed to the idea of his going to South Korea, but it was his Japanese mother who encouraged him to go to South Korea to learn. He lived in Seoul for three years, learning Korean language and Chango.

After returning to Japan, he started to work at a company involved in computer web design in Hiroshima for a few years. Then he moved to Kyoto and became a member of a Korean traditional music and dance group. However, he was not confident enough to continue it as his occupation, and returned to Fukuyama. From 2003, he has been working as a freelance web designer. Most of his orders come from Zainichi Korean-related business, such as Pachinko parlors. Meanwhile, he is not involved in a professional Korean traditional music and dance group, and only plays when he teaches young Zainichi Koreans in Okayama. He often comes to Okayama, driving 50 kilometres from Fukuyama to work and meet his Zainichi Korean friends. Currently, he is involved in all the activities of young Zainichi Koreans in Okayama through teaching Chango for KYA, KYN, and KSL. He is also planning to move back to Korean traditional music in future.

Speaking fluent Korean, playing Korean traditional music, and having many Zainichi Korean friends, he said, “I still have a complex about my identity.” It is probably the fact that he is a ‘double’ Zainichi Korean with Japanese citizenship, which makes him think he is not Korean enough in some way. I could certainly feel that he is obsessive about being a genuine Korean. He even sometimes spoke to me in Korean, which I do not understand at all, and his Japanese sometimes has Korean accent as well. He got bashful and said, “My lifestyle itself is Korea (Korea).” His case reveals the complexity of Zainichi Korean identity. It also reveals how nationalism is complicated in the practice of everyday life. He is a Japanese citizen,
born of a Korean father and Japanese mother, yet longing to be a Korean. His case reveals important aspects of the reconstruction of identity politics from a very local standpoint.

8.5. The reality of the practice of nationalism against Zainichi Koreans

Through the interviews with young Zainichi Koreans living in Okayama, I have focused on their experiences and memories regarding the practice of nationalism. The nature of such practices was clearly observed from the cases, particularly of young Zainichi Koreans in the Mindan network. In the cases of young Zainichi Koreans in the Sören network, the practice of "hot nationalism" was clearly observed. The implicit "cool" nationalism is practiced in ways that are invisible from the majority point of view in various forms. It appears in driver's licences, passports, marriage, job hunting, coming out, studying abroad, bullying, media reports, certificates, citizenship, love affairs, the law, and so on. On the other hand, "hot nationalism" is also practiced in various ways; media reports, internet discussion boards, right wing groups, graffiti on toilet walls, phone calls, postcards, physical and verbal abuse in individualized forms. It must be stressed again that those two are complementary to each other. Furthermore, all agents of nationalism draw on the same ideological foundation of nationalism, particularly in terms of their perceptions of time and space. Like the "white evil nationalist" in the Australian context, they share a national fantasy over the time and space of the nation state. However, they practice nationalism without any sense of solidarity, and it is very individualistic. And that is why it is so difficult to critically capture nationalist practice as a whole. These practices are based on the individually-oriented motives. They function to release people's frustrations and dissatisfactions in everyday life for individualized reasons. The individualized interests of the majority are considered more important than the postcolonial historical perception of Japanese and Zainichi Koreans. This is a victory of lifestyle over history in the era of global information capitalism. It is indeed the other side of the seemingly banal nationalism.

However, it appears completely different from the minority point of view. From the minority point of view, the jokes at Sanyō Consultant are not funny at all. It is apparent that the sense of humour in the jokes can be only shared among Japanese. It
is a violent form of management of frustrations and dissatisfactions of the majority in everyday life by releasing them against someone weaker.

Furthermore, it should be noted that Zainichi Koreans are also not immune from nationalism themselves. We have observed that many young Zainichi Koreans have a desire to be successful individuals just like Japanese. They too tend to operate in harmony with global information capitalism. The border also appears among Zainichi Koreans as well; one supports North Korea and Kim Jong Il regime while others do not. In this sense, they sometimes develop a complicity with the majority, and this can be very difficult to escape from. On the border of national boundary, in order to be successful individuals in this age, they are experiencing the inclusion and exclusion of nationalism in their busy everyday life. In particular, the case of Kanemoto Hiroko reveals the complexity and difficulty of young Zainichi Korean life today.

I have delineated the Zainichi Korean network of Sören and Mindan based on the ethnic community established in the postwar era. On the other hand, I have also delineated the emergence of a new Zainichi Korean network by focusing on the way in which the third-generation, fourth-generation, 'double', and Zainichi Koreans with Japanese citizenship are linked to each other beyond the north and south confrontation. On the edge of this network, there are the majority of Zainichi Koreans who do not appear in this thesis but who are living quietly somewhere in Okayama. Furthermore, the frontier of the network is also the frontier of the practice of nationalism. In that sense, to seek the possibilities of a network among the diversified existences of Zainichi Koreans is also to fight against the practice of nationalism. On the frontiers of nationalism, we must seek the hope of creating a multi-cultural society in Okayama by examining each case of the practice of nationalism empirically. In the next chapter, as a strategy for building a multi-cultural society in Okayama, I will focus on the point of contact between Zainichi Koreans and Japanese who live adjacent to them. Based on these interviews, I will try to seek an approach to countering against the nationalism.
Chapter 9

Japanese living with Zainichi Koreans

When the wind blew from the area around the pigpens in the summer time, it smelled terrible. But now, this has been replaced by the smell of Korean BBQ from Hideyoshi. (Kawabata Takako)

9.1. From the starting-point of the everyday landscape

9.1.1. Linking two different sides of the coin

The above statement was made by my aunt who lives only 200 meters away from Kanemura Narumi’s parents’ Korean BBQ restaurant (see 8.2.5.). It is where the Zainichi Korean community used to exist, and where Kim Jong-Nam (see 8.3.10.) still lives with his family. Koshinaka-san (see 6.3.4.) is also living nearby and Yoshida-san’s wife (see 6.3.6.) used to live there as well. It is a place where many people’s postcolonial memories intersect. However, it was only at the end of my fieldwork research that I became aware of such historical linkage among people. In fact, I had not even thought about the fact that my uncle and aunt were living near the Zainichi Korean community. It was only in a coincidence that my father asked me to pick up some crab and shōchū (the distilled spirit, often made of wheat and sweet potato) from their place. When I drove to their place, I got lost, since it is usually my father who drives us there. Then I passed by Narumi’s parents’ Korean BBQ restaurant and realized how close the two places are. I did not have any pen or IC recorder, so I just did a casual interview with my aunt and uncle regarding their perception of Zainichi Korean neighbours.

When my uncle and aunt moved there in 1963, many Zainichi Koreans still lived in the community. There are now houses between the two places but there used to be no buildings between the two. Thus, they could see the community directly from their house. My uncle, aunt and girl cousin often went to the Chinese restaurant located in

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1 It is based on the interview with my aunt Kawabata Takako. She lives only a few hundreds meter away from what used to be the Zainichi Korean community. It is the one, where Kanemura Narumi’s parents run one of their Korean BBQ restaurants and Kim Jong-Nam lives. Also, Koshinaka-san’s house is located nearby. Hideyoshi is the name of Korean BBQ restaurant.
the community. Since it was located in the landscape of the pigpens, they called the restaurant the "butagoya chūka" (pigpen Chinese restaurant). The above statement of my aunt clearly reveals the transition of the representations of Zainichi Koreans from the majority's point of view. Particularly, it projects how the 'smell' which represents Zainichi Koreans changed from the 'bad' smell of pigs to the 'good' smell of Korean BBQ. It also seems to reveal the transition to a consuming society. The stigmatized Zainichi Korean community with the smell that you want to avoid is now perceived as a 'consumable' place with the good smells of BBQ. However, it must be noted that there is a great shift in the numbers of Zainichi Koreans being represented by the majority. It is not a Zainichi Korean community that it is now being represented, but only one successful Zainichi Korean family owning a Korean BBQ restaurant. Where did the other Zainichi Koreans go?

In the previous chapters, I have shown that how the banal practice of nationalism in the everyday life of the majority is not banal at all for the minority. In this chapter, I would like to seek the linkage between the two different sides of the same coin of nationalism. This involves delineating the actual network that exists among the majority and minority in their everyday lives. It focuses on the actual networks among intimate 'Others'. They are not just 'Others' whom one can simply ignore. This does not mean that these Japanese are free from the practice of nationalism in everyday life. Rather, their practices of consuming nationalism can be examined in order to solve the local political agendas. In that sense, this attempt is a critical intervention in the local practice of nationalism.

The informants in this chapter are not selected from an objective point of view to represent average Japanese in the academic sense. Rather, I have sought a way to critically intervene in the practice from the everyday landscape. This approach seeks a way for people living in everyday life to be critical about their familiar landscapes and to politicize them. I have interviewed Japanese who spend their everyday lives with Zainichi Koreans. I have interviewed Japanese who are friend, partner, relative, colleague, classmate, business partner, neighbour, customer, interviewee of Zainichi Koreans. In short, they are Japanese who emerged in my research on the everyday lives of the majority and minority in Okayama, and it is the very methodology that I would like to stick to. It is an approach to seek a way of resistance to the difficulties people experience and their nationalism in the age of global information capitalism from the interior landscape of everyday life. We should start by facing our family, relatives,
friends, neighbours and so on who are actually sharing our everyday lives.

So this chapter focuses on the individualized relationship between Japanese and Zainichi Koreans. In other words, their relationships necessarily do not have any political intention to change the society and discriminatory systems against Zainichi Koreans in Japanese society. As it is within that individualized relationship that the ideology of nationalism is tolerated, so the issue tends to become whether it could be individually solved or not, rather than how to address the essential problems existing in Japanese society.

9.1.2. Individualized relationships and consumption of the images about Zainichi Koreans

I was attending the Kankoku kōza (lecture on South Korea) held on the fourth floor of Mindan Okayama local head office. It is designed for both Zainichi Koreans and Japanese living in Okayama. After the lecture, there was an argument between a second-generation Zainichi Korean man in his fifties and a newcomer Korean in his forties. In order to reconcile the two, one Japanese man in his late thirties who is married to a Zainichi Korean partner made a statement. He emphasized that citizenships such as ‘Japanese’ and ‘South Korean’ do not matter in human relationships. A good relationship can be established based on the respect toward each individual. His comment was probably based on his sincere and honest feeling, and firm relationship with his Zainichi Korean partner. However, is it possible to reduce the relationship among Japanese and Zainichi Koreans to the individual level based on his firm individual relationship with his partner? In that context, the word Zainichi Korean is consumed as something which is not of very great importance compared to the individual trust towards one another. As well as an allergy to the strategic essentialism of identity politics, there is an irritation toward history since the surrounding reality of the ‘now and here’ seems to be what matters to the Japanese speaker. It is as if the irritated consumers are exclaiming, “what does our relationship have to do with postcolonial history!” As Zygmunt Bauman indicates, consumption is extremely an individualistic activity. So the priority goes to the realism of people in everyday life rather than to their historical relationships.

On the other hand, as we have observed with workers at Sanyō Consultant in Chapter 5, there is also a depersonalized consumption of stigmatized images through the media:

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for example, the image that Zainichi Koreans own Pachinko Parlors and Korean BBQ restaurants or images of North Korea and Kim Jong-Il. Also, in this case, the images of Zainichi Koreans are consumed without paying attention to the postcolonial relationships involved.

These images are the subject of consumption without paying attention to its history. In order to critically intervene to the dynamism of such consumption, I am going to focus on the relationship between Japanese and Zainichi Koreans who actually know each other.

The question is how to delineate the individual relationship among Japanese and Zainichi Koreans in Okayama as a social network in opposition to nationalism and global information capitalism. The writing of the network with such political intention is the practice to dismantle nationalism as well. In order to do this, I would like to start with the researcher’s individualized relationships. This will reveal how the researcher’s assumptions about the concept of Japanese, hometown, and friend are inherently exclusive to Zainichi Koreans and other minorities. At the same time, it will illuminate the horizon of the network, which links the intimate ‘Others’ you know and ‘Others’ in my hometown.

In order to delineate the network between the intimate ‘Others’ that one meets in everyday life and ‘Others’, we should start by delineating it within the landscape in the interior of everyday life. We would be able to meet ‘Others’ in gazing at our everyday landscapes and intimate ‘Others’. ‘Others’ in that context is not limited to that of ethnic and other minority groups. We should also critically look at the individualized relationship between Japanese and Zainichi Koreans; partner, friend, relative, colleague, classmate, business partner, neighbour, customer, interviewer, and so on. We should build an imagination of the diversity of the background of such individualized relationships. Such definitions of the individualized relationships are highly compatible to activities of consumption in the sense that they are ahistorical terms. But one’s lover has his/her friend, neighbour, colleague, and so forth, and the intimate ‘Others’ have their historical, social, economic, political, and cultural backgrounds. By making these backgrounds explicit, we can intervene in the attitude and response of the Japanese man mentioned above who insisted on thinking of Japanese and Zainichi Koreans’ relationship as an individual matter to be overcome. Needless to say, individual problems cannot be generalized into the homogenized identity. This attempt
is intervention in the postmodernized-imaginary of everyday life in the consuming era. Individualization of the relationships is harmonious with global information capitalism and neo-liberal economy, which only illuminates the 'reality' of the people but not the historical, political, economic, cultural and social backgrounds and linkages among people. Focusing on those backgrounds and linkages among people would rather enrich and enhance love and friendship among people, instead of consumable philia and phobia. The following cases reveal the potential forms of border-crossing with some possibilities and limitations. I sensed numerous such possibilities when I interviewed my classmate from high school, Kaga Sachie.

9.2. Boyfriend/girlfriend relations as one potential form of border-crossing

Kaga Sachie (28) works at a French clothing shop in Kyoto (at the time of interview) since she graduated from a private college in Kyoto. I interviewed her at the family restaurant Royal Host when she came back to Okayama for Obon break. Having found out from Akira that Takamura Hiroshi (see 6.3.7.) was a Zainichi Korean, I was curious to ask Sachie about him since he was her boyfriend in high school. I asked her what she would imagine by the term Zainichi Korean. She promptly responded as follows.

"I know a particular person. So I imagine about that person. I remember that I was given a different style of ozōni (rice cakes boiled with vegetables on New Year’s Day) when I visited his house on New Year’s Day."

As a teenager in high school, the Korean styled ozōni and his grandmother who was speaking Korean were exotic to her. She did not know about the existence of Zainichi Koreans before he told her so one day. I asked her whether she thought of learning about Zainichi Koreans, and whether she talked with her boyfriend about the Zainichi Korean issue.

"I tried to talk about it. But he seems not to want to. So I thought that I shouldn’t touch the issue. If he does not want to talk about it, I thought that I shouldn’t ask him. Maybe I was not interested in it that much. I thought that it will not change our relationship anyway. If I study and read some books about it, I thought that I would be strongly influenced by it, and I didn’t want to deal with it. I suppose that if the person is good, such a thing doesn’t matter anyway."
Sachie regards what she faced with her boyfriend as a moral issue that she should not offend him by touching this sensitive issue, instead of regarding it as a historical one. As a result, the fact that Takamura Hiroshi is a ‘double’ Zainichi Korean and its postcolonial implication is disregarded, and he is just considered as a “good boyfriend”. As long as he is a “good boyfriend”, the nationality does not make any difference based on her logic. While her choice probably helps to maintain a “good” relationship, she is sacrificing the opportunity to be guided to the rich, diversified, and contingent social and historical implications. This perception is obviously the withdrawal from ‘social’ to ‘individual’, and ‘history’ to ‘moral’.

Furthermore, she also considers that it is ‘cool’ to be a Zainichi Korean. I asked her what her perception is toward Zainichi Koreans in general. Her response revealed that she is a consumer of ‘cool’ culture regarding Zainichi Koreans. She started to talk about the movie *GO* and Korean restaurants in Tsuruhashi, the largest Zainichi Korean community in Japan.

“I watched GO. I learned a lot from it. I was shocked at the reality that there are people discriminating [against Zainichi Koreans].”

“I know good Korean restaurants. I like eating Tōfu chige [Spicy Korean tōfu soup] at the Korean restaurant run by Zainichi Koreans in Osaka.”

“Can they choose to use Japanese or Korean names? Do they use a Japanese name because they want to hide their identity? I think it is better if they don’t use Japanese names. I think that sounds cooler. I mean not only the matter of sound but also the style of living with the real name is cooler.”

The cool image of Zainichi Koreans which she described is not very different from the one created by TV dramas and advertisement companies. In such consumption of the cool image of Zainichi Koreans, they are treated like commodities, which are mass-produced in factories. Such consumption of image induces the following non-historical idea about Zainichi Koreans.

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*GO* is originally a novel written by a third-generation Zainichi Korean Kaneshiro Kazuki. It is the story of a Zainichi Korean high school student’s struggle with his ethnic identity and relationship with his Japanese girlfriend. The film was directed by Yukisada Isao in 2001.
"I think people naturally like where they are living. Isn't that always the case? Do they want to go back? Or maybe they like where they are living. If I married an American, I would probably start to like the United States."

Her perception disregards the historical relationship between the United States, Japan, and the Korean peninsula, and assumes all the states and nations can be considered equally in terms of individual subjectivity. Her perception is based on the emotional sensation of the majority consumers. So I asked her critically as follows.

“Well, one Zainichi Korean is living without encountering any kind of social discrimination. One day when he or she wants to marry a Japanese partner, he or she would be told ‘no’.” (Researcher)

“Well, I know that and it also happened to someone close to me. Since she was opposed by her parents, she eventually married a Japanese man. But then I thought how you could give that up! How can you give up the love? I think it’s no good if you have to give up the love on such an account.”

In her statement, on the one hand, she insists that as long as the partner is a ‘good person’, the ethnic background does not matter. The postcolonial relationship between Japanese and Zainichi Korean is reduced to the individual level. On the other hand, I could feel that she is passionate and believed her individual passion and love would overcome the issue of the ethnic background. However, the balance between the consumption of the ethnic image of Zainichi Koreans and simple pure love in the consuming era is very fragile. Whether her individual efforts were successful or not, they would be only end up as a matter of self-actualization, and would not be integrated into the critical social knowledge. However, I have to mention that she was the only Japanese person in Okayama I interviewed who was actually into the consumption of cool cultures of Zainichi Koreans.

9.3. Joining Zainichi clubs and events as a form of border-crossing

9.3.1. Playing soccer together at the club in college

Tsutsumi Kōhei (19) is originally from Yaizu City, Shizuoka Prefecture, and a student at a private college in Kurashiki City. He met Kang Chul and Lee Taesik, who are the members of KSL, at the soccer club in his college. Since he met them, they became good friends and now Kōhei attends events organized by KSL, KYN, and other
Sören-related groups. He also participated in Dialogue 1 and organized a footsal team with other Japanese and Zainichi Korean friends. From November 2003, he also started to participate in the volleyball club organized monthly by KYN in Mizushima.

He did not have Zainichi Korean acquaintances before. He only knew the owner of the Korean BBQ restaurant in Yaizu City was a Zainichi Korean. It is the restaurant to which he often went with his family, and his parents told him once that the owner was Kankokujin (South Korean). In this perception of Kankokujin, there is no implication of Zainichi Koreans. Instead, the Korean BBQ restaurant, which is a cultural byproduct of the postcolonial era, is viewed as consumer culture with the Korean ethnic image attached to it.

Since the encounter with his Zainichi Korean friends who graduated from Korean ethnic schools, Kōhei started to be actively involved in the activities organized by the Sören network in Okayama with other Japanese students, though he is not clearly aware of whether the activities in which he is involved are those of Sören or Mindan. I asked him about his impression of the Korean ethnic school after he participated in the sports festival of elementary and middle schools in Mizushima. In his narrative and description of the sports festival, he expressed to me his exotic perception of the school and students.

“I thought its facilities were very rustic. There were trees but without any leaves. The field was very small. The school was decorated with Hangul and I couldn’t read it at all.”

“Why do they introduce club activities at the sports festival? The Korean traditional dances were beautiful.”

On the other hand, he expressed how well he was treated by the Zainichi Korean community.

“They gave me a bowl of rice, Kimchee, and beef soup and it made me really happy.”

In this statement, Kōhei is trying to describe the Korean ethnic school and its community based on his experience at his Japanese school. He compares the sports festival and facilities of Japanese schools with those of the Korean ethnic school in Mizushima. He is not aware of the history of the Zainichi Korean community in
Mizushima, or how their ancestors arrived in Japan, established a community in the postwar era, and established the ethnic school to maintain the ethnic education under the discriminatory system against them in Japanese society. Without such awareness, I wondered why he was so interested to be involved in the series of activities held by the Sören network.

“I just go if they ask me. If I don’t have anything else to do, I just go.” (Kōhei: K)

“So, you think it was just coincidence that they were Zainichi Koreans.” (Researcher: R)

“I suppose so. I haven’t really considered it.” (K)

In maintaining the friendships, history does not matter to him. However, on the other hand, he is angry about the media representation of North Korea and the bashing against them. It is the anger that his ‘friends’ are unreasonably being attacked ‘now’ and ‘here’.

“I have an impression that it [media] talks and decides that they are the bad guys. I think that it should stop doing this. I didn’t like how it just focuses on the aspect of Japanese as a victim.”

Interestingly, in the light of these comments, he thinks that nationalism is important for Japanese. He likes reading light novels. He recently read some of the bestseller novels such as Sekai no chūshin de ai o sakebu (Screaming love in the middle of the universe) written by Katayama Kyōichi and Keritai senaka (Backs that I want to kick) by Wataya Risa. Besides that, he also enjoys reading the comic books written by Kobayashi Yoshinori. It was quite surprising to actually meet someone reading Kobayashi Yoshinori’s books and he was the first Kobayashi reader whom I met in my fieldwork research. While the books of Kobayashi are selling millions of copies, it is difficult to meet someone who is actually reads his books. Nobody at Sanyō Consultant was read them. For Kōhei, being friends with Zainichi Koreans and reading Kobayashi’s books is not contradictory at all.

“Do you read Kobayashi Yoshinori?” (R)
"I read *Gōmanizumu senge* in the library when I was in high school." (K)

"Did you read it just for fun?" (R)

"I think that I agree with Kobayashi Yoshinori's view in many points." (K)

"Most of my colleagues and leftists are usually very critical about his books. So what do you like about them?" (R)

"When everyone was talking about the terrorist attacks [9/11], he said that the French Revolution was terrorism as well. It really made sense to me. And then he started to criticize George Bush. Oh, I also enjoyed *Stupid White Men* [by Michael Moore]. I also went to see *Bowling for Columbine*. I really enjoyed it too." (K)

For Kōhei, the criticism of the United States and George Bush by Kobayashi Yoshinori and Michael Moore are not very different from each other. Such a response is not particularly unique. Rather, similar types of reactions can be seen in the statements by Kobayashi Yoshinori’s fans on the internet. Furthermore, one of the grassroots conservative movements that emerged after the mid-1990s in Japan, Japan Guardian Angels, promoted Moore’s movie purely because of its criticism of gun-society. In some respects, such criticism of the United States is a consumption of the image of US criticism rather than a fundamental sympathy with Moore's ideology. Anyhow, this grass-root choice of conservative road for the social changes is an important issue in the context of the demise of the welfare state in the age of global information capitalism.

Since Kōhei was into Kobayashi Yoshinori, I became curious about his concern views on nationalism.

"What is your opinion about nationalism or patriotism?" (R)

"I think it is better to have it [such sentiment]." (K)

"So do you think that it is possible to be nationalistic as well as living with people from different countries and cultural backgrounds?" (R)
"I think so." (K)

"So do you feel comfortable with the term nationalism? Or does patriotism sound more comfortable to you?" (R)

"I think that I feel comfortable with 'pride in one's country'. It is not saying that I would devote myself to the nation state but I think that we should at least be proud of." (K)

"So are there any occasions when we are aware of how Japanese we are in reality?" (R)

"I suppose that one occasion is probably when I watch some sports national matches on TV. In the Japan-South Korea soccer match, I really wanted Japan to not lose (against South Korea). In the World Cup (2002), I really felt that I am Japanese." (K)

Can we reduce what he considers as an important pride into nationalism? To some extent, it is necessary to critically understand his perception as the consuming discourse of nationalism. While he does not want to sacrifice himself for the nation state, he feels that we should be tolerated for favouring it and being proud of our nationality. Such pride has a very individualistic tone in it. What he is expressing as the national pride is synonymous with individual pride. He is probably just saying that one has to respect oneself in order to respect others. However, he did not have the words to express his feeling except the discourse of nationalism. It is the case with people who feel disoriented by the globalizing era to choose conservative discourse to make their world meaningful and understandable. A similar phenomenon can be seen in the internal exiles who supported the rise of neo-nationalism in the advanced capitalist states after the mid-1990s. In that context, the discourse of nationalism is just a conservative map for understanding globalization. And it is in that context that the difficulty and seriousness of nationalism in Japanese society resides. When his 'love' toward Zainichi Koreans is grounded on his 'pride', such 'love' is always inclusive as well as exclusive. Eventually, it will disregard the history of Zainichi Koreans since it does not matter if 'they' become one of 'us'. In that sense, his reaction is also related to the reactions of my friend, Sachie who hesitated to discuss issues of history with her Zainichi Korean boyfriend. She regarded it as a moral issue rather than a historical issue. However, I would argue that the 'pride', history, literacy and so forth of the people in this globalizing world would be only regained through regaining the social
and historical implications of each of us. Obviously, the reactions of Köhei and Sachie seem to be strongly opposed to exclusive forms of the practice of nationalism against Zainichi Koreans. Their reactions are compatible to the logic of inclusion, but as discussed in Chapters 1 and 6, this logic of inclusion is the other side of the exclusive nationalism. This logic is the inclusion of Zainichi Koreans and other minority groups in the context of reconfiguring Japan in the era of global information capitalism.

9.3.2. Senpai of the table tennis club

Kobayashi Masato (20) is a student at the computer-related vocational school in Okayama City near JR Okayama Station. Masato was a member of the table tennis club where Kim Jong-Nam (see 8.3.10.) was also a member. Jong-Nam was one year senior to Masato and so Masato usually refers to him as “Senpai”. He is also one of the closest friends of Jong-Nam. Now he is a member of the basketball team organized by KYN in Okayama and participates in its practice on every Saturday at the gym of the former ethnic school building in Fujita. He found out that Jong-Nam is a Zainichi Korean one afternoon after school in his junior year.

“It was when he had a meeting of Zainichi Koreans called gakuseikai and he just lightly said to me that he cannot come to the table tennis practice because of that.”

Before then, he did not know about the existence of Zainichi Koreans in Japan. He often went to Jong-Nam’s house where it used to be the Zainichi Korean community next to Ai’s parents Korean BBQ restaurant. It is also where “the pigpen Chinese restaurant” was located. However, he did not realize that Jong-Nam was a Zainichi Korean. Masato just knew Jong-Nam by his Japanese name, Ito Takashi.

He has a brother eight years older than him who recently married a Zainichi Korean partner with Japanese citizenship. His brother married her with the blessing of his parents. So he is surrounded by Zainichi Koreans in his everyday life, a sister-in-law and one of his best friends. When I interviewed him in the Chinese restaurant near his vocational school, he told me that he thinks he ‘has a lot to say about Zainichi Koreans’.

When he talks about his Zainichi Korean “senpai” and “sister in law”, he often describes them as a “good person” (ii hito) and “it doesn’t matter” (ki ni naran). He considers that since they were “brought up in Japan”, there is no difference between Japanese and Zainichi Koreans. Based on his judgment such as “senpai”, “sister in
law”, “good person”, and “it doesn’t matter”, there is no difference between him and them at all. However, these expressions simply indicate that the differences would not affect him in his everyday life.

He did not realize that his basketball team is organized by KYN and its Sōren network. In his perception of such, the colonial history and postcolonial history of Zainichi Koreans are disregarded. He asked me as follows.

“Are there any differences between Zainichi Kankokujin (South Korean) and Zainichi Chōsenjin (North Korean) in Japan? I always wondered about that. Are they North or South? Well, it doesn’t matter at all to me though.”

On the other hand, he is also a consumer of the discourse of nationalism against North Korea through the media. He started to talk about his opinion of North Korea by using the exotic and phobic images against them.

“The Bijo gundan [the beauty corps]⁴, and mind control [in North Korea] are problematic. And [how the people in North Korean blindly treat Kim Jong Il as] Shōgun-sama [the Great General]. People became like that because of the education, didn’t they? Do you think that people seriously believe him?”

Furthermore, Masato is also a reader of Kobayashi Yoshinori. He enjoyed reading Kobayashi’s Gōmanizumu sengen. His reaction was very similar to that of Kohei.

“I can’t get the image of war clearly. Maybe it isn’t good. I don’t like the United States that much. Particularly, I hate George Bush. Did Koizumi sent troops to Iraq? He will send them anyway. Since we learned from WWII, I thought we would never send troops. Well, I guess that they will be sent anyway. I understand that there are reasons that people like me wouldn’t know. What about history? Isn’t [Japanese] history based on the American point of view? What about nuclear weapons? North Korea is dangerous in that regard. What if they really become desperate? Well, I am

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⁴ The term Bijo gundan refers to the female cheer group of North Korea, which became known to the Japanese public through media in the 2003 Universiad held in Taegu, South Korea. They are usually represented to Japanese audiences as an exotic group of females as if they were mistresses of Kim Jong Il. They are represented in the old fashioned way by Japanese media, like the women who cheered Japanese troops at the send-off rallies during war-time.
not worried about it that seriously though. The United States is the most problematic one. I guess Japan can’t do anything because we are protected by them.”

There are many fragmented, disconnected, and contradictory sentences and ideas presented in the works of Kobayashi Yoshinori. This perhaps reflects the nature of Kobayashi Yoshinori’s ideology. Masato’s ‘appropriation’ of Kobayashi’s ideology is obviously not much help to him in understanding what is going on in this world. In his perception, his ‘senpai’ and ‘sister in law’ are considered trusted individuals. They are the individuals who can share the sense of coevalness in his everyday life. However, on the other hand, North Korean and Kim Jong Il are perceived as exotic evil beings who live outside of his everyday life. His firm relationships with intimate Zainichi Koreans are based on the individual relationships, and they are not social or historical matter. How can his local knowledge and experience with Zainichi Koreans be critically articulated to illuminate the everyday linkage and network among Japanese and Zainichi Koreans?

9.4. Working partnership as a form of border-crossing

9.4.1. Running a café

Tanaka Ayako (34) runs a café with Lee Yun-Ja (30) in the central business district of Okayama City. I often went to the café during my fieldwork research and we often went outside for drinks after their business hours. This was also where we held Dialogue 2 (see 9.8.2.), the event intended to enhanced dialogue Japanese and Zainichi Koreans living in Okayama on the day of voting for the House of Representatives on 9 November 2003. I interviewed Ayako just after the event in mid-November around 9 pm when their business usually slowed.

She started to talk from a very shortened version of her personal history, as if she was giving me her resume to introduce herself. After she graduated from a public commercial high school in Okayama, she began work at a local music instruments shop in Okayama. She married when she was 24 and worked part-time at the Okayama Prefectural Government. After that, she started to work part-time at the café. Then she thought she wanted to open her own café. But then she got divorced when she was 30 and worked part-time at the organic grocery shop in Okayama where she met Yun-Ja. They only met each other a year and half ago, and Yun-Ja was the first Zainichi Korean acquaintance for her. Having finished the short introduction of her profile, she then started to analyse Yun-Ja.
“We both have different talents complementary to each other. She is a person who is considerate toward others. She takes care of others well. I am, perhaps, a mood maker.”

She insists that each of their personalities suits their role in the business.

“I want to be particular about things such as the mood of the place; music, magazines and other sorts of things. She leaves me entirely to engage in such sensory matters. She is in charge of accounting. I think we can’t do without both elements in running a shop.”

In this statement of Ayako, she is not concerned about Lee Yun-Ja’s ethnic and historical background. She said without hesitation that both Japanese and Zainichi Koreans are “all the same together, right?” Then I said if it is so, there would be no difference among the people living in this world. She responded based on her primary interest ‘love matters.’

“For example, being in love with someone, I think that ‘love matters’ are something universal. Everyone has the feeling of loving someone beyond discrimination and that sort of thing. I think we are all same in general.”

In developing one’s idea about love, she thinks that “the environment one is brought up in” is an important factor. So she thinks that one does not have to stick to one’s citizenship, whether one is Japanese or Zainichi Korean, but believes that we can understand each other through experiences in “the environment one is brought up in.” Her attempt could be understood as the way to deal with citizenship issue and postcolonial history as it relates to her business partner, Yun-Ja. She sought to find a solution through an emotional but historical approach as a single woman living in her 30s in Japanese society. This is an example of a survival technique for Japanese and Zainichi Koreans living together in the age of global information capitalism without being critical of it.

On the other hand, Ayako’s emphasis on “the environment one is brought up in” seems to be an approach that understands that the Japanese majority is not a homogeneous entirety. Each member of the majority has his or her unique historical
background and story. I asked her what she meant by “the environment one is brought up in.” She told me that in her love relationships with others, the fact that she was brought up by a single mother is the most influential factor. It was not clearly explained how it is related to understanding the ethnic background and history of Yun-Ja. However, Ayako is seeking to understand ‘Others’ by thinking about people’s diversified experiences and histories. It seems to be clear that Ayako reveals her ‘vulnerability’ as a means of understanding Yun-Ja.

However, “the environment one is brought up in” seems only to be considered important when there is a romantic relationship or friendship going on right here and now. In other words, Ayako’s interest is derived from a busy everyday life, which is very harmonious to the interests of consumers. So it marginalizes the historical imagination of the people in everyday life. Instead of establishing a common ground with intimate ‘Others’ by our personal history which we have already realized by ourselves, we can remember our ‘forgotten’ personal history by encountering unfamiliar aspect of intimate ‘Others’. In case of Ayako, her emphasis is on how she and Yun-Ja can be good friends ‘here and now’ through managing the café shop efficiently. In that case, the past is not important. Ayako has a future-oriented practical notion that the past can be overcome by enhancing friendship. But how one can create a friendship without a history? Such local friendship is very vulnerable in the age of global information capitalism. Instead we should give up trying to remember the same history, but it is our different histories which might generate the critical historical narrative against historical revisionism.

9.4.2. Working at the Korean restaurant and bar

Hanafusa Hiroko (32) is currently a part-time worker at a consumer credit company as a telephone operator as well as working at Zai, the Korean restaurant and bar run by Chang-Ho’s mother Kim Che-Sung. She graduated from a public high school in Kurashiki and then studied at a junior college in Okayama. Then she got a job at the clothing company shop inside the local department store Tenmaya and worked there for three years. In 1995, she went to Australia on a working holiday and returned to Japan. Returning from Australia, she thought she wanted to be a teacher of Japanese as a second language, and she passed the exam in 1999. Having acquired the license of to teach Japanese, she went to South Korea on a working holiday in 2000. Since then, she “became interested in Kankokujin (South Koreans)”. When she participated in one of the lectures on South Korea held at Mindan local head office, she found a note on the
bulletin board looking for a part-time worker at Zai, which is located in the next building. She decided to work at Zai.

I interviewed her at an Italian restaurant near JR Okayama station while we were eating pasta and coffee. As mentioned above, she encountered Zainichi Koreans after her return from South Korea in 2001. Before then, she did not have any Zainichi Korean acquaintances.

"Before (going to South Korea), I wasn’t aware of their existence, and they did not catch my eyes."

I asked her if there is any change after she met many Zainichi Koreans in the last few years.

"I was surprised to know that there is a separation between North and South among (Zainichi Koreans)."

She was surprised by the very simple fact that there are Koreans living in Japan and they often belong to two conflicting organizations, Mindan and Sōren. This fact is obviously not very difficult to know: information is available from TV news, newspapers, and magazines. Of course, her surprise is not on the cognitive level. She was surprised to experience the existence of the confrontation in the reality of everyday life, in the city where she has lived in for a long time. Since Zai is located in the middle of Zainichi Korean community near JR Okayama Station, many Zainichi Koreans visit for Korean dishes and drinks every evening. They include the people working at Mindan, located next door, as well as the people working at Sōren and Chōgin, located in the neighbouring area. Che-Sung advised Hiroko that she should switch from satellite broadcasting of South Korean TV to Japanese TV in the restaurant when the workers at Sōren networks are around, although, most of the times, the atmosphere is very friendly and there is no quarrel among the workers between North and South. Within this atmosphere of soft confrontation between North and South, Hiroko is experiencing the traces of colonial histories and the ongoing Cold War.

She seems to be actively involved in the various events held by Mindan and KYA. However, her interests remain individual. She is not concerned with Zainichi Korean issues in relation to social, political and historical matters. It is as though she is just
dealing with Zainichi Koreans and Koreans living around her, and they are merely the collectivity of individuals surrounding her everyday life. In that sense, they are living in her “self-actualized” world. In fact, her current primary concern is to learn how to cook Korean cuisine since she is planning to marry a South Korean man whom she met in Seoul in the summer of 2000. She is very excited about going to live in South Korea with her new partner. Amid the reality surrounding her – love, marriage, and living in Seoul – she clearly has learnt something about the historical reality of the Zainichi Korean community. However, I got the impression that it seems to be still very difficult for her to link her local postcolonial experience with the postcolonial history critically. How can she seek a consolidation of the two: her interest in South Korea and the experiences of the Zainichi Korean community in Okayama?

9.5. Multicultural social movements as a form of border-crossing

9.5.1. Working at Rimpokan

I participated at Wakuwaku fureai fesutibaru – dai ikkai tonne matsuri (Exciting exchanging festival – the first tonne festival) at the Korean ethnic school in Mizushima on 23 November 2003. This event was established to enhance the communication with Zainichi Koreans and neighbouring Japanese community in Mizushima. The idea of the event was first raised by Yamashita Minoru (44) who was the fulltime staff member at the Kurashiki-shi Mizushima Kaikan.

Yamashita-san is now the director of Kurashiki-shi Mizushima Kaikan, which is located 1 km south of the Korean ethnic school. He has worked there since he graduated from high school. Mizushima Kaikan was established in 1978 as one of four Rimpokans (buraku community centre) in Kurashiki City under the Rimpokan promotion of the Dōwa Taisaku project (the Special Measurement for Dōwa Projects Act) since 1969. However, since the project was shifted from the governmental ‘special measures’ to the ‘general measures’, the role of Rimpokan also seems to be changing to respond to the need of the local community rather than improving the living conditions of buraku residents. This reflects a majority backlash against minority rights similar to that of the anti-affirmative actions in the United States from the late 1990’s. Yamashita-san told me that “I want to make this a facility to take care of the people with handicaps, the elderly, and the children who don’t go to school.” It has been five or six years since the relationship between Zainichi Koreans and Kurashiki Kaikan was started. Omonikai (the organization for Korean mothers) started to use it

5 See, p. 230.
to have a Korean home cooking class. They became closer to each other as Zainichi Korean mothers started to provide food for the staff members at Kurashiki Kaikan.

Yamashita-san was brought up in a housing project constructed under the 1969 Act, adjacent to the Zainichi Korean community, and he was brought up with many Zainichi Korean friends. He still sees them today and sometimes plays golf with them. I asked him how he came to be friends with Zainichi Koreans. His strategy in his childhood was to fight to become friends.

“We fought several times at the park where we were playing and came to recognize each other’s faces. Eventually, we started to play together.”

He also met many Zainichi Korean children through a kindergarten run by the Christian church near his house. He himself did not go there but his younger brother did. His younger brother met many Zainichi Korean friends there and he still has ongoing relationships. According to Yamashita-san, there were many of his Zainichi Korean friends from the kindergarten at his brother’s wedding party. Yamashita-san also has a very close relationship with the pastor at the church who is running the kindergarten.

His interest in Zainichi Koreans is established on his firm friendships with Zainichi Koreans with whom he was brought up in the neighbouring community. Furthermore, like Zainichi Koreans, he is also discriminated against by the majority Japanese because he is from a buraku community. Especially, he has bitter memories from the time of his marriage to a non-buraku resident. And the problems still do not end. He told me how difficult it was for him and his wife to tell their children that they are buraku people.

Through the interview, I could feel that he has a strong desire to support the Sören community through the cultural exchange at the local level because they are facing the difficulties from the North Korea bashing. His action is also probably an effort to find a way to fight the discrimination against buraku community that still exists today after the end of the special measures by the government, which considers the buraku problems to be generally solved. The governmental policy towards the buraku community was switched from ‘special measures’ to ‘general measures’ from April 2002. Thus, the buraku is no longer the subject of special welfare assistance, and its
problems are left to be solved by the market mechanism. The dispersal of discriminated-against communities such as those of Zainichi Koreans and burakumin seems to be making even the existence of discrimination invisible. In this context, the government treats dispersal of the community as an end of the discrimination, while in fact it merely marks the individualization of the discrimination.

Under the current situation, the grassroots cultural exchange between Sōren and the buraku community was not reported by the local media at all. It is not considered as something worth the attention of the people living everyday life in Okayama. On the other hand, the anti-North Korea campaigns are widely reported and consumed through the media. In the dispersal of the discriminated community, conventional identity politics are facing difficulties since the problem is considered as solved on the one hand and the communal ties among minority groups are weakened through the dispersal. However, it does not mean that there is a disconnection between majority and minority. On the contrary, more and more of the majority and minority are living together in the individualized society. While it is very important to enhance the cultural exchange of the local network to empower the minority, it is even more important to illuminate the linkage among majority and minority critically. It is only in that way that the fruit of the identity politics would be inherited in the age of consuming era and individualization.

9.5.2. Running church and kindergarten

Yamashita-san advised me to meet Isozaki Seiji, who is a pastor at the church located a few hundred meters away from Mizushima Kaikan and the buraku community. So as soon as I finished the interview with Yamashita-san, we walked down to his church. Isozaki-san is also the principal of Seiwa Kindergarten, which Yamashita-san’s brother used to attend. I interviewed him at his church in Mizushima.

Isozaki-san is originally from Chiba Prefecture and was appointed to Mizushima in 1968. The kindergarten was established in 1953, and it was the first one in the Mizushima area. Isozaki-san said, “for Koreans (Kankoku no hito), this kindergarten was most welcomed, and they could feel secure about leaving their children in care.” There used to be many Zainichi Korean children at the kindergarten and they spent a lot of time with Japanese children. However, the number of both Japanese and Korean children decreased, because of the de-industrialization of Mizushima as well as dispersal of the Zainichi Korean community. Now, there are children from 65 families
and only six children from four families are Zainichi Koreans.

Isozaki-san encountered diversified human rights issues for the first time after he moved to the church in Mizushima, which is adjacent to the buraku and Zainichi Korean community. He talked and consulted on various issues with Zainichi Koreans in the neighbouring community. He often talked with the first-generation Zainichi Koreans and believes that they often confessed their real intentions to him. He often encountered difficulties and bitter memories of the first-generation Zainichi Koreans. He has a son in his mid-30s who also has Zainichi Korean friends. Isozaki-san told me that he often learnt about the problems of the second and third-generation Zainichi Koreans through his son.

He is still involved in the activities with Zainichi Koreans. Every Christmas, he organizes the Christmas concert at Fureai Kaikan, the local community centre located in the Zainichi Korean community near Mt. Kamejimayama. He believes that his relationship with the Zainichi Korean community is “gradually spreading its roots”. Through the management of church and kindergarten, he is committing to the local practice of enhancing the understanding between Japanese and Zainichi Koreans. On the other hand, as his linkage is with the first and second-generation Zainichi Koreans, the place is not functioning as a hub for linking the network of new generation Zainichi Koreans. Such community-based activities cannot adequately deal with the individualized problems of Zainichi Koreans. We need to seek a way to inherit the knowledge of the community through establishing a critical network in the age of individualization.

9.6. Researching Zainichi Koreans as a form of border-crossing

9.6.1. Doing fieldwork research for the Masters Thesis

Egawa Tomoko (24) is currently writing up her Masters Thesis for the graduate school at a local private college in Kurashiki near Mizushima area. She is originally from a small town in the north of Hyogo Prefecture. The topic of her thesis is Nationalism in contemporary Japan and the Korean diaspora. She wrote her thesis for the undergraduate course in the same college entitled Zainichi Korean diasporas – A case study of Zainichi Koreans in Kurashiki. I met her when she participated in Dialogue 2. Later on, I interviewed her at the cafeteria in her college.

In the graduation thesis, which she wrote two years ago, she was engaged in
fieldwork with wide support from Sören, Mindan, the medical cooperative society, and local high school teachers and historians engaged in the Zainichi Korean issues. She engaged in questionnaire surveys toward 89 Zainichi Koreans belonging to Sören and Mindan regarding their ethnic identities. She picked the Zainichi Koreans in Kurashiki as a case study since she wanted to learn about where she is living.

However, she had never thought about Zainichi Korean issues before coming to Mizushima since there are not many Zainichi Koreans living in the area she is originally from. She learned about the social discrimination against burakumin in school. But she only had a vague image of Zainichi Koreans from ‘forcible recruitment’ and ‘voting right’ issues, and it was not something of interest to her.

In the beginning of the fieldwork research, none of her acquaintances at her college, including her supervisor, knew much about the local situation of Zainichi Koreans. Therefore, she had to start by herself from scratch. The first thing she did was to make a phone call to the number printed on the back of a brochure about the history of Mt. Kamejimayama. The place was Kurashiki medical cooperative society. She was introduced by one of the staff members to local high school teachers and historians dealing with Zainichi Koreans in Okayama, particularly those in Mizushima and Tamano areas. Then they introduced her staff members at Mindan. On the other hand, a staff member at Kurashiki medical cooperative society was a Zainichi Korean affiliated to Sören, and so she also established a connection to Sören as well. The whole experience of the fieldwork research was “very fresh”, and she became aware that “what I used to think of as very natural was in fact a very delicate issue.”

In her undergraduate thesis, she feels that she “couldn’t step into” the issue as much as she should have. Her current Masters Thesis is not a fieldwork research-based thesis and its focus is rather on the theoretical issue of nationalism and diaspora. She is now regretting that she could not establish networks and dialogues with Zainichi Koreans of her own age living in the area she is living. It is very difficult for her to work on both theory and practice regarding the identities of young Zainichi Koreans.

“I haven’t fully faced up to the unsocial elements of myself. I did not have any [Zainichi Korean] friends, though I needed to make some [for my thesis]. I was really cowardly about meeting [Zainichi Koreans] in my age.”
She made up her mind to go to Sören and Mindan offices to look for Zainichi Korean informants. She told me self-reflexively that “I spent too much time escaping from the issue.” In seeking the reason why she did not have enough courage to meet and talk with Zainichi Koreans of her own age, she even thought that “it is maybe myself who has the sense of discrimination against them.” I could feel from her statement that she was sincerely confronting the difficulties of facing the histories of young Zainichi Koreans and expressing the ‘difference’ between herself and Zainichi Koreans of the same age. One reason for this is that no discourses in textbooks or media give her the words to use in establishing a communication with young Zainichi Koreans. It is no exaggeration to say that most members of Japanese society think that problems of young Zainichi Koreans today do not exist, and they are rather consumed as ‘new Zainichi Korean’ who are more individualistic and different from the older generations. In other words, Tomoko is facing her positionality as Japanese in encountering the ‘Otherness’ of Zainichi Koreans. She is feeling ‘pain’ in facing this position as Japanese and as a historical subject. The ‘pain’ is the other side of the same coin of the consumption of ‘cool’ Zainichi Korean representations.

9.7. Agenda for establishing a critical network and historical practice in everyday life

9.7.1. Agenda for establishing a critical network

Overall, I have interviewed Japanese whose relationship with Zainichi Koreans is as lover, friend, relative, colleague, classmate, senior, neighbour, customer, and informant. They are Japanese who actually surround the everyday landscape of young Zainichi Koreans. In most of the cases, it was found out that those Japanese people are not concerned with their intimate Zainichi Koreans in the postcolonial historical context. Rather, they are treated in individualistic frameworks such as lover and friend. The people whom I interviewed rarely verbalized the critical imagination toward their relationships either. On the other hand, I could also feel their individual sense of trust in most of the cases. An important starting point for creating Okayama as a multicultural place is to illuminate the historical and social backgrounds of the individualistic terms such as friend and lover. ‘Social’ terms and theories can be only derived from such empirical practice. Such simple but local practice seems the most effective way to intervene in the practice of nationalism.

However, a question still remains: how can we change individualized relationships into the social ones. How can we mobilize the individualized relationship as a means
to fight against the practice of social discrimination and nationalism? How can we 'politicize' individual relationships: friend, lover, neighbour, colleague, classmate and so on? Should one discuss the serious postcolonial relationship between Japan and the Korean peninsula all the time? The answer seems to lie in Hokari's notion of historical practice. We must create historical practice in everyday life as a technology. It is not very difficult in the sense that one can find the materials to create a technology in the historical landscapes of everyday life. However, it is difficult in the sense that it takes time and is often not compatible to the speed of global information capitalism and its coevalness. The issue is how we can 'recycle' people's experiences and memories by considering them as 'resources'. This goes back to the question of what history is. History is not merely a narrative or collective texts of the objective truth about the past. History is also lived by the people in everyday life, and each history is thick and profound. Such everyday historical practice has been always political. It is also experimental. Naturally, such everyday historical perspective is often mysterious, like a magic. So we need a source to create magic. What we need to do is to turn what is believed to be a dubious source into historical texts, based on clear political implications springing from the needs of everyday life. Of course, we must be critical of the desire to establish a national history. However, we should not also be afraid to delineate history from the small voices, which are often ignored. We should not escape from thinking how we are implicated in the complicated, chaotic, contradictory, and contingent natures of histories in this individualized contemporary society. It is historical pleasure to encounter the weight and depth of the historical details of each individual life. In this encounter, we can regain an everyday life that is not exclusive to national, local, and individual relationships, but connotes the critical global implication. The starting points are the seemingly individualized relationships of everyday life: family, friend, lover, neighbour, colleague, classmate and so on. From theses starting points, we must link each individualized relationship and cross-historicize it by overcoming the border of national time and space.

Furthermore, this context where local nationalism and capitalism complement each other is the space where critical intervention must be made through the local political practices. The practice of anti-nationalism is not just the abstract criticism of nationalism and its consumption, but needs to establish a local dialogue to overcome nationalism. As a conclusion of this thesis, I would like to introduce two local practices and movements against nationalism, which seek to create a multicultural society in Okayama.
9.8. Make ideology into practices

The practice of resistance against the nationalism of the internal exiles in everyday life involves embodying ideology in local political practice. As mentioned above, nationalism emerges as an obstacle in the practice of building a multicultural society in Okayama, and it is not practical to just point out such amorphous emotional energy as nationalism. As experiments in this practice of resistance against nationalism in a regional city, together with Zainichi Koreans who are taking leading roles in KYN, KSL, and KYA, I organized the events *Dialogue 1* and *Dialogue 2*, aiming to establish dialogue between Japanese, Zainichi Koreans, and foreign residents living in Okayama. As a conclusion, I would like to introduce the planning and practice of these events.

9.8.1. Dialogue 1

On 15 June 2003, we held the event *Okayama 615 mini-soccer tournament – Dialogue 1* at the former Korean ethnic school in Fujita. According to its basic outline, the tournament aimed to enhance the friendship among Zainichi Koreans, foreign students (from South Korea), and Japanese youth through playing mini-soccer together. The date selected celebrated the third anniversary of the North-South Joint Declaration on 15 June 2000. The planning committee was organized by representatives from KYN, KSL, and KYA in Okayama, and myself as Japanese representative. We discussed the plans and details of this event in the several meetings in the friendly atmosphere at Zai.

Since it was the first time for the youth members of Søren and Mindan in Okayama to openly organize an event together, the young members in the committee carefully planned the event so as not to cause any troubles among the senior members of each organization. Some of the senior members of Mindan were quietly against the plan, and Chang-Ho was very nervous about this. The overt reason for their opposition was that they did not like the idea of organizing the event with Søren because of the past history of conflicts between the two organizations. But an underlying factor seemed rather to be a feeling of discomfort toward something new, different, and young. In the end, without much opposition and with some help and understanding from the senior Mindan members, we decided to organize the mini-soccer tournament and BBQ based on the Søren youth network and its know-how. It was particularly based on the experiences and knowledge of the networks of KYN and KSL, who often organize sports events and BBQs for the North Korean community in Japan.
In order to inform the wider community of our activity, we contacted the local newspaper company and TV station, and requested them to advertise and report *Dialogue 1*. This was originally the idea of a senior member of Sören and he contacted the local TV station, and we decided to request as many media organizations as possible in Okayama to mention our event to the people in Okayama. As the result, one local newspaper and radio reported our event from one week prior to the event. The local media were also interested in the event as an unprecedented exchange between Sören and Mindan. On the day of the event, two TV stations and one local newspaper came to cover the event, and the event was widely reported as an unprecedented exchange between Zainichi Koreans, exchange students, and Japanese.

Participants of Dialogue 1 on 15 June 2003 in front of the former Korean ethnic school

There were eight teams from KYN, KSL, KYA, exchange students, and Japanese that participated in the mini-soccer tournament. There were two Japanese teams. One was a member of the soccer circle at a private college in Okayama, to which Kang Chul and Lee Taesik belong, and the other one was organized by my friends, including three from Sanyō Consultant. All the youths played soccer in a very friendly manner, but also took it very seriously. I practiced with my friends for this tournament but we lost immediately. The game started at 10 am and all games were finished by 1 pm. After
the games, we had a BBQ prepared by the members of KYN and KSL. Sitting on blue plastic sheeting, young Zainichi Koreans, exchange students from South Korea, and Japanese ate Korean BBQ from the charcoal stoves, and drank Korean liquor and beer together for two to three hours. We had 101 participants in this event, and it ended very successfully.

Through the organization of and participation in this event, we felt that we could continue the event to enhance the dialogue between Zainichi Koreans and Japanese with the understanding of the two Korean ethnic organizations, which are both part of the postcolonial inheritance of the Zainichi Korean community, and at the same time fetters restricting them from acting freely beyond their organizations and citizenships. Due to the success of the event, the senior members of Mindan also welcomed the result. Furthermore, throughout the organization process, from the preparatory meetings for the event to the closing party, the committee members got along together well, and started to discuss having a follow-up event. Above all, many participants in the event really enjoyed it and wished to have the event next year as well. In that sense, it was a significant start to the creation of the network to build a multicultural society in Okayama.

It also left us some tasks that we must overcome in fostering a solid network. First of all, this event depended solely on the Sören network and its know-how of organizing sports events and BBQs. In other words, we did not create anything new as an organizational body necessary to maintain the strength of the organization. Secondly, it was only men who participated in the soccer tournament and women did not take a central role in planning and organizing the event. Thirdly, we did not invite other foreign residents living in Okayama. However, we did establish a grassroots network to promote the development of Okayama as a multicultural society, and we gained courage to continue our attempt. Over all, this event was very significant in the sense that it promoted the dialogue between Zainichi Koreans and Japanese at the grassroots level.

9.8.2. Dialogue 2

We organized the committee members for Dialogue 2 immediately after the first event. It was consisted of the Dialogue 1 committee members: Kim Chang-Ho, Lee Seong-Kwon, Kim Yong-Jun, myself, and new female members representing each group: Kanemura Narumi, Kim Min-Soon, Ha Kye-Sook, and my friend from high
school Akamatsu Takako. We considered that female members should take leading roles in planning and organizing the event this time. Since most of the female members had jobs or attended school, it was very difficult to arrange the meetings. After several meetings, we decided to open a one-day café to enhance the dialogue among Japanese, Zainichi Koreans, and other foreign residents living in Okayama under the title “The ethnic blend – Dialogue 2”. We scheduled it on 9 November, the day of the election for the House of Representatives.

Unlike Dialogue 1, the idea of the café was just an idealistic plan, and we did not have any ideas to start with. We had to start this plan from the scratch. So, we asked for help from Kim Yun-Ja and Tanaka Ayako, who run Hoaran Café together in the commercial and business district of Okayama. Yun-Ja and Ayako kindly agreed to our plan, and provided us with the space of their café for one day under the condition that they also run their business as usual. Furthermore, since the building of the café was owned by Yun-Ja’s father, we were permitted to use the second floor of the building which did not have any tenants. We brought tables, chairs, lights, candles, and with the assistance of my high school classmate Kimura Shinji who used to work with the commercial displays of a clothing company, created space for people to have tea and chat, created.

Lee Yun-Ja and Tanaka Ayako in the kitchen of Hoaran Café
Meanwhile, we also requested local media to cover the event, but only one journalist from the local newspaper came over, and others who covered Dialogue 1 could not come because they had all been mobilized to cover the election. Overshadowed by the election of the House of Representatives, which is one of the major events for the local media, our little activity was not regarded as that important. In that sense, our selection of the day of the election was a critical response toward the exclusive Japanese voting system. Instead, we put a lot effort into making fliers to inform the wider community of our activities. We asked Chung Moon-Sik, who is a freelance web-designer, and he helped us to create wonderful fliers without any charge. On the day before the deadline, we stayed at Moon-Sik’s house in Fukuyama and worked through the night. In order to promote the participation of people from multicultural backgrounds, we also made fliers in English, Chinese, and Korean. We distributed them to the English and Japanese language schools, colleges and their dormitories, and the bulletin boards in several public institutions enhancing international exchanges to which many foreign residents in Okayama have access. Of course, we also gave them to our friends to distribute to their other friends.

Based on those planning and advertisement activities, our slogan for the network creation for this event was ‘by mouth-to-mouth advertising’. It was considered the most effective tool because it takes advantage of the characteristics of the regional city,
which is different from the metropolitan areas where the interest groups are usually more categorized into small groups based on their special objective; gender, ethnicity, environment and so forth. In creating a draft for this event, I advocated the following five keywords.

- Multicultural
- Creation of cheap everyday space
- Public
- Dialogue
- Local city

My primary concern in planning and organizing this event is a simple question: "Who is this event for?" Similar multicultural events in the metropolitan areas are usually organized by leading figures and invite prominent intellectuals as guest lecturers to discuss the significance of the events. Information obtained through net-surfing revealed that there were similar events establishing cafes for the creation of alternative society in the major urban areas in Japan. However, they often had the sense of membership and exclusivity, as places where intellectuals and sophisticated people gather together. We thought that the event must be open to anyone and based on the realities of life in Okayama. On the other hand, we also needed to create solid guidelines for the event so as to develop a network with other movements in different regions. Therefore, I thought that it was necessary to reflect the critical perspective of the people living their everyday lives in the era of global information capitalism. Not many other members shared this view, and it was difficult to advocate its importance. Most of the members thought that it would be easy to attract the participants if the event is intelligible enough. In other words, they thought that the event must be something "conventional" and "familiar" so that participants would be able to grasp it easily without any hesitation. However, I though that this would not break through the cooped-up feeling surrounding the regional cities because most of those "conventional" and "familiar" ideas and events are often rusty copies from past events in global cities. There is no new or local element in them. On the other hand, the intellectual-oriented metropolitan ideas are dissociated with the people living in the regional cities. I wrote the guideline in the struggle to consolidate the above gap between the two. It was an attempt to articulate global and local critically, and create the "local perceptions" from the local political practice.
On 9 November, 2003, more than 50 people including Japanese, Zainichi Koreans, Korean exchange students, and Koreans from Northeastern China\(^6\) participated in the event, and it was very successful. Kim Yong-Jun created fliers with feedbacks for participants to ask for their thoughts and their email addresses to create the Dialogue mailing list. Contrary to my above primary concerns regarding the establishment of the network in a regional city, the participants successfully created dialogues with people they had not even met until the day before. The committee members supported the event as waiters and waitresses.

Few of them were talking about serious historical issues and identities. Most of them discussed their everyday lives: popular music and films, love matters, things to do in Okayama and so forth. At the level of historical practice in everyday life, one rarely starts conversation with colonial and postcolonial history or any historical events with a capital letter. Rather, history is often practiced through conversations about everyday concerns. It is the talk of shopping, cooking, sports, fashions, boyfriends and girlfriends, and so on.

\[\text{Dialogue 2 at Hoaran Café on 9 November 2003}\]

In that sense, we do not have to seek a “Historical Implication” with capital letters.

\(^6\) There is a considerable amount of Korean ethnic population in the northeastern part of China due to the proximity of the North Korean borders.
This would only end up in either intellectual-oriented idealism or used to establish a national historical subjectivity. One can find numerous forms of historical implication from everyday dialogue in enjoying the flavour of coffee, observing facial expressions, and listening to others carefully, with the excitement of encountering new faces and stories. In these actions, it is important for the researcher to realize the fact that the participants may begin to be aware of living in the era of globalization and postcolonial histories. But this awareness may be expressed in forms different from the ones which researchers are familiar with. So we must start by illuminating those implications. However, the emergence of dialogues and friendships among them are beyond my understanding. I felt that it is not even necessary to grasp and understand the entire web of conversations crossing cultural backgrounds, or to write about it. There is not much point in the researcher speaking for other people’s historical implication. Instead, what we must do is to struggle to continue such practice and create networks through the articulations of people’s knowledge. The challenging spirit, imagination, and creativity to maintain this trans-local network of knowledge against globalization may be the practice of anti-nationalism from the local place.
Conclusion

Toward the local politics against nationalism

Conclusion

This thesis has sought to intervene in the nationalism of the internal exiles in the global information capitalism era from the interior of people’s everyday life. In order to deal with such everyday issues with an academic methodology, critical studies from various disciplines were brought together. A new approach to area and Japanese studies in the era of global information capitalism was sought through the articulation of critical studies of nationalism, cultural studies, postcolonial studies, globalization studies, sociology, anthropology, history, and psycho-analysis. The conventional academic framework and methodology based on the teacher-student relationship is imploding in the process of adjustment to the global market and its commercialization. The significance of research restricted to narrow academic frameworks is severely questioned and exposed to the competition of the free market. On the other hand, amid a changing industrial and social structure due to globalization, society is demanding research that not only reproduces the academic inheritance but produces knowledge based on social changes.

The dynamism of the global market is transforming both academic foundations and the form of knowledge itself. In order to critically deal with the influence of dynamism and the elusive nature of the global market, one must start from accepting such transformation. In order to challenge such transformation, I attempted to establish a methodology, at a time of strong social criticism of academia, by establishing a dialogue with informants, and becoming self-reflexive about my subjectivity and positionality as the researcher.

As the researcher, I am an embodiment of the mass education in the consuming era, and depend on academic institutions in order to achieve social mobility. The traditions of academic research come into conflict not only with the market economy and social criticism of seemingly useless academic knowledge, but also with the dislocation from my own subjectivity, as researcher created by the mass education system of the
consumer era. In that sense, I do not think it is possible to separate my subjectivity as the researcher from my past memories and experiences. However, this is not an attempt to construct a neo-scholarship to combat neo-liberalism. Nor is my critical approach to the transformation of power and knowledge anything new. Rather, what I seek for is to draw on the experimental spirit from the tradition of critical studies. Experimentation in approach and method is vital to the survival of critical research, and it is this experimental spirit which makes the humanities and social sciences into forms of knowledge that can respond critically to the transformation of the society.

Inspired by such aspirations, I started by discussing the pitfalls in critical theories of nationalism in Chapter 1, and argued that conventional studies of nationalism were developed under the motif of the welfare state of the advanced Western capitalist states in the context of 1960s-1970s global capitalism. This model was seldom critical to the nationalism in advanced Western capitalist states. Rather, this was tolerated by neutralizing the patriotism in the “achieved” nations as banal nationalism. On the other hand, nationalism in the developing nations was depicted as dangerous “hot nationalism”. The collapse of the Cold War structure and the victory of the Western advanced capitalist states revealed that the patriotism in the advanced nations is compatible to market-oriented capitalism. This patriotism does not simply confront globalization. Rather, nationalism is enhanced in the context of globalization in order to reconfigure the nation state in a way which contains certain tensions and contradictions among the people. I have focused particularly on the grassroots nature of the “paranoid nationalism” of the internal exiles, who are losers in the global information capitalism era emerging since the mid-1990s. Nationalism in contemporary Japanese society is reconfigured in the everyday life of the people in response to changes in the industrial and social structures. Nationalism has now become the subject of consumption through the market, under the slogans of deregulation and privatization. Forms of nationalist practice are shaped by the individualistic consumer lifestyles of ordinary people. The practice of nationalism of internal exiles in their everyday lives is complementing the reconfiguration of the nation state in the global era from the bottom up, along with the practice of inclusion and exclusion on the national border.

I discussed the methodology for fieldwork research on nationalism in Chapter 2, as a means of intervening critically in nationalism. Firstly, I critically reviewed the previous studies of nationalism in the everyday life of contemporary Japanese society by focusing on the global coevalness after the late 1970s in works by Japanese scholars
living overseas like myself such as Sugimoto Yoshio, Yoshino Kōsaku, and Iwabuchi Kōichi. In particular, I focused on the scholars who completed their PhDs in the United States, Great Britain, and Australia, and criticized nationalism and the global coevalness which underpins it through their experiences of crossing borders. Based on the critical interrogation of the inheritance of previous researchers, I have sought to construct an alternative framework for fieldwork research on nationalism. A focus of critical examination was the subjectivity of researchers in dealing with the place where they originally come from. It is inevitable for such researchers to confront their academic subjectivity as native anthropologists. I questioned the ‘magic’ of the native anthropologist: the epistemological power that is often opaque and closed to readers as well as informants. I tried to reconcile with this by articulating critical studies of anthropology and history. In order to effectively illuminate the problem of the native anthropologist, I selected my ‘friends’ in my ‘hometown’ as research subjects. This provided a way to disclose the ongoing process of constructing relationships between researcher and informants. I insisted that the dialogue between the researcher and informants must be disclosed not only to the readers but also to the informants. In order to effectively open my writing to readers and informants, I delineated my text and organized my chapters so as to show how my theoretical framework has been transformed over time. This is an attempt to critically examine the binominal confrontation between researcher and informant, writer and reader, and native anthropologist and native. This also permits readers and informants to critically look at the transformation of my perceptions as well. In this way, I announced that this thesis itself is the continuing process of coauthoring among the researcher, informant, and reader.

I delineated the background of my hometown Okayama and its transformation amid globalization in Chapter 3. This is the stage for the characters who appear in the thesis, including myself. I began by writing about the relationship between the researcher and Okayama. Then I went on to examine the global city project of the Okayama City amid the rise of global information capitalism, and how this project was articulated to nationalism. In particular, I critically examined the local policies and activities implemented under the international welfare city project. The international welfare state project involves a scheme solely focused on developing infrastructure to create a global city, and increasing its soft power to attract outsiders. It does not reflect the people living in the interior, who are just regarded as consumers. The internal exiles living under these conditions are reconfigured in this project.
To show how the “risk management approach to urban planning” is accompanied by grassroots border creation activities, I focused in Chapter 4 on the practices of the grassroots vigilante group the Okayama Guardians, based on fieldwork research and interviews. As the leader of the group, Pond, stated, they share the same concerns as many critical intellectuals. They are concerned that, in the individualized consumer society amid the tides of global information capitalism, people are becoming distrustful of society and lack concern for politics. However, their perspective is that of communitarianism based on the sense of exclusive ‘love’, and it naturally requests the membership to be a part of society. Their approach is based on individualized and consumer-oriented mixophobia, and on the politics of phobia and philia rather than social and political participation. This does not go beyond consumer-oriented ‘likes and dislikes’. Rather than developing a clear political agenda, they borrow from the subcultural imaginary, and avoid facing the reality of social problems. They target “strangers” to the consumer era such as the homeless, pimps and touts, youths on the street and so forth as subjects of surveillance. The strategy of the Okayama Guardians complements the project of creating Okayama as a global city, and the reconfiguration of the nation state through local grassroots activities. It represents an encounter between two apparently contradictory elements; the fact that the Okayama Guardians combine anti-globalization communitarianism on the one hand, and an obvious borrowing of globalized consumer imaginary and rhetoric on the other. It clearly reveals the complicity between capitalism and nationalism through the grassroots politics of ‘ordinary’ people.

In order to examine more banal and subtle examples of border creation in everyday life, the practice of nationalism was empirically examined in the workplace through case studies of people working at Sanyö Consultant in Chapter 5. The everyday life of people overwhelmed by global information capitalism moves very fast and leaves little time to think self-reflexively and thoroughly about what is going on in society. In the workplace, nationalistic discourses about North Korean and Kim Jong Il are consumed and practiced in the form of jokes as lubrication to release people’s stresses from work. On the other hand, no one thinks about the discriminative jokes self-reflexively. However, there are not just jokes for fun. Nor are they simply due to people’s ignorance. They are entertaining for speakers and listeners because they enjoy their national fantasies without feeling any sense of guilt. Since they lack places in which they can face and resolve the frustrations and dissatisfaction in living in the globalized
information capitalism era, these are accumulated as phobia toward North Korea and those Zainichi Koreans who are not seen as congruent with globalization and its coevalness. Such jokes to lubricate the workplace are hardly benign.

Using interviews with people at Sanyō Consultant, I focused on their interactions with Zainichi Koreans in Chapter 6. It was important not only to conduct question-and-answer interviews but also to see and experience the material landscapes in which those involved in the interactions lived. By researching their everyday landscapes outside the workplace, I could myself interact with their social and historical backgrounds. I interviewed them while looking at their photo albums, and they told me about their personal histories with Zainichi Koreans. They have more historical linkages with Zainichi Koreans than I expected, and the postcolonial link between the majority and minority is delineated. However, at the same time, such personal histories are often individualized. These individual experiences are rarely mobilized at the critical moments when discriminatory jokes are exchanged. Rather, in most of the cases, they are articulated through the individualistic imaginary of consumer society and global coevalness, and would not lead to an exploration of postcolonial historical implication. In that context, Zainichi Koreans would not be considered as historical subjects but only as ahistorical individual beings. This helps to explain the seemingly very passive but aggressive practice of nationalism in the everyday life of the workplace.

I dealt with the colonial and postcolonial histories of Zainichi Koreans living in Okayama in Chapter 7. This chapter began by outlining the historical backgrounds of the young Zainichi Koreans and why they are living in Okayama today. I delineated the creation of the Zainichi Korean community in Okayama against the discrimination and politics of inclusion and exclusion in colonial and postcolonial Okayama, by following the developments of two major organizations, Sōren and Mindan, and their youth groups in Okayama.

The other side of the practice of nationalism, was written based on the interviews of young Zainichi Koreans living in Okayama in Chapter 8. Their experiences and perceptions of nationalism are as diversified as their identities, depending on the networks and citizenships such as Sōren and Mindan networks, North Korean, South Korean and Japanese citizenship, and “double” Japanese-Zainichi Koreans. Their experiences are the other side of the same coin of the consumption and practice of
"Do you consider Chang-Ho as a friend or are you with him for research purposes?"

When I was talking with Kanemura Narumi, she asked me the above question. I was with Chang-Ho almost every day during my fieldwork research. We usually met in the evening and discussed everyday issues, research and our local practices. Narumi seemed to be expecting the answer that I was with Chang-Ho because he is a friend. I could not answer that question immediately. There was no doubt that he became one of my best friends through the fieldwork research, but I did not know how to express my feelings. This derives from the fact that I met him as a researcher in the beginning. Some part of me thought that such an encounter is not very natural as a starting point of friendship, and I did not want to forget about the starting point of my contact with him. Narumi's question seems to go beyond the ethical issue of my attitude toward her friend Chang-Ho, who like her is a Zainichi Korean. It also raises the question of what is the implication of becoming friend in this individualized age?

When I first met Chang-Ho in the summer of 2002 on preparatory fieldwork, we had a long conversation on the second floor of Zai. We did not start the conversation from the Zainichi Koreans or historical issues. We began with the issues of everyday life. Besides, I did not know that much about Zainichi Koreans at that time. I was more focused on buraku literature, and did not pay intensive attention to Zainichi Korean literature before the fieldwork research. So I learned slowly about Zainichi Korean issues through conversations toward the end of fieldwork research. Naturally, I started to discuss our personal histories, mainly focusing on schooling and popular culture, but not too much about Zainichi Koreans themselves. I talked about my experience in school, club activities, studying abroad in Michigan, going to university in California, my Master courses in Niigata, and life in Canberra. He told me stories corresponding to mine: about his experience in school, club activities, college life in Chiba, studying English in California, and living and studying experiences in Seoul. Having talked about each personal history, I became even more interested in him.

My interest in Chang-Ho increased gradually through the year of my fieldwork research. It was especially when we found a common experience and memory to share that I realized myself growing more interested in his story. A couple of stories in particular gave me cross-historical experiences. The first was the story of a Zainichi Korean boy, whom I later found out was a cousin of Kanemura Narumi. Having found out where Chang-Ho went to junior high school, I asked him about a boy with the last
nationalism of the people at Sanyō Consultant. However, in the realities of young Zainichi Koreans, there are many experiences of discrimination in marriage and job hunting, and other social-institutional and conventional discriminations. The actual practice of nationalism in everyday life is highly individualistic and rarely experienced through the whole community, except in the case of North Korean bashing. While the stigmatized postwar Zainichi Korean communities in Okayama have dispersed and the discrimination against them is often seen as softening, overt practices of nationalism are still experienced at the individual level. This indicates the complex style of the practice of nationalism in individualized society. It also reflects the fact that Zainichi Koreans themselves cannot escape from the individualized consumer society. They are also articulated by global coevalness in living on the national border of inclusion and exclusion.

Finally, I examined Japanese living adjacent to Zainichi Koreans in their everyday lives, based on interviews, and focused on their perceptions of Zainichi Koreans in Chapter 9. In particular, I focused on their experiences of border-crossing. Unlike the people at Sanyō Consultant, these are Japanese spending their everyday lives together with Zainichi Koreans in the workplace, school, community, and so forth. However, their perceptions of Zainichi Koreans are often highly individualized and rarely led them to consider the postcolonial historical implication between Japanese and Zainichi Koreans. Often, Zainichi Koreans are perceived in a non-historical and individualized category such as friend, lover, classmate, colleague, senior, neighbour, customer and so on. In that context, perceptions toward Zainichi Koreans are depoliticized, and rather articulated by the politics of phobia and philia. On the other hand, same of these border-crossing experiences seem to contain the hope for creating a multicultural society in Okayama. This became the starting point to establish a critical network against the practice of everyday border creation, and for the local practices in *Dialogue 1 and 2*. The attempt of Dialogue seeks to establish and maintain the trans-local network of knowledge against the practice of nationalism in the age of information capitalism.

* * *

I would like to conclude my thesis with my experience of the practice of cross-historicization through fieldwork research in my hometown.
name of Kanemura in his junior high school. I asked him whether he is related to Narumi. I asked him this because I remembered was Kanemura that the last name of a player in an opposing softball team from my elementary school days. I was the pitcher and usually memorized most of the names of the opponents. A boy named Kanemura was a pitcher of one of the best teams in Okayama. Since the softball team organization was based on the elementary school districts in Okayama, I knew that he went to the same junior high school with Chang-Ho. I was right, and I felt excited about the fact that my history is linked somehow to that of Chang-Ho. He seemed to be surprised by my strange habit of memorizing the names of opponents and linking it with Narumi's cousin, but this obviously led me to realize how people's histories are connected to each other.

My second cross-historical experience with Chang-Ho was that my uncle Kawabata Fumio and Chang-Ho's uncle went to the same junior high school under the old education system. I found this out when I visited my uncle's house and asked him about his personal history regarding Zainichi Koreans. He mentioned that he knew a Zainichi Korean named "Kim-kun" in junior high school, while showing me his year book. He said that he still sees "Kim-kun" often in the alumni party every year. He also told me that he taught another of Chang-Ho's cousins at the high school where he was teaching.

One more story that struck me was about Chang-Ho's favourite eel restaurant, to which he often goes to with his mother. It is the restaurant run by my friend Sachie's mother. I often parties with my friends there during our high school days and still do with my friends from high school. It is also the restaurant which I used to go to with my grandfather and father before I knew Sachie. All those fragmented memories of mine were remembered through the conversations with Chang-Ho. I certainly felt that my historical landscapes of Okayama have been transformed through those conversations.

Those experiences have also changed my memories and experiences of the past beyond the time and space of national border. I would like to go back to the very beginning of my thesis and experiences in Michigan. Having met Chang-Ho and other young Zainichi Koreans, now I am able to accept the fact that the conversation in the Michigan high school cafeteria and advertisements of local car dealers were derivatives of the Japan-bashing of that time, as Chang-Ho is currently experiencing through the
North Korea-bashing in Japan. Obviously, the historical contexts of the two are completely different, but we still can find several connections. During the high school days in Michigan, I thought that it was not difficult for me to overcome such anti-Japan sentiments. Instead of accepting the reality of Japan-bashing, I tried to prove myself through establishing friendships, showing athletic ability by playing baseball, and so on. It is still not very clear to me whether the bashing experiences against Japan at that time were really painful or not. I was not particularly picked on or discriminated against either. However, what I clearly now remember is that while I was energetic enough to overcome the difficulties of anti-Japan sentiments, I was always feeling a sense of isolation that I am sitting alone in the corner. It was probably this small experience of being in the minority which led me to be involved in the minority issues in my hometown. This could not be done by myself. I was able to deepen my memories and experiences in Michigan with Chang-Ho. Such cross-historical practice stimulates my imagination toward the everyday historical landscape. I still hesitate to answer Narumi’s question categorically. All I am fully aware of is that we are questioning and building our friendship through such cross-historical practice. In this way, it is possible to delineate the networks of the memories and experiences of people.
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**Films**


**Music**

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