

ANTI-KOREAN WAVE AND FAR-RIGHT WING NATIONALISM IN JAPAN

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S1208292

BACHELOR THESIS

LEIDEN UNIVERSITY

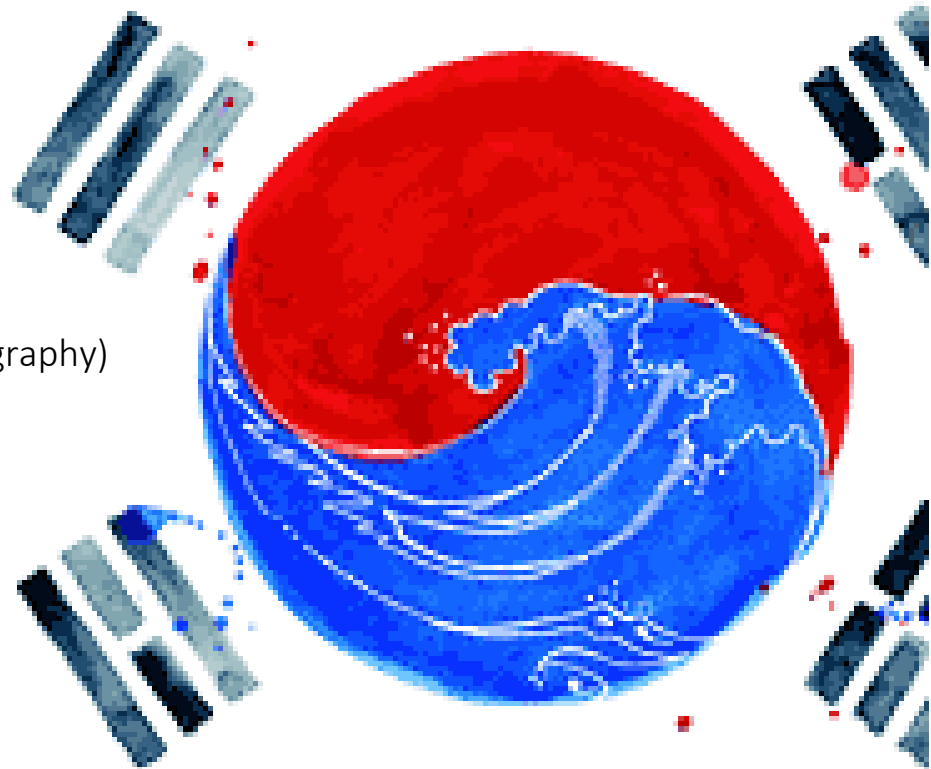
BA INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

WORD COUNT: 12.327 (with bibliography)

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DATE: 2015 05 29



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INTRODUCTION

The past two decades have seen the birth and the rapid rise of a new pop culture phenomenon called the Korean Wave, or in the local environment – Hallyu. The scholars and media have quickly picked up on this topic and have been analysing it from a variety of angles and disciplines. However, the majority of international discussion stays within the positive factors of the Korean Wave, whereas the study on the resistance from certain states barely scratches the surface. Despite the Japanese and Korean scholars having discussed the topic in much more detail, it does not seem to be as popular among the English sources. Consequently, the topic of the anti-Korean Wave movement in East Asia, and particularly in Japan, should be analysed in more specifically and further connected to a broader topic of far-right wing nationalism, which plays a significant role in this debate.

The anti-Hallyu¹ movement is one of the topics within the wider field of Hallyu and Korean culture studies. It has not been scholarly examined as much as the positive factors of Korean Wave, especially not globally. Two features can be distinguished in order to explain the relevance of the anti-Korean Wave movements to the field of Hallyu Studies. The first one is the fact that the majority of writing on anti-Hallyu focuses a lot on separate case studies, and spends much time explaining the events, the actors and their actions. However, there is a visible lack of more in-depth study using various theories and historical-political context. The examples may help to characterise the facade of the movements, but definitely not the particulars of the anti-Hallyu sentiment, which play a noteworthy role in the Japan-Korea relationship through the continuously shifting perception of the Korean popular culture products by the Japanese nationals. Second factor has to do with the notion that the discussion of Hallyu is simply not complete without discussing the negative response. If the Korean Wave is sometimes perceived as cultural imperialism or soft power of South Korea, it should be clear that there will be some resistance. Therefore, the anti-Hallyu movement has to be discussed simply to complete the picture of Hallyu studies. As a result, this topic is not only relevant within the boundaries of the field of study, but also within a wider context of power shifts and bilateral power relations.

Besides the importance to the wider question of Korean Wave and cultural industries, the discussion on the anti-Korean Wave sentiments also holds significance to a general audience. First of all, the situation in Japan may in some way illustrate the current relationship between South Korea and Japan, which has been one of love and hate for more than a century. Furthermore, the bilateral tension, due to the popular

¹ Terms Hallyu and Korean Wave, which mean the same thing, will be used interchangeably throughout the thesis

culture, is just another illustration of the trans-border issues. Surely, in both nations not everyone is involved in the disputes, yet the actors in activities might be of quite much interest for the general populace. Secondly, the fact that there is a backlash towards the cultural industries of South Korea means that it is on the rise and becoming more powerful. This shift in the regional importance from Japan to South Korea is an interesting case for the changing East Asian area and the global environment. The Korean Wave is not only sweeping the Asian region, but also reaching the shores of Europe and the United States of America. Furthermore, it, getting attacked mainly from Japan, once again says a lot about the relationship between these countries, and also provides a perspective towards power and superiority in the region. In conclusion, the topic of anti-Korean Wave movement in Japan might be of importance not only for those interested in the power shifts in the region, but also those wanting to understand the relationship between East Asian countries and their perception towards each other.

The thesis will delve into several factors of the anti-Korean Wave movement in Japan. First of all, the reason for discussing this topic is that the majority of available analysis on the Korean popular culture in English mainly touches upon the positive sides of it, the improvement of South Korea's image abroad. The negative parts and the backlash have been for the most part forgotten by English-speaking researchers and journalists. Furthermore, the Japanese case is arguably unique, as the anti-Hallyu movement only became truly visible in this country through protests and online discussions. In other countries, though anti-Hallyu sentiments are apparent, no real demonstrations have taken part. Or there is no information obtainable about such happenings in English sources. Another aim of the thesis is to connect the anti-Korean Wave movement to the anti-Korea sentiments, which can be proved to overlap in many senses; this will be argued by using several examples and case studies.

The structure of the thesis will be as follows. The first chapter will act as a theoretical framework and a concise literature review, where concept definitions will be given for the phenomenon of the Korean Wave, anti-Korean Wave and also the far-right wing nationalism, which connects the nationalistic male population of Japan to the issue of anti-Korean Wave. The concepts will be based upon a previously done analysis by English-speaking researchers, as the Korean and Japanese sources, though much more abundant, are not comprehensible to the author of this paper. The second chapter will consist wholly of an analysis of a suitable example that illustrates both the anti-Korean Wave and anti-Korea movements. This case study is a manga called *Manga Kenkanryu* that was released in 2005. An instance of manga was chosen not only because its contents are relevant for the topic, but also it is one of the most popular

and easily attainable literary products in Japan. This genre of literature is read by a very wide audience and usually reflects the main trends of the daily life by exaggerating and highlighting the most shocking points. However, the manga is entirely in Japanese and the author of the thesis does not speak the language. Despite this, the events and the depiction of people can be easily understood through the graphic images and emotions of characters. The third chapter will delve into the political side of the debate by connecting the anti-Korean Wave movement and the *Manga Kenkanryu* to an anti-Korean organisation Zaitoku-kai. This chapter will aim to prove that the anti-Korean Wave sentiments are not only about the popular culture but also deeper historical and political notions. As the most recent case, the “*Gangnam Style*” phenomenon and its failure in Japan (Lie) will also act as the highlight of Japan’s perception towards the Korean popular culture. This case will connect both the political side (anti-Korea) of the argument and more popular culture (anti-Korean Wave) notions. It will thus continue to confirm the nationalistic factors behind the dislike of the Korean popular culture.

CHAPTER 1: HALLYU AND NATIONALISM IN JAPAN

As it has been established, there are not that many academic and credible sources on the topic of anti-Korean Wave, especially the Japan case, written in English language. There is much more written about the rise and shift of perceptions towards South Korea and its popular culture in Japan, which also has to be assessed in order to understand the history behind the anti-Hallyu notions and how they came into the far-right nationalist agenda. In addition, there is a much wider choice of articles in Korean and Japanese, which are not comprehensible for all foreign readers. Therefore, the following theoretical framework and explanations of concepts will be drawn from available secondary sources published in English. To begin with, one has to know the context of Hallyu in East Asia and Japan, the shifts in the perspective, a.k.a. the different waves of Hallyu, and, lastly, the re-emergence of far-right wing nationalism in the context of anti-Korea and anti-Korean Wave sentiments. These concepts shall be defined and connected as much as possible, as they all have very clear links and an arguable chronological causality.

EMERGENCE OF KOREAN WAVE IN EAST ASIA AND JAPAN

First of all, the historical context of the Korean Wave must be given. The phenomenon has started in the late 1990s in China and in the upcoming years spread throughout other countries. Several concepts and terms play a role in this occurrence.

Therefore, at first, a proper definition for Hallyu has to be provided. It is a Koreanised version of a Chinese word 韩流 (“*han liu*”, in Korean - 한류), which translates to “Korean Wave”. This term was coined by the Chinese media in 1997 (Yang 105) and since then it has been used as an overarching explanation of the spread of the Korean culture around the Asian region and beyond. In the beginning the concept of Korean Wave was used to describe the popularity of dramas, music and film in East Asia, but with years this definition continued to include anything Korean, be it fashion, food, language, cosmetics and other similar matters.

This emergence in China was the beginning of the 1st Wave of Hallyu², which, to be exact, included drama and film that was apparent not only in China but also in Japan (Kim. Song, Jang 3). These are the closest countries to South Korea both geographically and socio-culturally. Not only do they share common Confucian roots but also have a more recent connection due to the Japanese colonialism,

² A visual representation of the evolution of Hallyu from the 1990s to the present can be seen in the appendix 1.

which shaped the face of the region before Korean popular culture as an independent factor even existed. The Korean Wave's expansion did not stop with these two states and starting the mid-2000s reached the South Asian countries. This was the beginning of the 2nd Wave (3). A new leading factor here was the Korean music. With the help of social networks, YouTube and internet in general, Korean culture could rise to the popularity beyond East Asia and reach nations that have nothing in common with South Korea. The last 3rd Wave, which is present at the moment, has shown a booming expansion, reaching almost every bit of the world, from the Americas to Africa and beyond. The global presence of YouTube still remains vital for this phenomenon, as it is one of the most important ways to share music videos, clips from dramas and talk shows. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, currently the concept of Hallyu covers the overarching popularity of anything that is of Korean origin – from music to fashion, and from food to computer games (3).

Hallyu in Japan was part of the 1st Hallyu Wave, which means that during the past decade perception and consumption of the Korean popular culture products has been shifting extensively in this nation-state. For most of the 20th century South Korea and Japan have been involved in a roller-coaster like relationship, as the remains of the Pacific War and the Japanese colonisation of Korea still linger in the discourse and the agenda of governments and ordinary individuals. Due to this historical and political clash the sudden popularisation of the Korean Wave might seem a bit out of place. Still, Hallyu reached the shores of Japan and has captivated the hearts of older females through the dramas. This side of story is much discussed by Yamanaka Chie who looks into the representation of South Korea in Japan in a book chapter "*The Korean Wave and Anti-Korean Discourse in Japan: A Genealogy of Popular Representations of Korea 1984-2005*". Although, not the whole piece is of use for the undergoing analysis, some parts show the situation of Hallyu in Japan from the perspective of the local Japanese. Talking about the most recent period from the excerpt of the early 2000s it can be concluded that Japanese got interested in the Korean popular culture not simply because of its aesthetic appeal, but also due to an existing ignorance towards the state. For quite some time the Japanese society had a low level of knowledge about their neighbours, imagined the country as poor, dirty and unattractive. However, the arrival of such dramas as "*Winter Sonata*" in 2003 provided a completely different picture of the country. Everything appeared romantic and perfect, the people – gallant, modest and refined. This romanticized new image of South Korea, in connection to the traditional Confucian and East Asian values, seemed as something out of utopia for the older women, who were the first to fall in love with the environment and actors on the screen. Consequentially, Japan fell for the Korean Wave

and joined China in the fandom. This new phenomenon visibly improved the image of South Korea in Japan and seemed to be a new route towards the warmer trans-border relationship.

In addition, the fandom in Japan is very different from other countries. While in China or South-East Asia most of the fans are below the age of 30, in Japan the majority of the Hallyu supporters are around 50-60 (Yang 114). Also, they are mostly interested in the already mentioned dramas and not so much in music. As for the fans of music, they are part of the 2nd Wave of Hallyu and not the 1st, as the obasan³ ladies are. The adoration of Korean pop reached Japan only later on, in the late 2000s, where it became a major sub-culture among younger population, once again mainly females.

However, where a new powerful discourse and culture rises, the resistance tends to follow. While the middle-aged Japanese women and the teenagers were obsessively enjoying the Korean popular culture, the male counterparts viewed this whole matter critically and rather negatively, which led to them taking to the online discussion boards and creating a new discourse of anti-Korean Wave, which still lasts today next to the more positive response.

EMERGENCE OF ANTI-KOREAN WAVE IN JAPAN

One of the perspectives towards the Korean Wave that has emerged in Japan and also other East and South-East Asian countries is the anti-Korean Wave sentiment, which acts as a different type of reaction, even resistance, to the sub-culture in discussion.

To begin with, there is no established academic definition for the anti-Korean Wave (in Japanese known as 嫌韓流 “Kenkanryu”, and in Korean as 혐한류 “hyeom han ryu”). It can be described as a hatred or dislike directed towards the popular culture of South Korea, be it music, film, actors or singers. This concept is closely linked to a broader anti-Korea (혐한 “hyeom han”) sentiment, which more widely involves hatred towards the people and/or the country⁴. The anti-Korean sentiment is not only prevalent in Japan, but also in China and South-East Asian countries. Most of the backlash acts as a response to political and historical disputes between countries. For example, Takeshima/Dokdo islands tension in 2012 between Japan and South Korea.

Still, some countries have more specific reasons to dislike the popular culture of South Korea. One of them is the portrayal of regional history in historical Korean dramas (Kim, Song and Jang 14). The fans

³ Obasan (jap. おばさん) – a term used to describe an aunt or an older woman

⁴ While anti-Korean Wave concept is mostly used to describe hatred towards the popular culture of South Korea, the anti-Korea sentiment may be directed towards both South Korea and North Korea, i.e. the Korean peninsula.

from neighbouring states may dislike how their countries and nationals are presented. Additionally, in some dramas certain territories tend to be shown as Korean, although in reality there has been a dispute over the ownership of the lands between the neighbours. Other reason is the perceived aggressiveness of the Korean Wave and its support from the South Korean government. This topic was analysed by such researchers as Seung-Ho Kwon and Joseph Kim in an article “*The cultural industry policies of the Korean government and the Korean Wave*“. They argue that the South Korean officials are not only funding the spread of the popular culture, but also protecting the domestic market from other states and their exports. Hallyu is immensely important to South Korea both economically and politically, thus its defence may not seem surprising. Still, these government’s actions might appear as unfair and forceful to other countries. This phenomenon has been coined as “cultural imperialism”, a term used by another researcher – Xiaowei Huang in his article “‘*Korean Wave*’ — *The Popular Culture, Comes as Both Cultural and Economic Imperialism in the East Asia*”. He states that nowadays South Korea is becoming a key transmitter of popular culture in the region, in turn taking place of the previous Japan leadership. Therefore, the neighbour states are starting to become worrisome that their markets may be in danger due to the active stretch of the South Korea’s cultural exports.

All in all, even though the anti-Korean Wave sentiments can be found not only in Japan, this case is of much uniqueness. This argument can be proved by several examples from the recent decade. First of all, no other country has had actual demonstrations in the streets for the sole purpose of protesting against the Korean culture. In Japan in the August of 2009 there was a protest again Fuji TV and their airing of Korean dramas during the peak hours. This situation happened due to a scandal having to do with a Japanese actor Sosuke Takaoka, who posted a tweet on his Twitter account in regards to disliking the active transmission of South Korean dramas and, thus was fired by his company – Fuji TV (Brasor). This happening was a catalyst for the online activists to mobilise a number of people and go to the streets. The demonstrations happened twice in the month of August and gathered several thousand participants, and also spectators and counter-activists. The demonstrations were not violent, but very much nationalistic. The protestors had with them Japanese flags, they shouted anti-Korean phrases and made a commercial situation largely political and rather chauvinistic (*CNN Travel*). This case was apparent only in Japan.

Furthermore, no other country has released specific pieces of literature that undermine the Korean Wave. In Japan there have been two major cases like that. In 2005 a notorious manga, called *Manga Kenkanryu* was released. It has not been translated to English, but the availability of reviews and also the book’s graphics allow a foreign reader to understand most of the content. This manga has also been

analysed by such experts as Rumi Sakamoto and Matthew Allen in 2007 who aimed to provide a link between the contents, popularity of manga and nationalism, yet focused more on the importance of the internet supporters. The *Manga Kenkanryu* discusses such topics as the 2002 World Cup co-hosted by South Korea and Japan, Dokdo/Takeshima islands disputes, comfort women, and the popular Korean drama “*Winter Sonata*”. This manga, in relation to the nationalist notions, will be further explored as a case study in the second chapter of this thesis.

Another manga, called “*The Investigation of the Fabricated Hallyu Boom*” was released in 2011 and is also an interesting illustration of the anti-Korean Wave in Japan worth a concise description. This comic strip is as controversial as the *Manga Kenkanryu*, but mainly concerns the Korean Wave itself. It aims to portray the dark side of Hallyu. It is also more directly linked to the “otaku”⁵ group in comparison to the *Manga Kenkanryu* which is more related to the nationalist arguments. It portrays two popular South Korean girl groups – Girls’ Generation and Kara – giving sexual favours to their superiors and co-workers in order to achieve fame and success (Lee). Furthermore, it depicts the Korean government as aggressive and putting lots of money into Hallyu’s popularity in Japan, manipulating the people and fans (*Seoulbeats*). Although, some parts of this comic might be based on true facts, the way it portrays the situation is derogative and exaggerated. For example, as mentioned previously, it is true that the Korean government invests a lot of money in the promotion of the cultural industries and that the idols have to work overtime to be successful, yet the situation is far from how it is depicted in the manga. Also, this comic strip as the *Manga Kenkanryu* became popular because of the support from internet fans, and it can still be found on-line after a short search. These two manga cases could not be found in any other state, thus remain as examples of the Japanese case’s novelty and uniqueness.

The first example of manga – *Manga Kenkanryu* also much relates to the resurfacing of ultra-nationalist groups in Japan. Not only the arguments are similar, but also the timing coincides almost perfectly, as the *Manga Kenkanryu* was released in 2005, whereas the a certain ultra-nationalist organisation – Zaitoku-kai – was officially founded in 2006, which may lead to a logical argument that the manga had some influence or acted as a catalyst in the process of founding the group.

⁵ “Otaku” is a term used to describe “an avid collector or enthusiast” (*Dictionary.com*). It is mainly used in the context of people who are obsessed with anime, video games. In itself it is not a derogative term, yet depending on the context can be used as such, because the “otaku” people can get into fetishes, become anti-social and never leave home while getting involved in their beloved activities.

FAR-RIGHT WING NATIONALISM IN JAPAN (UYOKU DANTAI)

The release of the manga, the demonstrations in the streets and the rise of the anti-Korean Wave sentiment in Japan cannot be disconnected from the reappearance of extreme right-wing organisations in the early 2000s, which base their agenda not only on protesting various government policies and disputes in regards to foreign states, but more specifically on the hatred towards the Koreans.

To begin with, nationalism, as a factor, plays a key role in Japan. Not everyone in the country feels the same way, but there are groups who base their hatred of the Korean popular culture in regards to extreme nationalistic sentiments. First of all, the broad definition of nationalism that is being used in this discussion has been coined in Europe in the middle of the 18th century and has emerged there as a new type of identity having to do with an imagined community and affiliation with it. The particular type that is used as a major factor in this thesis is far-right nationalism. Individuals affiliated with extreme-right wing politics tend to focus on traditional values, support social hierarchy, go against the liberalism and socialism, as they promote modernism and egalitarianism. More often than not this type of nationalism includes chauvinist and/or racist notions. The supporters create an identity through displays of anger towards other nations and positive policies in regards to them. In this case, certain Japanese groups of the right-wing ideology construct an identity purely based on the hate towards the minorities living in Japan of which the most populous one is the Zainichi Koreans. These extremists perceive any popular culture from South Korea as “impure”. Sometimes these products are even seen as full of governmental propaganda, as aggressive and intended to destroy the national culture of Japan. Furthermore, the radical groups go as far as seeing themselves as the ones in threat, and that South Korea is intentionally trying to overtake Japan’s place as the leading force in East Asia, despite there being no proof of such intentions from the Korean side. Although, South Korea is becoming more noteworthy and stronger internationally both politically and economically, Japan still holds a strong stance in the region. Yet, the extremist nationalist groups continue to project their hatred towards the neighbour and are worried about the South Korean popular culture becoming the mainstream culture in Japan and the area.

These extreme-right-wing groups in Japan recently have been on a rise. Locally the far-right organizations are called “Uyoku dantai” (“右翼団体”). According to the *VICE News*, “[t]here are over 1000 right-wing nationalist groups (...) with over 100.000 total members”. Despite *VICE News* being a non-academic source they provide an elaborate documentary film with English subtitles for the

general audience. This kind of video source is a rare case, as there is not much information on these groups available outside the scope of Japanese language. According to the *VICE News*' documentary most of the right-wing groups have had or still have a yakuza⁶ relation, which is needed for survival and protection. These groups tend to be very traditional, always give respect to the emperor and protest not only against the activities of other countries, but also the Japanese government, especially if the new policies are less nationalist or protectionist. As for the foreign matters, the members of these organisations tend to travel to the embassies located in Tokyo and protest on such issues as territorial disputes. One critical aspect of these organisations is that they are wholly made up of male members; no women are in the sight. Although there are more than 1000 far-right groups, only a few are most active and prevalent in a variety of protests and demonstrations. Some of them particularly have to do with the matters of Zainichi Koreans and South Korea itself, which is one of the main concerns to this paper. Therefore, the main group, which will be discussed throughout the whole paper and in detail in the third chapter, is Zaitoku-kai. This group is not officially affiliated with the "Uyoku dantai" phenomenon, but by looking at its agenda, the link becomes very apparent. This organisation, also known by its full name "*Association of Citizens who do not Tolerate Privileges of Foreign Residents in Japan*", was formed in 2006 and has over 13 thousand members (Ito 435). In other words, this is a community whose main aim is to diminish perceived privileges of the minorities in Japan that have a Special Foreign Resident status. Majority of these residents are the Zainichi Koreans who are of Korean descent and reside in Japan permanently. Kenchiro Ito wrote an elaborate article on this organisation titled "*Anti-Korean Sentiment and Hate Speech in the Current Japan: A Report from the Street*", which will be used for the analysis later on. He also argued for the link between *Manga Kenkanryu* and Zaitoku-kai, though he did not go into much detail about anti-Korean Wave movement on which the thesis aims to elaborate. All in all, this group is one of the best examples of the revival of far-right nationalism in Japan.

In regards to previously mentioned examples, the Zaitoku-kai was behind most of them. Due to the activity on the internet they have been able to mobilise thousands of people who demonstrated against the Fuji TV station. However, being an ultra-nationalist group, they turned the protests political, and not fully focused on the media side of the issue. In the past decade, the perspective towards the Korean popular culture in Japan has been shifting widely. It was popular in the early 2000s, especially among

⁶ Yakuza – "any of various tightly knit Japanese criminal organizations having a ritualistic, strict code of honor [sic]" or "a Japanese criminal organization involved in illegal gambling, extortion, gun-running, etc." (*Dictionary.com*)

the middle-aged women; however this acceptance turned around in just a few years with the comeback of extreme right-wing groups that were not as acceptable of the rise of a foreign culture.

CONCLUSION

In summary, the phenomenon of the Korean Wave began in China in the late 1990s and spread throughout the East Asian region and other areas in the following decades. The Japanese were one of the first to start interacting with Hallyu due to the rising popularity of Korean dramas among the nationals. However, as the wave has been in the state for many years it followed its own independent route of development, creating different types of reception depending on the group of consumers. As the young and middle-aged females were enjoying the Korean popular culture products, quite a few male counterparts started getting more concerned and critical of this obsession and turned against the phenomenon, constructing a new sentiment of anti-Korean Wave. This response much depended on the political events happening in the bilateral relationship of the two states. When another dispute arose or another immensely popular band or drama reached the Japanese shores, the sentiments also surfaced. Furthermore, the anti-Hallyu movements have recently become much more political and nationalistic; they no longer concern only the mass media. Connected to this is the reappearance of the far-right wing organisations, the so-called “Uyoku dantai”, which in their agenda did find a place for the antagonistic sentiments towards the popularity of the South Korean culture in Japan. One of the incidents that further influenced the rise of extreme right-wing groups, such as Zaitoku-kai, was a manga – *Manga Kenkanryu*, released in 2005. It, although, first being an independent case created by a single person, caused much turmoil in the media and arguably influenced the racist notions in the country. This manga will be discussed in detail in the next chapter and later on connected to the main far-right wing organisation Zaitoku-kai, as it has to do with both the anti-Korean Wave and anti-Korea movements.

CHAPTER 2: MANGA KENKANRYU (2005)

One of the ways to illustrate the anti-Korean Wave sentiments in Japan is to use authentic Japanese sources that are popular in the country and approachable by a large number of people. Such example is *Manga Kenkanryu*, a 2005 Amazon Japan bestseller⁷. Even without understanding the language, one can comprehend the topics discussed and notions intended. The manga acts not only as a significant independent case, but it can also be successfully connected to the discussion about the perception of the Korean popular culture in Japan from the perspective of both the supporters and the critics. This chapter will describe the manga, aim to explain its importance for the discussion based on a variety of academic sources and book reviews. Finally, the goal will be to logically link it to the anti-Korea movement and more politics- and history-based arguments. This chapter will also follow the debate of the connection between anti-Korean Wave and anti-Korea sentiments, as it was mentioned in the previous chapter. Lastly, it will build on the concepts defined earlier and use discussed factors (organisations) that influence the movements.

MANGA GENRE IN JAPAN

First of all, some context should be given about the importance of the manga genre to Japan before delving into the example of the *Manga Kenkanryu*. Manga in Japan is a greatly old tradition. There are instances of visual texts found even from the 11th century (Ito and Crutcher 45). Nowadays millions of books are produced and consumed and they are loved by everyone, no matter the sex, age or social status. The fact that there is an incredible variety of topics that the manga cover, it is of no surprise that anyone can find something appropriate. Furthermore, it is not only appreciated locally, but is also one of the main popular culture exports to other countries. A 2008 article “*The Ascent of Manga: Japan's Hottest Export Goes Global*” by *The Independent* highlights the vast influence this genre has on the youngsters around the world. Foreigners enjoy reading and learning Japanese from the manga as much as watching the televised versions of their favourite graphic novels. Quite often, the manga do not only show the personal life and adventures of the protagonist, but also reveal the main societal trends, behind-the-scenes of various occupations, political and economic issues, and even aim to provide historical evidence. However, being a fabricated object, the history and factual information in the volumes tend to be exaggerated or displayed very one-sidedly, according to the liking of the author or a certain societal group that person is coming from. Furthermore, what even more proves the relativity of

⁷ An evidence for the *Manga Kenkanryu* being a bestseller in Japan (August, 2005) can be found in appendix 2, figure 2. It shows a screenshot of Amazon Japan Top 100 List from the August of 2005.

the *Manga Kenkanryu* is the fact that even in the past graphic novels could contribute to “the formation of ruling ideas, values, beliefs, and action plans analogous to what we might see of a religious or grassroots foodie group” (Ito and Crutcher 45). Quite a few manga before *Manga Kenkanryu* have created or shaped political movements. Due to this factor, a discussion connecting the specific manga to the nationalist agenda is needed. It is relevant due to both its genre and the contents.

MANGA KENKANRYU

To begin with, this manga as mentioned above was released in 2005 as a printed version, however it began its life as a web-comic by Sharin Yamano (not the real name of the author, but his pseudonym) in 2003. The author has no known connection to right-wing organisations, and is only popular for creating several volumes of *Manga Kenkanryu* and an additional guide book to reading it. The name “*Manga Kenkanryu*” literally translates to “Hating the Korean Wave” or “The Anti-Korean Wave”. This title is composed of three Chinese characters “嫌韓流”: “ken (hate), kan (Korea), and ryu (wave or boom)” (Vogel 2006:80). The choice of the name does not seem to be a surprise. The Japanese were already calling the rise of the Korean popular culture “Kanryu”, and, as the “ken” means “anti”, these two concepts were simply joined together and made into a name with more significance given to the “anti”, the “counter-action” part. This character is even highlighted on the cover⁸. The manga plays a role of counter-activity towards the popular subculture. However, some ambiguity arises as to whether the volume is about hating the Korean Wave or South Korea. The manga covers both trends, emphasising the later hate on the country. This book gained immense popularity among the internet communities and can be accounted as being one of the triggers of the anti-Korean Wave movement in Japan. In the beginning it may have acted as an independent case, an opinion of a single author, but the response it received proves otherwise. The timing of the release coincided with the arrival of a popular Korean drama “*Winter Sonata*” which caused a different, positive boom in Japan. Yet, as the drama was widely accepted and appreciated among middle-aged Japanese women, the *Manga Kenkanryu* displayed its popularity in more male prominent online discussion websites, such as 2channel⁹. Besides being a partial response to the drama, the manga’s main aim was to respond to the “heated rivalry between Japanese and Korean soccer fans” (Cheon 72) during the FIFA World Cup in 2002, which was co-hosted by these neighbours.

⁸ The cover can be found in the appendix 2.

⁹ 2channel is “Japan’s largest bulletin-board service, founded in 1999 by Hiroyuki Nishimura”. It is an anonymous discussion website and is sometimes called a “gossip” board. (Akimoto)

The manga's plot is seemingly uncomplicated and easy to follow. It displays a male protagonist named Kaname, a freshman university student, and his activities in a so-called "East Asia Investigation Committee", university's history club. The manga also involves several Zainichi characters, such as a friend of Kaname – Koichi. According to an article by Rumi Sakamoto and Matthew Allen the main character in the beginning believes "the story of Japanese oppression of colonized [sic] Korea", which tends to be taught in the schools, and, thus, is sceptical of his grandfather, who used to be an employee at the colonial government of Korea. Only after the grandfather spoke his last dying words about Japan contributing to the development of Korea, Kaname starts questioning his beliefs and decides to join the history group, where he starts to learn the "truth" about the Korea-Japan relationship. In each chapter the Japanese students participate in a debate against other students, Zainichi Koreans, various citizens and actual South Koreans. Every part of the manga displays a different discussion topic from the past and the members of the club use such sources as internet, books and words of "senior members of the history group" (Sakamoto and Allen) for verification.. They argue over such topics as "the Japanese colonization [sic] of Korea, the status of Korean residents in Japan, and who should accept responsibility for the war" (Sakamoto and Allen). Predictably, the students from "East Asia Investigation Committee" win each round of the debate.

This manga, being a three-part series, displays a variety of controversial topics within the orb of South Korea-Japan relationship. For example, it touches upon such issues as the Takeshima/Dokdo islands disputes, the comfort women issue of the Pacific war, and the textbook revisionism controversies. The scope of the topics in-discussion tends to move away from the anti-Korean Wave sentiments and instead has much to do with the nationalist agenda. Mina Cheon in her article "*Japanimanga and Techo-Orientalism*" mentions that manga argues "Koreans alone suffer from Hwa Byong (anger disease)" (75). Due to this reason the book displays Koreans' mouths as being much larger than the Japanese "proving" their perpetual angriness. In addition to portraying Koreans as always being irritated, the manga continues this demotion by painting these people with small, slanted eyes, big noses, sometimes even having deformed and much exaggerated faces. On the other hand, a number of Japanese counterparts are portrayed with Caucasian features; therefore they have big sparkly eyes, straight noses and small mouths¹⁰. As for the characteristic features, the Koreans are not only always angry, but also irrational, hot-tempered and rude. Whereas the Japanese appear to be calm, open-

¹⁰ The visual depiction of the facial features of both Koreans and Japanese can be found in the appendix 2. The picture also shows the victory of the Japanese students against the loss of the Koreans in one of the debates.

minded, rational and modest. From such graphics the racist notion is very visible. One can see the clear orientalist or chauvinistic dichotomy of “us” vs. “them”, of “superior” vs. “inferior”.

Although most of the sources claim that all Japanese are depicted very individualistically, it is true only to a limited extent. Only the main characters are shown in much detail, which is of no surprise as in most of the manga the main attention is given to the protagonists. However, even the main Korean characters are depicted as stereotypically as minor actors, only in less detail. Still, despite this aspect the dichotomy of “us” vs. “them” remains certain. The manga can not only be considered an ultra-nationalist work, but also an orientalist one. Besides the character facial and mental features, there is an overarching theme of the Japanese being the only one who hold the truth about the Koreans, them being superior and correct about any factual information and history. Whereas, the Koreans themselves have been told mere lies by the education system and older generations, and cannot be considered as the victims, but rather the perpetrators of the conflict. Such display of the nation and its people unsurprisingly caused a wave of negativity in South Korea, both among the youngsters and the elder generations who have experience the Pacific War.

The manga has definitely contributed to the anti-Korean Wave and anti-Korea sentiments, but it is still widely argued that it did not create them. The nationalistic notions and tensions between the countries, in regards to the islands or the war, have been in-existence for many years already Furthermore, Steven Vogel gave several arguments in 2006 by Steven Vogel in his review of this manga called “*Refusing to Ride the Korea Wave*” However. He claims that this work does reflect the frustration of the young people who dislike the decreasing position of their country and also the popularity of the Korean culture in Japan, yet the new ultranationalists have not been proven to have emerged because of the release of the manga. Moreover, despite being a valuable illustration of the disputes and far-right wing nationalists, to the author it remains an ordinary comic book, more exaggerated and less noteworthy than official government-supported textbooks or pamphlets (81). On the other hand, it is still difficult to dismiss the manga as a simply independent case that has nothing to do with the societal trends in Japan.

Moreover, the manga and its continuations were not released on any accidental dates; they actually match up with certain events and bilateral tensions between South Korea and Japan. This strategic release of the manga can further link it to the overarching topic of far-right wing nationalism. For example, the first manga volume was originally released as a web comic in around 2003, right after the 2002 FIFA World Cup and the arrival of 2003 drama “*Winter Sonata*” to Japan. The second volume

from 2006 is concerned with the event of the Japanese textbook revisionism, which was in much discussion that year in addition to the debate about the place of the teachers' stance towards the teaching about such controversial topics as the World War 2 or the Liancourt rock dispute. Lastly, the third manga volume, which was released in 2007 matches with the release of Roh Moo-hyun's request for Japan about further correcting the textbooks that discuss topics of comfort women and the island tensions (*Dokdo-or-Takeshima?*). All in all, not only the topics of the manga caused much turmoil in Japan and South Korea, but the dates of the release also helped to surface and bring into further discussion the topics from the current events and provide the youth with an alternative source of education, especially to those who do not trust the official media or the education system.

RESPONSE TO THE MANGA

Despite being a very popular volume among the Japanese internet communities and individuals, supporting the far-right wing ideology, the manga did not receive a positive response from everyone. It especially was not the case in South Korea or among the Korean popular culture fans in Japan. However, not much information could be found in regards to the response to the manga, only several secondary sources mention the reactions from either the Japanese or the Korean media.

To begin with, the manga received reviews in both countries. Once again, according to Steven Vogel the Japanese reactions tended to not be condemning of the manga's author's "effort to distort history and incite anti-Korean sentiments" (80). For example, the right-wing newspapers even argued that the manga portrayed the whole bilateral relationship very coolly and sensibly. No critique seems to have been provided. As for the left-wing sources, they did not blame the author for his ideas, but, instead, the society itself (80). In addition, one of the main responses was the emergence of the last decade's far-right anti-Korean organisations. It was already argued that the manga did not create new racist minds, but instead raised into the surface those who have already been feeling sceptical or negative towards the rising popularity of the Korean culture in Japan. The manga can be considered as one of the catalysts in the process of establishing the Zaitoku-kai organisation that shares many of its arguments and aims with the book. These will be discussed in more detail in the third chapter. Despite having found the reviews of the manga in secondary English-language sources, the author of the thesis was not able to acquire any actual book reviews or commentary from Japan available to wider public.

As for the Korean reaction, it is of no surprise that the response was much more negative. To put it simply, the "Korean media instantly decried the book" (80). Another reaction was the release of several

counteractive manga in Korean, called “*Anti-Japanese Wave*” in 2006 (협일류 “hyeom il ryu”). One was written by Yang Byeong-seol and other by Kim Sung-mo. The main topics in these manga are the military aggression of Japan, comfort women, Yasukuni shrine scandals and Takeshima/Dokdo islands dispute. These two manga were not as influential or popular as the *Manga Kenkanryu*, though they did sell more copies in Japan than in South Korea (Ilgan Sports/ 일간스포츠).

In general, the manga did cause a wave of disapproval from South Korea, as this country was in the centre of criticism. However, the reactions from the Japanese media were much less critical of the book. Both right and left-wing sources restrained themselves from criticising the stances of the author and either portrayed it as a rational description of the bilateral relationship or blamed the external factors, not the author himself. Finally, the manga can be seen as one of the causes for the establishment of right-wing racist organisations, such as the Zaitoku-kai, which makes it more of a political matter, not only about the popular culture and mass media.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, the *Manga Kenkanryu* is arguably a unique and worth-of-analysis book. Being a part of a popular genre in Japan it provides a completely different way of telling a political and nationalistic story and portraying South Korea and its people in a rather stereotypical, considerably racist way. This manga combines many narratives within it and gives much to discuss about. Such as study of the Korean popular culture or the representation of the Zainichi Koreans. Furthermore, it also shows a different perspective towards South Korea. Although the manga was created by a single person, it has been proven that the arguments given resonate with a wider group of individuals. The book may not have created individuals who dislike Korea, but it has definitely influenced the people who have already felt critical towards the country. It may have even influenced another rise of the far-right wing organisations, who in their agendas mainly deal with the foreigners and, in particular, Koreans. One of such groups that will be used for the further analysis in the next chapter is Zaitoku-kai. This group was established in 2006, right after the official release of the first manga’s volume. Thus, it can be argued that there is a connection to be considered between the two subjects. Furthermore, this linkage verifies one of the main stances of the thesis on the connection between anti-Korean Wave and anti-Korea sentiments.

CHAPTER 3: ZAITOKU-KAI (2006 – PRESENT)

It has already been proven that the *Manga Kenkanryu* was not only about hating the Korean Wave, according to the title, but also about a broader dislike of the country and its people. Much of the arguments of the manga's author can be linked back to the far-right wing groups and their agendas. As mentioned previously, the manga can also be seen as the catalyst of the organisations' establishment and appearance in Japan. This results in the book leaving the domain of only criticising the popular culture products of Korea and entering the matters of real political and historical debate. One group that emerged after the release of the manga and that has been on the pedestal for the past decade is Zaitoku-kai, which, although, founded one year after the release of the manga draws many similarities to the stances of the graphic volume. Therefore, this chapter will delve more into the political and nationalistic side of the argument and link Zaitoku-kai group to the anti-Hallyu movement, *Manga Kenkanryu* and the most recent example of 2012 – “*Gangnam Style*” phenomenon and its arguable failure in Japan. Still, the main issue of finding reliable English sources remains, as most of the literature written on the group is naturally in Japanese. Nevertheless, the arguments can be attempted to be drawn from the articles and visual material that is available and understandable for a non-speaker of Japanese.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Zaitoku-kai is also known by its full name “*Association of Citizens who do not Tolerate Privileges of Foreign Residents in Japan*” (in Japanese: 在日特権を許さない市民の会 – “*Zainichi Tokken o Yurusanai Shimin no Kai*”) and it was established in the end of 2006. Its founder and the first leader is Makoto Sakurai (real name – Makoto Takada) who is known around Japan for his controversial views and rather aggressive nature. This man, who has been the leader of the organisation for almost 8 years since its establishment, recently (in late 2014) was replaced by a new chairman – Yasuhiro Yagi. This adjustment is expected to influence the presence of the group in the society and media (Osaki).

The group currently has around 13.000-15.000 members nationwide of which most are young and middle-aged men. As in other similar “*Uyoku dantai*” type of organisations, there are not that many women participating in the activities. The Zaitoku-kai refer to themselves as “active conservatives” (Ito 435), however they can easily be labelled as part of the far-right movement, which has been discussed previously. The group's main goals are to demonstrate their anger against certain population groups, in this case the foreign residents of Japan, with a particular focus on the Korean Zainichi, as it is stated in

their name. The origins of the racist notions of Zaitoku-kai can be dated back by several decades. Since the 1990s Japan has been experiencing an economic recession, whereas the neighbouring South Korea even after the Asian Crisis has been rising both economically and politically in the region. Its popular culture, such as K-Pop is arguably taking over the world and replacing Japan as the representation of the modern East Asia. As it can be seen from the appendix 3 from Google Trends, the interest in Korean music has surpassed the interest in the Japanese music since the 2010-2011. This might have caused some aggravation among the Japanese nationalists. Furthermore, as it was the case with *Manga Kenkanryu*, these broader anti-Korea movements have much to do with the scandals of the FIFA World Cup of 2002 that was co-hosted by South Korea and Japan. This dispute remains as one of the links between the internet xenophobes and the protesters in the streets. Zaitoku-kai also makes the connection between the anti-Korean Wave movements and anti-Korea sentiments even clearer. Their participation is such demonstrations as the one against the Fuji TV in 2011 and making it not only about the popular culture and media, but instead about nationalistic stances and hatred towards the nation. This transition was done by singing the Japanese anthem, waving Japanese flags and shouting racist phrases. Their presence makes these one-sided protests broader and more about the bilateral relations that the popular culture products and scandals in regards to them.

ZAITOKU-KAI AND ANTI-KOREAN WAVE

The Zaitoku-kai claims have much more to do with the legal status and rights of the Zainichi Koreans in Japan, but some of their arguments can be linked back to the anti-Hallyu and anti-Korea movements. Most of their claims have been already refuted by the liberals and media, for example, an argument that “Koreans do not have to pay tax, subscription fee of NHK (Japanese National Broadcasting), water and so on.” (Ito 436) It is completely fabricated and not true at all. Still, the Zaitoku-kai and its supporters continue believing that Koreans receive special treatment from the Japanese government. Other claims of the organisation have much to do with the concept of historical revisionism¹¹. This is where the historical and political arguments against South Korea and other neighbour states come in. The group states that Japan does not have to apologise for the actions of the World War 2, the Japanese should be proud of their history and the 1940s’ generation instead of feeling guilty. These arguments have shown

¹¹ Historical Revisionism in the context of zaitoku-kai arguments is a negative matter as it has to do with revising the history and writing a different side of it. In the case of Japan, the government used to distort the World War 2 history and diminish the importance of such events as Nanjing massacre or comfort women issue. Currently, due to many scandals in the neighbouring states, the textbooks and other literature are being revised and are becoming more liberal, which unsurprisingly appears as a wrong-doing for the far-right wing organisations.

up in the *Manga Kenkanryu* as well, as it discussed the topic of comfort women, which is still a disputable matter in Japan, as well as the Nanjing massacre or the colonisation of South Korea and other countries. Just as the manga, the Zaitoku-kai claim that the history taught in the Japanese schools is falsified and hides the truth from the nationals. In regards to the hatred towards the neighbouring countries, it is of no surprise that there is much frustration with the rising popularity of the Korean music and film in the country. For these organisations the fans of the Korean popular culture tend to appear as anti-Japanese, or even as not worthy of being called patriots, or citizens of the country.

Such anger has been apparent in the demonstrations in the Korean Town in Shin-Okubo district, Tokyo. The district is home to both Zainichi Koreans and Korean immigrants and is the main centre of the Korean traditional and popular culture in Tokyo. However, once bustling with tourists and Korean pop culture lovers, in the recent years this place has been ravaged by anti-Korean Wave protesters whose demonstrations are further deteriorating the Japan-South Korea relations (Harlan). Most of the demonstrations have been organised by the Zaitoku-kai and although they are not attended by large crowds, the violence and loudness remain nevertheless. The protests have been on the rise since 2012, when the Dokdo/Takeshima island dispute surfaced into the discussion and has caused a wave of scandals and demonstrations throughout Japan. Shin-Okubo district, being a centre of the Korean inhabitants, provided a place for the protests. Due to these demonstrations not only the residents feel in danger to live and work there, but the numbers of tourists and just general supporters of the Korean culture have stopped visiting the district. People do not feel safe in the area and even the low prices of the cosmetics or the variety of Korean food restaurants are unable to attract visitors any longer (Harlan). However, the demonstrations still continue, they have become a weekly matter. In addition, in the recent years there have been more physical and verbal assaults against Korean individuals than ever. Even though the police watch over most of the protest they do not stop the demonstrators. It is unclear whether they support the right-wing arguments or simply cannot interfere due to the free speech laws that allow people to voice their opinion; no matter how controversial the statements are, as long as the expression is not violent it can continue.

ZAITOKU-KAI AND *MANGA KENKANRYU*

Returning back to the case study of *Manga Kenkanryu*, several distinguishable connections can be made between the comic book and the Zaitoku-kai organisation, which prove the manga's political and historical notions.

First of all, the manga was released right before the official foundation of the Zaitoku-kai group. This may provide a logical link between the two, making the manga one of the possible catalysts for the establishment of the organisation. According to Kenchiro Ito, the manga has indeed given a justification for the racist notions. Furthermore, the author of the manga stated that one simply has to become anti-Korean after reading the “truth” his book displays, if not, than the person is not a real Japanese. Such an argument and easy access to the manga could have easily attracted the young population of Japan, who already were critical of the positive perspectives toward Korea.

Secondly, the arguments and topics that the manga discuss much overlap with the agenda and matters the Zaitoku-kai care about. For both subjects, South Korea and its nationals appear as inferior to the Japanese and are seen as the aggressors, who only pretend to be victims in the global environment. Furthermore, not only Zaitoku-kai is much concerned and involved with the matters of the Zainichi Koreans, the manga is as well. It portrays these residents very stereotypically, as always being angry, loud and short-tempered. Furthermore, it denies the possibility of the middle-ground, where a Zainichi can be neither Japanese, nor Korean. They appear to be forced to choose the side, either one is naturalised and turned into a full Japanese citizen, or one becomes the “other”, the “enemy”. As for the Zaitoku-kai, they also dislike the current “semi-citizen” status of the Zainichi; they perceive these people as having special privileges, being supposedly superior to the Japanese. This debate is much discussed in both the manga and the agenda of the Zaitoku-kai, and although it does not have much connection to the Anti-Korean Wave movement, definitely has much to do with the overall hatred towards the Korean people and the nation. Consequently, it can be easily concluded that both the *Manga Kenkanryu* and the Zaitoku-kai organisation combine in their arguments both the anti-Hallyu and anti-Korea sentiments.

The manga mentions not only the political and historical events, but also cultural subjects, such as the origins of sports (Kendo and Kumdo), traditions (origami, tea ceremony) and even food (kimchi, various packed snacks), which as mentioned in the first chapter can be currently considered as part of the cultural products, part of the third wave of Hallyu. In addition, the manga clearly portrays the drama “*Winter Sonata*” and its popularity among middle-aged women in Japan, which is most probably not shown as a positive thing, but rather something demeaning and impure. As for the Zaitoku-kai, they clearly stay more within the realm of historical and political issues surrounding Korea. Still, the obsession about the Korean popular culture by the Japanese is also perceived negatively, as they believe that these people naively consume the products without knowing the country, the history. Both

the manga and the organisation believe that once the people learn the “truth” their eyes would immediately open up and they could not blindly enjoy the cultural products.

All in all, these three factors demonstrate that the *Manga Kenkanryu* and the Zaitoku-kai nationalists do have much in common and combine within themselves both the anti-Hallyu and the anti-Korea sentiments, making the debate not only about the popular culture and mass media, but also about nationalism, politics and history. Another example that not only connects the nationalistic notions and the popular culture, but also counteracts the female support of the Hallyu is a 2012 phenomenon of “*Gangnam Style*” which was decried in Japan by both far-right wing male and liberal females, thus acts as a worthy-of-analysis paradox.

“GANGNAM STYLE” (2012) AND ZAITOKU-KAI

2012 was a significant year for Korean pop music. Psy’s song “*Gangnam Style*” captivated the minds and hearts of millions of people all around the world. Due to this phenomenon the Korean Wave became a truly global topic being discussed everywhere. While most of the countries were spending time creating parodies and imitations of the popular single, Japan seemed to be incredibly uninterested with all this matter. One of the speculated reasons for such a response was the type of the fan base in Japan, which is mainly made up of young and middle-aged women who are more interested in seeing gallant and handsome men instead of a satirical and vicious person. Besides that, there are also political reasons involved, mainly having to do with a recent dispute over Takeshima/Dokdo islands that might have changed the Japanese perception towards Korean popular culture once again.

For most of the Hallyu’s existence in Japan the main fans of K-dramas and K-pop were the obasan, the middle-aged women who were infatuated by the romanticized images of South Korea, the handsomeness and refinement of the actors and the beauty and modesty of the actresses. However, even these pro-Korea ladies were not interested in the “*Gangnam Style*” phenomenon. The response turned wholly negative both in the sense of the nationalist agenda on the territorial disputes and in the case of female audience, because of the differences in perception of how the Korean popular culture is supposed to be like.

To begin with the men, the single “*Gangnam Style*” was generally popular among the male audiences around the world, it was never a female-only realm. However, among the Japanese men (in this case, the right-wing nationalist males), this song did not make any significant impact, it may have only influenced another emergence of the old arguments and issues. As mentioned, one of the explanations

for the failure of Psy in Japan has been the recent Takeshima/Dokdo islands dispute, which has been in the agenda of most of the right-wing groups for a long time. This issue came back into the political agenda in 2012 after the South Korean president Lee Myung-bak visited the islands in August (*The Japan Times*). Such action did cause negative reaction in Japan by causing a rise of nationalistic sentiments. Zaitoku-kai was among the groups that responded to the visitation by taking to the streets of the Korean Town in Tokyo and demonstrating there. It can be said that the Psy's song was released at a wrong time to gain popularity in Japan. Moreover, the far-right organisations could have just been waiting for another chance to raise their agendas. In addition, not only the discussion on the islands surfaced, but also the nationalists on the internet raised their voices and aimed to "denigrate the worldwide success of "*Gangnam Style*", charging it with everything from unoriginality to the use of Bot to artificially enhance the number of YouTube hits." (Lie 45) It is of no surprise that such a discussion appears after a release or popularisation of a certain Korean popular culture product. As it was the case with *Manga Kenkanryu* after "*Winter Sonata*" reached Japan or "*Disgusting Hallyu*" after Girls' Generation and KARA became popular in the country. So with the "*Gangnam Style*", it seems to be another chance for all the voices to surface and be heard in some way.

Another response towards the Korean popular culture can be discussed in addition to the nationalist arguments, this being the opinions of the female audience. To begin with, for the fans of Korean culture and media Psy and his appeal stood as a complete contrast to a traditional K-drama or K-pop male. For instance, the immensely popular actor Bae Yong-joon from "*Winter Sonata*" compared to Psy is a polar opposite. Most of the time the men in Korean popular culture are portrayed as romantic, vice-free, gallant, handsome and refined. Psy, on the other hand, is not considered good-looking at all, he is humoristic, full of immoralities, rather rude and outspoken. As told by John Lie, Psy, simply, "was not part of K-pop for Japanese K-pop fans" (46). Furthermore, Psy has never had any intentions to perform in Japanese which once again contradicts the usual multilingual idol, who, besides releasing singles in South Korea, also learns Japanese and tours in the country. It has become an accepted phenomenon among Japanese fans who end up seeing the Korean idols as their own, almost indistinguishable from local artists. Psy did not conquer the Japanese fans, thus becoming a paradox, because for the most of the Hallyu history, the Japanese women stood as counterparts for the male nationalists and supported the Korean media. In this case, the response was homogeneous from both right-wing organisations and the counter female. Only the stance was dissimilar.

All in all, the case of “*Gangnam Style*” provides another connection between the nationalist arguments and the anti-Korean Wave sentiments in Japan. Furthermore, this example stands as a paradoxical case, as this time the popularity diminished not only because of the recent islands disputes, but also due to the way the singer looked and how it counteracted the taste of the Japanese fan base. Although, “*Gangnam Style*” on its own does not seem to have many links to the Zaitoku-kai organisation, it still can be connected to the far-right wing groups and the wider demonstrations in the Tokyo Korea Town, in which the Zaitoku-kai has been very prevalent and active.

CONCLUSION

In summary, the Zaitoku-kai organisation is an important part of the anti-Korean Wave and anti-Korea sentiments. Although, it is mainly concerned with the legal status of the Zainichi Koreans, it acts as an influential factor in the whole debate and also is one of the far-right wing organisations in Japan that are worth of a detailed analysis. The arguments and the numerous demonstrations of the group have proved that their stances towards South Korea are considerably hateful and one-sided. They bring the Japanese flags and shout racist comments even in demonstrations that, at first sight, merely have to do with the mass media and popular culture of South Korea, as it was the case with the Fuji TV protests in August, 2011. Moreover, their connection to the previously discussed case of *Manga Kenkanryu* stands as an important element in the discussion. Both the manga and the organisation connect within themselves both sentiments of anti-Hallyu and anti-Korea, as it has been mentioned several times before. This group may be more interested in the nationalistic and historical sides of the debates, yet they do also take into account the popularity of the Korean culture in Japan and are very much sceptical of it. As with the case of “*Gangnam Style*”, this critique is only stronger. It can be argued that the demonstrations and the agenda surfaces every time another political or cultural event happens, be it a popular song reaching Japan or a bilateral dispute taking place. Even though the organisation does not represent the perception of the whole nation-state, it can still be used as an example of one of the important responses towards the Korean Wave in Japan. This perception has been shifting for the past decade and it can only be speculated what the organisation will do and how the responses might change in the future. For now, the organisation is still prevalent in the streets of Tokyo, though the numbers of counteracting individuals are also on the rise. This emergence of counter-activists may be a beginning of a much more positive relationship between South Korea and Japan and maybe even an appearance of a different type of nationalism in Japan or a novel perception towards the South Korean popular culture.

CONCLUSION

It has been more than a decade since the Korean Wave has reached and found support in Japan. As this neighbour state was one of the first receivers of Hallyu, the phenomenon had enough time to develop independently and be perceived in a variety of ways throughout the years. What has begun as a fascination about the South Korean dramas and music did not stay the same for too long. Only a couple of years later an antagonistic movement started, which was coined as the anti-Korean Wave or, in Japanese, “Kenkanryu”. This sentiment seemed to appear out of nowhere, purely a hatred or even jealousy towards the actors and musicians of Korean descent. Yet, this movement had shown to have many links to the nationalistic stances that have been on a rise in Japan. The main aim of this thesis was to find a connection between the anti-Hallyu sentiments and the far-right wing nationalism, two phenomena of the last decade’s Japan.

This paper started the discussion by introducing the main concepts of the debate – Hallyu, anti-Hallyu and anti-Korea. It continued by connecting these phenomena to the subject of extreme right-wing nationalism, which played a significant role as a bond between anti-Hallyu and anti-Korea movements. The analysis was illustrated by providing two interlinked examples. This first was *Manga Kenkanryu*, which, although, a decade old case, is still relevant to the argument. This manga was one of the catalysts of the recent reoccurrence of the racist far-right wing organisations in Japan that base their agenda upon the hatred towards South Korea, its nationals and popular culture products. The manga was a single independent case at first, but the turmoil it caused proved its significance to the analysis. The second case that further built on the arguments was the Zaitoku-kai group, established after the hard copy of manga had been released. This organisation is mostly concerned with the Zainichi Koreans, yet their actions and arguments show a wider interest in all things Korean. They connect within their agenda the anti-Korea and anti-Hallyu sentiments, just like the manga does. These two instances are of much significance and provide many arguments for the hypothesis of the thesis.

By using the established theoretical framework and the two interconnected cases it can be concluded that the anti-Korean Wave sentiments in Japan have not appeared out of an ordinary dislike of the Korean popular culture. The sentiments have their origins in the history and politics, the bilateral relations of the neighbouring states. As the manga and the Zaitoku-kai organisation have shown, the movements and the critique are not only about the mass media or the popular culture products, they are very much about the wider issues, such as the legal status of Zainichi Koreans, or the continuing territorial disputes, or the remains of the Pacific War.

Nevertheless, this debate still cannot be concluded. There are many remaining gaps in the research, which should be filled in by international authors. The lack of sources in English has been one of the main issues in conducting the analysis. Furthermore, the articles actually written by either Japanese or Korean researchers could always be biased towards one side or the other, thus the objectivity always had to be checked and evaluated. The topic of nationalism is also under much development; one can never know what events or issues might happen in the future and how the nationalist groups may react to them. Furthermore, the organisation discussed throughout the paper emerged only 10 years ago, which means that there is always a possibility of new significant groups being established in just a few decades from now. Lastly, the phenomenon of Hallyu itself is changing immensely, spreading more and more rapidly, which may possibly cause new waves of either obsession or discontent in other countries and regions. There are sentiments of dislike already emerging in the South East Asian area and it is only a small part of the globe. It cannot be known what may happen on the other side of the continent or ocean. The perception of the Korean popular culture and the country remains one of the topics to be analysed by scholars and media, as the reasons for the dissatisfaction vary from place to place.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: KOREAN WAVE

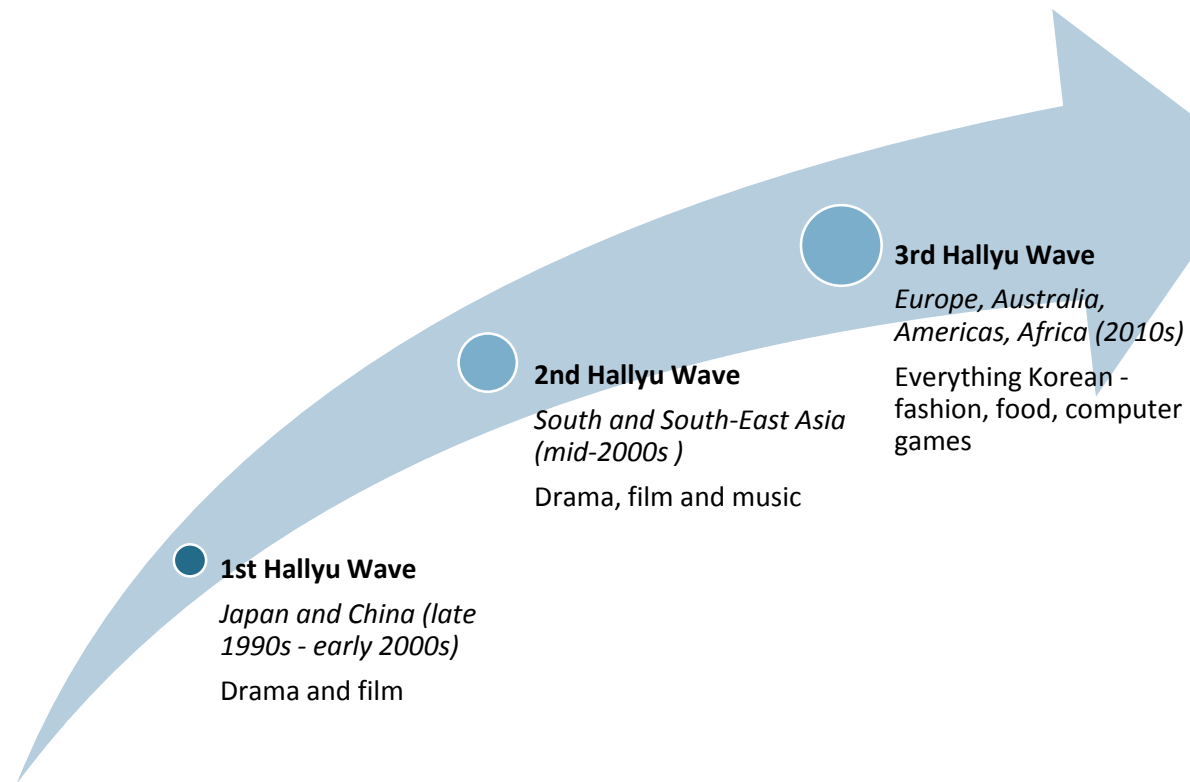


Figure 1: The evolution of Hallyu (1990s-present)

APPENDIX 2: MANGA KENKANRYU

INTERNET ARCHIVE
Wayback Machine

http://www.amazon.co.jp/exec/obidos/tg/browse/-/497532 Go

613 captures
2 Dec 00 - 8 Jan 14

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2004 13 2005 2006

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Amazon.co.jp トップ100リスト Amazon.co.jp Top 100 List
[1-25](#) | [26-50](#) | [51-75](#) | [76-100](#)

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1. 嫌韓流
マンガ嫌韓流
山野車輪 (著)
Manga Kenkanryu
by Sharin Yamano

通常24時間以内に発送
ムック (2005/07) 百選舎
▶ [詳しい情報はこちらへ](#)

価格: ¥1,000 (税込)

おすすめ度: ★★★★★
ショッピングカートに入れる
ウィッシュリストに加える
- 

2. のだめカンタービレ Selection CD Book
二ノ宮 知子 (著)

通常2〜3日以内に発送
ムック (2005/08/10) 講談社

価格: ¥1,600 (税込)

この商品に最初のレビューを書きませんか? 3,000円のAmazonギフト券が抽選で当たります。

出版社 / 著者からの内容紹介
沖鮎要は、どこにでもいる普通の高校生。歴史は難しそうで、はっきりいって興味ない。まして韓国なんて興味あるわけない。ただ漠然と「日本は韓国に悪いことをした」と思っていた。学校でそう習ったし、TVや新聞もそ... [続きを見る](#)

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- 実用・スポーツ・ホビー
- 資格・検定
- 暮らし・健康・子育て
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- タレント写真集
- ゲーム攻略本
- エンターテインメント
- 新書・文庫
- 雑誌

Figure 2: The Amazon Japan Top 100 List from the August of 2005. The website archive was reached by using “Wayback Machine”. Yamano Sharin’s *Manga Kenkanryu* can be seen as the number 1 bestseller of the time.



Figure 2 Manga Kenkanryu cover



Figure 3: Depiction of the Korean loss (top) and the victory of the Japanese (bottom)

APPENDIX 3: GOOGLE TRENDS

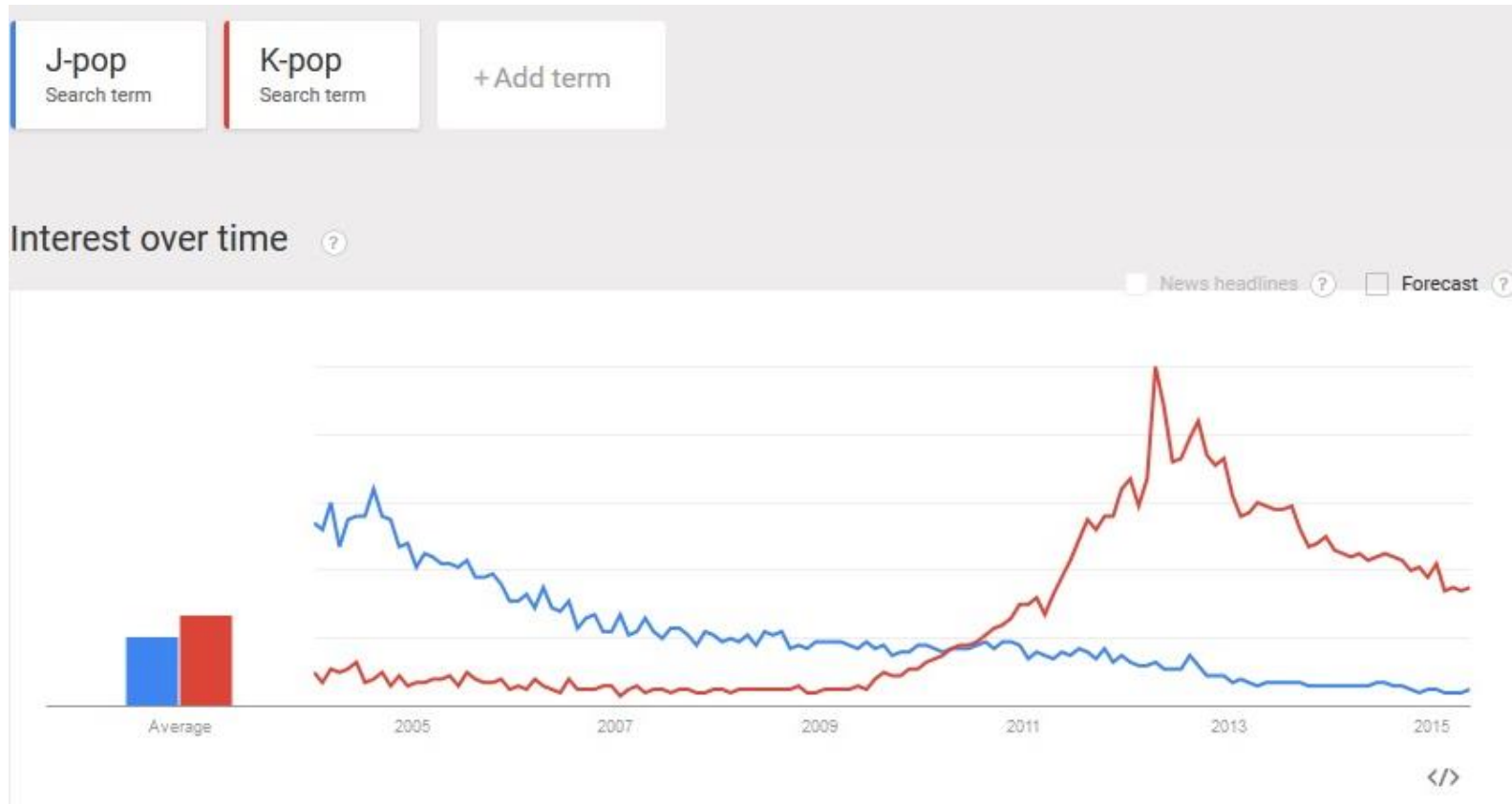


Figure 4: The interest in J-Pop and K-Pop (2004-2015) according to Google Trends