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Research Notes: The Transformation of Food Culture in Zainichi Korean Society, an Anthropological Case Study of the Ikaino–Ikuno Area

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1 Introduction

The Zainichi Koreans ("Japanese-resident Koreans") are a long-standing, widespread immigrant group in Japanese society, and the Ikaino–Ikuno[1] area located in the southeastern part of Osaka City has been the region with Japan's largest Zainichi Korean population since before World War II. Even today, approximately 20% (27,960 people) of the total population of Ikuno Ward is non-Japanese, of which about 80% (21,582 people) of the foreign population is Zainichi Korean.[2]

The Ikaino–Ikuno area of Osaka first emerged as a concentrated Zainichi Korean region in the early twentieth century, during the period when the Korean Peninsula was under Japanese colonial rule. After World War II, many people moved through the existing Zainichi Korean network in this area to avoid the political and social turmoil, as well as economic poverty, caused by the Korean War and military dictatorships on the Korean Peninsula. Thus, in the postwar period the Ikaino–Ikuno area expanded by attracting more Korean people from both South Korea and Japan to the existing community.

Therefore, a great deal of research has been performed on the topic of the Zainichi Korean community in Ikaino and Ikuno. One of the most characteristic types of research deals with Zainichi identity. This research has mainly discussed how the Zainichi community has fought against discrimination in Japanese society, or how the meaning of living as an "outsider" is based on "macro" concepts such as nationality and ethnicity. These studies have confronted the historical context that resulted in discrimination against Zainichi Koreans because of their

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[1] The name "Ikaino" was removed from maps in 1973 during the adjustment of administrative districts.

[2] Ōsaka-shi Shiminkyoku Sōmubu 大阪市市民局総務部, "Gyōsei kubetsu: Danjobetsu jinkō oyobi setaisū: Reiwa gannen kugatsu matsujitsu genzai"「行政区別・男女別人口及び世帯数」 令和元年 9 月末日現在, https://www.city.osaka.lg.jp/shimin/page/0000006893.html, accessed 29 December 2019.

minority status in Japanese society.

However, such a viewpoint does not fully capture the complete practice of daily life or how it changes over time. In order to examine the relationship between Zainichi Koreans and Japanese society and how it has changed over time, a perspective concentrating on "microscopic" changes taking place within the Zainichi Korean community has begun to emerge.[3] Drawing upon this discussion, my focus is on changes in the daily life of Zainichi Koreans. In particular I concentrate on the food culture that is built on daily experience and individual memories, as well as how it helps sustain the community.[4]

Regarding the food culture of Zainichi Korean in Ikaino–Ikuno, there has been previous research focusing on the process of localization of the food culture on shopping streets such as the Ikuno Koreatown and Tsuruhashi International Market.[5] Such studies focus on how food culture is part of the experience and restoration of ethnicity.[6] However, these kinds of studies have a strong tendency to compare foods that were localized by Zainichi Koreans living in Japan to the "original" Korean foods on which they were based. In this way they confine the food culture of Zainichi Koreans to the narrow range of cooked Korean food, thereby perceiving Korean food culture as a static object. Also, these studies only focused on changes in the food itself, and their relations to the actions carried out by the people of the shopping streets were often overlooked.

Because of this, in my research I elucidate the process of formation and change of the food culture of Zainichi Koreans from a "microscopic" point of view, and I examine things such as the influence of the appearance of newcomers on their change in food culture. In particular, by focusing on the commercial cuisine developed in Ikuno Koreatown (formerly known as "Chōsen Market"), I examine how cultural adaptation and cultural fusion in Zainichi Korean food culture can be understood through looking at its cultural interactions with two different bordering cultures, those of mainstream Japan and Korea.

More specifically, this study focuses on the stories of Zainichi Koreans working in jobs

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[3] Sonia Ryang, *Korian diasupora: Zainichi Chōsenjin to aidentitii* コリアンディアスポら―在日コリアンとアイデンティティー, Nakanishi Kyoko trans., Akashi Shoten 明石書店, 2005.

[4] Suzuki Tooru 鈴木透, *Shoku no jikkenba America: Faasuto fūdo no yukue fast food teikoku no yukue* 食の実験場アメリカーファーストフード帝国のゆくえ, Chūkō Shinsho 中公新書, 2019, p. 5.

[5] Typical Korean markets in Ikaino–Ikuno include Tsuruhashi International Market, Ikuno Koreatown, and Imazato Koreatown.

[6] Kwon Sookin 권숙인, "Hyeonjihwa, jeonghyeonghwa, jiguhwa: Jaemaeksiko/Ilbon hanin ui minjok-eumsikmunhwa" 현지화·정형화·지구화: 재맥시코/일본 한인의 민족음식문화, *Bigyomunhwayeongu* 비교문화연구, Vol. 11, No. 2, 2005, pp. 5–34.

related to commercial cuisine in and around Ikuno Koreatown (the former "Chōsen Market"). The study is based on fieldwork conducted in 2019. I focused on observation in the first half of 2019 and interviews in the second half of the year. In interviews I paid special attention to grasping the overall picture of how the commercial cuisine of Zainichi Koreans in the research area was formed and changed over time. Therefore, the difference in the ages of the informants and the amount of time they had spent in Japan was important.

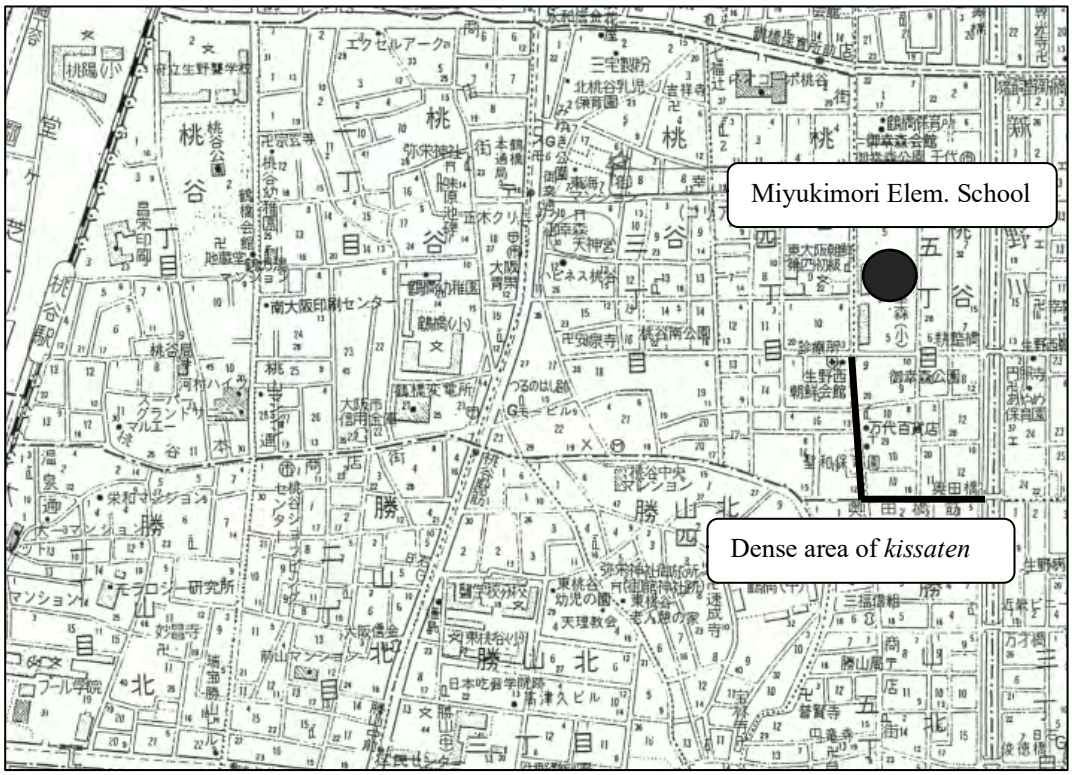

Figure 1: *Kissaten* area of Ikuno Koreatown in 2019[7]

The definitions of terms used to describe Zainichi Koreans are not always consistent in previous research. Therefore, I will briefly define the terms I use in this paper. I use "Zainichi Korean" as an umbrella term referring to a wide range of Korean residents in Japan. This term is used to refer to both so-called "oldcomers" and so-called "newcomers". The term "oldcomer" corresponds to a narrow definition of the term "Zainichi Korean". In other words, it is used to

[7] This map is courtesy of Ikaino Sepparam Bunko (猪飼野セッパラム文庫), 2018, and also reprinted by permission of Fujii Konosuke. The black line showing the dense area of *kissaten* and the dot marking Miyukimori Elementary School are my own additions.

refer to those Korean residents who came to Japan before 1945 and their descendants who have "Special Permanent Resident" status in Japan today. On the other hand, "newcomers" are those Korean residents of Japan who emigrated from South Korea in more recent years, mainly from the 1980s onward. Zainichi Korean "newcomers" do not possess Special Permanent Resident status in Japan but have other stable immigration statuses such as regular permanent resident status, a working visa, a spouse visa, or a dependent visa.

2 Zainichi Koreans and "Morning Service" in Ikaino–Ikuno

Throughout the postwar period until the 1990s, *kissaten* (cafes or coffeeshops serving light meals) were scattered throughout the Ikuno area. It is said that there were about ten *kissaten* in the dense area shown in Figure 1 alone. In recent years, many *kissaten* have closed, but as evidenced in Figure 2, *kissaten* with a Showa atmosphere still remain on the street between Momodani 5-*chōme* and Katsuyamakita 5-*chōme*. These *kissaten* offer a set menu consisting of toast or a sandwich, a boiled egg, salad, and coffee at a low price of 350 to 400 yen. This is referred to as "morning service".

"Morning service" at *kissaten* in Ikaino–Ikuno is deeply related to the daily life and food culture of Zainichi Koreans, many of whom worked in the town factories and the Chōsen Market that existed in Ikuno after World War II. Therefore, in this section, I would like to examine how the "morning service" of the Ikaino–Ikuno *kissaten* influenced the food culture of Zainichi Koreans, and how the two were blended.

Figure 2: Morning service, Kissaten H, Ikuno Koreatown
(Photographed by the author, 2019)

The culture of providing "morning service" at *kissaten* was developed mainly in the Nagoya area against the social and economic backdrop of Japan's continued industrialization and high growth period. To this point, Takai Naoyuki argues that the "morning service" was developed to meet the needs of the local industries in places like Ichinomiya, Aichi, where especially noisy light industry was concentrated.[8] Based on this, it

[8] Takai Naoyuki 高井尚之, *Kafe to Nihonjin* カフェと日本人, Kodansha Gendai Shinsho 講談社現代新書, 2014, p. 116.

was inevitable that "morning service" became popular in the Ikaino–Ikuno area, which had an industrial background similar to that of the city of Ichinomiya and a particularly high concentration of manufacturers. An interviewee described the relationship between the industrial background of Ikaino–Ikuno area and the *kissaten* at that time as follows:

> There are many *kissaten* here because there are many Zainichi Koreans in this area, and many of them used their own houses as workplaces. For example, normally, the entrance is one door, isn't it? However, they made some places that could be opened with partitions, and everyone was working in there, so there was no available space. So they went to *kissaten* to have meetings. Also, they often finished breakfast and lunch at *kissaten*. (Ms. M, November 15, 2019, at the Korean Volunteer Association located in Ikuno Koreatown)

Thus, the increase in the number of *kissaten* that provided "morning service" in the Ikaino–Ikuno area is thought to be concurrent with the development of *kissaten* in Japanese society. At the same time, the "morning service" in the Ikaino–Ikuno area is considered to have cultural uniqueness by being deeply involved with Zainichi Korean.

The characteristic nature of Zainichi Koreans using the "morning service" in Ikaino–Ikuno is related to the fact that many women started working early in the morning at town factories and markets. They worked at low wages from early in the morning until late at night to support their families. Due to such living conditions, they did not have time to prepare breakfast, so they relied upon the "morning service" of the *kissaten*. As described by Mr. Cho in an interview held on November 22, 2019, at the Korean Volunteer Association located in Ikuno Koreatown, "Morning service in this area was 300 yen. It's now around 350 or 400 yen, but in the past it was 300 yen. So everyone ate breakfast and lunch in *kissaten*. … People who work at home start working early in the morning. That's why they don't have the place and time to prepare meals. It was cheaper to pay 300 yen at *kissaten*. Also, no time was lost." Another interviewee described the situation in this way:

Figure 3: A *kissaten* near Ikuno Koreatown
(Photographed by the author, 2019)

> All the *omoni*[9] here worked. Everyone got up early in the morning, worked for a while, and then ate breakfast. … So they didn't have time to prepare meals. They started work early in the morning, and when they had a little time to spare after sending their kids to school, that was the time to eat something—coffee and toast at the *kissaten*. And the morning service here was also available for delivery. In this way, it gradually took root and turned into a morning service boom. (Ms. G, November 16, 2019, at Restaurant B near Ikuno Koreatown)

From the above stories, it is clear that Zainichi Korean women working in Ikaino–Ikuno used the "morning service" of the *kissaten* to finish their meals quickly in the gap between periods of work. That is why *kissaten* in this area began to provide delivery services and started to open earlier in an attempt to meet the needs of the community's lifestyle.

Considering that people on the Korean Peninsula did not traditionally have a habit of eating toast and coffee in the morning, from the perspective of cultural fusion it is interesting that Zainichi Koreans accepted the "morning service" produced in Japan, which mainly consists of coffee and toast. When Zainichi Koreans who were accustomed to "morning service" in Ikaino–Ikuno first visited South Korea, it took them a lot of time to find coffee and toast for breakfast:

> When I went to Korea for the first time, I was surprised that the coffee was so bad, and I couldn't find morning service anywhere. Everyone was eating rice in the morning. I put up with it since my visit was only a few days, but when my niece went to study abroad in Korea [in the late 1980s] she went back to Japan to buy a lot of coffee beans so that she could drink coffee properly. (Ms. G, November 16, 2019, at a cafe near Ikuno Koreatown)

On the other hand, from the perspective of newcomers who have come to Japan from South Korea since the 1990s, it is surprising that elderly *halmeoni* (grandmothers) eat toast and coffee in the morning. Ms. P, who came to Japan in 2005 and has been managing and operating a *kissaten* for five years, explained it in this way:

> I'd never seen it when I was in Korea, so when I came here, I couldn't get used to it at first. Of course, Korea has changed now, but the older people are still different. However, toast and coffee in the morning are the staple food of *eoleusin* [senior citizens] here. It seems that

[9] Literally "mother" in Korean. Here, it refers to married women.

> they have been eating morning service for a long time, so even old people eat it. There are tail soup and kimchi here too, but they only eat morning service for breakfast. (November 15, 2019, at Ms. P's B Kissaten)

What should be noted here is that Zainichi Koreans who lived a long time in Ikaino–Ikuno were familiar with the "morning service", even though their roots were on the Korean Peninsula. Through this, we can grasp an important aspect of how the food culture of the Zainichi Korean community in Ikaino–Ikuno has changed. This shows that the food culture of migrant groups is formed not only in the process of simple evolution over time, but also in the process of adapting to the local socioeconomic environment.

However, the food culture of Zainichi Koreans in this area, centered on "morning service", has not simply accepted the Japanese form of "morning service". Instead, the food culture centered on "morning service" which provided toast and coffee in post-Ikaino Ikuno has been developed further by newcomers who arrived in Japan after the 1980s. Under their influence, the composition of "morning service" in Ikuno has diverged from the "morning services" offered in other areas of Japan. This is clear from the case of B Kissaten mentioned above.

B Kissaten is located 300 meters from Miyukimori Elementary School (see Figure 1) and has been in business for about sixty years. Ms. P worked as an employee at B Kissaten for several years before she began running it five years ago. Like other *kissaten*, this shop opens at 6:30 in the morning and offers a "morning service" consisting of toast and coffee, boiled eggs, and salad. However, the unique feature of this shop is that it offers only one type of toast, while other *kissaten* have at least six types of toast. In place of these other toasts, B Kissaten prepares Korean home-cooked food, such as kimchi and oxtail soup. Whenever a menu item that is not the "morning service" is ordered, kimchi and soup are always served as side dishes. For example, curried rice is served with kimchi and the Korean-style soup made that day. Ms. P is proud of serving Korean home-cooked food at the *kissaten*:

> After I took over this store, I started offering Korean-style home-cooked dishes based on my experiences and memories from when I was in Korea. I make everything by myself. … There are many kinds of Korean dishes, such as Korean miso-*jjigae* and oxtail soup, and I prepare them by myself all day. The food we serve is home-cooked, not like restaurant food. That's why the dishes served here don't get boring to those who eat them, and Koreans often come here to eat. However, *halmeoni* mainly eat bread. (November 17, 2019, at B Kissaten)

Therefore, B Kissaten is a general *kissaten* that provides "morning service" and meals, but looking at the menu, cultural elements of Japan and Korea are mixed as a result of the newcomers who have come to Japan. In fact, when I made observations at this *kissaten* on a weekday around noon, one group of *halmeoni* were eating "morning service", but the two customers who came from Korea relatively recently ordered oxtail soup and rice. Based on these facts, even within the Zainichi Korean community, the food selected differs depending on things like when those ordering immigrated to Japan. *Kissaten* have responded to that difference.

Customers who visit B Kissaten can be divided into these three main patterns: 1) *halmeoni* who eat "morning service" of mainly toast and coffee, 2) Zainichi Koreans (mainly newcomers) who eat Korean home-cooked food or rice-based food, and 3) Japanese eating a Korean-style set menu. Meanwhile, tourists, young people, and people who live in Japan temporarily rarely visit *kissaten*. Of course, some others do order "morning service" at B Kissaten, but the number is small compared to other *kissaten* that only offer "morning service".

Each of the three patterns described above carries different implications about accepting Japanese food culture, maintaining Korean food culture, or accepting Korean food culture (in the case of Japanese customers). Through the above example of "morning service" at B Kissaten, it is possible to grasp how cultural fusion has occurred in the process of forming and developing the Zainichi Korean food culture of Ikaino–Ikuno.

3 Cultural Adaptation in Zainichi Korean Food Culture

I will now consider how socio-economic circumstances influenced the process of formation and change of the commercial cuisine that was developed by Zainichi Koreans. In doing so, I will elucidate the cultural adaptation exhibited by their food culture development processes.

First, it should be noted that Zainichi Koreans living in Ikaino–Ikuno had generally been from lower economic classes even before World War II. Many Zainichi Koreans who lived in Osaka in the prewar period lived extremely poor lives, spending over 80% of their income on basic living expenses for survival such as food and rent.[10] Poverty continued into the postwar period, and Zainichi Koreans living in Ikaino–Ikuno were no exception. However, because of the large number of Zainichi Koreans in Ikaino–Ikuno, members of the Zainichi Korean

[10] Lee Songsun 이송순, "Iljaegangjeomgi Joseonin siksaenghwal ui jiyeokseong gwa sikminjiseong" 일제강점기 조선인 식생활의 지역성과 식민지성, *Hanguksahakbo* 韓國史學報, Vol. 75, 2019.

community were able to maintain small businesses by taking advantage of their ethnic network. These businesses were mainly related to the food industry, such as restaurants and distributors.

The characteristics of commercial cuisine retained obvious and strong ties to the homeland of their owners. First-generation Zainichi Koreans and "1.5 generation" Zainichi Koreans still had memories of life on the Korean Peninsula. They did not receive formal cooking education nor were they familiar with Japan's food culture, so when they tried to start restaurant businesses, they had no choice but to depend on the food they experienced on a daily basis in their home country. In addition, since an ethnic community had already been formed in Ikaino–Ikuno, it was easy to establish businesses specifically targeting this ethnic group.

According to records and interviews performed at that time, kimchi and *tteok* (Korean rice cakes) were typical examples of early commercial cuisine. Since preparation of these foods did not require advanced cooking techniques, the hurdles for starting a business were low. Through this sort of cooking business, Zainichi Koreans in Ikaino–Ikuno stayed involved with other compatriots and shared ethnic dishes like *tteok* together. In this way, their commercial cuisine was originally intended for daily consumption within the ethnic group, and it contributed to the formation of a food culture that could be shared collectively.

It is also important that their food culture was a product of adaptation to Japanese society, which had a different culinary environment from the Korean Peninsula. It is true that *tteok* is made from rice, which was easily available in Japan, and to that extent cultural adaptation was not very necessary. However, in other cases it was required.

Figure 4: Traditional *tteok* sold in Ikuno Koreatown (Photographed by author, 2018)

For example, when trying to obtain meat for traditional dishes, the parts of meat that were generally used in Korea were too expensive to buy in Japan. For this reason, Zainichi Koreans adapted their dishes to utilize remains that were left over or discarded. Leftovers and discarded parts were mainly offal of meat, known in Japan as *horumon*. Actually, in the case of Ikaino–Ikuno, Koreans and some Japanese have been selling offal and other meat for grilling since at least the time of the formation of the Chōsen Market around 1928.[11] Further, after Japan's defeat

[11] Lee Gyang-gyu 이광규, "Jaeil Hangugin ui josa yeongu: Daepan Saenyagu reul jungshim euro" 在日韓國人의調査研究：大阪生野區를中心으로, *Hangukmunhwaillyuhak* 韓國文化人類學, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1981.

in World War II meat was a controlled product that could not be bought or sold freely, but offal was excluded from postwar commodity control policies.[12] Offal was rarely consumed in Japan, except in a few areas. Therefore, Zainichi Koreans were able to purchase *horumon* at a low cost. This is the reason why a cuisine that includes *horumon* has developed in Zainichi Korean society.

The independent food culture of Zainichi Koreans including leftovers and discarded parts was not limited to the use of *horumon*. Parts such as *tonsoku* (pig's feet), head meat, and blood were also readily available. They steamed, boiled, and consumed these parts, which became another major part of the diet of the local Zainichi Koreans. Regarding the origins of such cuisine, Mr. Y, who runs an Ikuno Koreatown butcher shop that has been in business for three generations, said as follows:

> When my grandfather started, Japanese people did not eat pig heads or feet much, so we could buy them cheaply. We boiled the head of the pig, then sold the meat. That's how this butcher shop started. Then, gradually we became able to sell other cuts of meat like we do now. … To explain this cuisine here, it's dishes for the poor. So, the very first premise is that most of the dishes are made with what Japanese people throw away. All the good cuts of meat, such as rib meat, were gone, so we had to use the remaining bones and head. (Mr. Y, November 13, 2019, at the store run by Mr. Y located in Ikuno Koreatown)

From the story of Mr. Y, it can be concluded that commercial cuisine using leftover meat was cheap and popular among Zainichi Koreans in this area. This was the result of a food culture that was born out of adapting to the Japanese environment at the same time it utilized the ethnic traditions of the cooks.

To date, many of the discussions about how Zainichi Korean food culture makes use of leftover parts have been based on the theory of cultural diffusion. In other words, it was thought that the culture of the Korean Peninsula, which has a diverse tradition of meat cooking compared to Japan, had moved to Japan along with the migration of Koreans. In fact, it is said that in Japan, except in cases like those of the Ainu and people from Okinawa, remains of pork like pig feet and internal organs were not recognized as edible food. On the other hand, it is said that since the Korean Peninsula was connected to the continent and was influenced by "carnivorous" peoples such as the Mongolians, the culture of cooking animals separately for each part

[12] Jung Daesung 鄭大聲, *Yakiniku/kimuchi to Nihonjin* 焼肉・キムチと日本人, PHP Kenkyusho PHP 研究所, 2004.

developed.[13] Therefore, it was reasonable to think that Korean "meat culture" spread to Japan when Koreans migrated there.

However, the important cultural transactions that took place in Japan itself are usually overlooked when considering the formation of the meat culture of Zainichi Korean society from the perspective of cultural diffusion. Zainichi Koreans also tried to adapt to the environment they found in Japan. When considering how their food culture makes use of offal, the importance of cultural adaptation cannot be overemphasized.

Figure 5: *Tonsoku* (above) and *sundae* (Korean sausage) (below) at a butcher's shop in Ikuno Koreatown
(Photographed by the author, 2019)

It is true that the Korean Peninsula has a culture of using all parts of the animal, including internal organs, but this does not mean that the Zainichi Koreans who developed a food culture using offal in Japan preferred to use these parts. It is more reasonable to see the use of leftover cuts of meat as a strategy they used to improve the quality of their life and overcome the poverty they faced, rather than just a way in which they maintained the traditions of their homeland.

4 Cultural Influences on Commercial Cuisine

The food culture of Zainichi Koreans, which has centered around Ikuno Koreatown, has changed over time. This change is closely related to changes in the environment in which Zainichi Korean society is embedded. Zainichi Koreans are forced to blend in with Japanese society. At the same time, there are also important differences inside Zainichi Korean society. With these two factors in mind, this section examines the influences on the development of commercial cuisine in Ikuno Koreatown.

One of the most prominent characteristics of Ikuno Koreatown's commercial cuisine is the standardization of its menus. Generally, ethnic foods imported into the host society contribute to the diversity of food culture. However, only a few foods from each ethnic group tend to be adopted and categorized as representative of it. One example of this is the development of the

[13] Yeon Yunhee 연윤희, "Horumon-gui (horumon-yaki), Jaeil Hangugin/Joseonin ui byeonyong gwa gaengsaeng ui pyosang" 호르몬구이(ホルモン焼き), 재일한국인·조선인의 변용과 갱생의 표상, *Dongbuga-munhwayeongu* 동북아문화연구, No. 39, 2014, pp. 23–39.

food culture of Italians who immigrated to the United States. In the United States, the diversity of Italian food culture was not maintained, and a limited variety of dishes such as pasta, tomato sauce, olive oil, and preserved meat are consumed, which are collectively referred to as "Italian food culture". This sort of standardization of food culture can also be seen in the current Zainichi Korean food culture in Ikuno Koreatown. For instance, cuisine from very different categories, such as *chijimi*, *toppokki*, and *tonsoku*, are often prepared at the same restaurant.

These standardized ethnic foods are localized according to the characteristics of the host society. In particular, commercial cuisine requires finding a way to meet the needs of the local community. This also applies to the commercial cuisine of Zainichi Korean in Ikuno Koreatown, where the unique characteristics of the food were adapted to Japanese society, resulting in reinterpretations of the original dishes. The localization of kimchi is a prime example of this.

Figure 6: Kimchi produced by Zainichi Koreans that is not found in Korea; from left: celery kimchi, goya kimchi, tomato kimchi (Photographed by the author, 2018)

Of course, there are many kinds of kimchi, but it can be roughly divided into two types: pickled kimchi and fermented kimchi. In Japan, most of the kimchi sold by Zainichi Koreans has no trace of sourness or odor of fermentation. It seems that this is the result of localization in response to the demands of Japanese society, which rejected the sourness of fermentation. It can thus be said that the kimchi found in Japan is the product of responding to an environment different from that of Korea. The characteristics of kimchi after localization include the emphasis of sweetness over spiciness, a reduction in the use of garlic or salted fish (the main ingredients that result in fermentation and acidity), and a focus on ingredients mostly consumed in Japan. Through this process, the taste of kimchi has changed in Japan. In addition, while kimchi was originally a side dish served alongside main courses, it has changed into a kind of salad or appetizer served to accompany alcohol. The case of kimchi shows how localization has played a role in the development of contemporary Zainichi Korean commercial cuisine.

However, the commercial cuisine of Zainichi Korean centered on Ikuno Koreatown has not only progressed in one direction toward the acceptance of the surrounding Japanese society. Instead, I would like to argue that a "crack" or fissure has occurred in the flow toward standardization and localization of ethnic food for the host society. This "crack" is embodied in a form that emphasizes the originality and difference of Korean food and taste. This form is seen mainly in restaurants run by newcomers. To explain this phenomenon, let us take a look at the comments of Mr. L, who has been running a restaurant in Ikuno Koreatown for eight years.

> My store is not on the main street here, but on the edge, but regular customers often come to eat. In particular, *eoleusin* who have lived here for a long time and young people who have recently come from Korea to make a living often come here in pursuit of a Korean taste. Japanese do too. Kimchi, oxtail soup, and the seasonal menus here are all made from scratch, just like they are made in Korea. One of the most memorable things is that we sell *kong-guksu* [noodles in cold bean soup] in the summer. One day a Japanese person ate it, and he really liked it because it tasted the same as in Korea. Now he lives in Nara, but he comes all the way here to eat it in the summer. … There are many long-established stores on the main street here, but they don't fit my taste. For example, in oxtail soup, originally there were only green onions and beef; sometimes noodles were put in too. However, I think that the tail soup sold here is quite different. (Mr. L, August 17, 2019, at his H Restaurant)

From the story above, it is clear that Mr. L takes pride in being able to serve authentic Korean food at his restaurant. An analysis of the customer base of his restaurant confirms that there is a demand for dishes that have (or are likely to have) Korean origins. Therefore, for him, "cultural

Figure 7: Varieties of oxtail soup sold in Ikuno Koreatown; oxtail soup from H Restaurant is on the left (Photographed by the author, 2019)

adaptation" in Ikuno Koreatown includes serving dishes with an authentic Korean taste.

Also, the conversion of Ikuno Koreatown into a tourist destination, a result of the Korean wave taking place since the 2000s, is another central reason why the commercial cuisine there has emphasized Korean originality. In particular, the development of transportation and communication networks that link Korea and Japan has made it possible to move people and food more quickly and easily in recent years. In other words, the number of Japanese who have experienced Korea themselves through media and travel is increasing, and the need to reproduce that kind of experience in Koreatown is increasing. In response to this need, a variety of new Korean foods have arrived in Ikuno Koreatown, including Korean food with modern origins and foods that are currently popular in Korea, such as Korean-style cheese hot dogs and *bingsu* (*kakigōri*, shaved ice).

5 Conclusion

The Zainichi Korean food culture of Ikuno Koreatown and the rest of Ikaino–Ikuno has been formed through cultural fusion and adaptation to the surrounding environment and Japanese society. Different cultural boundaries between Japan and Korea were crossed and re-crossed based on the transition from colonialism in the past to globalization in the present. Since the cultural fusion that has taken place is not just about one side absorbing the other, the transformation of food culture in the Zainichi Korean community inevitably represents a form of cultural hybridity.

The nature of this hybridity is related to the two historical periods mentioned above. The first one is the colonial period, which was the historical reason for the birth of a new Korean society in Japan. Koreans who migrated to Japan as a result of Japan's imperialism at this time were relegated to the lower classes of society. The socio-economic position of many Zainichi Koreans after World War II remained the same as before the war, so they had limited resources they could use to maintain or develop their food culture. Therefore, they had to adapt to the given Japanese environment and culture, resulting in things like "morning service" and the use of offal.

The second period is characterized by globalization. Globalization has contributed to the free and easy movement of people and capital. It has also resulted in reduced discrimination against Zainichi Koreans and in the Korean wave, which has reduced the cultural distance between Japan and Korea. These changes in recent times have given Zainichi Koreans the power

to freely cross the cultural boundaries between Japan and Korea. Finally, the arrival of the current era has led to a high level of interest in Korean food culture among members of Japanese society. In this new situation, the commercial cuisine of Ikuno Koreatown has adapted again and begun to emphasize Korean difference and originality.

Based on my research to date, it can be said that the food culture of Ikuno Koreatown is the result of an active and conscious process of cultural adaptation. In short, Ikuno Koreatown's commercial cuisine should be considered a cultural product developed by Zainichi Koreans who have fused both cultures while crossing the cultural boundaries between Korea and Japan. This process of cultural transformation and creation of cultural hybridity can be considered representative of the sorts of adaptations that take place whenever people from different social and cultural environments interact.