Ethnic and National Identity of Third Generation Koreans in Japan

Haruka Morooka

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ETHNIC AND NATIONAL IDENTITY OF THIRD GENERATION KOREANS IN JAPAN

by

HARUKA MOROOKA

A master’s thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Liberal Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, The City University of New York

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Haruka Morooka

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Liberal Studies in satisfaction of the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

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by

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Despite Japan’s emphasis on its ethnic homogeneity, there actually are ethnic minorities in Japan. Most of foreign residents in Japan came recently, but a group of Koreans, which is called Zainichi, has been living in Japan before World War II. “Zainichi”, literally means “residing in Japan,” with a connotation of impermanence. It could be Zainichi Chinese or Zainichi Americans, but the term almost exclusively refers “to a population of colonial-era migrants from the Korean peninsula that settles in the Japanese archipelago and their descendants” (Lie, 2008, x). After decades of living in Japan, over 90% of the Zainichi population is second generation or higher, and they are culturally and structurally indistinguishable from ethnic Japanese as a result of involuntary and voluntary assimilation, while maintaining Korean nationality (Tei, 2001, p.16). In this paper, I am going to examine third generation Zainichi’s ethnic and national identity, who are in this unusual circumstance. In order to do so, I am going to investigate factors that influence their identity, and then summarize and analyze three autobiographies and one autobiographical novel written by third generation Zainichi authors and a conversation with my friend’s Zainichi friend, who has a third generation Zainichi father and a Korean immigrant mother.
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Ethnic And National Identity Of Third Generation Koreans In Japan

Introduction

In the last year of my undergraduate study in Tokyo, Japan, I took a course on Japanese immigration policies. During the lecture, the professor surveyed the class and asked us if we thought Japan should accept more immigrants or not. I remember that the majority of students had negative responses; that they completely disagreed or mildly disagreed suggesting that Japan should not accept more immigrants. Some of the reasons voiced were that multiple cultures existing in one place may cause conflicts, that Japanese culture might disappear, that it may be inconvenient for immigrants, and so on. Hearing this provoked a series of questions to come into my mind: Is it true that multicultural societies are filled with problems? What kinds of problems are caused by the coexistence of multiple cultures? To better understand what may happen when Japan becomes more ethnically and racially diverse, I decided to apply for an M.A. in the Liberal Studies Program at the CUNY Graduate Center in New York City.

Living and studying here for three semesters has clarified one thing in my mind; race and ethnicity exist as social categories more rigidly than I expected. By talking to and reading about non-white immigrants and their descendants I have learned that racial and ethnic identity influence one’s identity depending on one’s generation in the United States, phenotype, experiences of discrimination and prejudice, class position, linguistic ability, size and accessibility of one’s cultural or national origin group, and relative size of other groups (Vasquez, 2010, p.47). However, one’s assertion of racial/ethnic identity is not always accepted by the intended audience. Members of minority groups may be racialized and “ethnicized” by a dominant group for the purpose of continued domination, regardless of one’s effort to define the terms of one’s own race/ethnicity (Vasquez, 2010, p.47). For
example, Asian Americans continue to be linked to Asia and to the United States’ shifting relationships with various Asian countries, and they come to embody whatever threat the land of their ancestry allegedly posed to the United States.

Not only does the external pressure prevent minority group members from freely expressing themselves, but the internal pressure from their own group also restricts their freedom of representation. One such example is the idea of “acting white,” an expression popularized by John U Ogbu (1998) in the 1980’s to point out the underachievement of black students. According to the "acting white" theory, black students' academic success in school, which is perceived as a white institution, can be seen as betrayal by their peers, so this discourages black students from achieving in school. Discrimination and prejudice, including the high incarceration rate of blacks and Hispanics, discriminatory hiring, the academic achievement gap and the resulting socioeconomic status gap, based on race and ethnicity, and the effects they have on the identity of members of minority groups are the causes of social inequality.

Being an ethnically Japanese person in Japan and having grown up only with other ethnically Japanese people (which later I realized was not true), I did not think of race and ethnicity as something that would have that strong an impact on the lives of minority group members. Having learned how the status of racial or ethnic minorities affects the lives of minorities in the United States, I began to want to explore how it is affecting minorities in Japan, particularly how it may affect their identity, and to address this issue in my Master’s thesis. Upon determining which ethnic group to focus on, I checked the “Zairyu Gaikokuzin Toukei (Statistic of Foreign Residents)” published by the Ministry of Justice in June 2015; there were 2.17 million foreign residents, which was about 1.7 % of Japan’s total population at the time. The top five countries represented were China (656,403), Korea (497,707), the Philippines (224,048), Brazil (173,038) and Vietnam (124,820). Living in Japan, I had rarely
seen Japanese mainstream media broadcast about foreign residents or ethnic minorities, presumably because of their small numbers and Japan’s emphasis on ethnic homogeneity. However, there was one group that I had seen represented in the media several times. This group is called “Zainichi”, which literally means, “residing in Japan,” with a connotation of impermanence. “One may very well be Zainichi Chinese or Zainichi Americans, but the term refers almost exclusively—by ethnic Japanese and ethnic Koreans alike—to a population of colonial-era migrants from the Korean peninsula that settled in the Japanese archipelago and their descendants” (Lie, 2008, x). Zainichi are the majority of Koreans living in Japan (350,408 out of the total 497,707) under the “Tokubetsu Eijusya (Special Permanent Residents)” status. When I started seeing the Zainichi population appear in the media in 2009, it was about incidents of hate speech against Zainichi by the anti-Korean extremist group, Zainichi Tokken wo Yurusanai Shimin no Kai (Association of Citizens against the Special Privileges of the Zainichi). Also while studying in the United States, I was able to find some articles that describe the similarities between Zainichi and African Americans, differences between Zainichi and Korean Americans, and a form of prejudice that exists in Japan which results in Zainichi discrimination. I decided to look deeper into the Zainichi experience because there is a plethora of literature on the population, their stigmatization, and their lengthy history as an ethnic minority group.

There was one book on Zainichi that I found particularly interesting. It was titled *Zainichi Kankokuzin no Syuen (The End of Koreans in Japan)* by Tai-kin Tei, a naturalized Japanese of Korean descent, professor at the Tokyo Metropolitan University in Japan. Tei was born in 1948 to a Korean father, who moved to Japan in 1922, and a Japanese mother. Tei got his undergraduate degree in law at Rikkyo University in Tokyo, his Masters in Asian American studies at the University of California, Los Angeles, and then taught English in Korea for 14 years. In his book, Tei describes the current Zainichi situation as “embodying a
contradiction between formal national affiliation with the Republic of Korea and emotional attachments and identifications defined by their residence in Japan” (Tei, 2001, p.8, Hester, 2010, p.147). Although Zainichi have Korean, not Japanese, nationality, Korea is not the homeland for a significant majority of them, since over 90% of the Zainichi population is second generation or higher (Tei, 2001, p.16). This was especially true after the 1980s, when Zainichi started living under almost the same rights and duties as Japanese citizens, and nothing but suffrage separated Japanese nationals from the already culturally, linguistically assimilated and phenotypically indistinguishable Zainichi population (Tei, 2001, p.22). Thus, for Zainichi, who have spent adolescence in or after 1980s (mainly third or higher generation), they don’t strongly regard themselves as “Koreans” or “foreigners”, and feel that only official papers are labeling them that way (Tei, 2001, p.15, Hester, 2010, p.147). Tei notes that this contradiction between nationality and identification renders Zainichi into a kind of existence “which they cannot explain to themselves” (Tei, 2001, p.8, Hester, 2010, p.147). As the only solution to the contradiction, Tei encourages Zainichi to adjust formal national affiliation to the facts of residence and emotional attachment, in other words accept Japanese nationality, and argues that being a full member of Japanese society as a Korean Japanese will also help with the diversification of Japan (Tei, 2001, p.8, Hester, 2010, p.147).

I was surprised to learn that I had been so ignorant of the precarious situation of third/higher generation Zainichi, and decided to explore their ethnic and national identification, their unusual legal circumstances, and how these factors impact their identity. In order to examine third generation Zainichi's ethnic and national identity, after introducing the origin of Zainichi population, I investigate the social and historical context that influence their identification as follows: 2-1 Structural Assimilation; 2-2 Cultural and Linguistic Assimilation, 2-3; Japan’s Imagined National Community, 2-4; The Social Structures of the Intra-ethnic Community, 2-5 “Net Uyoku (Internet Rightwingers)”; Hate Speech, and 2-6;
and The Changing Japanese Image of Korea and Zainichi). Finally I summarize and analyze three autobiographies and one autobiographical novel written by third generation Zainichi authors, and my conversation with my friend’s Zainichi informant, who has a third generation Zainichi father and a Korean immigrant mother.

1-1, Origin of Zainichi

Zainichi refers to a population of colonial-era migrants from the Korean peninsula who settled in the Japanese archipelago, and their descendants. Although there were Korean students, merchants, and workers who entered Japan in the first four decades or so after the Meiji restoration, there were only several thousand Koreans in the main Japanese islands before the Korean annexation in 1910 (Lie, 2008, p.4). World War I occurred in 1914, Japanese industries developed significantly, and more employers started looking for a labor force in Korea (Mizuno, 2015, p.12). Push factors in the 1920s also constantly increased the number of Koreans in Japan. One of these factors was the economic transformation that uprooted the peasantry in Korea. Another was Korea’s cultural and social transformation. Japan’s assimilation policies focusing on acquisition of the Japanese language sought to transform ethnic Koreans into the Emperor’s people. Ethnic Koreans who learned Japanese were less hesitant to go to Japan to work, and also the lure of modern civilization that they heard of through families, friends, and the media attracted them (Mizuno, 2015, p.24, Lie, 2008, p.9). Between 1920 and 1930, the number of Koreans in the main Japanese islands expanded over tenfold to 419,000, and the most popular occupation among them was in construction or mines (Lie, 2008, pp.4-5). Wartime labor shortages enforced migration in the 1940s. “In the name of eliciting "volunteers," ethnic Japanese and Koreans colluded in the conscription of Koreans to work in factories and mines. Between 1939 and 1945,
700,000-800,000 Koreans were made to work in Japan” (Lie, 2008, p.5). Despite the widely received Zainichi historiography that exaggerates the elements of constraint and force, Korean immigration to the Japanese archipelago was more or less voluntary before the war. “The Japanese empire – including the economic transformation that uprooted the peasantry – is certainly a condition of possibility for the Korean diaspora in Japan. But it should be seen, at least in the 1920s and 1930s, as facilitating opportunities in Japan as much as destroying livelihoods in Korea” (Lie, 2008, p.7). However, even in the case of voluntary recruitment, fraudulent promises and horrid conditions turned Koreans into virtual "slaves," so “the emotional resonance of enforced migration rests much less on the fact of involuntary recruitment as the reality of horrible working situations that goaded so many Koreans to escape or resist” (Lie, 2008, p.7, Mizuno, 2015, p.18, pp.29-31). Though there are no reliable statistics on how many Koreans were in the main Japanese islands when the war ended, the previous year’s statistics estimated that there were 2,000,000 – 2,100,000 (Mizuno, 2015, p.80). Before the planned repatriation by American occupation forces was implemented in March 1946, 1,400,000 Zainichi went back to their homeland (Mizuno, 2015, p.87). However, because of food shortage and lack of employment in Korea in early 1946, fewer Zainichi left Japan, and more Zainichi, who were mainly Japanese monolingual second generation Zainichi, came back to Japan from Korea because they could not get accustomed to living in their “motherland” (Mizuno, 2015, pp. 92-93). Because of the planned repatriation (April-December 1946), no more than 83,000 repatriated. After liberation until 1946, about 1,500,000 ethnic Koreans, who were mainly either enforced workers or people who came due to economic demands during the war, repatriated, but 550,000, who settled in Japan and had had transnational life in the 1920s and 30s, remained in Japan (Mizuno, 2015, p. 94, Fukuoka, 1993, p.32).
2, Factors that Impact on Individual and Group Identity

In this section, I examine the factors that affect Zainichi’s individual and group identity in this order: 2-1 Structural Assimilation; 2-2 Cultural and Linguistic Assimilation; 2-3, Japan’s Imagined National Community; 2-4 The Social Structures of the Intra-ethnic Community; 2-5 “Net Uyoku (Internet Rightwingers)” and Hate Speech; and 2-6 The Changing Japanese Image of Korea and Zainichi.

2-1, Structural Assimilation

In terms of citizenship and other rights, after Korea's formal annexation in 1910, ethnic Koreans became Japanese imperial subjects, but the Japanese state rigidly enforced the distinction between “inland” and "outland" populations (Lie, 2008, p.8). While Japanese held domestic registries, ethnic Koreans held external registries, and the movement between the two registries were prohibited except for marriage and adoption. By separating the registry of ethnic Koreans from ethnic Japanese, the system to establish and maintain the distinction between the two was built (Mizuno, 2015, p.9). After Japan's defeat on August 15th 1945, Zainichi gradually began to lose their rights (Lie, 2008, p.36). Although the American occupation forces decided that ethnic Koreans were Japanese nationals until a treaty was signed, ethnic Koreans were stripped of their suffrage in December 1945, presumably because ethnic Koreans, who held external registries, were not "real" Japanese (Lie, 2008, p.37, Fukuoka, 1993, p.37). In May 1947, anti-Korean hysteria in response to black marketeering led to the Alien Registration Law, which relegated ethnic Koreans to foreigner status vulnerable to deportation (Mizuno, 2015, p.109). While legally holding the Japanese nationality, “Chosen” (the Japanese meaning of Joseon) was stamped on their official documents as a symbol of their status. Their effort to create ethnic schools was denied in
1948 ostensibly because ethnic Koreans were still legally Japanese nationals under control of the Japanese legal system, although they had lost their suffrage and were being treated as foreigners (Lie, 2008, p.36, Mizuno, 2015, p.111).

After the Republic of Korea (ROK) was established in August 1948, ethnic Koreans were able to change their nationality to South Korean if they wanted to. Post-1951, when the government of ROK decided to give ethnic Koreans in Japan ROK nationality and protect their human rights and assets, their nationality could be changed to ROK with a certificate of nationality issued by the ROK government (Lie, 2008, p.44). The 1950 nationality law narrowed the qualifications for being a Japanese national by decreeing patrilineality as the basis of Japanese citizenship, thereby stripping the Japanese nationality of "Korean" children born to Japanese mothers (Lie, 2008, p.37). By the time of the 1952 San Francisco Peace Treaty, ethnic Koreans in Japan lost Japanese nationality and became foreign residents; Asakawa, (2006) suggests that they willingly accepted that status (p.167). While the treaty also provided a temporary measure for sustaining the residence of ethnic Koreans, they were required to carry a Certificate of Alien Registration at all times, and in 1955 they became subject to fingerprinting (Mizuno, 2015, p.127, Lie, 2008, p.37). Being resident foreigners, ethnic Koreans were excluded from all public sector jobs and became ineligible for social welfare, excluding livelihood protection. Though livelihood protection was only supposed to be applied to Japanese nationals, the Japanese government decided to extend it to ethnic Koreans in an administrative measure, considering the fact that there were already no less than 600,000 ethnic Koreans who had been treated as Japanese nationals for the past forty years (Asakawa, 2006, pp.173-181). This administrative measure is still effective today so that not only Zainichi, but also other permanent residents are eligible for livelihood protection.
One subsidiary agreement covering the legal status and treatment of nationals of the ROK residing in Japan was included in the Normalization Treaty between South Korea and Japan when it was signed in 1965. This provided a more secure status of permanent residence for those qualifying as “Kyotei Eiju (Permanent Residency Under Agreement)” where the actions punishable by deportation were greatly reduced and a degree of access to social welfare, mainly eligibility to join National Health Insurance was introduced (Lie, 2008, p.74).

There was a condition in the agreement that applied to ROK nationals residing in Japan before the war with their children that required those seeking the new status to register within five years of the treaty which came into effect in January 1966, and within 60 days after their children were born. The status of future generations was left for future negotiations slated for twenty five years later, which gave rise to the so-called “1991 problem” (Hester, 2010, pp.141-142, Mizuno, 2015, p.158). It was in the 1980s when ethnic Koreans gained the same rights as the Japanese, which included access to medical, welfare, pension, and other benefits that excluded suffrage and access to some public sector jobs. This happened after Japan's ratification of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1979 and the International Refugee Convention and Protocol in 1981, which enshrined human rights and eliminated racial, ethnic, and national discrimination in Japanese government policy (Lie, 2008, p.152, Tei, 2001, p.23). In 1982, non-ROK nationals were finally allowed permanent residency under the status of Tokurei Eiju which still did not guarantee the same residence stability (the degree of criminal activity that puts one at risk of deportation) and access to social services with ROK nationals (Hester, 2010, p.142). The 1985 revision of Japan's nationality laws eliminated the patrilineal descent of citizenship, weakening strict adherence to Jus Sanguineous. “In 1987 it became possible to adopt an ethnic name as a Japanese national. Thus, Japanese citizenship was compatible, at least legally, with Korean nationality” (Lie, 2008, p.144). Finally in 1991, the “Tokubetsu Eiju (Special Permanent Residency)” category
was created, which guaranteed permanent residency to generations who had all been “divested of Japanese nationality” in 1952 (Hester, 2010, p.142). Fingerprinting was abolished for permanent residents during alien registration by 1993. In theory, at least, Zainichi settled aliens are guaranteed almost the same rights as Japanese nationals (Lie, 2008, p.152).

Ethnic Korean communities in the 1930s existed in relative isolation from mainstream society. Koreans formed an enclave economy, which was largely operated by and for co-ethnics. Because of inequality, discrimination, and segregation, the rate of intermarriage hovered around 1-2 percent of all Korean marriages in Japan (Lie, 2008, p.8). In the immediate postwar years, many engaged in illegal or marginal economic activities, ranging from illegal alcohol production to scrap recycling (Lie, 2008, p.38). Benefitting from the Korean War special procurement boom, ethnic Koreans succeeded in several industries: in the service and sex industries, such as cabarets, dance halls, pachinko (a type of mechanical game originating in Japan) parlors, and restaurants. Unlike the prewar period, the postwar Korean services principally targeted Japanese customers. Although the significance of sex-related industries declined after a while, the ethnic Koreans’ occupational concentration in the service sector and small-family-owned enterprises continued. In the 1990s, Zainichi owned 90 percent of roughly 20,000 of the yakinuku (barbecued meat) restaurants in Japan, and an estimated 70 to 80 percent of the 18,000 pachinko parlors, which generated earnings twice that of the Japanese automobile industry and even exceeded the South Korean GNP in 1994. However, ethnic Korean successes in self-employed service, and entertainment sectors were the unintended consequences of their systematic exclusion from mainstream industries and companies, which continued well into the 1980s and 1990s, let alone all public sector jobs (until 1972). Employment discrimination also made ambitious Zainichi youths seek professional and technical self-employment in fields such as medicine, and geared them
towards entrepreneurial pursuits. Though most of the establishments were modest, some became remarkable successes, such as two of the biggest Japanese companies, Lotte and Softbank (Lie, 2008, pp.72-74).

From 1952 to 2015, total number of 360,096 Koreans was naturalized, which meant legal incorporation in to Japanese society. Throughout the 1960s, there were only several thousand cases per year (Lie, 2008, p.84), but from 1995 to 2005 about ten thousand ethnic Koreans were naturalized per year. The number gradually went down, but in the past few years, about five thousand Koreans are naturalized per year (Kika Kyoka).

2-2, Cultural and Linguistic Assimilation

In the 1930s, ethnic Koreans were easily distinguishable from ethnic Japanese by their language, food, and clothing (especially for women) (Lie, 2008, p.8). Native Korean speakers could not articulate, “pa pi pu pe po” in standard Japanese pronunciation, and the consumption of kimchi and its constituents, such as garlic and chili peppers, were regarded as the paradigmatic characteristics of “Koreanness” (Lie, 2008, p.18). At about this time, the imperial ideology of assimilation from above intensified in order to extirpate Korean culture and to transform Koreans into the Emperor’s people. By 1940, Koreans were forced to be part of the Japanese educational system and to use Japanese names (Lie, 2008, p.9). Assimilation was the enforced government’s policy, but at the same time, many ambitious ethnic Koreans were willing to be Japanized; “Japaneseness” was more often than not conflated with modernity. These ethnic Koreans presented themselves as loyal imperial subjects searching for wealth and power. Assimilation paved an escape route from poverty and a path toward modernity (Lie, 2008, pp.11-12). This Japanization effort created an increasingly assimilated community in terms of linguistic competence, names, schools, and
even food and clothing by the 1940s, but it can be said that assimilation was only skin deep, since the generational transition to a Japanese-born, Japanese speaking, and Japanese-schooled Korean minority did not occur before 1945, as a sizable proportion of the second generation were born after the 1930s (Lie, 2008, pp.11-12). After Japan’s defeat in 1945, the ideology of imperial multi-ethnicity was replaced with a counter-ideology of mono-ethnic Japan. This postwar mono-ethnic ideology rejecting the ethnic “other” also promoted assimilation in a different way, particularly in the instance of adopting Japanese names to curb discrimination; names were the only thing that showed the difference between the culturally and linguistically assimilated, phenotypically indistinguishable ethnic Korean difference from the ethnic Japanese. Another thing in the postwar period that assimilated ethnic Koreans and vitiated Korean tradition and culture was the pervasiveness of Japanese popular culture that came along with the diffusion of the mass media ranging from manga to television (Lie, 2008, p.76). By the 1970s, the second or higher generation Zainichi, and even some first-generation Koreans, were in no obvious ways distinguishable from ethnic Japanese people. Food and speech, which used to be ethnic markers in the colonial period, no longer distinguished ethnic Koreans from ethnic Japanese. By the 1970s, almost all Koreans in Japan had no trouble pronouncing any sound in Japanese, and kimchi has become a mainstream Japanese food item. By the late twentieth century, no simple test of “Koreaness,” besides genealogy, existed (Lie, 2008, p.18). Therefore, for second generation ethnic Koreans and even many first generation Koreans, passing as Japanese in everyday interaction is a default option. This means that “unlike African Americans, not passing for Zainichi requires a decision to be out of the ethnic closet: one must consciously assert ethnic identification by divulging one’s Korean name or ancestry” (Lie, 2008, p.20).
After Korea’s formal annexation in 1910, ethnic Koreans became Japanese imperial subjects, but the Japanese state rigidly enforced the distinction between “inland” and “outland”, making ethnic hierarchy a structural feature of the Japanese empire (Lie, 2008, p.8). Because of colonial racism, ethnic Koreans may have been deemed inferior, but they were a familiar group with their rightful, albeit lesser, place in Japanese society under the ideology of imperial multi-ethnicity (Lie, 2008, p.80). After Japan’s defeat in 1945, the ideology of imperial multi-ethnicity was replaced with a counter-ideology of mono-ethnic Japan. There was, in fact, a significant demographic decline in the ethnic minority population, and while expatriate Japanese returned home, many “foreigners” left the Japanese archipelago (Lie, 2008, p.12). However, ethnic diversity was effaced and cultural uniformity was highlighted, not only as a result of the actual demographic change, but also, more importantly, as a rejection of colonial experience (Lie, 2008, p.13). Thus, in the post-war Japanese monoethnic ideology, ethnic minorities including Zainichi were neglected. Cultural and ethnic/racial homogeneity was spread as the defining quality of Japaneseness and a contributing factor of Japan’s economic efflorescence later on. "In general, citizenship, race, ethnicity, and nationality were all conflated: the obviousness of Japaneseness underscored monoethnic ideology" (Lie, 2008, p.84).

There were two recent events which illustrate Japanese monoethnic ideology, in which lineage trumps nationality, linguistic competence, or place of birth and upbringing (Lim, 2009, p.82). One is how the media referred to his origin when a sumo wrestler, Kotoshogiku, a native of Fukuoka Prefecture in Japan, won the January tournament in 2016. The sport was dominated by non-Japanese wrestlers for almost a decade, so the victory by a native Japanese wrestler pleased the fans and got special attention from media. The
nomenclature used by NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) and others was nihon shusshin (“from Japan”) as opposed to nihonjin (Japanese). The reason the media used nihon shusshin instead of just nihonjin was to differentiate native Japanese from naturalized Japanese; a Mongolian-born wrestler, Kyokutenho, who became naturalized in 2005, won the May 2012 tournament (Schreiber, 2016). The other was criticism when Ariana Miyamoto was crowned Miss Universe Japan in March 2015. Miyamoto is a Japanese citizen, who was born to a Japanese mother and African American father, born and raised in Japan, and identifies herself as Japanese. In Japan, mixed-race people are known as “hafu”, and upon her selection as Miss Universe Japan, social media users were asking if it is “ok to choose a hafu to represent Japan?” Criticism included the following comments; “half is not 100 percent Japanese,” “if someone is chosen as Miss Japan both her parents should be Japanese,” and to the question if she could be the country’s Miss Universe contestant, a woman answered “No, she doesn’t even look Japanese” (Witnall, 2015).

2-4, The Social Structures of the Intra-ethnic Community

In the inhospitable postwar Japanese society, “postwar ethnic Korean organizations arose to combat discrimination, aid fellow ethniccs, and engaged in politics” (Lie, 2008, p.39). The most influential organization was Zainichi Chosenjin Renmei (League of Resident Koreans in Japan; usually abbreviated as Choren), which worked closely with the Communist Party and “functioned as a de facto government for Koreans in Japan; collecting “taxes,” dispensing welfare, and trying criminals” (Lie, 2008, p.39). Because of Choren’s communist orientation, the South Korea-affiliated Zainichi Daikanminkoku Kyoryu Mindan (Community of Resident [South] Koreans in Japan; usually called Mindan) was separated in 1948. Mindan was generally pro-Japanese because of South Korea’s pro-U.S. stance, and was seen as a
front for middle-class people with ties to South Korea. However, Mindan’s pro-South Korean sentiments were not exactly reciprocated because “unlike North Korea, the South Korean government neglected the Korean diaspora in Japan until the 1970s” (Lie, 2008, p.39). A major turn in ethnic Korean politics came along with the establishment of Zainichi Chosenjin Sorengokai (General Federation of Resident Koreans in Japan; usually called Soren) in 1955, which superseded Zainichi Chosen Toitsu Minshu Sensen (Koreans’ United Democratic Front in Japan; usually called Minsen), Choren’s successor; Soren explicitly claimed that the political and ontological status of ethnic Koreans in Japan was identical to that of North Korea, and thus the dominant organization among ethnic Koreans became a subordinate of the North Korean regime (Lie, 2008, p.41). Homeland orientation, which included the expectation of return to the Korean peninsula, was the foundation of Soren ideology. Soren regarded the Zainichi population as North Korean citizens temporarily living in Japan, and displayed an insistent anti-assimilationist stance. Soren focused on political issues in the North Korean regime, but also “provided indispensable infrastructural support for ethnic Koreans living and working in Japan” (Lie, 2008, p.41). In the late 1950s, Soren had almost complete hold over the ethnic Koreans in Japan, which also meant that they ideologically identified with North Korea. This popularity and passion “owed in no small part to the Communist Party’s support for Koreans before and after World War II; the Korean communists’ impeccable credentials in resisting Japanese colonialism; the appeal of freedom, equality, and solidarity; and the ostensible economic successes of North Korea” (Lie, 2008, p.42). In 1960-1961, about 70,000 Zainichi returned to North Korea as part of the repatriation project, and Kim II Sung promised “a new life after their return to the homeland” to celebrate the tenth anniversary of North Korea’s founding” (Lie, 2008, p.45). The repatriation project appealed to Zainichi, presenting North Korea as the counterpoint to their miserable existence in Japan. However, this number dropped to about 3,500 in 1962 and steadily declined.
thereafter. One reason for this drop in numbers was that many Koreans, who had incessantly been culturally assimilated, simply chosen to stay in Japan. Secondly, and more importantly, North Korean poverty and autocracy manifested almost instantly, which contradicted the promise of paradise (Lie, 2008, p.46). Moreover, Zainichi were treated as second-class citizens in North Korea, often suspected of being spies for the South or Japan (Lie, 2008, p.47). In the meantime, the 1965 Normalization Treaty was signed, and Soren faced an irreversible decline in membership because the treaty “provided profound incentives to seek South Korean citizenship, which would offer relatively secure footings in Japan, the relative freedom to travel abroad (and return to Japan), and access to Japanese medical and welfare benefits”(Lie, 2008, p.68). The treaty, along with the revealed reality of North Korea’s impoverished autocracy, not only caused movement of membership from Soren to Mindan, but also signaled difficulty for unification in the near future and likelihood of permanent residence in Japan, which was in other words the end of Soren ideology.

In addition to the impossibility of full incorporation into Japanese society, the possibility of repatriation had also almost faded away. Thus, the Zainichi’s focus was shifted back on themselves, and the prospect of ”Zainichi identity” loomed (Lie, 2008, p.72). It was in the 1970s that what Lie calls “Zainichi ideology” emerged; it sought to replace Soren ideology which had dominated the Zainichi population in the 1950s and 1960s (Lie, 2008, p.112). Since there were no formal organizations to articulate the beliefs or supervise the behaviors of Zainichi ideology, identity intellectuals acted as representatives of the population by speaking and writing on behalf of their co-ethnics to the mainstream Japanese media and organizations, which in turn purveyed their ideas to the co-ethnic audience (Lie, 2008, p.116). Zainichi ideology is a form of diasporic nationalism, which envisions the ethnonational group as homogeneous just as Japanese or South Korean monoethnic nationalism does (Lie, 2008, p.115). It does not share the ideology of return, but rejects Japan
as homeland and the category of ethnic minority because of its even stronger anti-Japanese sentiments and avoid incorporation into Japanese society. It also prescribes cultural nationalism, such as learning the Korean language, history, and culture, and discourages assimilation, so there was a natural hierarchy that was shared among Zainichi in the 1970s and 1980s; “the top are the activists, with a command of Korean; the middle are those with ethnic pride and a knowledge of Zainichi history and ideology; and the bottom are the vast majority, with Japanese names” (Lie, 2008, p.116). The Korean language, being an unrealistic parameter of Zainichi-ness because of already completed linguistic assimilation by the 1970s, and other identity factors being rather intangible, such as the imagined commonalities of the history of enforced migration, sociology of ethnic discrimination, and the political ideal of unification, the critical criteria of Zainichi-ness were "the adoption of one’s ethnic name and the resistance to naturalization” (Lie, 2008, p.117). Moreover, since using a Japanese name was common among Zainichi in order to curb discrimination in their daily lives, the resistance to naturalization was the most critical and tangible criteria of Zainichi-ness. In other words, naturalization threatened the very definition of Zainichi, and retaining Korean nationality was the only legitimate way to be Zainichi. Thus, naturalized Zainichi were seen as ethnic/national traitors, and mixed Zainichi were excluded from the Zainichi community. In Zainichi ideology, intermarriage was another thing that was shunned in order to maintain the group’s “blood purity”. Thus, both naturalized and mixed Zainichi suffered double exclusion; Japanese-ness was also a mono-ethnic ideology and claimed that Japanese-ness required citizenship, race, ethnicity, and nationality.

However, unlike the Korean language in the prewar or the influential ethnic organizations in the immediate postwar periods, there weren’t enough ethnic ties to unite Zainichi population in the 1970s. At this time, ethnic Koreans in Japan were culturally and linguistically assimilated, and economically and geographically diverse. So, although “shards
of the remembered past and the declining but undeniable reality of discrimination constituted "Zainichi solidarity" (Lie, 2008, p.119), they were too thin and fragile to build their own identity. In addition, unlike the Soren leadership which was able to legitimate its right to represent itself and the Zainichi population through North Korea, Zainichi ideologists did not own compelling rationale to represent the Zainichi population and Zainichi individuals, who came of age in the 1960s and later “were not only schooled and literate but - sharing in the prevailing Japanese belief in democratic rights and individual dignity - were willing and capable of expressing their own views” (Lie, 2008, p.120). Thus, though Zainichi ideology was familiar among ethnic Japanese and Koreans because of the somewhat influential dissemination by Zainichi identity intellectuals, it mischaracterized Zainichi realities and individual Zainichi were ready to begin representing themselves (Lie, 2008, p.120). As the Zainichi population changed, in ways such as a significant decline of influence of ethnic organizations and cultural and structural assimilation, there were changes in Japanese society as well; as a result of waning colonial racism, the Japanese perception of Korea and Koreans had also changed. Colonial racism still existed but was clearly fading by the early years of the twenty-first century, which can be seen in the Japanese’s enthusiasm for South Korean popular culture. On the one hand, strong anti-North Korean sentiments were undeniable because of the abductions of Japanese citizens in the 1970s and 1980s and the continuing nuclear weapon tests, but the enthusiasm for South Korean popular culture was powerful enough to elicit a countervailing movement. Japanese perception of (South) Korea was no longer as a poor, developing country.; few contemporary Japanese people characterize the Zainichi population in unremittingly negative terms. These changes both in ethnic Korean and Japanese societies have contributed to “the rise of the post Zainichi generation: ethnic Koreans who are ready to embrace their Japaneseeness, including Japanese citizenship” (Lie, 2008, p.134) and thus identified themselves as Korean Japanese. One of the academics who
suggested this new way of being “Zainichi,” which Lie calls “post-Zainichi ideology”, is Tei Taikin, a professor at Tokyo Metropolitan University, who I mentioned in the introduction. In his book Zainichi Kankokujin no shuen (The end of Zainichi) Tei advocates naturalization, and claims that Zainichi should be a full member of Japanese society as Korean Japanese. Tei describes contemporary Zainchi, who are culturally and structurally assimilated and thus indistinguishable from ethnic Japanese, as lacking a sense of self as Korean or foreigner. As the only solution to the contradiction between Korean nationality and emotional identification with Japan, Tei encourages Zainichi to adjust formal national affiliation to the facts of residence and emotional attachment, which is to take Japanese nationality (Tei, 2001, p.8).

Tei denounces Zainichi ideology and its advocates for two reasons, who focus on the colonial past, present discrimination, and a victim mentality, and castigate assimilation that includes naturalization. Firstly, for Japanese born Zainichi, assimilation is not forced, but innate; they are born as a linguistic and cultural Japanese natives who do not have differences that need to be assimilated (Tei, 2001, p.180). Secondly, “Zainichi remaining foreigners in Japan benefits Zainichi ideology intellectuals whose mission is to assert victimizer-ness of Japanese society but only harms ordinary and large majority of Zainichi population by causing the contradiction, which renders them into a kind of existence “which they cannot explain to themselves.” (Tei, 2001, p.182).

Tei also criticizes “humanists” and advocates of multiculturalism in Japan for perpetuating contradictions by being reluctant to face the issues surrounding naturalization. The aspects they focus on were the assimilationist character of naturalization processes, but not on how to improve it. Tei suspects that this is because the existence of Zainichi is important and needs to be preserved for Japanese national identity as a reminder of Japan’s victimizer-ness and the past violence. So, in this case, Zainichi are expected to live as foreigners for the sake of a collective Japanese identity (Tei, 2001, p.184). What needs to be
changed, Tei insists, is the process of naturalization; Zainichi should be able to obtain Japanese nationality without investigation when they apply for it. It is ideal and necessary for Zainichi, who do not regard themselves as foreigners, to gain Japanese nationality without investigation (Tei, 2001, pp.190-192).

Some post-Zainichi intellectuals like Tei strongly advocate naturalization. However, for the post-Zainichi generation, the decision to naturalize is generally left as a matter of individual choice. "The rhetoric of choice paradoxically leaves an uneasy silence on the question of naturalization" (Lie, 2008, p.146).

2-5, “Net Uyoku (Internet Rightwingers)” and Hate Speech

A few months after the 2002 soccer World Cup finals co-hosted by South Korea and Japan, which invigorated the mood of friendship, North Korea officially admitted to then-Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi that its agents had kidnapped Japanese nationals in the 1970s and 1980s. This made the general public angry towards North Korea, and caused Net Uyoku to express their hate not only against the North, but also against ethnic Korean residents of Japan on 2channel, a notorious messaging board. Net Uyoku are the people who freely post their ultra-nationalistic, xenophobic bluster online, especially against Chinese and ethnic Koreans, and take advantage of the relative anonymity of cyberspace, although they are not affiliated with the traditional rightwing groups known for their blaring sound trucks spewing nationalistic slogans. Unlike the traditional right-wingers who are usually Yakuza members, Net Uyoku seems to consist of ordinary Japanese who only spew their nationalist fires online (Mie, 2013). Negative sentiments toward South Korea were muted because of the popularity of Korean popular culture in the beginning, but as the boom faded, “anti-Korean sentiment grew online, especially after Japanese actor Sosuke Takaoka, in a July 2011
message on his Twitter account, slammed Fuji Television Network for excessively airing South Korean dramas” (Mie, 2013).

South Korean President Lee Myung Bak’s visit to the South Korean-held, but Japan-claimed, Takeshima islets in August 2012 sparked huge outcries. This territorial dispute caused real hate speech rather than just outbursts of enmity on the Internet. Anti-Korean activist groups, such as Zainichi Tokken wo Yurusenai Shimin no Kai (Association of Citizens against the Special Privileges of the Zainichi; usually called Zaitokukai) and other ultraconservative organizations, held 1,152 anti-Korean rallies on various themes from April 2012 to September 2015 mainly on the streets of neighborhoods home to large numbers of ethnic Koreans, such as Shin-Okubo in Tokyo and Tsuruhashi in Osaka. Most of these rallies ostensibly sought to protest certain diplomatic issues, such as North Korea’s abduction of Japanese citizens, the territorial dispute with South Korea, and the wartime “comfort woman” issue. However, despite their purported political nature, most of the demonstrations featured a string of derogatory words against Korean residents of Japan, particularly Zainichi. “Prominent examples of vitriolic language favored by the protesters include violent slogans such as “You should all be massacred,” phrases such as “Get the hell out of Japan,” and insults calling Koreans “cockroaches,” (Osaki, 2016, May 30). Zaitokukai, which has more than 12,500 members according to its website, explicitly states their ultimate goal is to repel the Immigration Control Act which grants Zainichi permanent residency status and entitlement to health care, welfare, and social security, as they consider Zainichi as “overprivileged”, which does not make sense because Zainichi are paying into those systems just like all Japanese citizens.

The Japanese Government has been emphasizing its cultural and ethnic/racial homogeneity since the end of the empire and had long maintained that racism and
discrimination has never existed in Japan, thus dismissing international criticism for not having anti-discrimination laws and not protecting human rights of foreign residents in Japan. However, it has become harder to deny the reality that hate speech rallies have become more intense and have gotten international attention (Krieger, 2015). In May 2016, under international and growing domestic pressure, Japan’s first anti-hate speech law finally passed the Diet. Though the law seeks to eliminate hate speech and condemns unjust discriminatory language as “unforgivable,” it does not legally ban hate speech and sets no penalty for these acts. Thus, how effective the law will be in helping curb racial discrimination remains to be seen (Osaki, 2016, May 24).

2-6, The Changing Japanese Image of Korea and Zainichi

The Japanization effort in the late colonial period projected Koreans as inferior but educable and almost lovable, and in fact in a 1939 survey asking Japanese students to rank in order of preference fifteen peoples, Koreans ranked fifth (Lie, 2008, p.147). However, in the immediate post-war period ethnic Korean mobilization especially in the form of militant workers and black market activities entrenched the general association of Koreans with criminality and illegality, violence and insolence (Lie, 2008, p.147). Negative images of North and South Korea also reinforced the derogatory image of Zainichi. North Korea, the country of communism, was seen as threatening, and on the other hand, because of its autocratic and militaristic politics, South Korea was seen as “a threat to bourgeois comforts and security” (Lie, 2008, p.148). Beyond these dark and derogatory images, the Korean peninsula and Zainichi were disregarded. Besides the geopolitical reality that “until the 1965 Normalization Treaty the flow of people and commodities across the Sea of Japan was minimal” (Lie, 2008, p.148), the fact that few places offered the study of Korean language,
history and culture showed Japanese indifference toward Korea. Also, the Japanese post-war monoethnic ideology neglected ethnic minorities in Japan including ethnic Koreans (Lie, 2008, p.12-13). Thus, along with discrimination and prejudice, ignorance and lack of consciousness were the basic attitudes of ethnic Japanese toward Koreans, the Korean peninsula, and Zainichi (Lie, 2008, p.148). Only since the late 1970s has the Japanese consciousness of its societal ills manifested itself significantly, and as such, the Japanese government extirpated outright policies of discrimination, as part of its effort to be in line with the notion of “advanced”/”developed” nations, and as a response to pressures from human rights and antidiscrimination groups (Lie, 2008, p.152). Japanese people had become more conscious of prejudice and discrimination, to the point that “by the late 1980s, discrimination [sabetsu] had become a dirty word” (Lie, 2008, p.152).

In the mid-1980s, in anticipation of the 1988 Seoul Olympics, interest in Korea sprouted in Japan society (Lie, 2008, p.148). Favorable sentiments toward South Korea became predominant in the late 1990s until the intensification of territorial disputes in 2012. The number of tourists to South Korea increased significantly from 1997 to 2000, reaching about 2.5 million (Kankoku Heno). The co-hosting of World Cup in 2002 generated a warmer atmosphere between the two countries. Starting with the television drama Winter Sonata in 2003, Japanese zeal for Korean popular culture was strong enough to have a cultural impact. “The generally positive image of South Korea buoyed the prevailing Japanese perception of Zainichi” (Lie, 2008, p.149); “Two of the most popular Japanese movies of the 2000s, Go (2001) and Patchigi! (2005) feature Zainichi characters” (Lie, 2008, p.163). The movie Go (2001) is the film adaptation of the novel Go (2000), which I am referring to in this thesis. Sugihara, the protagonist, represents “a striking mode of being cool [kakkoii] in contemporary Japanese culture” (Lie, 2008, p.97). While anti-Korean and Zainichi sentiments re-emerged in the early 2010s on the heels of the territorial disputes which prompted some
people to publish derogatory comments online, and emboldened ultra-nationalistic groups to protest on the streets, it is safe to say these people do not represent mainstream Japanese society (Mie, 2013).

3. Reviews of the Four Books

In this section, I summarize three autobiographies and one autobiographical novel written by third generation Zainichi authors, and my conversation with my friend's Zainichi friend, who has a third generation father and a Korean immigrant mother: "Goku futsu no Zainichi Kankokujin (An Ordinary Zainichi Korea)" by Nobuko Kyo, "GO" by Kazuki Kaneshiro, "Kenari mo Hana, Sakura mo Hana (Forsythias are flowers, cherry blossoms too)" by Megumu Sagisawa, and "Zainichi Kankokujin Sansei no Munenouchi (Inner Thoughts of a Zainichi Korean)" by Seijaku Lee.

3-1, "Goku futsu no Zainichi Kankokujin (An Ordinary Zainichi Korean)" by Nobuko Kyo

Nobuko Kyo is a third generation Zainichi Korean born in 1961. Her Korean name is Shinja Kan, and her Japanese name is Nobuko Takeda. Kyo went by her Japanese name until college. Her nationality started to become a factor in her identity before entering elementary school, when she heard that foreign residents needed to go to the municipal office to ask for admission, and when her parents adamantly stopped her from revealing her Korean nationality to the neighbors (Kyo, 1990, pp.48-52). The feeling that maybe being Korean was something bad and something to be hidden was sparked then, and continued to grow from there. That feeling made her ask herself this question every time she made friends and became close to them. This is not a unique experience, in contrast, it's something shared by nearly every Zainichi, who use their Japanese names at school; ‘When do I tell them that I’m Korean? Are they going to dislike me if I tell them?’ She would make up her mind and tell
her friend “I'm actually Korean. My real name isn’t Takeda but Kyo”, and see how the person reacts. Kyo feels relieved when she hears “Well, okay. You are not different from Japanese, don’t worry”, but at the same time the words bother her. Kyo felt that the interaction was as if she's confessing that she is Korean and awaiting for their judgment. This conversation shows that the ideas of Korean being negative and Japanese being positive are embedded in both of their minds (Kyo, 1990, pp.46-47). Kyo says that she has not been bullied because of her being Korean, or faced with a discriminatory moment from newspaper or TV broadcast. She was more so one of the bullies, but behind her bluff there was her fear of the possibility of being discriminated against (Kyo, 1990, p.47). Every time she hears words that are associated with discrimination but are used without the intention to discriminate, she feels sensitive and hurt. She did not want to be sensitive about those words, and wanted to be confident and natural, so she started learning the history of Korea and Japan and thinking about her identity, and what it means to be and ethnic Korean who lives in Japan (Kyo, 1990, p.59).

When Kyo entered Tokyo University, the most prestigious university in Japan, she started using Japanese pronunciation of her Korean name, Kyo Nobuko, just because she was registered with her real name, not because she thought that Koreans “should” use their Korean names. Kyo used the Japanese pronunciation of her name because she felt it weird to use the Korean pronunciation, Kyo Shinja, because she does not speak Korean and there is a great cultural gap between her and Korea. But when she uses Kyo as her last name to Japanese, she is trying to be visible as a Zainichi Korean and hoping that Zainichi become more visible to the average Japanese (Kyo, 1990, pp.71-72). It was in the university that Kyo confronted ethnic essentialism. When she went to a welcome party for new Zainichi students hosted by a Zainichi Korean students’ organization, all the members of the group were using their Korean names and they encouraged/compelled the new students to use their Korean
names. Kyo thinks that to use a Japanese name is to hide their ethnicity, and hiding their ethnicity makes them feel guilty and upset about being Korean, and fear being found out. Sometimes this culminates in ‘forgetting’ their Korean identity, which makes Zainichi invisible to the Japanese. Japanese name use was enforced by Soushi Kaimei (one of the assimilation policies to pressure ethnic Koreans to adopt Japanese name under colonial Japanese rule) and are now used as a way to curb discrimination, though the tactic often causes mental distress. Kyo thus says that it makes sense that the members use their Korean names and they encourage the new students to use one, because once Zainichi face their issues in Japan, using their Korean names feels right (Kyo, 1990, pp.93-94).

However, Kyo felt strange among those who consciously try to be Korean and acquire identity as Korean by using their Korean names and learning the language and culture. In-betweeness, not belonging to either Japan or Korea, urges them to find their place, be inclined to their ethnic roots, and try to be how they think Koreans are supposed to be. While they blame those who do not try, they also feel frustrated with not being able to be “authentic” Korean. Contrary to their attitude though, Kyo thinks that there are many ways of being Korean, and that it is strange to need to gain the language and customs to claim to be a part of an ethnic group (Kyo, 1990, pp.95-97). Not just among the members, but in Zainichi society, especially among older generations, Kyo feels that ethnicity is perceived as a monolithic category that requires sharing a language, culture, nationality and values, which may be considered static. Essentialists put all Zainichi into one category: Korean, and blame those lacking “Koreaness”. Particularly in regard to nationality, some insist that naturalization is equal to assimilation, which is to them betrayal to their own group.

Against the ethnic essentialism perspective, Kyo argues that Zainichi, like other groups, is diverse including people from different places, generations, gender, socio-economic backgrounds, and so on. Kyo contends that culture is not static; and as time
passes and people move from place to place, their culture changes. Sometimes voluntarily, other times involuntarily. For her generation Zainichi, their Korean ethnicity is only the fact that their ancestors came from the Korean peninsula. In terms of nationality, Kyo claims that to her it is merely a symbol; what needs to be discussed is not whether naturalization is good or bad but what is causing Zainichi to want to be naturalized (Kyo, 1990, pp.112-119). Kyo is against naturalization when the reason for is embarrassment of being Korean, because naturalization would not be a fundamental solution in this case; the naturalized would be scared of it possibly being found out, feeling not fully accepted by Japanese society and feeling excluded from Zainichi society. The emotional entanglement pertaining to naturalization, condemnation from Zainichi society and a lack of full acceptance from Japanese society are what makes her hesitate to get naturalized. (Kyo, 1990, pp.119-121).

Kyo tells stories about her sense of belonging. Compared to her grandparents or parents, she recognizes that she is not culturally and linguistically Korean. What makes her feel she is culturally Korean is only the food and ritual she has on New Year's Day (Kyo, 1990, pp.146-148). Kyo does not find her place in either Zainichi or in Japanese society. The reason she does not feel she belongs to Zainichi society is partly because of the generational gap and primarily because of the atmosphere of ethnic essentialism. There are circumstances that make her feel she is not a full member of Japanese society. One is that she has to carry an alien certification card. Once, Kyo forgot to bring her alien certification card with her when she went to a police station to report her stolen bicycle. Kyo notes that even though it used to be common sense that Zainichi must not forget to carry the card with them, the younger generation Zainichi tend to forget that they are foreigners in Japan so they tend to forget that rule as well. Contrary to Kyo’s expectation, the police officer just calmly followed the procedure. He drove her to her place and asked her to show her registration number. This thin paper and its slight weight is what makes her feel her position as Zainichi in Japanese
society, and the feeling makes her realize that she is Korean/Zainichi/foreign in Japan (Kyo, 1990, pp.99-108). The second instance was when she got married to a Japanese man, she needed her family registry and more documents, which were in Korea. The third occasion she describes relates to discriminatory hiring because of her nationality. Kyo applied to newspaper companies, and was told that nationality was not factored into the hiring process. A while after she heard that she had failed, someone from the company she got close to told her that she was in the sixth placed in the written exam and eight people were called back for the interview, though she was not called back. The person guessed that the reason was, since three were going to be hired and her rank (the sixth) was intermediate, they were afraid of the possibility of causing a problem in which they were going to be accused of discrimination in the case that they did not hire her. Kyo expresses that she is wary of this relation between Japanese and Zainichi - Zainichi suspect the possibility of discrimination and Japanese are afraid of that suspicion (Kyo, 1990, pp.179-183).

3-2, *GO* by Kazuki Kaneshiro

*Go* is an autobiographical novel written by Kazuki Kaneshiro, who is third generation Zainichi, born in 1968 in Tokyo. The main character in this novel, Sugihira, was born to a 1.5-generation father with Joseon nationality and 2nd generation mother with South Korean nationality, and since Japan used to recognize patrilineal descent, Sugihara was born with Joseon nationality.

Sugihara went to a *Chosen (The Japanese spelling of "Joseon") Gakko*, a combined elementary, junior high and high school sponsored by North Korea because of his father’s will, who was working for Soren at that time. The school teaches, in addition to the general subjects that Japanese schools teach, Korean language, history, communism, and the ‘greatness of the leader Kim Il Sung’. Sugihara was not influenced by anything that the
school taught. Though he is able to speak Korean language, the language Sugihara uses in his daily life is always Japanese, and his way of living is not at all different from a young Japanese man; he attended the ethnic school because he had no other option. Sugihara hated the school. At the end of day a teacher makes a student, who spoke Japanese in school, criticize himself and makes him tell another one, who also spoke Japanese, to do so. During sports festivals, students have to practice for mass games and military style marches, being told that they are going to fight for Kim Il Sung someday. Being at school was suffocating, as if he was always under severe control (Kaneshiro, 2000, p.12, pp.53-57). Though he did not like the school, Sugihara liked and was close to his classmates, because with very little new enrollment, they see each other until high school. Discrimination nourished their ‘brotherhood’ as well. For example, Japanese people with ethnocentric views come to their school on the emperor’s birthday every year to bully them, so they needed to go home together to protect each other. Because of discrimination, they developed a strong solidarity. Being with his classmates gave Sugihara a sense of security, and even if the closeness was making him feel uncomfortable sometimes, it was hard for him to make up his mind to get out of the circle (Kaneshiro, 2000, pp.64-65).

About the time when his father changed his nationality to South Korean, Sugihara changed his too; he decided to go to a Japanese high school to see the world outside his community. He entered a private boys’ high school in Tokyo. The school asked him to use his Japanese name presumably because they thought about the possibility of bullying. Sugihara accepted it without question, although he was not going to hide his ethnicity. The teachers at the ethnic school started bullying him badly and called him ‘ethnic traitor’ after he told them that he was going to a Japanese high school. Consequently he decided to rebel against his ethnicity. Next to his Japanese last name Sugihara, the name of the ethnic school was ‘somehow’ placed on the student directory. The student directory made it public that he
was Zainichi. Since *Chosen Gakko* was perceived as a school where tough violent ones gathered, Sugihara had many challengers, who wanted to beat him and be cool around their friends (Kaneshiro, 2000, pp.15-24).

Sugihara went to Korea with his parents in his first year of high school, and he got into trouble in the taxi he took by himself. The driver looked down on Sugihara because of the notion that Zainichi were Koreans having an easy life in a wealthy country; a notion shared among peninsular Koreans. When the driver cheated him on the price and denied making a nasty face, Sugihara hit him on the back of his head and beat him up outside. A person who would not have known what was happening inside the car told Sugihara’s parents that Sugihara was trying to steal money from the driver and beat him. His parents beat up Sugihara in front of people and the ‘audience’ applauded. Sugihara came to realize that it was a country heavily influenced by Confucianism and that he disliked Korea a lot (Kaneshiro, 2000, pp.82-86).

Sugihara thinks that the concepts like nationality or ethnicity are not important, because if we trace our mitochondrial DNA to its origin, we will find out that we share our origins with a lot of people who are now living in different parts of the world (90, 91). When Sugihara was asked by a Zainichi person why he does not change his nationality to Japan if changing it does not mean anything, Sugihara answered that that is because he does not want to be embedded in or controlled by states anymore. He does not want any feeling that he belongs to something big. But he would change his nationality if a very attractive girl asks him to change it. Nationality means that much to him (Kaneshiro, 2000, p.220).

When Sugihara went to his friend’s birthday party, a girl named Sakurai, who he did not know, but somehow knew about him, talked to him. They got attracted to each other and started dating (Kaneshiro, 2000, pp.35-42). When Sugihara and Sakurai were going to make love for the first time, he decided to tell her that his nationality was Korean. Sakurai got
confused and told him that her father had been telling her that she must not date Korean or Chinese guys, because ‘their blood was dirty’. Sugihara kept explaining how absurd that is, but Sakurai said she understood it logically but not emotionally. His crushing frustration disappeared. He got dressed and left the room. On his way home, Sugihara was stopped by a police officer since it was late at night and he was a high schooler. After some trouble with the officer, Sugihara told him what happened with Sakurai and how he was feeling. Sugihara expressed ‘I had never been afraid of discrimination because those people who discriminate would never understand, I could just beat them up. But since I met her, I got scared for the first time. She was my first important Japanese person and really my type. I was scared if she stops liking me when I tell her my nationality. I wish my skin were green. Then it’s easier, because people who don’t like me won’t talk to me in the first place (Kaneshiro, 2000, p.191).

Six months later, all of a sudden Sakurai called him and told him to meet her. They met at the place where they went for their first date, Sugihara interrupted her speaking and asked ‘Who am I’, and Sakurai answered hesitantly ‘Zainichi Kankokujin’. Sugihara stood up with frustration and upsettingly said ‘Why do Japanese call me Zainichi without question. Calling me Zainichi means calling me an outsider leaving the country. Have you ever thought about it even once? Japanese can’t help but naming and categorizing Zainichi because they are scared. Don’t put me in any small category. I am I. I don’t even like being myself. I want to flee from myself. I’m looking for something or some place that let me forget that I am I. I have no tradition or culture, so I can go anywhere. I’m not constrained by anything’. Then, Sakurai opened her mouth looking at him and said ‘those eyes that made me attracted to you at the first sight’, and told him about the day she saw him for the first time. That day, Sugihara was playing basketball at the school gym. Sugihara beat up his opponents, who said ethnic derogatory words to him, and he was dragged by teachers to the exit. When Sugihara was passing Sakurai, who was watching the game around the exit, he glared at her and she
got immediately attracted to him. After she told him the story, Sakurai said to Sugihara ‘I don’t care about which nationality you have. You just need to glare at me with those eyes sometimes’ (Kaneshiro, 2000, p.231).

3-3, *Kenari mo Hana, Sakura mo Hana (Forsythias are flowers, cherry blossoms too)* by Megumu Sagisawa

Megumu Sagisawa was born in Tokyo in 1968. Sagisawa is a Japanese citizen and who did not know until she turned around twenty years old that her grandmother on her father’s side was a naturalized Japanese of colonial Korean descent. Because her father passed away, Sagisawa does not even know if her father knew that he was ethnically half Korean. While already becoming a famous writer, Sagisawa decided to study the Korean language in Korea because she felt sad that none of her family members were able to speak Korean. *Kenari mo Hana, Sakura mo Hana (Forsythias are flowers, cherry blossoms too)* is a record of her study abroad in Korea from January to June in 1993.

Sagisawa had an interview with a Korean magazine. The interviewer brought up Yangji Lee a second-generation Zainichi writer who is famous in both Korea and Japan. Lee lived in Korea for almost ten years, learned about traditional Korean cultures and learned to speak Korean like a native speaker. The interviewer asked Sagisawa why she did not want to learn about those cultures and why she was staying only for three months. Sagisawa felt that there was a stereotype about Zainichi in the interviewer’s mind and that she did not fit the interviewer’s stereotype. When the interviewer asked her if her love for Korea was the same as the one for her homeland, Sagisawa answered that “love for homeland sounds a little weird, but it’s something I feel momentarily in my daily life here.” Then, the interviewer immediately said “that’s merely curiosity, not love.” It seemed to Sagisawa that the interviewer was upset because she did not say Japan was not her country and that Korea was
her homeland. At the end of the interview, the interviewer said “I heard from a friend of mine, who is a writer for a newspaper company, that you are ambitious to be the second Yangji Lee. Do you have anything to say about that?” Sagisawa bluntly replied “I do not have that sort of ambition at all” and ended the interview. That question made her very upset because she felt the implications behind what the interviewer had said; Sagisawa must be trying to do the same thing as Lee because she is also Zainichi (Sagisawa, 1997, pp.50-54, p.68).

During the same interview, the interviewer mentioned the novel *Hontou no Natsu* (*The Real Summer*) Sagisawa wrote. The novel contains two stories that both portray young, third-generation Zainichi’s lives and their identity. The interviewer asked why the characters were using Japanese names. After attempting to explain why, it seemed that the interviewer was still not convinced. Sagisawa thinks that many Koreans believe that Zainichi should use their Korean name. As an argument against people who blame passing by using Japanese names, Sagisawa contends that before these abstract concepts like ethnicity or homeland matter, people in different situations have their lives and they need to get by, “If using a Japanese name is necessary for them to get by, it is necessary.” (Sagisawa, 1997, pp.52-53).

Sagisawa analyzes and criticizes how Japanese people perceive Korea, which affects Zainichi’s identity. Sagisawa thinks that Japanese people can’t make a fair judgment when it comes to Korea because the Japanese unwittingly perceive Korea as a strange and scary country that they should avoid talking about. Sagisawa thinks that this is a result of Japanese people’s ignorance. Without being informed about the history between the two countries, Japanese only have a vague sense of guilt for Koreans that is passed down in their families, and the guess that Koreans resent the Japanese. When confronted that these are mistaken assumptions, some Japanese just apologize and others try and compliment Koreans. Sagisawa wants to change the Japanese perspectives of Korea; she at least wants them to
Sagisawa came back to Japan, met a third-generation Zainichi woman and was told that “…to me you are Japanese after all…I know it’s mean to say but you can’t understand because you are Japanese’. Sagisawa did not get upset or sad as she would have before, and she simply said, ‘Of course, in that sense I’m Japanese.’ She used to think a lot about whether she is Zainichi or not while she was in Korea. Now she thinks she is Zainichi to people who think she is, and to people who do not think she is, she is not. There is a group of people who are ethnically Korean and have Korean nationality but grew up in Japan. Though their households still contain a bit of “Koreanness,” their way of thinking is much more Japanese. This group of people is called “Zainichi.” Sagisawa is culturally and linguistically Japanese, has Japanese nationality, and is a quarter Korean. There is no name for people who are like her (Sagisawa, 1997, pp.155-158).

Lee was born in 1965 to a first-generation Korean father and a second-generation mother in Tokyo. Until junior high school, Lee went to a school in her neighborhood and the neighbors knew that her family was Zainichi even though the family was using their Japanese name. Lee’s parents used and made their children use Japanese names because they were worried they would be discriminated against because of their non-Japanese sounding name. Lee went to a high school in another city and was still using her Japanese name, “Emiko Eguchi,” so only a few knew that she was Zainichi (Lee, 1997, pp.132-133). Lee felt bad for her friends because she felt like she was lying to them. Lee went on a trip with three other friends and told them that she was Zainichi. They said that her nationality
does not affect their friendship. When Lee told them she was worried about their reaction, they said “so how are you different from us?” Lee told them that, when it comes to marriage or employment, the situation for her would be different from theirs, but they told her that no one knows the future and to let them know when she is in trouble. It made Lee frustrated that they did not understand that she was different (Lee, 1997, pp.134-135). Japanese think that Zainichi are Koreans living in Japan or Koreans who are good at speaking Japanese and assume that they are culturally more Korean than Japanese (Lee, 1997, p.140). Lee also mentions the stereotypical image that she thinks Japanese people have for Zainichi depending on the generation; late-60’s-and-older Japanese think that Zainichi are aggressive, presumably because of the impressions made by some first-generation Zainichi in the immediate post-war period who acted up, for 40-60 year old Japanese, Zainichi are the object of pity, so Japanese in this generation try to show that they understand the kind of discrimination Zainichi experience, and 20-40 year old Japanese have no clear image for Zainichi, so they try not to touch upon the fact that someone is Zainichi (Lee, 1997, pp.10-11).

Lee started using the Japanese pronunciation of her Korean name “Seijaku Lee” when she entered university. Then, there was a Japanese person who talked to Lee and said that she wanted to be friends with her. Lee said “Sure, let’s have a coffee,” and then the person told her that she had wanted a Zainichi friend. Lee made up an excuse and canceled on her because she thought that she can’t represent Zainichi and that she is just herself. Another person Lee met at the university told her that her personality was not like Japanese because she was Zainichi (Lee, 1997, pp.135-136). It was the same at a graduate school; a professor told her that her way of thinking was interesting and that he thought it was because she was Zainichi. Lee has learned that there were unexpectedly many people who assumed that the category “Zainichi” explains a lot about a Zainichi individual, or that getting to know one
means to understand the whole Zainichi population. All Zainichi individuals are different people growing up in different environments, but Japanese people try to put them all into one Zainichi category. Lee does not like being explained by just the word “Zainichi” and believes that as there is no rule how Japanese should be, so there should be no rule on how Zainichi should be (Lee, 197, pp.137-139).

Lee does not feel that there is much discrimination against Zainichi which is why her family has not been naturalized. However, Lee claims that some Japanese and Zainichi have a “manner” problem. When Lee attended at a symposium discussing how Japanese people can live harmoniously with Zainichi, she did not agree with the guest speaker, who equated the problems of Zainichi with the Apartheid system of racial segregation in South Africa. She expressed her opinions and then was criticized by several Zainichi people who said she was “not considerate” and “not able to understand Zainichi struggles” (Lee, 1997, pp.160-169). A few days later, Lee gave a speech on how ethnic minorities live in Japan. After the speech, a Japanese professor told her that reality is different from her point-of-view and that she misunderstands it because she is "too assimilated". Whenever Lee does not agree with their criticism of Japan, some people on both Zainichi and Japanese sides call her “too assimilated”. This makes her wonder if they want all Zainichi to play the oppressed role or not (Lee, 1997, pp.153-156, p.173). Lee also problematizes some parents, who make their children use Korean names and tell them to be proud that they are Korean. The kids will become confused because, though they do not look different from Japanese and are doing the same things as their Japanese friends, their parents tell them that they should be proud to be Korean. Based on these things, Lee questions, ‘What is to be proud of one’s ethnicity?’, ‘Why is assimilation blamed?’ and ‘Is there no freedom of assimilation?’ (Lee, 1997, pp.129-133, pp.171-174).
Even though her family retains some Korean culture at home, Lee considers herself ‘paper Korean’ (Korean only by nationality). Lee says that she is Japanese not only in a linguistic sense, but also that her values, common sense, and ethics are Japanese. The only things that remind her that she is Korean are her alien certification card and the fact that she does not have suffrage. In the last chapter of the book, Lee mentions that she is planning to get naturalized because her identification as Japanese was undeniable, so she thinks that she should gain suffrage and take responsibility for the country. Upon naturalization, she is going to adopt a new name using her Japanese first name and a Chinese character from her Korean last name (Lee, 1997, pp.202-208).

3-5, My Experience

As I started working on this paper, I wondered if I had friends who are Zainichi. I slowly remembered that there were two people who had Korean sounding last names in my combined junior high and high school, though I do not know if they were Zainichi or children of recent Korean immigrants. Though I cannot speak on their behalf, I never witnessed discrimination toward them, and modern Japanese manners dictate that asking or bringing their ethnicity would be rude, though as innocent children, I suspect that manners played a negligent role in nobody asking. For me back then, those names did not even signal their ethnicity because of my ignorance. Other than for their names, they were not distinguishable from ethnic Japanese. And there was another person in the school, who I recently found out was a naturalized Japanese citizen of Korean descent. I was relatively close to her at one point, but never heard anything about her ethnicity. Recently I saw her saying on a social media that she was third generation Zainichi, now naturalized. I do not know if she already had a Japanese name as her legal name or was just using it, but either way I knew her by her Japanese name. So, I had no clue that she was possibly ethnically Korean.
I thought about how I would have reacted if one of them had told me that they were Zainichi back then. First of all, I had no idea who Zainichi were or what that meant. After asking them to explain it, I would have said ‘That’s okay. You’re not different’ just like Lee’s friend said. And I would not have tried to ask them more questions about being Zainichi because, as Sagisawa pointed out, even though I did not know or learn anything about the history between Korea and Japan or about Zainichi, I would probably unconsciously be thinking that anything about Korea or Korean people was something I should not talk about. Although I said I witnessed no discrimination toward them, I would assume that there might have been a few moments when they felt conscious of their ethnicity, because considering the complicated political relations between the two countries, some people may have made negative comments about Korea or Korean people.

As I worked on this paper, I really came to want to know how third generation Zainichi people think about their ethnic/national identity. I asked one of my closest friends if she had a Zainichi friend. It turned out that one of her best friends is Zainichi, so I asked my friend to introduce her to me. I talked to her online and asked her to tell me mainly about her ethnic/national identification, thoughts on naturalization, and experiences with discrimination. The following is what she told me.

She was born in 1991, to a third generation father and a Korean immigrant mother. His father does not speak Korean and her mother speaks Japanese fluently, so the language which her family spoke at home was exclusively Japanese. She knew only a few Korean words from visiting her mother’s relatives in Korea. She's been using her Japanese name since she was born, and since she went to Japanese schools from elementary school to all the way up to college, she had few friends who were also Zainichi. She told only some of her closest friends that she was ethnic Korean, for example when they take a trip together. Then, her friends would ask her some questions, such as if she speaks Korean or she has Korean
nationality in a neutral way. After she got very interested in Korean popular culture, she started learning the Korean language from her mother and online. Her interest in Korean popular culture ended up making her want to live and work in Korea after graduating from university in Japan. This was also influenced and facilitated by her mother’s relatives being in Korea and their being able to help her once she arrived. Now she is fluent in Korean and living and working in Korea.

Naturalization

Her family was thinking of getting naturalized together when she entered university, but they ended up not going through with it because there were a lot of documents to send and they found out that the process would take a long time. She remembers that her father said to her when they were considering naturalization; ‘Naturalization used to be stigmatized and considered as a betrayal to the country, but things have changed now. You should just get a passport of the country you live in’. She thinks that she is maybe going to get naturalized when she decides to work and live in Japan permanently. However, for now, perhaps unconsciously, she feels that maybe she should keep her Korean nationality, as a demonstration of her Korean-ness, even though she does not feel any pressure to not to get naturalized, and logically knows that there is nothing wrong with naturalization. She also told me about her friend's experience being naturalized. Her friend told her that she cried when she was about to start the naturalization process. She said that she really understood her friend because it is like losing something that is a part of you.

Identity

She has an emotional attachment to both countries, but after she started living in Korea, she has realized how culturally Japanese she is. There have been many times that she's
been frustrated with cultural differences, and when that happens, she gets homesick. Even though she is fluent in Korean, having, almost no accent, Koreans perceive her as a foreigner (though not in a negative way) because she exhibits and embodies Japanese culture. At first, she was using her Korean name, but it's a rather unusual name in Korea, so she started asking her friends to call her by her Japanese name, which is easier to pronounce for them and she is more familiar with. When I asked her to identify herself considering her ethnic and national affiliations, she said ‘Korean Japanese’.

Discrimination

She has not felt discriminated against because of her ethnicity in her interactions with people. However, anti-Korean and anti-Zainichi sentiments seen in hate speech or on the Internet, which she started seeing around the time she was in high school and college, hurt her. She said that when she started becoming aware of anti-Korean and anti-Zainichi sentiments was when she started feeling conscious of her ethnicity.

4. Analysis

Except for my friend’s friend, who was born in 1991, all the four authors were born in the 1960s; respectively Kyo in 1961, Kaneshiro in 1968, Sagisawa in 1968, and Lee in 1965. However, their parents’ generational status, their nationality, and name choice are diverse. Kyo has two second-generation Zainichi parents. Sugihara, the protagonist in Kaneshiro’s novel has a 1.5-generation Zainichi father (Joseon nationality) and 2nd generation Zainichi mother (Korean nationality). Sagisawa has a half ethnically Japanese - half ethnically Korean father (first-generation Zainichi), and an ethnically Japanese mother. Lee has a Korean immigrant father and a second-generation Zainichi mother. In terms of nationality, Sagisawa was the only one, who had Japanese nationality since she was born, and
she did not know about her ethnic roots until she turned around twenty. Kyo and Lee were born with South Korean nationality, and while Sugihara was born with Joseon nationality he changed it to South Korean once in junior high school. In regard to their name choice, Sugihara was using his Korean name with Korean pronunciation in the ethnic school, but changed to his Japanese name in the Japanese high school. Kyo and Lee were using their Japanese name but changed to their Korean name with Japanese pronunciation, when they entered university. What all the four people share, however, are the Japanese language and culture. Not only Sagisawa, who grew up without knowing that she is ethnically a quarter Korean, but the other three, who were born in the 1960s, are also primarily culturally and linguistically Japanese, which is congruent with what I wrote in 2-2 Cultural and Linguistic Assimilation.

In terms of structural assimilation, Sugihara is the least assimilated among the three excluding Sagisawa because she was legally Japanese since she was born. Sugihara went to the ethnic school until junior high school and does not have any close Japanese relations other than his girlfriend. On the other hand, Kyo and Lee went to Japanese school from elementary school all the way to college, and grew up predominantly with ethnic Japanese people. However, it can be said that Kyo, who experienced discriminatory hiring, was less structurally assimilated than Lee, who did not.

Although all of them grew up in different environments, there are multiple themes to comment on. Firstly, Kyo, Sugihara, and Sagisawa mention passing from different perspectives. Kyo discusses the mental distress, which passing, specifically using Japanese name, causes to Zainichi. Kyo criticizes Japanese discrimination against Zainichi, which makes Zainichi to pass by using Japanese name (Kyo, 1990, p94). Secondly, Sugihara’s remark ‘I wish my skin were green. Then it’s easier, because people who don’t like me won’t talk to me in the first place’ (Kaneshiro, 2000, p.191), shows how passing is a default option
for assimilated Zainichi, and not passing requires Zainichi to assert ethnic identification by revealing his Korean name or ancestry (Lie, 2008, p.20). Thirdly, Sagisawa contests those who blame passing. When Sagisawa had an interview in Korea, the interviewer implicitly expressed discontent about the characters in a Sagisawa’s novel using Japanese name and passing. Against her discontent, Sagisawa thinks that it is not something, which other people are entitled to blame, and if using Japanese name is necessary for them to get by, it is necessary and others should not intervene (Sagisawa, 1997, pp.52-53).

Sagisawa and Lee talk about how Japanese perceive Zainichi and Korea. Sagisawa surmises that Japanese people can’t make a fair judgment when it comes to Korea because without being informed about the history between the two countries including Zainichi history, Japanese only have somehow passed down sense of guilt for Koreans and knowledge that Koreans resent Japanese (Sagisawa, 1997, pp.107-111). Lee mentions how Japanese in her generation see Zainichi. Lee supposes that her generation ethnic Japanese do not have a clear image of who Zainichi are, so they try not to touch upon the fact that someone is Zainichi (Sagisawa, 1997, pp.10-11). Sagisawa and Lee’s reflections seem to fit into what I have discussed in 2-6, The Changing Japanese Image of Korea and Zainichi. Ethnic Japanese had derogatory images for the Korean peninsula and Zainichi especially after the war. At the same time, Japan was neglecting the Korean peninsula well into the mid-1980s, and the Japanese post-war monoethnic ideology purposefully disregarded ethnic minorities in Japan, so ethnic Japanese were totally ignorant of Korean and Zainichi history. Then, since the late 1970s ethnic Japanese got conscious about societal evil, following the Japanese government’s abolition of policies of discrimination. And thus the word discrimination gradually became a dirty word (Lie, 2008, pp.152).

I think that the mixture of persistent derogatory images for Korea and Koreans, the ignorance of Korean and Zainichi history, and the simple awareness of “discrimination” as
bad, has caused what Sagisawa and Lee refer to as Japanese attitude. This explains Kyo and Lee’s friends’ reactions when disclosing to them that they were ethnically Korean: ‘Well, okay. You are not different from Japanese, don’t worry’ (Kyo, 1990, p.47) and ‘Whatever nationality you have it does not affect our friendship….so how are you different from us?’ (Lee, 1997, p.134). I think that these comments not only show their ignorance coupled with the unreliable acknowledgement of “discrimination” as bad, but also expose the fact that ethnic hierarchy was still ingrained in their mind since they sounded as if being the same with Japanese was a plus. In consequence, their friends appeared insensitive to and frustrated Kyo and Lee.

What Kyo, Sugihara and Lee had in common was fear of exclusion after they come out of the ethnic closet, although in Sugihara’s case the fear was exclusively for Sakurai, who Sugihara liked. This fear of exclusion, which results from passing, shows that discrimination and derogatory images for ethnic Koreans existed well into the 1970s and 1980s. Sugihra’s confession at first ended with Sakurai’s blatant rejection, which was influenced by her father’s racism. Kyo and Lee’s cases were almost identical. Both of them were using their Japanese name until high school, and they both told only some of their friends, who they got particularly close to, that they were ethnically Korean. As I discussed in the paragraph above, their friends’ reaction when Kyo and Lee tell their friends about their ethnicity disclosed their insensitivity. In my friend’s friend case, she also told only some of her closest friends that she was Zainichi when she had a chance. This can be taken as the fact that passing is a default option for her, phenotypically indistinguishable and culturally assimilated person, or the fear of exclusion. If it was the fear of exclusion that made her open up about her ethnicity only selectively, the fear was probably coming from the contemporary anti-Korean sentiments, which I mentioned in the section 2-4 Net Uyoku and Hate Speech, as she also said that she started being conscious about her ethnicity when those sentiments appeared on the media. On
the other hand, her friends’ reaction, which was simply asking her some questions (such as if she speaks Korean or she has Korean nationality), I think, seems more natural and neutral, and implies the absence of ethnic hierarchy in their minds.

The authors reviewed here show negative attitudes toward ethnic essentialist views, Soren and Zainichi ideology, which I referred to in the section 2-5 The Social Structure of Intra-ethnic Community. Both ideologies envision the population as homogeneous, define the terms and theories of the identity, and assign cultural nationalism. Firstly, in Kyo’s case, against the members of a Zainichi organization, who insist on cultural nationalism, Kyo argues that acquiring culture or language should not be necessary to claim membership to an ethno-national group considering the actual diversity of the group, and argues that different ways of being Korean should be accepted. For the older Zainichi generation, who condemns who does not fit into Zainichi identity, and particularly who gets naturalized, Kyo claims that for her generation, Zainichi identity is not persuasive. She argues that Korean ethnicity is explained only by the fact that their ancestors came from the Korean peninsula, and also notes that naturalization should be an individual choice. Secondly, in Sugihara’s case, he was against Soren ideology, which the ethnic school was trying to impose. For Sugihara, ethnicity or nationality is trivial because all human beings share the same roots. He opposes being controlled by or embedded in a big social category such as ethnicity or states. Thirdly, Sagisawa is tired of essentialism, which defines who is included and who is not. Sagisawa is considered as Zainichi by Japanese or Koreans, yet is not considered as Zainichi by Zainichi, because Zainichi ideology, which is monoethnic ideology, excludes naturalized and mixed Zainichi. She used to think seriously about if she should call herself Zainichi or not, but she stopped caring and her conclusion was nothing more than she is Zainichi to people who think she is, and to people who do not think she is she is not. Sagisawa, as mentioned above, does not oppose passing, which Zainichi ideology criticizes as assimilation, because individuals
should be able to express their own identity freely to handle their lives. Forth, in Lee’s case, some Zainichi people at a symposium accused her of not being considerate and not being able to understand Zainichis’ struggles, when she did not agree with their criticism of Japan. Lee also thinks that naturalization should be an individual choice.

In contrast to those views, my friend notes that she has not felt any intra-group pressure to fit into Zainichi identity. Looking at her father’s remark ‘Naturalization used to be stigmatized and considered as a betrayal to the country, but things have changed now. You should just get a passport of the country you live in’ seems to be signaling that Zainichi ideology is waning today more than ever before.

While all the four authors felt intra-group pressure to be confined to Zainichi identity and yet rejected it, Lee, Sugihara, and Sagisawa expressed their experiences of racialization and stereotyping, which are imposed by the dominant groups. Since Lee started using her Korean name, some Japanese people around her regarded “Zainichi” as her defining identity, and at the same time equated her with the whole Zainichi population. There were also some Japanese people, who criticize her for being “too assimilated”, when she did not agree with Japan’s victimizer-ness and thus did not fit in what they think Zainichi ought to be. Against those people, Lee blames their stereotyping and racialization effort, and calls for freedom of identity expression, including freedom of “assimilation”. Sugihara also expressed his frustration at Japanese unhesitant usage of Zainichi despite its connotation, and how they label Zainichi, when Sakurai answered ‘Zainichi Kankokujin’ to his question ‘Who am I?’ Japanese racialization of Zainichi causes not only his emotional detachment from Japanese but also rejection of the imposed Zainichi category and of social categories in general. In Sagisawa’s case, it was from a Korean person. Sagisawa had an interviewer, who showed negative attitudes to her, presumably because Sagisawa did not conform to the interview’s image of Zainichi, who come to study the Korean language in Korea. The interviewer
referred to her friend, who said that Sagisawa was trying to be the second Yangji Lee, the famous second-generation Zainichi writer. Sagisawa expressed anger because she saw their stereotyping and racialization implication that Sagisawa should be trying to be the second Yangji Lee just because Sagisawa is also Zainichi.

All the four authors recognize that they are not culturally Korean, and express that there is a long emotional distance between them and the Korean peninsula. Also, as seen in their criticism of Zainichi ideology, none of them finds their belonging in Zainichi identity. Kyo’s book title says *An Ordinary Zainichi*, but that is an expression that shows that she wants to live as an ordinary Zainichi, who is not confined by Zainichi ideology. She does not find her place in the Japanese society either, because of discrimination including discriminatory hiring, which she has experienced, and Japan’s monoethnic ideology, which does not include naturalized Japanese as authentic members. Kyo attributes the reason she hesitates to naturalize to the emotional entanglement pertaining to naturalization, which are condemnation from Zainichi society and a lack of full acceptance from Japanese society.

Sugihara, who went to the ethnic school and does not have any close Japanese friends but his girlfriend, is structurally the least assimilated. He is also the only one, who has experienced blatant verbal discrimination from Japanese besides racialization. Even though his livelihood is totally Japanese, because of those two factors his identification with Japanese is not even an option. Also, as his unpleasant experiences in his family trip to South Korean and at the ethnic school show, Sugihara does not identify with Korean or Zainichi, which again is the imposed identity by ethnic Japanese. Thus, these hateful experiences make Sugihara refuse to be confined to social categories such as ethnicity or states. His identification fits the notion of cosmopolitan (Appiah, 2008).

Sagisawa is the only mixed “Zainichi” and the only Japanese citizen among the four authors. Her identification until she found out her quarter Korean ancestry from her father’s
side should have been Japanese, but once she found that out, her unquestionable identification with Japanese was changed and that is, I suppose, why she wrote the book hoping that Japanese people learn that there are people like her. This change to her identity reflects Japan’s monoethnic ideology, which does not give authenticity to mixed Japanese. Being weary of ethnic essentialism, it seems that Sagisawa stopped actively identifying herself with ethnic terms, and instead she just let others identification of her be. In Lee’s case, although she criticizes some ethnic Japanese people for stereotyping about Zainichi, and thus not allowing Zainichi’s free expression of their identity, she is sure about her identification with Japanese. So, she is planning to naturalize in order to adjust formal national affiliation to the facts of residence and emotional attachment and to be a full member of the Japanese society. Lee is also considering having a new name including a Chinese character, which signals her Korean ancestry. Considering Lee’s stance, which is identical with post-Zainichi generation, Lee’s ethnic/national identification is assumed to be Korean Japanese. Finally, in my friend’s friend case, even though she has emotional attachment to both South Korea and Japan, her attachment to Japan is stronger, so she identifies herself as Korean Japanese. However, the contemporary anti-Korean sentiments make her conscious about her ethnicity, and so I think that that is one of the factors, which her future identification is depending on.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, in order to examine third-generation Zainichis’ ethnic and national identity, I investigated the factors that influence their identification (Structural Assimilation, Cultural Assimilation, Japan's Imagined National Community, The Social Structure of Intra-group Community, Net Uyoku (Net Rightwinger) and Hate Speech, and The Changing Japanese Imaginary of Korea and Zainichi), and then summarized and analyzed three autobiographies and one autobiographical novel written by
third-generation Zainichi authors and a conversation with my friend's Zainichi friend, who has a third-generation Zainichi father and a Korean immigrant mother.

As I analyzed in the last section, each of those factors influences Zainichi identification in different ways, and thus all five people have different sentiments toward their ethnic and national identity. However, they were the same in that that their identity can't be explained by a single ethnic or national term, and that they reject essentialism, both of which suggest the impossibility of essentialism. Because of their undeniable Japanese experience, it is not possible for them to solely identify as Korean. They also do not find their place in Zainichi society, where Zainichi mono-ethnic ideology misidentifies and mischaracterizes them. Lastly, due to Japanese discrimination and mono-ethnic ideology "that does not allow people of Korean descent to be legitimately Japanese or assume a new form of hybrid identity" (Lie 128), finding their authentic place in Japanese society is difficult. However, Lee's naturalization plan, which is to get naturalized with a new name signaling her Korean ancestry in order to be a full member of Japanese society, seems to suggest that Lee embraces hybrid identity. This could be a predictor of the rise of what Lie calls post-Zainichi generation, "ethnic Koreans who are ready to embrace their Japaneseness, including Japanese citizenship” (Lie 134). In fact, my friend's friend, who was born almost 25 years later than the above authors, has no problem identifying herself as “Korean Japanese” because she has a stronger emotional attachment to Japan, even though she does not have Japanese nationality. I think that her fearless identification as a Korean Japanese implies the decline of Japanese mono-ethnic ideology and also implies that Japanese society is gradually getting ready to accept hybrid identities, though it needs to be noted that public expressions of anti-Korean and Zainichi sentiments would cause them to disidentify with Japanese.
I would like to go back to the question that I asked myself when I was applying to the Master's in Liberal Studies Program, which was ‘What is going to happen when Japan becomes more ethnically and racially diverse?’ If I narrow it down and change this question to 'how will a member of an immigrant group adapt to Japanese society’, I think that I can find a general answer from this paper. In this paper, I specifically examined the Zainichi population and I acknowledge that individuals adapt to the destination society depending upon their ethnicity, nationality, race, religion, socio-economic status, linguistic competence and so on. However, if I focus on the host society, in this case Japanese society, and as I learned throughout this paper, discrimination caused by the Japanese mono-ethnic ideology will be one of the biggest obstacles that hinder immigrants and their children from smooth and desirable adaptation. Thus, my general answer to that question is; as long as Japanese monoethnic ideology is prevalent, immigrants will have trouble adapting to Japanese society. Those criticisms, which emerged when Ariana Miyamoto was selected as Miss Universe Japan in 2015, and the Japanese media's differentiation of a naturalized Japanese sumo wrestler from native Japanese one in 2016, show that the Japanese monoethnic ideology still exists, but Miyamoto's selection itself and the criticism of the media's differentiation could hopefully be a sign of Japan's readiness to appreciate heterogeneity.
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