

K-POP: ITS SOCIAL AND SPATIAL INFLUENCE ON THE TOKYO CITYSCAPE

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Table of Contents

Abstract.....	3
Acknowledgements.....	5
Notes on Transliteration, Translation and Referencing	6
Introduction.....	7
Chapter 1. K-pop in the Consumable City.....	17
Chapter 2. Shin-Ōkubo as a K-pop <i>sakariba</i>	40
Chapter 3: Views of the <i>Kanryū</i> Lifestyle from the Outside	57
Conclusion	77
Reference List	82
Appendices.....	88
Appendix A. Pilot Survey Question Schedule	88
Appendix B. Interview Questions	91
Appendix C: Ethics Clearance	95
Glossary of terms	98

List of Figures

Figure 1 Table to Show Respondents' Prior Knowledge of K-pop	23
Figure 2 Table to Show Survey Results Regarding Where K-pop was Noted Within Tokyo	24
Figure 3. A poster promoting EXO's album “Countdown”, found at one of Shibuya's many main streets	25
Figure 4. A promotion for K-pop Girl Group MOMOLAND’s Japanese debut on the 1st floor of Shibuya Tower Records	28
Figure 5. Banners in Shinjuku Tower Records promoting K-pop boy group MONSTA X’s latest Japanese release	29
Figure 6. Map to show discovered K-pop locations in Tokyo. The Green line indicates the JR Yamanote Train Line. (Jan 2018-Mar 2018)	32
Figure 7. A poster advertising TWICE’s new single “Candy Pop” alongside Japanese artists, near the entrance to Tower Records Shibuya.	35
Figure 8. A map showing the approximate boundaries of Shin-Ōkubo’s K-pop businesses, found within Shinjuku Ward	42
Figure 9. A view from the eastern edge of Ōkubo-dori: one of the few locations I had enough space to take a photo.	46
Figure 10. An example of K-pop stickers purchased in Shin-Ōkubo. These display mascot characters for BTS and can be placed on bags and electronics.	53

Abstract

This thesis examines the influence and effect of K-pop (Korean Popular Music) on the Tokyo cityscape and how Tokyo residents' react to the ongoing consumption of the genre and its related commodities. Using participant observation, a pilot survey and interview data collected through ethnographic fieldwork, I argue that K-pop is normalised within the cityscape using previously embedded neoliberal practices. I also demonstrate that K-pop and the broader Korean wave have transformed Shin-Ōkubo — a previously-established “Koreatown” — into a K-pop *sakariba* (amusement district). This *sakariba* has become pivotal to the construction of a Korean Wave subculture that I call the “*Kanryū* lifestyle”, which I conceptualise via Bourdieu's sociological theories of *habitus* and taste. Finally, I suggest that non-consumers attempt to manage identity boundaries in relation to K-pop consumption and the *Kanryū* lifestyle by maintaining its exceptionality through *nihonjinron* beliefs and attitudes, often used to defend the idea of a unique and homogenous Japan. Together, this study argues that while non-consuming Tokyo residents may attempt to minimise K-pop and the *Kanryū* lifestyle's influence in order to regulate their own identities, K-pop's adoption of Japan's neoliberal consumption practices means that it continues to become normalised both socially and spatially within the cityscape.

Statement of Originality

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

(Signed) K.E. Phillips
Candidate's name

Date: 05/10/18

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Notes on Transliteration, Translation and Referencing

This thesis includes quotes from interviews that have been translated from Japanese and all interview participants have been given pseudonyms to protect their identities.

All Japanese words have been transliterated according to the Revised Hepburn Romanisation, Korean words have been written using the Revised Romanisation of Korean, and both Korean and Japanese names have been written with family names preceding personal names, except when preference is for the opposite system of presentation (such as for scholars who publish in English). The names of Korean music groups are presented in the standard English stylisations adopted from their respective companies' publicity materials.

The thesis has adopted a modified form of the Chicago author-date referencing system as advocated by the publishing house Taylor and Francis. This referencing system adheres to the Chicago style, except that online sources are presented as only footnotes within the body of the text.

Introduction

Upon returning to Tokyo in January 2018 after two years' absence, I felt the need to visit my favourite places within the city as soon as possible. It was on one of these occasions, as I stepped out from the Yamanote train line and into the Shibuya neighbourhood, that I was met by a wall of vivid colour and intense sound. Posters, banners, video advertisements, and music trucks were everywhere. But rather than promoting Japanese pop music, these advertisements were showcasing the latest songs from South Korean idol groups. Walking around Shibuya, I found banners for a male idol group managed by South Korea's SM Entertainment, EXO, attached to lampposts along multiple main streets for several hundred metres. A video for girl group TWICE's latest single "Candy Pop" was playing across from their promotional posters in the chain store Tsutaya. At Shibuya 109, BLACKPINK, and iKON – two groups managed by YG Entertainment – were prominently displayed as seasonal models. Upon venturing further along the Yamanote line, I arrived at Shin-Ōkubo - the station commonly associated with the city's "Koreatown". Here, the promotion of K-pop was even more prolific than in Shibuya, with K-pop playing in almost every shop, and idol merchandise (both official and unofficial) proudly displayed to prospective customers. Furthermore, both restaurants and clubs promoted K-pop-centric entertainment and one street down from the station, multiple live houses hosted K-pop group performances. Compared to my previous visits, it now seemed like K-pop had taken over the developed Western districts of Tokyo, known since the 17th century as the *yamanote*.

Although I was surprised by the abundance of K-pop-related businesses, K-pop within Tokyo is not a novel phenomenon. According to Jung (2015, 119), the promotion of K-pop has occurred within Japan for close to two decades now, since BoA successfully debuted in Japan. Short for South Korean Popular Music, K-pop is an umbrella term for music usually performed by idol groups, although rappers and indie groups have also been labelled by Western media as

K-pop, (Lie, 2014, 122). Within the term K-pop, the “K” has come to stand for not only “Korean”, but also “korporate, kaleidoscopic and keyboard”, in relation to other attributes the music genre (Kim 2018, 8-9). K-pop idol groups are created and managed by South Korean entertainment companies, and undergo extensive training in singing, dancing, and rapping. K-pop uses a mixture of other genres such as Hip Hop, R&B, and electronic dance music (EDM) (Lee et. al 2013, 531). K-pop also forms part of the wider Korean Wave, otherwise known as *Hallyu* in Korean or *Kanryū* in Japanese, that includes other cultural products such as television dramas (K-dramas), food, and fashion (Jin 2016).

Many scholars claim that the Korean Wave in Japan was properly launched by the airing of the television drama *Winter Sonata* (Chua and Iwabuchi 2008, 5-7; Yoshitaka 2008, 128-129), and with the level of success this drama received, it is unsurprising that multiple works have been written specifically to address the impact the show had (Hanaki et. al 2007; Hasegawa 2005; Jung 2009). First aired in 2004, *Winter Sonata* gained incredible popularity and was re-run in 2005. When the lead actor, Bae Yong Jun (known affectionately by his Japanese fans as “Yon-sama”), arrived at Haneda airport in 2004 as reported by Tōyō Keizai Nippō that same year, 5000 fans — mostly middle-aged and female — were reported to have met him.¹ This level of fame has been attributed to the actor’s so-called “soft masculinity”, a term used to describe the supposed display of delicate, polite and sensitive emotional qualities, as it is tied to purportedly “androgynous” physical features (Jung, 2010, 35-72). However, the use of this term “soft masculinity” — often linked to South Korean *kkonminam* and Japanese *bishōnen* (pretty boy) aesthetics — to describe desirable Korean Wave male aesthetics has been critiqued in recent years as leaning too heavily on the Western media’s “effeminate” readings of such gender performances (Elfving-Hwang 2017, 57-58). As Elfving-Hwang discusses, concern over the mis-coding of *kkonminam* aesthetics has in turn led to an increased focus on

¹ http://www.toyo-keizai.co.jp/news/society/2004/post_1761.php

and incorporation of hegemonic masculine behaviour into the portrayal of Korean men within popular media.

With so much scholarly focus on the “Winter Sonata Craze” K-pop’s entrance into the Japanese music market has been less thoroughly examined, despite several successful debuts from SM Entertainment’s BoA, H.O.T and TVXQ, JYP’s KARA, and multiple other groups. Academics have suggested that these idols’ success was due to the hybridised approach these artists took in their training and debut (Jung 2009, 76; 2015, 118-119). This led to what both Sun Jung (2010, 60) and Jung and Hirata (2012), drawing on Iwabuchi (2001), have called a “culturally odourless” approach, whereby an idol’s styling, training, and singing in Japanese allowed them to act in similar styles to Japanese artists and achieve greater levels of success, including KARA’s invitation to perform on the prestigious year-end *Kōhaku Uta Gassen*.² Nevertheless, protests were held in 2011 against the excessive promotion of Korean media within Japan, and activity by extremist and ultra-nationalist groups such as the *Zainichi Tokken wo Yurusanai Shimin no Kai* (Association of Citizens against the Special Privileges of the Resident Koreans, known more commonly as the *Zaitokukai*) grew, creating a temporary decline in the opportunities afforded to K-pop acts (Jung 2015).

As I will reveal through the ethnography detailed within this thesis, K-pop has had a resurgence within metropolitan Tokyo. This is perhaps due in part to the overall transition from what Jin (2012, 3) terms Hallyu 1.0 to Hallyu 2.0, which saw K-pop overtake K-Dramas as the predominant commodity in the Korean Wave, as well as the movement of consumption towards a more youth-centric audience. Groups such as EXO, BTS, and BIGBANG have drawn large audiences to their recent Japan tours.³ Indeed, K-pop has continued to reach the top of the Oricon music charts and in 2017, TWICE appeared on the *Kōhaku Uta Gassen*.⁴

² <https://seoulbeats.com/2012/12/worry-for-the-right-reasons-k-pop-and-kohaku/>

³ <http://yorozu-do.com/concert-ranking/>

⁴ <https://saeriho.com/twice-kouhaku/>

My thesis questions and examines the ongoing promotion and sale of K-pop within the Tokyo Metropolitan area, in both its social and spatial context. In order to examine this topic, I have focussed on three broad areas of investigation within my work: to find how, why and where K-pop and any related products could be found within Tokyo, how these spaces and businesses engage with the public, and how the public responds to this and constructs their own understanding of K-pop's success in the city. Through examining this topic, my research attempts to bring the current analysis of K-pop's influence on Japan into a more ethnographic and spatially-embedded perspective. Furthermore, by taking notice of where K-pop appears and is engaged with by groups and individuals within the Tokyo cityscape, my work attempts to demonstrate how the spatial emplacement of fan consumption and product promotion plays an important role in the integration of this transcultural movement, and to bring attention to the current lack of spatially-engaged research within studies of the Korean Wave.

Methodological Notes and Research Design

This project deploys a qualitative research methodology in order to focus on the meanings that lie behind the purely observable and recorded data I collected via an ethnography detailed more thoroughly below. Qualitative research is defined as a research method that pieces together complex, observable phenomenon found within the "real" world that cannot be understood purely through quantifiable terms (Hammersley 2013, 9-15). This definition reflects the way in which my own exploration of the complex issue of K-pop's appearance within Tokyo occurred. My research not only explores the hybridisation and transnationalism of an internationally consumed music genre, but also touches on consumption and promotion patterns of city residents through a focus on the fundamentally neoliberal nature of Japanese consumer society. The aims I have detailed above cannot be answered simply through deductive and quantified methods, and must instead be examined through an inductive, qualitative approach.

As such, I chose to undertake an ethnographic approach to investigating K-pop within Tokyo. As part of the broad array of qualitative methods available to researchers, ethnography is frequently considered to be a method that examines the interrelation of culture, individuals, and history in a holistic manner rather than examining human behaviours piece by piece (Singer 2009, 191). This allows ethnographers to analyse complex situations and social issues in a manner that produces high social validity. I chose to engage with an ethnographic approach as there have been no ethnographic studies of Korean Wave fandom in Japan to date, with most work on the Korean Wave around the globe privileging the methods of media studies (see Jin, 2016). The methodology of ethnography draws upon several data collection methods such as participant observations, interviews, and group discussions through fieldwork that is embedded within a specific socio-cultural context (Hammersley 1990, 1-4; 30-31; de Laine 1997, 146). In actively engaging with, observing and participating in the examined social situations, an ethnographer can create a reflexive account of their topic, drawing deeper insight into it than can be found purely through recounted information or journalism (Singer 2009, 192).

Ethnography as a broad methodology encompasses a number of different sub-methods of research, with each drawing upon a variation of the previously-mentioned approaches to data collection and also upon different theoretical backgrounds. Amongst these sub-methods, walking as methodology has become increasingly discussed over the last two decades, following references to the practice within multiple ethnographies, including those of Bourdieu and Marcel Mauss, from the 20th century (Pink et al. 2010, 2-3). I too chose to use this “walking ethnography”, as it allows the observations carried out by a researcher to span a wide location, and leads their research to engage with issues of mobility and space in relation to their main topic (Cheng 2014). Simply put, this methodology involved me walking through spaces where K-pop appeared in Tokyo and observing how K-pop was emplaced within the city. My walking ethnographic method also draws inspiration from the urban practices of the *flâneurs* of

the 19th century, who used walking as a way to engage in reflexive and retrospective philosophical practice (Coates 2017, 28-30). Much like those they observed, *flâneurs* engaged with the modern city and its economy as consumers themselves (Coates 2017, 29). In this manner, my walking ethnography also takes a reflexive approach while replicating the ways in which residents of Tokyo interact with space and structures. However, unlike *flânerie*, I sought to avoid ethnocentrism in my practice and in doing so I favour a more traditionally ethnographic participant-based approach to research, including one-on-one interviews with individuals (de Laine 1997, 141). As Tokyo is a large city, the ability to move throughout its different neighbourhoods while engaging with people from different socio-economic backgrounds was vital for my research, providing significant information about K-pop's influence on the city.

Methods

My ethnographic fieldwork was carried out within Tokyo over a two-month period from January to March of 2018. To commence this fieldwork, I constructed and distributed a pilot survey both in person and online and recruited participants through hyperlinks on social media platforms and approaching potential respondents on the street, using a mixture of random and snowball sampling. The survey aimed to both highlight where K-pop could be found in Tokyo and collect a set of participants' opinions and experiences about this phenomenon. This survey was provided in both Japanese and English in an attempt to engage with a broad collection of residents, foreign or otherwise, situated within the area. In total, 38 responses were gathered from the initial survey. After returning to Sydney to commence writing my ethnography, however, I constructed a new survey asking the same questions (with the addition of a question relating to the gender of the participants) in which a further 21 participants were gathered, leading to a final sum of 59 survey participants, with ages ranging from 18 years old to over 60. While this is only a small number of participants, my participant research was not concerned with producing generalisable results. Instead, I used this survey to guide my ethnography and

analysis, which drew upon other collected data in order to triangulate my ethnographic observations with other empirical data. The questions within the survey were designed to gather a mixture of demographic data and the participants' opinions about K-pop and its appearance within Tokyo, and to also provide me with an initial list of areas in the city to conduct my ethnographic observations (see Appendix A for the survey questionnaire). This survey was later republished in September with two additional questions that sought to address topics that had arisen through the course of analysing my fieldwork (see Appendix B).

Following the distribution of the pilot survey, I conducted participant-observations of the city, using the walking ethnographic methodology. These observations were conducted in multiple locations throughout Tokyo and each session took between one and five hours to complete. During this time I engaged with spaces and shops, consumed commodities, and as is common within ethnographic projects (de Laine 1997, 147-150), conducted short off-the-cuff conversations with individuals I met in the field to extend my understanding of what was happening. Both my own immersive experiences and the information gathered from and about other observed members of the public were recorded within a dedicated research journal and subsequently analysed, with a particular focus placed on fan activities and consumption practices I had observed.

Finally, in addition to the survey and participant observations, I conducted semi-structured interviews with respondents sourced from the pilot survey. Following advice from Macquarie University's Human Research Ethics Committee, recruitment occurred if a survey participant voluntarily chose to provide a contact email address within an optional question at the end of the survey, and pseudonyms were given to protect participants' identities. This additional data collection was designed to complement and support the more etic observations I undertook through my fieldwork with a more emic understanding of the research topic, while providing more detailed descriptions of such issues than the initial survey provided. As such two question schedules were constructed: one set was designed to examine the participant's

personal opinions of K-pop's appearance and influence on Tokyo, while the second set examined this topic from a more economic approach. This second set of questions was initially designed for small focus group sessions, but due to an unfortunate lack of participants they were then used purely for interviews. All conducted interviews were audio-recorded to be analysed at a later date, and consent to use participants' data was received at the beginning and end of the interview. At a later date participants were recontacted to both clarify views on previously asked questions and to record their opinions on new questions that had arisen through the writing of my thesis. Three participants were recruited in the initial survey distribution, and as such I had difficulty gathering large amounts of interview data. With the reconstruction and distribution of the survey at a later date, the interview process was also reopened in order to gather more data, and a fourth interview was conducted using an online audio-visual conference application (see Appendix B for the interview question schedules).

It is worth noting that both the survey and the interviews included many responses that were at some points quite emotionally charged in their views of K-pop in Tokyo. While this provides important insight into the different perspectives and ways Tokyo residents respond to this music and its related businesses and commodities, I wished to temper this information with more objective statistics and observations in order to make more general claims about K-pop's appearance and integration into the cityscape. By using a mixture of emic and etic, subjective and objective data, I hope to strike this balance within my work, providing an in-depth, yet holistic perspective on a complex social issue.

Theoretical aims and structure of the thesis

Another debate with which I wish to engage in this thesis is that of structure versus agency. Through my fieldwork examining the interaction between individuals, groups and institutions my argument predominantly focusses on structural influences on K-pop's appearance within the cityscape. This is partly due to the structural nature of the neoliberal reforms that have

shaped Tokyo within the last three decades (Takeyama 2016, 23-30). It is also reflected in my observations of how K-pop is produced and promoted, with regards to how the collective social construction of lifestyles and subcultures influence an individual's approach to their own self-expression, which I explore in more depth in Chapter 2.

The main body of my work is divided into three chapters to address my aims. Chapter 1 examines the ways in which K-pop has been integrated into the broader Tokyo cityscape. Responding to past research regarding Tokyo's structure as a "consumable city", I will explain that K-pop has become embedded and is being normalised within the cityscape due to its adherence to Japan's neoliberal practices, and that the gendered nature of these practices directly influences which locations K-pop is marketed in. In Chapter 2, I focus on the most prominent K-pop neighbourhood: Shin-Ōkubo. I argue that this neighbourhood must be conceptualised as a "K-pop *sakariba*," and compare its business strategies to that of the other *sakariba* I introduce in Chapter 1. I then discuss its relevance as a location where issues of social identity, consumerism, constructivism, and neoliberalism converge, drawing upon Bourdieu's sociological theories of *habitus* and taste to explore what I term "the *Kanryū* lifestyle". Finally, Chapter 3 examines data collected from the interviews with four male non-consumers, their perspectives of K-pop's integration into Tokyo, and the stereotypes surrounding fans and their consumption practices. Their responses will be compared to my own findings. Together, these chapters seek to examine the impact of neoliberal practices and group boundary management on the ability of transnational cultural movements and their related businesses, commodities, and subsequently constructed social groups to become normalised within a broad cityscape.

Finally, I wish to mention that the nature of my project strongly diverged from what I originally intended to study upon commencement of the data collection, with the final themes and questions only developing after the completion of my fieldwork and during the writing process. Previously mentioned difficulties in collecting a large number of surveys and

interviews, and the later examination of my collected data all eventually led to my focus on gender, normalisation, the construction of fan identity, and the subsequent structure of the thesis itself. As such, the process of writing has been at times constrained by the limitations of my fieldwork, and would no doubt have benefited from a longer period of data collection. Nevertheless, I believe that the data gathered and topics explored within this thesis have the potential to further academic understanding of transnational Korean popular culture, and also highlight areas which require further development within the field. In particular, I remain committed to developing an ethnographic investigation of K-pop fandom in Japan which, until now, has been lacking.

Chapter 1. K-pop in the Consumable City

Approximately two weeks into my stay in Tokyo, I was eating lunch at Chūka Tōshū, a local Chinese-style restaurant in Umegaoka in Setagaya Ward. This ward, where I had rented an apartment during my trip, is well-known for its residential neighbourhoods and locally-run businesses. I was enjoying a *shōyū ramen* (soy sauce-based noodle soup) set at the restaurant before heading to Shinjuku to continue my observations, when a very familiar refrain drifted from the shop's radio. It was the Japanese version of "Blood, Sweat and Tears" by BTS (*Bangtan Sonyeondan*), possibly the most popular K-pop group in the world at the time of my fieldwork. The sudden appearance of K-pop in such an unexpected place drew my attention away from my food for the duration of the song, but no one else in the shop paid the tune any notice. Around me sat several salarymen, all middle-aged and dressed in suits as they enjoyed a brief break in their working day. Within such a masculine, suburban setting, a K-pop song seemed out of place. I had rarely heard K-pop on the radio before, and only seemed to find it in the corporate shopping districts of Shibuya, Shin-Ōkubo, and Harajuku. The unexpectedness of K-pop's appearance in a restaurant in Umegaoka suggested that there was a far more distinct differentiation than I had first thought between the areas where the genre should and should not be found. In this chapter, I discuss the promotion of K-pop within various neighbourhoods throughout Tokyo. I also introduce several Japanese terms that are used heuristically to convey and guide the rest of my thesis' argument, and to engage with previous scholarship more effectively. Firstly, however, I will situate this analysis within previous scholarship on Tokyo's emergence as a "consumable city."

Tokyo as a Consumable City

Since the collapse of the Bubble Economy in the late 1980s, Tokyo's economy has become predominantly driven by the free-market, which led to the commodification and stratification of the everyday through de-regulation and a heavy increase in lifestyle-related media (Lukács

2010, 6-7). During the 1980s Bubble Period of high economic growth, Japan was touted as an economic miracle and a symbol of a modern, globalised world (Takeyama 2016, 24-27). Prosperity was gained through the export of products to other countries through an industry-oriented marketing system (Takeyama 2016, 23). After the collapse of the Bubble Economy however, mass-consumption became the norm, prompted by the promotion of social identity through belonging to particular “tribes” or *zoku* (Clammer 1997, 10-12). These *zoku* are often associated with youth culture, which was initially due to the segmentation of society by older generations in an attempt to label unfamiliar cultural movements and corporations for marketing purposes (Ueno 1999, 96-97). This was especially seen amongst women, as they attempted to find not just a sense of individuality but also group-identity through their newfound purchasing power (Takeyama 2016, 7-8). Furthermore, these *zoku* are often associated with particular spaces known as *sakariba*, a term that can be used for both entertainment and pleasure districts, where leisure and consumption practices intertwine and create a patchwork of different commercial districts throughout the city (Covatta 2017, 207). This term is often associated with *hankagai* (business districts), which are made of shopping streets that extend from train stations (Kowalczyk 2012, 108).

Sakariba have existed within Tokyo for well over a century, although they draw their appearance from the focus on leisure time that began in the Tokugawa period (1603-1868) (Tipton 2013, 186). Whilst these term has somewhat fallen out of contemporary usage, use this term heuristically to think through how K-pop is integrated into Tokyo’s marketplaces so as to connect my analysis to historical trends within Japan’s cityscapes. *Sakariba* amusement areas were separate from residents’ working and family lives, and were designed to cater to specific age, gender, and class groups (Linhart 1986). As such, each *sakariba* tends to offer different products and leisure pursuits. The first *sakariba* appeared within the blue-collar *shitamachi* areas, on the eastern side of Edo (present-day Tokyo), and predominantly provided entertainment in the form of movies, opera and reviews (erotic dance performances) during the

Meiji Era (1868-1912) (Seidensticker 2010, 349-367). As more train lines were constructed throughout the city in the late 19th century, more *sakariba* were created at the stations along them through cooperation between railway companies, city-planners, and retailers (Pendleton & Coates 2018, 152; Coates 2018, 168; 178).

This new metropolitan transport system allowed residents to travel faster and more conveniently around the city, and this increased mobility encouraged the growth of the new amusement neighbourhoods close to the train lines (Pendleton & Coates 2018, 151-152). The *sakariba* found throughout the *shitamachi* were overshadowed by the creation of these new spaces, which moved slowly from the lower city into the more affluent areas to the west known as the *yamanote* (Pendleton & Coates 2018, 151). This spread led to the construction of *sakariba* such as Ginza and Shinjuku in the late Meiji and Taishō periods, and attracted a more youthful cohort of consumers (Tipton 2013, 192-197). The creation of these locations was due not only to attempts by the more affluent neighbourhoods to capitalise upon the popularity of leisure, but also Japan's attempts to promote itself as a modern, developed society along supposedly "Western" lines (Tipton 2013). This drive for modernity prompted a rapid integration and hybridisation of European and North American architecture, music, and culture, although Creighton (1991) has persuasively demonstrated through a study of modern department stores that these imported international goods were still separated from the rest of Japanese culture and society through their exaggeration and different categorical distinction. This drive for modernity also led to the construction of the train lines, that perpetuate the idea of Tokyo as a "transient city" that represents a constantly shifting landscape that changes before the commuter's (and consumer's) eyes (Waley 2006).

Out of the city's train lines, the JR Yamanote line has become a major connecting route along which many popular *sakariba* have developed, looping between the upper class *yamanote* area of western Tokyo and the *shitamachi* region in the east (Pendleton & Coates 2018). As such, both of these districts and the Yamanote line have themselves become symbols

of mobility, popular culture, and modernity within both the city of Tokyo itself and Japan at large (Pendleton & Coates 2018, 159-160). Nevertheless, the ease of mobility and increase in amusement quarters that the improved metropolitan lines created also served to highlight the disparity between the upper-class *sakariba* of the west and those within blue-collar neighbourhoods to the east (Tipton 2013, 198). As *sakariba* were constructed within the *yamanote* area, the middle and upper classes — in particular the youths of the city — turned their attention towards these more affluent locations that had capitalised upon novel Western consumer culture, infrastructure and technology, and larger corporate businesses (Tipton 2013, 196). Meanwhile, the working-class *sakariba* such as Asakusa struggled to attract audiences in the 1920s, as theatre attendance dwindled following the Great Kanto Earthquake and the subsequent fires which destroyed large swathes of the city in 1923 (Seidensticker 2010, 389-394). After the disaster, these *sakariba* once more attempted to engage with new business models and attract greater crowds, but were met with little success in comparison to the supposedly “Westernised” neighbourhoods of the *yamanote* (Tipton 2013, 189).

With the push for modernity that thrived within the *sakariba*, so too came the chance to subvert previous gender norms, roles and responsibilities that had been imposed upon residents (Terui 1995, 70). As such, *sakariba* came to be known as “carnavalesque” — a term defined by Bakhtin as “life turned inside-out” (1984, 122) — where the everyday responsibilities of residents could be forgotten or subverted briefly while they engaged in leisure activities. The *sakariba* also grew more stratified and diverse in their marketing of popular culture as they attempted to cater to more genders, ages, ethnicities, and sub-cultures (Cameron 2000, 179-183). This has resulted in *sakariba* being linked to freedom of expression and the construction and commodification of identity throughout Japanese popular culture, particularly amongst younger Tokyoites (Schiano, Elliot & Bellotti 2007). Nevertheless, while *sakariba* appear to offer a greater sense of individualism and agency through consumption than other areas of the city, visitors to these areas are still expected to balance individual differentiation with

conforming to pre-supposed societal values and group identification (Cameron 2000). This has led to a method of self-expression through group participation within subcultures, rather than through a purely individualistic fashion (Winge 2017, 11-12). In turn, *sakariba* are symbolically linked to the specific subcultures and identities that they have played a part in constructing (Winge 2017, 14). For example, Harajuku is linked to the Lolita subculture through the presence of shops that provide not only Lolita-style clothing, but also construct spaces where members of the subculture can engage in activities related to their identity and separate themselves, identity-wise, from the rest of Tokyo (Winge 2008).

Amongst the different factors that have led to such a diverse array of *sakariba* throughout the city, gender has played a pivotal role, not only in the construction of identity, but also the commodification of desire. Terui (1995) notes how night-time *sakariba*, with businesses such as bars, hostess clubs, and sex-related entertainment venues had been previously considered a male-oriented environment. However, Takeyama argues that women have adopted similar patterns of engagement with night-time *sakariba* as men, especially through visiting “host clubs” where they are accompanied by handsome young men (2016, 4-7). This may be due to the lucrative nature of jobs within the *mizu shōbai* (literally “water trade”, a euphemistic term for night-time entertainment businesses including the sex industry), a factor that also entices young men into becoming hosts at the female-oriented clubs (Takeyama 2010, 233-236). Nevertheless, these occupations do come with risk, as individuals working within the sex entertainment industry still consider themselves to be stigmatized due to the nature of their professions (Takeyama 2016, 94-96). Meanwhile, Terui suggests that female-oriented *sakariba* are more likely to focus on a daytime, retail-based business model that engages with and promotes beauty as its primary commodity (1997, 72-73), but Takeyama’s (2016) work on host clubs complicates this narrative.

Due to the heavily gendered nature of the *sakariba*, issues of desire and consumption within the Tokyo cityscape have been stratified through the lens of space, gender, class and age

for well over a century. This has played an instrumental part in the construction and shaping of the network of *sakariba* that has rapidly spread throughout the city, and this stratification has also shaped the commodities one can find within each neighbourhood, including K-pop and its related products. Throughout the rest of the chapter, I explore how K-pop is situated within this gendered marketplace.

Finding K-pop in Tokyo

K-pop has been introduced both formally via promoters and businesses and informally by fans into this “consumable” and neoliberal cityscape. As the rest of the *sakariba* are divided along gender, class and age lines, K-pop and its related products and services have found themselves promoted in patches across the city, rather than spread evenly throughout the various neighbourhoods. During my two months of ethnographic fieldwork, the areas where I observed K-pop were predominantly in female-oriented consumer spaces, particularly those where corporate-run retail was heavily embedded into the *sakariba*’s layout.

Before commencing my fieldwork in earnest I drew upon the responses of Tokyo residents within my online pilot survey to locate specific spaces where I was likely to find K-pop within the city. These survey responses later guided my own observations while moving through the city as I attempted to confirm my collected results. 91.5% (54 out of 59) of respondents had previously heard of K-pop before (see Figure 1. for a full table of percentage data). Furthermore, 83% (49 out of 59) of my participants had seen shops promoting or selling K-pop within Tokyo. This seems to suggest that the promotion of K-pop is highly visible within the city and noticed by the general public. Upon asking participants where they had seen shops in the city, several large, well-known neighbourhoods were mentioned. These areas included Shin-Ōkubo, Shibuya, Shinjuku, Harajuku, and Ikebukuro, all located in Western Tokyo and all of which are prominent *sakariba* along the JR Yamanote Line. Out of these areas, Shin-Ōkubo is known as the most prominent Korean neighbourhood of Tokyo (and as such

will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2). Harajuku contains young, female-oriented spaces such as Takeshita-dōri (although the rest of the neighbourhood is structured rather differently from this particular street), and Shinjuku includes both a large corporate retail area and sex entertainment districts such as Kabuki-chō and Ni-chōme. Finally, Ikebukuro follows a youth-oriented retail approach around the station exits (particularly on the eastern side).

Question	Percentage of participants who answered “Yes”	Percentage of participants who answered “No”
Have you heard of K-pop music before?	91.5%	8.5%
Have you previously seen shops selling or promoting Korean pop or selling K-pop merchandise?	83%	17%

Figure 1 Table to Show Respondents' Prior Knowledge of K-pop

Out of the responses I received to my pilot survey, Shin-Ōkubo was the most frequently mentioned location in relation to finding K-pop goods, appearing in approximately 57.6% of total survey responses (see Figure 2). The other larger *sakariba* were mentioned far less frequently: 5.1% overall mentioned Shibuya, and 3.4% of responses mentioned Shinjuku. However, if responses where no locations were provided are excluded, these percentages become 73.9%, 6.5%, and 4.3% respectively. With this pilot data in hand, I employed my strolling methodology to examine how K-pop was promoted in each of these districts. While doing so, I placed a particular focus on observing the music, signage, and advertising found throughout the cityscape as such items are important to the spatial organisation of *sakariba* districts (see Linhardt 1986).

Location	Shibuya	Shin- Ōkubo	Shinjuku	Ikebukuro	Harajuku	Other	No response
Number of Responses	3	34	2	1	1	12	13
Percentage of Individuals who had spotted K-pop in this area	5.1%	57.6	3.4%	1.7%	1.7%	20.3%	22%

Figure 2 Table to Show Survey Results Regarding Where K-pop was Noted within Tokyo

The fieldwork I undertook confirmed that there were indeed K-pop-related promotions and products within each of the areas mentioned by respondents, and often in quite prominent locations. During my strolls through each of these *sakariba*, my first sightings of K-pop were frequently facilitated through street-level or easily accessible advertising, in varying combinations of audio and visual media that seemed to change with each neighbourhood. The visual advertisements I discovered were predominantly posters within the central shopping streets of Shibuya, close to the JR Shibuya Station (Hachiko exit), and along Dogen-zaka Street. These posters, as displayed in Figure 1 below, were usually very large and brightly coloured, although smaller banners promoting EXO's album "Countdown" were also attached to lampposts and found along some of the neighbourhood's main streets, often juxtaposed with several of the larger posters.



Figure 3. A poster promoting EXO's album “Countdown”, found at one of Shibuya's many main streets

Within Shibuya, there were also a few audio-visual adverts for K-pop groups and their new singles. These were crowded around the Shibuya Scramble, the collection of buildings that circle the main crossing outside JR Shibuya Station. The Scramble is known to be a prominent advertising space within Tokyo's cityscape, similar in stature to New York City's Times Square or London's Piccadilly Circus, and K-pop adverts were regularly displayed here alongside similar posters and videos for J-pop groups. During my fieldwork, I saw promotional videos for JYP Entertainment's TWICE, and SM Entertainment's group EXO at the Shibuya Scramble. Both of these groups had multiple video screens around the neighbourhood, in combination with other posters and *gaisensha* (advertisement trucks) that moved through the district's main streets blasting the groups' new singles into the streets. K-pop's frequent, prominent appearance within this space is significant due to the way this location has become a mainstream advertisement hotspot for Japan's own companies. By promoting within this same space, K-pop is highly visible to a large audience, and integrated within mainstream media sources in a way that normalises and potentially promotes wide-spread consumption of both the music genre and its related commodities.

Outside of the Shibuya area, the majority of the public K-pop related advertisements were audio-only. I witnessed *gaisensha* driving around the main roads between Harajuku and Shibuya on multiple occasions, promoting both EXO and TWICE's new comebacks. Almost all of the areas I had found through both my survey and my ethnography were also home to chain-run shops and businesses — predominantly those dealing with young girls' fashion — that played K-pop. This retail-driven promotion of K-pop occurred to different extents depending on location. Most shops opted to play a mixture of both K-pop and other popular genres of music (both Western and Japanese). Nevertheless, there were instances where stores solely played K-pop music, particularly within Shin-Ōkubo and Harajuku.

However, this exhibition of new singles and releases was far from the only manner in which K-pop had become embedded within Tokyo. Indeed, the survey results I collected at the beginning of my research not only prompted me to explore large *sakariba*, but also specific businesses. Once again, my own observations during fieldwork both confirmed these locations as points where K-pop could be found, and added newly discovered locations to the list. These businesses (not including those found within Shin-Ōkubo) included, but were not limited to, Sunshine City in Ikebukuro, Tower Records stores (in particular those in Shibuya, Shinjuku and Ikebukuro), the Tsutaya store at the Shibuya scramble, and both Shibuya 109 and 109 Mens stores, which were found in close proximity to the Shibuya Tsutaya. Importantly, most of the retail spaces listed here in Shibuya are located close to the Shibuya Scramble.

Once again, these businesses displayed varying combinations and levels of audio and visual advertising. Sunshine City, much like the situation in Harajuku's often-crowded shopping street of Takeshita-dōri, played K-pop songs over speakers near boutiques dedicated to cute and girly fashion styles. Within Tower Records, Tsutaya and the 109 stores I found both visual and audio advertisements and K-pop-related goods. These took the form of posters and banners as seen in Figures 2 and 3 below, with 109 playing music over speakers on most of its floors while Tower Records and Tsutaya offered previews of K-pop CDs.

The 109 stores — multi-storey department stores that sell numerous fashion brands marketed to both young men and women — differed from Tsutaya and Tower Records in terms of the permanence of its K-pop promotion. Within Shibuya 109, K-pop was played due to a collaboration with YG Entertainment's groups iKON and BLACKPINK, and was only available for a limited time. Both Tower Records and Tsutaya, on the other hand, dealt with the sale of multimedia, including music CDs and television dramas. As such, their promotion and sale of K-pop was far more permanent. Within both Tsutaya and Tower Records, I found a wide selection of different K-pop CDs and Korean Dramas with K-pop stars acting within them. Several idols also held promotions for newly-released singles on the first floors of the Shibuya and Shinjuku Tower Record shops, and in the stores posters and banners were erected to further promote these commodities.



Figure 4. A promotion for K-pop Girl Group MOMOLAND's Japanese debut on the 1st floor of Shibuya Tower Records



Figure 5. Banners in Shinjuku Tower Records promoting K-pop boy group MONSTA X's latest Japanese release

Other places of note where I found K-pop were within Karaoke chains across the city, a *purikura* (a photo sticker booth) centre, and a small shop in a side-street at Harajuku's Takeshita-dōri. Every Karaoke store I visited during my fieldwork had K-pop stored within

their music databases. Often, these K-pop songs would be offered in Japanese if such a version had been produced, with a smaller percentage offered in the original Korean versions. This language choice likely helps to integrate K-pop into the Tokyo landscape, further promoting fan consumption, but it also leads to further ambiguity over where the line between K-pop and J-pop is drawn, a question I address in Chapter 3.

On the other hand, a *purikura* (digital photo booth) machine named “Salon Air” in Takeshita-dōri had collaborated with SM’s group TVXQ, perhaps one of the best known K-pop boybands in Japan who have been active since the mid-2000s. The parlour within which the machine was situated was accessible at the entrance to the street near Harajuku Station on the JR Yamanote line, and the machine played excerpts of TVXQ’s music videos, displayed a video message in Japanese from the artists, and offered limited edition backgrounds for the photos. Upon further online research after returning home from my fieldwork, I found that although I had only seen one machine offering this collaboration, the same collaboration had been available throughout Japan and was accessible on two other *purikura* machines: “Cyun’t2” and “Katy3”.⁵ The other small shop off to the side of the main street of Takeshita-dōri sold a variety of accessories, mainly for Japanese idol groups, but I happened to also find purses and keychains of one of BIGBANG’s mascots (each member is represented by a differently dressed blue bear). These did not seem to be official merchandise, and were conspicuously placed next to Japanese idol merchandise.

Overall, I found K-pop to be heavily promoted throughout inner Western Tokyo, especially within corporate and retail-oriented *sakariba* as seen in Figure 4 below. Most of the locations were primarily oriented towards a young female consumer market, although some businesses targeted this audience far more than others. Indeed, the previously mentioned spaces in Harajuku were especially tied to young women’s *kawaii* (cute) sub-culture. There was also a

⁵ <https://toho-jp.net/news/detail.php?id=1054625>

penchant for mass advertisement within the Shibuya *sakariba*, perhaps one of the most important youth districts, where a great number of K-pop related goods were found. Of course, the spaces within which K-pop was promoted in Shibuya were also slightly more geared to female consumption than male. Such a focus on this specific location and audience is likely due to the result of the stratification of *sakariba* according to *zoku* (social “tribes”) based on age, gender and class that has developed after the collapse of Japan’s Bubble Economy (Clammer 1997).

Indeed, female-oriented *sakariba* have been pre-disposed towards large-scale corporate retail since the burst of the Bubble Economy in 1989, when women were encouraged to accumulate social status through consumption and identify with specific *zoku* which in turn were regularly linked to specific brands (Clammer 1997, 48-50). K-pop’s own marketing tactics draw upon the construction of group identity, and the consumption of specific commodities as symbolic of the individual’s status as a member of such groups, a point discussed in more detail in Chapter 2. As such, the marketing strategies of K-pop focus on the construction of loyal, brand-conscious, and desire-driven consumer bases, which in turn has led to the “korporate” reading of the “K” in K-pop (Kim 2018, 9). This tactic is quite suited to the female, youth-oriented *sakariba* along the traditional *yamanote* district of Western Tokyo. K-pop idols are constructed and promoted as desirable symbols of aesthetic success and their brands act as markers of identity (Kim 2018, 36-39). The young, female consumer force, pre-disposed towards commercial consumption in order to convey social status and group solidarity, are likely to engage more readily with such a market compared to other groups within the city’s population (Takeyama 2016, 7-8; 12-13). As such, it is unsurprising that it is within retail-oriented areas as such as Shibuya, Shinjuku and Harajuku, and within chain brands such as Tower Records and Tsutaya, that K-pop is most visible.

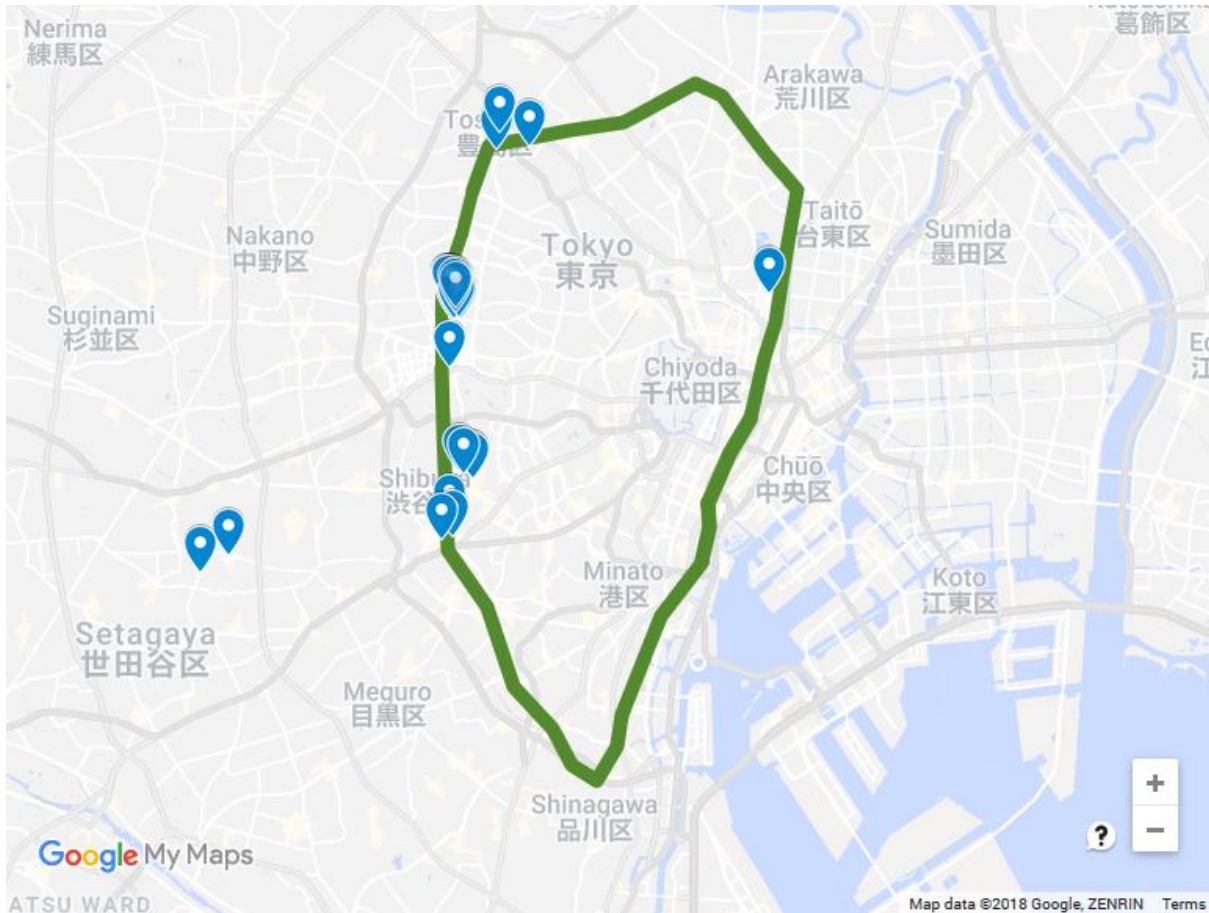


Figure 6. Map to show discovered K-pop locations in Tokyo. The Green line indicates the JR Yamanote Train Line. (Jan 2018-Mar 2018)

The process of normalisation

K-pop's appearance within Tokyo at the beginning of the millennium, and the linguistic and stylistic hybridisation it has undergone in order to promote and improve its sales (Jung and Hirata 2012) has, in turn, led to dispute over whether K-pop should truly be considered a foreign genre within Japan (Jung 2010, 16-18). K-pop singles are promoted in much the same way as J-pop songs, often within the same spaces and artists regularly release Japanese language versions of songs and occasionally new, purely Japanese original songs (Lee 2006, 237). Groups have even begun to once again appear on the end-of-year shows.⁶ This suggests

⁶ <https://www.sbs.com.au/popasia/blog/2017/11/23/what-twices-appearance-kohaku-uta-gassen-2017-means-k-pop-japan>

that K-pop is once again steadily becoming a more mainstream commodity within both the Tokyo cityscape and Japan's broader music industry. The term 'normalisation' as used within this thesis does not reflect the actual consumption of K-pop products by individuals. Instead, it denotes the integration of K-pop commodities and promotional material into the Japanese economy, following the same business strategies that other Japanese companies use and appearing in a similar fashion within the cityscape. I recognise that normalisation may also be utilised to refer to the construction of "norms" that structure social expectations and value systems within societies, and discuss this in more detail in Chapter 3. Ultimately, I argue that K-pop's normalisation within Tokyo is an ongoing process and has not yet been fully realised.

The most telling observations I collected during fieldwork concerning K-pop's position within Tokyo's *sakariba* occurred within Shibuya. As mentioned above, Shibuya is recognised as a prominent advertising location, and K-pop's frequent promotion there allowed it to easily engage with Tokyo residents and encourage consumption of K-pop commodities. The location of such adverts also draws similarities to the promotion strategies of J-pop artists. In places such as the main Shibuya crossing, both genres' advertisements were similar in style and placement. For instance, towards the latter half of my fieldwork, a poster advert for TWICE's single "Candy Pop" on the outside of Tsutaya at the Shibuya crossing was replaced by one from a Japanese idol group named Sexy Zone, managed by Johnny's and Associates. Furthermore, both J-pop and K-pop tended to use *gaisensha* — advertisement sound trucks — to play excerpts of their new songs throughout the city. Such trucks are common in Japan's soundscapes as a form of *yobikomi* (calling out to passers-by) that invites individuals to consume (Stevens 2016), and have also often been used by right-wing political parties to promote propaganda throughout a neighbourhood as a stand-in for official media coverage (McNeill 2001, unpaginated). The use of *gaisensha* is also a lucrative tool for music-based businesses to encourage the consumption of their products by promoting across a wide and

shifting area, although I note that the *gaisensha* I observed still focussed on female-oriented consumer spaces.

Despite the presence of widespread advertising campaigns in mainstream areas of corporate Tokyo, music shops within Tokyo still regularly separate K-pop albums from other pop music sections. Within the Shibuya flagship branch of Tower Records, most of the store's collection of K-pop albums, magazines and other merchandise are found on the fourth floor, alongside *anisong* (anime soundtracks and comedy CDs) and visual-kei (a genre of rock music famous for its gender-bending performers). Meanwhile, J-pop and other more mainstream genres are present on the lower floors. This delegation of K-pop to the higher floors and away from the other widely-consumed pop-music genres was also noticeable in the Shinjuku and Ikebukuro Tower Records where K-pop sections were close to exits and positioned near less popular styles of music. However, once again more popular groups such as EXO, TWICE, BTS and iKON (who have all held advertising campaigns within Shibuya), and other up-and-coming K-pop groups such as Momoland, were promoted on the first floors alongside other Japanese and Western artists. Out of all K-pop groups promoted within these shops, TWICE was most prolifically promoted throughout the music stores during my fieldwork. Not only were posters for their own songs placed in highly visible locations such as the front of the shops, as seen in Figure 5 below, but they also collaborated with Tower Records itself in order to promote the store's own merchandise through more posters around the building.



Figure 7. A poster advertising TWICE’s new single “Candy Pop” alongside Japanese artists, near the entrance to Tower Records Shibuya.

This distinction between the spaces where popular groups’ items and the rest of the K-pop commodities are displayed and promoted suggests that normalisation is not yet fully realised, and is instead an ongoing process. Even though K-pop has been promoted within the city for close to two decades, there is still a large gap between major groups and less well-known ones when it comes to their acceptance into mainstream consumerism. Since more popular groups are likely to influence larger audiences and promote wider consumption due to their reputations, they are given more opportunities to collaborate with other companies within the *sakariba* throughout the *yamanote* district of western Tokyo and are therefore more likely to be accepted in the same fashion as other mainstream music acts. Meanwhile, the rest of the artists within the K-pop genre are still likely to be classified as “non-mainstream”, despite the same opportunities for their entertainment agencies to purchase advertising spaces within popular shopping areas. As such, even with the increase in advertising and frequent campaigns by K-pop groups since 2011, it is likely that this ongoing process of normalisation will continue for

quite some time. Indeed, this was a topic central to my discussions with informants, as revealed in Chapter 3.

Disengaged locations

With an understanding of where I found K-pop within the city, it is also important to explore the areas where K-pop was not present during my fieldwork. Since K-pop was mainly found in the west, it is easy to merely say that the outer suburbs and the northern, southern and eastern areas of the inner city were not engaged with. However, the lack of promotion in these locations is embedded within the history of the city's *sakariba*.

While the majority of the K-pop I found was within the *yamanote* region, I also visited the *shitamachi* area; in particular Asakusa, Ueno, Akihabara, and the Ochanomizu high street close to the station. These observations occurred either on the way to interview participants at pre-planned meeting points, or due to the reputation of these locations as well-known *sakariba*. Apart from karaoke parlours in the chains I mentioned above, there was no sign of K-pop within almost all of the *shitamachi* areas I visited. The only time I heard K-pop within these locations was upon entering Eisan Duty Free, a tourist-oriented shopping centre on the edge of Akihabara. Upon reaching the third floor, a song by BIGBANG was playing over the sound system. However, the tune was quickly switched to a Western pop song mid-way through. As I was the only potential customer in the shop at the time the song was played and changed, I wonder whether the song was aired purely as a marketing attempt to attract foreign customers or that the changes in music genre are in order to target the consumers' demographics and encourage them to stay in the shop and purchase more items.

These observations once again show how *sakariba* clearly establish specific boundaries between their target demographics, and how K-pop is quite clearly identified as a commodity primarily for young female consumers. During the course of my fieldwork, nowhere else in Akihabara or the rest of the *shitamachi* played or promoted any K-pop apart from this shop.

These *shitamachi* areas, due to their historical background as working class districts and male-oriented spaces (Seidensticker 2010, 28; Waley 1997), do not fit the imagined audience that K-pop attracts, and therefore businesses do not engage with or try to promote the genre. For instance, in Akihabara *anisong* rather than K-pop is played in order to encourage and attract male *otaku* (fans of anime and manga) to consume goods within this *anime sakariba* (Galbraith 2010).

The separation and the rather strict spatial delegation of K-pop to female-based corporate *sakariba* within Tokyo has not only led to the genre's constraint in its promotion strategies and targeted audience, but has also had a significant impact on the way it is encountered and reacted to outside of the city's *sakariba*. As noted at the start of this chapter, I encountered K-pop and K-pop magazines several times when I was outside of these amusement districts, and was caught off-guard each time due to having internalised the expectations of the market I had been studying during my fieldwork. This same feeling of K-pop being out of place within the environment I was situated in was most poignant upon listening to BTS in the *chūka* store frequented by salarymen within Umeaoka within the residential Setagaya Ward. This was a clear moment when the gendered nature of Tokyo's marketplace became apparent to me. The *chūka* shop where I had heard BTS's "Blood, Sweat and Tears" had been a shop that mainly catered to salarymen, the hegemonic image of masculinity within Japan (Dasgupta 2000, 192); most of the shop staff and all the customers at the time the song played were middle-aged men. Furthermore, this moment also highlighted the clear differentiation between the types of expected commodities found within *sakariba* and residential areas. In this case, K-pop music had subverted previously unspoken yet clearly defined boundaries, and infringed upon an otherwise off-limits masculine social space within a residential neighbourhood.

Yet, there are still places where K-pop's appearance outside of female-oriented *sakariba* is less surprising than other areas. This is likely due to its discovery residing within a more gender-neutral or feminine environment, or in a place that also engages in some way with

larger businesses. Such an argument could be made with the appearance of K-pop magazines in a small book store on the Gōtokuji high street near my rented apartment in Setagaya Ward. Whilst this shop was also outside of large-scale corporate business areas and located within a more suburban setting, book stores nevertheless draw upon the same characteristics as larger shops do in more retail-based locations (Clammer 1997, 73-75). As such, my encounter with Korean Wave-related commodities in the Gōtokuji book shop was less surprising than the Chinese restaurant.

These moments of surprise are just as telling the state of K-pop's integration into Tokyo as the encounters with the genre within more expected locations listed by respondents to my pilot survey. The idea of K-pop as a youthful and feminine pursuit is, I would argue, reinforced by its absence and occasional surprise encounters within more residential or working class/male-oriented *sakariba*. This is an area for future comparative research.

Conclusion

In summation, I argue that K-pop's appearance within the female-oriented *sakariba* of Western Tokyo is mostly due to the neoliberal methods of consumption such locations adopted after the collapse of the 1980s Bubble Economy, whereby commodities not only added value to one's life in a practical manner, but also through the symbolic conveyance of identity and status within a specific social group (Takeyama 2016, 29-30; Lukacs 2010, 39-40). K-pop's corporate marketing strategies, for instance the construction of specific "fandoms" that mimic the social grouping that Japan has seen since the end of the 1980s (Ueno 1999, 95-97; Stevens 2010), has helped K-pop to integrate into female spaces within the city. However, as male-oriented *sakariba* such as those in the *shitamachi* do not adhere to the same business strategies, K-pop rarely appears within these locations. When it does appear, it seemed to me unusual and out of place.

This chapter was designed to provide a general back-drop to the ongoing incorporation of K-pop into Tokyo's broader cityscape. While the layout of K-pop's promotion and consumption, with regards to the businesses that engage with the genre and the consumer demographics, holds true for the majority of the city as just described, there is one particular space which seems to subvert this rule, whose techniques I will focus on within the next chapter. Shin-Ōkubo, often known as the "Koreatown" of Tokyo, has instead taken to promoting K-pop as one of the major commodities of the neighbourhood. However, K-pop is not only a product to sell within Shin-Ōkubo, but also becomes a symbol of desirability and social status used to promote and sell other products (whether through official collaborations or through a more unofficial approach). This business strategy has become so integrated into the landscape of Shin-Ōkubo that K-pop fans regularly travel to this location to specifically engage with the genre, thus becoming part of a phenomenon I will hereafter refer to as the "*Kanryū* lifestyle."

Chapter 2. Shin-Ōkubo as a K-pop *sakariba*

Upon travelling to Shin-Ōkubo on a Saturday afternoon in February to collect more data on the location's sprawling and well-established K-pop businesses, I found myself caught up within a large crowd of visitors and shoppers who had also taken advantage of their weekend leisure time. With barely any room to move, and certainly no way of stopping to take the photographs that I wished to capture of the neighbourhood, I was pushed along the street by the crowds until I managed to enter a large shop selling K-pop posters and accessories. Even inside this shop, the number of people busily examining and purchasing various items to add to their collections was impressive. The crowds, while mainly comprised of young girls and women, also included young school boys, as well as middle-aged ladies and gentlemen. Both inside the shops, and outside on the street, Shin-Ōkubo was as busy as any other *sakariba* I had visited during my fieldwork.

Towards three o'clock, after the crowds had eased slightly, I made my way down one of the smaller side alleys where both K-pop idols, who train in Japan and perform in Shin-Ōkubo for experience, and other residents live. Even in these quieter and smaller streets, people engaged with K-pop. While taking a short break at a local park, I watched a group of girls practise a collection of K-pop dances together. After admiring their dancing, I approached them to offer my compliments and struck up a conversation with them. They explained they were a cover group that specialised in performing a single popular girl group's dances, to the exclusion of any other groups' choreography. They were about to perform the routines which they had been practising that very evening within the neighbourhood. This group of girls had constructed performative identities that were linked specifically to K-pop and Shin-Ōkubo through their engagement with the location as a dance team that covered a particular K-pop group. Furthermore, they consumed, accumulated, and displayed K-pop-specific social capital, resources that are used to define membership within a group (Bourdieu 1984, 114), through

their interactions with other visitors to the neighbourhood via their shows. This engagement and consumption of K-pop within the Shin-Ōkubo *sakariba* constructs and perpetuates what I call the “*Kanryū* lifestyle,” the focus of this chapter.

Shin-Ōkubo as a migrant neighbourhood

Shin-Ōkubo is the name given to the “new” JR train station in the Ōkubo neighbourhood of Shinjuku ward, situated on the Yamanote train line (see Figure 6 below). Since its construction in 1914, the station name has also spread to colloquially refer to the streets of Ōkubo around the station. Geographically, Shin-Ōkubo borders the red light district of Kabukichō and Hyakuninchō, with which it shares history surrounding the immigration and settlement of foreign residents from other Asian countries within Tokyo (Tonuma 2013, 198).

Shin-Ōkubo’s Korean population began to appear and settle within the area some time before the Second World War. Known as *zainichi kankokujin* (Korean residents of Japan), these residents mainly came from Korea during the colonial period, and were classed as ‘stateless’ residents after the end of the world war and colonial period (Osler 2018, 55). From the 1980s onwards, many more South Korean residents migrated to the neighbourhood with the lifting of travel restrictions, and this led to the development of a fully-fledged ethnic town (Tonuma 2013, 198). These “newcomers” are usually distinguished from the older *zainichi* residents due to their different attitudes towards Japan, and now make up the majority of Ōkubo’s Korean population (Park 2014, 11-28). Nevertheless, due to a lack of job opportunities, Korean residents of the Ōkubo Koreatown tended to previously work in entertainment sector jobs such as in pachinko parlours and hostess clubs, and faced discrimination due to their ethnicity (Chung 2015; Iwabuchi & Takezawa 2015, 3). Both *zainichi* and newcomers within Japan have faced exclusion and marginalisation, and have been considered a problem by Japanese society, with attempts for peaceful coexistence (*kyōsei*) hindered by Japan’s past political assertions of monoethnicity (Chapman 2006, 90-93).

Furthermore, relationships between oldcomers and newcomers have also been strained (Fukumoto 2014, 197). While this discrimination is still an ongoing problem faced by the Korean residents of Japan, the success of the Korean Wave and related boom in popularity of K-pop has led to more acceptance for the newcomer *zainichi* Koreans and South Korean culture by the Japanese, as their opinions of South Korea are positively influenced by the consumption of “K” (Iwabuchi 2008, 249-257). This has in turn led to a revitalisation of Shin-Ōkubo, changing the layout of the neighbourhood drastically, while also affording new job opportunities to Korean residents, both old and new alike (Shin 2016, 45).



Figure 8. A map showing the approximate boundaries of Shin-Ōkubo’s K-pop businesses, found within Shinjuku Ward

The arrival of K-pop and the Korean Wave in Japan had a significant effect on Shin-Ōkubo’s business structure. As the Korean Wave began to grow in popularity within Japan following the success of *Winter Sonata* and the Japanese debuts of several K-pop artists in the mid to late 2000s, Shin-Ōkubo businesses started to capitalise upon the popularity of K-pop and televised K-dramas, constructing small shops that catered to fans’ demands for transcultural consumption (Jung 2010, 37).

Nevertheless, anti-Korean sentiment is still visibly displayed by several extremist and xenophobic groups within Japan, who have targeted Shin-Ōkubo on several occasions due to its prominent status as a “Koreatown” (Itagaki 2015, 58-60). These negative reactions and public outbursts are conducted by groups that, although mostly formed within the past decade, draw from Japan’s longer history of colonial perceptions and past treatment of foreign residents (Itagaki 2015, 50). Such groups, like the *Zaitokukai*, an anti-Korean group placed on a police watch list that regularly incites discriminatory and hate speech towards Korean residents across Japan, tend to use the internet to spread their extremist, ultra-nationalist discourse, however they also regularly engage in active, public protests (Itagaki 2015, 57-58). With the increasing popularity of the Korean Wave, Korean businesses and residents have been targeted by multiple protests from these groups.⁷ This anti-Korean sentiment had previously been exacerbated by the frequent and prominent media attention given to Korean television dramas and K-pop artists up until 2011 (Jung 2015, 124-126). A notable moment in the increasing conflict between the Korean Wave and anti-Korean groups was when a protest, influenced by actor Takaoka Sōsuke’s anti-Korean Wave comments on Twitter, was held against Fuji Television’s frequent broadcasting of Korean Dramas (Jung 2015, 116-117). The protests in Shin-Ōkubo have led to several clashes between these ultra-conservative groups and anti-racism opposition, who seek to protect Korean residents and businesses (Shibuichi 2016, 76). However, the consequences of the collective pressure of anti-Korean groups’ protests led to a decrease in the visibility K-pop and dramas, and a shift in the way Korean Wave products were consumed and sold.⁸

Since the major protests in 2011 and 2013, there has been a revival in the sale and promotion of K-pop within Japan. This is likely due to the widespread popularity of newer groups such as TWICE and BTS, who attract large audiences to their Japanese concerts and

⁷ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/dec/04/police-japan-rightwing-anti-korean-extremist-group-zaitokukai-watchlist>

⁸ <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2013/05/28/reference/tokyos-koreatown-emerged-from-the-flow-of-bilateral-ties/#.W7yXBHxoTIU>

regularly sell large numbers of albums (Kim 2018, 161-164). This resurgence in the visibility of K-pop has been reflected not just in the goods currently available within Shin-Ōkubo, but also in the visitors and consumers of K-pop found there. Nowadays, Shin-Ōkubo does not just attract Japanese fans - it has also become a significant tourist attraction within Shinjuku Ward for foreigners, as I found through my own fieldwork. As stated by the promotional website Live Japan,⁹ signs and banners within the neighbourhood are found in multiple foreign languages, rather than just a mix of English, Japanese and Korean (although this multilingualism may also stem more generally from Shin-Ōkubo's status as a migrant neighbourhood). This has helped Shin-Ōkubo to not only promote its businesses to Japanese buyers, but also construct a far more internationally-minded business approach to the sale of K-pop and the broader Korean Wave.

Shin-Ōkubo as a K-pop *Sakariba*

Over the past two decades, Shin-Ōkubo has grown to focus on leisure pursuits and the sale of K-pop commodities, to the point that I now argue that the neighbourhood should be labelled a K-pop *sakariba*, rather than just an ethnic enclave or “Koreatown”. As the data uncovered from my ethnographic observations, and the responses of participants from my survey and interviews show, the previously used labels of “migrant neighbourhood” or “ethnic enclave” no longer fully fit Shin-Ōkubo as its main descriptor. These terms are often used for the neighbourhood due to the large residential areas inhabited by Korean or other foreign migrants in Japan (Shin 2016). However, the terms do not address the transformation of a large portion of the neighbourhood into a location where many people from around Tokyo, regardless of ethnicity, come to specifically consume K-pop goods and experiences. Instead, calling Shin-Ōkubo a K-pop *sakariba* recognises the neighbourhood's status as a busy leisure space and focuses on K-pop's dominance as the main steadily consumed commodity particular to this part of Tokyo. Just as Winge (2008) demonstrates that Harajuku represents a *sakariba* for the Lolita

⁹ https://livejapan.com/en/in-okubo_takadanobaba/spot-lj0002008/reviews/

sub-culture, I argue that Shin-Ōkubo should also be considered as the *sakariba* which anchors the “*Kanryū* lifestyle.”

Shin-Ōkubo’s position as a *sakariba* and the liveliness found within its streets can be linked to the multi-sensory stimulation that occurs not just within this neighbourhood, but in other *sakariba* as well. As Takeyama notes, *sakariba* are designed to produce a vibrant atmosphere that encourages individuals to consume and take part in a neoliberal lifestyle (2016, 29). This is apparent throughout the whole of Shin-Ōkubo. While walking along the two main streets that form the centre of Shin-Ōkubo’s shopping district, music plays at the entrances of almost every shop and neon lights illuminate the streets in front of them (see Figure 7, below). Crowds that press and squeeze through the narrow streets are drawn in by the scents and flavours of both the traditional and fusion Korean cuisines, prepared by the restaurants and street food stands that spread across the neighbourhood. To go to Shin-Ōkubo is to engage with a carnivalesque location in a whirlwind of sensory stimulation.

Shin-Ōkubo’s general socio-economic structure is nevertheless quite different from other *sakariba* located within the former *yamanote* district of Western Tokyo. The area is rather small and compact in comparison to the larger *sakariba* of Shibuya or Ikebukuro, and much like the neighbouring *sakariba* of Kabukichō and Shinjuku Ni-chōme, the shops are smaller and usually run by residents, rather than large top-down retail corporations (Takeyama 2016, 46; Baudinette 2017, 508-511). Compared to multi-story shopping centres such as Shibuya 109, most shops are single-storey, with the more popular merchandise shops and Korean restaurants occasionally taking up two stories (see Figure 9 below). Furthermore, Shin-Ōkubo’s shops predominantly offer various K-pop or *Kanryū*-centric goods and experiences as their main attraction, and I would argue that the popularity of these commodities help to both support and drive commercial success. Compared to the *sakariba* discussed in the previous chapter, which seem to offer a wider variety of different products that cater to a number of consumer tastes and styles, Shin-Ōkubo’s businesses have nearly all (with the exception of

several Vietnamese, Indian and Nepalese shops that are scattered around the area) capitalised upon the current success of the Korean Wave, using this as a tool to drive the economy within the area. This has however led to some visitors, who are less interested in K-pop, to find little to do once the novelty of the area wears off. During an interview with Ichirō, one of my informants who is not a K-pop fan, he explained how he had visited the neighbourhood with his mother, but finding little to do that did not relate to K-pop, he saw no reason to return to the area. Nevertheless, such a business strategy is most likely due to Shin-Ōkubo's well-cemented historical status as a Korean ethnic enclave, and the cultural identity of the area has left its own influence on the revitalised business district. This has led to specific and distinct methods of consumption among the visitors to the *sakariba*.



Figure 9. A view from the eastern edge of Ōkubo-dori: one of the few locations I had enough space to take a photo.

Consumption of Shin-Ōkubo's K-pop media and commodities commences as soon as one enters the area. Upon arriving at the *sakariba* (typically via train), one of the most noticeable features of the *sakariba*'s businesses is how the shops along the streets uniformly construct an extensive K-pop soundscape, with practically no other music genres played within the neighbourhood. This audio acts as a cue for potential shoppers to begin to interact with the

businesses, as the choice of genre is designed to elicit a positive reaction from the businesses target audience (see Nghiem-Phú 2017, 998). Such practices are typical of retail spaces in Japan, as revealed by Stevens's (2017) ethnographic of urban soundscapes. In Shin-Ōkubo's case, this use of K-pop is not just found outside and within shops selling fan merchandise such as posters and accessories, but is also found inside restaurants and cosmetics stores. I noticed that in this neighbourhood, even large stores such as Don Quixote and some convenience stores were playing K-pop. The music outside of these shops has been designed to specifically target K-pop fans and encourage them to enter and purchase products. This tactic seems to have significant success, as 65.4% (17 out of 26) of the participants who took part in my initial survey and indicated they liked K-pop said that hearing K-pop music in a shop encouraged them to buy products from that shop (at least to some extent). This fan-oriented business strategy has thus also influenced the ways in which visitors to Shin-Ōkubo consume K-pop within the shops.

The actual purchase and consumption of commodities within Shin-Ōkubo appears to follow a slightly different approach to tactics used by other *sakariba*. Most of the shops within the *sakariba* utilise idol imagery and iconography, whether as part of the design of the products or indirectly through photographs of idols using similar or identical items themselves, to encourage shoppers to buy items or experiences. This tactic is seen not just in shops selling items, but also shops that offer experiences, such as the popular Café Caesar and other restaurants, live houses and clubs which allow consumers to specifically engage with idol merchandise, as discussed more thoroughly below. Such a marketing approach is commonly used within Japan's advertising landscape, and within Shin-Ōkubo this practice utilises the desirability of K-pop idols to encourage consumption and thereby accrue symbolic capital through the possession and display of purchases. By symbolic capital, I refer to a resource that can be accumulated through an individual's actions or consumption methods, which then confers honour or respect that can be utilised within a group setting (Bourdieu 1984, 291). The

way idols are used in advertisements by Shin-Ōkubo's businesses has the potential to strongly influence consumers' shopping habits. In turn, this can cause fans to engage in what Larsen (2018a) terms "affective hoarding", which occurs when fans purchase large quantities of commodities — both items and experiences — in order to maintain a monopoly of power or knowledge over other fans and construct a sense of intimacy and possession over their favoured K-pop idols. Overall, by encouraging "affective hoarding," the majority of the shops that lie within the neighbourhood do openly and enthusiastically encourage visitors' consumption of K-pop, which in turn constructs and propagates what I have come to call the "*Kanryū* lifestyle."

The "*Kanryū* Lifestyle"

The "*Kanryū* lifestyle" is a cycle of consumption and self-expression, that constructs and perpetuates an individual's identity as part of the *Kanryū* (or more specifically K-pop) fan subculture. I utilise the term "*Kanryū* lifestyle" rather than the more specific "K-pop lifestyle" because aspects of K-pop fan culture are also intertwined with other sub-sections of the Korean Wave outside of a purely K-pop CD, concert or merchandise-oriented fashion. This term draws upon Bourdieu's (1984) previous theories of *habitus* and social taste, and as such the *Kanryū* lifestyle suggests that not only the practices but also engagement with space is vital to the construction of identity.

Bourdieu defines *habitus* as "a present past that tends to perpetuate itself... by reactivation in similarly structured practices" (1990, 54). This *habitus* allow us to navigate through our socio-cultural environment, thus constantly and systematically creating and re-creating the defining structures of our lifestyles (Bourdieu 1984, 172). Furthermore, these lifestyles and classes are produced and shaped by the production and distribution of various forms of capital: a collection of physical characteristics, mannerisms, commodities, and social status. Of particular importance within this thesis is the notion of cultural capital. This form of

capital is collected through the consumption of commodities, and is represented by inculcated taste, which influences identity and manages the boundaries separating groups and communities socially (Bourdieu 1984, 169-172). As I will demonstrate within this chapter, Bourdieu's theories of *habitus*, cultural capital and social taste are deeply embedded within the continued construction of the *Kanryū* lifestyle, and as such the implications from this theory can be seen throughout the rest of my thesis.

The initial construction of the *Kanryū* lifestyle commences when an individual begins to engage with the *Kanryū* subculture publicly, whether through visiting locations linked to *Kanryū*, attending K-pop idol concerts, or purchasing related goods and services. In order to be considered 'public', the fan needs to engage with other individuals or groups within K-pop-related spaces, and/or move to consume *Kanryū* through more than just videos and images that can be found online. Through this public engagement and incorporation of *Kanryū* into more areas of an individual's life, a person's identity begins to be shaped by the value that these experiences and goods impart to them, thus becoming encultured into the *Kanryū* lifestyle. In other words, individuals develop a *habitus* related to K-pop through their engagement with K-pop within Shin-Ōkubo.

Within the construction of the *Kanryū* lifestyle, Shin-Ōkubo plays a significant role as a gathering point for *Kanryū*-consuming individuals to meet and construct group identities while also helping to attract potential new participants to the *Kanryū* lifestyle. As mentioned in Chapter 1, *sakariba* play a key role in the construction of new subcultures and *zoku* after the neoliberal reforms to the Japanese economy in the late 1990s (Clammer 1997, 34-50; Lukács 2010, 128-131). By offering these specific commodities and experiences, *sakariba* have helped to mould the identities of those who engage with these spaces into subcultures that are visibly distinct from others constructed elsewhere, influencing the development of individuals' *habitus*. This visible distinction can be expressed through differences in fashion or through the activities which individuals and groups conduct. Such fashions and activities provided by *sakariba* allow

for the freedom of individual expression and the construction not only individual identity, but a more collective group identity (Cameron 2000, 183-185).

With regards to the *Kanryū* lifestyle, Shin-Ōkubo can therefore be described as not only a space where individuals publicly engage with K-pop and *Kanryū* goods and experiences, but where they can also begin to construct group identities as K-pop, or more broadly, *Kanryū* fan communities. This link between space, identity and public engagement and consumption methods is also seen in the construction of the Lolita subculture in Harajuku (Winge 2008, 49; 2017). With such an important role in the construction of the *Kanryū* lifestyle within Tokyo, it could be said that in order to begin to consider themselves part of this lifestyle individuals will need to engage with Shin-Ōkubo, and begin to identify themselves in relation to this *sakariba*. This influence of geographical space is noted within Bourdieu's *Distinction* (1984, 124), where he states that the location of a group directly affects their ability to gain capital, which then influences the construction of their identity and their practices. By predominantly situating themselves within Shin-Ōkubo where there is ample opportunity to accrue *Kanryū* goods, members of the *Kanryū* lifestyle are able to gain and utilise symbolic and cultural capital with relative ease.

Nevertheless, the construction of identity via the *Kanryū* lifestyle that occurs by visiting and engaging in fan culture within Shin-Ōkubo is not only caused by entering and moving through such a space. Indeed, the K-pop, and wider *Kanryū* goods and activities within Shin-Ōkubo that members of the *Kanryū* lifestyle consume are just as important as the location within which they are consumed. These include various K-pop and idol-themed cafes, Idol live houses, and merchandise shops. Each business promotes a slightly different aspect of the Korean Wave, and as such the choice of which to engage with shapes the identity of the individual or sub-group within the broader *Kanryū* lifestyle. An example of these differences from my fieldwork is the difference between Idol Park — a shop close to Shin-Ōkubo station which at the time specialised in selling a mainly BTS and TWICE merchandise — in

comparison to Showbox, a live house on the outskirts of Shin-Ōkubo where K-pop idols perform. Despite offering different goods and services, engagement with either signifies one's engagement with the *Kanryū* lifestyle, even though the manner in which one's identity within the *Kanryū* lifestyle is constructed may differ.

Irrespective of which businesses a fan may choose to engage with, the consumption of symbolic and desirable commodities helps consumers to engage with the *Kanryū* lifestyle through the accumulation of symbolic capital (Takeyama 2016, 56-57; Bourdieu 1984, 70-72). By consuming these commodities, a participant in the *Kanryū* lifestyle incorporates this value into their own identity, which can help others to quickly spot potential peers and form social groups. Such a construction of social groups occurs due to the visible, performative nature of consumption and identity construction within the *sakariba*, once again highlighting the importance of geographical space within the *Kanryū* lifestyle, and the consumption of K-pop commodities becomes symbolic of both the individual's identity within the group, and their own individuality and desires.

The use of social capital that is accumulated through the consumption of products and experiences by visitors to Shin-Ōkubo also plays a part in constructing both a consumers' visible and symbolic identity. With regards to the collective experiences of the whole of Tokyo, Clammer argues that the act of shopping constructs not only a visible, physical identity, but also a symbolic one whereby one's class, age, gender and socio-economic status can be silently expressed (1997, 69-70). In terms of physical identity as constructed by Shin-Ōkubo, this is generally expressed through the choices an individual makes as to what goods and services they purchase and subsequently consume. This is particularly through the wearing or carrying of K-pop items and accessories. Examples of purchasable items that help to construct this physical identity include jumpers and shirts, hats, key chains and stickers. Within my fieldwork, I observed many people sporting "BT21" key chains (mascot characters of BTS) on their bags. These items create or supplement a fashion style that may either be unique to the individual or

shared within a larger group. This was also apparent through way the aforementioned cover group expressed themselves. During their dance practice, they wore fashionable clothes that mimicked the style of the K-pop idols they covered. Through the combination of their outfits and the intrinsically performative nature of their dance practice, they were easily identifiable not only as members of the *Kanryū* lifestyle, but also a specific sub-group within the broader subculture.

The symbolic identity of the purchase and display of items bought in Shin-Ōkubo is deeply linked to the semiotics of idol iconography and the collection of social capital (Kim 2018, 36-38). K-pop groups frequently utilise logos, symbols, and occasionally mascot characters on their products rather than images of the idols themselves, and this is commonly seen on products found within the *sakariba*. When these symbols are used on products, they convey an individual's membership within a fan group and the wider K-pop community. Within Shin-Ōkubo, such symbols appear both on official goods, produced by the K-pop entertainment companies themselves, and unofficial bootleg versions (Larsen 2018b). Bootleg items are highly common within the *sakariba*, as they are cheap to produce and provide more opportunities for fans to consume K-pop within the neighbourhood. Despite their unofficial nature, these bootleg items are still highly popular, and are sold cheaply (the items in Figure 8 below cost less than 200 yen, (\$1.78 USD) each). The popularity of these items is likely due not only to their aesthetic design, but also to their alignment with K-pop idols as a way to visibly show one's fandom for these performers.



Figure 10. An example of K-pop stickers purchased in Shin-Ōkubo. These display mascot characters for BTS and can be placed on bags and electronics.

However to those with little to no knowledge of K-pop iconography the symbolic meaning of these items is obscured. While the physical image can be viewed by anyone, knowledge of its deeper symbolism can be read and understood only by those who recognise the underlying meaning behind the logos and images. An example can be seen in Figure 8: the characters that are depicted here are physically an aesthetically pleasing accessory for one's phone or bag, but they also act as symbols for the group BTS, with each character representing a specific member. By using these stickers, a K-pop fan can announce their favourite members to other *Kanryū* lifestyle consumers, and this can once again help to shape their identity and their interactions with others.

As briefly mentioned before, the *Kanryū* lifestyle consists of multiple sub-groups that engage with Shin-Ōkubo. Within the overarching community individuals and small groups may identify as fans of a specific group or single celebrity, and thus their method of consumption and engagement with K-pop and the wider Korean wave may differ to others in accordance with their fandom. An example that surfaced from my observations was the differences between the methods in which the cover group and the fans of a rookie idol group “High Most” interacted with Shin-Ōkubo. The dancers used the public park and open spaces to practice and replicate the performances of the original K-pop group, while High Most fans frequently gathered around the Showbox live house on the edge of the neighbourhood and ate at the restaurants along the road post-performance. While both groups can be considered members of the *Kanryū* lifestyle due to their public engagement with Shin-Ōkubo and *Kanryū*-related commodities, they construct their identities in completely different fashions. This links back to my initial statement that the *Kanryū* lifestyle is an umbrella term to refer to multiple smaller groups that are constructed within the same location but engage with the Korean wave in different means. Nevertheless, Shin-Ōkubo is able to cater to these different patterns of consumption due to the variety of shops and businesses found within the area. This diversity is another reason why I argue that Shin-Ōkubo should be considered a K-pop *sakariba*. A further point of note is that an individual does not have to belong to one particular group at a time, and can instead engage with Shin-Ōkubo in multiple different ways, thus constructing a multi-fandom, multi-faceted identity within the *Kanryū* lifestyle.

To maintain one’s identity as a member of the *Kanryū* lifestyle, an individual must continue to engage with *Kanryū* spaces, social groups and businesses, consuming items and experiences from and within these locations on a regular basis. Without this regular consumption, their engagement with K-pop and *Kanryū* reverts to a passive state or stops completely, and they may lose their place within the group identity, no matter how much cultural or social capital a fan has accrued. However, an individual can still be considered part

of the *Kanryū* lifestyle if their method of engagement and consumption simply changes from one form into another. For instance, moving from purchasing merchandise from shops to going to live houses is merely a transition from one method of engagement to another rather than a complete cessation of one's activities within Shin-Ōkubo.

A final point of note is that the identity of K-pop fans — that is, their age, ethnicity, and gender — is not the sole determinant of their ability to engage with the *Kanryū* lifestyle. Over the past decade, the idea of who a *Kanryū* or K-pop fan is within Tokyo has shifted from that of a middle aged *oba-chan* (aunt) to a young teenage girl, and this idea of femininity linked to the Korean wave is still heavily influential in where K-pop has appeared within the rest of Tokyo. Baudinette (2018) has recently highlighted that there are many gay male fans of K-pop active within Shin-Ōkubo as well, yet such groups are rarely mentioned within the media or academic works. In Chapter 1 I also mentioned that the areas which promoted K-pop outside of Shin-Ōkubo were concentrated within *yamanote*, top-down retail areas, and promoted more towards a female audience than a male one. However, as my observations in this chapter have shown, not only women but also men, ranging from middle school children to middle-aged salarymen, appeared in areas promoting K-pop. In Tower Records Shinjuku, I found several older men reading K-pop magazines and buying K-pop CDs, while during my Saturday outing to Shin-Ōkubo, several young boys, still in their school uniforms, sat outside KSTAR PLUS (a shop selling clothing, posters, stickers and CDs), watching screens playing TWICE songs in succession before examining merchandise outside the shop. While the majority of *Kanryū* lifestyle participants may still be women, they are not the exclusive consumers of the goods and experiences present within Shin-Ōkubo. As such, a greater analysis of gender and its role within K-pop in Japan is an area that I suggest future research should address.

Conclusion

Over the past two decades, Shin-Ōkubo has closely tied its businesses to the flow of Korean popular culture into Japan and has subsequently transformed from an ethnic enclave into a K-pop *sakariba* that attracts large crowds on an almost-daily basis. In doing so, Shin-Ōkubo has not only influenced and helped to expand the popularity of the Korean Wave within Tokyo, but has also led to the construction of a new subcultural *Kanryū* lifestyle amongst the city's residents. This lifestyle, through neoliberal marketing tactics, helps to construct a regular, enthusiastic consumer base for the local economy, while creating and perpetuating a new social identity that fans of K-pop can use for their own self-expression and sense of social belonging. These individuals' ongoing cycle of active consumption, whether it is maintained through the purchasing of goods, the visiting of specific locations or engaging with particular experiences, helps to produce sub-groups of specific fandoms within the cohesive overarching *Kanryū* lifestyle. This is similar to the ways in which other subgroups of subcultures found throughout the *sakariba* of Tokyo construct themselves. Nevertheless, Shin-Ōkubo has the potential to change drastically within the next few years. There is an increasing influx in the number of other foreign businesses, although these are mainly limited to Indian restaurants or Vietnamese coffee shops that can be found in and around the neighbourhood.¹⁰ While it remains to be seen, it is possible that the Shin-Ōkubo neighbourhood will continue to promote to an increasingly international and multicultural audience in the years to come, however with just how heavily embedded K-pop has become within Shin-Ōkubo, it is likely that its nature as a K-pop *sakariba* will continue to attract consumers for quite some time.

¹⁰ <https://asia.nikkei.com/Life-Arts/Japan-Trends/Tokyo-s-Shin-Okubo-district-offers-a-taste-of-the-world>

Chapter 3: Views of the *Kanryū* Lifestyle from the Outside

In this final chapter, I expand on the ethnography presented in the previous chapters by comparing my observations in the field to data collected from interviews I conducted during my fieldwork and after I republished my survey. These provide an insight into the perceptions and experiences of K-pop and the *Kanryū* lifestyle from the perspective of four male non-consumers. Moving away from examining K-pop's effects and groups as separate to the environment within which they are situated, and towards an understanding of K-pop's impact and influence on members of the public is crucial to understanding and furthering our knowledge of the Korean Wave in Japan.

The interviews that I examine here were conducted one-on-one with survey respondents who had consented to further contact. I had hoped that the recruitment for potential interlocutors via the survey would mean that I could question a wide range of people about their opinions concerning K-pop's appearance within and effects on spatiality in Tokyo. However, as mentioned in my introduction, recruiting for the pilot survey was not as successful as I had initially expected, and this impacted my ability to recruit interview participants. Despite this setback, the interviews I did manage to conduct still touch on several key issues that are crucial to understanding the emplacement of K-pop within Tokyo, although I recognise that there is scope for further investigation in the future. The topics raised in the interviews of interest to this thesis' argument relate to the normalisation of K-pop and perceptions of fan consumption practices, both of which emerged as key themes throughout the previous chapters. Here, I compare the different perspectives and opinions held by my interview participants to what I have discovered through my own fieldwork.

Each of my participants, given pseudonyms to protect their identities as required by Macquarie University's Human Research Ethics Committee, was familiar with the term K-pop, but did not describe themselves as active consumers or fans of the genre. As such, their opinions on K-pop are shaped by a different *habitus* to those I described in Chapter 2, and their opinions and understanding of the genre helps to detail K-pop's impact on the broader Tokyo social consciousness. As the aim of my research was to examine this broader reaction to K-pop within Tokyo, I designed my question sets to be answerable by either group without the need to use separate sets of questions, as was previously mentioned in the introduction.

My participants also came from a number of different ages and socio-economic backgrounds, and resided within a number of areas of Tokyo. This demographic information is summarised below in Table 1. The youngest participants were in their late 20s, while the eldest had turned 50 years old. Professions ranged from full-time careers to part-time work, and covered disciplines such as STEM, tourism, education, and entertainment. These differences in age, profession and locations of residence all seemed to influence the responses of the participants, whether it was through their ability to find K-pop within their everyday lives, or whether their past experiences influenced their perspectives surrounding K-pop's impact on the city. Since all four interlocutors were male, my findings here took on a more masculine perspective, providing an interesting gendered look at the predominantly female-oriented market of the Korean Wave within Tokyo.

Pseudonym	Age	Residence within Tokyo	Profession
Aswin	29	Inner City	Research Engineer
Ichirō	50	Outer Suburbs	Aspiring guide
Haruto	28	Inner City	Actor
Naoki	38	Western Outer City	Part-time teacher

Table 1. Demographic details of the interlocutors in this study

Aswin was the first participant I interviewed, recruited through the online link to the pilot study. Originally from Indonesia, he has held residence in Tokyo for three years, although he regularly travels abroad for his work. I decided to include his opinions and interview as he not only provides an insight into K-pop's impact on Tokyo compared to its impact in foreign cities, but Aswin also comments on its influence from his position within a different fan-based consumer lifestyle. During our interview he explained that he identified as an idol *otaku* (a person who has a particular interest in idol groups' activities and music), and had recently travelled to Hiroshima and Nagoya to attend AKB48 events.¹¹ The idol *otaku*'s consumption of commodities and experiences, and the symbolism and desire derived from images of idols draws parallels to the consumption methods of Korean idols by members of the *Kanryū* lifestyle (Karlin 2012, Kitabayashi 2004). Despite their similarities in methods of consumption and marketing, his interview attempted to explain the appearance of K-pop and the *Kanryū* lifestyle as different to idol *otaku* culture, and exceptional in its appearance.

Ichirō was also recruited online through the pilot survey. He was aspiring to become a tour guide for visitors to Tokyo and asked me to teach him about British and Australian history

¹¹ AKB48 is a popular J-pop idol group founded in Tokyo's Akihabara, with sister groups throughout Japan and several other East and South-East Asian countries

in order to help his career aspirations. He mentioned during our interview in Ueno that his mother had been a fan of Korean dramas since the mid-2000s, and he himself had watched the dramas “Dae Jang Geum” and “Iris” in 2009. Ichirō also attributed his engagement with the Korean wave and Shin-Ōkubo to the influence of his mother’s consumption. This experience seemed to influence his opinions on consumer demographics and the normalisation of K-pop.

My third participant was Haruto, who I met in person over a meal in a restaurant halfway through my fieldwork in Japan, and he was third interviewee I managed to recruit during my time there. Upon talking for a while over our meal, our conversation turned to my research, and he expressed interest in taking part. While he did not know much about K-pop himself at the time, he mentioned how he had some friends who liked it and occasionally played it at karaoke. However, his interview was the shortest of the four I conducted due to an initial lack of knowledge or opinion concerning K-pop beyond an initial superficial level. While this meant that I struggled to glean large quantities of information from his responses, this still proved useful as it showed how non-consumers who had little contact with K-pop could potentially view its ongoing incorporation into the city. Furthermore, upon recontact six months after the initial interview, Haruto appeared to have started to take more notice of K-pop within Tokyo, perhaps spurred by his participation in my research. His responses therefore also show how people’s knowledge of and emotional connection to K-pop within Tokyo can slowly begin to establish itself and potentially lead to their own engagement with the *Kanryū* lifestyle.

My final interview participant was Naoki, who was recruited during the re-opening of the survey in August and interviewed in mid-September via the online conference site Zoom. Like Ichirō, his connection to and understanding of K-pop was initially derived from his aunt’s consumption of Korean dramas, in particular her engagement with “Winter Sonata”. As such, he had known of the Korean Wave for the majority of its existence within Japan. He had also often seen K-pop appearing on the news and online, and had found its influence spreading amongst his students while working as a teacher. Through his interview, he reflected on the

ongoing increase in K-pop's popularity, and how its differences (in comparison to J-pop) have led to its current success.

In total, these four interviews provide new information concerning people's experiences of K-pop within Tokyo, and also address the same issues, data and theories that I discussed within my first two chapters. They thus allow me to triangulate data to further extend the arguments presented in the previous chapters. Through analysing the interviews below, I was able to gain insight into how people from outside the *Kanryū* lifestyle could potentially interpret its presence within the city. The issues of normalisation and fan consumption practices, as seen through my interviewees' perspectives, are different to my own observations and ideas drawn from my fieldwork. Stereotypes surrounding who consumes K-pop and subsequently engages with the *Kanryū* lifestyle, and how one's social background can potentially influence one's perspective became a theme throughout all of the interviews. Since the manner in which my own fieldwork progressed, and the manner in which the participants constructed their views of K-pop are different, this has likely led in some part to the difference between my own findings and my participants' understanding of the experiences around them. Furthermore, I recognise that a sample of four men is not necessarily representative, therefore the discussion found within this chapter represents an exploratory first step towards future analysis.

Normalisation: Perceptions of integration into the Japanese music market

According to my own fieldwork, the integration of K-pop into Tokyo appeared to be mainly taking place along the *yamanote*, where corporate 'top-down' businesses primarily targeting young female consumers tended to be found. Amongst these *sakariba*, Shin-Ōkubo is the most prominent, due to how widespread the promotion and sale of the *Kanryū* lifestyle has become throughout the district. In addition, locations outside of these specific *sakariba* such as those in the historical *shitamachi* regions were rarely involved in the sale of K-pop. This same

understanding of the boundaries of K-pop consumerism throughout the city of Tokyo was clearly reflected within my interlocutor's responses. Amongst my interviewees, all had seen, heard, or knew about K-pop within the *yamanote*, and all four men particularly focussed on either Shibuya's CD shops or Shin-Ōkubo as the two main locations for consuming K-pop throughout our discussions. However, their statements surrounding the location of K-pop within the city only focussed on the most prominent locations such as Shin-Ōkubo and Shibuya. This focus on only a handful of areas is unsurprising given that the four participants' positions as non-consumers meant that they are unlikely to be able to identify specific K-pop-related commodities and adverts. Rather, I would hypothesise that as non-consumers these four men were more likely than not to ignore or easily forget brief encounters with K-pop when and wherever they did occur. As individuals who sit outside of the *Kanryū* lifestyle, I would also argue that there are far fewer reasons for them to actively search for K-pop and this impacted their ability to notice how the music genre and its related businesses are spread and thus normalised within the city. Nevertheless their reflections on the prevalence of K-pop throughout the city is interesting and worthy of further elaboration.

Haruto's knowledge of K-pop's presence within Tokyo focussed mainly on Shibuya, in particular the Tsutaya CD store and other music shops located throughout this *sakariba*. This was in contrast to the other responses I received; upon being asked where they could locate K-pop within the city, Aswin, Ichirō and Naoki all mentioned Shin-Ōkubo as the most prominent location. At the start of my interviews with Haruto, he said that he did not know much about K-pop and did not consume K-pop himself, so it is likely that he only found K-pop by happenstance while visiting Shibuya for other purposes. Upon later questioning in October about whether he had ever been to Shin-Ōkubo, Haruto responded with "I can count on my hand the number of times I have been [there]. There were many foreigners and Shin-Ōkubo had a different impression to the atmosphere of Japan." This response suggests that as a non-consumer Haruto had little reason to travel to and engage with the K-pop *sakariba*, but what

was also remarkable was that Haruto's response showed no mention of K-pop whatsoever, and instead focussed on the difference of atmosphere and the presence of foreigners. These responses imply that it is possible for people who have no reason to engage with K-pop to find it through their experiences within the *sakariba* of the *yamanote*. Furthermore, rather than K-pop, non-consumers might focus more on the more general sense of "otherness" of Shin-Ōkubo (and its nature as a migrant space), and this can lead to attempts to place it culturally outside of Japan. This feeling of otherness within the K-pop *sakariba*'s space links to an idea of exceptionalism that shapes and constructs the manner in which K-pop itself is emplaced into the cityscape.

Even so, when I contacted Haruto in September, six months after our first interview (and before asking about his experiences in Shin-Ōkubo), he expanded on his initial statements. He told me that since we had last spoken he had not just seen more standard K-pop advertisements in Shibuya, but that he had also found a *gaisensha* (advertisement bus) promoting a new K-pop CD release. This added response suggested that while Haruto still did not engage with K-pop outside of the single *sakariba* he had previously mentioned, he had now begun to take more notice of its appearance, perhaps due to his participation in this research project. Haruto's reported experience of finding K-pop within Shibuya seemed to stem from a brief moment of awareness, and his anecdote suggests that it is possible for an individual to begin to notice the normalisation of K-pop within Tokyo through a single moment of introduction to the genre. Nevertheless, it is puzzling that after this moment, Haruto was unable to recognise the prominence of K-pop within Shin-Ōkubo.

On the other hand, Aswin's account of K-pop's appearance within Tokyo seemed to be somewhat contradictory, split between an insistence that there was no regular influence from K-pop on Tokyo's cityscape and the suggestion that there was a slow move towards a more regular promotion of K-pop in the city. Spatially, Aswin initially mentioned how the Korean Wave was completely restricted (in his opinion) to Shin-Ōkubo, and that there was no sizeable

set of people who consumed K-pop in Tokyo. This first discussion is possibly influenced by Aswin's lack of engagement with *sakariba* within the Western *yamanote*. As discussed in Chapter 1, K-pop's promotion and marketing is almost exclusively consigned to the *yamanote*. Aswin's position as an idol *otaku* likely centres his lifestyle around the Akihabara neighbourhood, situated within the *shitamachi* area to the east of the city. Furthermore, K-pop's current target audience within Japan is considered to be young women with disposable income, which has also influenced the distribution of the music genre, and led to a lack of promotion in the traditionally male-oriented, blue-collar areas of the city which the *otaku* engage with (Galbraith 2010). With few reasons to go to the *yamanote* for leisure, and a lack of interest in the genre himself, Aswin's chances of spotting K-pop are likely minimal, and like Haruto's understanding of Shin-Ōkubo, this leads to a reading of K-pop's current appearance within the city as exceptional.

Nevertheless, later on in our interview Aswin's responses seemed to contradict these initial statements. Upon asking how K-pop has influenced the appearance and culture of Tokyo, Aswin mentioned how only K-pop groups that made official Japanese debuts and released music in Japanese were becoming popular, giving TWICE and the then-ongoing PRODUCE 48 project between various K-pop and AKB48 trainees as examples of this trend. Aswin's suggestion that in order to be successful K-pop must be sung in Japanese suggests that he views Japanese-language songs as something other than K-pop, despite the artists' identities as K-pop idols. His response here is symbolic of the ongoing process of normalisation K-pop is undertaking in Japan, where the genre has begun to assimilate more into the mainstream music market through deliberate use of the Japanese language in its song lyrics (Jung and Hirata 2012). Furthermore, Aswin's response also touches on the ambiguity concerning what is classified as K-pop and what is J-pop by the general public, and the struggle of individuals to provide a single clear distinction between the two music genres (Kim 2018, 99). This problem is not only linked to language as mentioned in Aswin's responses, but it is also further

complicated through the increasingly multi-national nature of K-pop group structures, where idols from other Asian countries (such as Japan) are included in order to promote more successfully to foreign markets.¹² Therefore, rather than focussing on the notion that K-pop is exceptional within Japan and must use the Japanese language in order to find any success, Aswin's comments instead highlight how the deliberate choice to debut in Japan using Japanese language songs and with Japanese members further normalises K-pop within the Japanese music market.

Furthermore, while Aswin suggested that in his experience there seemed to be a divide between the Japanese and Korean idol fan groups in Tokyo, in the middle of the interview he spoke about how he had seen long lines of people heading to K-pop events, when venues were being shared between K-pop and J-pop idols. When asked further, he stated that irrespective of a shared location, these two groups of fans were completely separated from each other and did not interact. This separation of the different fan groups is unsurprising however, as different events are naturally separated within venues for logistic reasons, and if fans do not belong or have interest in the other group's activities, then there is likely no desire to interact. As such, spatial boundaries within these venues do not hold much weight in arguing for K-pop's exceptionalism within the city. Rather, this can be read heuristically as a representation of the broader, complicated processes of normalisation and K-pop's ongoing integration into Tokyo's cityscape, as it shows that the otherwise socially and spatially distinct Japanese idol *otaku* and K-pop fan groups now occasionally inhabit the same space, albeit for different events. This suggests that Aswin's attempt to class K-pop's appearance within the city as a rarity is designed to strictly maintain and manage the boundaries between the two subcultures in a way that Japan is already predisposed towards, as individuals within specific contrasting *zoku* attempt to maintain their distinction despite evidence of an overlap between their cultures (Kim 2018, 38; Ueno 1999, 98).

¹² <https://www.billboard.com/articles/news/international/8476457/jyp-entertainment-chinese-group-boy-story-enough>

Compared to Aswin and Haruto, Naoki's understanding of the normalisation of K-pop centred around an ongoing increase in the frequency he himself had seen and experienced through not only his movement through the city, but within his work as a teacher interacting with his students. When asked about the current frequency of K-pop news, he stated that rather than a decrease (as I had expected due to the incidents of the 2011 protests), he felt that it had instead increased. Naoki mentioned that through his job (teaching students from middle school up to university undergraduate levels) he had heard news about K-pop — particularly from his middle school and high school female students. K-pop's appearance within Naoki's workplace and among the younger generation seems to suggest that K-pop's influence has spread and become a broad, commonly discussed topic amongst teenagers and young adults.

Both Naoki and Aswin's opinions on K-pop's normalisation within the city not only focussed on physical locations, but also the digital normalisation of K-pop on Japanese websites. Naoki's response was focussed on the general increase in the online sale of K-pop-related goods, and his comments on the consumption of these commodities further support his discussion of K-pop's normalisation within Tokyo. On the other hand, Aswin used the Oricon charts to discuss K-pop's popularity, and suggested that due to their positions on the charts K-pop groups were still far from mainstream. His response focussed on K-pop's inability to rank first on the Weekly Oricon charts (with the exception of TWICE), which he urged me to check regularly, and compared this claim to the regular chart success of AKB48 and its sister idol group's songs. Aswin's main argument here was that if K-pop was unable to reach the top spot on the chart like AKB could, then it could not be considered mainstream. However, the reported success and popularity of a song on the Oricon chart can be easily manipulated, as the charts focus on single and album sales as their criteria, and does not address individual fans' purchases of multiple copies in order to aid chart positions or receive benefits (such as tickets to exclusive events).¹³ This manipulation can be caused by what Larsen terms in her recent

¹³ <https://kpoppersguide.wordpress.com/2018/06/09/understanding-oricon/>

work “affective hoarding,” whereby fans purchase large amounts of commodities in order to accrue social capital (2018a). Furthermore, this year alone multiple K-pop artists such as EXO, TWICE, Junho of 2PM, SHINee and BTS have all achieved first place on either the singles or album charts.¹⁴ This evidence against Aswin’s statement implies that his responses attempt to strategically place K-pop outside of the “successful” music genres in order to maintain its uncommonness within Tokyo, and thus preserve distinctive boundaries between it and J-pop idol music, despite their music and business-models’ similarities. These two discussions of K-pop in an online space provide further evidence of K-pop’s ongoing normalisation, but also show how its success can be deliberately misconstrued as more exceptional than it really is.

Ichirō’s views of the normalisation of K-pop were tied very heavily to his own past experiences and consumption of K-pop. However, his answers also took a political perspective, linking current issues faced by the K-pop market in its attempt to normalise within Tokyo to past historically-layered conflicts between South Korea and Japan, including the colonial occupation of South Korea by Japan and current anti-Korean or “Korea-phobic” protests (Itagaki 2015, 55-58; Iwabuchi 2008, 252-257). His initial responses concerning where he found K-pop were far more specific and detailed than the other three interview participants, and this was likely due to both his and his mother’s consumption of Korean TV dramas and subsequent knowledge of K-pop. When asked where he had found K-pop, he not only mentioned Shin-Ōkubo, but also within Shibuya’s Tsutaya and the fourth floor of Tower Records. Ichirō also assumed that the whole of the fourth floor of the flagship Tower Records was dedicated to the sale of K-pop, although my own observations found this to be closer to a third of the floor, with the rest of the space taken up by *visual-kei* and *anisong* (anime sound tracks). Following this, rather than the qualities or style of K-pop music itself, Ichirō focused on political conflict between Japan and the two Koreas as the key reason for people’s dislike of K-pop, and while this negative perspective may be held by ultra-nationalists, it does not seem

¹⁴ <https://kpoppersguide.wordpress.com/2018/04/20/oricon-weekly-charts-2018/>

to be the main argument as shown in my survey results. While I did collect two responses in my pilot survey that seemed to show this negative view of K-pop, with one response stating “it cheats on [chart] rankings and it brainwashes people through lies on the news”, language barriers, aesthetics and a preference for J-pop were more common reasons for not liking K-pop. A total of 15 respondents claimed to not like K-pop, meaning that the aforementioned two made up 13.3% of negative comments and 3.4% of overall justifications for liking/not liking K-pop. Ichirō’s argument that political conflict is restricting K-pop’s normalisation may have some value in relation to the members of fringe ultra-conservative groups, but at the current time K-pop appears to be becoming more normalised. Currently, politics seem to be only rarely discussed with relation to the music genre within Tokyo, although more research may be required to fully explore this issue.

From these interviews, it appears that the integration and normalisation of K-pop into Tokyo’s cityscape has the potential to go unnoticed by individuals outside of the target consumer group, however the four interlocutors all mentioned locations within the *yamanote* as places where they most commonly found K-pop, which supports my own observations during my fieldwork. Naoki and Ichirō’s own experiences with the consumption of Korean TV dramas caused them to notice K-pop’s appearance within the city far more readily than Haruto and Aswin. Ichirō’s responses, however, also highlight how ongoing political conflicts can create negative opinions of K-pop, and thus hinder its normalisation within Tokyo.

Consumption and stereotypes: Considering gendered consumption

The four interlocutors’ responses to questions concerning their impressions of the demographics of those who consume K-pop in Tokyo, as well as their ideas concerning these groups’ methods of consumption all followed a similar pattern. Haruto, Aswin, Naoki and Ichirō all described the majority of K-pop fans and current consumers of the *Kanryū* lifestyle (within the current iteration of the Korean Wave) as young women from their 20s to their 40s

who are highly passionate about K-pop and who like and consume K-pop due to aesthetic desire for the idols. Their responses seemed to show a general disposition towards viewing K-pop as situated within a particularly young female practice, despite certain anecdotes from Ichirō concerning his own engagement and that of other men. My own research also shows that the actual promotion of K-pop within Tokyo is geared towards this same young female audience, and thus reinforces current stereotypes surrounding the identity of K-pop fans and consumers.

Of particular interest to me were Aswin's responses to my questions concerning K-pop consumption in Tokyo. While Aswin's self-identification as a highly devoted Japanese idol *otaku* seems to draw similarities to the *Kanryū* lifestyle with respect to the neoliberal consumption of idols and related commodities, his view of K-pop fans was mainly focussed on the differences between the two groups. Aswin explained during interviews that he believed Japanese K-pop consumers were mostly women, and that their support of K-pop was purely due to aesthetic desire for the idols. This stereotype of solely aesthetic-focussed desire amongst fans belies the fact that female consumers of K-pop also desire K-pop and idols due to other aspects of the genre and performances. Out of the 12 respondents who identified as female K-pop fans within my survey, 5 (41.7%) mentioned aesthetic attraction, while others also stated that they enjoyed the music due to catchy rhythms and K-pop artists' skill in formation dances.

Aswin's identity as an idol *otaku* likely influenced his perception of K-pop consumers, and lead to his attempts to create a qualitative difference between his own experiences and that of K-pop fans in order to manage the boundaries of his own identity. These qualitative differences draw upon stereotypes that are centred on notions of gendered consumption and aesthetic desire, but also on the concept of having strong stereotypes attributed to the groups themselves. Upon asking whether he believed there were any stereotypes attributed to K-pop fans, Aswin stated that he didn't believe there were strong stereotypes that surrounded them or their lifestyle in comparison to *otaku*. This statement is based on a comparison of the

stereotypes associated with and treatment of *otaku* by normative Japanese society (Slater and Galbraith 2011), and implies that K-pop is somehow exempt from negative stereotypes itself. This claim fails to take note of how previously Kanryū consumers have also faced negative stereotypes and controversy, which has significantly influenced the manner in which K-pop and Korean communities more generally present themselves (Jung 2015, 125). Furthermore, this claim also covers and denies ongoing issues between the *Kanryū* lifestyle and the broader Japanese society, where consumers of K-pop and Korean Wave commodities are perceived as a threat to the Japanese cultural industries (Jung 2015, 125).

Meanwhile, Haruto's initial impressionistic responses seemed to become more detailed upon re-contact some months after our initial interview. As aforementioned, while previously unable to recall many places where he had heard or seen K-pop in our initial discussion, it appeared that he had started to pay more attention to K-pop within the city. Furthermore, his own reactions to K-pop and opinions on songs and adverts when he found them began to show a similar reaction to responses from K-pop fans and consumers in my pilot study. Upon describing his impression of the people who like K-pop, Haruto also added an anecdote about his encounter with a *gaisensha* promoting a new K-pop album. In his response he talked about not only his impression of K-pop fans, but also his own feelings.

“I saw a K-pop CD advertisement bus on the road. I have the impression that Japanese women like K-pop because it is very cool and because of the *ikemen* (attractive men). As both the music and dance are cool I feel a sense of longing (*akogare*).” (September 5th 2018)

In the first quote, the use of the word ‘*akogare*’ conveys a highly poignant moment in the potential journey towards engaging with K-pop. The term itself is difficult to translate effectively into the English language due to its several connotations, however dictionaries define it as “yearning”, “longing”, or “aspiration”, and academics tend to focus on *akogare* as

longing (Kelsky 2001, 26). This word has previously been examined in relation to the Korean Wave, where the popularity of Korean dramas in Japan was due to middle-aged Japanese women's longing for its depiction of traditional familial values, and "gentle" male behaviour and identity (Takeda 2011). Furthermore, *akogare* has been used in order to advertise and sell products by creating a narrative that draws and influences an individual's identity formation (Kelsky 1996, 33). Therefore, Haruto's sense of *akogare* here held the potential to elicit further consumption of K-pop goods, and to start the construction of an identity as a K-pop fan.

Upon recontact, Ichirō's responses to the same question were far more in depth than my other informants, as his responses not only examined the stereotypes and consumption practices of current K-pop fans, but also stereotypes for previous waves of Korean cultural consumption in Japan. Like the other interlocutors, he spoke about fan demographics mainly through gender, and used this to construct a timeline of fan engagement with the *Kanryū* lifestyle. This focus on gender subsequently influenced his understanding of K-pop fans' different reasons for consuming K-pop. To start, he spoke about the fan stereotypes of those who consumed K-pop and Korean dramas at the outset of the boom:

"The period that was most hot was the time of the 'Winter Sonata' and TVXQ boom wasn't it? The main fan base was [made up of] Johnny's fans in their 20s to 40s, who moved on after Johnny's graduation." (September 6th 2018)

Ichirō's discussion of "Johnny's" refers to a highly influential J-pop idol group from the 1960s, and his theory that fans they began to consume K-pop following their Johnny's disbandment. This idea speaks to the similarities between K-pop and J-pop, and how the adoption of Japanese and American music production methods by the Korean music industry in the 1990s has led to similarities between the J-pop and K-pop, thus making transference from one to the other relatively easy (Kim 2018, 54). Ichirō's theory also suggests fans needed to fill empty gaps in their lives (such as previous idol groups). This idea speaks to past academic

theories surrounding the same topic, such as the notion that middle-aged women are marginalised within Japanese society (Yoshitaka 2008, 140), however it does not acknowledge the importance of emotional connections to an idol to promoting and engaging with the *Kanryū* lifestyle (Lin 2012).

Following this discussion of Winter Sonata and Johnny's fans, Ichirō began to speak about male fans who joined the *Kanryū* lifestyle approximately 9 years ago.

“What increased the number of male fans, like me, was the broadcasting of crime and suspense [dramas] like Lee Byung Hyung's Iris and others, and dramas with slightly unique history like '[Dae] Jang Geum'. Perhaps the boyfriends and husbands of female fans have been influenced by the women who enthusiastically watch the videos.” (March 5th 2018)

Ichirō was the only interviewee to talk in much detail about the existence of male K-pop fans or their integration into the *Kanryū* lifestyle. It seems that from his perspective, Ichirō believed that male consumers had to be introduced to K-pop through a female consumer, and that it was the move away from romantic dramas that attracted men. His own experiences of consuming K-pop, after initially learning about it from his mother's consumption of dramas, likely plays a significant part in his understanding of K-pop demographics. Recent work by Baudinette (2018) suggests that a more 'beastly' image of Korean idols is better received and more readily consumed amongst gay male K-pop fans than the more stereotypical *kkonminam* (flower boy) image often equated with female K-pop consumption, and perhaps Ichirō's discussion of drama genres as a key to male consumption also draws upon this move away from the “softer” *Kanryū* image. However, more research amongst male K-pop fans in general needs to be completed before this can be properly explored.

Furthermore, Ichirō's description of consumption practices also draws upon his experiences consuming *Kanryū* alongside his mother through his trip to Shin-Ōkubo. There, he

said that he walked around with her and tried “*ddeokbokgi*” (a Korean street dish made of spicy rice cakes). In this anecdote, Ichirō recounted a moment when he could have potentially begun to incorporate the *Kanryū* lifestyle into his own identity. Both he and his mother fulfilled the initial steps towards becoming a member of this group identity through their public engagement with *Kanryū* goods and experiences within Shin-Ōkubo, and their decision to visit the K-pop *sakariba* was driven by their prior consumption of televised Korean dramas. Through this engagement, it seemed that Ichirō’s understanding of how and what K-pop fans actually consumed was similar to my own collected fieldwork observations. However, as previously mentioned, Ichirō spoke after the interview about how after he had gone to Shin-Ōkubo once, it became boring and he felt no real desire to return. This shows how an individual, despite consuming K-pop or other *Kanryū* products privately, can reject a public engagement and thus not become a participant in the *Kanryū* lifestyle. Simply put, Ichirō lacked the important affective desire to engage which is crucial to fandom experiences.

Ichirō’s explanation finishes with his perceptions of current fan stereotypes. His view of current fans was that they were young women in their 20s, who are focussed on the dances and fashion of K-pop groups, although they may be drawn in by how “cute, beautiful, handsome or sexy” the idols appear to them. As mentioned before, these initial descriptions of fashion and dancing as points of attraction were also found within my pilot survey data, with several respondents of this specific demographic claiming “I like the formation dances” and “K-pop is *oshare* (fashionable)”. Nevertheless, there were other reasons that did not get addressed by any of my participants within the interviews, such as enjoying the style and rhythm of the songs.

However, Ichirō’s continued response once again became centred on the politics behind K-pop’s appearance and its current status within Tokyo. He suggested that K-pop fans did not engage with, or chose to ignore, the political implications behind consuming K-pop. This focus on a lack of political engagement in favour of engaging with the *Kanryū* lifestyle, as a marker for *Kanryū* lifestyle consumers suggests that fans and consumers wilfully ignore broader

international issues between Japan and South Korea in favour of consuming Korean popular culture. K-pop and the *Kanryū* lifestyle within Japan are indeed intertwined with politics and nationalism on an international scale, and both Iwabuchi (2008) and Baudinette's (2018) work has shown that the claim above does have some merit to it.

Overall, Ichirō's view of the changing fan-base for the *Kanryū* lifestyle appeared in four stages. These were: 1) the initial influx of middle-aged women and previous Johnny's fans, 2) a mid-phase where male consumers joined, 3) the turn towards a younger female audience and then 4) a final prediction for the future of K-pop and the Korean Wave within Japan. This final prediction suggests that K-pop's popularity will continue to fluctuate with the ongoing political relationship between the two countries, while fans will either ignore or not know of the past historical conflict. This suggestion of a continuous fluctuation in K-pop's popularity seems possible, as previous events have shown several such waxes and wanes in K-pop's visibility and consumption (Jung 2015). However, whether fans will continue to ignore politics in favour of K-pop consumption remains to be seen.

In total, these four interviews showcased a generally similar set of stereotypes of K-pop fans that have slowly changed over the course of the Korean Wave's transformation with K-pop. Starting with the image of *Kanryū* consumers as middle-aged female fans, this stereotype has since transitioned into one of stereotype of school-age girls and young female adults as the main consuming body. Interestingly, male consumers seem side-lined or non-existent within the stereotype of the *Kanryū* consumer. When male engagement is mentioned, it is facilitated through their relationships with already-invested women, rather than autonomously and directly. Finally, there is a focus on aesthetics as the main attraction, placing the merit of physical desire over that of musical or technical skill. This in turn produces a simplistic understanding of what it means to consume the *Kanryū* lifestyle and identify with the subculture.

Conclusion

The responses I received from Aswin, Haruto, Naoki, and Ichirō highlighted several key issues related to how non-consumers (in particular male non-consumers) perceive and attempt to justify the appearance of the Korean Wave and the *Kanryū* lifestyle within Tokyo. Firstly, there was a general acknowledgement of K-pop's appearance within the *sakariba* of the *yamanote* region, in particular within Shin-Ōkubo and Shibuya. However, outside of these *sakariba* the participants noticed very little K-pop within the city. As mentioned before, this was possibly due to an inability to identify which groups and artists are considered K-pop, and further compounded by the fact that many groups promote Japanese-language albums and singles within Tokyo, rather than Korean singles. As such, the general consensus seemed to place K-pop as an exceptional phenomenon within the city, which had little impact physically on Tokyo's landscape.

Following this, the four respondents seemed to draw on assumptions and stereotypes about consumers of the *Kanryū* lifestyle that painted K-pop fans as mostly young female consumers. This aligns with the overarching trends of neoliberal consumption, whereby women are afforded great power and freedom to consume products within the city. However, stereotypes suggest that the engagement and consumption of *Kanryū* goods are linked predominantly to the physical, aesthetic desire to consume Korean idols, when emotional connections and musical factors have also played a role in the construction of *Kanryū* lifestyle identities. Furthermore, these stereotypes can be used by other subcultures to not only view the *Kanryū* lifestyle, but to manage the boundaries between their K-pop fans and themselves (Ueno 1999). In turn, such boundary management helps to define and reinforce one's own identity as much as it reinforces one's own view of the out-group.

Bourdieu's theories on social groups and taste can also be applied further within this context. As male non-consumers, each interlocutor's lifestyle draws upon a predominantly

different system of schemes and conditioning to that of a K-pop fan, and as such their responses' attempt to show K-pop as an exceptional phenomenon are a result of their own personal conditioning within the gendered, neoliberal consumption systems of Tokyo. Their worldview and perception of typically young female K-pop fans and the *Kanryū* lifestyle focuses on the differences between the two rather than the similarities. Simply put, the *habitus* of the men I interviewed differed greatly to that of a participant within the *Kanryū* lifestyle. The four interlocutors' responses tie into the notion of *nihonjinron*, a theory which argues that Japan and its society are exceptional, unique and unreadable, thereby limiting the ability of others to understand and naturalise within the Japanese environment (Sugimoto 2014, 192-194). Seen here, such a view has the potential to delegitimise non-hegemonic groups, and the focus on the differences between K-pop and their own lived experience and social groups tends to suggest that K-pop exists on the fringes of Japanese society: a claim that my own fieldwork has continuously shown to be in need of re-evaluation. Instead, despite past conflict that hindered its growth, my work shows how K-pop is slowly becoming more integrated into the Tokyo cityscape, and that male non-consumers are potentially engaging with *nihonjinron* claims on Japan's uniqueness in order to manage their own boundaries. However, due to only being able to interview four participants, further research must be undertaken before these theories can be confirmed further.

Conclusion

Throughout this thesis I sought to address questions concerning the nature of K-pop's normalisation and consumption within Tokyo, and the reactions that this ongoing introduction and integration of *Kanryū* commodities has elicited from the wider Japanese society. This in turn also led me to investigate how residents within Tokyo consume K-pop commodities, how individuals and groups engage with the *Kanryū* lifestyle, and the subsequent response to fan consumption from non-consumers. As previously mentioned, this thesis is designed to provide a more spatially-emplaced understanding of K-pop's influence on Tokyo, while attempting to highlight the need for more similar efforts in order to fill in the gap left by a sole focus on such social processes as media consumption without considering how these practices may be emplaced. By exploring the locations where issues such as identity and boundary construction and commodity consumption occur, I believe that future research on transcultural consumption and fan practices can provide a deeper and more thorough understanding of the topics at hand.

Within my thesis I have attempted to address a small section of these broader issues, through the lens of K-pop in Tokyo, and throughout the past three chapters I have discovered a number of results that I shall briefly summarise here, before discussing the potential for future research that these findings uncover. The manner in which K-pop appeared through my fieldwork suggests that the music genre is becoming normalised within the cityscape, in particular the *sakariba* of western Tokyo, within the *yamanote* region. By normalisation, I suggest that K-pop is becoming increasingly embedded within the normative promotional strategies of the Japanese music industry. This is likely due to K-pop's integration into Japan's already well-established neoliberal consumption practices, whereby commodities are promoted and sold within specific areas to cater to different demographics' tastes. Since K-pop is targeted towards young female consumers, who tend to have expendable time and income, K-pop-related businesses mostly emerge in areas where large-scale commercial businesses and

retail stores comprise the majority of the shops. Nevertheless, by appearing within these spaces and targeting a particular demographic of Tokyo's population, K-pop's appearance within the city is currently mostly bound within these specific areas. Outside of such locations, K-pop's appearance is still unexpected, but this is not exceptional as other subcultures are also tied to specific *sakariba*, such as the Lolita's engagement with Harajuku and the *otaku* within Akihabara.

Following on from this first chapter, which provides a broad understanding of K-pop's appearance within Tokyo and a framework for subsequent analysis, I argued that Shin-Ōkubo – the most well-known location within the city for K-pop-related activities – has grown from being simply an ethnic enclave or Korean town, into Tokyo's main K-pop *sakariba*. Due to this focus on promoting and selling K-pop-related products, Shin-Ōkubo has become especially important in the construction of the collective K-pop group identity or *zoku*, and thus the ongoing perpetuation and promulgation of the *Kanryū* lifestyle. In turn, the *Kanryū* lifestyle helps to create and maintain fan identities. This is linked to Bourdieu's theory of *habitus*, whereby the actions of K-pop and *Kanryū* fans reproduce social structures that continuously shape and structure the practices and rituals found within the *Kanryū* lifestyle.

This construction and management of group identity through consumption practice carries on into my final argument. As suggested through the responses of my four interview participants, there appears to be an ongoing attempt to manage the perceived boundaries of K-pop consumption and fan engagement by non-consumers, in particular men. This bounded view of K-pop as foreign and exceptional, and the stereotyping of K-pop consumers within Tokyo draws from *nihonjinron* thought, whereby engagement with K-pop is seen as separate and distinct from Japanese consumption practices other subcultures, and a narrative of K-pop's exceptionality within Tokyo is constructed through past anecdotal evidence. This attempt to maintain K-pop's exceptionality is nonetheless contradictory to the evidence I gathered throughout my fieldwork, and these opinions are potentially geared towards an individuals'

management of their own identity just as much, if not more than, the management of K-pop within the broader Tokyo society.

However, there are a number of limitations to my work that must be acknowledged. These are likely due in part to the nature of this research task: a Master's thesis is an incredibly short-term project. As such, difficulty in recruiting large survey and interview participant pools, and having limited time to gather as much data as possible has restricted my ability to draw broader and more generalisable results from my research. Despite such a small-scope for my project and a lack of generalisability, I believe that my results have uncovered new questions for future research to address, and that by engaging actively and reflexively with the locations and individuals I wished to study I have been able to highlight the processes of K-pop's normalisation and consumption, and the construction of *Kanryū* fan identity in more detail than previously available.

This brings me to my final question of my thesis: where does this research lead to, and what new studies could stem from the results presented here? Firstly, a continued analysis of where and how K-pop is presented within Tokyo could be used to map the ongoing integration of the genre within the cityscape. Particular attention must be paid to an in-depth ethnography of both engagement *and* disengagement, as these emerged as key tensions in this thesis. Furthermore, a greater understanding of the broader Japanese public's perception of K-pop within Tokyo may help to address the socio-economic and political relationships between Korea and Japan, and how changes to these impact K-pop's ability to become normalised within Japanese neoliberal consumption practices. Further analysis of non-consumer's reactions and opinions may also build upon what I covered in the third chapter of this thesis, and create more generalisable findings than I was able to here.

Another possibility for future research might be a more in-depth study of the role of gender in shaping engagement with the *Kanryū* lifestyle. During my fieldwork within Shin-

Ōkubo, I observed not just women, but also men and young boys of varying ages engaging with the area and consuming K-pop, however K-pop is typically marketed towards young women to the exclusion of other groups. More insight into how male K-pop fans and members of the *Kanryū* lifestyle within Tokyo engage with K-pop and Korean wave commodities within Shin-Ōkubo and other K-pop-related areas, or perhaps how these fans perceive and respond to stereotypes about K-pop fans could be beneficial in expanding our current understanding of how gender interplays with fan identity and engagement with a subculture. An ethnographic study of such a topic would likely be appropriate, and research could engage with and expand upon past work written by Baudinette (2018), whose research on gay male K-pop fans' consumption of male idols discusses how the 'reading' of idols differs between social groups.

Furthermore, following my research there is room to move towards more comparative studies of K-pop's impact on different cityscapes and communities. These studies could focus on answering questions concerning how differences in the length or manner of exposure and socio-economic practices lead to variations in the way individuals and groups respond and engage with K-pop and its related products. This type of research has the potential to examine K-pop from a more transnational perspective, and thus help to construct a more generalisable understanding of the patterns of consumption that have arisen from the start of Hallyu 1.0 to the current Hallyu 3.0 and beyond. While this may require a considerable amount of time and effort to produce a broad comparative "mapping" of K-pop within different national markets, such a study could nonetheless help to tie together previous literature on K-pop's impact within both Asia and the more recently targeted Western spaces. While care must be taken not to over-generalise the results of such research, comparative work could be of great benefit in understanding the consumption patterns that arise as interest in K-pop and the Korean Wave continues to grow across the globe.

In conclusion, K-pop's adoption of Japan's neoliberal consumption practices means that both the transnational music genre itself and its related businesses have the potential to become

increasingly normalised within the cityscape of Tokyo. Furthermore, through its continued adherence to these neoliberal systems that are present within the city, the *Kanryū* lifestyle has the potential to continue to shape the experiences and identities of those within it, as long as they engage with K-pop related spaces and consume their commodities. Despite ongoing attempts by various members of the public (in an attempt to manage their own social group boundaries) to define the genre and its related lifestyle as exceptional within Tokyo, in the future it is possible that K-pop will continue to be normalised and embedded within the city's structures.

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Appendices

Appendix A. Pilot Survey Question Schedule

1. Are you 18 years or over and live within Tokyo?

あなたは18歳以上で、東京府に住んでいますか？

2. Do you consent to the use of information provided within this survey within the previously described research project?

このアンケートのお答えを、インフォメーションシートに説明された研究に使わせていただくことに合意していただけますか。

3. How old are you?

何歳ですか？

- 18-29
- 30-39
- 40-49
- 50-59
- 60+

4. What is your gender? (Added during the second distribution of the survey)

性別は何ですか。

5. Where in Tokyo prefecture do you live?

東京都のどちらに住んでいますか？

6. What genres of music do you usually listen to?

音楽は、どのジャンルをたいてい聞きますか？適切な箱をチェックしてください。

7. Have you heard of K-pop music before?

8. KPop(韓国のポップ)をご存知ですか？

9. Do you like K-pop?

KPop が好きですか？

10. Why? Why not? Please explain your answer.

なぜですか?説明をお願いします

11. Have you previously seen shops selling or promoting Korean pop or selling K-pop merchandise?

前に KPop 関連の品物を売っているお店を見たことがありますか?

12. Where have you seen this? If you remember the name of the place/shop, please list it here.

そんなお店をどこで見ましたか?

13. Have you ever bought Korean pop products before?

韓流品を買ったことありますか?

14. What K-pop products did you buy?

何を買いましたか?

15. Why did you buy the product?

その製品を買った理由は何ですか?

16. On a scale of 'completely disagree' to 'absolutely agree', please show how much you agree with this statement:

"When I see shops selling K-pop merchandise, it makes me want to buy from this shop."

「韓流品を売っているお店を見ると、そのお店で何か商品を買いたくなります。」
という発言について、どう思いますか。一番適切な答えを一つ選んで下さい。

17. Please explain your choice.

上の選択をなぜ選びましたか?

18. On a scale of 'completely disagree' to 'absolutely agree', please show how much you agree with this statement:

"I prefer to listen to music that sounds like K-pop more than other genres."

「他のジャンルより、KPopの方が聞き好きです。」

という発言について、どう思いますか。一番適切な答えを一つ選んで下さい。

19. Please explain your choice.

上の選択をなぜ選びましたか？

20. Do you wish to be considered for future research interviews? If so, please write down a contact email address. If chosen to take part in these activities, I will send a message to this address.

もし、インタビューにご参加いただけるようでしたら、後でご連絡できるように、Eメールのアドレスを書いて下さい。

21. After completing the survey questions, do you still consent to the use of your information in the research project?

このアンケートを終了するにあたって、お答えを研究に使うことを再度ご了承いただけますか。

Appendix B. Interview Questions

Question Schedule 1

1. Firstly, do you consent to the use of responses given in the interview in the construction of a Masters of Research thesis and its related works?

まず初めに、皆さん、このフォーカスグループディスカッションを音声録音し、それを修士論文などに使うことに合意していただけますか。

- Yes (はい)
- No (いいえ)

2. Korean popular music or Kpop is part of the growing Hallyu trend around the world, and Japan seems to have been one of the first countries to begin exporting this music genre and related merchandise. Do you recall when you first heard about KPop? How did you hear of it?

KPopというジャンルは国際的な韓流の一部分です。そして、初めてこの音楽と関連商品を輸出した国は日本だそうです。KPopを初めて聞いた時を覚えていますか？

3. Does news concerning Korean pop music or culture appear frequently in the media, or can you recall a time when it was a hot topic? Is this still continuing today, or has it lessened?

KPopの音楽と文化についてのニュースは、メディアによく出ますか？ KPopについてのニュースがホットなトピックだったのはいつだったか、覚えていますか。また、今でも、KPopはホットなトピックですか。それとも、メディアの中でKPopについての話題は減りましたか。

4. As KPop continued to be imported here in Japan, have you noticed areas where KPop and KPop-related items became the dominant commodity being sold? Where have you seen this occurring?

日本にKPopが輸入され続けている中で、KPopに関する商品を一番多く売っている場所を知っていますか？それはどこですか？

5. Do you think these changes have been widespread around the city?

このKPop輸入による変化は東京の中に大きく広がったと思いますか？

6. In what way do you think this has had an effect on the appearance and culture of Tokyo?

KPopはどのように東京の景観と文化を変えたと思いますか。

7. How do you think KPop's competition has affected businesses within Japan?

KPopとの競合が日本の企業にどう影響したと思いますか？

8. Have you seen a change in how businesses market their products since Kpop began being promoted here?

KPop事業が日本で盛んになり始めてから、日本の製品の販売のし方に変化がありましたか。

9. Do you think these changes are entirely due to KPop, or are there other underlying factors?

この変化がKPopだけによるものだと思いますか？それとも、何か他の根本的な要因によるものですか？

10. Why do you think KPop has been so successful, both here and overseas?

外国と日本国内でなぜこんなにKPopが成功したと思いますか？

11. Is there anything you think that Japanese businesses could learn from KPop-oriented businesses?

KPopのビジネスの仕方から、日本の会社は何か学んだことがあると思いますか。

12. Finally, do you each once again consent to the use of the data you have provided within the Master of Research thesis?

この音声録音されたデータを修士論文に使うことを、最後にもう一度、皆さんに了承していただけますか。

Thank you very much for your participation and engagement with the research. If you wish to enquire about the final results of the research or have any later concerns, please contact me with the address on the information sheet

Question Schedule 2

1. Do you consent to the collection of your responses through audio recording, to be transcribed later and used in the construction of a Master of Research thesis and related works?

このインタビューを音声録音し、書きおこしをしたものを修士論文などに使うことに合意していただけますか。

- Yes (はい)
- No (いいえ)

2. Please tell me your age and place of residence within Tokyo

何歳で、今住んでいるのはどこの区市町村かを教えてください。

3. When did you first hear the word Kpop? Where were you and who were you with?

KPopという言葉をはじめて聞いたのはいつですか？どこで誰から聞きましたか？

4. How did the idea of Kpop, or even listening to it, make you feel?

KPopを聞いたり、KPopについて考えたりする時、どう感じましたか。

5. Has this feeling changed since then? If it has, why do you think so?

その後、この気持は変わりましたか？もし、そうなら、それはなぜだと思いますか？

6. What do you think are the main reasons for you feeling this way about KPop?

KPopに対する感じ方の変化に一番大きな影響を与えたのは何だと思いますか？

7. There is such a thing as “Anti-Hallyu”. Have you heard of this movement or its actions?

「嫌韓流」という言葉を聞いたことがありますか？

8. What sort of images or feelings does this group create for you?

「嫌韓流」を聞くと、どんな感じやイメージを持ちますか？

9. Around where you live, do you often see shops selling KPop merchandise? Where do you tend to see this sort of thing being sold?

住んでいる場所の近くに、KPopの製品を売っているお店をよく見ますか？どう
いう所でそういうものを売っているのをよく見ますか？

10. How long have these places sold KPop merchandise for? When do you think the area
begin to focus on this market?

いつごろからこれらの場所にKPop関連の店がありますか。いつから、その場所
がKPopに集中し始めたと思いますか？

11. Has this also changed the way you interact with the area? Do you go there more or less
often now than before?

その場所の変化につれて、自分の交流の仕方も変わりましたか？そこに行く回
数が増得ましたか、減りましたか？

12. Once again, do you consent to the collection and use of the data you have provided in
this interview?

このインタビューを終了するにあたって、お答えを研究に使うことを再度ご了
承いただけますか。

a. Yes (はい)

b. No (いいえ)

Thank you very much for your participation in my research. If you wish to enquire about
the final results of the research or have any later concerns, please contact me with the
address on the information

Appendix C: Ethics Clearance

Office of the Deputy Vice-Chancellor
(Research)

Research Office
Research Hub, Building C5C East
Macquarie University
NSW 2109 Australia
T: +61 (2) 9850 4459
<http://www.research.mq.edu.au>
ABN 90 952 801 237



17 November 2017

Dear Dr Bryce

Reference No: 5201700983

Title: *KPop: its influence on the social and spatial Tokyo landscape*

Thank you for submitting the above application for ethical and scientific review. Your application was considered by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC (Human Sciences & Humanities)).

I am pleased to advise that ethical and scientific approval has been granted for this project to be conducted by:

- Macquarie University

This research meets the requirements set out in the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* (2007 – Updated May 2015) (the *National Statement*).

Standard Conditions of Approval:

1. Continuing compliance with the requirements of the *National Statement*, which is available at the following website:

<http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/book/national-statement-ethical-conduct-human-research>

2. This approval is valid for five (5) years, subject to the submission of annual reports. Please submit your reports on the anniversary of the approval for this protocol.

3. All adverse events, including events which might affect the continued ethical and scientific acceptability of the project, must be reported to the HREC within 72 hours.

4. Proposed changes to the protocol and associated documents must be submitted to the Committee for approval before implementation.

It is the responsibility of the Chief investigator to retain a copy of all documentation related to this project and to forward a copy of this approval letter to all personnel listed on the project.

Should you have any queries regarding your project, please contact the Ethics Secretariat on 9850 4194 or by email ethics.secretariat@mq.edu.au

The HREC (Human Sciences and Humanities) Terms of Reference and Standard Operating Procedures are available from the Research Office website at:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics

The HREC (Human Sciences and Humanities) wishes you every success in your research.

Yours sincerely



Dr Karolyn White

Director, Research Ethics & Integrity,
Chair, Human Research Ethics Committee (Human Sciences and Humanities)

This HREC is constituted and operates in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council's (NHMRC) *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* (2007) and the *CPMP/ICH Note for Guidance on Good Clinical Practice*.

Details of this approval are as follows:

Approval Date: 7 November 2017

The following documentation has been reviewed and approved by the HREC (Human Sciences & Humanities):

Documents reviewed	Version no.	Date
Macquarie University Ethics Application Form		Updated version received 06/11/2017
Response addressing the issues raised by the HREC		Received 06/11/2017
Macquarie University Appendix B: Research To be Undertaken Outside Australia		Received 06/11/2017
Online advertisement for participant recruitment	1	06/11/2017
Spoken Script for in-person survey recruitment (to be spoken in Japanese)	1	06/11/2017
Information Sheet for Survey	1	06/11/2017
Information Sheet for Focus Group	1	06/11/2017
Information Sheet for Interview	1	06/11/2017
Survey Questions	1	06/11/2017
Interview questions	1	06/11/2017
Focus group questions	1	06/11/2017

***If the document has no version date listed one will be created for you. Please ensure the footer of these documents are updated to include this version date to ensure ongoing version control.**

Glossary of terms

Term	Definition	Pages found
<i>Bishōnen</i>	A Japanese term used to describe a beautiful young boy (or youth). Sometimes linked to the Korean term <i>kkonminam</i> .	9
<i>Hankagai</i>	A business or shopping district – sometimes associated with <i>sakariba</i> .	18
<i>Kkonminam</i>	A Korean term used to describe a handsome young man who takes care of their physical appearance and appears stylish and fashionable. Sometimes linked to the Japanese term <i>bishōnen</i> .	9,72
Neoliberalism, Neoliberal	First introduced to Japan through the 1993 Neoliberal reforms by then-Prime Minister of Japan, Koizumi Junichirō, Neoliberalism is the extension of the free market into all aspects of life. This includes politics, the economy, and society. These reforms were introduced when the ‘Bubble Economy’ of the 1980s collapsed in an attempt to stop the recession that ensued.	4, 11, 15, 16, 22, 37, 44, 48, 55, 68, 74, 75, 77, 79, 81
Normalisation	The integration of a foreign commodity or business into a landscape and/or economy present within a city or country, so that it follows similar marketing strategies and promotional techniques used by already-present companies and commodities.	16, 33, 34, 36, 58, 61, 62, 64-69, 78, 80, 82
<i>Sakariba</i>	A busy place or amusement quarters – sometimes associated with <i>hankagai</i> .	4, 16, 19-25, 27, 31, 32, 34, 36-39, 41, 42, 45-48, 50-53, 55, 57, 62-65, 74, 76, 78, 79
<i>Shitamachi</i>	Lit. the “lower city”, <i>shitamachi</i> refers to eastern side of metropolitan Tokyo. <i>Shitamachi</i> regions include – amongst other areas – Asakusa, Kanda, Nihonbashi and Akihabara.	19, 20, 37, 38, 39, 62, 65

<i>Yamanote</i>	The western side of metropolitan Tokyo. <i>Yamanote</i> regions include – amongst others – Shinjuku, Ikebukuro, Harajuku and Shibuya.	8, 20, 21, 23, 31-33, 36, 37, 42, 46, 56, 62-65, 69, 76, 78
<i>Yobikomi</i>	Lit. “to call in” or “invite”.	34
<i>Zainichi</i>		10, 42, 43
<i>Kankokujin, Zainichi</i>	Korean residents of Japan.	