

# On the Significance of Culinary Culture in the Cultivation of Ethno-National Identity of the Koreans Residing in Japan

Kim Jongsuk

Korea University of Japan

## Abstract

This study examines the historical trajectory of and the impetus for the selection of *bulgogi* by the Koreans residing in Japan, contextualized in Japanese history as well as vis-à-vis theories of cultural anthropology and the practice thereof. Moreover, it focuses on the cultural-economic and diachronic processes of *bulgogi's* development into a veritable ethno-national food industry amidst the influence of Japanese society upon Korean-Japanese dietary habits. Finally, the study addresses the place of Korean culinary traditions, including *bulgogi*, in education that may impart a sense of Korean ethno-nationalist consciousness in the third-, fourth-, and fifth-generation Korean-Japanese in various social spaces within Japanese society. This is so done in face of lived experiences in the attempts to solve the problem of heritage of ethno-nationalist consciousness for the Korean-Japanese people. In sum, three suggestions are forwarded: 1) In the future, it will be necessary to produce talented individuals who can cultivate ethno-nationalism through a systematic study of the culinary traditions of Korea. In addition, possibilities for extending to other grade levels the courses that are currently executed at the middle-school first-grade level must be explored; 2) Through regularly held re-education that includes research and seminars by and for the Korean-Japanese people in the food industry in not only Japan, but also in South Korea, possibilities toward a more creative, progressive culinary culture for Korean food, including *bulgogi* made of *wagyu*, Korean beef, as well as other types of beef, should be sought from the perspective of nutritional science and management systems; and 3) In sharing common goals of the disparate groups in the Korean diaspora, including the Korean-Chinese people in Yanbian, possibilities for

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collaborative research should be explored, and the problem of cultivating ethno-nationalist consciousness on foreign soil must be discussed.

Keywords: Cultivation of Ethno-Nationalist Consciousness, Korean Culinary Traditions, *Bulgogi*, Korean-Japanese, Ethno-Nationalist Education

## Prologue

Culinary tradition is a historical product continuously birthed and re-birthed by the confluence of traditional elements and new ideas vis-à-vis diachronic changes and accumulation of experience; its knowledge and diversity have developed as a result of changes and progress in face of migration and adaptation to new terroir and environs.<sup>1)</sup> In general, the realities of living in a heterogenous society and culture necessitate the simultaneous execution of, on one hand, preserving and developing the natal cultures and of, on the other hand, accepting and incorporating the value of the foreign culture in the given heterogenous society. The life of the Koreans residing in Japan can be said to have begun pre- and post-liberation of Korea from Japanese colonial rule in 1945. Consequently, the culinary culture of Koreans residing in Japan have developed through various stores of knowledge and creative activities in attempts to adapt to new and diverse life as the natural environs and social conditions changed significantly.

Today, the problem of succession of ethno-nationalism is understood to be vital in maintaining and developing Korean-Japanese society. The culinary culture of the Koreans residing in Japan occupies an important place in maintaining and developing their survival, and *bulgogi* (for ease of expression, roasted meat is indicated as *bulgogi*) and *kimchi*, arguably the dishes that symbolize Korea, have been developed by disparate storages of knowledge and creative activities.<sup>2)</sup> In particular, *bulgogi* progressed through several transformations from the time it began to be sold in small, family-run establishments to becoming the

1) Fieldhouse, Paul. *Food and Nutrition: Customs and Culture* (London; New York: Chapman and Hall, 1991).

2) Chōng, Taesōng. *Bulgogi, Kimchiwa Ilponsaram* (Tōkyō: PHP shinsho, 2004); Chōng, Taesōng. *Shokubunka no naka no Nihon to Chōsen* (Tōkyō: Kodansha Gendai Shinsho, 1999).

“representative of Japanized foreign food.”<sup>3)</sup>

This study examines the historical trajectory of and the impetus for the Korean-Japanese people’s selection of *bulgogi*, contextualized in Japanese history as well as vis-à-vis theories of cultural anthropology and the practice thereof. Moreover, it focuses on the cultural-economic and diachronic processes of *bulgogi*’s development into a veritable ethno-national food industry amidst the influence of Japanese society upon Korean-Japanese dietary habits. Finally, the study addresses the place of Korean culinary traditions, including *bulgogi*, in education that may impart a sense of Korean ethno-national consciousness in the third-, fourth-, and fifth-generation Korean-Japanese in various social spaces within Japanese society. In so doing, the study hopes to find potential solutions to the problem of instilling ethno-nationalist consciousness in the Korean-Japanese people.

## 1. History of *Bulgogi*

### a) Birth of *Bulgogi*<sup>4)</sup>

Today, the typical way to eat *bulgogi* is using charcoal fire and metal grill mesh to control and cook the meat directly on the flame. This form of cooking is relatively new; it would not be an exaggeration to argue that the Koreans residing in Japan single-handedly developed this method. The name *bulgogi* is a portmanteau of the words for fire (*bul*) and meat (*gogi*). Its use has been generalized since Korean liberation from Japanese colonial rule, until which point it had been called *teppanyaki* or *galbiyaki*.

The traditional grilled meat in Korea is derived from *maekchŏk*. “*Maek*” refers to Puyŏ in northeastern China, and “*chŏk*” refers to the process of cooking meat

3) Asakura, Toshio. *Nihon no yakiniku kankoku no sashimi* (Tōkyō: Nōsan gyoson bunka kyōkai, 1994).

4) Lee, Sŏngu. *Hanguk yori munhwasa* (P’aju: Kyomunsa, 1999); Ishige, Naomichi. *Shoku no bunka chiri* (Tōkyō, Asahi Shinbunsha, 1995); Chŏng, Taesŏng. *Bulgogi, Kimchi wa Ilponsaram* (Tōkyō: PHP shinsho, 2004).

on the skewer by exposing it directly to a heat source; it is said that meat was cooked directly atop stones that were heated to high temperatures. Thereafter, as iron began to be produced in large quantities, meat was also roasted on top of iron. Such is the origin of today's *bulgogi*, the only difference being that after the advent of the metal grill, the meat no longer needed to be skewered. According to the *Imwŏn simnyukchi* (林園十六志, *Sixteen Treatises on Economy Written in Retirement*), "As the metal grill is used nowadays, there is no longer any need for skewers." In other words, metal wire grill was already in use in the early 1800s. It is said that there was no fundamental difference between "roast (*ku'i*)" and "*chŏk*," the differentiation based only on custom.

After Buddhism was introduced in the late Three Kingdoms period (4th century), killing of animals was eventually prohibited (528 and 711 in Silla, 599 in Paekche, post-372 in Koguryŏ), and following the unification of the Three Kingdoms and into the Koryŏ Dynasty, prohibition became ever more strictly enforced (Prohibition against Killing of Animals in 968 and 988). However, after the Mongol Invasion (1231-1360), meat consumption was revived, resurrecting the traditional method of roasting meat, namely *maekchŏk*. On the Korean peninsula, where there was a dearth of livestock including cattle, consuming meat was a rarity. As such, the Mongols developed ranches for cows, horses, pigs, and sheep on the peninsula.

At present, some of the ranches remain on Jeju Island. Jeju Island was known to have favorable conditions for raising animals (Some claim that the island was being prepared for the invasion of Japan), and currently, the island is famed for horse breeding. In other words, the Mongol Invasion in the Koryŏ Dynasty brought in the systematic slaughtering methods, especially for cattle, and for cooking the disparate parts of the animal. Herein lies the essence of today's *bulgogi*. Particularly in Kaesŏng, the capital of Koryŏ, large communities of Mongolians and Muslims were formed, and roasted meat was revived in those communities by the name of *sŏryamyŏk* (雪夜覓), which lives on today as *bulgogi*. Thereafter, with the nascence of the Chosŏn Dynasty and the dominance of Confucianism, Buddhism became suppressed, and meat consumption was revived in large scale.

In *Sallim kyŏngje* (山林經濟 *Farm Management*), a cooking method is

described as follows: “In the palace at the time, beef was thinly sliced and pounded by the back of knife, seasoned with sesame oil and salt, and roasted on charcoal flame after the meat was properly marinated.” This method is similar to that of preparing *maekchōk*. The palace term for this dish was *nōbiani* (palace term denoting meat pounded thin and roasted directly on fire), which became a prototype of today's *bulgogi*. It can thus be said that through approximately 500 years of the Chosŏn Dynasty, a variety of different meat dishes were developed.

### b) Meat Consumption in Japan<sup>5)</sup>

In Japan, animals that were hunted or raised, such as cattle and pigs, were consumed in the hunter-gatherer period, and evidence (e.g. animal remains) suggests that the practice continued, with the exception of a few stages wherein meat consumption was prohibited due to continued warfare. However, due to the prohibition of killing animals as decreed during periods of Buddhist kingdomhood, it was only in the Meiji period when the Decree to Encourage Meat Consumption was proclaimed and enlightenment efforts ensued that meat began to be consumed in earnest in the open. On the other hand, records show that after regular sojourns to Japan by the Goodwill Missions of the Chosŏn Dynasty (朝鮮通信使) were established in 1607, receptions included dishes incorporating beef ribs.<sup>6)</sup> Despite its use in receptions, beef was not a common ingredient in the lives of ordinary people, and its consumption was prohibited until the Meiji Period. In fact, the representative beef dishes in Japanese cuisine, *sukiyaki* and *shabu-shabu*, were created during the Meiji Period.

As such, it can be said that there was no traditional beef dish in Japanese cuisine. As previously described, as a factor of Buddhist rule, the traditional culinary

5) Chŏng, Taesŏng. *Bulgogi, Kimchiwa Ilponsaram* (Tōkyō: PHP shinsho, 2004); Chŏng, Taesŏng. *Shokubunka no naka no Nihon to Chōsen* (Tōkyō: Kodansha Gendai Shinsho, 1999); Ōsaka Jinken Hakubutsukan. *Shokuniku no rekishi to gijutsu: Dai shijūikkai tokubetsuten shokuniku bunka shinpojiumu shiryō* (Ōsaka: Ōsaka Jinken Hakubutsukan, 1996); Ōsaka Jinken Hakubutsukan. *Shokuniku bunka* (Ōsaka: Ōsaka Jinken Hakubutsukan, 1996); Nihon Shokuniku Shōhi Sōgō Sentā. *Nihonjin to shokuniku: Shokubunka to kenkō e no kōken* (Tōkyō: Nihon Shokuniku Shōhi Sōgō Sentā, 1999).

6) Ch'ongnyŏngjungangsangimwiwŏnhoe kyogwasŏp'yŏnch'anwiwŏnhoe. *Kachōng* (Teacher's Edition) (Hagusŏbang, 2013).

culture did not include meat consumption. It was only in the early days of the Meiji Period that western cuisine was brought into Japan, and beef dishes such as *sukiyaki* began to be prepared; as such, the history of meat consumption in Japan can be viewed as being quite brief.

With the opening of the ports and the ensuing efforts toward enlightenment, the supply of western dishes, more specifically beef dishes, began to spread as a means of providing for westerners. In addition, with the development of food processing technologies (for tofu, ham, sausage, and bacon, for example) and the increase in the necessity for food storage for military use, rapid slaughter and processing of animals became paramount. Slaughtering of livestock was mainly carried out by people in the discriminated communities (被差別部落民 *hisabetsu-burakumin*) in Tokyo and Osaka. Records containing the history of these discriminated communities<sup>7)</sup> detail the number of livestock as well as the order and methods whereby horses and dead cattle were butchered. As the task of slaughtering and butchering was considered execrable, it was relegated to the low-status Japanese and the people from Chosŏn.

Naturally, most slaughterhouses were opened in the vicinity of discriminated communities. Even today, discrimination and prejudice against those who work in slaughterhouses run rampant despite the change in the moniker of slaughterhouses to “meat processing factories,” as the work is considered to be done by people of the discriminated community background. Gradually, butchered meat expanded from individual sales to a veritable meat industry, and the number of stores increased in conjunction. However, the remaining organs and entrails were not sold as products and instead disposed of as waste. In the beginning of the 1900s, the price per kilogram of beef was about 1 yen, but the price of more than 100 kg of entrails was less than 1 yen. In addition, that existing records do not include any details about dishes such as *bulgogi* leads to the reasonable conjecture that a dish similar to *bulgogi* did not exist in Japan at the time. As there was no traditional meat dish in Japan at that time, practices of preparing

7) Ōsaka Jinken Hakubutsukan. *Shokuniku no rekishi to gijutsu: Dai shijūkikai tokubetsuten shokuniku bunka shinpōjūmu shiryō* (Ōsaka: Ōsaka Jinken Hakubutsukan, 1996); Ōsaka Jinken Hakubutsukan. *Shokuniku bunka* (Ōsaka: Ōsaka Jinken Hakubutsukan, 1996).

and eating meat to satisfy the palate had to be imported from foreign countries.

After Japan colonized Chosŏn, a significant number of Koreans migrated to Japan. At the time of Korea's liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945, approximately 2 million Koreans lived in Japan, and in the confusion and hardship of the post-war period, many opened shops selling *bulgogi* made of entrails that had been treated as waste by the Japanese who did not know how to cook them. In other words, the Koreans residing in Japan at the time purchased offal at a low price, cooked it, and developed it into today's *bulgogi*. In this way, the everyday life of Chosŏn was embodied by the Koreans residing in Japan, who found ways to sustain themselves through wisdom and endeavor in face of excruciating difficulties.

Treatment of offal was outside the bounds of regulation in Japan where the history of meat consumption was brief; offal was used only in the discriminated communities, and the Korean preparation of offal by exposing it directly to flame began the *bulgogi* culture in Japan. Such is the starting point for *bulgogi* that now represents a significant aspect of the culinary culture of the Korean-Japanese people. In other words, roasted meat as a culinary tradition has continued for more than a thousand years, spanning from Koryŏ through Chosŏn to today. The Koreans who migrated to Japan after the Korean liberation from Japanese colonial rule continued the tradition by transforming beef and offal into *bulgogi*.

## 2. Korean-Japanese Society and Culture Surrounding *Bulgogi*

### a) Orientation of the Koreans Residing in Japan and the Development of *Bulgogi*<sup>8)</sup>

In Osaka in the 1920s, some Koreans owned eateries where they sold offal of

8) Chŏng, Taesŏng. *Bulgogi, Kimchiwa Ilponsaram* (Tŏkyō: PHP shinsho, 2004); Asakura, Toshio. *Nihon no yakiniku kankoku no sashimi* (Tŏkyō: Nōsan gyoson bunka kyōkai, 1994); Zai Nihon Chōsen-shō kōgyō rengō-kai. *Chōsenryōri (yakiniku) mise dokuhon, dētabukku*. 1997: 1-3, 5-60; Zai Nihon Chōsen-shō kōgyō rengō-kai. *Dōhō inshoku gyōsha kyōgi-kai katsudō ni tsuite*. 2015: 1-4, 23-27; O, Chutong. "Shūchū kōza 20-nen no rekishi." Chōsenryōri (yakiniku) mise keiei shūchū kōza dai 20-kai kinen shikiten, 2016.

cows and pigs.<sup>9)</sup> The most popular dish is said to have been offal stew. There is no documentary evidence that offal was roasted on open flame in these establishments as it is today, and most of the roasted offal consumption occurred in individual homes. Moreover, those who did consume offal were mostly either Koreans residing in Japan or people from the discriminated communities. Today, *bulgogi* is representatively prepared by cooking meat on a metal grill mesh directly over charcoal. This method is relatively new, and it is no exaggeration to say that it was developed by the Koreans residing in Japan. As such, the portmanteau *bulgogi* became popularized only after Korean liberation from Japanese colonial rule. Until then, the roasted meat and offal were referred to as *teppanyaki* or *galbiyaki*.

Post-liberation, as society and the market stabilized, Koreans in Japan gradually established and operated more Korean eateries. Though no data shows the precise location of the origin of such eateries, it is quite clear that they began to proliferate in places such as Osaka. Among such eateries, Shiktowŏn (食道園) (1946 and 1947, Tokyo, Osaka) and Myŏngwŏlgwan (明月館) in Shinjuku, Tokyo, were the most famous.

In its early days, *bulgogi* was sold in family-owned eateries as a way to prepare offal in the traditional Korean marinade and roast it, served alongside rice, *kimchi*, and seasoned vegetables. As *bulgogi* changed to include different parts and cuts of beef and differentiated marinades were developed for the disparate parts of the meat, said eateries gradually became veritable restaurants, their numbers increasing proportionally. An examination of the disparate parts of beef listed in the menus of *bulgogi* restaurants in Japan shows that most are indicated following Korean pronunciation (Table 1). Moreover, according to the quality of the disparate parts of beef, they are divided into high, mid, and low grades, the prices reflecting such quality discrepancies. Aside from beef, popular Korean dishes such as *kimchi*, seasoned vegetables, rice dishes, soups, and noodles appear on the menus. It must be noted that the *bulgogi* eaten in South Korea differs from the *bulgogi* developed by the Koreans residing in Japan in regard to the parts of beef, preparation

9) Ōsaka Jinken Hakubutsukan. *Shokumiku bunka* (Ōsaka: Ōsaka Jinken Hakubutsukan, 1996).



〈Table 1〉 From Shokuniku bunka

Names and Origins of Beef Parts			
Site	Names of the Discriminated Communities		Names in Frequently Used Today (Origins)
	Okayama	Hyogo	
Cheek	Tsurami	Sagari, Hotsupeta	Tsurami
Esophagus	Una, Kusabi	Nodogoe, nitemodoshi	Urute (Korean)
Tongue	Tan	Tan	Tan (English)
Liver	Karasu	Sujikarasu, Domo	Kimo, Reba (English)
Kidney	Semame		Mame (Soramamegata)
Heart	Kokoro	Marugimo	hāto, hatsu (English)
Lung	Fuku	Fuku	Fuku, puppugi (Korean)
Spleen	Koshi	Koshi, chire	Chire (Korean)
Stomach (1 <sup>st</sup> )	Nino	Nino	Mino
Stomach (2 <sup>nd</sup> )	Hachinosu	Kamenoyu	Hachinosu
Stomach (3 <sup>rd</sup> )	Senmai	Senmai, yayō, Indeian	Senmai
Stomach (4 <sup>th</sup> )	Akabi	Akahiko	Akasen
Large/Small Intestines	Shiro, Obi, Hyakuhiro	Futomomo, Honhimo, hyakuhimo	Tecchyan (Korean)
Diaphragm surroundings			Harami
Brain	Nori	Nori	Nou
Tail	O	O	Tēru (English)

methods, and ways of eating; following Korean liberation from Japanese colonial rule, the Koreans residing in Japan exported their version of *bulgogi* to North and South Korea, a version referred to as Japanese *bulgogi* that has since become extremely popular.

In the late 1970s and into 1980s, the style of *bulgogi* restaurants began their transformation. As the quality of the Japanese beef (*wagyu*) was enhanced dramatically, many establishments became high-end. In addition, in order to express the characteristics of each restaurant more prominently, interior designs became extremely modern, service was dramatically improved, and whole animals rather than parts were procured. With the impact of the economic boom and the Equal Employment Opportunity Act in Japan, women began to enter the workforce

in increasing numbers; as such, attracting female customers became a focal point for many *bulgogi* restaurants, which responded to such social advancement of women with stroller-friendly, health-conscious, and high-quality orientation. In this context, the advent of the “smokeless grill” expanded the mass appeal of *bulgogi*, leading to a breakthrough for the industry. It is no surprise then that the smokeless grill is referred to as a revolution. In other words, by solving the problem of the odor of roasting meat, especially the odor clinging to clothes, *bulgogi* restaurants could attract more women and high-end clientele.

After Japan's economic bubble burst in the 1990s, however, diversification of consumer demand, price disruption, liberalization of imported beef, Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy (Mad Cow Disease) disturbance, and pathogenic *E. coli* 0-157 became fodder for efforts to improve awareness to ensure food safety. Compounding the problem were large conglomerates entering the industry, lowering sales in establishments operated by individuals and Korean-Japanese owners. It therefore became necessary to create strategies such as conferences and document compilation to overcome this crisis. As is well known, the Korean food industry represents the largest industry for the Koreans residing in Japan and, as such, is the important industry in Korean-Japanese society.

It can be said that the *bulgogi* industry was born in the turmoil immediately after liberation and is legitimately a Korean ethno-national industry that has been developed by the impetus of the Koreans residing in Japan. In 1993, the commercial statistics of the Japanese Trade Ministry began to take *bulgogi* restaurants into consideration for the first time; the count showed 17,700 such establishments. This symbolizes the solid placement of *bulgogi* within the statistics of the Japanese government and a culmination of the perseverance of the first-generation Korean-Japanese restaurant owners in a difficult climate.

### 3. Korean Food, *Bulgogi* Restaurants, and the Coalition for Korean-Japanese Commerce and Industry<sup>10)</sup>

As the Korean food industry (the largest industry for Koreans residing in Japan) was born immediately upon the Korean liberation from Japanese colonial rule and its size grew rapidly, systematic aid became necessary. To protect the right of business activities of Korean-Japanese merchants and effectively solve various problems that arise in management, the Coalition for Korean-Japanese Commerce and Industry was founded on February 26, 1946. The formation of this coalition enabled the Korean-Japanese merchants to protect their livelihood and business rights on foreign soil. Two of the most distinctive activities of the Coalition are the establishment of the Korean Food Industry Management Seminar and the publication of the data books for the Textbook on Korean (*Bulgogi*) Restaurants.<sup>11)</sup>

The Coalition for Korean-Japanese Commerce and Industry began with the planning of the Korean Food Industry Management Seminar in 1981, organized the first Korean Food Industry Management Seminar on June 14, 1989, and held the first annual Seminar on Management of *Bulgogi* Restaurants in 1997. At the twentieth anniversary ceremony of the first annual Seminar on Management of *Bulgogi* Restaurants (November 20, 2016), O Chutong, the chairman of the Coalition for Korean-Japanese Commerce and Industry at the time, said, “One of our most important accomplishments is the intensive seminars, which for twenty-two years manifested our passion for Korean cuisine and, in particular, the *bulgogi* industry, an industry that was developed by the first-generation Korean-Japanese merchants. It was a process that overflowed with a strong conviction and a sense of duty to constantly achieve positive development. In addition, it was a meaningful process that formed and advanced a strong economic network among us Koreans residing in Japan, a historical significance that further enhanced the overall quality of the industry.”<sup>12)</sup>

10) Zai Nihon Chōsen-shō kōgyō rengō-kai. *Chōsenryōri (yakiniku) mise dokuhon, dētabukku*. 1997: 1-3, 5-60; Zai Nihon Chōsen-shō kōgyō rengō-kai. *Dōhō inshoku gyōsha kyōgi-kai katsudō ni tsuite*. 2015: 1-4, 23-27; O, Chutong. “Shūchū kōza 20-nen no rekishi.” Chōsenryōri (yakiniku) mise keiei shūchū kōza dai 20-kai kinen shikiten, November 20, 2016.

11) Zai Nihon Chōsen-shō kōgyō rengō-kai. *Chōsenryōri (yakiniku) mise dokuhon, dētabukku*. 1997: 1-3, 5-60.

In addition, the Coalition for Korean-Japanese Commerce and Industry executed surveys on the actual conditions of Korean food and *bulgogi* and questionnaires for consumers, as well as published the data books for the Textbook on Korean (*Bulgogi*) Restaurants, which liaise experience and research, in September 1997. The survey involved 1,000 customers who visited Korean restaurants in the Kansai region in 1994. Furthermore, in order to grasp the needs of diverse customers more accurately, the results of surveys involving 2,120 consumers in thirty-five prefectures in Japan were analyzed, and numerous other factors including the criteria for choosing to patronize *bulgogi* restaurants and preferred items on the menu were listed in detail and divided by sex and age. A survey was also conducted on owners of Korean restaurants, involving 184 people from thirty-nine prefectures in Japan; it aimed to delineate the prices and popular items, particularly the prices of *galbi*, the flagship item on the menus at *bulgogi* restaurants, to find effective ways to attract customers, particularly based on comparisons between the well-to-do and the wavering restaurants.

Based on these analyses, characteristics of the *bulgogi* restaurants were more clearly identified, and directions to overcome and succeed in a hyper-competitive environment were suggested. Such data represent the first analytical document, stemming from in-depth understanding and ethno-nationalist consciousness of the Korean-Japanese business owners all over Japan, that incorporated research involving 7,333 customers and 589 business owners. Thereafter, the data served as crucial documentary cornerstone for the development of Korean food and management for Korean restaurant owners.<sup>13)</sup>

In such a way, *bulgogi* grew economically and managerially from the means by which the Koreans residing in Japan sustained their livelihoods through various stores of knowledge and endeavors. The number of *bulgogi* restaurants increased exponentially as a result, and the advent of high-quality Japanese beef, *wagyu*, led to the current moniker “Japanese *bulgogi*.” In other words, *bulgogi* is at once

12) O, Chutong. “Shūchū kōza 20-nen no rekishi.” Chōsenryōri (yakiniku) mise keiei shūchū kōza dai 20-kai kinen shikiten, 2016.

13) Zai Nihon Chōsen-shō kōgyō rengō-kai. Dōhō inshoku gyōsha kyōgi-kai katsudō ni tsuite. 2015: 1-4, 23-27.

a culinary tradition that has continued to thrive and a product of the historical process wherein tradition enmeshed with innovative ideas in a new environment, namely Japan.

#### 4. Cultivation of Ethno-Nationalist Consciousness in Koreans Residing in Japan and the Significance of Food Education<sup>14)</sup>

##### a) Entrenchment of Dietary Habits

Social and cultural lives comprise the most significant elements in the growth of a human being, and among such elements, dietary habits are especially important. This is because among all facets of food culture (eating, cooking, tradition, *et cetera*), dietary habits can be seen as the most meaningful behavior as, in practice, they are habituated through the reiteration of quotidian environs. Moreover, such a process is a historical product formed by the amalgamation of old traditions and new ideas, born of the accumulation of vast knowledge and experience. As such, it is crucial to acquire necessary knowledge and technique to not only maintain health but also learn socialization and everyday culture.

It is believed that the foundation of dietary habits begins at infancy; habits ingrained during this period generally remain resistant to external pressures toward change. In other words, it can be said that it is particularly important to encourage a healthy lifestyle and eating habits in children, as their entire lives are likely to be influenced by such practices; this process describes the entrenchment of habits in early childhood. As children grow and garner a range of experiences, many factors can either complement one another or create inconsistencies.

For example, eating habits acquired in the home are not easily changed even when they are negated in public spaces such as schools and by other external

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14) Fieldhouse, Paul. *Food and Nutrition: Customs and Culture* (London; New York: Chapman and Hall, 1991); Chōng, Taesōng and Naomichi Ishige. *Shokubunka nyūmon* (Tōkyō: Kodansha Scientific, 1997); Kishii, Isao, ed., *Kodomo no shoku to eiyō*. Dō bunsho-in, 2011; Zenkoku Shakai Fukushi Kyōgikai. *Kodomo no shoku to eiyō* (Tōkyō: Zenkoku Shakai Fukushi Kyōgikai, 2015); Ch'oe, Sōnghak. "Chungguk chosōnjokūi minjok kyoyuk." *Journal of Korea University*, v. 27 (2017): 36-46.

pressures because habits acquired in the home have primacy. As infants and toddlers cannot choose for themselves the types of food that may benefit them, they have to rely on adults to make the right decision. It follows then that what adults eat provides an important lesson for children in developing their ability to choose food in the future. Witnessing and mimicking what adults eat become fodder for the experience of consuming new foods.

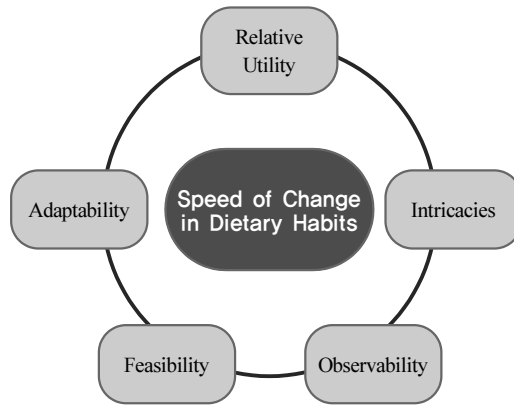
On the other hand, re-entrenchment of habits is also possible. In particular, culture is acquired not on an individual but on a collective basis, and as such, can be said to be more effective in group settings; habits acquired in the home can be further strengthened when those habits are confirmed and recognized in schools, for example. Moreover, it is said that varieties of information on and advertisements about food are highly effective. Once an experience proves successful, it becomes easily entrenched as habit. In other words, advertisements about food framed according to corporate strategies formulated for specific markets may prove much more effective than the actual experience of eating and other traditional behaviors. It can be said that the re-entrenchment is ultimately achieved by incorporating education as a tool to not only disseminate the value of food, but also add sociocultural and psychological meaning. One factor to consider in re-entrenchment is that in acquiring new dietary habits, the market strategies of the food industry may prove more influential than experience and traditional behavior.

### **b) Background of the Intensification of the Importance of Food Education in Japan<sup>15)</sup>**

In everyday culture, dietary habits may either be resistant to rapid change or change dramatically. The speed of change is influenced by various factors related to the nature of the dietary habits as well as the characteristics of the society in which they are received (Figure 1). As such, the relevance of characteristics of change to eating habits can be summarized as follows: 1. Relative Utility (the greater the perception that a change is relatively influential, the faster the

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15) Fieldhouse, Paul. *Food and Nutrition: Customs and Culture* (London; New York: Chapman and Hall, 1991).



〈Figure 1〉 Speed of and reasons for change in dietary habits

acceptance rate); 2. Adaptability (The degree to which the target to be changed is correlated with the values and demands of a given society); 3. Intricacies (the degree of difficulty felt by the agents under the influence of change in regards to the understanding and implementation of the change); 4. Feasibility (potential to implement the change in question within the bounds of real conditions; and 5. Observability (the degree to which the result of change is visible to human beings). Among these factors, the greater the relative utility and adaptability, the faster the speed of change.

In such a context, it is inevitable that the younger generations change according to the trends birthed by the dissemination of information and advertisements by corporations, in conjunction with the family unit, infiltration of the Western-style diet, economic progress, and scientific and cultural factors including food processing, distribution, and energy problems. Embroiled in such a rapid flux in dietary habits in the sixty years following the end of WWII, Japan enacted the Basic Law on Dietary Education in 2005.<sup>16)</sup> The preamble to this law states, “In order for children to grow healthily and habituate the strength for survival, diet is of utmost importance. Currently, food education is the basis of not only life, but also cultivation of knowledge, virtue, and physical well-being. Acquiring the

16) Kim, Chŏng-il. “ilsimtankyŏltoen wiryŏk’ūro ch’ongnyŏn aekuksaŏp ūl himch’ake chŏnchin sik’icha.” *Chae Ilbon Chosŏnin Undong Kwa Ch’ongnyŏn ūi Immu* (P’yŏngyang: Chosŏn Nodongdang Ch’ulp’ansa, 2000).

knowledge of and the power to choose through various experiences is demanded in the development of healthy dietary habits and people who practice such habits. Each Japanese citizen must enhance his or her understanding of food and deepen his or her consciousness, thereby embodying the ability to make appropriate decisions based on factual sources on food. Moving forward, our task will be to actively promote food education within the home, schools, daycares, and local communities at their center in order to practice a healthy diet that promotes health in both the mind and the body.”

In this way, the Basic Law on Dietary Education emphasizes the place of food in raising healthy children and defines food education as the basis of cultivating knowledge, virtue, and physical health. It can be extrapolated that the law was enacted in response to concerns over the social disintegration that may ensue the collapse of food education. In particular, it emphasizes that the food education during early childhood wields great influence on the growth of body and mind and the formation of personality, serving as the basis for creating abundant lives. The background of this law includes phenomena such as the increase in the lifestyle-related diseases such as obesity through irregular eating, expansion of western-style cuisine causing poor dietary habits and displacing culinary traditions, food safety issues, and an attenuation in the rate of self-sufficiency.

On the other hand, these issue was revisited with the aim of reaching solutions based on collective power of community, society, and nation. The attenuation of rituals, necessity, and significance of eating in conjunction with the lessened meaning in the existence of the nuclear family is considered a grave problem. Particularly noteworthy is the early establishment of dietary habits, the importance of which has been anecdotally as well as academically supported.<sup>17)</sup> Originally, the family unit is a micro-society wherein quotidian habit formation in regard to food, clothing, and shelter, education, and labor takes place. Among these elements, dietary habits and the habituation of tradition should receive much attention.

Since the 1960s, the rapid growth of the Japanese economy has precipitated and

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17) Kishii, Isao, ed., *Kodomo no shoku to eiyō*. Dō bunsho-in, 2011; Zenkoku Shakai Fukushi Kyōgikai. *Kodomo no shoku to eiyō* (Tōkyō: Zenkoku Shakai Fukushi Kyōgikai, 2015).



established intense concentration of population in urban areas and along with it, the transformation of the family unit from the extended to the nuclear. The increase in the number of households has meant an expansion of the food service industry, as the nuclearization of the family unit has intensified the need for dining out.

### c) Necessity for Education of Dietary Habits in the Korean-Japanese, Organization, and Ethno-Nationalist Consciousness<sup>18)</sup>

In the course of seventy years following Korean liberation from Japanese colonial rule, Koreans residing in Japan have been significantly affected by Japanese society, culture, life, and values; realities of life in a foreign society birth the dichotomy between the desire to preserve the value of natal culture and the realities of the need to absorb heterogeneous cultural elements for survival. Instillation of dietary habits in the Korean-Japanese family has also been at once heavily affected by the Japanese social landscape and resistance to the Japanese assimilation policies.

In this context, food education in the Korean-Japanese home was carried out by the first-generation at the center to promote an understanding of the Korean identity. However, the gradual emergence of third-, fourth-, and fifth-generation Koreans residing in Japan has palpably highlighted the importance of ethno-nationalist consciousness and its education amidst social, political, and cultural influence, changes in the family form and values, and the rapid expansion of the nuclear family. In yesteryear as well as today, the work of successfully cultivating ethno-nationalist consciousness in Japan must be executed consciously and systematically by the Korean-Japanese themselves, as Japanese society is unlikely to focus its attention toward this end.

At present, the General Association of Koreans Residing in Japan carries out a variety of charity work to promote the wellness of the Korean-Japanese people, with the Association's branches spread throughout the disparate prefectures. Some

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18) Ch'oe, Yōngt'ae, "Widaehan ryōngdoja Kim Chōng-il tongjiūi hyōnmyōnghan ryōngdo mit'e Chosōn minjok yorirūl palchōnshik'iki wihan t'uchaeng." *Yōksa kwahak*, no. 4 (2002): 13-14; Ch'ongnyōnjungangsangimwiwōnhoe kyogwasōp'yōnch'anwiwōnhoe. *Kachōng* (Teacher's Edition) (Hagusōbang, 2013); Kim, Chōngsuk. *Chosōnsikkhaeng* (Chosōn taehakkyo kukjekyoryu wiwōhoe, 2017).

of the most noteworthy activities include facilitating adaptation for the first-generation and transforming the Korean-Japanese schools as the center of diverse activities. On many occasions, Korean food, including bulgogi, is served to people ranging from children to the elderly first-generation.

In particular, when events take place at our school, the parents' organizations and other Korean-Japanese prepare and provide Korean food. Although our students do not receive systematic food education, experiencing such events offers a natural opportunity to gain exposure to Korean food from a young age. However, the lack of opportunity for a systematic education of culinary traditions is a decisive weakness that calls for a solidification of education on the basis of knowledge and practice. The courses on preparing Korean food at our school are executed at the undergraduate level in the Department of Life Sciences and partially in home economics classes at the middle-school first-grade level.

Home economics classes at the middle-school first-grade level have been conducted since 2013, when textbooks were amended. The main contents updated in the dietary life section are as follows: 1. Students should reflect upon their dietary habits, acquire basic knowledge necessary for self-reliance in dietary habits, and understanding the connection between dietary habits and health so as to realize healthy, balanced eating independently; 2. Students must understand the process of producing food consumed in everyday life and obtain knowledge crucial for choosing and preparing food; 3. Students will be able to understand the amount of energy and nutrients needed for middle school students and acquire basic knowledge of and skills for cooking; and 4. Students learn about the characteristics of Korean food and the culinary traditions. In relation to the fourth, in particular, hands-on experience is offered by cooking segments in tandem with lectures on elements of traditional Korean food such as marinade, *kimchi*, pancakes, steamed casseroles, and seasoned vegetables.<sup>19)</sup>

In the Department of Life Sciences at Korea University (of Japan), courses on food were established in 2003, and since then, have been held for 2 hours every week. Approximately 60% of courses are related to Korean food, and the number

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19) Ch'ongnyŏnjungangsangimwiwŏnhoe kyogwasŏp'yŏnch'anwiwŏnhoe. *Kachŏng* (Teacher's Edition) (Hagusŏbang, 2013).

of dishes stands north of seventy. Starting in 2011, courses on preparing Korean food using the ingredients obtained in Korea during the period for learning about the homeland have been held; in 2012 and 2013, they were held at the Association for Korean Cuisine, and in 2014, 2015, and 2016, at the Chang Ch'ölgu P'yöngyang University of Commerce. The courses seek to incorporate ingredients commonly used in Korean food, such as pollack, mung beans, potatoes, bean sprouts, and pine mushrooms. Furthermore, the course invites instructors from the Association for Korean Cuisine, the Chang Ch'ölgu P'yöngyang University of Commerce to facilitate the knowledge of cooking techniques for Korean culinary specialties and traditional cuisine. Meanwhile, Korea University (of Japan) has offered a course called "The Culinary Culture of Korea" for undergraduate students since 2017.

## 5. Moving Forward<sup>20)</sup>

At the international symposium commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of Korea University (of Japan), Associate Professor Kim Yong-tae said, "Our institution places at the forefront the growth of Korean people with strong bodies, scientific knowledge, and skills essential for understanding and embodying not only our subjective and objective realities, but also our socio-historical destiny: that we are the propellers of our own fate as Korean people. With such lofty goals as our ideological foundation, Korea University is the living history of Korean schools and a concrete manifestation of decolonization and ethno-national identity realized vis-à-vis Korean schools."<sup>21)</sup>

20) Kim, Il-söng. "Uri minjok üi taedan'gyöl üi iruk haja." *Kim Il-söng Chöjakchip* (P'yöngyang: Chosön Nodongdang Ch'ulp'ansa, 1979); Kim, Chöng-il. "Hyöngmyöng kwa könsöl esö chuch'esöng kwa minjoksö ng üi kosu hal te taehayö." *Kim Chöng-il Sönjip* (P'yöngyang: Chosön Nodongdang Ch'ulp'ansa, 1992); Kim, Chöng-il. "ilsimtankyöltoen wiryök'üro ch'ongnyön aekuksaöp üi himch'ake chönchin sik'icha." *Chae Ilbon Chosönin Undong Kwa Ch'ongnyön üi Immu* (P'yöngyang: Chosön Nodongdang Ch'ulp'ansa, 2000); Kim, Chiwön and Sünggil Pak. *Minsökümshikkwa siksaeŋghwal* (P'yöngyang: P'yöngyang ch'ulp'ansa, 2015); Kim, Yongtae, "Chaeil chosönin üi minjok kyoyuk kwa chosön taehakkyo: ilponchöngpu e üihan t'anap üi mokchök kwa supöp, onül üi yangsang." *Journal of Korea University*, v. 27 (2017): 12-23; Ch'oe, Sönghak. "Chungguk chosönjoküi minjok kyoyuk." *Journal of Korea University*, v. 27 (2017): 36-46; Im Mija, Hansik Chaedan. *Yönbyön Chosönjok chönt'ong ümsik üi tamda* (Söul T'ükpyölsi: Wölgan Siktang, 2017).

In addition, Professor Ch'oe Sŏnghak of Yanbian University pointed out that, as one of the educational reform and development plans for the Korean-Chinese people, more diverse forms should be introduced within the confines of ethno-culture education. Professor Choi then explained that he learned how to make approximately ten Korean dishes, including *kimchi*, potato pancakes, and *kimbab*, at the Li Sŏkch'ae Primary School for Ethnic Koreans in Fushin, Liaoning Province, and later set up courses on cooking Korean food. He also asserted that in such a way, it is possible cultivate Korean culture and ethno-nationalist consciousness even under the dominance of the Han-Chinese culture.<sup>22)</sup>

In the seventy years since its defeat in WWII, Japan has undergone a dramatic transformation by promoting Americanization and Westernization in various fields, including politics, economy, and culture, owing to the open-door policy implemented under internationalization and globalization. At the same time, the issue of Korean residents in Japan arose in the context of the historical relationship between Korea and Japan, inextricably intertwined with each other.

In the meantime, Koreans residents of Japan will continue to take advantage of favorable terms and conditions to make the most of Korean culture by assimilating the positive characteristics of Japanese and other foreign culinary cultures to develop ever-more creative dishes and restaurants. In so doing, a Korean culinary culture based on the convergence between the traditional and the new may be discovered. For such a goal to be achieved, talented people who cultivate techniques for preparing Korean food based on their clear understanding, as independent subjects, of the identity of the Korean people must be fostered. The potential for such development may be found in ethno-nationalist education and organizations; only when there is a plethora of opportunities for acquiring theoretical and practical knowledge, experience, and skills in regard to Korean food and culinary culture will the potential increase.

What has been discussed thus far and the potential for development in terms of the significance of culinary culture in fostering ethno-national consciousness are

21) Kim, Yongtae. "Chaeil chosŏnin ūi minjok kyoyuk kwa chosŏn taehakkyo: ilponchŏngpu e ūihan t'anap ūi mokchŏk kwa supŏp, onŭl ūi yangsang." *Journal of Korea University*, v. 27 (2017): 12-23.

22) Ch'oe, Sŏnghak. "Chungguk chosŏnjokŭi minjok kyoyuk." *Journal of Korea University*, v. 27 (2017): 36-46.

summarized below.

- 1) Ethno-nationalist education must incorporate theoretical, practical, and systematic learning of Korean food and culinary culture as part of a larger endeavor to foster talented individuals. The possibility of expanding the curriculum currently executed at the middle-school first-grade level to all other grade levels as well as establishing private lessons and adjacent subjects should be examined.
- 2) Seminars and training involving the Korean-Japanese people working in the food industry and works by food researchers must be conducted regularly not only in Japan, but also in Korea, thereby enabling the discovery of possibilities for development of creative Korean food, including *bulgogi* made of *wagyu* as well as Korean beef, from the perspective of nutritional science and management. Additionally, sharing common problems experienced by the disparate groups in the Korean diaspora including the Korean-Chinese in Yanbian should be aimed at discussing the issue of cultivating ethno-nationalist consciousness in foreign land and looking for possibilities of collaborative research.
- 3) Active promotion of Korean culinary traditions and culture is inevitable for people who hope to live more abundant, healthy lives; the flood of globalization that has pushed numerous culinary traditions all over the world to the brink of extinction has further illuminated the significance of this problem of preservation. The desire to better understand and more actively encourage Korean culinary traditions is a requirement for Koreans in their love for their nation and tradition.

Moving forward, the era of differentiation will become ever-more prominent, and the world of Bulgogi is no exception. In it, differentiation will enhance quality and price, advancing the Bulgogi industry toward a comprehensive industry that satisfies the senses by way of art and production. This is possible because of the

special conditions of Japan (the importation of multinational food cultures) and its economic environment. In the future, taking advantage of such beneficial conditions will enable, by developing creative dishes and restaurants, the discovery of an innovative Korean culinary culture that converges the traditional and the new.

Today, *bulgogi* and *kimchi* have become part and parcel of Japanese cuisine due to mass consumption in the Japanese food industry. Moving forward, as Koreans residing in Japan—the creators of *bulgogi* through wisdom, efforts, and creativity—continue to manifest their passion and creativity, yet another “*Bulgogi* Revolution” will be waiting.

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