UNIVERZITA KARLOVA

FAKULTA HUMANITNÍCH STUDIÍ

Integrální studium člověka – Obecná antropologie

**Colonial urban heritage and city images in East Asia:
Case study of Kobe and Incheon**

Disertační práce

Alexandra Zimt

Vedoucí práce: PhDr. Marek Halbich, Ph.D.

Praha 2021

Prohlašuji, že jsem předkládanou práci zpracoval/a samostatně a použil/a jen uvedené prameny a literaturu. Současně dávám svolení k tomu, aby tato práce byla zpřístupněna v příslušné knihovně UK a prostřednictvím elektronické databáze vysokoškolských kvalifikačních prací v repozitáři Univerzity Karlovy a používána ke studijním účelům v souladu s autorským právem. Zároveň prohlašuji, že práce nebyla využita k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu.

V Praze dne: Alexandra Zimt

Acknowledgments

Abstract

This paper studies two former treaty ports, Kobe in Japan and Incheon (Chemulpo) in South Korea following the scholarship of Jennifer Robinson (2006) in building social scientific knowledge upon case studies of the so-called "ordinary cities". Using a "bricolage" of sub-fields of social anthropology and research techniques, the study focuses on the built remnants from the colonial period in the two cities and their perceived image to further develop on ethnographies of *sensescapes* and post-colonialism.

The present study is an addition to the scholarship of urban anthropology through tracing out the formations of personal images of a city among their inhabitants, emic perceptions of "danger" and "oldness" in relation to built environments in Japan and South Korea and discussing the relevance of post-colonial sensibilities for place image creation.

Keywords: urban anthropology, socio-cultural anthropology, collective memory, city branding, city image, post-colonialism, settler urban heritage, Japan, South Korea

Table of Contents

1   Introduction

Cities have been recognized as a prime locus for building up social science theory. From public policy analysis to urban anthropology, urban environments offer (field) research laboratories on the contemporary human experience. My thesis aims to be an addition to the scholarship of urban anthropology through tracing out the formations of personal images of a city among their inhabitants, emic perceptions of "danger" and "oldness" in relation to built environments in Japan and South Korea and discussing the relevance of post-colonial sensibilities for place image creation.

My study is built upon two case studies of former treaty ports, Kobe in Japan and Chemulpo (Incheon) in South Korea. This choice was motivated by several factors.

First, both cities are presently of comparable size and both were a treaty port with a foreign Settlement. Second, they also offer interesting comparison as a city in the metropolis (Kobe) and colonies (Incheon) of the former Japanese colonial Empire (1895-1945) in the vein of Jane Jacob's (1996) studies on the post-colonial cities of the former British Empire. Third, both cities have an extant built remnants dating from the treaty port and colonial periods. When speaking about individual buildings, I will use the term "heritage houses".

Fourth, Jennifer Robinson (2006) coined the term "ordinary cities" in her turn of urban policy research, pleading for study of wider array of case studies from cities smaller in size and located outside of the "West" in order to post-colonize urban studies, since "the distinctiveness and diversity of ordinary cities might influence understandings of urban policy." (Robinson 2006, 149). I carried out my urban anthropological research in this vein, focusing on two "ordinary cities", that are "ordinary" in within their respective countries in the present, but also "ordinary" in the framework of (post)colonial urban studies in the Far East, since the previous scholarship tends to focus on the "global" cities of Tokyo / Osaka and Seoul with only a handful of studies dedicated to either Kobe or Incheon.

I have spent six months in Kobe in between October 2016 – March 2017 and four months in Incheon in between April 2017 – July 2017. I have also came back to the field for roughly two months in between August – September 2018.

Research in urban anthropology remains as such heavily interdisciplinary, therefore my own study is a *bricolage* endeavor borrowing from anthropology of policy, urban planning, social geography, historical anthropology, classical ethnography, anthropology of senses, anthropology of tourism and food, post-colonial studies and collective memory. My research and analysis has been articulated alongside the following questions:

Is it possible to apply the settler urban legacy framework onto built forms in the open ports of Kobe and Chemulpo (Incheon)? How do the built remnants in contemporary Kobe and Incheon enter into the city images their inhabitants have about the city? What do the inhabitants of said cities think about these remnants, what signifiers they associate with them? What do the personal images and individual landscapes of a city contain? How is the "old" buildings and areas perceived in Kobe and Incheon? Do post-colonial sensibilities exist vis-à-vis the "heritage houses" and are they relevant to their general perception by the locals? What other elements influence the image of a city or an area?

In Chapter 2, I will provide necessary historical background on the colonialism of the late 19th century, on the beginnings of the Japanese colonial Empire, on open port system in general, to finish on the history and present practice of heritage management in Japan and South Korea.

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical background and summarizes methodological challenges to fieldwork in contemporary Japan and South Korea.

In Chapter 4, I outline in more detail the establishment and evolution of the foreign Concession in the open ports of Kobe and Chemulpo (Incheon) and briefly map their evolution into the present. Later in the Chapter, I debate the urban forms from Kobe and Chemulpo in the framework of "settler urban legacies" coined by Anthony D. King, to finish on the present-day state of the built remains from the open port periods in Kobe and Incheon, including personal reasons of some actors to preserve them. I explain here the coining of the term "heritage houses".

Chapter 5 is dedicated to the urban ethnographies of contemporary Kobe and Incheon with regards to the city images. We will thus begin with the general, "snapshot" image my informants had about

"their" city, then move onto more detailed descriptions of the specific city areas I asked my informants about. Further, we will see the processes of how preferred downtown areas moved around the city and what are the preferred residence types and locations. Aside of familiarizing us better with the basics of everyday urban landscapes in the two cities, the Chapter will lay out foundations for further exploration of the interlinks in between social time, (collective) memory and collective and personal images of a city creation.

Chapter 6 details public events in Kobe and Incheon pertaining to collective memory and city image creation, the periodical Kobe Luminarie and the Incheon's Hwadojin Festival, as well as the one-time 150 Y anniversary celebrations of the Port of Kobe of 2017, to finish on the phenomenon of stamp rallies as an image-creation instrument of local public policy and a research tool in urban ethnography.

In Chapter 7, I draw a different picture of the landscapes of Kobe and Incheon from the point of view of sensual anthropology, presenting the emotional *sensescapes* of my informants in regard to perceived danger in the city, to what in the city sparks good, positive emotions in them – or "what feels good about a city or an area?" – and what inspires disinterest.

Chapter 8 follows up on Chapters 5-7 and details the different, conflicting images and meanings of "old" in relation to urban and built environment, raging from the perceptions of "old" things as uninteresting, through the association of "oldness" with "danger" over to the "old" as "exotic" and the rise of popularity of "retro" and nostalgia for the imaginary past, embodied (not) only in the Japanese concept of *furusato*. These emic perceptions of "old" are related to the images and perceptions of the built remnants from the treaty port and colonial periods in Kobe and Incheon.

In Chapter 9, I pause on the issue of (the absence of) a post-colonial discourse among my informants in relation to the "heritage houses" and put it into a wider context of the post-colonial contentions in between Japan and South Korea.

In Chapter 10, I explore alternative constituent factors of images of a city or an area, the role of pop culture and food tourism in relation to my case studies; they also serve as alternative prisms of understanding of the "heritage houses" in present to the lens of post-coloniality.

I end this thesis with a Discussion on the relevance of "institutional discourses about urban space" (Jacobs 1996, 9) for ethnographic research and data production, the dangers of overlooking non-

engaged citizens as relevant informants and the drawbacks of focusing on engagement and struggle in social science research design.

In the first plan, my study presents incremental findings on the conceptualization of the settler urban legacies, on the parallels of how collective and communicative memory is constituted versus how collective and personal images of a city / area form and are preserved. We also bring new understandings of the complex emic perceptions of "oldness" in relation to urban environment.

In the second plan, we examine how "ordinary cities" of Incheon and Kobe could contribute to the debate on post-colonialism and the city and on how urban ethnography can serve in phenomenological research on "basic" socio-cultural concepts such as sense of danger and "oldness" while bringing insights on said conceptualizations from outside of the "Western" perspectives.

2 Historical and Theoretical Background

2.1 Colonialism in East Asia: A Brief Introduction or Geopolitics of Japan and Korea During the Colonial Period

The treaty port era that was the origin of the foreign settlements in Kobe and Chemulpo (Incheon) falls into the worldwide height of the colonial period of the late 19th century. The Tokugawa Japan and the Chosŏn Korea both practiced heavy isolationist policies at that time. Another characteristic they had in common was weakening of the central government power, internal political struggle and various degrees of power vacuum. In short, they looked like a good target for new colonies or merchant outposts. Indeed, both Japan and Korea opened under military pressure to foreign trade and settlement in 1854 and 1876 respectively. In 1890s, Japan transforms itself into a colonizing power in its own right.

Worldwide, the second half of the 19th century is the "apogée of the new imperialism" (Myers and Peattie 1984, 6) when political maps change dramatically as the merchant companies give way to nation-states as the primary actors of colonial conquest (see next Chapter). In 1858, India becomes incorporated into the British Empire as British Raj and in the same year, The French and the Spanish launch the Cochinchina Campaign in South East Asia. Austria looks for expansion in the late 19th century, as well as does the independent USA. The same goes for newly consolidated European nations, the Italians and the Germans who settled their internal affairs by the early 1870s and emerged as centralized nation-states with colonial aspirations. For our two case studies of Kobe and Incheon, the Westerners involved were the British, the French, the Americans, the Germans, the Austrians and the Russians in Korea, Italians didn't seem much interested in the treaty ports of Kobe or Chemulpo.

The first pressure onto Japan to allow for full-scale foreign trade came from the USA in 1852–1854 when Commodore Perry instituted a naval blockade in Edo Bay. The incident became known as the "Black Ships" (*kurofune*) in Japan. It resulted in the signature of the Japan–US Treaty of Peace and Amity a.k.a Kanagawa Treaty in 1854 which allowed for establishment of open ports in Shimoda (in

Shizuoka) and Hakodate (in Hokkaido). Soon after, in 1868, the Tokugawa Shogunate was abolished in favor of the restoration of the Emperor as leader of the country, the so-called Meiji Restoration[1].

---

[1]

The nature of the *bakumatsu* means that there still was an Emperor on the Chrysanthemum Throne in Kyoto, however, his role was limited to ceremonial actions. The state rule was executed by the Shogun as the leader of the military, residing in Edo (Tokyo). The *bakumatsu* system of the Tokugawa shoguns was not the first time this political arrangement happened in Japan, however, the Edo Period (the rule of the Tokugawa shoguns, 1603-1867) was the only one in modern history.

Attempts to open up Korea in a similar manner of gunship diplomacy resulted in failures of both the French and US interventions off the coast of Ganghwa Island and the Chemulpo Bay (Roux 2012), with the Japanese eventually succeeding in 1876, following up with the Ganghwa Treaty the same year. The Japanese move towards Korea testifies to the important political change that was under way in the Meji politics and administration. The Meiji government understood since the beginning of the restoration the need for substantial modernizing reform of the country if it wanted to keep its sovereignty vis-à-vis the Western colonial powers. Mark R. Peattie comments in the introduction of the pivotal book *The Japanese Colonial Empire*: *"Given the self-evident connection between power and territorial expansion, it was not surprising that Japan rapidly moved from concern with national survival toward national assertiveness beyond its own shoreline."* (Myers and Peattie 1984, 7) Korea was identified as top priority in a future Japanese colonial expansion since the 1870s. With China consolidating its influence in Korea[2] in the late 1880s (see following Chapter), the First Sino-Japanese War occurred in 1894-5 over the Chinese presence on the Peninsula. In parallel, the Chosŏn Korea's Queen Myeongseong, known also as Queen Min, was assassinated in 1895, allegedly by the Japanese, because she was the most prominent figure of the Anti-Japanese movement. With the war with China, the Japanese succeeded in diminishing the Chinese influence in Korea and annex Taiwan (Formosa) into the Empire, which is why Myers and Peattie (1984) mark the year 1895 as the beginning of Japan's colonial empire. They add on Taiwan: *"With the exception of Taiwan, which was acquired largely for reasons of prestige, each of Japan's colonies was obtained after a deliberate decision at the highest levels that the territory would meet the strategic interests of Japan."* (Myers and Peattie 1984, 8) Another country that troubled the Meiji policymakers in regards to the empire-building was Russia that was also potentially threatening the budding empire, thus the Russo-Japanese war broke out in between 1904-5.

In 1897, Korea's king Gojong proclaimed the Korean Empire following with their own modernizing effort, the Gwangmu Reform, laying base to industrial joint-ventures, modern urban infrastructure etc. (Eckert *et al.* 2009) However, Gojong's administration failed to achieve independence or neutrality and the Korean Empire was turned into a Japanese protectorate in 1905 and fully annexed in 1910.
The Japanese colonial empire has, however, different facets than just being a form of international prestige and a way to maintain sovereignty. The colonial expansion also offered opportunities for

---

[2]   The kingdom(s) on the Korean peninsula have been traditionally tributary states to the Chinese Emperor.

solving domestic issues brought up by the Meiji reform, as the Meiji government soon begun suffering from a surplus of samurai with no income (after their rents has been abolished in order to alleviate the financial burden of the state finances), former *rōnin* and impoverished tenant farmers who were willing to purchase land in Korea as settlers (Lee 2014). Uchida (2011) thus paints a different picture of the Empire and the expansion to Korea, as an empire than was settler-driven from the very beginning: *"Early settlers in Korea were mostly struggling civilians who sought refuge from the devastating effects of the modernizing reforms wrought by the Meiji government. Yet whether "pushed" by the revolutionary changes at home or "pulled" by the allure of opportunities abroad, overseas settlers had one thing in common: more often leading than following the flag, they laid the basis of Japan's East Asian empire."* (Uchida 2011, 35) This settler nature of the colonialism in East Asia will play an important role in our further analysis. The Japanese colonial Empire collapsed with the end of WWII but the post-colonial sensitivities, especially in between Japan and Korea and Japan and China remain fully unresolved until today; and we will come back to them in Chapter 9.

We must note that among the "Western modernities" introduced to Meiji Japan were the academic disciplines of archaeology and anthropology/ethnography, that very soon developed their local scholarly traditions in parallel to the contemporary schools of thought developing in "the West", brilliantly summarized in the anthology edited by Jennifer Robinson (2006). As with their western counterparts (Pels and Salemnik 2000; Wolfe 1999), the Japanese traditions of archaeology and ethnography are intrinsically linked to the country's colonial project (Robinson 2006; Pai 2010; Oppenheim 2005). As such, they played important roles in social and political constructions of (non)Otherness of the colonial subjects and the colonial administration (Clammer 2001). The attitudes towards the Koreans was particularly delicate and subject to change over time (see Henry 2005; 2014); and the interplay between the image-building of Japanese-Korean relations and the social colonial sciences had, among others, a profound impact on the social construction of "heritage" and national history under the Meiji administration as we will see in Chapter 2.3

2.2   Open Ports and their Context for Kobe and Incheon

The so-called "open ports" are a 19th century phenomenon of the height of the worldwide colonial period, specific to the Far East, namely to Qing China, late Tokugawa and Meiji Japan and Yi Chosŏn Korea. Their alternative name "treaty ports" relates to their conception: they were ports established or opened up for foreign trade following the signature of an international treaty on commerce. The names of said treaties were often worded along the lines of "Treaty of Amity and Commerce" but are better known as the "unequal treaties", making allusion to the asymmetric relationship between the signatory countries, where one of the countries would exert military and diplomatic pressure onto the other to open for foreign trade. The famous Commodore Perry's "Black Ships" incident of gunboat diplomacy in 1852-1854 is an example of this.

The treaties stipulated for opening of a port, or ports, that would serve for bilateral foreign trade with the other signatory power, and allow for a foreign settlement to be established in the port. A crucial aspect of the foreign settlements were their extraterritorial status, in other words that the settlement weren't regulated by local legal systems. Ennals (2014) points out that this was especially important for the British in China because torture remained a police investigation tool there until the 19th century, which was unacceptable for the Brits at the time.
However, the extraterritoriality of the settlement did not imply right to free movement of the foreigners in the open port countries. There were zones of free movement in both Japan and Korea, that regulated the distance that the foreigners can go from the settlement without the need of a special permission. Even though those limits were gradually extended, it typically meant that Kyoto was too far from Kobe to go freely (Tamura 2007), and Hansŏng (Seoul) was not within the limits from the Chemulpo (Incheon) open port zone (Ch'oe 2005). Also, "open port" did not mean "tax free zone", so customs offices were among the first infrastructures to be built in preparation for the port's inauguration.

The unequal treaties were, however, not only a subject of a "Western" (that is European or the USA) power and a country in the Far East. This names also pertains to the Japanese colonial expansion, namely to Korea. Similarly, Qing China was also on the "strong side" of the unequal treaties with Chosŏn Korea. Both Japan and China were thus on both sides of the unequal treaty, as a country having treaty ports on their territory and having their settlers in a treaty port overseas. The most famous treaty

ports in China with big foreign concessions were Shanghai, Hong Kong, Beijing or Macau – however, the list of leased territories in China is much longer. In parallel, a Chinese settlement opened in Chemulpo (Incheon), Korea, and for a brief time in Hansŏng (Seoul).

The ports were opened bilaterally, meaning only the foreign nationals signatory of a treaty could settle in a port (city) stipulated by the treaty. Thus, only Chinese merchants were allowed to settle in Hansŏng following the China-Korea Treaty of 1882 (Moon 2008). Conversely, the Chinese were not allowed to live in the Kobe concession upon its inauguration because there was no treaty in between China and Japan, which is why the Chinese settlement (the base of the current Chinatown in Kobe) wasn't part of the designated foreign settlement area but of the "native town" next to the Kobe settlement (Ennals, 2014).

While studying the open ports in their beginnings, we must bear in mind that the open port establishment itself was a result of a power vacuum or severe inner power struggles in the "receiving" countries, be it Qing China, Tokugawa Japan or Chosŏn Korea. Thus, the process was chaotic: some ports and trading posts were opened and then shut down (such as Hansŏng), some port's opening was stalled and pushed forward and renegotiated (such as Kobe), some places were added to the list of open ports later during negotiations (such as Osaka) etc. Even after inauguration, the processes were chaotic and revealed weakened local state power. Let me illustrate on the case of the Chemulpo customs:
"their [foreign merchants] trade [in Korea] was not tax free. The Chemulpo Maritime Customs were established already in 1876. However, the Chosŏn government handed over its operation to the Japanese for the first seven years, until 1883. Then, the customs were reformed with the help of Qing China and it seems that the Qings operated the customs as well: the short-lived project of the Chosŏn Naval Academy (1883-85) was sponsored by the Qing Chinese profits from the Chemulpo customs (Incheon Open Port Museum, permanent exhibition, personal visit, May 2017)." (Lichá 2017a, 198)
The power vacuum and lack of capacity to exercise governance made by-passes of the Chosŏn administration occur regularly in the case of Chemulpo (Ch'oe 2005) and we will see more examples over the course of this Chapter and in Chapter 4.
Since the main focus of my study is the present-day perceptions and usage of the built remnants of the colonial era, the historical part remains somehow simplistic and selective, and presents the main results anachronistically.

The treaty port system followed previously existing arrangements of foreign trading outposts. Even though both Tokugawa Japan and Chosŏn Korea were dubbed "the hermit kingdoms" due to their

pursuit of isolationist policies (for which the Japanese shogunate became notorious), there were commercial contacts with the outside world.

In Japan, in the city of Nagasaki, was such an outpost since the 17th century. An artificial island, called thanks to its fan-like shape, was designated as the only place the Portuguese and Dutch merchants were allowed to set foot on Japanese soil – these restrictions changed over time as policies and views on the influence of Christianity, brought to Japan by the Jesuit missions, changed, but their description is out of the scope of this paper. The opening of Nagasaki as an open port following the Harris Treaty of 1858 can be thus seen as an extension of Nagasaki's international port status.

Similarly, the Korean city of Busan had designated areas called *waegwan* (*wakan* in Japanese), where Chosŏn merchants were allowed to conduct business with their Japanese counterparts (Eom 2013). The Japanese merchants came from the Tsushima Island, whose landlord has long played a key brokering role in diplomatic and commercial exchanges in between Japan and Korea (Pak 2016). Even though there were Japanese residences in the *waegwan*, the area did not enjoy extraterritorial status and was thus under the Chosŏn jurisdiction, contrarily to the open port settlements (Eom 2013).

The open port system followed after the merchant ports and outposts in previous centuries, in Asia, notably the trading ports in India and in the East Indies (Southeast Asia) and in China. The main difference in between these merchant ports – that they themselves build upon the medieval merchant towns, especially the Hansa – and the treaty ports is in the nature of the foreign actors. The trade with the merchant ports, the negotiations about the outposts etc. was managed by trading companies, such as the East India Company (1600-1873), originally responsible for trade in the East Indies, and upon its dissolution, controlling large parts of India, Southeast Asia and Hong Kong. Similarly to EIC, the Virginia Company organized part of the settler colonialism in the East Coast of the USA in between 1603-1622. The "company" model of a joint-stock public enterprise commanded by the crown and empowered to govern itself, was a preferred model of settler colonialism and trade since the early 17th century not only in Britain. The Dutch East India Company, the VOC (1602-1800), had its headquarters in Batavia (Jakarta) in the Dutch East Indies, and the French founded their own company, the French East India Company (1664-1769) etc. The dissolution of the companies (for various reasons) resulted in transfer of the company's assets to the state, including the acquired territories, and coincide with the re-structuralization of state power in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

Eom (2013) notes that the open ports mark an important change in the international trade management. Indeed, in the treaty port model, we see the states acting directly on their own, negotiating through diplomatic representatives, as main actors of the treaties and thus exercising the colonial power directly and not through the Companies. Eom (2013) also underlines the power-shift in terms of jurisdiction that happened in Korea in between the *waegwan* model and the treaty port, where the extra-territoriality of the treaty ports tipped the power balance in favor of the foreign nation. A parallel can also be seen in between the treaty ports and modern-day free economic zones (FEZ), however, the latter might imply not only opening a place to foreign investment, but also tax exemptions for a given amount of time etc. The similarity becomes even more pronounced when the creation of a FEZ is used as a coercive tool, making a FEZ a tool of neo-colonialism. The World Bank has previously conditioned its bailouts to some countries by requesting the opening of a FEZ in said country. This was also the case of the Incheon FEZ, negotiated after the bailout South Korea needed to mitigate the impact of the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis (Lichá 2018). Ironically maybe, Incheon thus had been opened to international trade and investment upon international pressure twice in modern history.

In Japan, the original two treaty ports opened upon the US intervention of General Perry with the late Tokugawa shogunate in 1854, the Convention of Kanagawa, were Shimoda (Shizuoka Prefecture, central Honshu, southern coast) and Hakodate (Hokkaido). Four years later, in 1858, another four ports opened following the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the US and Japan (Harris Treaty): Yokohama (Kanagawa), Kobe (Hyogo), Nagasaki and Niigata (Niigata Prefercture, central Honshu, northern coast). In 1899, Meiji Japan abolished the legal status of the foreign concessions as it was, but the established ports and their foreign inhabitants continued to live there. This, of course, depended on the political relationships in between Japan and the respective country, Sino-Japanese war, the Russo-Japanese war and the WWII all had influence on the Chinese, Russian and Allied Powers' nationals on Japanese soil, former treaty ports included. However, in 1899, Meiji government opened other ports to foreign trade by an imperial edict, such as Tsuruga (central Honshu, north of lake Biwa). Similar practice took place in Chosŏn Korea as well, such as with the port of Mokpo opened in 1897 (Lichá 2017a).

The opening of the Japanese ports did not happen at the same time even for the ports that were negotiated to be opened by the same treaty. This was emblematic for Kobe. *"Hakodate, Kanagawa,*

and Nagasaki were scheduled to open on 1 July 1859, Niigata a year later [1860], and Hiōgo (Kobe) on 1 January 1863 [...] It is unclear how Western governments perceived the treaty ports in terms of advantages. In hindsight, the prize locations were Kanagawa and Hiōgo, which served Japan's two main population centres [Tokyo and Kyoto respectively] [...] Hiōgo's proximity to Kyoto was the rationale for a last desperate effort to frustrate the foreign intruders: the Japanese Shogunate requested that the opening of Hiōgo be delayed for five years. This request had its roots in a struggle within the feudal order. [...] Satsuma, and other feudal clans similarly at odds with the Bakufu [Shogunate], worried that the opening of Hiōgo – and of Osaka, which had been added to the list of ports to be opened – would provide the Shogunate with increased revenue from customs duties and thus save it from the financial collapse that threatened it." (Ennals 2014, 8-9) After much stalling and delays, the foreign settlement in Kobe was inaugurated in 1868.

In Korea, the treaty port practice came in several decades later than in Japan, in 1876, with the signature of the so-called Ganghwa Treaty in between Chosŏn Korea and Meiji Japan. Among other provisions, it stipulated the opening of two other ports in addition to Busan that were to be looked for in the provinces in the southern part of the Peninsula. The search resulted in opening the ports of Chemulpo (Incheon) and Wonsan.

The successful Japanese attempt to forcibly open Korea to trade came after unfruitful attempts by different Western powers (Roux 2012). The Ganghwa Treaty was followed by treaties initiated by Qing China (1882) and then the Western powers: USA in 1882, Germans and Brits in 1883, Russia and Italy in 1884. Others followed up until 1902. In 1882, another treaty with Japan was also signed, the so-called Treaty of Chemulpo, as a result of the Imo Incident of 1882, an armed uprising against the Japanese in Korea. The resulting Treaty of Chemulpo allowed the Japanese to station military in Korea to protect their legations. The relationship in between Japan and Korea were constantly renegotiated, with the important milestones of 1905 when Korea was made a protectorate of Japan and 1910, when Korea was formally annexed into the Japanese Empire, becoming the province of Chōsen.

The *First in Korea* (2008, 35-36) lists six settlements in addition to Busan opened by 1899: *"Six general foreign settlements were built in Korea: Incheon in October 1884, Jinnampo and Mokpo in October 1897, and Kunsan Sŏngjin and Masan in June 1899. As five settlements except that of Inch'ŏn were occupied by Japanese people, they could be described as the Japanese settlement rather than general foreign settlement."* The discontinuities with names of ports in the treaties and than in later

sources both in Korea and Japan are due to three reasons: First, an originally chosen site stipulated by a treaty was changed in favor of another location. Second, a place changed names after the port was established there. Third, the particular port had such limited success that it practically collapsed within a decade or two.

The first situation happened in Incheon (Lichá 2017a): The site originally chosen by the Chosŏn court under the Chemulpo Treaty in 1882 was called Songchangpo, a small coastal port on the Ganghwa river that served as a last call for ships then sailing up the river to the capital city. The site was next to the newly-built Hwadojin Fortress[3] and already contained port-related infrastructure (rice warehouses etc.). However, the settlement itself was drawn further south (about 2km). Out of convenience (and because it was physically possible), the foreign merchants started to draw ships to anchor directly next to the settlement, at the present-day old port basin in Incheon. Organically, the Songchangpo site moved over to Chemulpo (Ch'oe 2005).

The second situation is emblematic to Japan, with both Kobe and Yokohama, maybe the best known open port in Japan. The area specified by the Harris Treaty was Kanagawa, but the port and foreign settlements that established there became known as Yokohama. In Kobe, the designated area was double, the existing port of Hiōgo[4] and then Osaka. However, the new foreign settlement and port was subsequently drawn near a sake-brewing village of Kobe, adjacent to Hiōgo, instead of using the existing local port in Hiōgo. The site was also favored over Osaka because of navigational reasons. Osaka bay is treacherous to sail and anchor due to moving sand islands. The location of the Kobe settlement offered deeper anchoring than Hiōgo and was easier to navigate to than Osaka (Ennals 2014).

The open ports as economic opportunities were to some extent complimentary and to some extent concurring each other (Lichá 2017a) and some were less successful than others. Kanagawa (Yokohama) was the most successful of the Japanese ports, holding the biggest share of port activity within North-East Asia in the late 19th century while the region comprised about 6% of total worldwide port activity (Ducruet 2015). For the others, Ennals (2014, 9) concludes that: *"Nagasaki and Hakodate would enjoy*

---

[3]

    The fortress was established after the French and US attempts to forcibly open Korea in 1866 and 1871 respectively. In present day, the Hwadojin Fortress lies in the Dong-gu ward of Incheon.
[4]   The "native town", approximate environs of the present-day Hyogo ward in Kobe.

modest success as trading centres; Shimoda and Niigata would be dismal failures." Kobe would be facing difficulties to take off, but would build up as a rather successful project.

In Korea, only the port of Chemulpo offered enough trading opportunities and attractiveness to incite merchants and settlers from other countries than Japan to venture there, thanks to its proximity to the capital of Hansŏng (Seoul). Chemulpo was the closest trading hub to the capital available to foreigners when the Chosŏn government retracted the opening of Hansŏng itself to the Chinese merchants in 1880s, after being urged by Western powers to grant them equal opportunities and open the capital further. The tumultuous situation resulted in shutting down Hansŏng to foreigners for the time being – this whole incident, serving as a micro-study of the political-colonial situation over North-East Asia in the late 19th century is described in detail in a study by Moon Myungki (Moon 2008).

The ports could compete with each other in terms of exports but were complimentary in terms of commodities and passenger transports. Ennals (2014) points out that the lookout for specialty products for each port was an important task for the merchants who came in to the ports. The merchants, as we said, were operating either on their own or, most often than not, branching out or operating under an import-export company that had several branches scattered around the open ports. Kobe would produce cultured pearls as its specialty product (Kobe City Museum, permanent exhibition, visited July 2017) with Indian immigrants gradually filling that industry during 20th century (personal recollection of one of my informants). The merchants in Kobe also exploited the popular demand of green tea on the global market, sourcing green tea from the Kyoto area[5] and roasting it in the settlement warehouses in Kobe prior to export (Ennals 2014).

The First in Korea (2008) report identifies rice, soy beans and precious metals as the main commodities exported from Chemulpo. The rice market in Chemulpo could be seen as another micro-example of a colonial struggle (Lichá 2017a, 196) and is used by the Incheon local government in its official materials as an example of "colonial exploitation by the Japanese" that took place in Chemulpo; see The First in Korea (2008, 54-55) report or the exhibition panel in the Incheon Metropolitan City Museum titled *"Economic Exploitation by Japanese Imperialism; Incheon Grain Market"* (personal visit, July 2017). This makes allusion to the situation of the rice trade in Chemulpo that I summarized

---

[5]   The environs of Uji in the Kyoto prefecture, very close to the imperial capital, was a prime tea-growing region in Japan, producing highest-quality tea that used to be supplied to the imperial court in Kyoto. Uji remains a top-grade tea producing area until today (personal notes from visit to Uji, August 2018).

in my paper from 2017 (Lichá 2017a, 196): *"the export of Korean rice to Russia has been managed by mostly by the Chinese merchants in Chemulpo. In 1896, German company Homle Ringer & co. established its Chemulpo branch and took over some of these exports as agents of the Russian Dongbo Steamboat Company."* In 1896, the *"Incheon Rice and Bean Exchange Market[6] [was] set up in the Japanese settlement upon the approval of the Japanese embassy (only) to enable the Japanese traders to compete with other foreign and domestic Korean traders and sellers; it seems that it had quickly became the preferred brokering service for rice trade in Korea"* (Lichá 2017a, 196). The local government Korean sources (such as The First in Korea 2008) claim that the establishment of the commodities trading hall had to be approved by the Chosŏn government as well and as such was illegal from the part of the Japanese embassy. This is unclear because the market was built within the Japanese settlement in Chemulpo having extraterritorial status. Since the Japanese-established grain market became the preferred marketplace for rice at the turn of the century, the Korean producers eventually had to export their produce through this venue. The Incheon local government sources argue that the situation thus enabled the Japanese to set rice prices in Korea and deprive Korean producers of more equitable earnings; this interpretation is enhanced by the fact that the Incheon Grain Market remained in operation after the annexation in 1910 (Incheon Metropolitan City Museum, permanent exhibition, personal visit, July 2017).

I have found a likely example of direct competition in between Chemulpo and Kobe in the match-making industry (Lichá 2017a, 191): *"The First in Korea (2008) quotes a report from the Russian consulate saying that [...] the matchmaking factory in Chemulpo, it has closed down by 1900 due to the influx of matches from Japan (the match-making industry in Chemulpo resumed operations in 1917)."* Based on the Chinese Overseas Historical Museum in Kobe (permanent exhibition, personal notes, visited in December 2016), I am inclined to think that these were the Kobe-produced matches – matches were among the specialty products exported from Kobe – manufactured by the Kobe Chinese settlers.

The size of the foreign settlement, however, isn't the sole indicator of success or importance. For example, in Tsuruga, the foreign settlement and the port itself was rather limited[7] and couldn't rival

---

6   Also referred to as "Incheon Grain Market".
7   The geographical location of Tsuruga doesn't allow for a big city to develop, the site being enclosed in a triangle of lowland in between mountains and the sea.

places like Shanghai or Yokohama. However, Tsuruga developed into an international transportation hub in the late 19th and early 20th century.

Prior to airplane transportation, Tsuruga was the most direct convenient port in between Vladivostock and central Japan, after the railroad connected Tsuruga to the lake Biwa region. The railroad stretch in between Tsuruga and Maibara on the east bank of lake Biwa was among the first tracks laid in Japan, and the first in Kansai (Nagahama Railway Museum, permanent exhibition, personal notes, visited August 2018). The railway then connected Tsuruga to Kyoto through Otsu to the south-west, and Tsuruga to Tokyo through Maibara to the east. The south-western branch then continues from Kyoto through Osaka to Kobe until today as part of the JR West network.

The Tsuruga Municipal Museum book on Tsuruga-Nagahama railway (2016, 51) shows that in 1929, Japan could be reached by the Trans-Siberian Railway through two entry points. Either taking the route Harbin-Vladivostock and then cross the Sea of Japan to Tsuruga – from there, a northern railway route lead to Hakodate directly, or, there was a more southern railway connecting Tsuruga to the main cities in the Kansai region (including Kobe) and then followed the old Tōkaidō route all the way up to the capital. The Tsuruga-Nagahama railway book (2016, 52) further shows a first-class ticket indicating that the preferred land route from Berlin to Tokyo lead through the Harbin-Vladivostock-Tsuruga-Maibara route.

Or, another branch of the Trans-Siberian forked from Harbin to the south to Dalian and through the Korean peninsula, stopping over in Jinsen (Incheon) and Busan. From Busan, the shortest sea-route lead to the port of Fukuoka at the westernmost tip of Honshu, where the railway from Kobe ended. Kobe was thus connected through rail to all the railroad network in the Honshu island.

Other connections in between the East Asian open ports can be found; César Ducruet and his research team from Paris 1 dedicated a large-scale research project to the global maritime network over modern history called *World Seastems*[8], hence I will provide only several more examples. As I mention in my paper on Chemulpo (Lichá 2017a), trading routes from Shanghai went among others through Chemulpo (The First in Korea 2008). Interestingly, not all passenger transport from Shanghai went through Nagasaki (as is indicated in the Tsuruga Municipal Museum book; 2016, 51). I recall in my earlier paper (Lichá 2017a, 191) the story of *"Charlie Clark, an American missionary, who traveled*

---

[8]   "World Seastems" project official website: https://www.world-seastems.cnrs.fr/index.php?page=page_ERC_WS_62 (Acquired February 11, 2020.)

with his wife Mabel from the West coast in 1902, crossed the Pacific to Yokohama[9], then to Kobe, to Nagasaki, and through Busan to Chemulpo to reach the capital by train (Clark 2003). Interestingly, the route Kobe-Nagasaki-Busan seemed to serve even for travelers from Europe, as in the case of Archabbot Norbert Weber[10], who sailed across the sea from Shanghai to Kobe, then to Nagasaki and Busan (then he continued his Korean journey on land). Clark (2003) notes that in Kobe, the passengers changed to a smaller ferry to continue the journey – hence maybe the preference for more frequent stops." The smaller ferries needed more frequent refueling of coal. Sun Yat-Sen also fled from Shanghai to Japan to the port of Kobe (Sun Yat-Sen's Memorial, permanent exhibition, personal notes, visited February 2017) and George Turnbull Ladd, while he traveled to Korea with the future first governor Prince Itō Hirobumi.

We thus see the open ports, including my cases of Chemulpo and Kobe, as part of the globalized network of commodities and passenger flows since their conception in the late 19th century onward. Incheon remains one of the most important container ports in South Korea until today and Kobe's prominence as an industrial port in Japan dropped only after the devastating earthquake of 1995 from which the port activity never fully recovered.

---

[9] Interestingly maybe, the sea-route Shanghai-Yokohama-USA (West Coast) is also the one the main protagonist of Jules Verne's adventure novel *Around the World in 80 Days* is supposed to take. Even though this is a work of fiction, this route could have been so commonplace and known at the time the author used it for his book, since his works drew on up-to-date technology at the time.

[10] He points out to his route in the first minutes of his documentary movie *Im Lande der Morgenstille* (In the Land of Morning Calm) from 1925.

2.3   Heritage Definition and Management in Korea and Japan, A Primer

The "heritage" in present-days is customarily used to *"refer to a nation's or a people's past that has been passed on in the sense of "inheritance" (…) The general understanding is that "heritage" means more than just history; it's a sense of past events or old objects that belong, can be inherited, and are therefore relevant to the present."* (Baker 1988 in Pai 2013, xv). According to the curators of the Seoul Museum of History: *"The 1983 National Heritage Conference defined heritage as: that which past generation has preserved and handed on to the present and which a group of the population wishes to be handed to the future."* (Jo 2004, 133)

The concept of cultural heritage as wide-spread phenomenon can be traced to the 18th century (Brett 1996) with the re-invention of the history and past in the present and the lookout for the *"aestheticization of history"* (Brett 1996, 38) which was a prominent cultural element of the 18th century romantic movement, linking together art, architecture and travel in the so-called Grand Tours (Chambers 2000); the seeking of heritage thus became linked to tourism and the interplay in between those two elements will remain relevant through our analysis. Heritage as such is then socially created and constructed, indeed can be staged (Augé 1995), much like collective memory (Nora 1998). Indeed, "heritage" – be it represented by a concrete thing, tangible or intangible or a more vague term like *furusato* – can be a constituting element of collective memory.

Heritage has played a role in building of national and/or imperial identities in Japan and Korea since the late 19th century until present days, much like in other nation-states and/or colonial empires worldwide. It was part of the quest of the *"invention of national symbols and national traditions set against the background of staged "authenticity" and imperial legitimacy"* (Pai 2013, xxii).

During the colonial period, the Japanese interest in heritage as object of the newly blooming discipline of archaeology, *"paralleled territorial expansion and the establishment of modern cultural institutions, such as museums and cultural preservation committees, not only in Japan but also in its colonies."* (Pai 2010, 93).

The Japanese sent out committees including archaeologists who started to systematically identify and catalog the "heritage" sites of potential interest and rank them according to their national importance (Oppenheim 2014; Pai 2013). These heritage sites in Japan and then in colonies were part of the colonial project of finding roots and ancestry, of establishing a new identity for the Meiji Empire. The

search for mythological homeland came on the Korean soil too, Pai (2013) underlines that Korea was the most extensively studied for its heritage potential from all the Japanese colonies. The reason for this lies in the *kofun*, the burial mounds, that are to be found thorough both Japan and the southern part of Korean peninsula[11]. The burial mounds – dating from the so-called Kofun period 250-538 AD – *"became the earliest targets of government regulations because the Imperial Household Agency (*Kunaichō*) appropriated them as sacred national symbols (*seiseki*) vouching for the unbroken succession of emperors since mythical times (*kami jidai*)"* (Pai 2010, 96) and were thus a central building block of the state imperial cult of the Meiji restoration. The presence of *kofun* burial mounds in both countries is one of the remnants of cultural and technological exchange in between the Wa Kingdom (Japan) during the Kofun and Asuka/early Nara periods and the Kingdom of Baekje (18 BCE – 660 AD) on the Korean peninsula (Bak 2012). Baekje has served as the intermediary through which both technological advancements and new cultural trends and religions spread to Japan (most notably Buddhism). After Baekje's defeat by Unified Silla in 660, part of the vanquished aristocracy fled to the court in Nara (Asuka Historical Museum, personal visit, January 2017; Gyeongju National Museum, personal visit, June 2017). This is why *"in search of the origins of Japanese civilization, the Korean Peninsula became the field of choice even before the official annexation of the Korean Peninsula in 1910"* (Pai 2010, 97) and was also reflected in the colonizing discourse, as at that early time of the colonial expansion, the Koreans were regarded as close brothers / cousins to the Japanese (Henry 2005; Myers and Peattie 1984) and that the annexation was a "return" or "reunion" of the two peoples, as justified by the archaeological evidence (Pai 2010, 103). Even though the historical links in between Japan and Korea in the ancient periods remains presently uncontested in principle, the current Japanese Imperial Household's Agency's stance towards the possibility that one of the semi-mythical rulers of Japan, Empress Jingū, was of Korean origin (Covell and Covell 2009), that was explored during the colonial period (Oppenheim 2014), changed towards denying this possibility.

---

[11]

A large concentration of the *kofun* burial mounds is to be found in between Nara and Asuka, however, they are very common thorough the whole Kinki Region, coinciding with the "Yamato" area of Japan. Kobe has one well-preserved *kofun* turned into museum, the Goshikizuka Kofun, located in Tarumi, overlooking the sea towrds the Awaji Island. In Korea, the burial mounds are to be found mostly in the Geyongju area.

Presently, South Korea and Japan have a mixture of heritage designated by worldwide institutions, such as UNESCO, and heritage designated by local agencies, operating on the triple array of heritage tangible (built), intangible and natural (Jo 2004).

The "heritage" is part of the soft power policies and country branding, a tool of tourism promotion in both South Korea and Japan, be it the designation of *kimchi*-making as a national treasure and promoting it as the emblematic Korean food; the building of Folk Villages across Korea (for a more extensive list see Pai 2013, 32; Howard 2018, 43-44); the local Japanese *furusato* tourism or the creation of the "Hon-mono" ホンモノ label meaning "True Japan", recently established to market the "authentic Japan" to both local and international tourists. Making an exhaustive list here is neither possible, nor particularly useful.

Some researchers, such as Keith Howard (2018) point to the process in which the subject of the heritage-making process becomes designated as heritage, it serves as a double edge. He uses the example of ritual music designated intangible cultural heritage in Korea that, while preserved as heritage, is taken out of its original ritual/religious settings and becomes performed as heritage in concert halls, ultimately dying out in a way, disappearing as a living tradition even though being seemingly preserved: *"In a sense, this heritage is "dead" rather than "alive"."* (Howard 2018, 51). However, Howard further notes that there is another process linked to the staged performance, and that is the communication established with the audiences, and thus the process of such conservation of intangible heritage could be viewed as evolution, because communicating the heritage for posterity *"requires that accommodation be made for contemporary audiences"* (Howard 2018, 51).

This process parallels with the general critique of contemporary heritage management outlined by Pai (2013) in the first chapter of her book: "Consequently, in most destinations the competition for tourist revenue has overtaken the main goal of preservation of "original remains" and their surrounding environments for posterity." (Pai 2013, 32) Here, we could draw the line toward the commodification of traditional culture (Kendall 2011) and the processes of "McDisneyization" (Ritzer and Liska in Rojek and Urry, 1997) of the heritage and heritage tourism that can be identified in the transformation of the Jongmyo Daeje ritual (Lichá 2017b) or in the revitalizations of Kobe Kitano and Incheon Open Port Areas, as well as the Chinatowns. From another perspective, this could be seen as the struggle in between preservation for posterity and the necessity of finding customer value – which legitimizes their preservation – that heritage sites often face (Jo 2004, 166). In the case of built heritage, this can

translate into complete re-building of the site, or in building new structures on sites where historically there were some even if at the time of the re-construction, there were none – and the new buildings on the historically significant site would be considered heritage. A process that is contra-intuitive and in direct opposition to how built heritage management works in European countries, such as Czech Republic. I have come across two examples of this process in South Korea, first when I saw the Suwon Fortress in 2012, then already designated UNESCO heritage, to be partly still under construction – indeed, the city of Suwon used to have a Chosŏn-period style of fortification that was designated heritage and the current construction meant renewing the built fortress at its original location in its entirety. Similarly, the Silla period palaces around the Anapji pond in Gyeongju were built in recent decades. The site significantly developed in between my two visits in 2012 and 2017/8. But I also have a personal account from a friend traveling to Gyeongju and to Anapji in late 1960s, recalling there was only a small overgrown body of water and a wooden bridge with a small pavilion in contrast to the large structures present there today. I do not have substantial amount of data to try explain this difference in heritage perception, however, it is important to state it, as I will later develop on the intricate variations on the perception of "old" things in reference to my case studies.

For the sake of completion of the emic perceptions of heritage, couple of decades ago, there was a movement called *tapsa* Korea, extensively studied by Robert Oppenheim (2008). *Tapsa* was a cultural movement putting forward the personalized interaction with history and heritage by walking around Korea and admiring built heritage – such as pagodas – without the barrier of a museum glass, trying to find the meanings all by oneself (Oppenheim 2008), actively seeking the signifiers as an individual. This movement was started by a popular book *Na ŭi munhwa yusan tapsagi (My Korean Cultural Sightseeing Writings)* by Yu Hong-jun, first published in 1993. It lead to boom of *tapsa* groups, school-trips dedicated to *tapsa* etc. However, the movement somewhat subsided in favor of general backpacking by 2010 and some *tapsa* clubs converted into hiking groups (Oppenheim 2014). I only found a link in between the perception of heritage, national identity and tourism reminiscent of *tapsa* in the anecdotal moment when an informant told me that *"My mom told me that taking the hike across Jirisan [from West to East] is something you should do at least once in your life if you're a Korean."*

3   Methodology and Sources

This study was undertaken as a *bricolage* (Ruth Benedict in Robertson 2005) of archival study, public policy analysis, prolonged field observation and semi-structured interviews. After the literature review, I will further detail the methods used and issues encountered during the data acquisition and treatment.

3.1   Literature review and concepts

<u>Ports</u> as specific urban form have been studied in the works of Carola Hein (mainly Hein 2011), as they have specific arrangements because of the necessary infrastructure they require and also because they are by principle not self-sufficient. A port city requires an adjacent area (called "hinterland" or "foreland") it draws its resources from and also re-distributes its imports into. Port cities also serve as communication nods, entering into contact with each other. Ducruet (2011) established a typology of ports based on the interactions of the port and the rest of its city and their mutual balance. Within this typology, both modern Kobe and Incheon could be placed within the "major port city" or "gateway" characteristics, with medium city size and high port traffic – even though Ducruet *et al.* (2012) claim that Incheon moves from a gateway towards a global city.

Further typologies of port cities can be drawn (Hein 2011, Ennals 2014) based on physical geography (inland river port, estuary/delta port, port on the shore etc.) and social geography. In the latter category, Merk *et al.* (2011) distinguishes in between ports that serve as an independent metropolis (such as modern Osaka or Busan) and ports that are an auxiliary to a metropolis, providing it with access to the sea. Merk *et al.* (2011) further distinguish three types of corridor length and port/metropolis size ratios. Historically speaking, both open ports of Chemulpo and Kobe were "dependent satellites" (small ports within 200km range from a large metropolis). Upon its opening, Kobe was the best deep-sea port for both the imperial city of Kyoto and Osaka. Presently, Kobe is functionally part of the large conurbation of Kyoto-Osaka-Nara-Kobe within the Kansai region, but remains the largest city in the Hyogo Province, making it a local metropolis of its own right. Yokohama

open port also can be interpreted as dependent satellite to Tokyo even though the capital has port facilities on its own.

The open ports present a special category because the foreign settlements there were greenfield master-planned developments and not more "organically" growing cities. As such, they are characteristic by their more clearly outlined structures and often centrally planned infrastructures and street grids. Interestingly in Japan, the carefully planned grid cities are not new, but a Chinese model that has been applied to city development in the Tokugawa era (Osaka Museum of Housing and Living, permanent exhibition, personal visit, July 2017).

From an urban anthropological perspective the (treaty) port cities are ideal fields for both historical and contemporary study of globalization phenomena such as trans-nationalism, multiculturalism, (national) identities or migration and diasporas.

The open port period of Kobe has received scholarly attention mainly thanks to the comprehensive study *Opening a Window to the West: The Foreign Concession at Kōbe, Japan, 1868-1899* written by Peter Ennals (2014). To this adds the study by Keiko Tamura (2007) on personal stories of several foreign residents of Kobe in the ope port period and immediately after. Furthermore, Kobe and the urban ethnography of its "foreign culture" elements in the past and present has been object of ongoing field research at the graduate school of Kyoto Seika University, whose main findings have been summarized in the book *Kobe, City of Lights: A Guide to Kobe and Foreign Culture* edited by David Rahn and Emi Higashiyama (2006). I have also drawn upon the micro-history of the Kobe Club as written up by a local historian of Kobe, Harold S. Williams (1975). Urban reconstruction and city-making in Kobe has been also covered by Carola Hein (2002) from the perspective of social geography.

The history of the open port period of Incheon was outlined from the point of social geography by Ch'oe Yŏng-jun (2005) in the book *Land and Life: A Historical Geographical Exploration of Korea*. I have also used printed sources from the Incheon Historical Data Office and Incheon Foundation for Arts and Culture with increased attention and reflexivity to the fact that they were non-academic materials. I have also summarized part of my research on the open port period in my first paper from 2017, *Scamble for Chemulp'o Port* (Lichá 2017a). I must also mention the micro-study of Chinatowns in Japan and Korea by Eom Sujin (2013).

The founding historical book on the Japanese colonial project was edited by Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie (1984). The Japanese Empire in Korea has received substantial attention within the work of Pai Hyung Il (2010, 2013) who talks about the imperial heritage management. The colonial

urban development of the capital Keijo (Seoul) and the Japanese views of Koreans as the Other was extensively studied by Todd H. Henry (2005, 2014) and Alain Delissen (1993, 1994). I also quote the study of Nakajima Michio (2010) on the spread of the State Shinto into the colonies and the extensive study by Jun Uchida (2011) on the Japanese colonial settlers in Korea. Furthermore, works written by Korean researchers on the Japanese colonial period had to be taken with care and reflexivity as the colonial period remains a politically unresolved and sensitive issue. The de-colonization of Korean urban spaces has been treated by Henry (2014) and Jin (2007).

In analyzing the colonial urban development in theoretical perspectives, my work has primarily departed from the works of Anthony D. King (1975, 1995, 2015) who laid out an interdisciplinary theoretical framework for studying the built remnants of colonialism in the urban environment. I followed up with the papers on Taipei by Lo (1998) and Liu (2013). In the framework of post-colonial studies of cities, I also heavily draw on the work of Jane Jacobs (1996) and Brenda Yeoh (2011). The colonialism in relation to anthropology in general has been studied with special regards to the works of Wolfe (1999) and Balandier (1951).

Saskia Sassen coined the term "global city" in her influential book *The Global City: New York, London and Tokyo,* published in 1991. Her study followed the pivotal book *World Cities* from 1966 (in Jacobs 2011), changing urban studies and public policy analysis by shifting the analytical attention towards cities as actors. The book started a shift in urban sociology to focus on cities as global players, independent actors etc. Sassen's study proposed that the three big metropolises New York, London and Tokyo are political and economic worldwide actors in their own right, somewhat independent and maybe even more important than their respective countries. When it came to the case of Tokyo, however, Sassen's analysis was put under scrutiny by Jacobs (2011) who argued that Japan's cities were so well incorporated into the hierarchy of central political power, that the global city / world city system should be used with care when it came to analyzing urban Japan. I talked about the cities and the South Korean developmental state in my two studies on Songdo IBD (Lichá 2015b, Lichá 2018). However, both the "world city" and "global city" entered into common usage in public policy creation and city branding as a practical catchphrase. Thus, even though Sassen identified, strictly speaking, only three "global cities", many more are marketed / promoted as such by their (local) government and

claim this label – or indeed, are being attributed this label. The process of turning the term "global city" into a branding label is excellently illustrated by Blaž Križnik's study *Selling Global Seoul* (Križnik 2011). To the concept of "global cities" opposes the concept of "ordinary cities" coined by Jennifer Robinson (2006) who advocates the usage of non-global cities, cities that are both smaller in size and preferably not located in the First World, as new case studies upon which to build up urban theory – my study strongly aligns with her reasoning.

In terms of urban anthropology, I have based myself on the works of Anne Raulin (2014), Karolína Pauknerová (2012, 2013), Blanka Soukupová *et. al.* (2012) and Frantál and Maryáš (2012) and Shaw (2018). Heritage was studied with main references to Pai (2013), Hobsbawm (1998), Rojek and Urry (1997), Howard (2018), Oppenheim (2008) and Brett (1996).

In terms of anthropology of senses, I refer mainly to the summary publication of my *alma mater*, *Antropologie smyslů* (Horský, Martinec Nováková and Pokorný 2019), the sensual anthropology related urban research by Karolína Pauknerová (2012, 2013) and the debate in between Sarah Pink and David Howes from 2010. While I explore the interlinks in between noise and the perception of danger in the city and the taste as one source of the imaginary past, I must note that my field experience cautions me not to use David Howe's (in Halbich 2019) interpretation of the multisensoric aesthetics employed during the *kōdō* ceremony as universal to the Japanese interpretation of *sensescapes* that would be relevant for urban research. *Kōdō* ("the way of the fragrance") is a highly ritualized activity that originated as an imperial court game during the Heian Period (794–1185 CE). Based on my personal experience of a *kōdō* ceremony and talk with the participants, it is a niche elite activity, characterized by complicated rules and aesthetics that have to be studied and acquired (acculturated) by its present-day Japanese adepts, and thus its "multisensoric aesthetics" are not very "natural" to the emic Japanese interpretation of senses in general, despite being part of Japanese high culture.

Another concept my study relies on, is the collective and communicative memory and the way societies remember that was also the base of my article *Rites of colonial past-age* (Lichá 2017b) from which I quote on the memory literature: "The classical concept within this scholarship is the "Sites of

Memory" by Pierre Nora (1985). The basic idea of Nora is that there are two layers of memory, the 'active', personalized level, and that which is 'collective', where individual memories become aggregated, then sorted out and embodied in a fixed, 'dead' way, linked to a 'site of memory', such as a museum, a memorial etc. This process, of course, can be strongly politicized. Jan Assmann (2008) calls those 'communicative' and 'cultural' memories (…) the term 'symbolic center' rather than 'site of memory' [can be used] to convey the idea that a non-tangible event, such as an annual festival, can be a 'site of memory'. Jan Vansina (in Soukupová *et al.* 2012) coined the term 'floating gap' to designate the cognitive void that occurs when an event passes from the active, communicative memory into the cultural, collective one. In his book "Anthropology for Contemporaneous Worlds", Marc Augé (1999) coins several interesting interpretations of the links between politics, collective memory creation and ritual techniques (…) the 'staging of the world' refers to the simplified, often stereotypical signifiers that become associated with places and events. It is also a mean to 'reinterpret' the reality in hypermodern times or to reinvent the 'tradition'." (Lichá 2017b, 84-5) These conceptualizations of memory will further enable me to parallel the memory creation with the formation of city images.

My study also touches upon other sub-disciplines of anthropology, mainly the anthropology of tourism, interpreted according to Spirou (2011), Chambers (2000), Graburn (1989), and MacCannell (2009); and anthropology of food, interpreted according to Counihan and Van Esterik (2013), Mannur (2007), Nützenadel and Trentmann (2008) and Hamada *et al.* (2015).

The research on urban history of Kobe and Incheon has also been carried out in the following museums and research institutions:

Kobe and Kansai Area: The Koshikizuka Kofun Museum, Kobe City Museum, Sun Yat-Sen Memorial Hall – Ijokaku, Kobe Fashion Museum, Weathercock House, Kitano Monogatarikan, Kobe Overseas Chinese History Museum, The Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake Memorial Disaster Reduction and Human Renovation Institution, Osaka Museum of Housing and Living, Nagahama Railroad Square, Tsuruga Municipal Museum

Incheon: The Memorial Hall for Incheon Landing Operation, Jjajangmyeon Museum, Bupyeong History Museum, Sudoguksan Museum of Housing and Living, Incheon Metropolitan City Museum, Incheon Open Port Museum, Incheon Metropolitan City Museum Compact·Smart City

3.2   Field research

I undertook the main field research in Kobe in between October 2016 and March 2017 and I followed by a four month stay in Incheon in between April and July 2017. Before leaving back to Europe in 2017, I went back to Kobe for a short time in July 2017. In Japan, I was granted a visiting graduate studentship at the Graduate School of Global Studies at Doshisha University in Kyoto within the research group of Professor Ota Osamu who specializes in history of colonial Korea. In South Korea, I was granted the Academy of Korean Studies Pre-Doctoral Fellowship, but only for a four month period, which explains my shorter presence in Korea compared to Japan. I consider it not a major hindrance for my project, as I lived in Seoul for almost a year in 2011/2012 and visited Incheon at that time as well. And thus even if I switched the city, I was already rather familiar with living in the country at least. I came back to the field in between August and September 2018, both to Japan and South Korea to gather additional data and to observe "my" cities during a time of the year that I have not seen before. Another reason for coming back was the fact that during my first stay, Kobe was celebrating the 150 years since the foundation of the open port. It was probably the best time to gather data on official city branding and public policies, however, the renewed stay in 2018 offered me an opportunity to see the city in a more "commonplace" atmosphere. At least so I thought before setting off to Kobe in 2018. It could have been so had not the most devastating typhoon in the past 25 years hit the area during my stay.

3.2.1 Interviewing in Japan and Korea

When reporting the answers from people I have talked to both in Japan and Korea, I decided to use the word "informant", non-elegant, cumbersome it may be. My fieldwork consisted of 38 pre-prepared semi-structured interviews (20 in Kobe, 18 in Incheon) but also of a number of haphazard encounters, dialogues etc. with people who knew I was carrying out my PhD research but have nevertheless not been fully-fledged interviews; more results of my long-term participant observation of the city life in Kobe and Incheon. Therefore, "interviewee" would not encompass the second category and

"respondent" seemed too connoted with questionnaire-based research. "Informant" was chosen in favor of the more modern denomination "partner" for the sake of better clarity of the written text.

Doing Fieldwork in Japan (Bestor, Steinhoff, and Bestor 2003) is a fabulous book to read when you want to prepare for issues that you as a researcher can encounter in the field and not only are many of their remarks still relevant today, but based on my field experience, many of them apply in South Korea as well.

First of all the notion of "the West" that ubiquitously appears during everyday life and research in both Japan and Korea. It is summarized by Kuwayama (in Sugimoto 2009) as follows: *"generalized notion of 'the West' which typically occurs on two levels – social and academic. First, on the social level, the many differences that exist between Europe and the US are practically ignored. (…) Also, within Europe, there are obviously numerous regional variations between Western and Eastern Europe, between Northern and Southern Europe, as well as between Continental Europe and Great Britain/Ireland, all of which are characterized by different histories and cultures. (…) All of this is well known among Japanese intellectuals, but it is easily forgotten when Japan's emics are emphasized, as opposed to 'Western theory'. On the academic level, the generalized West has been held responsible for its alleged failure to clarify the interpersonal quality of the Japanese character."* (pp. 44-45)

Second, there is the issue of "wrapping of Japan (Korea)" that virtually all anthropologists working on Japan have encountered (Robertson 2005). It simply means that informants are very likely not to express their opinion on questions a researcher asks but instead give the researcher an answer they think you would want to hear. So as the image of Japan (or Korea for that instance) they present is one that resonates with the image the researcher has already, and, often than most, one that coincides with the official and/or customary "branding" or the general, collective image. This point was very relevant when I was asking about the city image my informants had about Kobe or Incheon. As we will see later on, the words and images they used to summarize their image of the city were not only very similar, but also highlighted the current city branding. The issue here is that we have virtually no way of discerning whether this is because the city branding image is so potent that it actually influences the mental image people have about their city – or if this was an easy way for the informants to "wrap up".

Third issue, that entwines with the second one, is the self-consciousness of my informants. When asking for interviews, I was notoriously receiving an answer along the lines of *"I do not feel knowledgeable enough to be interviewed for your study"*.

Here, I want to make the parenthesis that I did my best to eliminate the language barrier for my informants; I was willing to conduct the interviews in Japanese or Korean (it also meant that prevented me from talking too much as I am far less eloquent in those languages than in English even though my comprehension skills are adequate). And even though many informants used that fully or to some extent, many university-age informants preferred the interview to be in English. The reason is simple, it was a free opportunity for an English speaking practice, which is a coveted opportunity both in Japan and Korea – and by conducting the interview in English, I have offered something in return to my informants, established a relationship. It also seemed that English sometimes enabled my informants to talk more freely about their feelings than their mother tongue. Even though this might seem paradoxical, I have encountered record of similar experiences of English language teachers in Japan. Talking to a foreigner in a foreign tongue made possible for my informants to express things that would be taboo to voice out in front of Japanese people in Japanese language: dissatisfaction with the current state of economy, with the pressure from their parents, desperation from their future prospects etc. So in some instances, I was serving both as a free English speaking practice and quasi-therapist.

Coming back to the *"I don't know enough to help you"* issue I mentioned earlier. When explaining my research, the hardest thing to convey to my informants was the nature of information that I want to obtain. Most informants were supposing that I would be *"testing them"* on how much they know about Kobe or Incheon and thought they did not know enough facts. Explaining that what I want to hear is their opinion and what is more, they are "allowed" to have no opinion about a question or express negative feelings about something, was sometimes very challenging. When I explained that I care for their personal experience, one informant told me: *"You really care about that?!?"* This happened both in Japan and South Korea. I put it on the nature of schooling system in both countries which leans a lot towards facts memorization and personal opinion expression is not a skill students are brought to develop (Robertson 2005).

In Kobe, this situation had been made more delicate by the fact that I was a visiting student at Doshisha, a rather prestigious establishment. It often inspired respect and sometimes awe and slight

34

intimidation in my informants that was sometimes difficult to deal with during my interviews – but when my informants asked, I also didn't want to begin our dialogue by lying to them. My informants tended to comment *"you must be very smart"* or *"I am not as smart as you"* and expressed that they might not be *"good enough"* to participate in my research. However, an explanation that for international students on exchange, the admission procedure was much less difficult, seemed to ease the perceived distance in between me and my informants. This issue has appeared in Bestor, Steinhoff and Bestor (2003) as the more prestigious universities tend to offer non-regular student statuses such as "research student" or "visiting graduate student" that are very convenient for carrying out long-term fieldwork. But this convenience ultimately can create a feeling of an asymmetrical relationship in between the researcher and the informant and extra attention has to be made to ease this gap as it is virtually impossible not to bypass the question on what university in Japan you attend and in order to establish a functioning relationship with my informants, I naturally didn't want to lie about this.

Fourth, the unfamiliarity with personal opinion expression among university-aged students also meant that some general rules about how to properly conduct anthropological interviews (Rapport and Overing 2005) had to be slightly bent over because open-ended questions were often simply incomprehensible to my informants – they would just answer in polite affirmative, such as: *"So what do you think about Kobe?" - "Yes."*

Alternatively, the exchange would go: *"So what do you think about Kobe?" - "Kobe was established as a foreign port in the Meiji Era..."*

Therefore, certain level of leading questions was necessary at least in the beginning, to make my informants understand better what sort of information I was looking for. I am fully aware of the fact that leading (suggestive) questions are generally considered malpractice in social sciences. But the specificity of the field necessitated bending along this rule. As a result, I had to proceed in asking the previous question with several leading leading sub-questions like this: *"So what do you think about Kobe? Do you like living there? Do you not? What are your favorite places there? Where do you hang out? How you spend you free time? In Kobe. Or do you go somewhere else? Is there anything you dislike about the place? Etc.?"* A long prelude like this usually helped my informants to start developing their own ideas afterwards. It also meant that to ease my informants into conversation and explain my research, the interviews tended to be in-depth and long.

Fifth, another common method of field research that was not working very well was snowballing. Both in Kobe and Incheon, the best number of informants that snowballed were 1-3, meaning that one interview lead at best to 1-3 other ones through recommendation. And the biggest number occured when I asked for an interview and the informant directly offered to bring some friends over and do a group interview. It seems that the reason for this was double. On one hand, the university students or young working people tend to have limited social network in the city. This was slightly more true for Kobe than for Incheon. In Japan, it is very hard to find suitable employment upon graduation, so young people who enter the "white-collar" jobs cannot afford to be too choosy about the city where they land their job. Moving across half the country is nothing unusual. One informant specifically expressed that she was very happy that after university, she found her first job in Kobe, because she was originally from Osaka and thus did not have to move too far away from her hometown. Again, this is very true for "white-collar" corporate employment. Informants who worked in healthcare (a sector always in need of professionals) said they had more freedom in where they wanted to work (in terms of location or prestige of the establishment). Or those who worked in services (bartender etc.) did not have to move for employment (which does not necessarily mean that they do not choose to do so).

As for universities, similar mobility exists. The universities in Japan are both competitive to enter and expensive in tuition fees. As a general rule, state universities are cheaper than private ones and the more prestigious the school is, the more expensive it gets. Kobe has a prestigious public university, the Kobe University, which on top of it is one of the few in Japan offering socio-cultural anthropology major; and a high-ranking private uni, the Kwansei Gakuin[12]. Student then would more from far away to attend them. On the other side of this are those attending second-tier establishments because "they could not get anywhere better". In the second case, these students would be more often from neighboring provinces.

The situation in South Korea is very similar to the one described above, but the status of Incheon differs. Incheon is satellite to Seoul, which is high priority for both employment and studies. The university students in Incheon I interviewed tended to be locals who said that they did not study very well so they chose a university in their hometown.

---

[12]

Kwansei Gakuin is actually in Nishinomiya, a city east to Kobe, but it is about 20 minutes from central Kobe by train, thus functionally lying in Kobe. We will delve into the issue of functional versus administrative borders of the city later on.

The second problem beyond possibly limited social network was the fact that university students feel rather overworked and thus shied from asking for more free time from their colleagues to participate in my study even though they themselves were willing to talk to me.

3.2.2 Temporal Fluidity of the Field

When writing an anthropological text, many authors before me have pointed out issues of temporality and how in between trips to the field the researcher is "at home" and in the field at the same time at any moment he writes about the field, in other words that he is in a sense in two different places at the same time. But he is also running on two different timelines (Nielsen and Rapport 2018). After coming back from the field in 2018, I realized that when I am using data from 2016/2017, I am effectively writing about a reality that no longer exists. And that by the time I finish my thesis, I would actually write a historical study, especially in the case of South Korea. This might sound both very self-evident, because realities shift constantly, but I have a very simple explanation for my statement. South Korea changes fast and as of 2018, signals of coming economic stagnation and slowly deepening socio-economic gap were clearly appearing, even in comparison to 2017. Also, some places in Busan that I visited in 2017 did not exist in 2018 or changed drastically. I was literally seeing the places changing before my eyes, something I have been familiar with from researchers working on modern PRC. Indeed, one of my informant told me: *"You know, 'since 2000' counts as old in Korea."* I tried to keep track of the most significant changes that occurred to my field after completion of my research and we will see them reflected especially in Chapters 8 and 9.

3.2.3 How to delimit the field

The delimitation of the field became also a challenge because both Kobe and Incheon lie in densely urbanized areas. Three possible definitions of what is "Kobe" or "Incheon" existed: administrative, cognitive and functional (Raulin 2014) and which of those characteristics use as base for finding informants. After pilot interviews, I decided to focus primarily on informants who were currently residing and / or come from the cognitive boundaries of either Incheon or Kobe as this emic category

seemed the best suited for studying personal city landscapes. What I intend by "cognitive" delimitation of the city is simply the extent of the urban area generally, customarily considered to be part of the city in question or one that my informant would still consider to be part of the said city.

Let me compare my two case studies alongside the three characteristics:

Administratively, Kobe City comprises the "inner Kobe" in between the sea and Rokko Mountains westward towards the city of Akashi (including Shioya and Tarumi areas) eastward towards Ashiya and the Kita-Kobe residential areas to the north of the mountain range which would be the rough limitations of the "cognitive Kobe". But administratively, Kobe City also includes the township of Arima, located north to the Rokko Mountain ridge and a nationally famous *onsen* resort. However, my informants always talked about Arima as a place separate from Kobe. Functionally (in terms of citizen mobility, goods mobility, networks etc.), Kobe is part of the Keihanshin Area spanning from Kyoto to Akashi, the second largest conurbation in Japan after Tokyo.

Similarly, the "cognitive Incheon" is the smallest, comprising the Old Town and the mainland residential areas including the "bed towns" of Gyeyang and Bupyeong. Generally, the Yeongjeong island with the international airport was also part of the cognitive Incheon (mostly because its residents considered themselves as "living in Incheon"). Doubts were risen by some of my informants about the northernmost part of Incheon, the Seo-gu ward that had better accessibility to Seoul even though administratively belonging to the Incheon Self-Governing City, same went to the Ganghwa Island (rarely perceived as Incheon). Songdo IBD is also administratively part of Incheon, though both branded and often perceived as a separate entity. Functionally, Incheon is part of the Greater Seoul Metro Area, with Subway Line 1 connecting Incheon Chinatown to Seoul Station (the original railway track in between the two cities that was integrated into the modern urban train network) and day and night bus lines running in between different places within the Seoul Metro Area[13].

3.3   Note on Romanization, Alternative Place-Names and Era Names

---

[13]   When I had to travel to the AKS campus in Seongnam, a satellite city to Seoul, I found a direct tangential bus line running in between Incheon Bus Terminal and Seongnam.

For both Japanese and Korean language, different systems of transcription into Latin alphabet exist. In my work, I adhere to common academic standards in Asian Studies and thus use a variant of Hepburn romanization for Japanese, the Revised Romanization of Korean for words and terms pertaining to contemporary South Korean context and the McCune–Reischauer romanization (South Korean variant) for historical names. This dichotomy exists in Korean studies because McCune was used (with small differences) in both South and North Koreas, whereas the new Revised Romanization was put in place only in South Korea in 2000. Some scholars (such as

Gelézeau, De Ceuster and Delissen 2013) therefore vouch preference for McCune in relation to historical studies.

There are three exceptions to this: First, I kept the names of researchers in the transcription used on the respective papers, assuming personal preference for transcribing one's name (which is also common practice in Asian Studies). Second, I kept the names of publicly known figures in the variant in which they customarily appear in English-speaking press, to avoid confusion for my readers. Thus, I use Ahn Sang-soo instead of An Sang Su for the former Mayor of Incheon 안상수 or Lee Myung-bak instead of I Meyong Bak for the former President of South Korea 이명박 etc.

Third, for very common Japanese words, I use a simplified romanization version, omitting the macron to indicate a long vowel, most notably in the place names Kōbe, Ōsaka and Kyōto.

Some places I refer to bore different names during different times. When appropriate, I use the term corresponding to the time period I refer to. This is mostly relevant to the following place names in Korea:

Chosŏn dynasty / Korean Empire	Japanese colonial period	Post WWII
Chemulpo	Jinsen	Incheon
Hansŏng / Hamgyeong	Keijō	Seoul
Chosŏn	Chōsen	Korea

In Japan, dating based on era names corresponding to reign periods of a given Emperor is used in official documents, even though Gregorian calendar dates are used in parallel and on everyday basis. However, historical periods are referred to based on the era even outside academic and scholarly

contexts. It occurred to me that some informants said *"You can see buildings and shops from the Shōwa era"*. Strictly speaking, the Shōwa era lasted for most of the 20th century, 1926-1989, but in the living memory of my informants, it was the post-1945 Shōwa period, and in the context of speaking about city images, it mostly meant 1970s and 1980s. This aspect was making my research a bit more temporarily fuzzy.

Also, the Japanese Emperors are posthumously referred to by the name of their era. During their reign, they are simply referred to as the Emperor, *Tennō,* and never by their personal name. The term used to an Emperor who abdicated in favor of an heir, so his era had ended, but is still alive (which is currently the case in Japan), is Emperor Emeritus, *Daijō Tennō*, alternatively *Jōkō.* This practice translated into academic writing for the Emperor Meiji, whose personal name was Mutsuhito, and for Emperor Taishō (Yoshihito), but remains non-systematic in English for the Emperor Shōwa, who is commonly referred to by his personal name Hirohito. Same goes for *Daijō Tennō* (Akihito) and the reigning Emperor (Naruhito). I tend to use the emic Japanese designations in my paper. For better orientation in the text, a summary table for modern historical and contemporary Japanese era names:

Era name	Dates	Emperor's Personal Name
Meiji	1867 – 1912	Mutsuhito
Taishō	1912 – 1926	Yoshihito
Shōwa	1926 – 1989	Hirohito
Heisei	1989 – 2019	Akihito
Reiwa	2019 – present	Naruhito

A similar system existed in Korea, where distinction is also made based on ruling dynasties. Relevant for our study is the Yi Chosŏn period (1392–1897), its last monarchs, as well as the short-lived Korean Empire (1897-1910):

Monarch	Dates of reign	Notes
Heungseon Daewongun,	1864 – 1873	Prince regent for Gojong

prince Gung

Gojong	1864 – 1897	As last monarch of the Chosŏn dynasty
Gojong	1897 – 1907	Emperor Gwangmu, first Emperor of the Korean Empire
Sunjong	1907 – 1910	Emperor Yunghui

In the Korean context, the listed monarch's names are not the personal names, but the temple names used to enshrine the monarch's spirit in the Confucian ancestral shrine Jongmyo. Similarly to the Chinese model, era names could change multiple times during a monarch's reign, if it was appropriate (i.e. to improve luck etc.) The era names coinciding with the honorary name of the Emperor were used during the Korean Empire period of 1897 – 1910.

4   Kobe and Chemulpo with Special Regards to the Built Environment and Its Legacies

4.1   Kobe and Chemulpo Open Ports, Establishment and Spatiality

In this Chapter, I would like to briefly describe the formation of the open ports of Kobe and Chemulpo with special regards to their spatial arrangements and built environments that would help us understand the setting of the extant built remnants of the open port period and the colonial period within the city fabric of today. It will also enable us to discuss the built legacies of Kobe and Incheon within the framework of Anthony D. King's "settler urban legacy" in Chapter 4.2. The open port period of Kobe has been extensively studied by Peter Ennals (2014) who dedicated a full-length book to the establishment, institutions and everyday life in the foreign settlement in between 1868-1899; thus I will concentrate only on the key points relevant for my further study.

We must bear in mind that the ports, and thus also the settlements to some extent, had a fluctuating population: there were temporary visitors, sailors, passengers in transit and then the merchants and their families who often traveled for prolonged periods of time themselves.

4.1.1 Kobe Open Port

Kobe (Hiōgo) opened in 1867 as the last port from the four stipulated for by the Harris Treaty of 1858, because the Japanese administration purposefully stalled its opening: Hiōgo was considered a strategic location due to its proximity to the imperial siege of Kyoto. Ennals (2014, 8-9) quotes the reasons of internal struggle in between the Shogunate and the Satsuma clan; the fear of "Westerners" being too close to the Emperor and foreigners desecrating the Japanese soil that arose in the political turmoil of the time is cited by Harold S. Williams (1975).

The area had an existing port town, Hiōgo, which was equipped for the inland sea domestic traffic and has been an established for some time. However, the foreign concession of 500×500 meters (Tamura 2007) totaling 122 building lots of various sizes (Ennals 2014, 35) was drawn east of Hiōgo,

on the sandy shore in between the Ikuta River and Sannomiya Shrine near a sake-brewing village called Kobe. Prior to opening the settlement for its future inhabitants, the site was to be prepared in terms of drainage and basic utilities infrastructure, a process that itself dragged as well, because the site was difficult to drain properly. Establishing the foreign concessions as a planned greenfield project was common practice in China, India and in other cities of Japan, as it made ensuring the extraterritoriality possible (Ennals 2014). In contrast to other principality cities such as Shanghai, the "Western" foreign concession in Kobe (and later on in Chemulpo) wasn't further separated alongside nationalities. Thus, there was no distinct French quarter or British quarter etc. in Kobe. But nationality-divided gentlemen clubs (with the German Club establishing first and the International Club that would become the Kobe Club as the second; Williams 1975) and Free Masonic loges existed, though eventually, only the Kobe Club and Shioya Country Club remained until toady, catering to well-to-do expats – with events and membership that is by-invitation only (personal observations). However, other clubs and places of leisure and social activities for foreign residents were established after the open port period, such as the India Club established in 1939, or the aforementioned Shioya Country Club that opened in 1924 as an alternative to the existing Shioya Club on the James-yama hill. The Shioya Country Club was notable in the Kobe social circles as the only Club accepting female members from the start (Rahn and Hiashiyama 2006). Foreign communities also concentrated around places of worship: the Kobe Jain temple, the Kobe Mosque, the Kobe Synagogue and the Guandimiao temple (Chinese taoist temple dedicated to Guan Yu); all of which were established before WWII.

Upon opening, the settlement lots were auctioned, in several waves. The most sought-after lots were the bigger ones alongside the Bund on the waterfront. Further inland, the lots grew smaller and their rents were more accessible. The settlement was self-governing, meaning it had its own elected local governing body, the Municipal Council. This is another system that we see replicated in Chemulpo where the self-government agency of the Joint-Concession Area (= the Western settlement) was known as *Sidong Gongsa*.

Next to the foreign settlement, the so-called "native town", or Motomachi, also developed. It wasn't part of the settlement, so the extraterritorial status didn't apply and the planning of the urban grid wasn't centralized. The resulting town was much more haphazard and less structurally defined, as it resulted from a more "organic" process. However, the native town was also gradually "sanitized" and redeveloped (building utilities infrastructure, creating the "Native Bund" in prolongation of the Bund in the settlement etc.) by the Japanese local government (Ennals 2014). The emergence of the Native Town was due to a mix of factors: the established port of Hiōgo's center was about one and half kilometers away and for businesses catering to sailors (grog shops, brothels, diners etc.) it was better to establish much closer to the future port of Kobe. Also, the process of preparation of the settlement's site was dragging, so some businessmen decided to settle within the native town first to being their activities. Not only businesses, but social clubs as well started out in temporary premises in the Native Town (Williams 1975). The Chinese also settled in the native town because of the absence of an appropriate treaty in between Japan and China. The Chinese had a Taoist temple, called Guandimiao, established in Kobe in the 1870s following the Japan-China Goodwill Treaty of 1871 (Rahn and Higashiyama 2006) that is still to be found in Kobe in the environs of the Hyogo Prefectural Office. Another place of worship coveted by the Chinese community, the Suwa Inari Shrine, will be discussed in the following chapter. Peter Ennals (2014) further adds that the native town has become a residential choice for those who were not welcome in the settlement by the local foreign community, typically missionaries.

The long deadlines in delivering the settlement's site were (in part) due to the issues of proper drainage: after rain, the site was prone to be flooded with mud and ridden with mosquitoes as it lies on the geologically unfavorable areas along the shore prone to liquefaction. Indeed, the future inhabitants of Kobe, who had seen the site, expressed their disappointment very eloquently (Ennals 2014, 27): *"Kōbe has been weighed and found wanting… The concession is a swamp and a quicksand knee deep with water in the rainy season, and scorching dusty plain under the summer sun."* This resulted in a

formation of another foreign settlement outside the concession, that became known as "the Hill", on the slopes of the Rokko mountains in between the Ikuta Shrine and the Kobe Kitano Tenmengu Shrine, the so-called Kobe Kitano. The area is nowadays known as Kobe Kitano or Kobe Ijinkan. Kitano was a residential area where both foreigners and Japanese lived. Tamura (2007) recalls in the personal story of Mary Kawatani Kirby, an heiress of the locally famous Tor Hotel, that since foreigners were not allowed to own property in Japan, their family estates were often written only on the name of their Japanese partners – marriage was not possible or desirable among Japanese-foreigner (or Chinese-Westerner) couples, so "common law marriages" were not unheard of in the foreign community of Kobe. Kitano offered a more pleasant living conditions than the concession and remained (perceived as) a foreigner quarter until today.

There seems to have been a strong sense of replicating of the lifestyle from "home", or even ascending into the desired lifestyle, among the foreign businessmen and their families. Thus, Free-Masonic loges existed in Kobe, and clubs where socializing took place alongside business deals. Ennals (2014) mentions that attending the club was the primer way of conducting one's professional life and that period sources mention it to be rather tedious at times. The Bund on the waterfront was furbished as a promenade for Sunday walks and a public park / garden was established behind the first block of settlement lots on the border with the "Native town". Sports venues were also established in order to cater to "modern" lifestyles, namely the Kobe Regatta and Athletic Club, that has been emulated on the Yokohama Regatta and Athletic Club. After the open port period, in the early 20th century, the Germans of Kobe prompted the development of hiking facilities in the Rokko mountains. Japanese private railways also started operation of several cable-car lines into the Rokko-san range in the 1930s; the trains and stations were styled in the art-deco style.

Another important institution for the foreign settlers was securing the establishment of a cemetery, something that we will see again in Chemulpo too. Presently, all the foreign cemeteries in both Kobe and Incheon have been conserved and relocated from their original sites due to urban expansion.

The open port period in Japan ended in 1899 with the dissolution of the self-administered concessions. Then, the administration of the Kobe settlement was handed over to the local Japanese government. Ennals (2014) says that even though some foreigners decided to leave Japan, others decided to stay, as the foreigners were allowed to remain in Japan.

Other foreign communities, most notably the Indian, Muslim and Jewish communities in Kobe established and grew only after the open port period, in early 20th century. Indians were arriving to Japan in the early 20th century and after the 1923 Kanto earthquake, Kobe became the Japanese city with the biggest Indian community, that even rejuvenated after the WWII and remain in Kobe until present. It is worth noting that the Indian community had established a Jain temple in Kobe (and not any other religion from the Indian subcontinent) but unfortunately, I couldn't get any relevant data as to how many current Indian residents of Kobe frequent the temple; even though I know regular community life exists around it. The Muslim community started in the early 1920s when Muslim Turkish Tatars were fleeing the Soviet Russia (Rahn and Higashiyama 2006). Similarly, the Jewish community in Kobe developed in the late 1930s and early 1940s when Jews from Poland and Lithuania were fleeing Europe. Several thousands of them went via Japan because then Japanese consul in Lithuania, Sugihara Chiune, issued the Jewish refugees Japanese transit visas. The refugees entered Japan through Shimonoseki, Kobe or Tsuruga (Tsuruga City Museum, permanent exhibition, personal visit, January 2017), following the railway and maritime routes described in the previous chapter. Some, however, remained in Japan. The Kobe Synagogue, however, was founded by a certain Rahmo Sassoon, a young businessman from Aleppo, who went to Kobe in 1936 in search of business opportunities[14], like many others since the opening of the ports.

During the WWII, nationals from the Allied forces either left Japan or were held in home imprisonment. Many of those who fled the war, however, returned, including members of the Indian community (Tamura 2007). The long presence of the foreign nationals and the continuing "cosmopolitan" environment of Kobe's inhabitants plays an important role in the *city branding* and city image that we will see in Chapter 5.

After the end of the open port period, not only foreign communities further developed, but so did European and "European style" urban developments, notably in Ashiya and in Shioya in the 1920s, both developing as upper-scale neighborhoods (Tamura 2007) that we will look at in more detail in the following sub-chapters. New "foreigner" institutions were also established after the open port, such as the Deutsche Schule Kobe – now the Kobe European School – that was founded in Kitano in 1909 (Lehmann 2009).

14

The Jewish Community in Kobe's official website, page dedicated to the memory of Rahmo Sassoon. Available online: http://www.jcckobe.org/Rahmo_Sassoon.html (Acquired February 22nd, 2021.)

When it comes to the architectural styles of the foreign settlements in Kobe, Ennals (2014, 129) importantly notes that they changed over time and that: *"As reference points for residential landscape created by the foreigners in the settlement itself, these surviving houses [the ones remnant in Kobe now] can be misleading. Some of them were greatly different in architectural inspiration from those that were constructed in the settlement itself, or even those dwellings built on the Hill above the Concession during the treaty port era."* The extant houses now are oftentimes "wooden clapboard style" (Ennals 2014, 128) or "Spanish Mission style" (Tamura 2007, 51), often constructed in the early 20th century. Probably the most emblematic, the so-called Weathercock house (*kazamidori no yakata* in Japanese), was built in 1909 for a German businessman Gottfried Thomas. The "James-tei", the former residence of Ernest W. James in Shioya built in the late 1920s doesn't conform to this architectural style, but, is, nevertheless, perceived as a "foreign residence". That is to say that even though the extant houses in Kobe cannot help us picture the urban landscape of the treaty port era, in terms on city image, my informants weren't customarily making that distinction. The foreign houses (*ijinkan*) were signifiers of the old international aspect of Kobe, of the opening of Japan to foreigners.

4.1.2 Chemulpo Open Port

The port of Chemulpo opened upon the Ganghwa Treaty in between Japan and Korea in 1876, aside of Busan and Wonsan, and the physical opening didn't materialize until 1883. Chemulpo was the only treaty port in Korea where other foreigners than the Japanese came to settle. The original site of the open port lay slightly further to the north from today, in the small port of Songchangpo in the vicinity of the Hwadojin Fortress (Ch'oe 2005). The area seems to have been sparsely inhabited as it was mostly *"hilly, with small plains and no substantial source of fresh water (…) no welcoming farmland. Yet, there were some land reclamation projects along the wetlands [that stretch alongside the Ganghwa River estuary] and the Wolmido Island apparently held a fishing village."* (Lichá 2017a, 192)

As I mentioned already in Chapter 2.2, the settlement was drawn out about 2km south of Songchangpo, in the location of present-day Chiantown and the Open Port Area, and the merchants started to draw ships to anchor in front of the settlement, until the port eventually moved there and a customs office was established in this new location (Ch'oe 2005). This was one of the signs if the weakened power of the Chosŏn government to exercise its authority locally.

In Chemulpo, there were three separate settlements lined out next to each other: the Chinese concession, the Japanese concession and Joint-Area concession that served all "Western" nationals. In this regard, Chemulpo differed from Kobe and resembled more the principality cities in China (Shanghai, Hankow; Ennals 2014), even though the "Western" concession itself was not divided along nationalities. Cho'oe (2005) notes two points of interest about the settlements: First, the Chinese settlement had the most narrow and least organized streets due to the hilly environment of the Chinese concession (part of present-day Chinatown), even though the model rendering of the settlement in the Incheon Metropolitan City Museum shows the settlement as being located mostly on the waterfront in accordance to period photographs (Incheon Metropolitan City Museum, permanent exhibition, personal visit, July 2017). However, we can ascertain that at least part of the Chinese concession was indeed on the hillside overlooking the port, thanks to the location of the Gonghwachun restaurant (Chinese restaurant specializing in *jjajangmyeon* noodles) established in 1908 (Jjajangmyeon Museum, permanent exhibition, personal visit, August 2018) that lies within the boundaries of today's Chinatown. Second, there were very few foreigners in the Joint-Concession Area so the *Sidong Gongsa* (the Self-Governance body of the Joint-Concession) was making surplus money from renting-out the lots in the concession to Japanese settlers that were on the other hand more numerous than the Japanese concession could take in. The Japanese settlers who were going to Korea, Chemulpo included, were of all kinds of social backgrounds, not only merchants, because of the wording loophole in the Ganghwa Treaty that allowed for "people of Japan" (thus not only Japanese merchants; Ch'oe 2005) to settle in Korea. At the time, Meiji Japan had a surplus of impoverished farmers and former low-ranking samurai who were keen to purchase farming land in Korea or make living otherwise (Uchida 2011).

The "native town" of Chemulpo was gradually building itself around the settlements in a co-centric manner away from the settlements in the middle (because of the geographic disposition of the settlements). According to Ch'oe (2005), the Korean settlements in Chemulpo were distinctly socailly stratified, with rich merchants, middle-class entrepreneurs and the poor inhabiting different areas with various building sizes and degree of planning, reflecting the varying social status of their inhabitants. Therefore, I find it unjustified to use the term "native town in the context of Chemulpo, as it itself tends to bring a certain imagery of a haphazard, slightly precarious and maybe even "exotic", still somewhat loaded with the period colonial imagery under which the term has been conceived (King 1975). Indeed, in the case of Kobe, I reserve the term "native town" to the area of Motomachi that had been attributed

this term during the open port period and even though I am aware that it bore the same colonial burden (Ennals 2014), I decided to keep it used for the sake of clarity of my writing. However, I want to pinpoint that in Kobe as well, the Japanese inhabitants of the cities / areas surrounding the Settlement, were socially stratified, following the dwelling and social patterns of the Meiji/Taishō society. Thus for ex. the well-to-do merchants settled alongside Westerners on the Hill in Kitano, and the "outcast" class congregated alongside the abattoir over the Ikuta River (Ennals 2014), in the Taishō era, a cinema/red-light district developed as a separate area outside of all the current twin cities, in Shinkaichi (lit. meaning "New Land"). Outcasting the red light districts at the edge of towns was a common urban practice at least since Edo Period, etc. This is to say that the clumsiness of the term "native town" is not only colonial but also not useful as an analytical tool as it fails to capture the heterogeneity of local urban realities of Korean and Japanese towns, even during the colonial period.

Even though the treaty period in Chemulpo lasted also about thirty years as it did in Kobe, from 1883-1910 for Chemulpo and from 1868-1899 for Kobe, Chemulpo didn't develop as much as Kobe (that was the only Japan's open port success story after Yokohama) in terms of international port and Western settlement size. Explanation can be multiple: Chemulpo opened in the heyday of the Neo-Imperialism wave of colonialism that brought the Scramble for Africa, so the prime destinations of interest changed; Japanese colonial ambitions with Korea were rather apparent; and Korea didn't offer substantially lucrative export goods besides the raw precious metals (I note in Chapter 2.2 that the main commodities exported from Chemulpo were rice, soy beans and precious metals.) This said, the Joint-Area concession and its society, albeit not large, did possess the attributes of a colonial culture of "home far away from home" and accompanying institutions and lifestyle: social meetings and banquets (Ladd 1908), an English-written newspaper that also informed about the news from the community (marriages, long trips, deaths etc.) and the Club – currently known as the Jemulpo Club. It seems that it was on the more relaxed side in terms of membership rules, as non-Westerners and women were allowed in (Jemulpo Club, permanent exhibition, personal visit, June 2017); which was both forbidden in the Kobe Club (Ennals 2014). The three concession also had associated foreigner cemeteries[15]

---

[15]   As for an anecdotal point of interest, the Incheon's foreigner cemetery for Westerners had one Prague native, a certain Maxmilian Taubles, born 1845 in Prague, who then became a resident of San Francisco and died in 1886 in Korea; according to the transcription from his gravestone preserved in Incheon Metropolitan City Museum (personal visit, July 2017).

outside of the settlement, the sites are presently, again as with Kobe, part of urban Incheon and the cemeteries were closed down and preserved appropriately.

An important feature of the Joint-Concession Area was the All-Nations Park (Manguk Park) that was set up in the upper part of the concession, reaching to the top of the small local hill; the park was to serve as a public garden for relaxation and leisure. Its establishment was financed from the surplus generated by the *Sidong Gongsa* (mostly from tax and rent revenues) and it seemed local Korean intelligentsia was rather skeptical about the idea of a public garden in the beginning and gained its favor only very slowly (Woo and Pae 2011). The park exists until today under the name "Jayu Park" (Freedom Park), renamed after the Korean War. The park has two statues commemorating the relations of South Korea and the US, the statue of General MacArthur and the so-called "Korea-USA Centennial Monument", built in 1982 *"for the 100th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Korea and the U.S[16]"* (100 years since the Shufeldt Treaty). I will talk more about the memory of the unequal treaty with the US and Gen. MacArthur more in Chapter 6.

The three concession areas in Chemulpo were discernible one from another based on physical architectural differences (Ch'oe 2005). The buildings in all the concessions were first provisory, constructed out of wood, and only gradually replaced by more permanent structures in the Chinese and Joint-Area concessions, as the port became more established (this process happened in Kobe as well). The permanent houses were apparently constructed out of bricks because of a brickyard that began operations in the Chinese settlement in 1886, three years after the port opened (The First in Korea 2008). However, the Japanese settlement remained constructed largely out of wood: *"The only ones who preferentially persisted in building from wood were the Japanese – likely for both architectural (Japanese traditional houses are wooden; Ch'oe 2005) and economic reasons (the Chinese were main rivals in the scramble for Chemulpo [for gaining influence and most advantages in Chemulpo] for the Japanese, so the Japanese were unwilling to purchase from the Chinese (The First in Korea 2008). In any case, Ch'oe (2005) notes that the Japanese concession had slightly wider roads to allow easier passage of the firefighting trucks. Yet, the Japanese concession suffered from frequent fire outbreaks (Ladd 1908)."* (Lichá 2017a, 195)

Another difference was the preference for attached versus non-attached warehouses to the main living quarters: the warehouse on the ground level seemed to be typical for the Chinese merchants

---

[16]   Incheon Jung-gu ward culture & tourism official website: https://www.icjg.go.kr/eng/cttu0101a07 (Acquired February 24th 2021.)

whereas a warehouse separated from the house was typical for Japanese merchants (Lichá 2017a). This pertains also to the logic of construction of a typical *machiya,* or a merchant house in Japan: the ground floor is in front occupied by the shop or office of the merchant company, the back is occupied by technical amenities such as the kitchen and the first floor is reserved for living quarters (Osaka Museum of Housing and Living, permanent exhibition, personal visit, July 2017; extant houses in Nara-machi quarter of Nara, personal visit, August 2018). Of course, there could be slight regional differences in between the machiya, but the logic of the basic floor-plan remained the same at least since the 17th century (extant houses in Nara-machi quarter of Nara, personal visit, August 2018). In the case of the best restored extant *machiya* in Incheon, now holding the cafe "pot_R", this floor-plan was maintained, while the living quarters upstairs were reserved to the Korean staff of the Japanese merchant company while the owners lodged elsewhere (pot_R, upstairs exhibition, personal visit, April 2017). Japanese-style buildings were also built in the Joint-Concession area because the *Sidong Gongsa* was renting out some of its lots to the Japanese merchants.

Also, "Western-style" buildings seemed to have been constructed even outside of the Joint-Area concession, both in the Japanese quarter and on the waterfront in front of the Chinese settlements (Ch'oe 2005). First of such buildings was the dormitory for workers of a German-owned company called Meyer & co. that had its mother branch in Nagasaki. The dormitory was to serve the employees during their task of establishing the Meyer & co.'s Chemulpo branch (The First in Korea 2008). This pattern was very typical to the treaty ports, some companies would even have branches in different treaty ports of the same country, like Yokohama and Kobe (Ennals 2014). It also occurred quite often that with the opening of new treaty ports, an entrepreneurial minded employee would leave the home company and form one on his own in the new area. This also happened with the dissolution of the British East India Company: its former employees began operating merchant businesses in the treaty ports; Chemulpo's Jardine Matheson & co. was one such example (First in Korea 2008). The treaty ports were, in a way, new (entrepreneurial) frontiers, and the trade companies would often diversify their activities: the American company Townsend & co. opened a steam-powered rice mill in Chemulpo, offered money-lending services and for a time run the mail circulation in between the US and Korea (Lichá 2017a).

In present days, however, the majority of the extant houses are "Japanese", either the *machiya* from the treaty port period or private residences of colonial officers dating from 1920s-1930s (see following chapter). The building of the Jemulpo Club still stands preserved on its original location on the lower

reaches of the Jayu Park and it presently a city museum. Other Western-style buildings extant in the Open Port Area are actually former institutional buildings dating from the Japanese colonial period: white-stone, monumental neo-classic architecture. One such building, a former bank office, is the siege of the Incheon Open Port Museum.

The Chinese community in Chemulpo began with and was largely composed of seasonal workers, particularly from the Shandong province (Eom 2013) who sent majority of their income home. The Shandong worker community was allegedly the source of the emblematic food of Incheon, the *jjajangmyeon* (noodles in black bean sauce). The dish started as a workers' food, as street food distributed from large metal boxes that were keeping the bowls of noodles warm. Later, in 1908, the Gonghwachun restaurant opened, serving *jjajangmyeon* as its specialty dish. Even though based on Chinese recipes, *jjajangmyeon* is, indeed, a product of cultural blending, as the recipe was crafted to cater to Korean palates as well (Jjajangmyeon Museum, personal visit, August 2018). Similarly, *japchae*, another specialty dish of Incheon, is a local take on the Chinese recipe of *chop suey* (Contrarily to the Chinese variants of *chop suey*, *japchae* contains noodles as well, specifically noodles made from sweet potatoes).

Chemulpo was a gateway port to Korea and to the capital, a point of transit. Therefore hotels sprang up soon in all the concessions. Chemulpo was also among the places where technological and institutional innovations were first implemented in Korea, be it the post services (Kocinová 2017), a meteorological observatory (First in Incheon 2008) or the railway. The line in between Chemulpo and the capital opened in 1899, operated by Gyeongin Railway that was sold to the American company Morse (Incheon H&C 2003).

The concessions in Korea were abolished with the annexation of the Korean Empire by Japan in 1910. Yet, the Russians were already expropriated with the declaration of the Russo-Japanese war. After 1910, the foreign population of Chemulpo, then called Jinsen, was composed of the Japanese settlers. With the official annexation, the Japanese began building "overseas" shrines in the colonies, as one of the three new categories of shrines established within the state Shinto (Nakajima 2010). They didn't leave their mark on urban Korea of today as the Shinto shrines were nationally taken down directly after the end of WWII when the Japanese were forced to leave Korea.

4.2   Settler and Colonial Urban Transformations and Legacies in Kobe and Incheon

The settlement systems in the treaty ports allowed for a great degree of architectural liberty in the individual buildings, despite the fact that the outlay of the settlement and the individual lots have been centrally drawn out. What it meant is that the settlements could become "home far away from Home", a place where housing and leisure styles from different source countries (metropolises) could be re-planted and instated, thus influencing the past and present city fabric of the places of the foreign settlement and beyond while allowing the settlers to maintain some degree of lifestyle from the metropolis. Debating the most prominent styles in Kobe and Incheon (Chemulpo) vis-à-vis King's (1975) analytical framework of settler urban legacies will constitute the first part of this Chapter.

Moreover, with the Japanese transformation into a colonial empire, Japan was no exception in the interlinking of spatial re-shaping and envisioning of urban spaces within its colonial project. And *"because of the primacy of the spatial in imperial projects, postcolonial politics is also often explicitly spatial,"* (Said in Jacobs 1996, 4) the second part of this Chapter will be dedicated to drawing out the most tangible colonial changes in urban fabric of the colonial city of Jinsen and where it stood in the context of the subsequent dispatching of built colonial remnants in South Korea.

Of course, full studies could be dedicated to either aspect of these processes, hence I have selected those that are of relevance for further discussion about built legacies in our two case studies and/or reveal an important aspect of post-colonial processes.

4.2.1   Settler Urban Legacies: A Critical Approach from Kobe and Chemulpo

Anthony D. King in his pioneering book *Colonial Urban Development* (1975) sets out a framework for interdisciplinary study of the formation and urban processes and forms of a colonial city. His study in its broad sense is of continuing relevance as it advocates for an interdisciplinary approach in analyzing the urban forms resulting from the colonial practice and by extension, in analyzing the socio-cultural processes behind urban creation and transformations in general: He specifies the role of

political power and its distribution, institutions, religion, culture and medical and technological advancements as variables influencing what kinds of urban forms would arise in a specific time, space and society-culture.

In other words, he laid out basis for analysis of the "real geographies" of colonial spaces as Jane Jacobs (1996) called them in her analysis of urban de-colonization: *"Here, the contours, boundaries and geographies of space are 'called upon to stand in for all contested realms of identity' (...) suggest that many of the literary-based re-evaluations of colonialism are ambivalent about geographies 'more physical than imagined'. (...) It is in this context that my book attends to what I somewhat unfashionably refer to as the 'real' geographies of colonialism and postcolonialism."* (Jacobs 1996, 3)

The colonial cities are specific because they are a product of different cultures and as such they are, according to King (1975) a palimpsest of different cities and the best possibility to study inter-cultural exchanges – here, we must note that King by no means idealizes the colonial city and takes into account the negative views of the colonial Other and the separation of the colonial settlers from the locals among socio-cultural factors affecting the form of the colonial settlements; even though the study does not deal with the political-colonial assimilation of symbolic places and public spaces during the colonial urban processes that lie at the core of post-colonial urban studies nowadays (Jacobs 1996, Jin 2007, Yeoh 2011, Henry 2014).

King's focus lies within the so-called *third colonial culture* that results from contact in between the "primary culture" (the culture of the colonizing "metropolis") and the "secondary culture" (the culture of the colonized, the "native culture"). According to King (1975), the largest portion of the third culture is founded in the first culture that adapts and changes with the contact with the second culture. Of course, the influencing factors of the secondary culture over the first could also be the physical specifics of the colony that would lead the members of the first culture to adjust their habitus. The third colonial culture in its built form produces what King (1975) calls "settler urban legacies", be they special dwelling patterns or built forms. In his later book (King 1995) he explored how one such a settler legacy, the *bungalow,* as a new type of house resulting from adaptation of a farmer's house from Southern India (*bangalo*) to British tastes and living patterns as colonial settlers in India, became an item of globalized and global urban fashions.

The *bungalow* is, however, a rather unique example of a form that started out as specific to its third colonial culture – as indeed, it seems more appropriate to talk about third colonial cultures – and spread globally. Other settler urban legacies tend to be limited to their particular settings, as the first culture

and its specifics are important factors in the production of the settler urban legacy, making an important point against the idea of a generalized West or a single model for colonial urbanism. The most illustrative example of this is a short study by Franco Frescura (2017) on built urban forms produced by Dutch settlers in South Africa that differ drastically from the urban forms produced by the British elite in India described by King (1975), both in appearances and in underlying factors raging from the social background of the settlers to the nature of the colonialism – franchise / dependent versus settler & creole (Wolfe 1999) – practiced by the colonial power. Even though King (1975) advocates for universality of his model based on British New Delhi, Frescura's (2017) paper shows how Wolfe's (1999) critique of postcolonial studies sources could serve us to refrain from taking residence patterns stemming from the British "indirect rule" and applying them universally. Wolfe wrote: *"native founders of the postcolonial canon came from franchise or dependent – as opposed to settler or creole – colonies"* (Wolfe 1999, 1) which was one of the limiting factors of formation of the post-colonial theory, thus, in regards to studies of anthropology in (post)coloniality, Wolfe (1999) studied the influence of settler colonialism on the formation of anthropological theory. Similarly, we see that mobile elites and merchants with global connections give rise to different sorts of urban forms and require different socio-cultural infrastructure than settlers (Frescura 2017, Uchida 2011) or seasonal workers (Eom 2013) and sailors (Ennals 2014), which seems rather self-evident, yet is an important note to take.

When the "settler urban legacy" becomes applied as an analytical tool in further studies, another issue arises: what degree of change in the first culture's built form is necessary to become a third culture and thus to become a "settler urban legacy" stricto sensu? And is this even useful? In a study on postcolonial Tapiei, Liu (2013) uses the term settler urban legacy to designate any Japanese buildings regardless of how much their forms adapted to the local environment, while alternatively Lo (1998) employs the French term "fait urbain", the urban fact, similar in idea to the "real geographies" of Jane Jacobs (1996). I pause on this terminological issues because they gave rise to questions on how to label and interpret both the colonial urban forms in both Kobe and Chemulpo and what remained of them until now. As we will see, the clear-cut "settler urban legacies" stricto sensu described by King (1975) or Frescura (2017) seemingly did not occur (much) in both Kobe and Chemulpo. However, the process of creating a home far away from home was strongly present, as we have seen in the previous chapter, with social clubs, athletic associations, foreign cemeteries, "home" architectural styles (*machiya*, villa)

and own places of worship etc. present in the everyday life of the open port settlements and continuing beyond the open port period.

The situation of the open ports in the Far East in regards of the "settler urban legacies" stricto sensu is complicated by the multiplicity of the "first cultures" present in one place. For instance, in Chemulpo, we could count the Japanese, the Chinese, the Germans, the Russians, the Americans and the French. Even King (1975) mentions that in the Far East, other nationals came from other colonies, even though they weren't members of either the primary or the secondary culture. In Kobe, for instance, people from the British Commonwealth albeit not from England or Ireland came and established themselves, namely Australians and Indians, the latter becoming prominent in the pearl cultivation industry (Rahn and Higashiyama, 2006). In Kobe, this intermittent status would also apply to the Chinese.

We have also seen in the case of Chemulpo that the political relations in between the countries of the different "first cultures" would influence the urban forms and institutions established within the treaty ports. The absolute size of the settlement and the degree of separation in between the members of "first cultures" is also an important factor. On the differences of Kobe, Chemulpo and some principality cities in China described in the previous chapter, we could summarize that the smaller the settlement, the more mixing and relaxing of social norms seems to occur, putting the open ports in parallel with the US frontier era after the civil war (Gelézeau 2014, EHESS seminar, personal notes).

All these challenges come down to the idea that the open ports / principality cities are a special hybrid urban form within the context of colonization, a type apart within the franchise colonialism practice. In its form, it is the first modern type city with "expat" conclaves, with its own forming third culture stemming from the multiplicity of first cultures. The other factor comes down to the fact that the open port settlements were self-governing and extraterritorial, but also rather limited in size and thus still very much influenced by the governance of the city, province and country they were part of, again, very similar to international business conclaves of the late 20th and 21st centuries. In this sense, the open ports of Chemulpo and Kobe had more in common with present-day Songdo IBD than with New Delhi.

We also discussed the difficulty of establishment of what was the "native town" during the open port period and later in Kobe. Yet, the term seems to be established (or at least accepted) in studies of

Japanese colonial settlements in Chōsen, as the symptomatic "dual colonial town" developed in cities such as Keijō (Delissen 1993, Henry 2014), Busan (Kwon 2008) or Mokpo (Park 2008), with the foreign Japanese settlements being purposefully separated from the "native town".

If we were then to focus on the Japanese colonial period in regards to the settler legacies, another interesting issue arises, and that is the changes in the "first culture" that impact the urban planning and/or urban forms. The changes are both big and small, first and foremost the general reform of urban planning procedures that came with the modernizing efforts of the Meiji administration (Hein 2003), continuing further into the Taishō era (Sugiura 1978). These changes, for example, impacted the re-structuring of local (urban) governance such as establishing of *machi* as a founding block and lowest administrative level of a Japanese city (Hein 2008).

To this adds the global spread of architectural trends and fashions (beside the *bungalow* treated above) at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. With the modernization of the Meiji Empire (and the Korean Empire for a short time), Western aesthetics was adopted in regards to aspects of everyday life from clothing and hairstyles, through the rising popularity of shopping malls and eating out (Kendall 2011) to adoption of new architectural styles and materials (ex. Ginza Brick Town in Tokyo, Daimaru Department Store in Kobe). The rising popularity of the stern monumental style of Neo-classicism was also reflected in the building of institutional and governmental buildings both locally (ex. Hyogo Prefecture Office) and in the colonies (Government-General Building in Keijō, bank buildings in Jinsen etc.). This whole process makes difficult to locate the "first culture" in talking about settler urban legacies in the closer definition. Moreover, the globalizing trends in aesthetics were happening within the settlements during the open port periods (or soon after): the Weathercock House in Kobe was commissioned by an American merchant from a German architect, the second Jemulpo Club's building (from 1901) in Incheon was designed by a Russian architect Sabatin etc.

In this regard, the broader usage of the "settler urban legacy" proposed by Liu (2013) seems more appropriate while describing the whole palimpsest of the built remnants from the open port and colonial periods. In the next chapter, I will also introduce the term "heritage houses" that I use as a sub-category of the broad settler urban legacies to designate individual buildings currently registered as

local heritage in both Kobe and Incheon and that form the bulk of the remnants from the colonial and open port periods that my informants talked about.

However, the stricter definition of the settler urban legacies as defined by King (1975) could serve as an analytical tool to unravel details and stories of cultural blending not obvious on the first sight. I identified two such cases in built form in Kobe (Suwa Inari Shrine; public Japanese garden) and one (non)built in Incheon (*Jjajangmyeon* restaurant).

The Suwa Inari Shrine is a type of *jinja* dedicated to the worship of Inari, the deity responsible for rice, harvest, business success and general prosperity. The Suwa Shrines, however, are different from other Inari Shrines (or other Shinto Shrines in general) because they incorporate elements and infrastructures added by the Chinese living in Japan, bringing different elements of religiosity and religious practices specific for Chinese Taoist / Buddhist temple and ancestral worship into the Suwa Shinto Shrine. Rahn and Higashiyama (2006, 71) ascertain the first Suwa Shrine was built in Nagasaki and then spread to other open ports, including Kobe where it lies at the end of Yamamoto-dōri just west of the Kitano hill, on the slopes of the Rokko mountain range, overlooking the port. The "Chinese" elements in the Suwa Shrine include the paper money burner (*jinting*) used for ancestral worship, praying mats and the different numbers and sizes of incense burned in comparison to the regular temple and Inari Shrine practice in Japan[17] (Suwayama Inari Shrine in Kobe, personal visit, March 2017). The Suwa Shrine in Kobe is used by the Chinese community until present, though I could not acquire any personal comments from my informants. However, the fact that such a blending of religious practices happened in an Inari shrine seems very natural: not only is Inari a prosperity deity coveted by merchants and businessmen as well as farmers, but the Inari worship stood and stands apart from the centralized organization of the State Shinto (and presently, the Inari Shrines are not members of the central organization of Shinto Shrines, the *Jinja Honchō*).

The public gardens were, as we have seen, among the leisure infrastructures that were built by the settlement self-governing bodies in the foreign settlements both in Kobe and Chemulpo. I have also mentioned that the public garden as a concept has at first received non-enthusiastic reception from the Confucian elites of late Chosŏn Korea (Woo and Pae 2011). In Japan as well, a garden was, as such, a private place: either part of residence of a member of the elite (noblemen, later public officials etc.) or

---

17

    Rahn and Higashiyama (2006, 69) note that the incense is not usually used in Shinto Shrines in Japan (only in temples) which is generally true except for the Inari Shrines where – especially when they are small – incense burning is rather common.

as adjacent to a Buddhist Temple. However, with the establishment of parks and public gardens, it seems that under the influence of this "Western" concept of gardens, public Japanese-style gardens slowly emerged during the first half of the 20th century. This was the case of the Sorakuen Garden in Kobe, originally a private garden of the residence of Kodera Taijiro, the father of former Kobe Mayor Kodera Kenkichi. The garden has been passed under the ownership of the Kobe City and opened to the public in 1941 (Sorakuen Garden, personal visit, October 2016). The official plate in the garden also indicates that the Western garden style influence can also be seen in the large areas of grass lawns. Another such garden turned public space is the Yoshikien Garden in Nara. Combined with the popularity of Japanese style gardens in Europe at the turn of the centuries onward (from the one built by Albert Kahn in Boulogne outside of Paris by 1910 to the Japanese garden within the botanical gardens of Trója in Prague opened in 1997), the public Japanese garden using both techniques of Japanese and "Western" garden sculpting could be interpreted as an equal example to the *bungalow* as a globalized urban fashion, with possibility of further research on this phenomenon.

I have briefly mentioned the *jjajangmyeon* noodles that, alongside *japchae,* emerged as Chinese street food adapted to Korean palates and in Chapter 10, we will see that *jjajangmyeon* is until now a trademark specialty dish of Incheon. The first *jjajangmeyon* restaurant, the Gonghwachun, opened in Chemulpo in 1908 and according to the Jjajjangmyeon Museum's permanent exhibition (visited August 2018), it had become the first place to eat out for Korean families of all backgrounds. Cwiertka (Kendall 2011) explores in her paper the rise of the eating out culture in Korea during the Korean Empire and the Japanese colonial period as an empowering and emancipating space for middle-class Korean women (for whom the shopping mall restaurants are a socially acceptable place to go and be seen alone). However, eating out as such (even for middle and low classes) is not something that was brought by the industrial revolution, on the contrary, has been an urban reality in China at least since the Ming period, similarly in Tokugawa Japan. Cwiertka (Kendall 2011) suggests that it might not be so common in Chosŏn Korea, however, the entertainment areas of tearooms-restaurants-brothels, reserved for socializing of Chosŏn upper class men and noblemen, existed. The Gonghwachun "Chinese" restaurant serving a specialty "fusion dish" stands at the intersection of the widely affordable eating out practice with the socio-cultural change of emancipation of Korean women and later spending of "family quality time" within the nuclear family – the Gonghwachun seemed to serve as a popular place for a celebratory lunch after school graduation for local families in the 1950s-1960s (Jjajangmyeon

Museum, personal visit, August 2018). As such, it developed on a similar trajectory to a settler urban legacy while having a non-built dimension.

4.2.2 Colonizing of City Spaces During the Japanese Colonial Era (in Korea)

The link in between the space, power and built environment, *"the primacy of the spatial in imperial projects"* (Said in Jacobs 1996, 4), is also applicable to the Japanese colonial project in Korea. Jane Jacobs herself adds: *"expressions and negotiations of imperialism do not just occur in space. This is a politics of identity and power that articulates itself through space and is, fundamentally, about space."* (Jacobs 1996, 1) Todd Henry (2014) details several forms of the spatial assimilation of the Korean capital of Seoul, mostly pertaining to its public spaces. As I wrote in my paper on post-colonial city making in Seoul: *"Todd notes that on urban level, these assimilation policies especially took the form of sanitation and urban renewal projects (though mainly in the Japanese southern part of town) and by indoctrination in state Shintō. An important element in these endeavors was the 'Japanisation', or re-appropriation of Seoul's iconic locations by the Japanese Empire."* (Lichá 2017b, 87). The iconic locations were the Mt. Namsan and the Gyeongbok palace. The new building of the Government-General was placed at the entrance to the former Korean imperial palace and built to impress, in the Neo-classical architectural style popular for Japanese institutional buildings at the time (Lichá 2017b). Not surprisingly, the symbolic places of the capital were target of de-colonization thorough the 20th century and I will come to it in Chapter 9.

The rise of State Shinto left its mark on the urban structures of modernizing Japan and later in its colonies as the State Shinto required new types of Shinto Shrines to developed and spread both domestically and overseas, especially during the pre-War Shōwa era (Nakajima 2010). Nakajima (2010, 22) groups them into four categories[18]: the shrines dedicated to the imperial cult (*jingū*[19]; ex. Meiji Jingū in Tokio, Kashihara Jingū in Nara Prefecture close to Asuka), shrines embodying "loyal subjects" (such as Minatogawa Jinja in Kobe), shrines housing spirits of those who died for their country in war (Yasukuni Jinja in Tokio; the Gokoku Jinja having many "regional branches" including Kobe Gokoku Jinja reserved for the casualties from the Hyogo Prefecture), and the "overseas shrines" (*kaigai jinja*).

---

[18]   Geographical locations and some examples added by me to relate them better to my particular case studies.
[19]   The generic Japanese term for a Shinto Shrine is *jinja*, *jingū* is reserved to the category of shrines worshiping emperors and members of the imperial family.

The building of these new types of shrines was part of the changing landscape of the Japanese cities, as they were built in urban centers such as Tokyo and leaving continuing legacy of land ownership bargaining power well into 21st century. The Minatogawa Jinja in Kobe is also integrated into a rather central location of the city, directly facing the JR Kobe Station.

In the colonies, the "overseas shrines" became one of the "assimilating tools" of the Japanese colonial administration (Henry 2014). In Jinsen, I managed to track at least three major Shinto Shrines: the Jinsen Jinja, the Atago Jinja and the Agota Jinja in Wolmido island, built to commemorate the Japanese victory over Russia in 1905 with none of them remaining now.

Another aspect of the Japanese imperial project at home that directly impacted Kobe was the development of war-related industries in the Kansai area, that lead to heavy bombing of Kobe and Osaka by the Allied forces during WWII.

The sanitation and standardization efforts of the Japanese colonial administration touched Jinsen as well, in the industrial area around Bupyeong[20]. The Japanese industrial complexes were also furbished with associated lodgings for all levels of employees and workers that were standardized in terms of area and furnishings based on the employment rank of the inhabitants, a practice common for factories thorough Chōsen (Bupyeong Municipal Museum, personal visit, July 2017). Sohn *et al.* (2006) also argue that the colonial discriminatory policies were put in place as these provided "corporate" houses of Korean factory workers were always smaller and less well equipped than those of Japanese workers of comparable employment rank.

However, traces of large-scale colonial assimilation of Jinsen – aside from the mentioned above – are difficult to trace in the contemporary urban fabric of modern Incheon. Individual houses and scant technical buildings (warehouses etc.) dating from the colonial period nevertheless remain in the present Open Port period in the former settlement area and we will talk about them in the following Chapter.

---

[20] Bupyeong area was later used for the first large US field hospital during the Korean War, when the Bupyeong hospital was taking over the patients from the MASH units (Bupyeong Municipal Museum, personal visit, July 2017), a system revolutionizing front-line casualty care and changing military doctrines regrading wounded soldiers in the 20th century.

4.3   Heritage Houses and Chinatowns in Kobe and in Incheon Today

There are a number of extant buildings from the late 19th and early 20th centuries in both the cities of Incheon and Kobe. They are concentrated in the Open Port Area of Incheon and the Kitano Ijinkan area in Kobe and constituted a large part of the "memory" places I asked my informants about (see Chapter 5.2).

I label them as "heritage houses" because the area of Kitano, the Guggenheim House and the Open Port Area respectively have been officially designated as protected heritage. Either, the houses themselves are protected, or the whole area is subjected to preservation measures, or a combination of both. Another characteristic these two areas, the Kitano Ijinkan and the Open Port Area, have in common, is that the extant heritage houses there are "foreign" houses, built by the Westerners, the Chinese or the Japanese (in Korea) during the treaty/open port period or during the colonial period. I opted for the therm "heritage houses" to use as a general label as an inspiration from the book *Yangon Echoes: Inside Heritage Homes* (Henderson and Webster 2015), an ethnographic study of oral history linked to buildings, personal narratives, architecture preservation and urban change in modern Burma. The term suited my need to bundle together the private residences that are locally protected and registered as heritage but that are designated in everyday speech using different terms in the two countries.

Later, I learned about the "Heritage Houses Trust" based in Tokyo, ran by an architecture historian Kinoshita Toshiko who aims to raise awareness and interest in preservation of architecturally significant modern houses (20th century) that have no legal architectural protection as being officially recognized as "heritage"[21]. The rationale of the Trust is that: *For numerous reasons, many masterwork houses disappear silently as time goes by. No matter how precious they are, preservation of these houses through multiple generations is not easy because they are private properties. Losing prestigious residences means not only the loss of their specialized architectural techniques or unique spaces, but also their original way of life and the memory of the landscapes they have nurtured. We call this valuable architecture and surrounding environment "Heritage Houses." Cooperating with many*

---

[21]

IconicHouses.org (February 15, 2018): "Toshiko Kinoshita on Japanese Modern Heritage Houses", available online: https://www.iconichouses.org/news/ihc18-toshiko-kinoshita-on-japanese-modern-heritage-houses (Acquired March 12th, 2021.)

people who understand the value of residential heritage and who have a strong interest in their preservation, we founded "HERITAGE HOUSES TRUST". Our aim is to maintain the life and vitality of these heritage houses."[22] Even though their activities did not exactly overlap with my field (though the founder of the trust grew up in Kobe), the rationale behind the trust was very similar to the one articulated by my informants both in Kobe and Incheon who carried on similar activities related to preservation of old buildings and houses they deemed worth preserving. The term "heritage houses" thus seemed very appropriate to use for my field as well.

---

[22]

Heritage Houses Trust, official website: http://hhtrust.jp/eng/about.html (Acquired March 12th, 2021.)

Both cities also have a Chinatown located at where Chinese settlers used to live in the respective cities during the open port periods. In Korea, the Chinatown in Incheon is the only one in the country. In Japan, Kobe is one of the three along with Yokohama and Nagasaki. Chinatowns both in Kobe and Incheon are part of the local landmarks, tourist attractions, and thus also constituted a "memory" place I asked my informants about. In this chapter, we will see the differences in "heritage making", and the staging of the Chinatowns and the "heritage houses" and their individual trajectories.

In Kobe, the Kitano area used to be known as "the Hill". There, those who didn't want to endure the heat, moist and mosquitoes of the Settlement were setting up residences. Ennals (2014) mentions that it was common for the wealthier members of the international community to have offices located in the Settlement and their private residence on the Hill, similarly to the Indian model described by King (1976) where the affluent British colonists would retreat into their summer houses in the mountains to escape the heat in Delhi. The foreign merchants' houses on Kitano are presently called *ijinkan*, a "foreigner residence" or a "Western-style house". The houses recognized as *ijinkan* are registered as cultural heritage and furthermore, the whole Kitano area is considered "protected" by the local government. An informant working in real estate told me that this translates into restrictions on the type and height of buildings that can exist in Kitano, including newly built houses, in order to preserve the overall landscape and skyline style of the area.

The Kitano area is the best preserved of the areas where foreigners settled in Kobe. The former Settlement area now holds only the house n.14, and was otherwise newly redeveloped, both prior and after the 1995 earthquake. Some houses from the former Settlement were relocated to Kitano area (ex. Kitano Monogatari-kan) or to other places such as Port Island after the quake (Ennals 2014).

There are, however, other isolated heritage houses in Kobe: the Hassam House in Sorakuen garden, another relocated building from the Settlement area. The Shioya/Tarumi area, that was largely developed by entrepreneur Ernest W. James in the 1920s (Tamura, 2007), has, to my knowledge, currently very few extant houses: the Guggenheim House near the JR Shioya Station, which is a privately owned multi-function cultural space, and the James-tei, the former residence of Ernest W. James, that serves as a restaurant and wedding hall with the adjacent Shioya Country Club that, like Kobe Club, operates until today. In the Tarumi area, the house where Sun Yat-Sen lived during his exile

in Kobe is preserved as Sun Yat-Sen's museum alongside two other houses in the park on the waterfront next to Maiko station.

The Incheon Open Port Area is what remained from the Japanese settlement and the Joint-Area settlements. Chinatown lies where the Chinese settlement was during the open port period and is perceived as a separate area, according to my informants.

The renovation process of the Chinatown and the Open Port Area was also different: Chinatown was renewed since the 1990s and continued to be so through 2017. In 2012, the Chinese garden was under construction and the stone entrance dragon gate was painted only by 2017 (during my first visit, it was unpainted). However, by 2012, during my first visit to the area, Chinatown looked restored in contrast to the Open Port Area which began renovation only in late 2012. Historically speaking, this timescale difference is not particularly big, however, it was a significant time difference for my informants in the present of 2017: When I was asking my informants about the areas, it would happen regularly that they knew Chinatown but not the Open Port Area – because the designation "Open Port Area" has re-entered everyday usage to designate this particular part of "old Incheon" or "inner Incheon" only after its renovation. This situation happened especially if my informants were born in Incheon, lived there until high school and then left Incheon for college (usually to Seoul) and thus experienced the renovated Chinatown and the non-renovated Open Port Area. This suggested that the image my informants held about their city was not updated, changed, or not frequently changed, that the image lives on a longer social time-frame (Horský, Hroníková and Stella 2014) than changing physical realities. Especially so if the image is constituted from memory, and thus behaves like a memory, because the area is not part of a lived everyday experience of the person creating and/or receiving such image. The image of a city or place known to the person recalling the image is anchored in personal memory, as a snapshot frozen in a particular moment in time. If small, incremental changes happen to a place a person interacts with regularly, the image can gradually change, re-adjust. Even if the place is a part of everyday reality of a person and changes radically or the person prioritizes the original, non-updated image, this lead my informants to sadness about *"loss of reference points"* in the city, to a loss of perceived familiarity of a place.

What Kitano Ijinkan and the Open Port Area differ from each other in, is the nature of the extant buildings. In Incheon, there are not only houses, but also refurbished warehouses and former institution buildings, each built in a different architectural style and material. Kobe and Incheon are different in range of the buildings in the sense that in Kobe, the most densely extant area was an upper-scale residential area where the new elites from the Settlement wanted to escape the hot and humid climate of the port. Also, all the technical buildings such as warehouses and factories (for roasting tea, mainly; see Ennals, 2014) were located in the settlement and not in Kitano. Shioya, even though it has very few extant buildings of interest, was also an upper-scale residential area, though developed later than Kitano: in the 1920-30s in comparison to 1890s-early 1900 (Ennals, 2014; Tamura, 2007). The Kitano area is therefore relatively homogeneous. In terms of urban forms and functions, the Incheon's Open Port Area would be more comparable to the original Kobe Settlement.

In Incheon, the area of study is diverse both in terms of building types and time of completion. Some of the extant Japanese houses in the Open Port Area date from the 19th century, such as the so-called "pot_R" that was a *machiya*-style house built for a cargo company, and some date from the 1920s-1930s, such as the "Sang-u-jae" or the "Seo-dam-jae" houses, that were built as private Japanese residences. However, to the untrained eye, they don't seem strikingly different from each other. Their communal perceived characteristics is that they are "old" ("historical") and "Japanese". In this sense, the Open Port Area becomes easily comparable to Kitano. The emotions evoked by their "oldness" and "Japanese-ness" will be treated further in the text.

More extant buildings classified as "heritage" in Incheon are built in bricks/white stone and they are often associated with the term "colonial" and they are located outside of the immediate Open Port Area, more to the Sinpo Food Market environs. They look distinctive from the older wooden *machiya*-like houses, because they are in the vein of early modern architecture worldwide (for me, it was sometimes very difficult to spot them because I couldn't tell if they dated from 1920 or 1970). This situation is complicated by the fact that not all the buildings dating from the Japanese colonial occupation of Korea are officially classified "heritage" (not only in Incheon) but are extant in the city, and owned privately. To my knowledge, there are such buildings in the Dongincheon-Sinpo Food Market Area.

The heritage houses in Kitano, even though also constructed across different decades, in different architectural styles, are perceived as "historical" and "foreign" (or "Western"). They are distinctive in

appearance in the city fabric and as such are evocative: if they evoke colonial era or a romanticized generic idea of 19th century "history", or a romanticized "oldness" was part of my interest and I will talk about it a lot in Chapters 8 and 9.

Here I would like to summarize the current state of the heritage houses at the time of my research and then offer several more in-depth stories about the recent bottom-up refurbishment of the heritage houses.

In Kitano, I took a free map from the tourism office where the heritage houses were indicated and walked around Kitano to see how they were used, and also as a *dérive* technique to walk about my field differently. From my observation, there are three large categories of usage:

2. Privately owned heritage houses used as residences.

3. Private museums.

4. Wedding saloons and wedding venues.

The museums are run by corporations, the biggest, the Uroko group, owns several of the *ijinkan* houses at once. The museums usually show the turn of the 19th / 20th centuries furnishings, some of the early history of the house and have an appropriate photo spot. Several are "nation"-themed, such as the British House, the Italian House, or the French House. The English House has a Sherlock Holmes-themed tour with the iconic capes being lent to the visitors, etc. Some themed museums were added to the area, even if they aren't located in an *ijinkan* house, such as the Danish House. The wedding saloons and venues, such as Hunter Geihinkan (pictured below), are not open to the general public.

In Shioya, the Guggenheim House is a privately managed cultural space, but contrarily to the private museums in Kitano, the Guggenheim is owned by an individual person as a grassroots initiative, not by a company. The former James residence, the James-tei, is used as a wedding hall and a restaurant. The Jonas House was to be torn down in favor of developing an apartment complex, a citizen protest group was formed, it tried to lobby and save the house by finding a private investor that would buy it and preserve it, but the initiative eventually failed. However, the attempts to conserve the Guggenheim and Jonas houses sparked more general interest in preserving a distinctive, more "retro" appearance of the

Shioya neighborhood among its inhabitants[23] - a situation very similar to the Tokyo's "Heritage Houses Trust" beginnings[24].

In the Open Port Area, the situations resembles to the grassroots initiatives in preserving the Japanese merchant houses in Kyoto, the *kyo-machiya*, described by Brumann and Cox (2011). Similarly to Kyoto, in Incheon, individual owners and entrepreneurs were thinking about how to re-imagine, re-purpose the old houses so they can be preserved not as museums but as living spaces. In other words, finding a contemporary use for the old buildings was a crucial part of the conservation process. Also, as Brumann and Cox (2011) note, the Kyoto story is notable because the creation of the heritage and the re-intention of tradition happened bottom-up and was not imposed by (local) government actors as implied by the "top-down" re-invention of tradition proposed by Hobsbawm (1998). There is a sense of the "aestheticization of history" (Brett 1996, 38), a sense of value attributed to the old (which is an emically complex term, as we will see in Chapter 8) held by an individual who, through finding a contemporary use for a heritage item legitimizes its value (Jo 2004), without a widely-recognized, legitimizing label such as UNESCO protection or heritage labels, that Bruman and Cox (2011) found notable about the renovations of the *kyo-machiya.* I found several examples of this "aestheticization of history" and strong personal feeling of (historical) value of the "heritage houses" in my field as well, especially among the projects that were stand-alone (such as Guggenheim) or pioneering (such as pot_R); and I will detail those stories in this chapter.

4.3.1 Chinatowns – the disneyzation?

When speaking about the two Chinatowns in the two cities, I would use "Chinatown" for the one in Incheon, because even in Korean, it is referred to as such [*chainataun*], and "Nankinmachi", the Japanese translation of "Chinatown", for the one in Kobe[25].

---

[23] "Reviewing the size of towns for the future after recovery from the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake, Ari Morimoto, Guggenheim House", *Be Kobe* project http://1995kobe20th.jp/en/2016/01/2200/ (Acquired December 16th, 2020.)

[24] *IconicHouses.org* (February 15, 2018): "Toshiko Kinoshita on Japanese Modern Heritage Houses", available online: https://www.iconichouses.org/news/ihc18-toshiko-kinoshita-on-japanese-modern-heritage-houses (Acquired March 12th, 2021.)

[25] Even though, strictly speaking, the Chinatowns in Nagasaki and Yokohama are locally also referred to as "Nankinmachi".

Nankinmachi was historically part of the Native town, and now it consists of a rather limited area of several blocks south of Motomachi station. There's a square in the easternmost end where Chinese New Year celebrations are held. The square itself and its adjacent streets are full of restaurants, and street food stalls, but one can find also Chinese grocery stores, targeting not only tourists, but locals. The Chinese community in Kobe has the Chinese Overseas Association that organizes the Chinese New Year celebrations and takes care of the Chinese Overseas History Museum (also located in Nankinmachi), among other things. The whole Nankinmachi area has been renovated in the 1970-80s to give it a more distinctive "Chinese" look. The renovation had been financed from the Mainland China when the Deng Xiaoping's government was re-establishing its diplomatic ties with overseas. This is not unique to Kobe's Nankinmachi. Eom Sujin (2013) notes that this had been a centralized effort for Chinatowns all over the world and that all of them were given a similar architectural style that is perceived as "Chinese" on the first sight. She also noted that this style of buildings was not original to the Chinatowns, she noted the cases of Yokohama and Incheon, and that the Chinatown now were made to "look more Chinese" than the original Chinese settlements in order to develop them into tourist attractions as means of China's soft power policy. From outside of the soft power policy framework, the Chinatowns are a prime example of *disneyization* as laid out by Alan Bryman (2004). This interpretations can be supported with how the locals tend to perceive the Chinatowns in both cities, often labeling them as *"tourist trap"* or *"place where I only take friends from elsewhere to visit"* (see also Chapter 5); as something that is both standardized and non-authentic, in an extreme sense non-real.

In Incheon, the "creation" of the present-day Chinatown began after normalization of South Korean diplomatic relationships with PRC in the early 1990s. As with Nankinmachi, the Chinatown in Incheon is rather limited in size. Eom (2013) also noted that in Incheon, the current Chinese inhabitants of the Chinatown were encouraged to settle there during its redevelopment, and that very few, if any, inhabitants trace their lineage to the foreign settlement era. I unfortunately couldn't elaborate more on this point in my research: I couldn't get an informant from inside the community which suffers from a negative image among Koreans (see Chapter 7). However, my informants in Kobe ascertained that they knew of families and their descendants who moved to Kobe before WWII (or soon after) and still identified as having Chinese ancestry.

However, the location of a "Chinese settlement" in Incheon remains at its original location since the foreign Settlement times, on the hill overlooking the old Inner Port. There's a massive stone entrance on the bottom of the hill, facing the "Incheon (Chinatown)" train stop, which marks the end of Seoul metro line 1. Following on Eom's (2013) argument of progressive renovations of Chinatown, during my first visit in 2012, the carved stone gate was in plain gray stone but in 2017, the carvings had been painted in vivid colors. The Chinatown area is delimited by the waterfront to the south, by a wall sporting images from the Chinese Three Kingdom Period to the west and by a large staircase dominated by a statue of Confucius to the east. To the north, there's the Jayu (Independence) Park.

The refurbishment of the Chinatown didn't mean the complete renewal in the sense that the whole area would be razed and built anew, rather, existing buildings were dressed to cater more to the Chinatown aesthetics[26]. The Gonghwachun restaurant (now Jjajangmyeon Museum) built in 1908 (Registered Cultural Property No. 246) was designated heritage in 2006[27], eight years before the former office of the Daehwa Corporation (now pot_R coffeshop) that became National Registered Cultural Heritage No. 567 in 2013. Here, we also see that there are different types of heritage registration in South Korea. However, I decided not to include this distinction among "the heritage houses" as it didn't seem to matter to my informants in the context of talking about city images and feelings about a place. Even to those, who were running a business in a house registered as heritage, when they talked about it, they would simply say *"our house is registered heritage"* or *"our house is heritage"* or simply *"this house is protected"*.

4.3.2 Personal reasons for heritage preservation

In Kobe, I couldn't obtain many personal accounts about preserving a particular piece of heritage which was given by the current usage of the *ijinkan* houses there. On one hand, we see houses used as private residences, on the other theme museums. Unfortunately, I wasn't acquainted with anyone who could recommend me to someone who still lived in an *ijinkan*. As for the *ijinkan* used as museums,

---

[26] When Eom (2013) says that the area doesn't look like the old Chinese settlement, this still holds true, we mustn't forget that Incheon was subjected to heavy air bombardment during the Incheon Landing Operation in 1950 and to constant urban change.

[27] Incheon Jung-gu ward's official website on culture and tourism, page dedicated to Gonghwachun. Available online: https://www.icjg.go.kr/eng/cths0103c (Acquired February 22nd, 2021.)

they were managed either by the City or by a corporation (such as Uroko Group) as tourist attractions. Even though the houses on "the Hill" were privately owned by individuals, the transfer to the city or to a corporation happened often after 1995 because people couldn't afford repairs and maintenance after the houses had been damaged by the Hanshin-Awaji Quake[28]. A handful of houses was used for other commercial purpose, such as wedding halls, one as the Starbucks Coffee Kitano Ijinkan branch. It is located in a house originally called "Kitano Monogatari Kan" (built in 1907) which is a registered cultural property. Allegedly, it is one of the houses that was donated to the city and restored through the help of citizen initiatives, served as a Chinese restaurant and opened as Starbucks branch in 2009[29]. It was furnished as a concept cafe to maintain a historical European flair and feeling to it. Similarly to the concept cafes in Incheon, the Kitano Starbucks branch uses both the "old" and "foreign" themes in their concept, making allusion to a romanticized past mixed with foreign exoticism. Being a bustling franchise shop, however, I couldn't obtain more details on the concept from the staff.

However, a story similar to the ones described by Bruman and Cox (2011) unfolded with the Guggenheim House in Shioya which is also a registered heritage building. A local family wanted to preserve the house and one of its members, Mr Ari Morimoto, an artist, found a way to find a usage for the place. Guggenheim was turned into a multipurpose cultural space focusing on music. There's a concert space on the ground floor and more rooms upstairs that are offered for rent as music classrooms, offices etc. Even though there isn't much original furnishing, the outlay of the house and the interior materials (wooden floor etc.) have been preserved as much as possible. Aside from concerts, the hall is used for alternative movie screenings etc. The program for the months is always full and seems to be booked in advance for months (field diary, January 2017). I was also told that for better known artists, the tickets sell very quickly. Mr Morimoto's story has also been documented through the "Be Kobe" project memory project run by Kobe City Hall[30]. He points out that for him, preserving the past is crucial. He was also part of the failed initiative to save the Jonas House in Shioya. However, Mr Morimoto didn't want to create a museum, but a space where the old, the past would have a contemporary relevance.

---

[28]   Field diary, January 2017.
[29]   For a virtual walk-around, see travel blog Matcha about Japan, "Starbucks Kobe Kitano Ijinkan: Have Coffee In A Tangible Heritage Site" (March 12, 2016) https://matcha-jp.com/en/1419 (Acquired December 23rd, 2020.)
[30]   "Reviewing the size of towns for the future after recovery from the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake, Ari Morimoto, Guggenheim House", *Be Kobe* project http://1995kobe20th.jp/en/2016/01/2200/ (Acquired December 16th, 2020.)

In Incheon, I have talked to owners and staff of five different "heritage houses", out of which two were turned into a coffee-shop, two into a small gallery/museum and one into a homestay[31]. Moreover, Ms Baek, the owner of the first memory coffee-shop to open in the Open Port Area, called "pot_R", has been interviewed by press on multiple occasions.

I decided to label the coffee-shops of the Open Port Area, that are built in refurbished 19th and early 20th century buildings[32], as "memory cafes" based on how one of my informants described the coffee-shop she worked in. She told me the place was made following a *"kinyeom concept"*, using the word *kinyeom* which means remembrance, memorial. The idea was centered around the cafe being a sort of miniature *"archive"*, as the owner, to whom I also talked, called it. There were books and materials available on the big central table about history of Incheon in general (not only focusing on the colonial period), books of collected reprints of old photographs etc. I was told that the customers have a coffee and then read or skim through the books for a while and then go on. The idea in this case wasn't to create a museum but a place for a break where you can read something interesting while enjoying your drink. However, during my visit there, a small group of people also went in just to look at the space, which I was told is common occurrence. I also checked the Naver[33] reviews for the establishment and the most prominent characteristics of this place for the reviewers was the deliciousness of the cakes served there.

The owner explained more about his story: *"Our cafe has been in business for about two or three years (…) I'm an architect, so I quite enjoyed the renovation process (…) you know, all the coffee-shops around here are new. Before, the houses were private property, many were abandoned, empty... I think maybe many people had an idea in their head that the houses could be used in some way... and then pot_R opened and the houses became cultural heritage in 2013 (…) there was support from the city (…) so it was a domino effect."*

Another place I visited had a Japanese tatami tearoom on the top floor. The room was newly refurbished, I was told it was made for events, and people liked it, there were no bad feelings about the place being Japanese from the customers. The owner also added: *"But we brought the beams and the*

---

[31]   Homestay, called *minbak* in Korean, has been a common way to travel long before the AirBnB service.
[32]   I use the broader term buildings, as some of the places were in formerly industrial buildings, such as brick warehouses.
[33]   South Korean alternative to Google or Yahoo, widely used.

decorated door from our family hanok[34] (…) it looks good but it wasn't originally here." The preservation of the house was one part and then the other idea was to create a stylized space that would look good. Not a perfect reconstruction, but a reinvented space that catered to the "aestheticized history" (Brett 1996, 38) style preference of the owner and of her target customers.

On the other hand, the owner of pot_R refused to add decorations to make the space *"look more Japanese"* even though it's a *"concept that would sell"*. Her idea was to have as close reconstruction as possible of the place, of a painful period of history, of a place where many Korean workers had suffered. *"I think we should not beautify Japan's colonial era. Surely it is a painful chapter of our history. This building was occupied by a Japanese company that exploited Korean laborers. But I also feel we need to preserve and remember those painful parts of history, so that the same history will not be repeated," she said, adding that she keeps the property in good condition, but doesn't like the idea of decorating it to make it "more Japanese" in order to draw more customers.[35]"* She said to Korea Times. She told me more or less the same thing when I had the chance to talk with her. For her, the memory conservation seemed to be at the core of the whole concept. The cafe came as business idea, a handy way to re-purpose the old building so it could be preserved as a memory space, legitimizing its perceived value to the wider public (Jo 2004).

In this respect, the Incheon situation differs from the grassroots preservation of the *kiyo-machiya* or the Guggenheim House. There, the idea was to re-purpose an old building to make it an appealing living space in the now, for today. A place where the historical could be relevant in the today. With some of the memory cafes, the archive/museum/memory concept, of history preservation, albeit tokenized or creative, is absolutely essential and more pronounced. It is not just preserving the building, but also making it into a signifier, a "place of memory". In this sense, the interesting thing is that it creates spaces where constructed historical memory actively meets with communicative memory; and it also creates spaces for creation of new communicative memory (Lichá 2017b). It is a place you can go to and share with your friends – in person or online – a place to live in and create personal memory from. Of course, only some of the owners of the memory cafes in Incheon articulated their interest in creating a hybrid cafe-archive space that aimed to be part of Incheon's collective

---

[34]   A traditional Korean house. Having a traditional house made of wood is now considered socially prestigious, hanoks are currently considered a luxurious living.

[35]   Old port town exudes exotic beauty , https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/culture/2020/10/141_270932.html)Acquired October 21st, 2020).

memory (including, but not limited to, the Japanese colonial period). Some were "simply" following the successful concept of the area and adding variations to it (such as serving traditional Korean herbal tea instead of coffee etc.).

Another informant described his personal attachment to the particular house and his motivations to preserve it: *"This is a Japanese house built in the 1930s for a CEO of a Japanese electric company, it later belonged to a Korean admiral (…) we bought it several years ago. (…) I grew up here in the Old Town, spent my youth here (…) this used to be the downtown (…) I lived in this house back then but then I moved because (…) of school for my children and better environment (…) we now live about twenty minutes away by car (…) but I bought this place because I wanted to preserve it. Then we opened a gallery so other people can come (…) then some people said they would love to spend more time here, stay overnight… so we opened homestay here."* Here, the personal memories and attachment to the particular place were the main motivation for my informant, the preservation of the memory of the colonial period as such was not a determining factor, even though the general perception of "oldness" of the house was mentioned among the positive, interesting things about the building.

Yet another informant who was also running a homestay in one of the heritage houses said:*"I used to be a white-collar clerk but I've been running homestay for more than fifteen years now (…) this place had a second story (…) it was bombed down during the MacArthur's invasion (…) it was never rebuilt."* The lady implied that she stopped her white-collar employment because she wanted something more relaxed, a change of lifestyle, but she didn't go into details about her relationship with the particular house.

Even when the heritage houses are being preserved by private individuals, we see an array of various degrees of personal attachment to the particular place, various degrees of interest in preservation of the "original state" of the building, and various degrees of engagement with collective memory preservation versus pure business opportunity. Despite these difference, all of those who somehow preserved the heritage houses in both cities saw some value in them, defying all the negative images of "old" (see Chapter 8). Informants both in Kobe and Incheon told me that some other people thought that the old buildings were a nuisance and were pleased to see them replaced by modern structures that are generally considered more desirable.

5   Places and Areas – Urban Ethnographies of Kobe and Incheon

5.1   Kobe is... Incheon is… or the Overall Image

To begin my exploration of the city images held by the inhabitants, I asked my informants to characterize Kobe or Incheon for me using about three words or short sentences. After the pilot interviews, I also invited my informants to think of the cities in comparison, in accordance to Raulin (2014) who ascertains that an image of a place is constituted in comparison, in contrast to another and doesn't exit isolated. I left the choice of which place they would compare Incheon or Kobe to on my informants. Some chose Kyoto or Osaka for comparison with Kobe, others chose their hometown or another place (such as Tokyo). Similarly, some compared Incheon to Seoul or to their hometown, or any combination of the above. I gave my informants freedom in choosing their reference point to better express and capture their individual, personal "biographies" (Fritzová 2011), as a setting point to unravel their personal "city landscapes" (Pauknerová 2013).

My intention in asking the seemingly simple question of "What comes to your mind when I say Kobe / Incheon?" was to glimpse the general impression, the possible stylized image my informants had about "their" city, be it a city they moved to or they grew up in. I am fully aware that this is the image that likely reflects a lot of stereotypization or a "wrapping up" of the image (Bestor, Steinhoff and Bestor 2003), but I was interested in what sort of those simplified images prevail and if, for example, they differ from the images being propagated by the city's tourism office. In other words, if the simple image of the informants overlaps with the branding of the cities, because *"discursive and representational practices are in mutually constitutive relationship with political and economic forces. Together, they actively create the material and imaginary landscapes of the city."* (Jacobs 1996, 9)

For both of the cities, I attempted to group the answers into thematic groups. This means that my informants as individuals used a mix of characteristics across the groups I created. Some opted for more personalized characterization than others. I subsequently grouped the answers to see if some images repeated themselves and if general patterns could be discerned.

5.1.1 Kobe is...

I must say that I was surprised that *"earthquake"* has never come up as keyword defining Kobe's city image for my informants; it was only mentioned by my Doshisha colleagues as an image people outside of Kobe have about Kobe. But for the natives and inhabitants of Kobe I interviewed, the disastrous 1995 Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake doesn't seem to define Kobe in their minds in the now. I attribute this to a mixture of factors. On one hand, many of my informants didn't experience the disastrous earthquake of 1995 personally (they were too young; they were living elsewhere at the time etc.). On the other, for those who experienced it, it didn't seem to influence how they perceived their personal relation with Kobe in the now, more than twenty years later. Sure, they talked about the earthquake when I carefully turned the conversation that way but preferred to characterize Kobe from another perspective. I will talk more about the memory of the 1995 earthquake in the city more in detail in Chapter 6. But this differences in between the image of people from outside, the branded image and the image from the inhabitants is going to come up recurrently.

I grouped the characterizations for Kobe into five theme groups that I would present in no particular order of importance. They are landscape & places, modernity & fashion, Kobe as an international place, and livability & lifestyle.

The landscape characteristics pertained to the port or to the nature. Informants, who stated "*harbor*" or "*major city – port*" as characteristics of Kobe did not necessarily interact with the Kobe port as part of their daily activities or routines (Frantál and Maryáš 2012, 13), suggesting the generic image of Kobe = port also propagated by the City Hall (port activity and port-related industries are still a major source of economic activity in Kobe, despite the port's overall decline after 1995) is still strongly present. Simply speaking, the port, being integrated into the city, is also a significant visual part of the city's skyline and physical landscape, an everyday visual routine for the inhabitants of inner Kobe.

Natural landscapes also came up as characteristic of Kobe: *"Kobe is... green nature."* or "*Kobe is... sea and mountains. I prefer mountains.*" or "*Everyday I see the sea!*" Others mentioned just the "*sea and mountains*" couple as a characteristic of Kobe. One informant offered a longer explanation:*"We*

have both mountains and the sea in Kobe. That's rare. Usually, you have either the sea or the mountains (...) I love the mountains." In general, the presence of a natural element within the city seemed to be (very) positive for my informants. Even though urban lifestyle is vastly preferred across generations (see further Chapter 7) to living in the countryside (Sugimoto 2010), urban natural resorts are perceived as an asset contributing to the quality of life in the city, both in the abstract terms and also concretely, as places to spend free time and relax.

One of the actively propagated branding image of Kobe is its link to fashion. "Kobe, city of fashion" or "Kobe, design city" were among the publicity slogans put on tourists advertisements by the Kobe City Hall. Rahn and Higashiyama (2006) mention "Western clothing", "shoe making" and "pearl cultivation" among prominent industries of Kobe and according to one of my informants, a lifelong resident of Kobe, the image of Kobe as city of fashion stemmed from those industries.

Multiple informants mentioned labels pertaining to fashion and style while characterizing Kobe. "*Fashionable*" came up on multiple occasions, as did "*stylish*". Another informant precised "*Kobe is known to be stylish.*" Other characteristics included:*"Kobe is more modan (modern), less rural than what I am used to [from my hometown]."* or *"We call Kobe haikara. That means that people here like new things (atarashii koto suki)".* According to Tamura (2007), herself an Osaka native who went to Kobe regularly on family trips as a child: *"Kobe is often described in Japanese as a* haikara *town. The term* haikara *was said to be derived from the English phrase 'high collar', referring to the stiff starched collars worn by Westerners in the nineteenth century. Thus,* haikara *means 'fashionable, with strong Western influence'."* (Tamura 2007, 5) Even though Tamura's explanation refers to the intertwining images of international aspect of Kobe, the West and novelty with links to fashion, none of my informants explicitly expressed similar ideas, rather, *"fashionable"* and *"international"* came up as separated characteristics.

A second group of characteristics that coincided with the official branding of the city was its international nature. The word *"international"* came up repeatedly during my interviews, also presented as an asset of the city. Several informants also offered more details on this image. One mentioned the fact that the limits of the old Settlement were not respected (Ennals 2014) and foreign residents mixed up with the Japanese population: *"Kobe is the only place in Japan where foreigners*

and the Japanese lived together." Some older informants offered personal experiences: *"When you were growing in Kobe, you got used to seeing foreigners (…) that was very rare elsewhere in Japan."* or *"Us in Kobe, we didn't play the "spot the foreigner" when we were children (…) there were so many foreigners nobody was surprised to see them."* Others also mentioned that they think that this historically grounded openness to foreigners made Kobe more welcoming and livable for international inhabitants nowadays, an image I was told about both from Japanese and international residents of Kobe.

The last group of characteristics that I have observed pertained to general impressions on living in Kobe. Even though this group is the most diverse in individual biographies (Fritzová 2011), the general impression my informants had about living in Kobe was positive: *"Kobe is... nice to live in"*. I will talk more about the positive image of Kobe among its inhabitants more in Chapter 7, so here I offer just a brief summary.

Some of the livability characteristics pertained to size *"good size of the city to live in"* and/or number of inhabitants: *"not too crowded, not too big"* or *"not crowded"*. This was sometimes made in reference to bigger cities such as Tokyo or Osaka: Kobe has the population of about 1.5 million people. In comparison, Osaka city itself has just under 3 million, with Osaka Prefecture having 8.8 million people on 1,893 km² as of early 2020. Tokyo itself has around 9 million people, the whole Tokyo Metro Area as much as 30 million (as of 2020).

Others said that *"Kobe is... welcoming. The culture, nationality, diversity... thanks to the port."* A long-term expat resident claimed that *"Kobe is pretty livable, especially if you have some Japanese. If you don't, then Tokyo is better."* Another notion that came up repeatedly was that Kobe is *"easy to live in (sumiyasui)"*, one informant precising that *"Kobe has no history. It's easy to live in a place with no history."* This contrasts with another impression I was told about that Kyoto is difficult to live in because of the weight of history and tradition concentrated there. One informant said that Kobe is a *"good place to have a family"*. Another mentioned *"good cafes"* among the defining features of Kobe.

One long-term resident of Kobe offered me popular sayings about the city: *"People in Kyoto are keen on wearing kimono, Osaka people are keen on eating and Kobe people are keen on wearing shoes. It shows the industries of the three cities."* and *"You should study in Kyoto, work in Osaka and live in Kobe."* The impression behind this saying is that Kyoto concentrates some of the best universities (both on Kansai and on national levels), Osaka has the best working opportunities but that Kobe offers the best quality of life among those three. I have talked to several people who may have not studied in Kyoto, but indeed worked in Osaka and lived in Kobe per choice for *"better living"*.

5.1.2 Incheon is...

When trying to group up the images of Incheon, it has proved to be much more difficult than in the case of Kobe. During my interviews, I had the impression that the "general" image of Incheon is much less defined, maybe because the branding and styling / staging of the city by the local government and tourist associations was more limited to certain areas (Songdo, airport) and also could have had shorter history, thus less contributing to the received psycho-geographies (Shaw 2018; Jacobs 1996) of the city among its inhabitants. The quick, overall image that my informants described was on one hand more conflicting and on the other a lot more blurred. Some of my informants also expressed wonder about why I was even interested in Incheon, intending there was nothing notable about it. Another informant told me that because Korean cities were changing so much, it is very difficult to keep a sense of belonging to a place because the familiar places and sights just disappear too fast, so by extension having a well-defined visual image of a fluid, ever-changing city was difficult. However, we will see that some of my informants related and reacted strongly on emotional levels to Incheon, another form of psycho-geography (Shaw 2018) and personal landscape perception after sensual (Pauknerová 2012) and spatial (Frantál and Maryáš 2012) geographies of a city.

In 2017, the official slogan for Incheon made by the local government was "Dream of Incheon, the Vision of Korea" that was profusely put up in public places such as the Metro lines and stations. The visuals drew upon the images of Incheon's maritime landscape and a visionary "green growth" city-scape. The Incheon's land bridge was also frequently used as illustrative of futuristic architecture. The official branded image tended towards the future and Incheon as having a leading role in it.

I have grouped the briefs characteristics of Incheon into five categories: landscape & places, industry, relation to Seoul, livability & lifestyle, and other.

In the landscape & places category, I have most often encountered the *"airport"* as one of the images defining Incheon to my informants. One mentioned also the Open Port: *"Incheon is... international city because of Incheon Open Port."* Here in contrast to Kobe, by the different geographical disposition of the two cities, both the port (more precisely ports, as Incheon partially relocated its port activity from the old Inner Port to more remote locations) and airport are not part of everyday visual landscape of Incheon for many inhabitants. The airport is located on the Yeongjeong island off the coast and the Inner Port is far from most residential areas of Incheon.

Specific neighborhoods of *"Chinatown"* and *"Songdo"* came up as characterizing the image of Incheon, both perceived (and propagated) as iconic landmarks of Incheon. However, the specific image of Chinatown differs from the image of Songdo, of which I will talk more about in the following chapters.

One informant included *"seaside and seafood"* among his personal images of Incheon.

Another type of characteristics were linked to the industry, Incheon being *"industrial city"*, *"trade city"* or *"commerce city"*.

Various images of Incheon came up in comparison or in relation to Seoul. Some mentioned the proximity of the capital: *"Incheon is so close to Seoul"*, *"[Incheon is] next to Seoul"* or *"Incheon is kidna part of Seoul. I think, people say (...)"*. Incheon is integrated into the Greater Seoul Metro Area through both subway and bus lines, and as we have seen, some areas – most notably the Yeongjeong and Ganghwa Islands – that are administratively in Incheon, have more direct and convenient transport connection to the capital.

On other occasions, the money question came into focus: *"Incheon is the cheapest city in Korea (...) well, cheaper than Seoul"* or *"Incheon in comparison to Seoul? Many sport teams, like soccer or baseball (...) Incheon is also cheaper."*

In terms of livability and lifestyle characteristics, the picture also showed diversity in personal narratives. In contrast to Kobe, not all of them conveyed a generally positive image.

Among the positive images, some informants pointed out physical aspects of the city, like *"good transportation"* or *"not crowded"*. Similar in size to Kobe, the Incheon Metro Area's population of 2020 clocked at slightly under 3 million, in comparison to the 10 million of Seoul (not counting Seoul's satellite cities in the Greater Seoul Metro Area that totals around 40% of South Korea's population[36]). One informant precised that *"[Incheon is] good for living (...) cheap housing, it's close to Seoul, good transportation (...)"*.

Others talked about life rhythm: *"[Incheon has] good pace of life"* or *"life rhythm here is faster comparing to my hometown, we have no 24h shops"*. One informant offered a longer explanation:*"[Incheon is] a backup city" (...) like "bed town". All the cities around Seoul look the same, but compared to Seoul, they're more relaxed."* When talking more in detail, some informants precised that the status of Incheon as a "bed town" pertains mostly to residential areas in the North-East of the city.

One informant who was native to Incheon but had moved out told me that for her, Incheon remains *"my sweet home"*. On several occasions, my informants who had moved into Incheon thought that there were *"friendly people"*.

On the more negative side, one informant said that Incheon was *"a little bit dirty like other cities"*. The question of Incheon as a dangerous place came up when I was asking about the general image: *"[Incheon is] dangerous (...) because of bad teenagers"* or *"but in media, people think Incheon is full of gangsters, too much like Harlem"*. Another informant, a long-term expatriate knew about the image of Incheon as a dangerous place but commented: *"it's safe in comparison to London"*. The image of Incheon as a dangerous place, or the idea that some parts of Incheon were dangerous, came more prominently further in the interviews. I deal more in detail about the topic of danger perception within the city in Chapter 7. However, I wanted to mention that even though the Chapter treats the topic of danger in both of the cities, only in the case of Incheon, the notion of danger came up when I

36

This number would, however, include Incheon Metro Area as well, as the greatest extent of the Seoul Metro Area tends to include the capital plus the whole Gyeonggi Province.

was asking about the brief, quick image my informants had about it. Danger thus seemed to be much more of a defining image of Incheon than it is of Kobe.

Last but not least, my informants mentioned known people *("general MacArthur")* or events (*"Asian Games[37]"*) that signified Incheon for them.

One informant first mentioned several characteristics of Incheon and then added: *"For me, it's an old city (...) a first city to open, a lot of Seoul – Incheon commerce, can import a lot of things."* In this case, the informant clearly marked her view of the "generic" picture of Incheon but also added her more personal perception later.

We can see some similarities in the both cases of Kobe and Incheon, most particularly in the categories I labeled "landscape & places" and "livability & lifestyle". In both cases, a prominent infrastructural (airport, port) or landscape feature (seaside and mountains together) constitutes an important part of the brief city image. Juxtaposing to that was a very prominent place of the living conditions in the city as a constituting element of the city image for my informants. This suggested that the snapshot, brief image my informants had about "their" cities, incorporated a mixture of the *"discursive and representational practices"* (Jacobs 1996, 6) of the city branding or media image, the visuals of heavy infrastructure (port, airport) and natural landscape (sea, mountains) even if not seen on daily basis, and the perceived quality of life based on their everyday living patterns (Frantál and Maryáš 2012). Moreover, feelings associated with a city played and integral role in the city image construction for many of my informants. In other words, the image of a city is a mix of "what people say", "what you see / where you go" and "what you feel" about the place. Further, we will see that "what you remember" also plays an important role in mental image constitution, especially when thinking about specific areas or places. A city image is thus not only constituted in relation to another (Raulin 2008) but is a result of multi-sensual personal relationship that, like communicative memory (Assmann 2008), is one of the multiplicity of realities, a part of personal biographies (Fritzová 2011) and as such is, to a great extent, individualized in its details.

---

[37]   The 17th Asian Games of 2014 took place in Incheon.

5.1.3 Images from the Outside

What do the others, meaning those not living in the city, think about Kobe or Incheon? This question wasn't part of my systematic research, but still, some notions of this emerged during my research. These images from outside sometimes did and sometimes didn't coincide with the branding images of a given city.

In the first case scenario, a colleague based in Okayama told me before I moved to Kobe: *"You will like the place (…) it's very fashionable and cool. There are good museums and art exhibitions there."* His short description somewhat matched some of the images of the locals and the "fashionable" branding of Kobe. But I must also take into account the fact that this particular colleague visited the place several times and had some positive attachment to it (because of the good museums he enjoyed). Other colleagues from Kyoto suggested that for people who don't know Kobe, they would think Kobe means *"bombing"*[38], *"the [Hanshin-Awaji] earthquake"* and *"Kobe beef"*. I have talked about the earthquake image earlier in this chapter and will come back to the remembrance of the event more in detail in Chapter 6. As for the Kobe beef, several of my informants from Kobe working in tourism and local urban development areas expressed their concern that for outsiders, Kobe equals only the culinary specialty, and that they would want to promote other aspects of the city as well. "Kobe beef" is a specialty food of the area and is listed in official tourism materials, in short is part of the "branded" image of Kobe. I will come back to Kobe beef in Chapter 11.

Several of my informants said that because many Korean gangster movies are set in Incheon (or directly in Chinatown[39]), it *"makes Incheon look violent"* or *"the city of crime"*. Others said that people outside of Incheon (especially in Seoul) look down onto people from Incheon because people in Incheon are *"closed among themselves"*, making them into an undesirable Other.

One informant explained to me a stereotype pertaining to the cities of Bucheon and Incheon, the *"i.bu.mang.cheon"* acronym. The *i.bu.mang.cheon* (이부망천 in *hangeul*) is an abbreviation of four words: *ihon* (이혼; divorce), *Bucheon* (부천; the city of Bucheon, one of the Seoul's satellites, about

---

[38] The air raids during WWII targeted industry production in Kobe as well as in Osaka. A famous Studio Ghibli animated movie, *Grave of the Fireflies*, depicts this historical episode, but this association has never come up during my interviews.

[39] Another favorite location for Korean gangster movies is Busan (also a port city).

halfway in between Seoul Station and Incheon on the Seoul line n.1), *mangchida* (망치다; to ruin, to bankrupt) and *Incheon* (인천; city of Incheon). It refers to the stereotype that divorced people have to flee Seoul for Bucheon and bankrupt people have to move to Incheon. My informant told me that this abbreviation had been used by a politician on a TV debate during an election campaign and that it caused some outrage. And that that politician's party didn't get much votes in the Incheon Metro Area.

One informant running a homestay in the inner Incheon area complained that her foreign visitors equate Incheon only with the airport and view the city as a cheap satellite to Seoul: *"They think that because it's called "Incheon International Airport", I live very close (…) then they are angry because it takes about an hour (…) they don't want to visit Incheon at all, just go to Seoul (…) it makes me very sad because I would like to show them my hometown."*

This discontent among local people working in tourism was similar in both cities, Kobe and Incheon. The outward tourism image was tokenized by one aspect only, the "Kobe beef" for Kobe and "airport proximity" for Incheon. Both meant that the cities were perceived as good transit or sleepover locations on the way for other, preferred tourist destinations. The informants who expressed their sadness about this point seemed to act from the viewpoint proud locals who were disappointed that their hometown has a *"secondary-rate"* reputation, rather than from the viewpoint of businessmen seeking more opportunities (even though those reasons might eventually intertwine).

5.2   Places I Asked About

During my interviews, I have first invited my informants to think about an overall image they had about Kobe or Incheon (see previous Chapter), and then, I was interested in their reaction to specific areas of the city. These were of two sorts. On one hand, I had established several types of places of interest. Following Raulin (2014) on the fact that an image of an area is only constituted in reference to another, I tried to establish a diversified array of areas to ask about. I was also interested in comparability of my cases, so I was looking for locations that could be functionally compared one to another across my two cities to capture an array of spatial behavior in the city (Frantál and Maryáš 2012). On the other hand, I was interested in places based on their importance and function to my informants, again, reflecting their personal "biographies" (Fritzová 2011), personal "city landscapes" (Pauknerová 2013) or psychogeographies (Shaw 2018). I did this to mitigate my potential bias in choosing specific locations of interest over others. Thus, I invited my informants to talk about their areas of choice. I was interested in places they often go to, they spend their free time at, places they either do or don't like for whatever reason. I also let them choose the place and venue for the interview, saying that I would like to join them at the place they would prefer or want to go.

The areas I pre-selected for my questions could be summarized into four categories:

- First, I was interested in places (potentially) pertaining to historical collective memory in the city. These were Kitano, Motomachi and Nankinmachi areas in Kobe and the Open Port Area, Chinatown and Wolmido in Incheon. See Chapters 5.3, 7, 8, 9, 10. Mainly Chapters 8 and 9.

- Second, I asked about the nature locations in the cities, namely Suma Beach and Rokko Mountains in Kobe and the Yeongjeong island and other coastal islands in the Incheon Metro Area. See this Chapter and Chapter 7.

- Third, I asked about places that sparked notable reactions in my informants during the pilot interviews. Thus, the areas deemed "dangerous" constituted one category of neighborhoods I specifically asked about. They were Shinkaichi in Kobe and Juan in Incheon. See Chapters 5.2, 5.3, 7, 8.

- Fourth, they were the modernity hubs, the Songdo new town in Incheon and the new city centre of Sannomiya in Kobe. See Chapters 5.3, 8.

The places I have pre-selected as areas of interest, they will come up repeatedly over the course of my chapters, as I have indicated in the list. In this Chapter, then, I will only offer a brief description of the areas and note an overall reaction from my informants. Of course, during my interviews, I mentioned only the names of the places, refraining from any characterization on my part. The present categories here were added for analysis purpose.

In terms of functionality, I asked about my informant's location preferences:

1. When you have free time, where do you go? Do you stay in the city?

2. Where do you often go in the city?

3. Is there a place you like?

4. Is there a place you don't like?

5. Is there a place you think is dangerous? See Chapter 5.3, 7, 8.

6. Do you attend events in the city? See Chapter 6.

Similarly to my previous listing of pre-selected cases, I will only shortly deal with the answers that then pertain to longer chapters and detail the first four questions in this Chapter.

5.2.1 Places of memory

The areas that could be perceived as places of memory of the colonial era, were my primary areas of interest. My goal was to see what kind of images and feelings my informants associate with them, if the areas of extant colonial buildings have a colonial-related signifiers (Augé 1999). Or if they are on their own as carriers of meanings or narratives as laid out by Michel Foucault (1975) on his studies on prison as a total institution. This is why I avoided labeling those areas and buildings as colonial-era in the first place and asked about the area using its name. I included other "historical"

areas associated with historical memory of the particular cities, not only areas either dating from the late 19th and early 20th centuries or ones that had at least some extant buildings from that time.

Meeting this criteria in Kobe were the areas of Kitano ("the Hill"), Motomachi ("the Native Town") and Nankinmachi ("the Chinese Town"). In Incheon, I inquired about the Open Port Area (the European and Japanese settlement), the Chinatown (the Chinese settlement) and Wolmido Island (site of the Incheon Landing Operation of Gen. MacArthur).

In Kobe, the foreign Settlement proper wasn't included simply because the original settlement with its Bund is very difficult to discern now: the shoreline has been heavily altered after the 1995 earthquake reconstruction and the area is mostly defined by the presence of the Kobe City Hall. There are just a handful of preserved houses from the settlement area there. On the other hand, the Kitano area is a distinctive landmark in Kobe.

The Kitano area is marketed by both tourist agencies and private companies as the romantic spot of Kobe, to which correlates the multitude of wedding saloons and wedding halls present in the area. The imagery of European "things" as romantic is generally grounded in both Japanese and Korean popular cultures (Sugimoto 2009).

For some of my informants, the area was *"a nice area to walk around"*, for others, it was clearly a *"place for tourists"*. One informant native to Kobe for several generations developed on that: *"Ijinkan? I've never been (...) I think my mom went once, my brother also never. (...) the locals just don't go there, only tourists (...) you should ask at Kobe Uni if any of the students went."* By the last comment, she implied that she thought none, or very few students of the Kobe University would go to Ijinkan, that they had no reason doing so. According to Raulin (2014) this suggests the locals view that area as a "historical center", as a purely sightseeing spot, or a place that is not relevant for their everyday life. From my own observations, I would venture into interpreting Kitano as a partially "disneyized" space (Bryman 2004) due to the themed private museums.

Of course, the image of Ijinkan as a nice area to go around and a place for tourists could coexist, as was the case with one middle-aged informant: *"Ijinkan... I went many times. When friends come from other places, I take them. (...) I used to go for a walk in a free time when I was single."*

At times, my informants wondered what would I as a person think and feel about *Ijinkan*: *"Maybe Ijinkan is not interesting for you, it looks like home, no?"* This hinted that some of my informants had the image of the "generalized West" (Sugimoto 2010). Another comment on this matter went further: *"I went to Ijinkan (...) I mean, it was nice (...) but no big feelings (...) for you as a foreigner, it must look normal. I heard that for foreigners[40], it is not interesting to go there."*

The areas with foreign buildings were one of the clear moments when my informants were thinking about my opinions, not as a researcher, but as a person, and were one of the moments we were mutually changing each other. I took great care not to offer any opinions on a subject before my informants expressed themselves.

Motomachi, the Native Town, now exists as a local name for a JR station and its adjacent areas in between Sannomiya and Kobe Station. The Motomachi station environs include the Daimaru department store dating from the colonial period, a large shopping arcade and streets with cafes, restaurants etc. Even though both areas used for shopping and eating out, my informants were making a distinction in between "Sannomiya" and "Motomachi": *"Personally, I prefer shopping on the Tor Road or in Motomachi, not in Sannomiya. But with the children, it's more practical in Umie."* told me one informant. I myself, even not living long in Kobe, could discern a different vibe in between those areas, difficult to describe, hardly tangible but present, a sensed difference (Pauknerová 2013). Even though Motomachi and Nankinmachi (Kobe's Chinatown) lie directly next to each other, my informants didn't express going to Nankinmachi on everyday basis or for every day tasks such as shopping. Some said they *"never go"*, one informant mentioned taking friends there if they come to visit. On the other hand, I met a couple of college students from Kyoto who said they came on a week-end trip to Kobe specifically to visit Chinatown. During the Chinese New Year[41] celebrations in 2017 that took place in Nankinmachi, the main plaza was full of attendees and the pageant contest that was part of the program seemed to have a competitive entry. Contemporary Nankinmachi thus seemed to have a similar image

---

40

   Later, the informant mentioned that when she went to *Ijinkan*, she saw mostly Chinese and Korean tourists, so she was likely using the term "foreigner" for Euro-Americans, more precisely for a person of Caucasian appearance. It is a commonplace practice both in Japan and in South Korea. The most striking example of this usage, for me, was when I overheard a couple of Korean tourists on a bus in central Kyoto saying: *"There are just so many foreigners [oegugin] in here!"*

41   In Japan, the New Year is celebrated on January 1st. The Chinese New year celebrations on the lunar New year are thus a different occasion.

to Ijinkan, that of a historical landmark in the sense that it's not relevant for everyday living of many locals (Raulin 2014).

Similar situation went for Incheon's Chinatown. My informants characterized it as follows: *"Chinatown is a trademark... so locals do not go there... most foreigners settled there... it's just a place for foreigners... I don't really relate to it, it's not interesting for locals."* and *"Chinatown is a trademark, locals don't go... but Chinatown represents Incheon... it is in dramas."* The second informant made allusion to the role of pop-culture in image creation and tourism that we will see in Chapter 10.2. Another informant offered a different explanation for locals' disinterest in Chinatown: *"Chinatown? Incheon people do not go, a lot of people live close, can go there anytime, so almost never... [laughter]."*

One informant said: *"Chinatown and Songdo are good areas."* Others made allusion to the bad image of Chinatown because of the image of Chinese people as gangsters (see Chapter 7). Chinatown is also the origin of a culinary specialty *jjajangmyeon* (noodles in a black sauce), so some of my informants commented on the restaurants in Chinatown. Even though the restaurants in Chinatown feature in the tourist guides issued by Incheon City as the place to eat Chinese food in Incheon, my informants were of different opinion: *"Chinese restaurants outside Chinatown are better."* and *"Chinese restaurants in Chinatown are a rip-off."* These comments aligned with the perception of Chinatown as an area for tourists, even as a *"tourist trap"*, underlying the interpretation of Chinatowns as products of "McDisenyization" (Rojek and Urry 1997).

The Shioya area in Kobe, developed by Ernest W. James in the 1930s (Tamura 2007), was not chosen as a specific location to ask about for two reasons. On one hand, I initially wanted to focus on areas developed earlier (such as Kitano and Motomachi) and on the other, the Shioya area has far less extant "European" houses than Kitano area. I was also afraid that since it's a less known area of the city, I would cause uneasiness to my informants if I asked them about a place they didn't know.

The Open Port Area in Incheon, though directly adjacent to Chinatown, is perceived as a separate place. It comprises the areas of the former Japanese and the Joint-Area settlements, and roughly stretches to the Sinpo Food Market in the east. Largely dilapidated during my first visit in early 2012, it

has many extant "Japanese" buildings. However, very few of my informants who had no connection (working, owning a business, living nearby) to the area, knew about it. One informant who knew the area said that it was because of the Korean TV drama *Ttokaebi* that had just recently aired (see Chapter 10.2). Another informant living nearby said: *"I like to go for a walk in the Jayu Park and in the Open Port Area (...) but I think there are just too many coffeshops in there!"* This informant hinted that for her, even the Open Port Area became too disneyized.

As I said in the previous Chapter, the Open Port Area has started to be generally designated as a separate space only after its renovation, hence only for about five years at the time of my research. I will talk about it extensively in Chapters 8 and 9.

Wolmido was once a small island off the coast just in front of the foreign settlement. Once a spa resort before the WWII, it was joined to the mainland by a bridge during the occupation and was the cornerstone of the Incheon Landing Operation lead by General MacArthur during the Korean War. In recent years, it has been redeveloped again as an entertainment district. I talk about it in the following Chapter because it was one of the first downtowns of Incheon.

5.2.2 Nature Locations

I chose nature locations as important reference points for city imagery for multiple reasons. First, the references to the mountains and the sea turned fairly regularly among my informants as one of the features defining Kobe. Therefore, I asked them to elaborate more on the Suma Beach and Rokko Mountains while thinking about areas of Kobe. Consequently, I also asked my informants in Incheon about nature locations, namely the Yeongjeong island and the other bay islands that are part of Incheon Metro Area. These islands are known for their beaches and fishing-related activities (such as clam gathering) and hiking. This was not motivated only by the sake of consistency in between my cases, but also by the fact that trekking and hiking as well as outdoor camping with barbecue are a widespread form of past-time in Korea, spanning over all age-groups. It is a popular form of spending time with both family and friends as well as a means of socializing in the workplace. Also, many hiking groups exist all over Korea, often having members from all over the country, who organise trips through social

media and allow a person to create social network outside of school/work environments. Hiking and camping / barbecue in urban natural locations – or those very close to the city – is common.

The natural locations of both cities offered a highly personalized narrative (Fritzová 2011) that was usually positive, which is why I talk about it more in Chapter 7. The natural locations were equated with good time and leisure. To illustrate, I offer a handful of examples. In Kobe, I got strong positive responses about both the Suma Beach[42] and the Rokko Mountains. On Suma: *"I work on a cargo ship so I'm often away from home. But when I'm in Kobe, I always try to go to Suma to surf or swim."* and *"I used to spend a lot of time on the beach when I was single (…) if my friends didn't know where I was, they knew they would find me lying on the sand."* On Rokko Mountains: *"I absolutely love the mountains. I know Rokko-san so well I don't need a map there."*

In the case of Incheon, a variety of personal narratives involving the seashore and the islands also unfolded: *"Sometimes, I go to Seoul and sometimes to the sea in Incheon. To Wolmido. I like the countryside too."* For another informant, the islands were a destination to travel alone: *"My wife often goes to visit our children who live overseas. I have work so I can't go with her (…) once when I was home alone, I visited all the islands around Incheon by car."*

Even though none of my informants confirmed precisely, it seems logical that some of my informants chose to spend time in the nature when they were single or temporarily alone. Both in Japan and in Korea, some free time activities bear a social stigma while being done alone: namely eating out (even in a cheap diner or cafeteria), going to a cafe (except for studying) or going to a *karaoke*. These are generally activities perceived as group entertainment, something you should do with friends. I was told many times, both in Japan and Korea, something along the lines of: *"If you eat out alone, people pity you (…) it looks like you have no friends (…) it doesn't look ok for a nice girl like you to be eating alone. People might ask: What's wrong with her?"* The "wrong" meaning that I might have a flaw that prevents me from making and keeping friends, that I look too much of an outsider.

---

[42]   We will see later that Suma hosts a beach festival over summer that has been labeled by some of my informants as "dangerous". See Chapter 7.

To mitigate the stigma of spending free time alone, there are specialized venues that aim to normalize it: There are single-person *karaoke* places[43] *(hitori karaoke* in Japanese) both in Korea and in Japan, single-people barbecue restaurants in Korea or singles coffee shops in Japan, to name just a few. There is a strong cultural pressure for spending one's everyday life in a communal manner mixed with difficulty to make friends outside of one's social circle that creates cultural paradoxes such as those in both countries (Robertson 2005). Going to the nature, or for a walk in general, is, however, one of the socially acceptable activities to be done alone (even though in Korea, group hiking is very popular). Sports also can be done alone without stigma, the same as shopping. Many of my informants both in Kobe and in Incheon mentioned going to the nature and shopping as an activity they do while spending their free time alone.

Another informant noted that despite having seashore, Incheon isn't a prime location for water sports: *"I like swimming in the ocean (...) but the airport beach[44] is dirty and terrible, so many people that fish, very high tide... but it's fun to play in the mud."* The beaches around the bay isles of the Incheon Metro Area are all subjected to big difference in water levels in between tides, and the seabed near the shore is composed of mud. I visited the beach nearest to the Yeongjeong island my informant was referring to during low tide, and the muddy shoreline stretched all the way to the horizon. Apparently, the mud is home to some species of clams. A handful of shops on the beach specialized in offering organized group hunting for clams in the mud as a school or as team-building activity. I witnessed one such team-building group on the beach on the day of my visit and one informant recalled hunting for clams during a school excursion.

Of course, not all informants were visiting the natural locations regularly and preferred other places or activities. That could have been true even for informants who nevertheless named *"mountains"* and/or *"sea"* as defining features of the city image (see Chapter 5.1). One of my informants, who named *"seaside"* among the defining features of Incheon also claimed *"I have absolutely no interest in nature."* The general "snapshot" image of the city thus had other constitutive elements than personal geographies of the place. Conversely, some informants didn't include the natural locations into their overall image of the city (and chose other 3-4 characteristics) despite having later expressed that they

---

[43]   The *hitori karaoke* concept is sometimes marketed as a place where you can practice singing, with the underlining idea that you would eventually go to a *karaoke* with friends as well. Being good at *karaoke* is an appreciated social skill both in Japan and Korea.

[44]   The beaches at the westernmost tip of Yeongjeong island, accessible by train shuttle and then bus from the airport.

liked swimming or hiking or listed a natural location among their favorite places. This suggests again that the overall city image is a mix of personal and collective (received) images.

There are also other nature locations in Incheon than the islands. I used the islands as an example of the most known and prominent natural hallmarks of Incheon and then invited my informants to elaborate on other places should they choose to.

One informant mentioned the bicycle path from Gyeyang to Ara alongside the refurbished Ara waterway in northern Incheon: *"In my free time, I sometimes go to Gyeyang to bike (...) there's a bike path from Gyeyang to Ara (...) I can go there by bike or not (...) there's bike rental also and the route is not very hard."* This particular informant was, *"very interested in nature and concerned about nature preservation"* and at the same time, he said that *"I never go to Seoul in my free time, especially during week-ends"* and that he preferred an active lifestyle, which made him rather knowledgeable about local natural landmarks in Incheon. Another local landmark he recommended was Mt. Sorae (Soraesan), in eastern Incheon: *"It's a small hill [245 m.], but it's famous because there's a lady on the top who sells coffee and noodles (...) the supplies are carried up by volunteers in exchange for coffee (...) you should try."*

Korea is a mountainous country and there are more hills in Incheon than Soraesan, such as the north-south running hilly ridge in the northern part of Incheon City, located west of Bupyeong and Gyeyang districts. The ridge culminates with Mt. Gyeyang (395 m.), and it can be walked in an afternoon, as it is not very long. On Korean scale, the Gyeyang ridge is very commonplace and not seen as an important Incheon landmark (which is why I also prioritized asking about the islands). Korea has a lot of mountainous natural parks and one of the best known is Bukhansan, accessible by public transport from Seoul. The Gyeyang ridge plays more the role of a neighborhood park to which not many people would travel on purpose, and only one informant living nearby mentioned it among places he goes to in his free time.

I also found mentions in local tourist guides that Mt. Gyeyang is a good place to view azalea blossoms in Incheon, and I had the chance to visit it during the appropriate season. Azaleas are native to Korean peninsula and bloom there around April-May. Even though the seasonality event cycle in

Korea is not comparable[45] to the layered seasonality of Japan (see Chapter 6), azalea viewing and autumn color viewing are widely popular seasonal activities.

Azalea viewings and watching the "autumn color" (*danpchung* in Korean, *momiji* in Japanese) is popular both in Japan and Korea. However, I would say that azaleas are the most popular flowers to view in Korea and the cherry blossoms viewing (*hanami* in Japanese) is the best popular in Japan[46]. It has been introduced to Korea during the Japanese occupation when *sakura* trees were planted in some areas of Seoul (Henry, 2016). The cherry viewing might not be as popular in Korea as it is in Japan, blooming *sakura* orchards are often mentioned among tourist attractions of a place in travel guides and on travel tip websites even in Korea. Famous cherry tree areas in Korea include the Yeouido island in Seoul or the city of Gyeongju, both of which some of my informants recommended to me as places to go to see blooming *sakuras,* as I was in Korea for the season. But contrarily to azaleas, *sakuras* do not grow in the wild in Korea in large numbers. Even though *sakuras* have been introduced to Korea during the Japanese occupation, the cherry tree viewing does not seem to suffer from being colonial-era tainted. Henry (2016) ascertains that it established itself as a suitable couple dating activity, as a romantic thing to do, during the colonial period; and it was advertised as such even at the time of my research. As for the azalea viewing, popular, nation-wide known locations include: Yeosu Yeongchwisan Mountain located in the south of the country, one of the places where the azaleas bloom earliest; Jirisan National park, the biggest and one of the best known national parks of Korea; and Goryeosan Mountain, located in the Ganghwa Island, that is administratively part of the Incheon Metro Area, but is usually perceived separately as "Ganghwa" and not as part of Incheon itself (see Chapter 3).

---

[45] This doesn't mean that there are no seasonal festivals and seasonal activities in Korea. However, the seasonality of viewings (particular flowers, moon, lights etc.), of decorations etc. is much more pronounced and society-wide in Japan than it is in Korea.

[46] Other famous seasonal flowers to view are ume plum trees, hydrangea, iris, wisteria or chrysanthemum. For a more complete list, see "The culture of flower viewing" in *Garden City Tokyo Travel & History* website: https://www.tokyo-park.or.jp/special/botanicallegacy/en/tokyo/hanami/index.html (Acquired January 14th, 2021.)

5.2.3 Dangerous neighborhoods

During the pilot interviews, some of my informants reacted negatively to some areas in the city on the accounts that these neighborhoods were "dangerous". The city image research being highly phenomenological (Pauknerová 2013), the notion of danger within the city entered as a major factor in my research on city-imaging. In Kobe, I was primarily asking about the Shinkaichi area in Hyōgo ward, as a place that emerged during the pilot interviews as having notoriously bad reputation. The area was also a part of the "original" city of Hiōgo: the name of the area means "New Land" and it was developed in the early 20th century as an entertainment district with movie theaters and serves as entertainment district to this day, though being now on the red-light and *pachinko* parlor side. However, the "Kobe Art Village Centre", a multi-purpose art center, opened in Shinkaichi in 1996. According to its official website: *"For years, Shinkaichi has flourished as Kobe's preeminent entertainment district, offering a wide range of artistic forms, from taishu engeki to films, and has contributed to the development of Kobe's urban culture. In 1996, we opened the Kobe Art Village Center to further reenergize the town of Shinkaichi through the arts."*[47] The Hyōgo ward municipal government is also active in community meeting and seemed to be open for grass-roots revitalization initiatives[48]. Shinkaichi also used to be perceived as a downtown during the Shōwa era (see following sub-chapter). In short, it was an area of interest for my study from several points of view.

As with the natural locations, I also invited, in a separate question, that I made an effort not to link with my question on Shinkaichi, my informants to tell me if there were places they though were "dangerous" in Kobe. If more specific places were named, they included Suma Beach over summer, Nagata ward, and very often Sannomiya. The reasons pertained to one hand to oldness and the dilapidated state of some areas (Shinkaichi, Nagata), presence of *yakuza*, or to large concentrations of drunk people and noise (Shinkaichi, Suma Beach, Sannomiya). I talk about this phenomenon extensively in the first part of Chapter 7.

In Incheon, the "dangerous" neighborhood I identified as an area of interest was the district of Juan, a place of not dissimilar history to Shinkaichi: an aging entertainment district of restaurants, bars and

---

[47] Kobe Art Village Centre website, https://www.kavc.or.jp/en/ (Acquired September 23rd, 2020.)
[48] Based on what I gathered at an "urban creation" (*machizukuri*) meeting with the public for Hyogo ward I attended in January 2017.

karaoke parlors (including those with "hostesses"[49]). Juan also has a large residential area mainly comprised of the so-called *"one-room"* apartments. A *one-room* is a studio ranging from 10m2 to 20m2 with monthly rent and no deposit needed, offering short-term contracts, a synonym for cheap housing in Korea. Several of my informants observed that I shouldn't have chosen Juan as my area of residence, when I admitted of doing so. *"It's a dangerous place (...) why would you want to live in a place like that? (...) It's like the Harlem of Incheon."* I often explained that it was because it was easy to find housing there. But I also asked about my informants' opinions on Juan without them knowing I lived there, or telling them after they expressed their first opinion on the place so as not to bias their expression. Further down the ladder from *one-rooms* in terms of bad reputation are the *gosiwons* or *goshitel*s, a form of housing established as an alternative for student housing for those preparing for civil-service examinations, that have shared bathrooms and kitchens and a room area of as little as 3m2. If located outside of a university area, they are perceived as housing for the truly precarious[50]. I identified some *goshiwons* south of the Dongincheon Station, and from a brief inspection, they seemed to conform to this image.

Again, I also invited my informants in Incheon to think whether they deem an area of Incheon "dangerous", bearing in mind the same cautions as in the case of Kobe. Striking similarities with Kobe occurred again: the dilapidated state and oldness of an area played a role as well as presence of drunk people and noise in forming the impression of danger. Perceived gangster presence also occurred. In Incheon, the negative image of foreign immigrants as source of danger also appeared.

Aside from offering a contribution to my study on city images in general, the "dangerous" neighbourhoods offered an important piece of puzzle into the intricate imagery of intertwining images my informants held about their particular cities. The "dangerous" places laid at the intersection of the dichotomy of old and modern, and underlined the conflicting perception of "oldness". In both of my

---

[49] Some *karaoke* parlors in Juan were sporting a sign saying *"Female customers welcome"*. This was a way of saying that this establishment had no hostesses, so female customers wouldn't be put into an uneasy situation attending the place. *Karaoke* parlors with hostesses are notoriously known for verging on sex service venues and were, and are, as testified by some of my informants, used as team-building venues for Korean companies. This issue has received sufficient scholarly attention, so I don't wish to detail it in my dissertation.

[50] A Korean photographer, Sim Kyu-Dong, made a series of documentary photos about living in *goshitels* in Seoul, see for example Daily Mail coverage on this issue: *Life in South Korea's Goshitels: Inside the tiny 50ft-square housing units where poor workers are forced to live due to Seoul's soaring property prices* https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7754505/Life-South-Koreas-Goshitels.html (Acquired September 23rd , 2020).

cases, some "old" was linked to "dangerous" and other to "exotic". This dichotomy is important in trying to disentangle the images of the built remnants from the colonial period; and this topic will be the subject of analysis in Chapter 8.

5.2.4 Modernity hubs

If the dangerous neighborhoods and memory places represented older parts of the cities, Incheon's Songdo IBD and Kobe's Sannomiya could stand for the modernity hubs. Establishing Songdo as a modernity hub seemed unproblematic. Briefly put, Songdo International Business District is a massive developmental project for a modern city that combines modern standards of the so-called "ubiquitous technologies" and "green" features of urban planning (see Lichá 2015b & 2018). The project is rather new, it has yet not reached completion and is heavily marketed as a "city of the future". It clearly aims to match Seoul and international "global" cities in terms of architecture and to stand in sharp contrast to the rest of the city. I was confirmed by my informants that it is also perceived (not only marketed) as special. There's even the question of whether Songdo is part of Incheon. Administratively, it is. Functionally less so as we will see further. It is also often perceived as a separate city: *"People don't think about Songdo as part of Incheon. People think of Songdo as Songdo."* summarized one informant. I will talk extensively about Songdo in Chapter 8.

With Sannomiya, the striking contrast with the rest of the city doesn't seem to be present. After its renovation, Sannomiya became a "natural" city center (see Chapter 5.3) and is not marketed in the way Songdo is. Sannomiya is the transportation hub of Kobe, where all the three major train lines, the JR, the Hanshin line and the Hankyu line converge. North of the tracks, the area comprises of Kobe beef restaurants, other restaurants, bars, clubs, cafes and Ikuta jinja, one of the most prominent shrines of Kobe. The area slopes upward and gradually melts into Kitano which is, however, quite calm at night in contrast. It seemed that Sannomiya was being naturally preferred because it was newer (and had more amenities) and that there was a positive spillover effect, a clustering – more new places would naturally open there. It is the place my informants would most often go to shop, eat out or to hang out even if they didn't have a particular favorite place there: *"I know there are cafes and*

restaurants here [in the subterranean passage in Sannomiya] but I have no particular favorite place here (…) but I mostly meet with my friends in Sannomiya."

While Sannomiya might not have a reputation for being strikingly new, it doesn't have the bad reputation for being "old" the entertainment district at Shinkaichi has. This is one of the major reasons I think is behind the fact that even though some of my informants labeled Sannomiya "dangerous at night", it wasn't a reason to stop frequenting that place. In contrast, being "dangerous" and "old" constituted a reason to avoid Shinkaichi.

Another potential candidate for the modernity hub in Kobe are the artificial islands in the Osaka Bay, namely the Port Island and the Rokko Island. The project is much older than Songdo is, beginning in the 1960s. Back then, the project was marketed as cutting-edge of modernity but is not perceived as new or exceptionally modern nowadays. Usually, the informants who mentioned them were those who interacted with the Islands (either by working or living there). "I work on Port Island, I live next to my job, about one or two minutes by foot (…) it's fine there, but it's a pity there are few coffee-shops etc." Other informants also stressed the importance of physical proximity in between one's workplace and lodgings: *"I work in Rokko Island and I live in Mikage (…) it's practical, it's not very far."* On the other hand, the islands could be rather remote: *"I live in the Rokko Island student residence and every day I commute to Kobe University (…) it takes so much time and money!"* Transportation costs running high in Japan in general, both the liners to the islands were even more expensive than private railways on the mainland.

There were further negative comments on the islands from my informants: *"When I bought my apartment on Port Island during the first phase of the development, I saw the sea and the passing ships (…) I could tell the time from which ferry was coming but after the second phase, I can't see anything. It makes me sad."* and *"I hate the artificial islands! They are made from the mountains!"* The last comment reflects that some of the material from the Rokko Mountain chain has been drilled out (a common urban development practice in the late 20th century over urban Japan) and the land was used during the land reclamation process creating the Port and Rokko Islands. However, this negative image of the reclaimed islands is not a widely sustained image they have in Kobe.

5.2.5 Preference Questions

These questions also gave me a snapshot of how much my informants interacted with the city in general, if they were interested in what happens in their city, or simply if they spend time there or prefer to visit other places.

First of all, I was interested if my informants spend their free time in their city or if they go somewhere else. The answers to that could vary vastly, from *"I never hang out in Kobe. I always go to Osaka. My boyfriend is from there."* through *"I like to hang out with friends in cafes and in karaoke (...) typical Japanese [laughter]. (...) I sometimes go to Osaka with friends, Kyoto is a bit too far."* to *"Before moving to Kobe, I bought a tourist guide and I discover the city based on that."* One informant mentioned that Kobe felt sufficient for spending her free time: *"I can do almost everything in Kobe. In a long vacation, we go to travel sometimes."* Time (and the lack of it) was also a key factor in my informants' answers: *"I like clothes shopping (...) I spend much of my free time shopping [laughter]. Kobe is enough for me for that, I don't go to Osaka or other places (...) my job takes up a lot of my time."* and *"I have one day a week free. I like going to Sannomiya for shopping and to chill out."*

A similar array of answers occurred in Incheon too, though the categorical "never go" came from the other side of the spectrum, meaning the informants favored exclusively Incheon over Seoul for their free time[51]: *"I never go to Seoul in my free time, especially during week-ends."* and *"I don't go to Seoul. Incheon has everything I need."* through *"Sometimes, I go to Seoul and sometimes to the sea in Incheon."* to *"I often go to Seoul for culture (...) most friends live in Seoul (...) Seoul is like center for everybody (...) but I go out for drinks in Incheon."* and *"I usually go to Seoul. I have a girlfriend there. But we sometimes date in Incheon too. (...) with Incheon friends, we meet around Incheon City Hall area [Guwoldong]."*

In further questions about preference of a place or a place they would often go to in the city (if any), the personal narratives diversified even more. I would like to quote several that conveyed a more intricate city image. One informant from Kobe said: *"I like the Port Island and the Kobe Tower (...)*

---

[51]   This doesn't imply they don't travel.

I'm fascinated by the skyscraper at Shin-Kobe and the train station[52], I sometimes dream that one day, I'll go to Hiroshima or to Tokio (…) I also like Shin-Kobe and Ijinkan[53] because it has foreign atmosphere (…) I like Ijinkan mostly at night because of the illumination, especially Tor Road." Other informants also told me that a particular place inspired feelings of hope and dreaming about the future, this time in Incheon: *"I like the Airport Island. I went to high school there and I was watching the planes land and take off every day... and I was dreaming about traveling a lot one day too."* or *"I worked in a hotel at the airport. Every day, I was meeting many foreigners and watching the planes... it made me want to travel more."* Personal feelings seemed to have an important place in constituting the personal city image for my informants, which is why I dedicate the Chapter 7 to different feelings, both good and bad.

For others, the frequented places pertained more to their everyday lives and personal preferences, such as for the informant from Kobe who said: *"I often go to Nagata to see a friend and to my uni [laughter] because for the past three months, we put up a play so we rehearse every night... so I don't have much free time."* Another informant from Incheon mentioned a local place in the Seo-gu area[54]: *"My favorite place is Humun. It's one of the cheapest places in Korea. I usually drink out there, I really love it, there are so many young people, you know."* My informants often designated the places they went often to as those they spent their free time at, in other words the places for entertainment, going out with friends, eating out and shopping. I will talk about the particularities of the "downtown" for both Incheon and Kobe in the following sub-chapter.

Last but not least, some of my informants said that their really favorite places weren't located in either Kobe or Incheon: *"Kobe is good to live in (…) But my most favorite place is actually Fushimi Inari in Kyoto."*

---

[52] Shin-Kobe is the *shinkansen* train station for Kobe.
[53] Ijinkan with a capital "I" is sometimes used to designate the Kitano area.
[54] The northernmost city part of Incheon, deemed by some other informants as remote and a bit rural.

5.2.6 Reference Points in Kobe: Particularities

Before I go into more detailed accounts of the city images I collected, I would like to first spend some time on the particularities of everyday speech designation of directions and reference points in Kobe, which will help the readers understand the following Chapters.

Historically, the city of Kobe has been naturally bordered by the Rokko Mountain range to the north and the waters of Osaka Bay to the south. Nowadays, the city also encompasses large residential areas north of the Rokko Mountain (Suzurandai, Kitakobe), not far from the Arima hot spring resort. However, *"mountainside"* and *"beachside"* is still a common way to designate directions in inner Kobe in everyday speech instead of saying "north" or "south"[55].

Another important reference point in Kobe are the railway tracks. In general, in Japan, there is the state-run Japan Railways (the JR) and a multitude of private companies operating railway and/or subway lines of various extents, each running their own tracks and having different tickets and fare prices, which makes navigating Japanese (urban) landscape slightly tricky to say the least. In Kobe, there are three major lines running from west to east (all the way towards Osaka) in parallel lines that all meet in Sannomiya, the current modern downtown of Kobe. From there, the Hankyu Railway tracks run closest to the mountains, the JR tracks lie in the middle and southernmost (closest to the shoreline) runs the Hanshin Railway. To be most precise, this situation is true in between Shinkaichi and Osaka; as the Hanshin and Hankyu lines end in Shinkaichi and to the west continue the Sany'o railway (beginning at the Shin-Kobe *shinkansen* station north east of Kitano) and JR. The stops on all the lines are relatively close one to another on the same line, so they play the role of local public transport. One of my informant mentioned, that JR even recently added the Maya stop for local trains in between Nada and Rokkomichi stations for more transport convenience. In more practical terms, I will show how the railway tracks and stops are being used while talking about the city in the subsequent sub-chapters.

---

[55] Even though I spend some time describing these particular ways to designate directions or locations, I must note that the principle itself is not unique to Kobe. Local ways of designations are almost an anthropological constant in urban anthropological research. To cite one more example among many, in Paris, locals don't use "north" and "south", but "rive droite" (right bank) and "rive gauche" (left bank), based on the current of the Seine river that divides the city roughly in the middle.

5.3   The Shifting of "Downtown" in Time and Space:
Social Time and Perceived "Oldness" of Entertainment Districts

When I was asking my informants about their opinions on specific areas of Kobe and Incheon, one thing that became soon visible was the spatial shifting of the perceived "city center" or "downtown" in the living memory of my informants. Unless otherwise specified, my informants were mostly referring to the currently popular area, the center of entertainment, the *"hot place"*. I will describe those in more detail and I will discuss later in this chapter how in Kobe, the definition of "city center" in the administrative way changed with the moving of the City Hall. In Kobe, the shifting is also that of a city center, because the city hall moves. In Incheon, people were talking more about downtown, the "hot place" within the city. This chapter will thus deal with places popular for socializing, the "downtown", and in the subsequent sub-chapter, I will treat the subject of a desirable housing location within the two cities. This was interesting in my palimpsest of ethnographies of Kobe and Incheon because it underlined the importance of (social)time frame (Horský, Hroníková, and Stella 2014) in urban research not only in relation to people, but also to spaces (Lichá 2017b).

We have to bear in mind that both cities formed spatially in a very different manner. Incheon expanded from the concession area on a very small peninsula-shaped piece of coast inwards and merged with native fishing villages and slum-like neighborhoods. The only other significant settlement in the vicinity was the Songchangpo and the Hwadojin Forteress, now firm part of Incheon. In this sense, Incheon has a more "traditional" spatial development of a co-centric city (Raulin 2014) with the old town in the middle and the new areas expanding from it in circles, with the former settlement environs being designated as *"old town"* or *"inner Incheon"* (this pertains vaguely to all areas from the shore inland until Juan). The current city hall is located at the intersection of Incheon subway lines 1 and 2, at the northernmost tip of Guwoldong area.

In Kobe, we see a very different pattern. To begin with, Kobe as it is a conurbation of the foreign concession of Kobe (and adjacent areas over the Ikuta river developed to support it) and the existing port of Hiōgo. As we can clearly see in Peter Ennals' (2014) study, the spatial merging of the two places had begun since the foundation of the Settlement, even though they had remained

administratively separate. To this adds the development of the residential area in Kitano. This means, that finding the "old town" in Kobe is much more difficult and indeed, I have not encountered a place being designated as such. All the possible "candidates" were always referred to by their proper name as "Kobe [station]", "Shinkaichi" or "Kitano". Moreover, the area of the former Settlement and the Bund has been massively redeveloped over the years and also renovated after the 1995 earthquake to the point where virtually nothing remains from the foreign Settlement. So this area would most likely be referred to as "City Hall" now because that's where the current Kobe City administration resides.

5.3.1 Incheon's Downtown: From Wolmido to Guwoldong

In Incheon, the first entertainment, leisure district was the Wolmido island (called Geppi island or Getsubito(h) on period postcards) with spa and swimming resorts, developed for leisure since the first decade of the 20th century onward. Wolmido was also a location of one of the Shintō shrines in Incheon, the Agota jinja, built in 1908, commemorating the Japanese victory over Russia (Chosun Railway Travel Guide 1915, 61). The island was later bombed in 1950 during the Incheon landing operation of general MacArthur and US troops were stationed there until 2001. Wolmido was then transformed into a leisure area again, with a public park and amusement park areas: *"the disco ppang ppang [in Wolmido] are famous"* I was told.

Despite having seen even young couples going on a date to Wolmido in 2017, some of my informants expressed their disinterest in the area because it was getting old. One of my university-aged informant added: *"I heard Wolmido was a popular dating spot in my parents' time, now it's for the retro feeling."* Even though the amenities were about sixteen years old at the time of my research, they were already perceived as *"old", "retro"*.

Others had positive feelings towards Wolmido because it had a familiar landscape: *"Wolmido? I like it (…) I just like it (…) my hometown is a beach town, that's why."* The personal attachment to a place perceived by others as uninteresting, old or outright dangerous is going to come up over and over again in my research. One of my informants told me that it is natural that people related to particular places based on their positive feelings and memories related. It was noteworthy for me to see that not only the personalized image/perception of a place could override the "generic" image of a city or place subconsciously, but also consciously. Some informants clearly ascertained that they liked a certain place *despite* its unfavorable image. I will come to this again in the Chapter 8.

The preferred "downtown" area, or an area preferred for leisure, moved over the Incheon map (even several times sometimes) in the living memory of my informants. *"I grew up here in the Old Town [Open Port Area and Chinatown], spent my youth here (…) this used to be the downtown."* told me a middle-aged informant who later opened a business in the Open Port Area when it began its

renewal after 2013. The subsequent area of popularity became the Juan area, a bit more to the hinterland compared to the Old Town, and the closest subway station to Inha University campus. A fresh college graduate told me: *"When I was young, Juan was "the hot place". Then it was Bupyeong, now it is Songdo (...) Juan is getting old ad there's no effort to renovate."* Others confirmed that Bupyeong (a neighborhood in the north-east of Incheon, in the Bucheon City direction) is currently the hanging-out area of choice: *"Now Bupyeong is the hipster place, most high school students go there (...) it has a similar vibe to Hongdae in Seoul."* Some also suggested that Bupyeong is slowly getting out of fashion in favor of the Guwoldong area (close to Incheon City Hall), or are at least a concurrent choice: *"Guwoldong and Bupyeong are the top donwtowns to have fun."* or *"I like Guwoldong (...) I can do anything there (...) also friends ask me to go out there."*

The main appeal of an area seemed to be the fact that the area is new and trendy. The level of "development" (*kaebal*) was a very important benchmark of desirability of a location, even in other contexts: *"Seo-gu where I lived was not Incheon (...) terrible condition (...) not well developed."* In the case of Incheon, the preferred downtowns switch, on a more-or-less ten year round timetable, from place to place, and their desirability is closely linked to their perceived newness, level of development.

The desirability of a place can be restored, or maintained, by renovation, as suggested my informant saying *"Juan is getting old ad there's no effort to renovate."* We could also infer a similar result from the maintained popularity of the Seoul's Hongdae district, a favorite downtown of choice in central Seoul that even my informants talked about: *"Now Bupyeong is the hipster place, most high school students go there (...) it has a similar vibe to Hongdae in Seoul."* Hongdae had been long-term a popular district when I came first to Korea in 2011 and keeps its popularity. We will discuss the desirability of modernity and the complex images associated with "old" in the subsequent chapters.

In Incheon, the perceived city hub moved around from the Old Town with no apparent relation to the administrative center of the city, even though this situation converges now in the Guwoldong area. This shift moved along places that were newly developed and thus perceived as desirable. It would be interesting to see whether the renovation process of the Old Town could work out in a similar way. The process had started with the cafes in the Open Port Area close to Chinatown and I would have found unlikely that only a cafe area would gain a new popular downtown status. However, the renewal

had spread to the Sinpo Market environs that is more of a restaurant/bar area and thus could become the new "hot place".

We will see this very short popularity turnaround repeated over and over. As one of my other informants said: *"You know, "since 2000" counts as old in Korea."* Even though she used it in a positive context, noting that a restaurant opened in 2000 was well-established and had already some tradition, she precised that "old" doesn't always convey a positive trait. I will talk more about the conflicting images of "old" in Chapter 8. I wanted to show how, in my perception, a rather short time span of 17 years is perceived as long in Korea in relation to urban landscapes; a social-time (Horský, Hroníková, and Marco Stella 2014) of a place is very much dependent on any given society and/or generation. Another of my informants complained out that everything in the city changes too fast, the landscapes she used to know disappear and that sometimes she feels the development goes so quickly, you cannot get used to the place at all, that you don't get the sense of a place, in other words lacking an anchoring point in their psycho-geographies of a place (Shaw 2018).

The fast fluidity of the field when it comes to urban research has been a common observation of researchers working in other parts of East Asia as well, most notably on mainland China: *"When I came back two years later, I didn't even recognize the place, it changed so much,"* once told me a colleague working on industrial towns in the Yellow River delta. I think this is a major concern while working with the image of the city, especially in cases such as mine when my interest lies with the image of the city held by its inhabitants. Thus, the less tangible, sensual aspects of the personal geographies of a place come into focus (Pauknerová 2012), so we will discuss feelings towards the city in Chapter 7 and the role of food tourism – especially for Korea – in Chapter 10. In a fast-fluid environment, the anthropology of senses, meaning other senses than view, can prove to be a useful tool.

5.3.2 Kobe's Downtown: From Shinkaichi to Sannomiya

In Kobe, my informants talked more about the "center" of a city, referring to the city hub, the most prominent part of the city. One of my informants commented on how this center moved over in his living memory: *"Kobe is a strange city (*henna machi*) because it has three centers (…) they*

subsequently moved (...) Shinkaichi, Kobe-eki and now Sannomiya." He also commented on the fact that the private railways, Hanshin and Hankyu, renamed their stations at Sannomiya as "Kobe-Sannomiya" to reflect that Sannomiya now equals Kobe, that it is the most prominent place within the city. He also added that only JR line remains old fashioned and keeps the name "Kobe Station" for its original stop in the Hyōgo ward.

The Shinkaichi area, that was one of my reference points in asking about Kobe, was a movie theater street in the Taishō era and ever since evolved as an entertainment district, despite its heavy bombing at the end of WWII. At the time of my research, it was a mix of red-light district with *pachinko* parlors, *izakayas* and Kansai food restaurants. It is one of the areas that is perceived as dangerous in Kobe (we will see about this later). Some of my informants expressed their misunderstanding or regret at this: *"I remember Shinkaichi when I was little, it was the center (...) now I don't know why it became a no-go place (*damenaru*) (...) but it's old there."* Another informant, an artist based in Shinkaichi, said: *"Many people, especially young women, turn Shinkaichi the cold shoulder (...) but I think it shows the local color. I wish more people here saw that."*

The notions of oldness and danger are closely linked in the perception of a city area, as we will see in Chapter 7. Also, even if the place might not be perceived as dangerous because it's old, the desirability of new, modern spaces is still mainstream in both Korea and Japan. This doesn't mean that the personal preference for "retro" doesn't exist but is part of alternative culture rather than mainstream. The sense of retro as a positive trait has slowly moved into Korean urban culture as I haven't met any signs of it in between 2011/2012 but indeed, was expressed by some of my informants in 2017 and seemed to gain momentum only after 2018, with the rise of the "newtro" concept (see Chapter 8), only at the very end of my research period.

I was told that the Sannomiya area has been renovated only after the 1995 earthquake and it encompasses both the areas north of the rails (where coffee-shops, bars and restaurants are mostly located) and south of the rails (where large department stores and shopping arcades dominate). Some informants expressed that they spend their going out time in the area because it has everything their need: coffee-shops, restaurants, bars, shopping malls, *karaoke* etc. Some had their favorite establishments there, some didn't and said they were choosing which place to go to on a whim. Still,

some said that they prefer other areas for spending their free time, like Marine-pia or Harborland, a newly redeveloped shopping mall area in between JR Kobe station, Kobe Tower and the waterfront. Some other informants told me that even though they live (and work) in Kobe, they go out to have fun in Osaka.

I must also point out that the many of my informants gave me a meeting at Sannomiya, even if we went somewhere else later together. I always left the meeting spot choice on my informants, underlying that I would like to visit a place they like or is most convenient for them. Some gave me the meeting at Sannomiya even if they didn't have a particular place in mind, we just decided on the place to go to on-the-spot. I must also not underestimate the possibility that my informants might have thought Sannomiya was the easiest spot for me to find. And that, consciously or unconsciously, they actually selected the meeting place for my convenience[56].

Even though the time required for an entertainment area to move from popularity to being perceived as old and undesirable seemed to be much shorter in Incheon (Korea) than in Kobe (Japan), the general mainstream trend seemed similar. In other words, the popularity shift goes to the place that is new and developed and thus perceived as desirable. Whether it was a newly developed area (such as Songdo), or a redevelopment project (such as Sannomiya) didn't seem to make difference. I would interpret this in the vein of general, mainstream preference for modernity in both Japan and Korea and in the worldwide trend of gentrification. I would like to just point out that in European cities (such as Paris or Prague to my knowledge), the gentrification process is closely linked to development of better housing and/or office areas that go hand in hand with the gentrification of entertainment services in the area. On the contrast, in Incheon (with the exception of Songdo) and in Kobe, this gentrification happened in entertainment areas, making the perceived "downtown" or "center" move around the city. All the while when a location perceived as desirable for housing, was somewhere else, because mixed-use urban development is not strongly present (though existing) in either country. We will talk about the housing choices in the next sub-chapter.

---

[56]

For example because some might have thought I don't speak sufficient Japanese to navigate the city - especially in the cases where I have met my informants through language exchange platforms.

I must note that the gentrification of areas that have more mixed-use exists in Japan and Korea too, a remarkable example of which being the Haeundae Beach area in Busan (Korea) or the central Osaka renovations of the Tennōji area (Japan), to name a handful. Given the fast fluidity of the urban landscape, we could also interpret the presence of landscapes and physical port infrastructures as constitutive elements of the city image as reference points, anchors or frames for the city image, because they are not subjected to radical changes. The city images might have different, sometimes conflicting timescales, but what matters for the desirability of a location is the "now" (though the now is a relative time span): what is there, how it looks. For example, I was told that Kitano used to be a red-light district but that nobody remembers that. This seems to be in conflict with my previous statement that the personal city image operates partially from memory. After further inspection, there's no conflict in this: the collective image of an area seems to "update" much faster because it is sourced from a larger group of people who interact with that area in the Now and then share its images with others (by word of mouth, online etc.). The collective images of highly frequented places thus react fast to trends.

In Chapter 4.3, I have mentioned that both Chinatowns in Kobe and in Incheon could be interpreted as a product of *disneyization* as laid out by Alan Bryman (2004), even though their redevelopment was motivated by their soft power potential. The Kobe Kitano, some of the *ijinkan* have been transformed into themed private museums, such as "the Danish House", the "French House", the "British House" etc. that have costumed staff and themed tours – such as the British House offering Sherlock Holmes costumes for the visit. Despite their locality, the current entertainment usage seems to align with the *disneyization* interpretation – or, for instance, the *macdonalidization* in case of the Kitano Monogatari house that now harbors a Starbucks Coffee branch. Nevertheless, Kobe Kitano remains a partly residential area. The re-purposing of the "heritage houses" outside of Kitano and in Incheon for private business (art gallery, coffee-shop, multi-purpose artistic space, homestay etc.) poses a more difficult line to draw. We could label it a reinvention of heritage as according to Bruman and Cox (2011) if we underlined the entrepreneurial grass-root motivation of the owners of preserving heritage while maintaining it as a money-generating asset. Or as commodification of culture (Kendall 2011) if we stressed the tokenized usage of "retro" and "Japanese" characteristics when drafting concepts for the venues. Or indeed as *disenyization* if we gave value to the "thematization" and "uniformity" aspects of the "heritage houses" renewal, especially in the Incheon Open Port Area. Here, even though the

111

thematization and uniformity exists mostly in between the venues within the same area, they are in retrospect part of the so-called "newtro" trend (see Chapter 10) and they are all designed so as to offer an interesting, appealing backdrop for social media pictures. In a sense, the search for unique, authentic places is so global that the places such as "heritage house" coffee-shops in Incheon are part of glocalized *disneyization* of "authenticity".

However, the clustering of entertainment venues such as bars, restaurants and movie theaters, such as we see in the "downtown" areas described in this Chapter, are very characteristic to Korean and Japanese (and Chinese) cities in the past as well and thus I wouldn't include them within the *disneyization* label.

5.4   Where to Live in Kobe or in Incheon?

When thinking about desirable residence in Incheon and Kobe, and thus about the favorable or unfavorable image of a certain residential area, we have to note that as a general rule, white-collar workers/upper middle classes[57] both in Japan and South Korea are very socially aspirational (Sugimoto 2010). In general, what mattered, was a mix of location and type of residences available; the state of the buildings and how well-to-do image that certain area had seemed to outweigh the transport accessibility of said location. Long commutes are a very common occurrence, especially in Kobe and Incheon, that are to some extent satellite cities, Kobe to Osaka and Incheon to Seoul. In Kobe[58], some informants claimed that there is a general image that when you work in a company in Osaka, you live in Kobe, because it is easy to travel and Kobe is a *"nicer place to live"*. I would like to detail some stories more to point out differences in between Japan and South Korea in terms of residence desirability. I need to point out that what I will be writing is mostly true for white-collar workers, or upper-middle classes in both countries.

In the previous sub-chapter, I have pointed out that desirable entertainment areas differ from desirable housing areas in Kobe and in Incheon (while taking Songdo aside as a special case). Interestingly, the most desirable location to live in Kobe is not in Kobe at all, but in Ashiya. Ashiya is an administratively separate town of about 100,000 inhabitants in the Hyōgo Province located in between Kobe to the West and Nishinomiya to the East, making it one of the towns of the Hanshin Area. As part of the Kobe-Osaka conurbation, what makes Ashiya separate from Kobe for my informants is that they *consider, perceive* it as separate, even though physical boundaries or delimitation don't exist as such. This was a common issue for both of my case studies on how to draw boundaries in a large urban environment (see Chapter 3). As I have previously said, the boundary-setting was based on what my informants perceived as part of the city and what not. Ashiya was thus usually referred to by my informants as Ashiya, not Kobe.

57

    Even though many white-collar Japanese people would claim that Japan is a "class-less society".

58   I must admit that having lived in Kobe and doing the weekly commute to Kyoto via Osaka, I would personally agree to that myself. Just for the simple fact that Kobe is very windy, which means that it might be colder in winter, but the air is just so much cleaner and fresher. And there is no such a thing as the cold smog pillow that chokes Kyoto or Osaka for most of the winter months.

The urbanization of the Hanshin area had begun more than hundred years ago, according to Tamura (2007, 54-55): *"The Hanshin area that lies between Osaka and Kobe had experienced large-scale residential development since the 1910s, when affluent upper-middle class merchant families in Osaka moved out from the densly populated urban centre to suburbia in search of fresh air and nature. The Hanshin area was ideal for this purpose, as it was close to the sea and the land sloped to the south, catching the sun. The residential developments which took place around this time were aimed at creating ideal living conditions for affluent families, rather than developing as many matchbox-sized blocks as possible, which has been a common occurrence in post-war Japan. The Spanish Mission style in which James'[59] mansion was built was a popular architectural style of the period. Some hosing estates offered a variety of amenities such as parks, hot springs, leisure and sporting facilities close to the residential area. Western companies purchases land in such luxury estates to build luxury housing for their upper echelons. James must have been aware that a demand existed for Western-style houses. One example of a housing development with such amenities was Rokurokusō, in the nearby city of Ashiya, which was begun in 1929."* During my research in 2016/2017, Ashiya was still perceived as a luxurious neighborhood, where affluent and famous people lived, the *"best to live"*. *"Ashiya is so good to live (...) a foreign manager lived there and took the shinkansen everyday to go to work in Hiroshima (...) I heard."* or *"You know, the manager of Hanshin Tigers[60] lives in Ashiya. (...) It's a good place."* Some of my informants commented on Ashiya being a good place, but also suggested that it is so luxurious that it is out of their reach or of other people they know to afford to actually live in the area. Therefore it had a hint of dream area and not a place they would actually attempt to move to. In this regards, it shares a similarity with the New Songdo area in Incheon.

In Kobe itself, Rokko and Mikage areas in the Nada ward were commented positively upon by my informants as good places to live. *"I work in Rokko Island and I live in Mikage (...) it's practical (...) but it's also a nice place,"* told me one informant. From what I gathered, the Rokko and Mikage areas were generally perceived as more attainable by my informants than Ashiya. Where Ashiya was a place for the truly rich, Rokko and Mikage were *"good areas"* where the middle-class family could nevertheless afford to live.

59

   Ernest W. James, an entrepreneur who invested in large-scale development in luxury housing, especially in Shioya.
60   A professional baseball club based in Nishinomiya, popular with some of my informants. Baseball is a pretty big sport in Japan.

The positive response to these places happened even when the informants didn't know I lived in the area (by coincidence). I am also inclined to think that in general, they wouldn't hide their potential negative feelings about an area I lived in just to be polite (which could be a case with other topics). I think so based on my pilot interviews that I conducted at the beginning of my stay in Kobe while I stayed in the Shinkaichi area that has a reputation for being dangerous and bad. During that time, I received surprised, even shocked reactions such as: *"Why would you live in such a place?!"*

When my informant elaborated on why they considered Mikage and Rokkō as good, the reason I was given on multiple occasions was that it was a calm, quiet area. This point is interesting in contrast, because loud, noisy areas are often associated with danger, as we will see in Chapter 7. The desirability of Ashiya and then Rokkō-Mikage areas as residences was confirmed to me by an informant working in real estate – he added that there are also luxurious houses in the heights just below Rokkō mountain ridge, though these are sometimes considered too isolated and *"lonely"*. Of course, many of my informants expressed positive feelings about an area they lived in regardless of its social prestige. I will deal with those also in Chapter 7.

Both the Hanshin and Hankyu lines and some stops serve as points of reference when talking about the city areas. In general, living on the Hankyu line is perceived as most desirable and the Hanshin line the least. *"Hankyu is good, JR is neutral and Hanshin is bad,"* summarized one of my informants. Another of my informants, whose family was living in Kobe for at least four generations, told me that some areas along Hanshin tracks have bad image because that is where the *burakumin* outcast class used to live.

Incidentally, when you live closer to the mountains, it means you live on geologically more stable ground and in higher altitude and far from the port where the air is better. The better air quality on the Rokko Mountain slopes in comparison to the shoreline was the primer reason for foreigners moving their residences over to Kitano in favor of the dedicated settlement (Ennals, 2014; Tamura, 2007). However, an informant who works in real estate in Kobe told me that the geological stability of the mountainside areas is not a conscious choice among people looking for housing: *"No, people don't think about it that way, it's just those areas have nicer houses and better air."* The Rokko Mountain range had been partially cut to allow more houses to be constructed on its slopes facing the sea. Those newly-developed areas counted as upper scale (even though this situation varied at the time of my

research, none was perceived outright as undesirable, slum-like). This situation applies to inner Kobe, not to the Kita-Kobe areas.

One informant working (but not living) in Kobe told me about a "trick" she does when talking about her house, especially while she cares about the image she gives to other people: to save money on housing, she resides in Amagasaki. Amagasaki is also a town in the Hanshin Area, more towards Osaka, and it has a notoriously bad image for being dangerous and not well-to-do. However, my informant's house is close to the Hankyu line. Therefore, when she talks about her area of residence, she names the exact Hankyu station rather than saying that she lives in Amagasaki. Thus, her social image is much more impressive.

Another informant lived on the Hanshin line, but in a southern tip of the coveted Kobe area of Mikage. Therefore she told me that she described her area of residence as "Mikage" and used to leave out the fact that it was closest to Hanshin-Mikage station, and south of the Hanshin tracks. In other words an area that, if described differently, could convey a different, more undesirable social image.

As I have noted earlier, the white-collar middle-class in Japan is highly socially aspirational (Sugiura 2010) and stigmatization of poverty exists in public discourse (Sekine 2008). Conscientious creation of the social image using area of residence is then one means of establishing one's social position, of negotiating one's social image. By sheer coincidence, I happened to live in the nowadays much coveted area of "Rokko", on the Hankyu line, and most of my informants expressed how lucky I was to live in such a good area[61]. One informant also told me that they would want to move to my area because it's such a good location. Where you live in Kobe really matters in terms of social image.

Another marker of the desirability residence is the type of supermarket in the area. I was once told: *"You live in a good place, you have Ikari there."* "Maruhachi" is considered to be at the bottom level of the spectrum, and "Ikari" at the top. They can also be one of the signs of the average income level in the neighbourhood. Because Maruhachi is a cheap chain and Ikari a rather expensive one – I

---

[61] I think that my good area of residence in Rokko was actually making my informants less confused than when I briefly resided in Shinkaichi. Because I already bore other characteristics of an upper-middle-class person: I was doing a PhD and I was studying at a good university in Kyoto. Living in a middle-class neighborhood matched my profile much more than living in a "dangerous" neighborhood. Also, the main campus of Kobe University is in the Rokko area, so it made sense also to informants who knew I did my PhD but didn't know I was affiliated in Kyoto.

was surprised to see that some products in Ikari cost more than in other supermarket chains. It was not only that they sold better quality products, I also noted exactly the same brand of yoghrut costing more in Ikari than in other, "middle grade" chains (Hankyu supermarket, Life etc.).

Ikari has very recognizable shopping bags and it is generally known to be more expensive than other chains. Showcasing their grocery bag is a clear way to show you are well-to-do. One informant told me: *"Some people would get the Ikari bag and use it over and over (...) to put normal groceries and show the bag on the train (...) Ikari is good... for people who think themselves rich."* In a similar vein, I was told that it is possible to buy used branded paper bags of popular clothing and perfume brands (usually American or European) to carry your things around in to look like you shop at these places. In Korea, this was done by carrying around Starbucks coffee cups in 2011/2012 (branded takeaway coffee in Korea is expensive both nominally and through purchasing power). Showcasing one's wealth publicly is another important aspect of negotiating one's identity both in Japan and in Korea.

In Incheon, as I was told by one informant who attended high-school there and then moved for university to Seoul, there seems to be a division in between *"inner Incheon"* and *"outer Incheon"*. In *"inner Incheon"*, there are the *"true people of Incheon"* who both reside in the city and work in the city, who are proud of being Incheoninas and have no or little desire to interact with the capital. Other informant described a similar impression by saying that *"Incheon people are very closed among themselves."*

The *"outer Incheon"* would encompass the north-eastern areas of the city, the neighbourhood of Bupyeong-gu, Gyeyang-gu, or Seo-gu etc., which would act as *"sleeping towns"* for those working in Seoul and generally *"aspiring"* towards the capital rather than seeing themselves as people from Incheon, according to my informant. From Bupyeong, the commute is roughly equally long to both downtown Incheon and to Seoul and from Gyeyang-gu or Seo-gu, it can be easily more convenient to get to Seoul rather than to Incheon.

In the general prestige or desirability of a location, Songdo definitely stands out. Even though it is administratively part of the city, many people perceive it as a separate place for itself; it has also been officially branded and marketed as *"city"*.

In terms of residence desirability, Songdo represents "the dream": new high-tech apartment blocks in a luxurious area. The Central Park is a green area and the air there is fresher than in inner Incheon, especially in the areas neighboring the large industrial port. It is also important to point out that some Korean pop-culture celebrities moved there, and in South Korea, living where the rich and famous live, can matter to many. Some informants told me that they visited Songdo *"because of the celebrities."*

Moreover, Songdo became a cheaper, yet still socially prestigious, alternative for those living or wanting to live in Gangnam, the most coveted neighborhood in Seoul. As a result, Songdo has good transportation accessibility to both Gangnam and to Yeouido, where big company offices and government offices are located. Songdo even became an attraction spot for people from Incheon as a week-end day-trip destination; they can partake in the "luxury" at least for the day. One informant from Bupyeong told me that he liked to visit there *"because I want to see the living of the future"*. Another informant residing with her family in Songdo, told me that many people do not actually use the paid extra ubicomp services (like remote medical surveillance), because they are too expensive. Yet many people like the fact that they are there, because it makes the houses feel and look better.

However, one informant residing in Songdo told me that the generally non-favorable image of Incheon as a city of crime and of bankrupt people can pertain to Songdo as well. Meaning that those who would want to live in affluent neighborhoods in Seoul, but for sudden financial reasons cannot afford to do so, move to Songdo instead. And thus Songdo is a place where those with more aspirations than success go and live. She suggested that it is like that for at least some of the residents of Songdo. She also told me that despite the fact that she got used to living in Songdo and liked it there, for those who moved from Seoul, it means a sudden surge in social isolation. Even if a commute from one part of Seoul to another might take more time than a commute in between Songdo and downtown Seoul, a certain psychological barrier exists. As a result, Seoulites are more than reluctant to *"go all the way down to Songdo"* to hang out. So those living in Songdo with friends in Seoul have to go and meet

them in Seoul, it never works the other way round. Others told me the same if you live in other parts of Incheon as well[62].

Even though it was possible for me to identify desirable downtown locations and "bad neighborhoods" in Incheon, apart from Songdo, no other neighborhood stood out as a generally desirable location for housing.

As in the case of Kobe, my informants from Incheon expressed positive feelings about their area of residence in Incheon even if the area had no particular image of general desirability. Personal attachment such as *"the area I grew up in"* or *"the area I have always lived in"* turned up alongside personal lifestyle convenience, like *"it has everything I need"*.

For one of my informants, the personal lifestyle preference was one of the major factors why he settled on Incheon's Yeongjeong island in a family house, defying general Korean trends of residence desirability. Let me elaborate on the Yeongjeong island story: The Yeongjong island is administratively part of the Incheon province, but since this is where the new international airport serving Seoul is located, it has good accessibility to the capital via the AREX high-speed train. Despite the aspirations to make Yeongjong island into a prime "aerotropolis" (Kasarda and Lindsay 2011), a city model of the future for the upper classes where access and worldwide mobility play an important role, an informant running a small business there claimed that it is more a regular *"airport town"*, a place where *"airport workers live"*. He referred as such to the town of Unseo, the main settlement on Yeongjeong island[63]. In other words, most of the residents of Unseo work at the airport and the others run related service businesses such as hotels/hostels/homestays or diners. Many of the diners there are 24 hours, as airport employees work long alternating shifts day and night, so *"Yeongjeong island never sleeps"*. My informant also told me that as Yeongjong island was a partially land reclamation project, the land prices there relatively cheap. This was the main reason why he decided to settle there: for the price of a small apartment in Seoul, he managed to buy both a land plot and build a house. He used his house to run a part-time homestay business alongside his main freelance work. *"I have home office so I could move anywhere (...) because I lived abroad for some years, I preferred to live in a family house rather than in*

---

[62] I actually lived the exact same situation when I tried to reconnect with both foreign and Korean friends that lived in Seoul at the time of my fieldwork in Incheon. I always had to go to Seoul.
[63] The project of the luxurious Midan city at the northern tip of the island was not significantly advanced during my field research.

an apartment (...) I know we are a minority... people who want more relaxed living [in a house]."
There were several other newly built family houses in the area, but as he pointed out, these are very rare to come by in Korea. In general, Koreans prefer apartment buildings and large luxurious condominiums.

Several informants explained that it is because family houses bear the image of *"poor countryside house"* and *"grandma house"*; or of a *"precarious neighborhood (daldognae)"*. *Daldognae* is used to refer to slum-like areas of one-story houses that were very common in urban South Korea until 1970s, when they started to be massively replaced by apartment high-rises developed by large corporations such as Samsung, Lotte etc. (Gelézeau 2003)

However, areas like that were still to be found in Incheon, in the "inner city" in between Dongincheon (and upper Chinatown) and Dowon subway stations. In other places, such as the popular beach area of Haeudae in Busan, the last such houses are being torn down in favor of apartment blocks only in recent years. My source from Yeongjeong island even told me that since he built his family house, the market value of his residence fell down and the price of his former apartment in Seoul doubled since the time he sold it. In general, apartments started to symbolize 'better-off' living, higher quality of life in South Korea since their massive development in the 1970s (Gélézeau 2003) and this image generally remains as such.

In Japan, the division in between family house = undesirable and apartment = desirable, does not hold. Of course, luxurious condominium apartments exist as well as the matchbox-sized house plots referred to by Tamura (2007). In Japan, land prices are staggeringly high. A large family house in the city conveys the image of old money and wealth. It also goes with the fact that there was much more urban sprawl in the American style of family house suburbia. Living in a family house has a generally good image, but where the house is located would count into the social image as well. The number of flats in an apartment block in Japan is far smaller on average than in South Korea, even though exceptions exist, even in Kobe. Large luxurious apartment blocks are built, too (in Kobe, on the bay Port Island or Rokko Island or around the Shin-Kobe Station). In terms of housing, Kobe is also particular because after the 1995 quake, its population size was affected by the quake casualties and some informants working in the public sector claimed that the city population did not recover by 2017.

In terms of real estate, it meant that the market for houses was not as over-crowded as it is in other large Japanese cities, with even free building lots in some areas.

In the case of Kobe, as we pointed out, where you lived was much more important than in what type of residence you lived in. The "good areas" could also be discerned by which supermarket chain you have in your area.

On an unrelated point, Japanese people are on average highly superstitious (even though they might describe themselves as "atheist"). If it is known that a major accident or death (even by natural means) occurred in a house or apartment, the price of that property plummets, no matter how good the location.

6   Commemorative Events, City Festivals and Their Role in the City Imagery

The question on whether my informants attended cultural or public events was mainly motivated by the fact that the year 2017 was officially celebrated as a 150th anniversary of the port of Kobe. Moreover, both Kobe and Incheon have regular official events pertaining to collective memory and city imagery. They are the Kobe Luminarie and the Hwadojin Festival in Incheon, respectively.

Luminarie is an illumination festival taking place in early December and it was founded and is still propagated as a commemoration of the victims of the 1995 Hanshin-Awaji earthquake. The Hwadojin Festival takes place in May and it commemorates the signing of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce in between the Chosŏn Korea and the USA. Even though both of the festivals are almost nothing alike, they are both events organized by local governments and the events relate to collective memory of their respective city. In the case of Incheon, the Hwadojin Festival can be easily interpreted as pertaining to the collective memory of the whole country.

Moreover, I didn't limit myself to these commemorative events, I also invited my informants to think about (public) events in the city in general. I was interested to see whether events play a role in my informants' perception of "their" cities, or if they consider them to be an important part of their city-living experience. In public policy and urban theory, events are considered as important tools of community development (called *machizukuri* in Japanese) because they can create and foster a sense of belonging and boost active participation in the city life among the inhabitants. However, policy visions and ethnographic realities don't align, most often than not in these cases[64], so another point of my interest was to see what my informants perceived in the events, what was their point of (dis)interest and their motivations to attend or not.

---

[64]

See for example a report of neighborhood festivals by an independent think-tank Anthropictures: "Zažít město jinak: Výzkumná analýza motivací a postojů účastníků sousedských slavností" (2015), available http://www.anthropictures.cz/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/ZMJ_FINAL.pdf (Acquired November 25, 2020.)

6.1   Commemorative Events and Festivals

6.1.1 150 Years of Kobe Port

The year 2017 was celebrated by the Kobe City Hall as the 150th year anniversary of the establishment of the port in Kobe. The city hall had organized, co-organized or supported cultural events of various scale to take place thorough the whole year. There was an array of how the commemoration was executed: there were new one-time events created for the occasion (such as the Kobe Tea Festival), existing events were co-opted to have the commemorative sub-theme, existing entertainment and cultural facilities were prompted to organize a commemorative event/animation (ex. the Suma Aquarium) etc. The events were scheduled in a way so there would be several of different types each months. The impression I had from the scheduling, especially during the winter months, was that the quantity of the program was made up for through a number of small-scale exhibitions of ancient photographs scattered around the city, such as in the Motomachi shopping arcade, or in a hotel lobby near the Shin-Kobe Station etc.

There were official posters advertising the upcoming celebrations in general starting from October/November 2016, and detailed scheduling of the events was available monthly (both in print in information centers and on the Internet) starting from early January 2017. The general posters underlined the international aspects of Kobe (symbolized by the exotic foods that entered Japan through the port) and its current attributes. However, an informant knowledgeable about the local politics of Kobe told me that the "international" question of contemporary Kobe was complex. On one hand, the City Hall liked to promote the label of Kobe as "international" (also using the image of Kobe as "historically international" because of the open port period) and was rather keen on Kobe being sometimes touted as "foreigner friendly". On the other hand, the local government wasn't interested in better integration of its foreign population into the decision-making processes of the city, my informant added. The first citizen-City Hall meeting that was held in English in late 2016 was an unprecedented event that still raised mixed feelings within the local government.

A whole study could be dedicated to the topic of commemorative events, especially taking into account the policy-making dimension behind the events' selection, support etc. I didn't go into a lot of

detail from the policy-making point of view for two reasons: First, the focus of my whole study shifted towards the city inhabitants because of the entry barriers to conduct policy-makers-oriented research. It would be difficult to obtain a sufficient amount of gatekeepers for one study, let alone for a comparative analysis in two different countries. Second, since I was more interested in my informants' images of the city, the commemorative events became "only" one of the elements of their city life I inquired about. I was interested whether my informants were aware of those events and how they thought of them. I attended some of the events personally; I visited several open-air old photograph exhibitions and I attended the Kobe Tea Festival in January 2017 with one of my informants.

Regarding the 150Y events in general, one informant said that it was confusing, because there were actually two sets of 150Y commemorative events: those organized by the Port of Kobe together with the City Hall and then those organized by the Hyogo Prefecture. The confusion stemmed from the fact that these two sets of events were organized a year apart (the ones by Hyogo Prefecture were scheduled for 2018, a 150Y anniversary of the establishment of the prefecture.): *"Oh, I knew about the 150 year events (...) but I though they will be next year, it's different for Hyogo Prefecture."* In general, it seemed my informants didn't consider the commemorative events special in any way and were making decisions on whether to attend them or not based on their personal preferences and lifestyle.

One informant and her family were active in attending cultural events, festivals and animations of various kinds in general, therefore, the 150Y events became a natural part of their event portfolio that year: *"I learn about the events from the free newspaper in the subway. My husband brings it home on his way from work (...) we go to festivals and events just like that, because of us and because of the children (...) we went for the Suma Aquarium 150Y project event, for the kids."* However, they attended only those events relevant to their existing preferences and lifestyle (ex. attending an event suitable for children), the events weren't a prompt to change their behavioral patterns within the city.

Another informant had a similar attitude. He was, according to himself, culturally active and liked attending *"free entry events"*. He was enthusiastic about the Tea Festival, styled to offer black tea tastings, in January because he was very fond of black tea[65] and *"all things British in Japan"*. He told

---

[65]

Good quality black (leaf) tea isn't a common product in Japan, it has to be purposefully sought-after.

me he wanted to attend about two weeks in advance and was very happy about it, saying: *"It's almost like they made it for me."*

"Tea" was selected as one of the trademark keywords for the Port of Kobe 150Y events and as one of the symbols of Kobe's contact with the Western world. The Kobe Tea Festival was held for two days in end of January 2017 in the Harborland area. The concept was of a tasting event: people would buy voucher coupons to taste different black teas at booths held by tearooms, some of the establishments coming as far as from Tokyo. The whole event was sponsored by the Lipton Company. Lipton had the largest tasting stand and also offered promotional boxes of tea for those who advertised the event on their personal social media: you could show a posted commentary or picture that related to the event on the screen of your smartphone, and you were given three boxes of Lipton leaf tea in exchange by a clerk on-the-spot.

The event's promotional materials stated that the reason for choosing tea among the celebratory symbols of the 150Y anniversary was that tea was not only exported from Kobe[66], but also black tea was imported through Kobe to Japan. In other words, "tea" was the emblematic product of import-export relations happening in the Kobe Port. The black tea also could have been judged more attractive to the audience of the festival which was targeting mostly Kobe locals; green Japanese tea being more commonplace, black tea (especially Indian-style[67]) could have more "British", foreign, or exotic flare. Despite the cold weather, the event was full of people but I couldn't strike any more conversation about it from the attendees.

I spent part of my time at the Tea Festival with a friend (I will call her Rika in the description[68]) for whom it made a change in her spending of time in the city. Rika was a friend I knew from earlier and I haven't seen for some time. Through another common friend, I learned that Rika found a job in Kobe after graduation, so I wrote to her so we could reconnect. It was in January. Over the conversation, we were thinking about where to go together and she offered going to the Tea Festival among the things we could do together during the day. She previously suggested staying in Kobe for convenience's sake. She later told me she actually never goes to hang out in Kobe in her free time: she isn't a Kobe native,

---

[66]   Roasted green tea was one of the products settlement merchants in Kobe specialized in exporting (Ennals, 2014).
[67]   Here I mean black tea processed in a way that is typical for India and Sri Lanka (Assam tea, Ceylon tea etc.)
[68]   Name changed for anonymity.

nor she comes from Kansai, so her social network in Kobe is rather limited. She spends her free time going out in Osaka where her boyfriend comes from. Attending an event in Kobe was thus a-typical experience for Rika, but the main motivation wasn't the event itself but an instrument for another action, reconnecting with someone.

One informant told me that generally she has little free time and so has to make careful decisions about where to go. She expressed outright disinterest in the commemoration events: *"I don't check the [150Y] events (...) I went to Luminarie only like three times in my life."*

One informant who worked in media was more skeptical about the 150Y events. He remarked: *"The events are just PR (...) it's just an event, but so what?"* I found his remark important in the vein that while organizing events pertaining to collective memory, the decision makers, or those who "stage the world" (Augé, 1995) can tend to ascribe (more) signifiers, perceive more meaning in their action than those at the receiving end. Or that the "receiving" public is forming different opinions, living different experiences, creating different memories during the events that can have no relation whatsoever to the "intended" meaning[69]. Henry (2014) described the attempts of the Japanese colonial administration to indoctrinate the Koreans in the official state Shintō cult that resulted in Mt. Namsan (the location of the Chōsen Jingū) to become a popular dating spot for young Seoulites, especially during the season of sakura blossoms. However, the Korean population didn't become more enthusiastic about practicing the state Shintō (Henry, 2014). Ascribing and looking for sophisticated, conceptualized meaning in actions (such as going to a commemorative event) that can be perceived by those undertaking them from relatively simple angles such as "fun", "socializing" are, according to me, one of the most striking pitfalls of both applied and theoretical social sciences. I will come to this topic again over the course of this paper and it will constitute one of the discussion points in Chapter 12.

---

[69] See again the report of neighborhood festivals by an independent think-tank Anthropictures: "Zažít město jinak: Výzkumná analýza motivací a postojů účastníků sousedských slavností" (2015), available http://www.anthropictures.cz/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/ZMJ_FINAL.pdf (Acquired November 25, 2020.)

6.1.2 Hwadojin Festival

The Hwadojin Festival in Incheon, held in May, marks the anniversary and is presented as celebration of the "Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation" (a.k.a. Shufeldt Treaty) signature in between Chosŏn Korea and the USA in 1882 that took place in Chemulpo.

The 2017's edition that I attended was the 28th year of the festival. According to the information panels inside the Hwadojin Fortress, the festival began in 1989, a year after the restoration of the Hwadojin Fortress. The fortress' renewal happened under the first post-dictatorship South Korean president Roh Tae-woo, and it has been done to celebrate South Korea's diplomatic relations with the USA.

The Hwadojin Festival's main organizer is the local government of Dong-gu ward of Incheon in which Hwadojin Fortress stands. The "Dong-gu tour" bilingual free tourist guide issued by the Dong-gu ward in 2014 characterizes the Hwadojin Festival as follows: *"It is an annual traditional cultural festival that takes place at Hwadojin park every May. It is also the historic place where the Commerce Treaty of Peace and Amity between Chosun and the U.S. took place in the late 19th century. People can experience not only folk games but also a variety of art cultural events. It is a pride of Incheon and about 100,000 residents of Dong Gu participate annually to take pride in what they are doing."* (p. 16)

Besides attending the Hwadojin Festival of 2017, I also visited the fortress on another, "regular" day, so I could determine which attractions and program were part of the festival and which were displayed on regular basis. The following description of the festival is based on my field-diary notes (May 2017):

The festival took place on two locations: the Hwadojin Park in front of the fortress and at Dongincheon Station, on the plaza on the north side of the tracks. From the Dongincheon Station, it's about 8 minutes walk to the fortress. Both places have similar program: a stage, a line of shops. On the station side, the podium has K-pop cover dance and the stalls are like a fair, there are food stalls, stand selling cosmetics, drones etc. Almost the whole Dongincheon station plaza is filled with the festival, there are a lot of red plastic chairs in front of the stage. Large colorful balloons saying "28th Hwadojin Festival" fly over the subway station. It's very hot. There are many elderly people. Some people, even

men, wear hanboks. They look like people own them, not from rentals. A young lady in hanbok, holding her boyfriend's hand, loudly greets an acquaintance and shouts: "Oh my, but you didn't come in a hanbok, how come? That's no good!" They all laugh together.

I walk to the fortress on foot, the special shuttle buses are full twenty minutes prior to departure. In the fortress, the stage's program focuses on children, I saw a part of magic trick performance. The stands in the fortress offer trying on "traditional" things like "wear a hanbok experience", old games, crafts program for children... it's very similar to what you would meet in folk villages or at other "historical" events such as Jongmyo Daeje. It looks like more families with little kids came to the part in the fortress.

The information tables in the fortress follow the current South Korean historiography and underline how much Korea suffered from the Japanese colonialism. On the other hand, the signature of the Treaty of Amity with the US is interpreted positively on the tablets. In other instances, we can meet all the so-called unequal treaties interpreted as colonialist. This variation shows us the evolution of current diplomatic relations with Korea and other countries, in our case, the USA and Japan. While the relations with Japan remain edgy and unresolved on the top political levels (see Chapter 9), the US have been a military ally and a trade partner of South Korea ever since the end of WWII. The restoration of the Hwadojin Fortress and creation of the Hwadojin Festival as a commemorative event is also a signifier towards the current perception of the US by the top political leadership.

However, my informants didn't seem politically concerned about this event. On the other hand, some expressed their concern about whether I would enjoy such an event, when I talked about attending: *"It might not be that interesting for young people like you."* or *"History events are not for young people…"* The informants who assumed this were they themselves young or middle aged, so the assumption likely came based on what they themselves would prefer (and they were generally not interested in attending).

The fact that the historical memory of the Japanese colonial period surged as problematic and delicate during my observations in Incheon, and the collective memory and perception of the US did not, still doesn't mean that the sentiment towards the US is unproblematic among South Korean

citizens. The official political line may remain favorable but since the 1990s, there has been periodically expressed reactive dissent from South Korean citizen groups towards the US. Among the best known incidents and issues that sparked major protests were several economic deals in between South Korea and the US[70] and the incident of 2002 where two schoolgirls were hit by a US army vehicle and succumbed to their injuries.

In Incheon, these nationwide protests against the US catalyzed around the statue of General MacArthur. As Chung (2006) explains in detail in his paper, a dragging controversy about the name of the Jayu Park and the eventual removal of the statue of Gen. MacArthur developed. In Chung's (2006) paper, it is viewed as a product of power struggle over representation of memory of General MacArthur and the role of US in the WWII and in the Korean War. But what is also notable for me that the actors of protest were engaged citizen groups from Incheon (= local) who chose the symbolical place of the Gen. MacArthur's statue to express their disapproval of US policies towards Korea at the time of the contention. In the anatomy of unfolding controversy, the statue was a catalyst (Chateauraynaud 2008), not the primary reason, for protest. But because it was chosen as a place of protest for its symbolical value, a specific agenda for the statue (ex. its removal or relocation) subsequently developed as well. The statue acquired the status of contested memory over time (Chung, 2006). Things, events and buildings become signifiers only when some people assign meaning to them. In the line of collective memory research (Chung, 2006), it is then necessary to ask "whose signifier?" and "whose contention?" In the dichotomy in between the controversy over General MacArthur's statue and the Hwadojin Festival, to which no controversy has been attached, to my knowledge, even though both can be taken as representations of the collective memory of the ties with the US, that as much as within collective memory, there is some process of selection of what to remember and how, the collective perception and politicization of an event / building etc. can happen as a case-by-case process. In this heterogeneous view, the Hwadojin Festival isn't perceived contentiously because the contention catalyzes on individual issues and not on all the representations of a phenomenon at the same time (Chateauraynaud 2008). In a similar vein to memory research, we will see the singifier gap in between the perception of the Japanese colonial period and the Japanese houses extant from the period in Incheon. What is also necessary for a controversy to unfold at all, is the actor who actively rises the contention (Chateauraynaud 2008). So when there is no actor with an active agenda, there can be no controversy, no widely spread painful image.

---

[70]   The grain market opening pressure of 1993; in 2008, the former president Lee Myung Bak lifted the ban on imports of US beef into Korea alongside further debates over an FTA in between the two countries.

Furthermore, even what is "officially" a politicized event, a contentious place of memory etc., such as the statue of General MacArthur, doesn't have to be so for others visiting the same place or attending the same event. I will come back to this issue later.

6.1.3 Kobe Luminarie

Kobe Luminarie is an illumination festival that takes place for a week before Christmas[71], and commemorates the victims of the 1995 Hanshin-Awaji earthquake. It is not the only event dedicated to memory of the 1995 quake, however, the other two, the early morning vigil[72] and the memory concert take place in January, around the time (or at the exact time in the case of the vigil) the disaster took place in 1995. Comparing these three events is definitely worthwhile, however, I will dedicate a separate study to them in the near future. I will treat solely the Luminarie here, because of its city image – creation aspects. It will also enable me to discuss more in detail the mechanisms of collective versus communicative memory and city image interactions.

Luminarie consists of two parts: First, the walk-through under an alley of "gates" created from an assembly of colorful lights, inspired by an Italian event. The design of the patterns and the shape of the gates changes every year, so it is worthwhile to attend annually. In 2016, there were some panels saying "150 Years of Kobe Port". Second, the square at the end of the illuminated walk in front of Kobe City Hall. I noted in my field diary: *"There are stands with refreshments and stands with Luminarie-themed souvenirs: calendars, key-holders, smartphone cases etc. When I go around, I have a feeling it somewhat resembles a Christmas market. And at that moment, my informant Kiika asks me if we have Christmas markets in Prague and says that she would want to experience one. It looks like we have similar impressions."*

---

71 Christmas are an "imported holiday" to Japan but are widely celebrated even outside Christian communities. For non-Christians in Japan, Christmas is a cozy day when people eat strawberry cake and chicken: those two foods became emblematic. At least in the case of chicken, thanks to a KFC commercial. They are eaten either with family or with the significant other. There might be gits involved. The day is not, however, a day of working rest, so any celebration takes place in the evening. The important end-of-the-year celebration in Japan falls on the week around New Year (of the Gregorian calendar, not the Chinese Lunar calendar.)

72 The vigil takes place at the plaza in front of the Kobe City Hall, same as Luminarie. In 2017, the vigil had the sign of 150 Y of Kobe Port illuminated on one of the buildings around the plaza.

I attended the event twice with different informants over the span of several days. A third informant also wanted to attend the festival with me on yet another day but in the end we couldn't meet. All of my informants who asked me to go to Luminarie wanted to go themselves (and attending an event with someone is generally considered better than going alone: *"Let's go to Luminarie together!"*), but also wanted to show me the festival, as *"something I should see in Kobe"*. I dare say my informants considered Luminarie both to be a typical thing about Kobe, but also an event worth attending in its own right.

The event seemed packed with people in general, even on week days. Since Sannomiya station, there were police officers directing the traffic and showing people where to go. Some of my informants said that the number of people was demotivating them from attending the festival (*"I went to Luminarie like three times in my life (…) every year I think if I go or not. But then I lose the timing. And it's too crowded of people."*) or was a disadvantage, they had to decide if they wanted to attend despite the crowds (*"I usually don't like crowds but we went [with my BF] to Luminarie this year."*)

On the Hanshin line, there was an announcement along the lines of: *"For Luminarie, please descend at Hanshin-Sannomiya station."* The plaza part was best accessible from Sannomiya, walking down towards Kobe City Hall. The visitors who also wanted to go through the gates had to direct themselves in the Motomachi direction, where the arcade's beginning was. *"Due to the number of people, there is a one-way-only flow from the Motomachi end to the City Hall end. There is even a waiting queue to enter the arcade. This time, it's weekend, at the end of the event, there were even more people then last time. The waiting queue about tripled in length, we spent more than an hour waiting to get at the beginning of the illumination area. I went with Saburo so we spent the hour talking.*

At the end, there was a circular space and moody, solemn music in Latin was playing. Saburo paused and said: "Like a church." It conveyed a similar feeling to me. In the circular space, there was something like a chapel with suspended bells. People were throwing coins at them, because it was believed that if you manage to make the ring bell with the coin, it will bring good luck for the next year. There was a long queue for this, but we waited with Saburo and both tried but failed, laughed about it.

Later he asked me 'So you know what the meaning of Luminarie is? (…) It's a memorial for the Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake but the meaning changes over time.'" (field diary, December 2016)

In this way, Saburo expressed the notion that many people who attend Luminarie do so for other reasons than commemorating the 1995 quake. The City Hall narrative project of Kobe citizens reconstructing Kobe after 1995 quake also documents the feeling of some Kobe residents, that nowadays, many who live in Kobe either don't remember the quake or don't relate to it, that it falls out of the communal identity of Kobe people[73].

Another way to interpret modern Luminarie is that it is a seasonal festival. The event takes place before Christmas, at the similar time other illumination festivals take place all around (mostly urban) Japan[74]. From the late November, I remember seeing advertisements of the Hankyu Railway corporation prompting customers to use the Hankyu line to visit the three illumination festival in Kansai: Luminarie in Kobe, in Osaka[75], and in Arashiyama (Kyoto). Similarly, the corporation advertises other seasonal activities such as *momiji* or *sakura* viewing[76]. Other railway corporations do the same. In this manner, we can view Luminarie as part of the seasonal festivity cycle in Japan. Interestingly, there are several interlacing festivity cycles in modern Japan, with festivals pertaining to the agricultural year intertwining with more modern festivals[77], imported holidays[78] or more "high culture" seasonal viewings. The court and nobility culture in Japan has been very much defined by the seasonality that is, however, not directly linked to agricultural works. So, there are flowers or colors associated with a certain time of the year which can determine what kind of interior decoration one would put up in his room, what nicknames would be chosen for scents during *kōdō*, or what kimono colors, patterns and styles would be appropriate for a geisha to wear at the given time of the year (Dalby, 2010). Viewing *sakura* blossoms in the spring (*hanami*), watching the moon (*tsukimi*) and the fireflies in the summer and admiring autumn colored leaves (*momiji*) was part of that cycle. In the current mixture of seasonality, the illumination festivals are the seasonal viewing staple of winter. Luminarie is then on one hand a specialty festival of Kobe, but also a festival that has a defined place in the festivity cycle as a winter illumination festival.

---

[73] 69 stories of people "Creating the new Kobe": https://1995kobe20th.jp/en/ (Acquired January 12th, 2021.)
[74] See tourism adverts like https://travel.gaijinpot.com/japan-sightseeing-essentials/top-winter-illuminations-in-japan/ (Acquired January 12th, 2021).
[75] One of the several illumination festivals taking place in Osaka.
[76] Of course, the locations are chosen as to be accessible by the Hankyu Railway.
[77] More *matsuri* festivals were purposefully created during the Meiji, Taishō and early Shōwa periods to propagate state Shinto and also to add more festivals on the city scale to big cities, such as the "Nara Daimonji Okuribi" in Nara or the "Tenjin Matsuri" in Osaka.
[78] Such as Christmas, St. Valentine's, Halloween etc.

Saburo and other informants suggested that visitors now see Luminarie as *"only"* an illumination festival, that the meaning shifted from commemoration towards seasonal tourism. Kiika told me: *"I think people from all over Japan come to Luminarie for sight-seeing."* However, none of my informants told me that they found the festive and/or commercial-like aspect of Luminarie bad or insulting etc., even those who lived through the earthquake or whose families were affected by it.

While the commemorative meaning stays with the January vigil, it seems to disappear from the perception of the Luminarie event which becomes perceived as the trademark festival of Kobe. Even though the commemorative aspect is still being mentioned on the official descriptions of the event, people might attend for *"fun"* and *"leisure"* reasons, and private companies advertise it as a seasonal festival. We can see that the communicative memory and image building progressively shifts the significance and perceived imagery[79] of a piece of a "memory tower" (Nora, 1985).

---

[79] Similarly, my colleague Michal Dudáš (2019) found out that for young Japanese people, the participatory act of writing an *ema* tablet is more important than the actual text on it.

6.2   Stamp Rally as Tool of Tourism and City Imagery

A "stamp rally" is a tool for a local government (or any other institution) to try to boost tourism in an area, to promote something, or to create a certain image. A stamp rally works as follows: there are themed stamps distributed to locations in a certain area and the visitor is supposed to collect them onto a special flier, booklet etc. while going about the places indicated on the flier. The fliers are distributed in places participating in the rally, in train stations, in information centers or in convenience stores. Often, collecting a certain amount of stamps entitles the one who collected them for a prize, such as phone accessories or commemorative postcards. Extra bonus items can be given if you promote the event on social media[80]; it happened to me that the promotional gift for social media promotion was more valuable than the one given for collecting a certain number of stamps. This was the case in Incheon, where one would receive a phone accessory for collecting stamps and a power bank for promoting the stamp rally on social media i.e. by posting a picture with the rally booklet.

The stamp rallies thus create a sort of "themed tours" around an area which can be as small as a neighborhood or include a province or the whole country, as is the case of the "Japan Top 100 Castles stamp rally[81]". The "stamp rallies" are very common in Japan[82] but I have encountered the stamp rallies in Korea for the first time in Incheon only in 2017, so they seemed to me to be a novelty since my previous visit in 2012[83]. Both in Kobe and Incheon, I have also found tourism booklets for themed walks around the city (best gardens, restaurants etc.)

The stamp rally practice looks very similar to how pilgrimages are executed in Japan. Each Shinto shrine and Buddhist temple offers to inscribe a stamped sign called *goshuin* into one's dedicated pilgrimage book called *goshuin-cho*. These are sold in temples and shrines and are themselves a

---

[80]   Free handouts for promoting the event on social media are not limited to stamp rallies, I have come across this also during the Kobe Tea Festival.

[81]   A Must For History Buffs! Japan's Top 100 Castles Stamp Rally https://matcha-jp.com/en/4445 (Acquired October 7, 2020).

[82]   Introduction to Stamp Rallies: https://en.japantravel.com/guide/introduction-to-stamp-rallies/46627 (Acquired October 7, 2020).

[83]   Though not limited to Incheon. In 2015 the tourist organization in Jeju island launched a stamp rally around its UNESCO heritage sites but I cannot ascertain for sure this was among the first ones in Korea. See "JTO launches 'World Natural Heritage Stamp Rally'" http://www.jejuweekly.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=4953 (Acquired October 7, 2020).

potentially collectible article[84]. A person can chose to get the *goshuin* at any place they visit or they can follow a special pilgrimage route[85], collecting *goshuins* from only the temples and/or shrines[86] indicated in the pilgrimage route. Sometimes, a pilgrimage route can has a dedicated *goshuin-cho* made. Pilgrimage tourism has been established as a Japanese cultural phenomenon for quite some time (Reader and Tanabe 1998). It doesn't seem far-fetched then to interpret the stamp rallies as stemming from the same "touring culture" (Rojek and Urry 2005), as a form of civic pilgrimage (Graburn 1989). From the point of view of those putting up the stamp rally, we can also say that they exploit a common cultural phenomenon for promotion purpose.

In Korea, the potential pilgrimage parallels are much weaker (because the Buddhist pilgrimages don't exist there the way they do in Japan). But I have been informed about social media challenges such as "Top 100 peaks of Korea" where you're supposed to get photographed at the first hundred highest mountaintops in the country.

The stamp rallies of interest for my research were two. One around Kobe Kitano (organized by Kobe City Hall) and one around the Incheon Open Port Area (organized by the Jung-gu ward of Incheon). Both events were running for only a limited amount of time, though I was able to receive some stamps in Incheon even a year after the event had officially ended because the shop-owners could keep the stamp forms.

In Kitano, the stamps were located at the entrances to various *ijinkan* museums, at local shops even at corners of streets. I didn't have to go inside of the museums or shops directly to collect the stamps, the idea of the rally seemed to be to incite visitors to take a walking tour around the *ijinkan* houses in Kitano. This rally also had a second part of about three stamps to be collected in the Harbourland area around Kobe Tower, which is another famous sightseeing spot in Kobe. It was possible to gain the promotional item only by gathering the stamps in Kitano, however, not the other way round. If you started collecting near Kobe Tower and wanted the prize, you had to go to Kitano as well – the prices were also handed out in one of the Kitano museums. Kitano was thus clearly the focus of this rally. I asked at several *ijinkan* museum if many people came to collect the stamps: *"No, not many. Just a few*

---

84   There are either "generic" pilgrimage books or personalized ones, meaning that they bear a special design by the shrine or temple selling them, usually featuring that place's name.
85   One of the most famous is the "88 temples of Shikoku".
86   Even though the majority of the pilgrimages are around Buddhist temples, some include Shinto shrines as well.

here and there," answered one informant working at the ticket office that also held a stamp. From other answers of other *ijinkan* museum clerks it seemed that they thought the rally wasn't very popular.

In Incheon, there was a stamp rally around the Open Port Area – not including Chinatown – that took you around galleries, private museums, homestays and mostly coffee shops. The focus here was on private establishments, so municipal museum such as Open Port Museum were excluded even if the Museum is located in a period building in the Open Port Area. The rally was called "Incheon Open Port Cultural District Stamp Tour" (인천개항장문화지구 Stamp Tour[87]) and was created by the Incheon Open Port Culture Section under the Jung-gu district. The stamps were to be collected into a "stamp tour passport" (a passport-sized booklet) and even though I began collecting the stamps about half a year after the event officially ended, it was not difficult to find an empty stamp tour passport of to gather the stamps. *"Yes, I still keep it around somewhere,"* was the typical answer from the staff at the coffeeshops or galleries. They reacted positively when I asked about the stamp. Contrarily to Kobe, for this tour, it was necessary to enter the establishment. The passport basically served as a small sized tourist guide, providing all necessary contact information and several lines about the history of the establishment and the building. Not all of the establishments included in the stamp tour were "heritage houses", in other words buildings dating from the Open Port era or from the Japanese colonial period, some were newer and some even brand new. The idea of the rally, as I was told at the Jung-gu government office, was to promote the current businesses in the Open Port Area and the area in general. The clerk from the cultural section I met also expressed sadness that less people came to claim their price (promotional item) than they hoped, implying that the event was probably less successful than the local government had wanted. But the popularity among visitors is difficult to infer from the amount of commemorative gifts handed out, because people might just go around collecting some of the stamps and not come to claim the prize.

From the point of view of field exploration, the stamp rallies were a very practical tool for me as a researcher. One, the going about the rally was a welcomed *dérive* technique (Pauknerová 2013), another way to go about one's urban field. Even more so for a topic like mine where I trace the interactions between the urban built environment and the policies and images that are being associated

---

[87]   The blending of Korean and English is not unusual.

to it. It was a very useful way to see the built environment in the associations and context of the image the local governments are crafting for a certain area. It was also important as an expression of the discrepancy in between a crafted policy and the actual outcome. In our case that the policy incentive of a stamp rally to bolster the image of a certain area might have been recognized as less useful and maybe not having much impact on the city image creation. None of my informants also talked about the stamp rallies but I'm weary to use it support my argument because this can be a simple result of limited informant pool. Similarly, very few of my informants collected *goshuin*s in Japan, and none systematically, though I have seen people requesting *goshuin* regularly at shrines and temples both big and small and pilgrimages have (or used to have) a strong customer base in Japan (Reader in Steinhoff and Bestor 2003). Though I'm confident to think my informants would know what a stamp rally meant (like they knew what a *goshuin* is in Japan), it didn't seem to be part of my informants' experience of urban environments or a traveling habitus.

Second, the stamp rallies allowed me not only for a systematic observation of the built remnants, but they also offered a sort of ready-made list of places to begin my observation at. Of course, I had to bear in mind that the selection of the places was a conscientious choice and that those rally fliers can themselves be subjects of analysis as primary sources: i.e. what establishments were included and which weren't and why, and if there was a contention involved and what players and interest groups could be present. However, since my informants expressed no interest in the rallies, and their popularity was allegedly rather small, I refrained from drawing significant conclusions pertaining to the choices of establishments and their portrayal in the rally materials.

Third, requesting the stamp was a very practical icebreaker. Especially in Incheon, the small galleries and some coffee shops were staffed by their owners or their close friends. I could thus engage in dialogue about my research from a natural angle. In a similar vein, it also allowed me to talk about the stamp rallies with the cultural department of the local governments, even if in a limited manner.

In short, the stamp rallies were a tool of city imagery of local governments that seemed to have a limited impact in creating a city image, especially within my interest group, the city dwellers. But the stamp rallies were a valuable research entry point into the field, enabling me to engage with different types of actors.

7   Feelings and the City Image, With Special Attention to the Notion of Danger

In the previous chapters, we have seen that my informants used not only "visual" images – *sightscapes* (Porteous in Halbich 2019) – to describe a certain place but also related to places and areas based on emotions. In this chapter, I would like to move from my informants' *sightscape* based city images to the feelings and emotions they expressed, be it towards "their" city as a whole or towards distinctive areas. We will see that those images will verge on the phenomenological image of a city (Pauknerová 2012) and on ethnography of non-visual *sensescapes* (Porteous in Halbich 2019). The most distinctive feelings, I have been able to register, were indifference, sense of danger and endearment.

However, I have to note that these were not equally present both in Kobe and in Incheon. This difference might be simply due to personal differences in my informants, even though I tried to keep my sources as diverse as possible. Therefore, there is no clear hierarchy in my subsequent descriptions of danger, endearment and indifference, even though the perception of danger in the city came up as the most intricate.

7.1   Feelings of Danger: Ports, Gangsters, "Old" and "Noisy" As Dangerous

Coming back to Chapters 5.1 and 5.2, we have seen that in Kobe, the notion of danger was linked to particular city parts, mostly to entertainment districts and to port areas. The notion of danger never came up, however, when I was asking for "what are the first five words that come into your mind when I say Kobe?" It did, however, come up on multiple occasions, when I was asking the same question in Incheon. I was offered various explanations to that: *"It is because of the port."*; *"There are Chinese here and people think Chinese are gangsters."*; *"Many movies about gangsters are set in Incheon so I guess that makes the image worse. Also I think ports are thought to be more dangerous."*

With various degrees of perceived importance, the three underlying factors inducing the sense of danger in a particular neighborhood in Kobe and Incheon were: the presence of the port, gangster presence, perceiving an area as "old" and/or "noisy".

However, to begin, we must pause on the semiotic meaning of "dangerous" itself in Korean and in Japanese. After some piloting interviews both in Japan and Korea, I realized that when my informants use the word "dangerous", we were definitely not using it in the same context and to express the same things – these emic differences in perception of "dangerous things" or "dangerous places" have been confirmed to me on several instances by other English-speaking expats in both cities as well. I have to point out that I managed to establish that for my informants, the notion for them does not change (much) based on whether they used it in Japanese/Korean or in English. Simply put, even if they said the word *"dangerous"* in English, they meant what it implied in either Japanese (*abunai*) or Korean (*uihom*). As a general rule, both *abunai* or *uihom* encompass everything from "dangerous" or "unsafe" to "unsettling". When talking about the image of a certain part of the city, when my informants labeled it as *dangerous*, they usually meant that it was in some way "unsettling" or "unpleasant" for them. In Japan, my informants were mentioning words like: *not safety, unpleasant, uneasy feeling*. Other aspects related to the reason why an area would be labeled as dangerous in Japan were *"shop pullers", "agitated people", "drunk people", "a lot of noise", "strange people"*.

One informant in Korea even told me: *"I know that Korean dangerous is not the same as English dangerous, but I use it Korean way [even in English] (...) but in Korea, it means more that it's dirty, noisy, young people smoke cigarettes on the street and drunk elderly men shout."*

The image of Incheon as a dangerous place was much more dominant than it the case of Kobe in general, as we have seen. Whereas Kobe was perceived generally as a good, nice place to live, many of my informants pointed on the notion of danger or crime directly among the first images that came to their mind when talking about Incheon; the thematization of danger was also more concrete and pronounced. Important themes that came up from the interviews were: *"gangsters", "teenage crime", "teenage public drunkenness", "foreign crime", "port"*.

139

7.1.1 Gangsters and Ports

Port and port facilities were labeled as "dangerous" in both of my cities as did areas with "gangster" presence and we will see that those characteristics came up often together in one statement and/or image. One of my Kobe informants said that *"There are two mafia headquarters in Hyogo, but it is not dangerous... but I am a man. So I guess women have it different in areas, where there's nobody... like around small factories in Hyogo-ku close to the sea."* This informant also made allusion to the idea that women might perceive more areas as dangerous. However, no other informant made such link, even though none of my male informants perceived any part of Kobe as dangerous. I am still weary to turn this into a generalization, though.

In Incheon, *"port"* came up among the reasons for perceiving the city as "dangerous": *"The port makes Incheon look violent,"* said one informant. Even though the port facilities are being moved away from the Old Basin in front of Chinatown and the Open Port Area, there is still considerable traffic even at the old piers. Therefore, the heavy port activity is still an important feature in the city life and much part of the city (and much more than in Kobe) and the image of port as a place of crime translates to the whole city: *"Incheon is the city of crime. I heard. (...) In general, port cities have high crime rate."*

Another issue linked to the presence of a port is that port means foreign workers in the port or in the neighboring factories and the persistent image of the Chinese as criminals: *"What people think of Incheon is not so good (...) the old area from Inha to Dongincheon (...) people think it looks dangerous (...) Chinese foreigners are dangerous (...) In Incheon or Ansan, there are Chinese and other foreign factory workers, so there is a sense of danger (...) you should look into crime rates, I think they are high in Incheon."* I was also told by another informant that people, especially in the past, would avoid Chinatown because there were Chinese people speaking in Chinese and they though and felt that the Chinese were gangsters.

However, the image is not necessary universal that foreigners = danger, because there was a restaurant within the Sinpo Market that was popular among the Russian sailors first and then it became popular among locals because the Russian sailors wrote inscriptions on the walls in Russian and it

became an interesting place to visit[88]. The negative image of foreign workers was clearly linked to the image of port and factory workers, since nobody commented on a relation of danger to the presence of foreign students at universities in Incheon or on the expat community in Songdo. The only "international" place with bad reputation is Cheongna Open City: *"It's becoming the "bad town" (...) like a slum (...) the project was not very successful."* Told me one informant. This was an isolated comment and it was not clear if it related to the foreigners or to the fact that the project was getting dilapidated and moving into disarray – we will explore the relation in between the perception of "danger" and "old" or dilapidated / not well developed area further in the text.

Gangsters, be them Chinese or not, were another prominent theme in the feelings of danger in Incheon. *"In media, people think Incheon is full of gangsters, too much like Harlem (...) it is not because Incheon is not safe (...) but there were gangsters near Bupyeong or Jemulpo (...) so it has negative image (...) gangster movies are set in Incheon, in Chinatown or in the port (...) so Incheon equals violent city (...) it goes for Busan too."* This brings us to a very interesting notion that some locals think that the negative image of Incheon as a city of gangsters is enhanced in the media. And that it is also perpetuated in pop culture. I will talk about how the fact that a place starred in a TV series or in a movie increased the popularity of said place[89] further in Chapter 10.1. I knew that Koreans are in general rather sensible to pop cultural influence (Lichá 2015a), I was not very surprised to hear that gangster movies set in Incheon can negatively influence its image. Some of my informants said that they knew about the negative image, but it didn't make them think Incheon was dangerous, clearly distinguising the collective, outside image from their local, personal one: *"In media, people think Incheon is full of gangsters, too much like Harlem (...) but there are not places I would not want to go because of danger, in Seoul, yes, but not in Incheon."*

Another feature that created a bad image for Incheon, was teenage delinquency and public drunkenness: *"Incheon is dangerous (...) because of "bad teenagers" (...) you know, drinking alcohol, smoking cigarettes (...) maybe it's not true, but it's my feeling."* or *"There is high crime rate [in Incheon] for teenage crime, unfortunately, I heard that (...) maybe because it's "immigrant city", people from many different parts of Korea moved here, there's no real strong sense of community (...)*

---

[88]

One of my informants local to the area took me there for dinner, sharing the story on the spot (field diary, August 2018).

[89]   Namely Kitano Ijinkan in Kobe, but Incheon's Chinatown has also gotten better known thanks to a TV drama.

or like there's a historical reason." The question of absence of roots, or absence of a sense of community came up on several occasions in my interviews as a reason to not strongly relate to a place and in this case, my informant implied it is also a reason for easier breaking of social norms, that without the sense of community, other inhabitants of the city become an Other.

The "bad teenagers" image was more often linked to a particular area, such as Guwoldong or Bupyeong, which are the current popular drinking and party areas of Incheon. *"Bupyeong can be dangerous [uiheom] at night (...) because of drunk young people."* Even though some others did not perceive those problems when visiting those areas: *"I never feel danger (...) I never go to Juan, maybe like once a year (...) but I go to Bupyeong, sometimes to Jemulpo (...) there are good restaurants (...) There's no reason to prefer Bupyeong over Juan, but Guwoldong is close, that's why I go (...) also friends call me to go there."*

In Kobe, when I asked whether was Kobe dangerous, or if there was a dangerous place in the city, some informants would ask: *"Oh, do you mean the* yakuza*?"* or *"Do you mean the Yamaguchi-gumi?"* Kobe is notoriously known for its presence of Japanese mafia, the *yakuza*, as several clans have their headquarters there. The areas best known for *yakuza* presence are Hyogo-ku (Nagata area) and Nada-ku. This was known even to my informants who did not grow up in Kobe, but moved there just a couple of years prior for university or for their job. It seemed that there was a certain ambiguity when my informants asked me if I meant the *yakuza* while asking about danger.

Even though they did not perceive the *yakuza* presence as dangerous, they thought I might. Or that this is something they ought to mention, because the *yakuza* is famous even outside Japan, and they thought the general image of the *yakuza* was "dangerous". In general, my sensation about this part of the interviews was sometimes that my informants were tentatively asking about my opinion first, because they sometimes did not have a clear opinion on whether *yakuza* was dangerous or not or what else could be dangerous in Kobe. Some even thought that *"Japan is generally not that dangerous, even if gangs."* Others, such as a Kobe native originally from Nagata ward, clearly expressed that Nagata, or any other place called *"ban-cho"*, is dangerous because of the *yakuza* presence.

Another take on the question I encountered, was that the *yakuza* presence in Kobe was something "exotic" and "secret", communicated to me in half-whisper with a lighthearted secretive look, followed with tips on what public baths to go to if I *"wanted to see some yakuzas"*. In these cases, it didn't seem

to me that my informants experienced a feeling of threat or danger, more like a thrill from communicating a small secret to me.

7.1.2 Noise

A second theme that emerged in relation to danger was the link in between noise – in the sense of loud, unwanted sound (Namba, Kuwano and Schick 1986) – and perception of an area as dangerous. Even though this image simultaneously emerged both in Kobe and Incheon, we will see that there are notable differences in the stories.

In Kobe, Sannomiya is the current downtown area both the main transportation hub the with shopping hub and THE party area of the city. There are cafes, Kobe beef restaurants, cheap fast food standing diners, specialty restaurants, karaokes, *izakaya* pubs, theme bars and clubs, but also clubs with paid companions. The last bars and pubs close at around 5 am with the first train service.

 Around dinnertime, many establishments have a member of the staff standing in front of the door, loudly inciting customers to go in, the so-called *"shop puller"*. Even though most of my (younger) informants claimed that they liked to go to Sannomiya for (window) shopping or hanging out with friends, many also claimed that Sannomiya was *dangerous* at night. Being aware of the emic differences in the employ of the term "danger", I inquired what it meant. I learned that in general, my informants do not worry about getting assaulted, mugged or pick-pocketed. These were scenarios that I would tend to associate with the label "dangerous". For my Japanese respondents in Kobe, they meant that Sannomiya was *dangerous* because it was noisy, too crowded, that there were drunk people on the streets, *"strange people"*, or that they felt too pressured by the loud *"shop pullers"*. In Incheon, we have seen that the noise and danger was associated with public drunkenness in the entertainment areas.

The issue of noise as being associated with danger has several underlying aspects in Japan because Japan is at the same time very quiet and very loud. Dolan (2008, 663) points out that *"in Japan, the use of amplified sound in public places is much more a part of the soundscape of communities than in cities in the United States or in Western Europe."* Japan has also been rated among the countries with highest levels of "noise smog" in the world. However, the Japanese themselves, based on my

143

observations, tend to behave silently in public spaces (talk silently in public transport, not to pick up phone calls in the public transport etc.) or in relations to others (non family members, non-friends etc.), as silent behavior seems to be associated with politeness. This also means that people are incited (by neighbors, landlords etc.) to behave in a silent manner in apartments so as not to disturb the neighbors[90]. I noticed this to a full extent only when a couple of friends visited me in Japan towards the end of my stay when I suddenly had the impression that they were shouting all the time. When I flew to South Korea the following month, one of my first sensations was that *"everything in Korea is just SO loud"* (field diary, April 2017).

I was also informed that there are regional differences even in Kansai when it comes to an acceptable, or comfortable, level of noise. Because one of my informants, who was from Osaka, but whose wife was from Kobe and they lived in Kobe with their pre-school aged children, laughingly told be: *"You know, people from Osaka are very loud. My mother is from Osaka and her grandchildren are scared of her."*

"Calmness" of an area is also considered as a desirable trait for a residential area. The ambiguity of the notion of "dangerous" (*abunai*) is one of the aspects that could explain the link between noise and danger, as the study by Namba, Kuwano and Schick (1986) showed strong relation in between levels of noise and annoyance in regards of residential areas among Japanese urban dwellers. Another possible line of explanation is the uneasiness of middle-class Japanese white-collar workers vis-à-vis the blue-collar workers (counting the "shop pullers") – even though the Japanese often describe Japanese society as class-less or generally middle-class (Roberts in Robertson 2005).

---

[90]   I was getting a lot of angry notes from my neighbor for walking too loudly around my apartment. However, I was assured by other neighbors that the lady who wrote these notes was very touchy even by their standards so I should not pay it too much attention.

7.1.3 "Old" and poverty criminalization

Another part of Kobe, that is notoriously know for being *dangerous*, is Shinkaichi. It is a former downtown area that was popular especially in the 1980s and dates back to the beginning of the 20th century, when it started as entertainment district with movie theaters. It also was, and remains, a relight area. Apart from the cultural center for performing arts, the main entertainment arcade in Shinkaichi features *izakayas*, fast food diners, food stands and most importantly, *pachinko* parlors. In this last aspect, it differs radically from Sannomiya. Based on my observations, Shinkaichi is more frequented by middle aged to elderly people and young blue-collar / services workers. When I asked my informants about Shinkaichi, they would often look at me in horror that I, as a young woman, should not go there, that it was dangerous, full of strange people. One informant said a phrase, that would sound conflicting to some of my other informants: *"Shinkaichi isn't dangerous, but there are sometimes drunk people or homeless people."* This was on one hand a reminder that the perceived "dangerous" places were subjective, but also hinted to the general criminalization of poverty.

One long-term Kobe resident offered to me a reflection on the fact that he lived in the US for some time, but for people who lived only in Japan, there is *"closed discrimination"* that he himself doesn't like, because he experienced racism in the US. The *"closed discrimination"* is targeting the "undesired people", or the *burakumin*. He said that people still know the areas the *burakumin* lived in and they don't want to go there, even though you don't find it written on the map. Cangià (2013) talks about community-creating attempts (*machizukuri*) to transform the "*buraku* leather towns" into "Japanese national spaces", using the *"aesthetics of the past, local attachment and social and economic values of the industrial areas within the wider context of the 'city' and the 'nation'."* (Cangià 2013, 56) However, I do not know about any such project in Kobe.

I have received an even more clear-cut affirmation of this from a young Kobe native whose family has lived in the city for at least three generations: *"There is a bad neighbourhood fifteen minutes walk from Sannomiya to the east under the bridge (...) I would not go there alone at night (...) there are people on welfare and drugs, yakuzas (...) since long time the place has a bad reputation as where the eta[91] were outcast (...) you know, the "underpeople" (...) not that they were now, but since then."* She did not give me the exact location, but the area roughly corresponds to the place where

---

[91] I was very surprised when my informant used the word *eta* and not *burakumin*, since the former is considered extremely derogatory.

Ennals (2014) places the abattoir for the foreign concession that stood on the east of Ikuta river since the late 19th century. Abattoir workers would definitely belong to the "outcast" class of *burakumin*, with others who worked dirty, smelly or otherwise unclean jobs.

A Japanese friend of mine once told me that in some "traditional families", mothers would back-check their children's' future spouse family history because they didn't want anyone of *burakumin* ancestry in their family. She precised that it was not legal to discriminate against *burakumin* officially, but some people did it in private nevertheless.

In Kobe, the adversity towards the (image of) precariousness, that can be further associated with public drunkenness and noise, translated into the city image of various areas and that it persist over long periods of time. One informant reflected: *"Kobe is becoming a "salaryman city" (...) it's becoming more safe, more kirei (...) there used to be gangs and the "deep city" where there were people with no money (...) but not after the earthquake (...) the dangerous places are gone."* This informant expressed the interlinked ideas of precariousness as dangerous and also the orderly cleanliness (*kirei*) as safe in opposition to the dirty and messy, unclean as "dangerous". The cleanliness and safety are also linked to higher levels of urban development (especially in Korea) and modernity in general.

This leads to the idea that there is a strong duality in (urban) Japan in between "blue-collar" and "white-collar" Japan, ascertained in previous anthropological scholarship on Japan (Robertson 2005), even though the official narrative goes that "Japan is a class-less society" (Roberts in Robertson 2005). The children from upper middle class families, who are expected to go to university and find a corporate employment upon graduation, live in a specific world. They are exposed both to heavy stress to perform well with their studies (to succeed in the so-called *shiken jigoku,* the examination hell at the end of high-school) and to a "safe-space" environment (field diary, November 2016). Their mother also were, as a general rule, a stay-home full time housewife. I noted on this into my field diary (November 2016): *"The body techniques of an average university student or young white-collar adult in Japan bear signs of prolonged fatigue and stress, lack of self-confidence and shyness in self-expression. Young people look like they're chronically scared of decision making, constructive problem-solving and bearing responsibility for a decision (...) I talked to some exchange students at Kobe Uni and they have similar impressions."* Due to the prolonged economic downturn, many of my respondents at university

age also told me that they fear that they had a very grim future in contrast to some of my informants who were either entrepreneurs or service workers, who expressed having visions and projects for their (professional) future. As far as I could observe and talk to some of those from Kobe who were spared the *shiken jigoku* (because they were not college-educated) or decided to abandon corporate jobs, I could notice startling differences in their body techniques from the salarymen and university students. They were in general more self-confident and relaxed. Further from my field diary (November 2016): *"Blue-collar workers I saw in Shinkaichi restaurants talk and laugh louder in public, look more self-confident. Girls did not shy from flirting in an openly sexual manner, not just being kawaii (...) they almost don't look "Japanese"."* The last comment illustrates how strong is the tendency (supported by Japanese official branding) to equate the Japanese society as a whole to the image of its corporate middle-class.

This duality can be exemplified in Kobe in what happens in Suma Beach during summer. Suma is one of the sand beaches located directly in the city, easily accessible by public transport. Suma ward lies in between Nagata and Shioya, and is considered one of the cheaper areas of Kobe. Again from my field diary (July 2017): *"Over summer months, seasonal bars, restaurants and other venues (swimming gear rentals, shops etc.) are constructed out of plywood on the beach itself, and are dismantled with the coming of autumn. These bars and restaurants also sport hired staff – usually tanned young women in t-shirt over bikini – who loudly incite passers-by to go in. Each bar plays music. Tanned young people walk around the beach wearing only swimsuits[92]. During the night, there is alcohol involved in the fun. One informant who works in entertainment told me that one restaurant wanted to have a pole installed on the premises so they could have pole-dancing there at night, but that in the end, the city was against it."*

The beach was full over summer in 2017 and in 2018[93], when I repeatedly went to Suma, regardless of the day of the week, which suggested that the visitors visibly above high school age were working shifts. Based on the difference of body techniques, I would say that the majority were not college-educated.

"I do not like Suma in summer..." and *"Suma in sumer is special"* told me a couple attending college in Kobe with clear disapproval. I had the impression that it was because of the same sensation

---

[92]   Which would never happen in contemporary South Korea where people strictly do not tan and they enter water wearing clothes (they use an array of what looks like light summer hiking sport clothes) and as a general rule do not know how to swim.
[93]   Especially before the big typhoon.

of loud, noisy, unpleasant and drunk people. The duality in *habitus* and body techniques in between the white-collar and blue-collar residents of Kobe was, based on my observations, generally so pronounced that it could easily set them apart as the feared Other.

Others said that Shinkaichi was *"special"* (which seemed to have strongly negative connotations) or *"the deep side of Kobe"*. On of my informants, a young artist native to Shinkaichi, told me that she knew that *"many young women turn the cold shoulder to Shinkaichi"*.

"Shinkaichi is considered scary... you know... Japan is a bubble, things don't happen in here." offered as explanation a long-term expatriate who has lived for many years in Kobe with his Japanese spouse.

Since my interview sample was limited, I would not like to suggest that those who traveled a lot and/or went studying abroad thought less that Kobe or Japan in general wasn't dangerous, but it seemed true at least for individual cases. *"Shinkaichi isn't dangerous, but there are sometimes drunk people or homeless people,"* said someone who spent a year of working holiday in Paris. Or *"Kobe isn't dangerous,"* said another informant who backpacked around Central Asia the summer before.

The negative, dangerous image of Shinkaichi was enhanced also by the fact that it was *"old"*: slightly derelict, not clean (*kirei*) in comparison to the relatively newly redeveloped Sannomiya area. We will talk about the interlinks in between "old" and "dangerous" again in Chapter 8.

Another interesting point was that some people liked the "old" areas for their oldness, such as Shinkaichi or Nagata. *"Shinkaichi shows other side of Kobe (...) from Shōwa era (...) izakayas, places to gamble, local people (...) not many places like that."* or *"Shinkaichi is the deep side of Kobe. But I like that. Or Fukiai is a very deep area too, you should visit there."* or *"Motoko[94] is my favourite part of Kobe (...) it's unique. And cool."* or *"Some people say that Nagata is dangerous, but I like going there... I like local areas... I like retro."* Regardless of the area mentioned, the penchant towards "retro" or "local color" was, apart from good food, the main attraction of these places. A business owner in Shinkaichi told me: *"I was very surprised (...) many foreigners told me that they really liked the area*

---

[94]   A shopping "street" (*kokai-shita*) running below the JR tracks in between JR Kobe Station through JR Motomachi to JR Sannomiya Station; with rather dusty thrift stores around the Kobe Station end and slowly changing through cafes, antiquities shops, small restaurants and divination booths into designer shops near the Sannomiya end.

(...) that it has a lot of local color (...) I wish more Japanese people saw that too (...) because I like Shinkaichi (...) I think it deserves more attention."

Very similar to Kobe was the feeling that old, dilapidated or precarious areas were perceived also as dangerous in Incheon: *"Juan is like the Harlem of Incheon (...) the area goes down because it's old, there are many empty houses."* or *"I feel Juan strange [isanghae], difficult to like. Dongincheon is also strange."*

Others would mention at least that older, *"not well developed"* areas were unpopular, such as Juan or Wolmido and now slowly Bupyeong is suffering the same fate. However, also much as in Kobe, some people expressed a preference for the "retro", in this case also dating from about the 1980s. *"Central Park [in Songdo] is good for picnic, no cars, it's pretty cool (...) the city scheme is organized and clean (...) but I think it's not commendable for living, just visiting is better (...) I prefer more natural, less organized places."* or *"I heard Wolmido was famous to date during my parent's time, now it's for the retro feeling."* As I said before, I will further discuss the conflicting images of "old" in a special chapter.

Even though my original intention wasn't to engage in phenomenological research on the notion of "danger" in the urban spaces, my interest in city images brought up an intricate picture of the *sensescapes* (Porteous in Halbich 2019) of danger constructed around the images of port, gangster presence, noise and the criminalization of precarity as expressed by the presence of homeless people and the perception of an area as "old".

7.2   Endearment: What Feels Good About a City or a Place

Another *sensescape* (Porteous in Halbich 2019), or sensual landscape (Pauknerová 2013), my informants were talking about were the places and images of the city that had positive feelings associated to them. So while the previous part examined what felt "dangerous" in the city, here we will look at what felt "good" or "nice".

The positive feelings my informants expressed about Kobe, especially when talking about the city as a whole, was the impression of "good livability" of Kobe. *"Kobe is pretty livable."* or *"Kobe is nice to live in."* Sometimes, it ended here, as a vague statement that Kobe was just nice in general. *"There is a saying: "You should study in Kyoto, work in Osaka and live in Kobe." I agree."*

When more detailed, the size of the city seemed to matter. *"I can do everything in Kobe (...) it's good size of the city to live, the atmosphere is better (...) not too crowded, fashionable, not too big."* or *"Kobe is good size (...) Osaka or Tokyo are too big."* Kobe has the population of about 1.5 million people. In comparison, Osaka city itself has just under 3 million, with Osaka Prefecture having 8.8 million people on 1,893 km² as of early 2020. Tokyo itself has around 9 million people, the whole Tokyo Metro Area as much as 30 million. Kobe also has a diverse landscape, the old city being tucked in between the sea and the Rokko Mountains, and large parts of the city are located behind the mountain range that has highway and railway tunnels dug through it for transportation convenience. The average transportation time around Kobe runs around 40 minutes maximum and even from my outsider perspective, the city didn't feel crowded [on Japanese scale]. The same argument was used by one of my informants about the Sannomiya shopping district: *"[Sannomiya] is not too crowded (...) you can get anything you want (...) it's compact."*

It is also true that Kobe has not yet fully recovered from its population loss from the 1995 earthquake and finding housing is not such a big issue as it is in big cities like Tokyo, as an informant working in real estate in Kobe confirmed. Several of my informants mentioned changing households within Kobe with not much difficulties[95], and even moving from an apartment to a family house did not seem to have a major constraint on the real estate market.

---

[95]   This can be very different for non-Japanese nationals due to administrative restrictions, not because of real estate availability.

Despite the strong negative image of Incheon as a city of crime, my informants also felt that Incheon can be a good place to live – and that is not only when talking about Songdo, which has been heavily marketed as *"the city of future"*. The main themes in Incheon were that Incheon is affordable and less crowded than the capital: *"Incheon is good for living (...) cheap housing, close to Seoul, good transportation."* or *"Incheon is cheaper and calmer than Seoul, not that much traffic jams and crowds (...) so good condition for life."*

Cleanliness and convenience was also mentioned in talking about specific places in Incheon: *"Guwoldong is my favorite place (...) a place I like (...) You can do everything there."* or *"Songdo is good to live (...) there's the park (...) good environment, like school, library, commerce, movie theater (...) perfect town to just live."*

Kobe and Incheon were on one hand not crowded but perceived as sufficient for one's city routines (Frantál and Maryáš 2012).

An important trait of Kobe is that it does not feel crowded, but it still feels urban. *"Kobe is more modern than my hometown, less rural than what I am used to (...) many places to go out, to go shopping."* Labeling a place as *"rural"* was synonymous to "undesirable" or "uninteresting". The negative image associated with a "rural feeling" was expressed by one of my informants even in relation to Kobe: *"We say that Kobe is like a village (...) your mind is getting narrow (...) if somebody moves to Kobe, might feel uneasy (...) people know each other here."*

As already mentioned on several occasions, Kobe has a varied landscape, which was also positively noted by my informants. *"My area [Tarumi] has good environment to live."* or *"You see the sea every day!"* or *"We have both mountains and the sea. I love the mountains."* As previously noted, "the sea" and "the mountains" actually act as cardinal point reference in Kobe. Some people mentioned a "feud" in between those who prefer the sea and those who preferred the mountains, but others just liked both. I was also told that it is already considered good if a place has either the sea or the mountains and that Kobe was very unique because it has both.

From my personal observations, I would also like to add that Kobe has very good air quality thanks to its geography: Osaka and especially Kyoto suffer from air pollution and persistent smogs

during the colder months. In Kobe, there is a lot of wind, blowing from the mountains towards the sea or along the east-west axis, making the air in Kobe colder, but a lot fresher in comparison to Kyoto[96].

Lifestyle choices played an important role in the positive perception of the city as a whole or to a particular area.

A point of interest was the notion of Kobe as a place of no history. *"Kobe has no history (...) it's easy to live in a place with no history."* This statement can be put into contrast to a popular belief I encountered during my interviews, that it is difficult to live in Kyoto, because *"there's too much history,"* and you feel bound and oppressed by traditions and the general *zeitgeist*.

On more personal levels, some informants expressed that Kobe was a good place for a new start of some sort. *"We got to like Kobe during our studies (...) we decided to live here (...) it seemed like a good place to have family (...) also, it's fair for the grandparents (...) we live halfway in between them."* Told me a couple that met in Kobe during their studies, one having parents in Nara Prefecture and the other in Hiroshima. For another of my informant, one of the good things about Kobe was a complete change of his social network: *"After graduation, I wanted to go somewhere fresh (...) to meet new people (...) if I stayed in my hometown and worked, I would meet the same people as in my uni (...) people in my hometown generally like that (...) but not me."*

On the other hand, the proximity to another place was a plus: *"I felt lucky that I found my first job in Kobe (...) my family is from Osaka, so it wasn't far, I could go visit[97] (...) but I also discovered a new place."*

For one informant in Incheon, the city's convenience was expressed by the fact that the land prices in the land reclamation areas in Yeongjeong (Airport) Island were very cheap, so he could afford to buy land and build himself a family house: *"We like living in a family house, but I know we're a minority (...) people who want more relaxed living."*

Incheon as a lifestyle choice was mentioned on several occasions, every time for very personal reasons. *"Bupyeong is crazy (...) one of the top downtown to have fun (...) Humun is one of the cheapest places in Korea (...) I usually drink out there, I love the place, there are so many young*

---

[96]   I observed this weekly, when I went on a round-trip to Doshisha University in central Kyoto to attend my seminar. My classmates regularly complained that living in Kyoto over winter is just miserable.

[97]   The informant then moved to Tokyo and expressed regret that now, it is much harder to visit her family.

people." or *"I like biking, so I like Gyeyang (...) there's a bike path from Gyeyang to Ara, it's not very hard (...) I go biking in other areas, like Central Park."* or *"Oh, the Japanese houses [in Open Port Area]! So exotic! You know, we old people, we have a taste for the exotic. (...) before moving to Incheon, I wanted to motivate myself, so we went to visit the Open Port Area and Chinatown (...) I though it was interesting, cool, exotic (...) so the moving didn't sound bad in the end."*

When it comes to particular places in Kobe, there was no predominant positive image among my informants, they all had their personal favorite places that sparked positive feelings in them, revealing highly personalized *sensescapes*. Like: *"I sometimes go here to Starbucks [in Umie] to get a different mind (...) it reminds me of the US."* or *"I like Ijinkan (...) at night, it is illuminated (...) especially Tor Road."* or *"I like the owl cafe in Motomachi (...) it's unique."*

One of the problems my informants mentioned was the fact that many satellite cities in Gyeonggi area around Soul look and feel pretty much the same. And that the Old Town in Incheon was good because it made Incheon feel special, different: *"Incheon is like a "back-up city" to Seoul, a bed town (...) in Songnam or in Bundang, you can enjoy everything, but it is same to Seoul (...) at least Incheon has Chinatown."* Several native and long-term residents of Incheon indeed complained that with new development, Incheon is losing its character, that they have difficulties to relate to it, because it changes, and also that they feel a sensation of loss, that they are losing their "points of reference".

One of the most dominant images of Incheon, that my informants talked about, was the presence of the airport (see previous chapter). Several of my informants specifically mentioned that the sight of the airport as an important part of their personal landscape of the city because the sight of the planes incited wanting to travel in them: *"I worked on the Airport Island in a hotel (...) I was meeting a lot of foreigners (...) I watched the planes (...) I wanted to travel more."* and *"I went to high school near the airport (...) I was looking out of the window at planes taking off and landing and it made me want to go overseas and travel a lot (...) but it is a very personal image of mine."*

The personal attachment to a place can bring not strictly positive, but also conflicting feelings about a place.

In Kobe, I was struck by the fact that any person I talked to, said that they liked Kobe. That they liked living in it – even though they might consider leaving it after graduation. *"It's amazing how everyone seems to be in love with this place,"* I noted in my field diary. One informant told me that there is more to it: *"Kobe native people are proud of Kobe (...) "I am from Kobe, not Hyogo," they say."* It is true that people from smaller towns often referred to the prefecture they came from, when they talked about their origin.

In the case of Incheon, the endearing feelings were tending more towards nostalgia, for childhood, for roots, Incheon is *"my little hometown (...) the place where I grew up"*. As such, it can bear endearing feelings <u>despite</u> its bad image: *"Incheon is "my sweet home" but in media, people think Incheon is full of gangsters."* or *"I didn't mind going to Juan [for the interview] because that is where my father is from."* or *"this [Old Town] used to be downtown when I was younger (...) I like it here."*

To conclude, I would like to mention the case of Japanese elderly who come to visit Incheon. I haven't encountered anyone in Japan who would talk about being born in Korea during the colonial period. However, my informants in Incheon working in various branches of tourist industry (shop-owners, museum employees or hotel-owners) told me that sometimes there are Japanese elderly who come to visit Incheon because they were born there when it was called Jinsen. And that they still relate to Incheon as their hometown, their *furusato*; one informant even mentioned that an old Japanese lady walked along a street in the Open Port Area with her, pointing to her buildings and sights long gone and that she wept.

7.3 Disinterest in Certain Areas

One of my primary areas of interest in Kobe was the Kitano Ijinkan area, where the European-style houses from the foreign concession period still stand. I wanted to study not only their management as built cultural heritage, but I also wanted to see what mental images the area holds for the inhabitants of Kobe. The answer turned out to be rather simple: disinterest.

"I didn't go to Ijinkan to get impressed or anything but it's a nice area to walk around (...) I went with non-Kobe friends who were visiting, otherwise there's no point in going there (...) same goes for Nara (...) it's more rural, nothing much." and *"Kitano is nothing new."* or a simple *"I don't go there."*

Usually, there was also surprise. My informants reflected on the fact that I was European and they genuinely wondered why was I interested in such a place. *"I went to Ijinkan (...) I mean, it was nice (...) but no big feelings (...) for you as a foreigner, it must look normal. I heard that for foreigners[98], it is not interesting to go there."* and *"Maybe Ijinkan is not interesting for you, it looks like home, no?"*

In Incheon, it pretty much repeated itself: *"Chinatown is a trademark, so locals don't go there."* or *"Chinatown is a trademark (...) locals don't go there (...) most foreigners settled there (...) it's just a place for foreigners (...) I don't relate to it, it's not interesting for locals."* or *"Chinatown is a tourist trap."* or *"There are too many cafes in Open Port Area (...) tourist trap."* or *"Incheon people don't go to Chinatown. A lot of people live close, can go there anytime, so almost never [laughter]."* or *"I try to persuade my husband to discover Incheon with me (...) but he's local, so he thinks it's pointless."*

In both cases, I would be inclined to interpret this as a result of the areas being perceived as a historical center in the sense of Anne Raulin (2014), as a tourist space (see previous Chapters). We will also see in the following Chapter the interplay in between "old" and disinterest. I wanted to mention those areas labeled "uninteresting" as disinterest is among feelings constitutive of an urban *sensescape.*

---

[98] Later, the informant mentioned that when she went there, she saw mostly Chinese and Korean tourists, so she was likely using the term "foreigner" for Euro-Americans. It is a commonplace practice both in Japan and in South Korea. The most striking example of this usage, for me, was when I overheard a couple of Korean tourists on a bus in central Kyoto saying: "There are just so many foreigners [*oegugin*] in here!"

8 Conflicting Images of "Old"

In this chapter, I would like to develop on the coexisting paradoxical images of "old" in relation to buildings and neighborhoods I encountered both in Kobe and in Incheon. We saw in earlier Chapters that some neighborhoods were labeled as "dangerous" and comments were made on the fact that they are *"old"*. On the other hand, some of my informants clearly enjoyed the *"retro"* feeling of the same areas others described as undesirable. Moreover, it also became clear that in some cases, *"old"* is perceived as rare, even exotic. In this Chapter, I will try to explore this multiplicity of narrative realities (Fritzová 2011) coexisting together.

8.1 Negative images associated to "old"

8.1.1 Old is uninteresting

Modernity, not only when it comes to urban fabric, is generally a desirable trait in both Japan (Sugimoto 2010) and Korea[99]. As the modern is desirable and *"cool"*, it also means that inversely, "old" can be uninteresting, boring. This doesn't necessarily mean a place has to be perceived as "historical" to bear such characteristics, being "old" might suffice. Here, I refer to the functionality of urban places according to Raulin (2014) where the situation is that areas in the city perceived as "historical center" are often transformed into non-living spaces, places for tourists, almost ghost-towns, a process that we mentioned in relation to Kobe Kitano. In other words, they don't have relevance for everyday life of most city dwellers and city users, in other words they don't belong to the everyday activity space (Frantál and Maryáš 2012, 11). They become places frequented for only a specific purpose (*"to bring friends who are visiting"*). In the previous Chapter, I have summarized that the places perceived as "touristic" in one's city (Ijinkan, Chinatown) were often linked with disinterest from the inhabitants in both Kobe and Incheon.

---

[99] This seems like a vague statement but the strong preference for new things over old means, for example, that second-hand and thrift shops are very rare in both Japan and Korea and buying things in them bears social stigma.

"I went to Ijinkan with non-Kobe friends who were visiting, otherwise, there's no point in going... same goes for Nara (...) it's more rural, nothing much." Here, this informant voiced several aspects together: the idea that Ijinkan is uninteresting, that it's a tourist sightseeing spot that has little meaning or importance for her everyday life in the city. But she also compared it to Nara, a place famous for its historic sites, a spot that is widely recommended for a day trip but that it's pointless to stay overnight. This informant also made allusion to the idea that rural is a bad trait. Urban lifestyle is vastly preferred in Japan (Sugimoto 2010) and Korea despite the existing romanticized imagery of one's (rural) hometown (*furusato* in Japanese, *kohyang* in Korean) that I will about in detail further in this Chapter.

Another informant characterized his perception of Nara as follows: *"You go to the park, take a picture, feed the deer (...) then you go home, exhausted (...) you do a lot of walking in Nara Park. Maybe too much [laughter]. But one day is enough. Not much to do there."* Even though the city of Nara is not limited to its historical center around the Nara Park, it is often equated solely to this area and tokenized as the "historic place" in Kansai, entailing specific types of tourist interaction: going for a day trip only. I will mention further that Kobe is object to a tourism stereotype as well, though a different one. Kobe is in a sense even worse than Nara in terms of outside image: Kobe is a place where you sleep over on you way from Hiroshima to Kyoto. You go to Himeji castle during the day, eat Kobe beef steak for dinner and then continue on to Osaka or Kyoto. This is to say that even though the "uninteresting" label due to historicity or oldness is relevant in perception of the place, a path dependency of images can form in other manners as well.

In Incheon, one of my informants running a homestay was genuinely surprised that other people expressed interest in areas she considered *"old"* and therefore uninteresting. I offer here a whole excerpt of our dialogue on this matter:

IK: *"My hosts often want to go to Sinpo Food Market, I don't get it. Why do they want to go there? It's just an old market."*

Me: *"Well, for us[100], it's exotic."*

IK: *"You mean like Turkey for me?"*

---

[100]

I did use "us" as the sub-intended generic for "Europeans", "White people" or "foreigners", the "generic West" (Sugimoto 2010). It's something that happens in the field. I got exposed so much to this simplistic label in relation to myself that I started using it in conversation on my own.

Me: "Yes, exactly."

IK: "But there are markets in Europe too."

Me: "But the atmosphere is different..."

IK: "Oh, right, there are all the grandmas sitting on the floor selling things [in Sinpo]..."

This particular informant has visited Europe several times. She also said that for her, Sinpo Food Market just looked uninteresting because it was commonplace, seeing the elderly ladies sitting on the floor selling street food or vegetables on the food market. This image as old and uninteresting supports the images of modernity as desired, sought out concept.

The image of "old" and uninteresting for the reason of being commonplace was expressed by another of my informants when we visited the Sudoguksan Daldongnae Museum in Dongincheon area together. The museum has a reconstruction of the slum-like houses and streets and then also shows "typical" house interiors and shops from 1970s-1980s complete with furnishings, toys, food packaging etc. Looking at these, my informant remarked that: *"For me, this is just normal (…) I remember these from my grandmother's house when I was smaller."* Objects that are both part of the living, communicative memory and at the same time are already perceived as "old", are the commonplace old. The undesirable old. Things can be too old to be perceived as modern and desirable, but too commonplace to be considered exotic and rare.

8.1.2 Old Buildings as Nuisance

We have also touched upon the idea of "old" being a nuisance in the city. They can be a private burden, as one of my informants explained: *"Ijinkan opened to public in past twenty or thirty years (...) people were getting rid of the houses, it was expensive to maintain them."* In Incheon, an informant told me: *"I know (…) some people heard their house is going to become cultural heritage, so they tore it down before it happened. I know people like that."* The idea was that when the house becomes designated heritage, it is impossible to built anything else that would suit one's preference (for more modern living, for example) or business plan.

"Old" can also be a constraint to urban development, to city modernization. A situation, again, similar in Korea and Japan. Indeed, one of my Incheon's informants said: *"Seo-gu had (…) terrible condition, not well developed [kaebal anta]."* Being well-developed (*kaebal*) is a marker of a "good area" among my Korean informants, regardless of the area's usage (residential, downtown) – as we have seen, "old" can has associated meaning of "not well developed" (as do have areas perceived as "rural"). The triangle of meaning "old", "not developed" and "rural" imply "undesirable", "poor" and "back-warded", a set of associated meanings not surprising in a rapidly urbanizing developmental state (and society as a whole).

Similar situation unfolded in the case of citizen initiatives in Shioya with the story of The Jonas House considered as "heritage house" by a group of local citizen activists. It was torn down in 2016 to make way for new apartment blocks. Mr. Morimoto from the Guggenheim House said in an interview on the development project of Shioya: *"I was shocked to hear what older people said, when I participated in a study meeting in preparation for the Shioya Town Development Promotion Association. No one expressed any nostalgia for the town, and I even heard someone saying, "Pull down the shopping street in front of the station, because it just looks like a row of shacks." Most people seemed completely in favor of the development plan."*[101] The article further says that due to the local conservation activities, some residents of Shioya gradually changed their minds to look more favorably onto "old" buildings in the area even though they originally felt "left behind" in the urban development.

8.1.3 Old is bad & dangerous

In the Chapter 7 on feelings associated with living in a city, we have talked about how some areas perceived as *"dangerous"* also appear *"old"* to my informants. I would argue again that old in terms of dilapidated, worn out, is strongly associated with the idea of danger. One informant from Incheon clearly stated that: *"There's the old area from Inha to Dongincheon... people think it looks dangerous."* I would like to also repeat the commentary of one of my informants from Kobe: *"I remember*

---

[101] "Reviewing the size of towns for the future after recovery from the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake, Ari Morimoto, Guggenheim House", *Be Kobe* project http://1995kobe20th.jp/en/2016/01/2200/ (Acquired December 16th, 2020.)

*Shinkaichi when I was little, it was the center (...) now I don't know why it became a no-go place (*damenaru*) (...) but it's old there."*

Poorly maintained areas bring the idea of precariousness and crime, an association of images that is far from being reserved to Japan or Korea. The idea of desirability of upper scale neighborhoods because they are "safe", among other characteristics, is a core element of the gentrification processes in cities all around the world. We could even say that association of poverty and danger as marker of a "dangerous neighborhood" is a constant parameter of a modern city.

Some of my informants were consciously making parallels in between a dangerous neighborhood in their city and a better known example of a "bad neighborhood": *"Juan is like the Harlem of Incheon (...) the area goes down because it's old, there are many empty houses."*

However, we mustn't get too carried away by generalities in urban theory. One important difference in between the perception of danger in a city landscape that we haven't yet tackled is the presence of red-light districts, a story that underlines the urgency of constant revisiting of urban studies as proposed by Jennifer Robinson (2006). I was expecting that the clustering of brothels, night clubs and sex shops could raise the "dangerous place" flag in people's minds. In Kobe, this situation was more complex. As I said earlier, Shinkaichi has, alongside gambling parlors and pubs, also night clubs and sex shops and love hotels, existing or refurbished into different uses. When I casually chatted with American, Australian or European travelers in the common room of a hostel in Shinkaichi, I often received half-whispered and sometimes shocked comments on the red-light establishments in the vicinity. Some, often women, expressed that they didn't feel completely secure walking the streets around the brothels in Shinkaichi. However, none of my Japanese informants talked about the red-light district aspect of the area in association to their feeling of danger in Shinkaichi.

Similarly, Sannomiya also has establishments with paid companions. Even though those places are a lot less conspicuous than those in Shinkaichi and spotting them often necessitates at least a basic knowledge of kanji. Yet again, even though many of my (especially young) informants labeled Sannomiya as *"dangerous at night"*, nobody voiced a connection to the presence of sex work industry to the feeling of danger. Granted, some informants expressed uneasiness from seeing overtly sexual behavior on the Suma Beach during the summer period and I recorded a case where pole dancing was in the end not incorporated into the program of one seasonal bar – because the ward was fearing bad

reactions from visitors. However, as long as the sex work and related services is enclosed in an establishment, the establishment/shop itself doesn't raise the same negative emotions.

I attribute this to the whole different cultural history and present attitudes towards sex industry in modern Japan. Companions and sex workers have not only been part of Japanese society, but were also enjoying some sort of social prestige. Pornography was also regarded differently during the shogunate (Clark *et* al., 2013). Even though Meiji Japan underwent a "Victorian turn", sexuality as an undesired element if life was never so prominent as in late 19th century Europe. Even though pornography and prostitution are illegal in current Japan, its bypasses are largely tolerated and widespread. Similarly, even though gay marriage isn't legal and being openly gay in modern (especially corporate) Japan is largely taboo, gay sex as such was made legal under the modern Meiji legal system in 1880.

One of my older informants from Kobe also recalled that before the area became famous, *"there were love hotels in Ijinkan, one was in front of Weathercock"* but that they disappeared with tourism and also when the 1995 earthquake struck and people started to donate houses in Ijinkan to the city, or to otherwise get rid of them, because they didn't have sufficient resources to maintain the buildings. He mentioned this in relation to how much the area changed over his lifetime, from an unknown part of the city with love hotels to a tourist attraction with museums. But he never voiced any idea along the lines that when there were love hotels, Ijinkan was a dangerous place. This episode also reminds us on how the image of a place exists and is constructed "in the now". Of course, a place can has a bad reputation among some people dating back many years (as we have seen with a *burakumin* area East of Sannomiya) but what matters most for the general, collective image is the Now. How it is, how it is constructed and what sort of narrative and signifiers it is given.

This is relevant for the process of "old" becoming undesirable. If a formerly prime and popular location gets worn out and is poorly maintained, it falls out of grace. We have seen this in previous chapters on the moving around of the downtown areas in both Incheon and Kobe. It was simply summarized by one of my informants in Incheon: *"When I was young, Juan was the "hot place", then it was Bupyeong, now it is Songdo; Juan is getting old and there's no effort to renovate."* As I said earlier, this process also means that with renovation, the process can be reversed, or changed, and "old" can become desirable, fashionable, or at least interesting. We will see this further in this chapter.

8.2   Positive images associated to "old"

8.2.1 Old is rare and exotic

On the other side of the spectrum was the idea that old things are interesting because they are a rare sight. This was the image I was told about exclusively in Korea. The idea behind it was rather straightforward: the turnaround of the urban landscape in Korea is very fast. So fast that, as one of my informants poignantly said: *"You know, 'since 2000' counts as old in Korea."*

As I have mentioned before, some of my informants complained that the fast pace of urban development lead to feelings of loss of connection to a place, or inability to establish a personal connection to a place. We could then infer that "old places" also could offer a sort of mental anchoring point in one's psycho-geography of a place (Shaw, 2018), by being both distinctive and (hopefully) stable, giving a clear reference point for someone to (emotionally) navigate an urban landscape. The sense of loss of personality in a modern, clearly outlaid environment of scientific imagery is what Shaw (2018) labeled as *"posthuman"* quality of urbanism. Some of my informants expressed such feelings in relation to newly developed areas, Seoul's satellite towns and also in relation to Songdo: *"Songdo... Central Park is good for picnic, no cars, it's pretty cool (...) the city scheme is organized and clean but it's not commendable for living,"* said one informant for whom Songdo was too *"sterile"* and he personally preferred *"more lively spaces"* that were in contrast to scientifically outlayed order and cleanliness of newly planned developments. We could link this feeling to the scholarly critique on the so-called "urban utopias" as non-places (Shaw 2018, 100-101).

The "old" places might also be perceived simply as interesting as they are far from commonplace in modern Korea. One of my informants expressed a mix of the previous two while talking about how she prepared herself for her move-over to Incheon: *"Oh, the Japanese houses [in Open Port Area]! So exotic! You know, we old people, we have a taste for the exotic. (...) before moving to Incheon, I wanted to motivate myself, so we went to visit the Open Port Area and Chinatown (...) I though it was interesting, cool, exotic (...) so the moving didn't sound bad in the end."*

Here, it is interesting again to see that the "old" can entail different characteristics based on *how* old it is, in other words that the idea of "oldness" itself has different social time frameworks (Šubrt, 2014). If the "old" is old enough to stop being commonplace, it can become perceived as rare, exotic and therefore interesting.

One informant commented that when it came to the Japanese buildings in the Open Port Area, the fact that they are old might be their most important, most relevant feature for people visiting them (and conversely why the galleries and shops building on the "old", "retro" and "Japanese" concept seem to be rather popular):*"People like the old houses not because they are Japanese but because they are old (...) you don't see that very often (...) even Japanese people come to see the old houses in Incheon."*

Even though Japanese tourists visit Incheon and stop at the coffee-shops in the Open Port Area[102], I am inclined to think the reasons for seeing the houses in the Open Port Area was a guess on that informant's part. Since other places in Japan have extant *machiya* merchant houses, such as Kyoto or Nara, just to mention prominent Kansai destinations, I found it unlikely that Japanese tourists would travel to Korea to see a *machiya* house. However, this note was important for me, because it also implied that my informant thought the Japanese houses in Incheon were so exceptional, so rare, that even Japanese people would fly all over from Japan to see them.

Other informants offered alternative explanations, such as the fact that to some Japanese elderly, Incheon was their birthplace that they wanted to visit:*"Sometimes, Japanese people who were born in Incheon come (...) they think of Incheon as their hometown."*[103]. I have unfortunately never talked to any Japanese who have visited Incheon, but we will come back to the importance of hometown further in this chapter.

---

[102]   Several of the staff or owners of coffee-shops and museums in the Open Port Area told me that Japanese tourists came to visit their establishment.

[103]   Another possible vein of explanation is that some Japanese ultra-nationalists would be inclined to visit the Japanese houses in the former colony: I was told by one of my informant that on a handful of occasions, their museum in Incheon was visited by a Japanese visitor dressed in Shōwa Imperial uniform. And that one even complained they took down the imperial flag from display. My informant told me that this episode was very uncomfortable but that luckily, most of the Japanese visitors they receive are *"nice"*.

8.2.2 The retro fashion in Japan and Korea and the city image

For the idea that retro is interesting and cool, I would need to more clearly separate Kobe from Incheon, because the story of the "retro" concept in itself is very different in both of the countries.

In Japan, the preference for modernity and new things is part of mainstream culture. However, love for "vintage" fashion has been part of subculture Japan for several decades (Sugimoto 2009). In this vein, even though second hand clothes are generally considered a no-go for many Japanese, vintage fashionistas have been prepared to pay a lot of money for secondhand US clothing since the 1980s. For a long time, "vintage" clothing meant American (or European) brand clothes. However, fashions change and incorporating Japanese traditional clothing into outfits became popular. For example, when I lived in Kobe, wearing a black *haori* (kimono overcoat) with goth/emo/metal clothing was popular with young fashion-minded Japanese – and thus stores selling second-hand kimonos (for a fraction of the price of a new piece) put stalls with black *haori* in front of the shops to attract more customers outside of their usual customer base[104] of elderly women and foreign tourists. That is to say that fascination with "vintage" or "retro" is an established part of Japanese subcultures and thus "retro" as a positive, desirable concept has existed for some time in Japan. Whereas in Korea, we will see that a taste for "retro" has been establishing itself much later, only in recent years as part of mainstream culture.

In Kobe, several of my informants expressed interest or fondness towards the "old" areas for their oldness, such as Shinkaichi or Nagata:*"Shinkaichi shows other side of Kobe (...) from Shōwa era (...) izakayas, places to gamble, local people (...) not many places like that."* This informant expressed that it was interesting to see the other part of Kobe, that because there weren't many places like that left, it made Shinkaichi interesting and somewhat unique. Others referred to the same situation negatively, as that there used to be many *ban-cho*, working class neighborhoods, in Kobe but that it's changing and Kobe becomes a safer place (see Chapter 7). Here again, we see how the image of an area can be very

---

[104] Usually, secondhand kimonos are shopped for by foreign tourists and elderly women who want to wear kimonos on regular basis but are on a tight budget and secondhand stores are an accessible way to renew their outfits.

personal, influenced by many (even conflicting) factors and that an interpretation of an area, a mental image of a place, was something fluid, an object of subjectivity of the perceiver.

The *ban-cho* was a term used by several of my informants, as a way to designate a poor, precarious neighborhood, or an old, local area. The words is also a homonym with the term designating a leader of juvenile delinquent group. My informants tended to translate themselves this term into English as *"deep side"*. It also conveys the idea of something local, something hidden, not being shown to tourists, something hidden and yet authentic. Even though it was used by a variety of my informants (and I have encountered it even in the context of Kyoto as a way to designate a traditional, hidden local area), I cannot ascertain whether the translation pertains to the place name of "Deep Side", a famous slum area in the US, though I find it possible.

Some informants explicitly expressed the duality in between a *ban-cho* as a dangerous place to some and their personal liking of these places: *"Shinkaichi is the deep side of Kobe. But I like that. Or Fukiai is a very deep area too, you should visit there."* With Fukiai, the link to a precarious neighborhood is even stronger, if possible. Fukiai is a neighborhood north of Kasuganomichi and East of Sannomiya, west of Oji, that was known for housing Korean and Chinese slums. Even though the area isn't far from the coveted area of Rokko, the change becomes immediately visible: Kasuganomichi and Fukiai have remained lower-scale neighborhoods (allegedly with *yakuza* presence) and despite the sky-high prices of real estate land in Japan, I have seen not just one empty building lot in that area, not to mention highly dilapidated houses. It seemed that Kasuganomichi-Fukiai area was among those that didn't recover from the property and population loss caused by the 1995 earthquake. However, the area didn't seem to have such notorious reputation as Nagata, because none of my informants mentioned Fukiai when I asked them to think about areas they considered dangerous. The informant who prompted me into visiting Fukiai had a special fondness for retro or unique areas, areas that were not considered mainstream by people in her generation (she was about my age). She was among the informants who said they liked Motomachi more than Sannomiya for shopping.

Another informant expressed a similar opinion on Nagata: *"Some people say that Nagata is dangerous, but I like going there... I like local areas... I like retro."* Another place I was told was

interesting even though it may look old or dangerous to some, was "Motoko[105]": *"Motoko is my favourite part of Kobe (...) it's unique. And cool."* A business owner in Shinkaichi told me: *"I was very surprised (...) many foreigners told me that they really liked the area (...) that it has a lot of local color (...) I wish more Japanese people saw that too (...) because I like Shinkaichi (...) I think it deserves more attention."*

Another informant added that she liked the fashion trend of wearing working clothes as casual outfits[106] and that she liked to do her shopping in working clothes stores in Nagata, because they were cheap. She also said that the whole area was cool and had good food there.

In general, it seemed that those informants, who expressed their interest in retro, would more or less qualify as belonging to a subculture, or at least not being completely mainstream, that is to say mainstream white-collar middle-class Japanese. I am fully aware that when it comes to personal level, any given person can have parts of their personal experience that set them aside as unique and that in a philosophical sense, nobody is truly "mainstream". However, there's a shared cultural image of what a "typical Japanese" means, as confirmed by several of my informants. It is also not very problematic to emically draw a line onto what is considered mainstream culture and what isn't. In general, I could say that my informants who had a penchant for retro also "broke" (and some of them explicitly said so themselves) the social conventions or the idea of mainstream in other aspects of their life.

Regardless of the area mentioned, the penchant towards "retro" or "local color" was the main attraction of "dangerous" places such as Nagata, Shinkaichi or Motoko. The "locality" of the area clearly equated with perceived "authenticity" of a place that made it interesting.

Interestingly, many of the "retro" places were also allegedly said to have good food, such as Nagata or Shinkaichi. Both were recommended to me by some informants for having good Kansai food restaurants. "Kansai food" doesn't equal high cuisine but more the homely, comfort food cooking aspect. I was told that if you wanted a fancy Kobe beef steak, it was better to go to Sannomiya, but

---

[105]　A shopping "street" (*kokai-shita*) running below the JR tracks in between JR Kobe Station through JR Motomachi to JR Sannomiya Station; with rather dusty thrift stores around the Kobe Staion end and slowly changing through cafes, antiquities shops, small restaurants and divination booths into designer shops near the Sannomiya end.

[106](look up the Japanese name)

going for a Kansai food specialty like *okonomiyaki* or even *sobameshi*, a local worker's food native to Kobe[107], it was better to look for restaurants in Shinkaichi or Nagata.

In Korea, the subculture penchant towards "retro" doesn't have the same tradition as it does in Japan. When I lived in Seoul in 2011/2012, the concept of "retro", be it in the way it's perceived in Europe or the US, or re-appropriated and re-invented in a more "Korean" fashion, wasn't part of large subculture wave, let alone mainstream culture. I must also stress that in South Korea in general, the adherence to mainstream culture is much more valued, than in Japan for instance, and as a consequence much more widespread. This trend is made even more tangible by the popularity of plastic surgery (for both sexes though females still prevail) performed as early at 18 years of age to adhere to current beauty standards (Mudruňková 2015).

This doesn't mean that on individual level, a liking of perceived "retro" or "old" couldn't be present in Korea already ten years ago. I recall a member of a hiking group who liked to seek out local areas and told me during a trip to Jeju City: *"Look, in this street (...) you can see and feel the old Jeju (...) it's great."* (field diary, January 2012) But this instance was a singular occasion, as I recalled it.

Nevertheless, I was surprised in 2017 that "retro" or "vintage" seemed to come into fashion in comparison to 2011/2012. One of my informants clearly associated "retro" with a reason to visit a place: *"I heard Wolmido was famous to date during my parent's time, now it's for the retro feeling."*

Aside from clothing, one of the best markers of fashion changes in Korea is the interior design of coffee-shops. Because coffee-shops are very common, very volatile and strongly embedded in the mainstream culture. I talk more about coffee-shops as the marker of mainstream culture trends in the Chapter 10.2 on food tourism in Korea. After my arrival in 2017, I noticed that coffee-shop concepts have changed over time, to look more "old" and "rustic", in comparison to the propensity for chain-like coffee-shops in 2011.

---

[107] Essentially, it's a blend in between *yakisoba* (fried soba noodles with vegetables and pork meat) and fried rice, featuring both noodles and rice fried together with vegetables, meat and pickled ginger. It was allegedly eaten by Kobe factory workers and is still considered a purely Kobe specialty, though not so famous as Kobe beef.

Also, I have noticed a trend of wearing a *hanbok*[108] to historical locations in Seoul that was new since 2012. In Insadong area of 2017, there were *hanbok* rentals, similar to *kimono* rentals in Kyoto. In Gyeongbok palace, the entrance fee was discounted if visitors came in *"traditional Korean dress"* (field diary, May 2017). Groups of young people were attending the Confucian Jongmyo Daeje ritual[109] in *hanboks*, and people of all ages attended the Hwadojin Festival in *hanboks*; though the majority came in contemporary clothes (field diary, May 2017).

However, the *hanbok* fashion at the time wasn't widespread. An owner of a *hanbok* shop in Dongicheon area[110] selling cheap second-hand *hanboks* alongside new ones told me: *"Koreans aren't interested in wearing hanbok (…) so it's good at least a foreigner interested in Korea buys it (…) it makes me happy (…) the [new] hanboks in other shops are much more expensive but it makes sense that if you don't wear it often, you buy the cheap secondhand one (…) it's good price even if you wear it once, like to go to Gyeongbukkung."* Even though she thought Koreans weren't actually that keen on wearing *hanbok*, she already knew about the Seoul city prompt to visit the Gyeongbok Palace in the traditional dress.

I couldn't ascertain what came first, if the prompt to visit "Korean cultural landscapes" in traditional dress, the *hanbok* rentals, or if the general (pop)cultural zeitgeist turned towards "retro" and "traditional" in parallel.

Another thing that had surged in popularity by 2017 was "traditional cooking" and "old recipes". I was told by one of my informants, who was very interested in *"ancient cuisine"* that older, more simple recipes that were following the principles of Chinese medicine, were believed to be better for health and were gaining popularity.

Not only whole recipes, but ingredients were also being "rediscovered", such as acorn starch (*dotori*) used for acorn jelly (*dotori-muk*) or acorn noodles. Another informant told me that these "old-

---

[108] The "traditional" Korean dress: the term refers to both male and female clothing and designates the upper scale, colorful versions, not the white working clothes wore by farmers. Nowadays, as a token representation of "tradition", it is schematized and often simplified (in terms of accessories, layers etc.) as *kimono* is in contemporary Japan.

[109] Jongmyo Daeje (also known as Jongmyo jereye) is a ritual to royal ancestors of the last ruling dynasty of Korea, the Yi Chosŏn. The ritual is carried out on the first Saturday of May every year in the Jongmyo shrine in central Seoul, where the ritual tablets of Yi Chosŏn monarchs are enshrined in two halls. It is organized by the Jeonju Lee Royal Family Association. I briefly talk about it in my second paper of 2017 (Lichá 2017b).

[110] There was a specialty *hanbok* store street close to the Dongincheon Station of several dozens of shops in one place. Aside from ready-made *hanboks*, the shops sold fabrics and haberdashery.

new" ingredients were also presented in daily television shows targeting housewives – and that indeed, even side-dishes[111] were subject to fashion swings. What was noteworthy for me in this process was that as it was diffused through TV programs targeting a wide audience, this fashion trend was not an iteration of a marginal culture but part of mainstream. Similarly to how some elements of "hipster" culture, especially pertaining to food and "home cooking" and "organic foods" penetrated mainstream cultures in Europe.

The narrative around the *"ancestral foods"* in Korea had elements that we can find associated to the "organic" in Europe: being healthy, cleaner, more beneficial, more nutritious, even "healing". To this associates a form of "culinary nostalgia" (Mannur 2007) for the idealized past, a vision of "the ancestors" associated with "wisdom" and still nowadays an element that should be venerated which is strongly perpetuated as a value in contemporary Korea.

From what I observed in 2017 as a budding taste for the "retro", there seemed to be a switch towards a fully fledged retro fashion in Korea that intensified and crystallized some time later, in between 2018-19. It is called by a coined term *"newtro"* a blend of words "new" a "retro"[112]. Allegedly, the trend surged with the release of a TV *drama* "Mr Sunshine"[113] in 2018, a period drama from the late 19th century. However, the historically flared outfits and designs under the "newtro" label can vary from the 1900s to the 1990s and anything in between; the 1990s fashion and style has been proponed by an album called "Newtro" released by a K-pop female band DIA in 2019.

The "newtro" trend also, according to media coverage, boosted the popularity of places with 19th and early 20th century built remnants, such as Incheon Open Port Area. They became popular trip destinations for youtubers, fashion bloggers or fashion-minded people, as a place for a stroll and a background for stylish photo shoots. The "newtro" label has been also picked up by the City of Incheon to advertise appropriate sightseeing spots on official social media[114].

---

[111] A side-dish (*panchan*) is an important element of Korean cooking, out if which *kimchi* is the best known. A typical meal is comprised of a main dish, an eventual bowl of rice if appropriate, and a number of side-dishes, depending on the occasion, situation and type of meal, from one to twenty. I would place a simple restaurant or household average to about five or six. Also, a traditional Korean breakfast is comprised of a bowl of rice and *panchan*, even though many Korean now prefer to have "Western" breakfast of cereals, sweet bread, toast etc.

[112] „Rise of Newtro trend in Korea", *Korean Studies Platform KKUKHANI* (May 6, 2020): https://medium.com/@kkukhani1517/rise-of-newtro-trend-in-korea-b601701b9197 (Acquired November 11, 2020.)

[113] „'Newtro': The Lifestyle Trend That's Sweeping Across Korea", *Clozette* (November 4, 2019): https://www.clozette.co/article/newtro-korea-lifestyle-trend-6035 (Acquired November 11, 2020.)

I explain more in detail the role pop culture (especially K-pop and TV *dramas*), in other words the constituting elements of the *hallyu*, has on creating society-wide trends in Korea (and overseas) in Chapter 10.1 At this point, I will note that pop culture is a strong enough phenomenon to change images people might have about a place, to re-create signifiers, to stage the world differently, if we were to use Augé's terminology (Augé 1999).

8.3   Hometown and Nostalgia

In the last part of Chapter 7, we have seen that some of my informants expressed endearing feelings towards a place because it was their home: *"Incheon is... my little hometown (...) the place where I grew up"*. We have also seen that this personal endearment was stronger than the generalized collective image of danger associated to that place: *"Incheon is "my sweet home" but in media, people think Incheon is full of gangsters."* Similarly, my informants in Kobe coming from Shinkaichi expressed: *"I like Shinkaichi... I come from here."*

The same applied to not only the city as a whole but individual areas: *"this [Old Town] used to be downtown when I was younger (...) I like it here."* or *"I like Dongincheon, I moved here [to the new apartments] because I grew up in inner Incheon."*

The personal connection to an area could have been felt even across generations, as one of my informants who said *"I didn't mind going to Juan [for the interview] because that is where my father is from."* The informant offered herself to meet me in the Juan area. She currently attended university in Seoul, but grew up in Incheon, more precisely on Yeongjeong Island (but she considered herself to be an Incheon native). The day we met, she went down to Incheon to reconnect with other Incheon friends, and she said she was curious about going to Juan. She knew about the reputation it had but according to her, she didn't mind because she wanted to visit the place where her father came from, and that was more important for her than Juan's reputation.

I would like to develop on this in the context of hometown nostalgia as a cultural phenomenon in both Japan and South Korea.

In Japan, there are two rather separate concepts, the hometown as one's birthplace, the place from where and individual comes from, and then *furusato. Furusato* was a concept that saw its heyday in the post-War national identity crisis in Japan. Jennifer Robertson describes it as follows in her paper dedicated to this phenomenon (Robertson 1988, 495): *"Furusato comprises both a temporal and spatial dimension. The temporal dimension is represented by the word* furu(i)*, which signifies pastness, historicity, senescence and quaintness. Furthermore,* furu(i) *signifies the patina of familiarity and naturalness that objects and human relationships acquire with age, use, and interaction. The spatial*

dimension is represented by the word sato*, which suggests a number of places inhabited by humans. These include a natal household, a hamlet or village, and the countryside (as opposed to the city)."* Robertson further argues that the *furusato* concept catered to the *"sense of homelessness experienced by Japanese individuals or groups. In this regard, Japanese social scientists have suggested that with the rapid urbanization of the countryside since the postwar period, the Japanese 'can't go home again.' Because villages and cities have lost their distinctiveness as social environments due to the urbanization of the former, the nostalgia provoked by estrangement from an 'old village' has become thin and insignificant (*kihaku*). There is no particular place to 'go home' to; consequently, there is no particular place to feel nostalgic toward."* (Robertson 1988, 497) In this sense, Kobe is hardly to get the *furusato* image in itself, though there are farmers markets and local farming is showcased. It goes more in the vein of support of local food production and the trend of farmer's markets. However, even though my informants native to Kobe might not talk about Kobe as their *furusato*, it entailed the endearing, positive feelings about hometown and/or birthplace. *Furusato* is so much opposed to the idea of urbanity that if you come from a big city, such as Tokyo, Osaka or Kobe, you don't have a *furusato* on your own[115]. But you can have a hometown.

If we read Robertson's (1988) description of *furusato*, it could seem that urban living is somehow considered inferior to living in one's ancestral land. That notion would be misleading. Even though the *furusato* space is a nostalgic, idealized idea of an "old village", and the romanticised idea of rural *furusato* is a nation-wide phenomenon, there are two things we must still keep in mind.

First, most Japanese prefer urban living. Countryside as a place of residence is perceived as undesirable, dead-end, and rural exodus and ageing of the agricultural workforce has been a major issue in Japan for several decades (Sugimoto, 2010). This might seem self-evident and banal but in Japan (and Korea), there are no widespread images of countryside as a good place to raise children while keeping a job in the city, for example, that we see in the urban landscapes of Europe in recent decades.

Second, cities can entail strong positive feelings, as we have seen with the general images associated to Kobe. I have mentioned that Kobe natives were in general proud of being from Kobe and that Kobe's

---

[115]   Robertson (1988) also talks about the efforts of creating a *furusato* feeling in large urban areas like Tokio but I haven't encountered any similar efforts of *furusato-zukuri*, or the making of *furusato*, in urban Kobe.

residents generally liked the city (see Chapters 4 and 7). Conversely, I was told that some residents of Kyoto tended to feel pride about coming from the imperial capital, a place of high culture and tradition (even though others described it as oppressing for the exact same reasons).

Third, the widespread romanticized idea of *furusato* and a sense of belonging to a community, can be, and often is, contested on personal levels. A fresh start, and escape from pre-existing social network in a *"more rural"* hometown was the major appeal of moving to Kobe for one of my informants. Another of my informants complained that *"Kobe feels like a village, mind getting narrow (...) everybody knows everybody,"* explaining that he sometimes missed the anonymity of a more bigger city. Another informant simply stated that *"Kobe is small, soon, you get to know everyone [in a certain community]"* and that it can become somewhat boring and claustrophobic over the years. On the other hand, the generalized *furusato* that is almost a non-place allows a person to consume the related nostalgia for nostalgia without living the constraints of the countryside on everyday basis[116].

To this relate the ideas of community cohesion in the villages and the local festivals, the *matsuri*. Indeed, there are efforts in newly developed neighborhoods to establish local festival to create a better sense of belonging, similar to the belonging created by seasonal village *matsuri* (Ashkenazi 1993). One informant in Kobe told me about them in her ward: even though the *matsuri* was supported by the city, she was unconvinced of its success and didn't really consider it to be of much appeal, feeling it wasn't very authentic[117], just a way to raise some money. This process is somewhere in between of *furusato-zukuri* and creation of community, neighborhood feeling in urban settings that is popular in European urban metropolises as well[118].

---

[116] However, some Japanese urban dwellers seem to prefer to reverse the process of rural exodus and move back to the countryside. I was told about this in the village of Harie on the banks of lake Biwa, a village that is known to be especially rustic and scenic in Japan nationwide. It is a popular *furusato* tourism destination. I was told by one of the local guides that recently, people from big cities started to move to Harie for their retirement. Even though this phenomenon is significant on the local level, on national level, the countryside in general still suffers from de-population.

[117] Papp (2013) devoted a paper to the issues of perceived loss of authenticity with modernized rites of passage in contemporary urban Japan. The paper, however, deals with a child rites of passage, thus on individual level, not related to the process of urban-creation, the *machizukuri* that becomes more pronounced with seasonal festivals.

[118] See for example the project *Zažít město jinak* (Experience City Differently), a series of "neighborhood festivities" organized in Prague by individual communities in a given neighborhood. The whole project is coordinated by an independent urban think-tank *Automat* that is aligned with contemporary Western European trends in urbanism. Official website: https://zazitmestojinak.cz/ (Acquired November 20, 2020.)

In Korean, hometown is referred to as *kohyang* (고향) and it means the birthplace rather than current area of residence. It also contains the notion of roots, of ancestral home. The one's "sweet home". *Kohyang*'s meaning is somewhat flexible, it can mean both a birthplace and a family's ancestral place of residence. The notion of *kohyang*, however, is not so strongly associated with an undefined romanticized ancestral village, as it is with the Japanese concept of *furusato,* nor is defined by its opposition to an urban setting. On the contrary, *kohyang* can easily refer to a city. Indeed, some of my informants said they considered Incheon to be their *kohyang*, hometown, even if they currently lived somewhere else.

It also seemed that some informants chose to refer to their own natal location as *kohyang* and some referred as *kohyang* to their ancestral countryside home (where their grandparents lived). In both cases, *kohyang* is loaded with a personal, intimate feeling. *"I want to show you my hometown"* counts a romantic way to ask for a date in Korea[119].

My informant who wanted to visit her father's natal area of Incheon, also underlined another element of *kohyang*: the value associated to one's parent's *kohyang.* When running for president in 2017, the president incumbent Moon Jae-in declared that one of his goals was to lay grounds for peaceful reunification of the peninsula in the foreseeable future. The reason he gave was that his mother comes from a place on the North Korean soil and that he would want to see her visit her *kohyang* at least once again before she passes away. Such a statement underlines how an impossibility ti visit one's *kohyang* is considered to be a major psychological burden. Several of my informants told me that it was difficult because their grandparents came from the North, either after the WWII or during Korean War, and now they can't go back to visit[120].

My informant working in a museum in the Open Port Area, who told me about the Japanese elderly coming to Incheon because it was their natal place, expressed great sympathy for their desire to visit their *kohyang*. I would say this sympathy was enhanced by the fact that she herself was native to Incheon and held the city especially dear.

---

[119] I was told this by several female colleagues in Korean studies that this was a date invitation they would hear often when a Korean boy wanted to come across as romantic.

[120] Of course, there are other issues, such as the divided families and those who later defected from the North Korean regime, but that's another matter. I wanted to point out that for some Koreans, the mere idea of not being able to freely visit their ancestral soil/place, is painful.

Even though *kohyang* can be much more concrete than *furusato,* the *kohyang* concept brings along a strong sense of nostalgia too. I would say that *kohyang* is indeed very similar to the concept of "sweet home" and roots than to the *furusato* that emerged as *"nostalgia for nostalgia"* and *"increasingly cogent means of simultaneously fostering we-feelings and insideness at local and national levels."* (Robertson 1988, 494-5)

A similar nation-wide feeling to this is the Korean *han* that is both something that allegedly all Koreans feel deep inside of them, a sense of historical melancholy linked to the land, a feeling uniquely Korean that all Koreans know but that is difficult to describe at the same time. It combines the longing with belonging, and one of the most tangible examples of the feeling of *han* is the popular folk song "Arirang"[121], according to some of my informants. Following Robertson's (1988) definition of *furusato*, I would describe *han* as melancholy for melancholy. However, *han* cannot be pinpointed to a singular place, it comprises the whole country at once and the people and it does foster the we-feelings on national level.

---

[121]   The song underwent many modern adaptations and was very popular thorough the 1980s.

8.4   "Traditional" Culture as an Elite Taste

Another aspect adding to the complex, intertwining perceptions of "old" things is the popularity of "traditional" culture among elites in Japan and Korea. A similar trend is observable in Mainland China in the last ten to fifteen years. Some aspects, be it foods, clothing or arts became perceived as the bearers of "traditional" and are favored by local elites, financial and intellectual, as markers of good taste and status.

In Japan, I observed this related to *ikebana* classes, attending and learning the tea ceremony or practicing the *kōdō*[122] ("the way of fragrance") as being examples of "traditional" past-time for elites and intellectuals that were still practiced by some of my informants. However, making a comparison with the more recent switches towards the popularity of the "traditional" culture in China and Korea is the slightly different timescale it happened in Japan. The rise of *furusato* concepts and the *nihonjinron* (the study of Japanese-ness) followed soon after the WWII and boomed into the 1980s. Both concepts borrowed from the romanticized idea of a generic "past" to construct national identity and we-feelings in the present (Sugimoto, 2009). It happened in the similar vein the national identity has been constructed under the Meiji period, especially in regards to "tradition". However, by 2016, *nihonjinron* as a concept lost its popularity and even *furusato* isn't as ubiquitous as it used to be when Jennifer Robertson wrote her paper in 1988. So we have to bear in mind, that in Japan at the time of my research, the fascination for the traditional, or the traditional as being fashionable wasn't in its peak. Moreover, in Kobe, we would have to look on another aspect of taste for the "historic", the love for all things European in Japan and the link in between European and romantic that we will explore at the end of Chapter 9.

Laurel Kendall (2011) edited a whole anthology on how some aspects of Korean culture were commodified, such as *kimchi*[123], to embody "tradition" in early modern and modern Korean society. Based on my field research, I would include designer clothing inspired by *hanbok* sold in boutiques

---

[122]   An incense-smelling game with complex rules that allegedly used to be an imperial court game in the Heian period. It is still practiced in contemporary Japan, though far less widespread than tea ceremony.

[123]   *Kimchi* making later became UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage.

around Insadong in Seoul, traditional poetry reading classes, *hanbok* sewing classes for stay-at-home wives[124], or the rise of popularity of (herbal) tea.

There are two aspects to the tea, the popularity of Chinese (*puerh*) tea that became the luxury beverage of choice in the tearooms in Insadong (see Chapter 10.2) and also the "traditional" Korean herbal teas. These were sold in several establishments in the Port Area as well as an alternative to coffee. Among the staples were mugwort, jujube or chamomile. There was a clear intertwining of the ideas of the herbal teas being "traditionally Korean" and medicinal. There was an idea of *"nostalgia for the past that was lost"* (Robertson, 1988) that was present in the reconstructed, imagined traditionality. And that through drinking the herbal tea, one can reconnect with or rediscover the past through taste (Martinec Nováková 2019).

I have mentioned the simultaneous fashion of rediscovering old ingredients and a turn towards recipes reflecting the principles of Chinese medicine[125]: I was told by one informant that for a food (like *bibimpap* or *chapchae*) to be healthy, it has to include five colors of ingredients (white, yellow, green, orange or red and brown for instance – my informant understood it that the count of five was more important than the exact colors). There is a restaurant in Seoul near Geyongbuk palace that specializes in the *samgyeatang*, chicken in broth stuffed with rice and medicinal herbs, that is considered to be very healthy. Interestingly, because Chinese medicine has become popular in Mainland China as well, the restaurant teems not only with Koreans, but also with large groups of Chinese tourists. The reason this dish rejoices such popularity is because the recipe for *samgyetang* contains ginseng roots and Korean ginseng has been long reputed to be the best quality of all East Asia.

These trends translated into the urban fabric of Incheon especially in the styling of the newly opened coffee-shops and tearooms in the Open Port Area. It also seemed to me that these shops aim for the

---

[124] Being able to be a full-time housewife is still considered a marker of well-being of a family, both in Japan and in South Korea though it becomes more and more difficult to achieve financially for the household. Some of my informants from both Japan and Korea were stay-at-home wives and often, they would have some *"small job"* or an alternative way of income from running occasional homestay service, private teaching etc. But that amounted to a fraction of the workload of a regular employment. My informants said that the extra occupation was also for the socializing aspect and the money was a nice bonus. In Korea, various classes for stay-at-home wives are common. The whole system resembles after-school activities for children, one can choose from a variety of arts and crafts, usually. The classes are run in the daytime and were very affordable in Incheon (about 10,000 KRW, or 10 USD a month per activity, more or less the price of two cheaper meals).

[125] Chinese medicine was part of the knowledge transfer from China into Korea in the middle ages, so it is considered to be part of Korean "traditional" culture.

upper-scale customers due to the pricing. Brewed coffee is already a luxury commodity in Korea (I will talk about this later) and the coffee-shops in the Open Port Area priced their coffee the same as in central Seoul. This in terms of Americano coffee, the Korean staple way to consume coffee, meant about double the price of Incheon average. It also meant considerably more than in chain-like coffee-shops around Sinpo Food Market. Of course, it could also be interpreted as a *"tourist trap"* creation but I'm more inclined to think that the oldness and "traditional" flair was used as a concept conveying not only uniqueness, but also luxury. This idea is sustained by another aspect, the link in between traditional houses, luxury and wealth.

Even though rural exodus and stark preference for urban living is also prevalent in Korea, and family houses are generally considered inferior due to being evocative of *"poor grandma's village house"[126]*, *hanok* house became the emblem of luxury. The Bukcheon area in Seoul, that is a preserved area of traditional *hanok* houses built by government officials during the Chosŏn period, became famous in Korea due to a reality show *1 Night 2 Days*[127]. Later, its popularity soared both nationally and internationally due to a TV series (*drama*), *Personal Taste[128]*. In *Personal Taste,* the main male character, a furniture designer, lives in a *hanok* in Bukcheon. In the Chapter 10.1 I explain how pop culture acts as a pull factor for tourism in general, but I want to underline the fact that it was the rich, Prince Charming – like character who lived in the *hanok.*

It seems unlikely that this *drama* in itself was the source of the linked images of *hanoks* and luxury. I'm inclined to think that it is nevertheless a good example of a larger trend. In Songdo IBD, a luxurious hotel and restaurant in the Central Park was built to resemble a *hanok*. The whole area of Songdo is considered prime and luxurious and thus a traditional-styled hotel in its central location is symptomatic. *Hanok* hotels in Seoul are marketed as luxurious. My informant running a private museum in the Open Port Area recalled the process of refurbishing the tea room area of the house: *"we brought the beams and the decorated door from our family hanok (...) it looks good but it wasn't originally here."* I have told this story more in detail in Chapter 4.3. What is important for our argument here is that the elements from a *hanok* were considered appropriately stylish to reinvent a

---

[126]   As one of my informants put it.
[127]   A trip of one night and two days *(il bak i il)* is a popular travel format in Korea. It usually means starting off early on Saturday, staying the night to Sunday and coming home on Sunday night.
[128]   "Historic Bukchon besieged by tourists, businesses" in *Korea JoongAng Daily* (November 16, 2012): https://archive.is/20130127002031/http://koreajoongangdaily.joinsmsn.com/news/article/article.aspx?aid=2962405#selection-623.0-623.49 (Acquired November 12, 2020.)

space in order for it to have the *furusato*-like quality of "nostalgia for past that was lost" (Robertson 1988), of a fashionable concept at the time. We see that there might be a difference in between the "old" and the "traditional". Newly built historicizing places that evoke the nostalgia for the past are considered luxurious. At the same time, something more recent yet perceived "old", unmaintained and battered, is labeled "uninteresting", "bad" or "dangerous". I would say that the old Japanese houses in the Open Port Area are now perceived interesting and cool thanks to the fact that they had been renovated. Well-maintained old and unmaintained old send a whole different message, a situation that is not unique to Korea.

When it came to "old" in both Japan and Korea, personal hierarchy of images existed in relation to a place: the fact that I like or dislike a certain place taking a priority over the generic images, even though the generic image can influence a personal image. Or be in a sharp contrast with it. Note that this is important in a study of culture (especially Korea) that is stereotypically perceived as conformist. In city images, there are many markers of individuality, personal meaning in the vein of interpretation of Clifford Geertz. Stereotypically non-individualistic cultures (as Korean and Japanese typically perceive themselves) and individualistic perceptions of a living environment can lead us to rethink what "individualism" means in different cultures and how it is defined.

If I was to borrow on the concepts of collective memory, the commonplace "old" things are in the communicative memory and only after they traverse the communication void (Vansina in Soukupová *et al.* 2012), their image becomes transformed into exoticized oldness.

Regardless of the other labels it received, an "old" place was never a non-place. That is to say a person could establish a human connection, associate a feeling and an image to it. Of course we must see the limit of this assumption because the old areas I was observing in my study were residential areas and small-scale commercial areas. However, I am inclined to think that places of strong collective memory, such as the Seodaemun Prison[129] in Seoul, may bear different sets of images associated, but would still be considered places in contrast to non-places (Augé 1999).

---

[129] A large prison complex built in 1907-8, used to detain Korean resistance fighters during the colonial period and later used to hold political prisoners during the South Korean military regimes until 1987. Since 1992, it is open to public as museum.

9   The Colonial Discourse and the City Images

9.1   Unresolved issues in between Japan and South Korea

The colonial tinge in between Korea and Japan prevails in the international relations of the two countries until these days. Protests in Korea following statements of Japanese high representatives on colonial-linked themes or on contested territories, are common occurrence. In this chapter, I want to discuss the relevance of the political post-colonial dispute for city image and perception among city dwellers.

The most recent incident is the unveiling of the statue of a Korean comfort woman in Berlin in September 2020, a year after the current South Korean president Moon Jae-in canceled out the latest agreement in between Korea and Japan pertaining to the compensation of forced Korean laborers. The statue has been commissioned by a Koreans' citizen group, and according to the "Deutsche Welle" coverage: *"The Japanese government has said it 'regrets' the unveiling of statue of a Korean 'comfort woman' in Berlin on Monday. Katsunobu Kato, Japan's chief cabinet secretary, said the statue on a busy street corner on Kopfplatz is not in line with Tokyo's efforts to build improved future-oriented ties with South Korea. 'We will approach various parties involved toward the removal of the statue,' Kato said in a press conference in Tokyo on Tuesday."*[130]

The fact that the statue has been erected out of a citizen initiative (and not commissioned by a state-related actor) doesn't mean the incident is taken lightheartedly: *"'What is particularly irritating is that the South Korean government has repeatedly promised that it would not permit this sort of behavior by Korean people because it was committed to building better relations with Japan – but here we are again,' said Shimada. 'They have done nothing to try to improve the relationship.' Shimada said the Japanese government has 'no choice' but to make a formal complaint to the German government and local authorities in Berlin in an attempt to at least give a balanced explanation to the issue, as the statue 'makes no pretense of being fair or neutral' in its depiction of the 'comfort women'."* Such heated

---

[130]

    "Korean 'comfort woman' statue in Berlin angers Japan" in *Deutsche Welle* (October 1st, 2020): https://www.dw.com/en/japan-comfort-women-korea-berlin-sexual-slavery-world-war-ii/a-55117648 (Acquired October 29, 2020.)

discussions in 2020 illustrate to what extent the post-colonial relations of the two countries haven't been fully resolved.

What is also important in the recent comfort woman statue story is that the post-colonial tension in between South Korean and Japan is relevant not only on the top political level, but to Korean citizens as well. Indeed, the comfort woman statue was commissioned by a citizens' group initiative. The ongoing post-colonial adversity was also reflected by my Korean informants. *"Koreans feel a sorrow deep down because the Japanese government never sincerely apologized,"* told me a young informant interested in international relations. It is not uncommon for politically non-engaged Koreans[131] to have strong personal opinions on the Japanese colonialism, despite the fact that those who personally witnessed that era are now a minority. *"Without the occupation, everything could have been better,"* told me a middle-aged informant working in tourism in the Open Port Area. The shared collective memory of the Japanese colonial rule is strongly negative in Korea: *"My husband strongly hates the Japanese (...) because of history,"* told me an informant in her late twenties. On multiple occasions, I have witnessed Korean people reacting negatively to materials dating from the colonial period. *"This is just terrible to see,"* commented an informant in her mid-thirties on an old period photograph of Japanese soldiers standing alongside the Dongdaemun gate in Seoul, exhibited in the Incheon Metropolitan City Museum that we visited together in July 2017. Similarly, a Korean professor exclaimed: *"Why do we have to watch such horrible things?"* during a conference presentation on Japanese propaganda films when the presenter played some of the material[132]. I also remember my Korean classmates during college (around 2010) angrily storming out of class when the topic of WWII in the Pacific was tackled and the Japanese colonial territories were mentioned.

In his masters thesis, Jamal Barbari (2017) studied how the contemporary Korean public education system massively contributes to the perpetuation of the anti-Japanese sentiment among its young graduates[133]. Barbari (2017) also found out that his informants' opinions on the Japanese were revised and/or nuanced based on personal interactions with Japanese people. Two of my informants summarized this mixed situation, in line with Barbari's (2017) conclusions. One said: *"People still*

---

[131]

  Here I mean informants who don't pursue any type of political career and/or aren't members of active citizen activist groups and initiatives related to home politics and international relations, rather than people not interested in politics at all, i.e. by not voting in elections etc.

[132] Here, note that the materials were propaganda materials, therefore not showing any fighting or casualty scenes.

[133] Barbari focused on informants graduating in between 2011-2017. My personal experiences with my Korean peers fall in line with Barbari's study.

have mixed feelings about the Japanese (…) but it changes for young people because they travel to Japan or study there." Japan has special visas for Korean nationals studying in Japan and frequently flying home. Fashion shopping in Tokyo or Osaka can be done (and is done) by fashion-minded Koreans on week-end trips, using cheap direct flights in between Incheon or Busan to Tokyo or Osaka (field diary, July 2017). Fukuoka also developed into a popular destination among Korean students for cheap (backpack) travel to Japan – I was told by my Korean informants that Fukuoka is famous for being cheap and for a good place to eat a wide variety of Japanese foods.

The positive perception of things related to Japan isn't limited, of course, to young people who enjoy backpacking or fashion shopping. In 2017, I met an elderly lady in "our" neighborhood park in the Juan area in Incheon. I was writing some notes down and she curiously sat next to me on the bench and we had this short conversation:

Lady: "Hello? May I sit here? (…) what is a young foreign lady like you doing here?"

Me: "I live here."

Lady: "Really?"

Me: "I study in Incheon."

Lady: "I see. Is it your first time in Asia?"

Me: "No. I lived in Seoul before. I was also in Japan."

Lady: "That's nice (…) Do you speak Japanese? I learned Japanese at school when I was little… let me see if I can still remember: Watashiwa kyu ju sai desu. I'm ninety years old. That's nice, I haven't spoken in Japanese for many years (…) thank you, I hope you'll have a great day." The lady didn't elaborate on her learning of Japanese, but this short episode raised my interest because it was so personally different from the general narrative of Korean people forced to adopt Japanese language in schools, stressing the coercive nature of the process. For this lady, it seemed that what remained after the years was nostalgia for something she'd done in her youth. Also note that her first association with Japan wasn't the colonial period (as I was expecting) but remembering a language she once learned. I am fully aware this episode is highly anecdotal and I wouldn't infer generalized conclusions from it, but it was a strong reminder that on personal levels, the images and memory can starkly differ from the general (political) discourse.

The informant interested in international relations developed on her view about the Korean sentiment against the Japanese: *"Koreans feel a sorrow deep down because the Japanese government never sincerely apologized. They always say like 'We did it for you.' and 'We developed you.' But after that, I guess we just love each other's culture. Koreans like Japanese food, fashion, atmosphere. The Japanese also love Korean food[134]."* She clearly distinguished the political narratives and the contentious international relations in between the countries concerning post-colonialism, and then the personal(ized) view, based on lived experiences she and her peers had.

However, other informants internalized the political narratives on colonialism into their personal actions. One informant told me that: *"I have a lot of interest in history (...) I like to ride my bicycle and educate people, talk to them about issues (...) like in the US I told people why Dokdo belongs to Korea (...) I'd like to go to Japan and talk about comfort women, make Japan apologize to them."* As I have showed above, the still diplomatically unresolved questions of the comfort women (Krištofová 2018, 355-357) that surges up periodically to "haunt" the Japan-South Korea diplomatic relationships, makes the memory of colonialism more acute and contemporary. The Liancourt Rocks dispute[135], mentioned also by my informant (he used the Korean name "Dokdo"), is another topic troubling international relations in between South Korea and Japan. In this regard, the positive images of the coffee-shops in the old Japanese houses in the Incheon Open Port Area seemed puzzling to me, which is why I will develop more on the intricacies of the post-colonial discourse and city re-assimilation in this Chapter.

Another question that I wanted to explore more was the perception of the European settlements in Japan. At the time of the development of the Open Ports, the Meiji administration was making it clear that even though the technological advancements from "the West" were welcome, Japan was to maintain its independence (Sugimoto 2009). Then, the fear of Western cultural dominance over Japan was acute and the maintenance of "true Japanese-ness" was among the preoccupations of the Meiji government. The Western powers were indeed seen as a colonial threat.

---

[134] I have taken a lowcost airline in between Korea and Japan on multiple occasions in 2017 and 2018 and the passengers seemed to be in large majority Koreans going (or coming back) from a shopping spree in Japan and Japanese who were going to or from Korea to eat Korean food, just like my informant described.

[135] The Liancourt Rocks, small islets in the Sea of Japan, are named Dokdo in Korean and Takeshima in Japanese. Currently, they are part of South Korean territory, but Japan claims them as Japanese soil.

I wanted to see whether the Western-style buildings in Kobe evoked any of this sentiment in present-day Kobe citizens, and whether the buildings have a potential "colonial tinge" or if they had acquired different meanings.

9.2   De-colonization of the Cityscape

In the earlier Chapters, I talked about the appropriation, assimilation and transformation of the cities and their built legacies during the colonial period. Conversely, the process of "decolonization" of city spaces is a well-studied topic. In the Korean context, it has been extensively treated by Henry (2014, 2015) and Jin (2007). The dismantling of the built colonial remnants in Korea happened in several noticeable waves; first coming directly after the end of WWII. Then, under the Rhee Syngman presidency, the first remnants to be tackled were the Shinto shrines on Korean soil. Henry (2014) talks about the dismantling of the Chōsen Jingu on Mt. Namsan as the most iconic example of this process. However, no Shinto shrines remained in Korea because they *"represented a stark example of the indoctrination in the imperial state Shinto and militarized mobilization of the Japanese Empire's citizens during the Second World War."* (Lichá 2017b, 88)

In Incheon, the Agota Jinja on Wolmido island was taken down and its location incorporated into a new public park (see Chapter 5). The other notable shrines in Incheon, the Jinsen Jinja and the Atago Jinja, were reclaimed as building lots.

Ordinary Japanese houses (both the *machiyas* and more modern houses dating from the 1930s and 1940s) all across Korean cities were gradually dismantled, alongside old Korean houses and precarious neighborhoods (*daldongnae*), in the rapid urbanization of South Korea that took place in the second half of the 20th century (Gelézeau 2003). This process has been differently paced from place to place. In Busan, the old area around Haeundae food market testifying to the "dual colonial town" (Kwon 2008) was being demolished and redeveloped as late as 2018, during my last visit. In other places, some of the "ordinary houses" as well as technical buildings dating from the colonial period (railway buildings, warehouses etc.) remain until nowadays. Their stories vary from case to case. In general, the Japanese-owned property was expropriated with the end of the WWII. The buildings were classified "enemy property" and went into private ownership by Koreans. Hence, it is difficult to generalize their subsequent "fates". The Open Port Area in Incheon is not the only place where the "heritage houses"

are in use as coffee-shops or artistic spaces, I found another example in the city of Daegu[136], the "Mixcafe Booksungro"[137], to name just one.

It is also interesting to note that the extant Japanese houses in Korea could be – regardless of the decade they were built in – divided into two categories: in the first occasion, the "Japanese" origin of the house has been conserved and restored. Sometimes the house is made "more Japanese" like in the case of a private gallery in the Incheon Port Area where the owner refurbished the tea room area with more "old" and "Japanese" elements to carter to the customers' growing fondness of this concept (see Chapter 8). As such, the Japanese houses are used as tourist attraction, cultural space or to run a stylish coffee-shop.

In the second instance, the Japanese buildings are prior to renovation, some even falling in disarray, that are used as private residences, host a business that targets lower-end customers (cheap diner, everyday necessities store etc.) or are outright abandoned. Such was the state I first saw the buildings in the Open Port Area in Incheon in early 2012. Houses like this could still be found in the "old Incheon" in areas in between the Dongincheon and Donghak Stations in 2017. The colonial-era buildings that were built as "modern" at the time, using other materials than wood (bricks, tiles etc.) and following the Western-style architectural designs, are more difficult to date from the colonial era, especially for an untrained eye. They often come across as "old"[138] in the undesirable category, as dilapidated, which was the reaction I my informants had for the Dongincheon to Jemulpo areas that, as I said, also contain the colonial-era buildings that do not receive the same popularity and attention as the colonial-era buildings in the Open Port Area.

Some buildings can be seen as loaded with more political meaning than others. They are signifiers of the collective memory (Augé 1999) and they can be seen as site of memory (Nora 1985), at least to some. When debating the influence of the colonial-era remnants on the city image, it is important to see

---

[136] Daegu is the 4th largest city in South Korea, located in the south of the peninsula in the Gyeongsang province (about an hour from Busan), Daegu was one of the cities heavily populated by Japanese settlers, even though it wasn't an open port.

[137] Mixcafe Booksungro on Flickr https://www.flickr.com/photos/46298313@N06/16763460798/in/photostream/ (Acquired November 1st, 2020.); and in the photo essay on Daegu in "Colonial Korea" https://colonialkorea.com/2015/03/28/daegu-part1/ (Acquired November 1st, 2020.)

[138] CF the photo essay on "Bukseong-ro" part of Daegu in "Colonial Korea" https://colonialkorea.com/2015/03/28/daegu-part1/ (Acquired November 1st, 2020.)

who perceives any given place as a site of memory and which memory it gets associated with, as we will see through the course of this chapter.

In 1995, the former building of the Government General, the headquarters of the Japanese colonial administration, was demolished (Jin 2007). The dismantling began on the Independence Day celebrations of 1995 and as such, it was a highly symbolic gesture from the part of then president Kim Young-sam (Lichá 2017b). The demolition was opposed by then Prime Minister Kim Jong-pil. He recalled in an article for JoongAng Daily in 2016: *"President Kim argued that demolishing the building would restore the spirit of the people, and the decision sparked an intense debate. The plan's proponents claimed the building was a remnant of Japanese colonial rule. But I disagreed - even disgraceful history must be remembered so that future generations don't repeat the same mistakes. History cannot just be rubbed away. In New Delhi, a statue of Queen Victoria still stands in the heart of the city despite the fact that it symbolizes British colonial rule. India decided to preserve the statue out of respect for its national history. Some parts of our personal history may be painful or disgraceful, but nevertheless, it can neither be erased nor omitted. Though I agreed with Kim's drive to dismantle the building in principle, I advocated that we should relocate two symbolic parts of the building to the Independence Memorial Hall in Cheonan, South Chungcheong."*[139] Kim Jong-pil's vision wasn't sustained by then president Kim Young-sam and the Government-General building was demolished. The Government-General building stood at the entrance to the Gyeongbukkung royal palace in Seoul, which in itself would be a pretty symbolic location. However, we must remember that the official residence of South Korean presidents stands just behind the Geyongbukkung palace ever since the end of the WWII. Staging the "right" memory – in other words the memory desired at the time – for such a place is important for a national image-building, for creating a national narrative, as former president Kim Young-sam told then Prime Minister Kim Jong-pil.

However, other, less symbolically significant places were left to stand, such as the old building of the Seoul Station. Outside Seoul, the symbolic dismantling didn't take place the same way it did in Seoul. In Incheon or in Mokpo, buildings dating from the colonial era are used as tourist attractions and in other cities, they can simply be still incorporated in the urban fabric[140].

---

[139] "Under new government, Korea's history questioned", *Korea JoongAng Daily* (January 4, 2016): https://koreajoongangdaily.joins.com/2016/01/03/socialAffairs/Under-new-government-Koreas-history-questioned/3013471.html (Acquired October 30, 2020.)

[140] There's a great photo essay blog called "Colonial Korea" documenting early modern architecture in South Korea. Unfortunately, Incheon is one of the few missing locations as the author seems to be based in the southern part of South Korea https://colonialkorea.com/ (Acquired November 1st, 2020).

Being left to stand and subsequently proclaimed heritage in 2013, it was clear the colonial buildings in Incheon weren't politically problematic the same way the Government-General building was. I was therefore interested if the Japanese buildings in the Open Port Area bear the colonial tinge to those visiting or to those sharing the city with them[141].

One informant working in a museum in the Open Port Area told me this story: *"There was once a student who came here and said: 'What do the Japanese think when they come into a house built by the Japanese?' and I wanted to tell him that it's not about what they think, that's not the point, what matters is what you thought when you came here."* The same informant also told me that *"the colonial period is difficult. But it's part of our history so we shouldn't be silent about it (...) we have to deal with in in ourselves."*

This interpretation of the colonial heritage, in the similar vein of former Prime Minister Kim Jong-pil's, was shared by another of my informants, Mrs. Baek, who also summarized her opinion for The Korea Times as follows: *"I think we should not beautify Japan's colonial era. Surely it is a painful chapter of our history. This building [the "pot_R" cafe] was occupied by a Japanese company that exploited Korean laborers. But I also feel we need to preserve and remember those painful parts of history, so that the same history will not be repeated[142]".*

This focus on personal engagement with colonial history was not a common occurrence among my informants – even though I also had several informants personally highly vested in the colonial memory. What I mean is that it was pretty common for my informants to react (and that meant react negatively) to the general idea of Japanese colonialism, or to a very clear-cut representations of such (period photographs of Japanese soldiers etc.). However, concrete and intellectualized conceptualizations of the colonial period and the active personal engagement with the post-colonial memory was very sparse. This was true also for those who either worked at a public institution that dealt with colonial buildings (or was housed in a colonial-era building) or who worked at (and owned) a heritage building in the Open Port Area. We saw this in Chapter 4.3 when only some informants owning a heritage building even personally attached themselves to it. Here, I wanted to raise the idea that everyday work interaction with a building might not induce an engagement towards a topic,

---

[141] I use the description "share a city with them" on purpose. In the previous chapter, I have talked about the fact that many Incheon's inhabitants perceive the Open Port Area and Chinatown as a historical landmark with which they don't interact on everyday basis. But even if the place isn't part of everyday life of my informants for most of them, it didn't mean they couldn't have opinions on it (pertaining to the colonial past).

[142] "Old port town exudes exotic beauty", *The Korea Times* (June 20, 2019): https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/culture/2020/10/141_270932.html (Acquired October 21st, 2020).

meaning not all the buildings dating from the colonial-era were ascribed memory signifiers, and weren't even creating the meaning in themselves, weren't sources of power and narrative as Foucault (1975) interpreted some institutions to do. I will come back to this late in the chapter.

When it came to Kobe, the issue was even less obvious at the first sight. Even though Kuwayama (in Sugimoto 2009, 44) says that in Japanese scholarship, *"there is deep-seated resistance, as well as resentment, against Westerners for having dominated Japan"*, I didn't encounter realities of this translated into how my informants perceived "Western" buildings in Kobe. The term "colonialism" in Japanese is strictly associated with the Japanese colonial expansion and does not pertain to Western colonial powers present in Japan (largely because the open ports were not colonies and are not interpreted as such, nor as colonial proxies).

There is the both positive and negative perception of the generalized West in Japan, which depends which current political discourse prevails and is taught at public schools. During the Meiji era, the perception was that Japan has to modernize as not to become a colony, but the feeling of cultural superiority was still entertained. The duality of this concept was expressed by the Meiji-era slogan *"Western technology, Japanese mind"*. Kuwayama (in Sugimoto 2009) notes that the Japanese are still known to consider their own culture superior to "the West".

One informant alluded to this while she said *"I didn't go to Ijinkan to get impressed or anything, but it's a nice area to walk around."* The "get impressed" was related to the idea that someone else could be awed by the European architecture. Later in the chapter, we will see how the flipside of this, the love for all things European in Japanese (pop) culture translated into the perception of Kitano Ijinkan. I would also like to note how the informant expressed her resentment towards being intimidated by the generalized Western culture, but also the fact how she felt about the physical location, *"nice area to walk around"*. That statement illustrated how an image of a certain place is a "bricolage" of different factors and notions; and that those notion can even appear to be in conflict with each other, or at least not appear complementary at the first sight.

9.3 The Limited Scopes of the (Post)Colonial Discourse

 My colleagues at Doshisha University confirmed that currently, the concept of colonial period in Japan pertains only to Japan's own colonial empire, not to the presence of colonial powers on its territory. One colleague got surprised when I asked about it and said: *"But there was no shyokuminchi (colony) in Japan. This term is used for Korea [and other Japanese colonies]."* Thus when it comes to memory of colonialism translated or signified by urban landscapes, they would pertain to Japanese colonial project and not to the presence of Western powers on the Japanese territory. None of my informants from among long-term Kobe residents recalled any significance crisis sprouting from the necessity to re-evaluate the meanings of the "Western-style" buildings in Kobe. On the contrary, several elderly Kobe natives recalled that the "international" aspect of Kobe has been viewed as the city's asset ever since they can remember (meaning roughly since the 1950s).

 To this adds the general pop cultural image of "all things European" in both Japan and Korea as "romantic" (Lichá 2015a). Very similar to the *furusato/kohyang* nostalgia, there is an idealized romantic image of the "European", very much relying on the imagined romanticized historicity of the turn of the 19th and 20th century (same with the "newtro" wave). This imagery is clearly used by the wedding saloons in Kobe Kitano or in advertisement materials linked to the area, such as the poster for Hankyu Railways below.

 Some of my Kobe informants expressed their positive perception of the "foreign atmosphere" in Kitano: *"I like Shin-Kobe and Ijinkan, it has foreign atmosphere (...) I like Ijinkan at night (...) the illumination at Tor Road."* and *"Kitano... nothing new (...) but the foreign atmosphere is fun."* The second informant again expressed a multi-layered image of the area, on one hand making allusion to Kitano as uninteresting, tourist place not relatable for everyday life, and on the other the positive image of the "foreignness" of the area.

 Therefore, any spatial decolonization, or spatial image renegotiation pertaining to the built images of colonialism, would relate to the Japanese buildings and constructions from that era. However, at the time of my research, I haven't encountered any notions of a redeeming project in the decolonization of

a homeland landscape in the sense Jane Jacobs (1996) describes in her book on the case of the Great Britain. During the WWII, Kobe harbored mostly the heavy war-related industries and as such, Kobe had been subjected to repeated bombing from the Allied forces, effectively destroying the most prominent infrastructure that could become a signifier of the colonial and war-time project. Buildings such as the Kobe's Daimaru department store in Motomachi (dating from 1927 and still in operation) isn't a strong signifier or bearer of memory. It would thus seem that the city-scape decolonization process in Kobe isn't an issue due to lack of potential suitable "towers of memory" (Nora 1985).

But such strong built signifiers exist in Japan, the most famous example of them the Yasukuni Shinto shrine in Tokyo, tending to the souls of Japanese soldiers who perished in their service to the Emperor. This means that Yasukuni includes (but is not limited to) the souls of Imperial soldiers from Japanese campaigns in China in the 1930s and those participating in WWII. Annually, the Japanese Prime Minister goes to Yasukuni to pay his respects to the perished soldiers. The official Japanese line is that he visits the shrine as a private person, not in his role of the PM[143], however, this action periodically raises international outrage and sparks protests, especially in China and South Korea. During the tenures of Abe Shinzo as PM (2006-2007, 2012-2020 (September)), the tensions have been worsening, as the Abe administration was notorious for its stark nationalistic opinions. The escalation of Korea-Japan relationships in recent years is often attributed to the personal rivalry in between Korean president Moon Jae-in and Japan's Abe Shinzo. Yasukuni shrine is also a center of rallies of the Japanese right-wing nationalists (the so-called "hawks").

The Yasukuni jinja isn't the only one in Japan harboring spirits of war veterans, there are also the so-called *gokoku* shrines found thorough Japan*: "Gokoku shines are in every prefecture and were built as shrines to honor the spirits of local war veterans killed in action. In Hyogo Prefecture there are two Gokoku shrines in Kobe and Himeji."*[144] The Gokoku shrine in Kobe is located in Nada ward and the website of "Motoyu Ryuusenkaku" spa resort in Arima lists it among commendable cherry blossom

---

[143] This logic from the point of view of the Japanese spirituality, as is also presented by the Japanese media, has been summarized in a recent article on "Asiaskop", an information website on contemporary Asia, run by a private think tank focusing on modern China. "Japonská spiritualita a svatyně Jasukuni, která umí rozohnit všechny sousedy" in *Asiaskop* (January 11th, 2021): https://www.asiaskop.cz/analyzy-komentare/japonska-spiritualita-a-svatyne-jasukuni-ktera-umi-rozohnit-vsechny-sousedy (Acquired January 12th, 2021).

[144] Cherry Blossoms Spots in Kobe https://www.ryuusenkaku.jp/english/cherry03.html (Acquired September 22nd, 2020.)

viewing spots of Kobe[145] (see Chapter 6 on seasonal viewings). Reviews on Trip Advisor confirm that the cherry blossoms in Kobe Gokoku Jinja are beautiful and worthwhile[146]. I wasn't given a recommendation on cherry blossoms in Gokoku Jinja or any other place for that matter simply because I wasn't in Japan for the *sakura* viewing season; I was there for autumn leaves, illumination festivals and *ume* trees, so my informants eventually talked about those seasonal things that were seasonal at the moment. None of my informants mentioned the Gokoku Jinja in Kobe in any context. Regarding the potential Kobe Gokoku Jinja collective memory issue, I didn't encounter any controversy of protests about the honored dead at any Gokoku Jinja, even though protests happen in relation to Yasukuni, as Yasukuni is an internationally exposed signifier of the Japanese war effort. What makes Yasukuni more exposed is not its location in the capital and its size but the fact that since 1978, it enshrines also the spirits of the Class-A war criminals sentenced to death during the Tokyo Trial. This decision resulted in controversy in Japan itself: the Emperor Shōwa allegedly refused to visit the Yasukuni ever since[147] and any visit to Yasukuni shrine by a Japanese public persona is scrutinized both nationally and internationally. A joint Japanese-Chinese report on mutual public opinions in the two countries summarized the situation of 2015 as follows: *"A large majority of Japanese public see a prime minister's visit to Yasukuni Shrine as acceptable. When combined, close to 70%of Japanese respondents express their acceptance of the prime minister's visit to Yasukuni Shrine (including "if the visit is made as private citizen"). That said, the percentage of Japanese respondents who see that the prime minister's official visit to the shrine is acceptable has declined from 47.7% (2014)to 33.5%.In contrast, 60.2% (2014: 59.5%) of the Chinese maintain that the Japanese prime minister should not visit the shrine, regardless of if it was in an official capacity or as a private citizen."[148]*

However, some Japanese could interpret the local *gokoku* shrines in a similar manner as Yasukuni, as the person who wrote the following review on TripAdvisor for the Kobe Gokoku Jinja likely did: *"The spirits of those who died in previous wars are enshrined here. I couldn't go to Yasukuni Shrine*

---

[145] *Ibid.*
[146] Gokoku Shrine https://www.tripadvisor.cz/Attraction_Review-g298562-d8150369-Reviews-Gokoku_Shrine-Kobe_Hyogo_Prefecture_Kinki.html (Acquired September 22nd, 2020.)
[147] "Hirohito visits to Yasukuni stopped over war criminals" in *Japan Times* (July 21st, 2006): https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2006/07/21/national/hirohito-visits-to-yasukuni-stopped-over-war-criminals/ (Acquired January 18th, 2021).
[148] Genron NPO: *11th Japan-China Joint Opinion Poll Analysis Report on the Comparative Data (2015)*. Available online: https://www.genron-npo.net/pdf/2015forum_en.pdf (Acquired January 18th, 2021.)

this year, so I went to a nearby Gokoku Shrine[149]." But of course, I cannot ascertain for sure the motives of this particular person to attend Yasukuni annually, as we never spoke together. Only detail we know is that he timed the substitute visit to Kobe Gokoku Jinja (in place of Yasukuni) to the month of August, while on August 15, the end of WWII is commemorated in Japan.

Re-thinking the WWII past of Japan and the memory of the colonial period of Japan in Japan is not a mainstream issue for the Japanese politicians in the sense the Western powers decolonized politically and in public spaces. I talked to several informants who expressed their sadness that there wasn't more remembrance or recognition of the Korean workers in Japan, one example they named was that many of the (forced) laborers perished during construction of the railways and that even a small token like a commemorative plaque could be nice. One informant was part of a study group dedicated to the issue of Koreans in Japan in history. So a minority interest groups could form and exist but I wasn't made aware of a particular memory-making agenda in the Kansai region at the time of my research.

On top political levels, the contention over whether the comfort women were or weren't forced sex laborers and denials of the Nanjing massacre in China make any decolonization of the political discourse and collective memory of the early 20th century far from actionable.

What the Yasukuni story and the comfort women statue disputes illustrate is that the political willingness to reinterpret the colonial memory, and go through a de-colonization process of built signifiers, is not present in the current official political line in Japan. What it also shows, however, is that the Yasukuni shrines has attributes that can easily set it apart as a strong place of memory that could concentrate all the meanings to itself. The signifiers and controversies have a tendency to concentrate on one image (Chateauraynaud 2008), on one iconic issue that would overshadow potentially similar ones that are less strong. The world is staged and therefore iconized into simple images and one strong symbol is better than a multitude of weaker ones. Like this, the Korean discontent also condenses on the border disputes, forced labor and comfort women.

---

[149] 先の戦争でお亡くなりになった英霊が祀られています。今年は靖国神社に行けないので、近くの護国神社にまいりました。https://www.tripadvisor.cz/ShowUserReviews-g298562-d8150369-r611450906-Gokoku_Shrine-Kobe_Hyogo_Prefecture_Kinki.html?m=19905 (Acquired September 22nd, 2020.)

In Korea, the Japanese occupation is stressed out the most in relation to the term "colonialism". When it comes to the interpretation of the so-called "unequal treaties", the usual narrative is that Korea opened up after international pressure (same as in Japan) but then, it varies. The discourse can attribute a negative image to all the foreign powers forcing Korea to open, that all of the unequal treaties have been bad, exploiting for Korea (The First in Korea 2008). However, some others present only the treaties with Japan as unfavorable. We saw the example as Hwadojin Festival as an event where the official discourse of policy makers about the treaty with the US as positive and the people attending the festival as potentially not expressing themselves about the issue. The *"it's just an event"* attitude. This is a very important example because as we will see further, not only the focus tends to go toward the Japanese colonial project but also tends to be limited to certain issues.

In general, the memory of the Japanese colonization and its interpretation "overshadows" in perception the presence of other foreign powers on Korean soil. The population scale is hardly comparable in between Japan and "the West" in Korea: as we have seen, out of the five treaty ports opened after the Ganghwa Treaty, only Chemulpo – as port adjacent to the Korean capital of Hansŏng (Seoul) – had other foreign presence than the Japanese. In comparison, the Japanese settlers were gradually moving to Korea even prior to annexation and the population of Japanese settlers evolved to a number of 7,245 in 1880, through 15,829 in 1900 and 347,850 in 1920 to 912,583 in 1944 (Uchida 2011, 65). In Chemulpo/Jinsen, the numbers were 1,612 in 1880, 4,208 in 1900, through 11,281 in 1920 to 18,088 in 1944 while in 1914, the Japanese made up 38% of the total population of the city (Uchida 2011, 63-5). In terms of time, the "open port period" has been rather short-lived, thirty years in between 1883-1913[150] for Chemulpo. Strictly speaking, the Japanese colonial period after the formal annexation in 1910 lasted for a comparable amount of time (until 1945), but there are these factors to take into account: first, the perceived beginning of the Japanese colonial dominance over Korea is customarily perceived in Korea to have begun with the Ganghwa Treaty of 1876 and thus the open port period is also a period of "Japanese domination" over Korea, even prior to the protectorate established in 1905 and the annexation in 1910. Second, the potential colonial threat from the West did not materialize whereas the Japanese one did, therefore when thinking about colonialism, the potential colonial project of the Western powers over the executed colonial project of the Japanese, is not thematized. In the end all the rhetoric boil down to the idea of Japanese colonialism and the WWII.

---

[150] This is true for some of the nationals in the Joint Area and the Chinese settlements, that were abolished during 1913, the joint Area in summer and then the Chinese settlement in November of 1913. The Russians in the Joint Area have been evicted much sooner, at the time of declaration of the Russo-Japanese war of 1904.

Me: "What do people who come here say to this place?"

AW: "What do you mean?"

Me: "Like if this place doesn't bring up negative emotions (...) because of history (...) like the pot_R[151]..."

AW: "Oh, that, no. Not at all. This is not even a Japanese building."

Even in the collective memory of the Japanese colonialism, there are selected issued on which the post-colonial narratives focus, and they are mostly linked to territorial disputes and the war-period[152]: the territorial disputes over the Liancour Rocks (Dokdo in Korean, Takeshima in Japanese); the compensation of Korean forced laborers in Japan; the compensation of the comfort women.

What was surprising for me in Korea was that when it came to people who were not policymakers or engaged in/with an interest group, people I would tend to label "inhabitants" of a place, they wouldn't conceptualize the colonial issue outside of the defined themes in the current politics. The defined themes would be either the bad aspects of colonialism in general and a more or less vague relation to history. As we have seen with statements such as *"Without the occupation, everything could have been better."* and *"My husband strongly hates the Japanese (...) because of history."*

On the other hand, my informant who reacted negatively to the to historical pictures of Japanese military in Seoul during a museum visit, however, didn't voice any colonial history related negative emotions pertaining to the Open Port Area, instead, she offered a different sort of associated image while exclaiming:*"There are just too many coffee-shops in that area!"*

Another informant claimed he was vividly interested in modern history and that he had a project about biking around Japan explaining while colonialism and especially the comfort women program was bad and that Japan should apologize. He said he did similar things biking around Vietnam or the USA, in the latter case explaining why Dokdo belongs to Korea. He said he went to Chinatown several times because of the food he liked but had *"no striking memory"* of the Open Port Area.

---

[151]   I knew beforehand that this informant was acquainted with Mrs. Baek running pot_R.
[152]   If we look at the report on Japan-China relation of 2015, we see that the issues on collective memory of the Japanese colonial period that were asked to the Chinese respondents, also center on territorial disputes, on Japanese invasion of Manchuria and on the Nanking massacre.

Another of my informants was very surprised there are colonial buildings in Incheon when I mentioned it at the very end of our interview.

Me: "But there are colonial buildings in the Open Port Area."

Informant native to Incheon: "What? Really?"

But even though my informant was native to Incheon, it seemed that he had moved out to Seoul before the Open Port Area was largely redeveloped. He also claimed that he was not really interested in history. However, he was aware of the nationally debated issues of the Liancour Rocks dispute and the comfort women.

I explain this situation as follows: The colonial buildings in Incheon were not thematized as an issue by local policymakers at the time of my research and thus weren't automatically signifiers of colonial past for my informants. Granted, some of my informants associated them with the colonial past of Korea. But for some, other associations prevailed or were more important. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the fact some houses are "old" and "exotic" was a more prevalent image than that they were "Japanese" houses. I would shortcut this as the "limited issues" argument. In other words that only some issues were put forward by the policymakers as directly pertaining to the colonial past and thus only those issues were perceived as "colonial" topics by my informants, much like how controversies are formed (Chateauraynaud 2008).

Another notion adds up to the argument on "limited issues" is the limited interest groups. This simply means that only some people are interested in the memory of colonialism, actively engage with it either by becoming members of a citizens' initiative or at least by forming an articulated personal view on that matter.

Some of the engaged informants expressed sadness that more people don't interest themselves in heritage-making or creation of the collective memory. They were often scholars or intellectuals themselves, thus members of an interest group, who themselves conceptualized the memory of colonialism in relation to the Open Port Area, and felt that it had been omitted from the process of re-creation of the area. I talked to a couple of academics from Incheon who clearly expressed their dissatisfaction with them as as interest group being left out of the city-making processes as well: *"Heritage management comes top-down, for tourism. Koreans think of heritage as just heritage, they*

don't link it colonial period (…) no scholars or normal people involved in heritage-making, which is a bad thing." One also added that: *"Koreans turn a blind eye when they can earn money from tourism."* This meant that "the Koreans" wouldn't ask themselves questions about the colonial period and its meanings in relation to something in the present if that something – such as the Japanese colonial buildings in Incheon – can be turned into a money-generating asset. It also means that the modernity wave of newtro, a popularity of retro including late 19th century inspired fashions (see Chapter 10 for details) could be in mainstream thinking more prominent source of (city) image than the colonial past.

It seemed that the "decolonization" as a concept (in relation to urban renewal and city living) is an intellectual construct that was not very relevant to everyday feeling and city-image-creation of my non-engaged informants. Whereas those who were university-educated and also entered into dialogue with international academic theories were conscientiously voicing post-colonial sensibilities. This discrepancy is, according to me, one of the most important point that have arisen during my research. Doubting the universal relevance of post-colonial sensibilities is an important point in thinking about the current state of anthropology and the way we as social scientists interpret socially-wide phenomena and I will come back to it in my final discussion.

The situation has, however, evolved since the time of my research in this regard as well, when in 2019, president Moon called out for *"rooting out pro-Japanese remnants"*[153] during his March 1 speech of 2019. Coverage in Asia Nikkei precises this statement pertained also to the "enemy property" Japanese buildings in Korea: *"President Moon Jae-in's administration has opposed preserving colonial-era buildings, and he has advocated the "liquidation of pro-Japanese remnants." The administration pushed that slogan during the 100th anniversary of the formation of the Korean government-in-exile and the The March 1 Movement, a protest against against Japanese rule that also took place in 1919."*[154] The coverage further indicates that president Moon's speech indeed meant the beginning of politicization of the views of the Japanese-era colonial "heritage houses" and other remnants previously not considered signifiers of the era: *"Messages objecting to the preservation of prewar Japanese houses have been posted on the public petition board of the South Korean Presidential Office website. "Halt the restoration of 'enemy property' houses by pro-Japanese people,"*

[153] "Japan" in *The Asan Forum* (November 2nd, 2019): http://www.theasanforum.org/japan/ (Acquired March 16th, 2021.)
[154] "Debate over colonial-era Japanese buildings flares in South Korea" in *Nikkei Asia* (May 2nd, 2019): https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/Debate-over-colonial-era-Japanese-buildings-flares-in-South-Korea (Acquired March 16th, 2021.)

one reads. "Cancel the designation of Japanese houses as cultural assets," says another. On the 100th anniversary of the March 1 Movement, the Gyeongsangnam-do Office of Education removed a large juniper tree from its front yard, describing it as a "symbol of colonial rule." It was replaced with a pine tree indigenous to South Korea. The office said that it took the step to "instill the correct view of history in students.""[155]

An essay from Yang Sung-hee, one of the editors of Korea JoongAng Daily (one of the largest newspapers in South Korea), adds that: "Some have also called for stripping the recognition of architecture from the colonial period as national heritages."[156] However, Mrs. Yang further raises a challenge to this process by writing: *"However, the clampdown to wipe out all traces of Japanese rule is somewhat worrisome. Modern concepts such as freedom, rights, individuality, democracy, constitution, philosophy, culture, social science, and arts, all arrived in Korea through Japanese translations. What should be defined as pro-Japanese — and whether remembering and preserving the history from the colonial period as it is a better way to overcome the humiliating and milestone period in Korean history — still cannot be answered. The wave of so-called "new-tro" — a combination of the words "new" and "retro" — design has become fashionable among young people, enthralled with the colorful styles of the early 1900s. Why is that history celebrated, but elements of the colonial era an issue?"*[157] This suggests that – as with the demolition of the Government-General building in 1995 – the opinion of policy makers and the actors of the public debate and intelligentsia are divided on this subject, with some still proposing the acceptance of the colonial period as part of modern Korean history that has to be both preserved and overcome, similarly to what some of my informants said. However, lacking field data on this recent politicization of the colonial-era "heritage houses", I cannot ascertain what it meant in practice for the Open Port Area in Incheon.

---

[155] *Ibidem.*
[156] "Beyond the legacy of Japanese rule" in *Korea JoongAng Daily* (March 3rd, 2019): https://koreajoongangdaily.joins.com/news/article/article.aspx?aid=3060055 (Acquired March 16th, 2021.)
[157] *Ibidem*

10   Leisure Activities as Constituents of City Images

In this Chapter, I am going to discuss leisure activities and leisure as constituents of city images and pull factors for tourism, more precisely the role of TV *dramas* and food tourism. In the Chapter about food, we will also explore in more detail the concrete examples of specialty foods of Kobe and Incheon and the relationships in between food tourism and culinary nostalgia for the imaginary past (Mannur 2007).

10.1   Pop culture, Tourism and Its Influence on City Image

On multiple occasions, my informants both in Incheon and in Kobe mentioned a TV series as the reason why a certain area is known to them or why it is currently popular. These areas are Incheon Open Port + Sinpo Food Market and Kobe Kitano, respectively.

On Incheon: *"[the colonial buildings in Incheon], yes, I know about them (...) the TV drama Dokkaebi – you know it? (...) it became famous because of that."* or *"There was a TV drama Dokkaebi... the colonial buildings became famous because of that... I know about them from the drama."*

Similarly, on Kobe: *"There was a TV drama on NHK called Kazamidori (...) Ijinkan became famous thanks to the television series (...) in my youth, nobody knew about it (...) I only went there to show friends [from overseas]."* and *"NHK aired a drama called Kazamidori (...) there was Ijinkan in it. It became popular only because of the drama."* and *"There was an asadora they filmed in Ijinkan (...) and maybe in Guggenheim..."*

The difference comes as to when the drama in question aired. The Japanese *Kazamidori* aired in 1977 as part of the morning series program at NHK, known as the *asadora* (morning drama) starting at 8 a.m. and targeting the housewife audience. The *Kazamidori* is based on the life of a certain Heinrich Freundlieb, a German WWI POW who later stayed in Japan. The series shows the story of him marrying a Japanese woman and starting a bakery in Kobe Kitano together. *"Kazamidori"* (風見鶏) literally means "weathercock". One of the most iconic buildings of Kitano Ijinkan, the former Thomas

house, is better known by its nickname "the Weathercock House" (*Kazamidori no yakata*) referring to the brass weathercock on its tower-shaped roof – as far as I know, the *drama* did not take place in this particular house, though, was just named after this iconic building of Kitano. As my research came 40 years after *Kazamidori* has aired, it has been mentioned only by my older informants.

In contrast, the Korean drama *Dokkaebi* (known as "Guardian" or "Goblin") aired Dec. 2016 – January 2017, therefore just recently before I visited Incheon in April-July 2017. According to an article in Korea Herald[158], the drama has been quite a popular one. The article also mentions the importance of TV dramas as a pull factor in tourism in Korea: *"A spot in Gangneung's Jumunjin Beach has already risen as a bustling tourist zone after "Guardian" shot a scene there. Recent social media photos showed lines of visitors waiting to pose for photos. Merchants have set up shop nearby with signposts that read, "Muffler, flower and umbrella can be rented for 1,000 won," allowing visitors to recreate the exact scene captured on television."*[159]

In a similar vein, there are virtual visits to the Incheon locations featured in the drama: Songdo, the Chinatown, the Open Port Area, the Hanmi bookstore, or the Sinpo Food Market. They are of posted both by individual Korean and foreign vloggers[160] but also by Korean travel agencies[161]. Incheon Tourism agency also dedicated a Facebook post in December 2016 to promoting Incheon travel through *Dokkaebi* filming locations[162] showing that *drama* is locally recognized / used as a relevant pull factor for tourism.

There is a strong sense of a "pilgrimage" tourism in Goffmann's sense (in MacCannel 2004) to visit filming locations or even recreate scenes from Korean *dramas*. It is true for both the South Korean and international audience of these series. The first and foremost, nowadays notoriously known, example of this is the Nami Island in Chuncheon, Gyeonggi Province, that was the filming location of *The Winter Sonata*, a very popular series that was popular in Japan as well and is sometimes mentioned as one of the forerunner of the contemporary *hallyu* wave. I have written a short paper on how the popularity of Prague surged among South Koreans after a drama series *Lovers in Prague* aired in 2005

---

[158]
    "'Guardian,' popular but controversial" in *The Korea Hearld* (January 5th, 2017): http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20170104000864 (Acquired May 18, 2020)

[159] *Ibidem.*

[160] "Day Trip: Goblin Drama Locations in Incheon! 도깨비", vlog post on Youtube (July 8th, 2017): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jn-Hd6-mTno (Acquired May 18, 2020);
"SNU Study Abroad | Incheon Chinatown + Goblin Filming Locations | Korea Vlog #17", vlog post on Youtube (May 21st, 2018): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dkKHRazbZRE (Acquired May 18, 2020)

[161] "Korean drama Dokkaebi(Goblin) shooting location day tour – Incheon", official Youtube channel of a Korean tourist agency (July 17th, 2018): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L6U8xPyB7_4 (Acquired May 18, 2020)

[162] "Incheon Tourism" official FB profile of the city tourist office: https://www.facebook.com/discoverincheon.en/posts/1780395882221541/ (Acquired May 18, 2020)

(Lichá 2015a). The *hallyu* as a soft power tool of South Korean diplomacy targets also international audience and South Korean *dramas* have a substantial fan base outside of Korea, similarly to the Japanese *anime*[163]. Though I do not wish to substantially compare those two groups, both the *drama* and *anime* fans share willingness / desire to travel to the locations featured in their favorite series. Lee (2020) goes even further and claims that the Korean *dramas'* viewership outside of Korea – mainly in other Asian countries – surpasses the national audience. And that some dramas precisely target for example Japanese women, satisfying their viewers' longing for "Asian values" deemed in decline in their real life. Further, Lee (2020) points to the emerging phenomenon of the *hallyu* as shaping new perceptions of masculinity and romance among young women worldwide. Her paper studies young "Western" women who travel to Korea to immerse themselves in the Korean culture and seek out Korean men to experience a *drama*-like romance on their own in real life. Unfortunately, I do not have any data on whether such "romance" tourists are the same who visit shooting locations of *dramas* but I find that likely. Even though Lee (2020) says that there are more *drama* viewers outside of Korea than in it, by sheer numbers it can be true, we must not understate the number of people watching *dramas* inside of Korea.

The aforementioned *drama Dokkaebi* featuring locations in Incheon has been reported to be the first *drama* on cable TV to hit 20% viewership share on its final episode[164]. *Dramas* in Korea influence fashion trends and are much sought-after by companies for product placement[165] – *Dokkaebi* has been partly criticized for excessive product placement[166]. The fashion trends can range from particular clothing[167], hairstyles or makeup[168] to small, yet recognizable quirks: the example of the latter was a single brightly colored plastic hair roller left on the hair bangs. This was a staple fashion among young women casually strolling in the streets at the time of my research. I was told that it had appeared on tv some time prior. I have given these lengthy explanations to underline that when my informants said *"it*

---

[163] Even though the scope and target audience might not overlap.
[164] "Goblin Rom-Com Sets New Milestone for Cable Soaps", in *The Chosun Ilbo* (January 23rd, 2017):
       http://english.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2017/01/23/2017012301373.html (Acquired May 8th, 2020).
[165] "'Guardian' styles sweeping fashion industry" in *The Korea Herald* (December 29th, 2016):
       http://kpopherald.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=201612291759481545324_2&ACE_SEARCH=1 (Acquired May 8th,
       2020).
[166] "'Guardian,' popular but controversial" in *The Korea Herald* (January 5th, 2017):
       http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20170104000864 (Acquired May 18, 2020)
[167] "Thanks to hit show, fedoras are must-have accessory", in *Korea JoongAng Daily* (January 31st, 2017):
       https://koreajoongangdaily.joins.com/news/article/article.aspx?aid=3029269 (Acquired May 18, 2020)
[168] "Female leads of hit dramas spark lip makeup trend" in *The Korea Herald* (January 11th, 2017):
       http://kpopherald.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=201701110945525244721_2&ACE_SEARCH=1(Acquired May 18,
       2020)

became famous because of that [the drama Dokkaebi]" it wasn't a geeky marginalia for them and that the place has really soared up in popularity in their view. Similarly important it is to the statement *"Many movies about gangsters are set in Incheon so I guess that makes the image worse."* It would be interesting to see if the perceived image of Incheon shifts away from danger in relation to the *Dokkaebi* and the rise of "newtro" or not.

However, I must note that the popularity of each single drama is rather volatile, with many series airing year-round. Therefore the first pull impulse for tourism sparked by the particular TV series might soon subside in favor of other locations unless the place otherwise establishes itself as a good place to visit. In my article on Prague (Lichá 2015a), I mention the fact that the city established itself as a good spot for backpackers and honeymooners. I also stress the importance of "path dependency" of social media, that a certain location can became popular because it goes viral (i.e. receives more and more recommendations, a celebrity visits etc.) on social networks. Of course, the pop culture pull factors do not have to interfere with the pull factor of "exoticized past" that we have discussed in Chapter 8.

The aforementioned *drama* "Mr. Sunshine" apparently *"led to a rise in popularity of wearing period costumes and visiting city districts which retain traditional architectural styles, such as the Bukchon Hanok Village in Seoul."*[169] On top of the already existing trend of renting a *hanbok* to go the Geyongbuk palace or to attend Jongmyo Daeje, observable already in 2017. It seems that under the "newtro" trend, people also travel to Incheon in historical-style "European" clothes, reminiscent of modern progressive fashions at the turn of the 20th century (Kim and Min 2011), to walk around the Open Port Area and take pictures on social media[170]. Some label it as the rise of "hipster" culture in Korea, with reservations that it is *"though it is distinctly Korean in origin and interpretation."*[171] I made the first part of the observation too, already during my stay in 2017: I noted in my field diary that what I saw materializing in the cafes of the Incheon Open Port Area, and the love for ancient foods, was the rise of Korea's version of "hipster". However, debating to what extent is newtro substantially different from hipster waves in other parts of the world, is out of scope of this paper.

---

[169] „Global Trend Report: The Rise of "Newtro" in South Korea", *Shutterstock blog* (October 16, 2019): https://www.shutterstock.com/blog/global-trend-newtro-south-korea (Acquired November 11, 2020.)

[170] „Old port town exudes exotic beauty", *The Korea Times* (June 20, 2019): https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/culture/2020/10/141_270932.html (Acquired November 11, 2020.)

[171] „Global Trend Report: The Rise of "Newtro" in South Korea" (note 12)

I would argue that this is probably the best tangible example on how pop culture fashion that rooted itself in a growing taste for "exoticized past" enters into a conflicting narrative with a top-level political discourse, creates a base for alternative signifiers for a place, offers a different lens of personal interpretation for image-building. Moreover, the "collective image" under the "newtro" fashion of a place, like the Open Port Area, as a desirable travel location, also offers a platform to personal, individual, active/communicative image and memory-making about a place.

In the following Chapter, we will add another alternative pull factor, and that is food tourism.

10.2 Eating Out and Food Tourism and their Role in City Images

This is a second chapter on alternative pull-factors for tourism and site's popularity, influencing a particular neighborhood's or city's image. In the previous chapter, we have discussed pop culture, and now, let us go over to food. Unlike in the previous chapter, the stories in between Kobe and Incheon are going to diverge towards more local specific ones. We are going to discuss the Korean phenomenon of a *matchib* or how much the "Kobe = beef" image plays out in reality.

In both Japan and Korea, restaurants would often specialize in a limited selection of dishes, even in one dish only (or maybe two variations on a single dish), making it their signature product. Therefore, restaurants would cluster in large amounts in an area, naturally creating an "eating-out district", often next to or blending to an evening entertainment area or huddling next to a transportation hub or a university campus (especially in Korea). Customers would thus choose where to eat based not only on their preferred place, but also based on what they want to eat that day. In Korea, eating out is widely spread and relatively affordable[172]. In Japan, eating out comes much more expensive, but there are also very cheap restaurant stands offering noodles, *gyudon* (bowl of rice with onions and beef), *ramen* etc. and eating out is a popular past-time. Also, many small apartments don't have a cooking range and people thus buy ready-made or instant dishes in department stores or eat relatively cheap street food. Many restaurants in the "entertainment areas" close in between 4-5 am both in Kobe and Incheon; and even the more regular establishments would close around midnight. Convenience stores both in Japan and Korea are open 24/7. It is therefore much easier to eat out at any given time of the day (and at odd hours) than it is in Czech Republic or in France where I have also lived.

When it comes to areas of interest for my study, such clusters would be in Shinkaichi and in Sannomiya in Kobe. And in Juan, Inha University Campus, Bupyeong, Guwoldong and in Chinatown-Open Port Area in Incheon[173]. We also need to add that in big clusters of department stores, there are

---

[172]
    This was very true in 2011/2012 and still true in 2017. In 2018, the food prices over the year have significantly soared up and this trend might change.

[173] Of course, those lists are far from exhaustive for both of my cities. I only mentioned those that otherwise appeared in my previous chapters.

restaurants as well that offer eating-out. In Kobe, my informants mentioned the clusters around Sannomiya or Harborland, both popular destinations for fashion shopping. *"I go to Marine-pia for shopping and lunch (…) Kobe Station, Motomachi or Sannomiya for shopping, lunch, movies (…)."* The restaurants here often offered, as far as I could judge, mostly European-style food, with Italian cuisine (esp. various pastas with vegetables) being at the popularity in between 2016/2017; the particular restaurants in Kobe department stores were often not chain establishments. The European-style food's popularity could be analyzed as catering to the "taste for the exotic other" (Heldke in Counihan and Van Esterik 2013) or as globalization of food trends. The Kobe shopping malls also had chain cafes, both national, like "Vie de France", and international, such as Starbucks: *"I sometimes go here [to the Starbucks in Harborland] to get a different mind,"* told me one of my informants. For him, Starbucks brought memories about his previosu stay in the US, were a symbolic memory place (Nora 1985) of that life period. Even though Incheon has big department stores, only one of my informants commented on them in relation to food: *"I like watching the cool deserts there. I don't eat them. Just watch. That's enough to make my stomach full [laughter]."*

10.2.1 "It's not just beef." Food Tourism and Kobe City Image

"It's not just beef. If I were to make the tourism campaign for Kobe, I would make it the official slogan. Like they made "It's not just mud." for Tōhoku region after the Tokai earthquake[174]." Told me one informant who acted for one year as the PR Ambassador of Kobe. His concern was that for tourists, Kobe meant only "Kobe beef" and nothing else. Others working in tourism or city-related PR expressed similar concerns, that tourists fail to appreciate other things in Kobe, not *"actually visiting"* the city. A long-term member of a hostel staff in Kobe confirmed that many foreign travelers visiting Japan on the JR Pass make only a brief stop-over in Kobe, usually on their way in between Hiroshima and Kyoto/Osaka. The usual scenario is to use Kobe as a stepping-point to visit Himeji castle during the day and have some Kobe beef in the evening and then move on the following day.

Kobe beef is a local delicacy, designating beef coming from Tajima breed of cattle born, fed and processed in the Hyogo prefecture. In Kobe, it is usually eaten as barbecue or steak and most of the specialized restaurants are to be found at Sannomiya. It is also a rather expensive dish: a "cheap" version of Kobe beef steak menu amounted to 4,000 YEN in 2016/2017, an equivalent of 1,000 CZK or in Kobe terms: 4 lunch menus in a European-style restaurant, 12 portions of a simple soba dish, 10-11 coffees or 4 hours worth of minimum-wage. We must also note that for university students in Kobe at the same time, an 800 YEN expense was significant in their budget (Dudáš 2019). It is therefore the token "Kobe thing" (based on Oppenheim 2008) my informants knew about – and indeed asked me whether I had tried it or not – but had usually not tasted it or only once in their lives. More interestingly though, *"beef"* has not even once appeared among the things that characterized Kobe for my informants when I asked what Kobe meant to them in three words, suggesting that, much like the *"earthquake"*, it is an outside(r) image of Kobe.

Food or food-related images came up scarcely in general while talking with my local informants about Kobe. Nevertheless, one mentioned *"good cafes"* among the three things that came up to mind when saying Kobe. Other mentions were: *"I like local areas, I like retro (...) there's good food in*

---

[174] The one in 2011 notoriously known for damaging the Fukushima nuclear power plant.

Shinkaichi." or *"I went to Rokko-san (...) there was good ice-cream (...) it's actually the only thing I remember about the place [laughter]."*

There is a city-owned farm on Rokko-san that includes vast sheep and cow pastures and the farm specialized itself in dairy products and ice-cream. Their products are sold in supermarkets around Kobe but that is not especially surprising as there is general emphasis in Japan on locally sourced food with Co-op supermarkets etc. Also, the regular Western-style farmer's markets[175] were starting out in Kobe early 2017 and several members of the expatriate community in Kobe told me they were excited about it.

In tourist shops around the Rokko-san and around Kitano, *omiyage* cookies containing Rokko-san milk can be found. In Japan, one way to maintain good relationships with friends or colleagues is to bring over *omiyage*. The word roughly translates as "souvenir" but it more specifically means a local product brought as a souvenir[176]. They are most often than not already ready-made and in nice packaging stating the place they come from, ready for the giveaway. In general, they are non-perishable sweet or salty snacks with more or less local twist: *omiyage* from Kobe would contain Rokko-san milk or the ones from Nara would be shaped like the cookies fed to the deer Nara is famous for etc. The origin of the *omiyage* cookies is more important than the product, a commodification of locality.

Kobe's Chinatown, the Nankinmachi, was, for my informants, usually *"the place to take my friends who were visiting"*. Some of the restaurants there, I was told, were famous for their Chinese cooking, one of my informants brought me to one when we attended the Chinese New Year celebrations together. The Nankinmachi is also the originating place of *butaman*, a dumpling filled with minced pork meat. The name *butaman* is short for *buta manju*, a pork dumpling. According to Rahn and Higashiyama (2006, 139), the term was coined by the owner of Laoxiangji Restaurant in Nankinmachi selling Chinese *baozi* dumplings who wished to make his product's name more accessible to his Japanese customers. Laoxiangji remains in Nankinmachi up to date and on every single occasion I passed around it, there was a queue of customers. One informant told me that the restaurant's owner was the president of the Chinese Overseas Association in Kobe, because his business was very important in Nankinmachi. A couple of friends from Kyoto I talked to came on purpose to Kobe to visit

---

[175]   Large areas in North-Western Kobe (Nishi-ku and Kita-ku wards respectively) are still farmland.
[176]   It was for example common practice during our seminars at Doshisha. Someone would bring an *omiyage* if they went somewhere (to Tokio for travel, to visit family in another city etc.) and shared them with the whole class.

Nankinmachi and taste the *butaman*. The evolution of *butaman* recipe was very similar to the creation of the "fusion dish" of *jjajangmeyon* in Incheon. Even though the *butaman* isn't as ubiquitous to "Chinese cuisine" in Japan as *jjajangmyeon* is almost synonymous to "Chinese food" in Korea, *butaman* food-stalls are to be found as street food all around Kansai area.

Ennals (2014) mentions that tea was one of the commodities that was selected as a prime export article specialty of Kobe during the Open Port period. During the 2017's 150 Years Celebrations, tea was selected as one of the trademark keywords for the port of Kobe and as one of the symbols of Kobe's contact with the Western world, a symbol of Kobe's participation in the globalized food network (Nützenadel and Trentmann 2008). One of the celebratory events was dedicated to tea, the Kobe Tea Festival, held for two days in end of January 2017 around Harborland area. The concept was of a tasting event, so people would buy voucher coupons to taste different teas at booths held by tearooms, some of the establishments coming as far as from Tokyo. Interestingly perhaps, the whole event was styled to offer black tea tastings. One reason given on the promotional materials was that tea was not only exported from Kobe, but also black tea was imported through Kobe to Japan. The black tea also could have been judged more "exotic" by the event's organizers and therefore more attractive to the audience of the festival which was targeting mostly Kobe locals. And last but not least, the whole festival was sponsored by the Lipton company which had the biggest separate booth with special tasting vouchers. Moreover, there was a giveaway of promotional packages of Lipton tea handed out if you showed that you posted on your social media about attending the festival. I attended with a Japanese friend who invited me over to come and despite the cold weather, it was full of people but I couldn't strike any more conversation about it from the attendees. But it seemed as one of my informant's remarked: *"The events are just PR (...) it's just an event, but so what?"*

In describing the current state of both of the former foreign concessions, we have talked about the fact that a multitude of coffee-shops have sprouted in the Open Port Area in Incheon. The current usage of the former *ijinkan* residences in Kobe is mixed and tends much more towards museums. However, there are also restaurants and cafes put up in the Kitano area in the *ijinkan* houses. First, there is the "Former F. Bishop's House" on Tor Road that currently hosts a Chinese Restaurant. Second, there is a Starbucks store in the so-called "Kitano Monogatari-kan" *ijinkan* located on the left side of the

Kitanozaka Avenue in between Ijinkan and Kitano Streets. Despite being part of the Starbucks chain, this particular Kitano store retained much of its interior decorations and room outlay and still shows many of the typical traits of the *ijinkan* houses. The Kitano Starbucks seemed quite bustling, based on my personal observations, though none of my informants had made a particular remark about this location.

When talking about the images of the Open Port Area in Incheon, we mustn't let pass the idea of food tourism in our interpretations. We have at length discussed the idea that the Open Port Area attracts because of its "exotic oldness" and we have also talked about how featuring in a popular TV series (or being otherwise linked to trending pop culture) can increase a site's popularity. Besides pop culture, the other strong pull-factor for tourism in Korea, is food.

10.2.2 Eating Out in Korea, Chinese Food and the Evolution of the *Jjajangmyeon*

Eating out is a long-established Korean cultural phenomenon that has played some role in Korean cultural change in the 20th century and is rooted in the Japanese occupation in 1920s and 1930s. Cwiertka (in Kendall 2011) describes how restaurants and cafes in the newly-built shopping malls of Keijo (Seoul) provided a secure place for middle-class Korean women to meet and enjoy their free time. We must note that in the strict Confucian society of the Joson dynasty and into the Korean Empire, women from well-to-do families were living a secluded life, practically bound to their female quarters in the house, free to go outside only under specific circumstances. The social change in late Korean Empire and during the Japanese occupation concerning women lives came gradually and I do not wish to make exhaustive lists here. However, Cwiertka (Kendal 2011) thus argues that shopping mall as a socially acceptable, yet still public space played a major role in emancipation of middle-class Korean women. She also argues that slowly, thanks to the shopping mall restaurants, eating out has become fashionable.

However, this fashion has not been limited only to the well-to-do in the capital, which brings us to 1920s Chinatown in Jinsen. According to the exhibition at the Jjajangmyeon Museum in Incheon (visited 2018), affordable eating out is inextricably linked to the Chinese coolies in Jinsen and the dish of *jjajangmyeon*, "the black noodles" (see Chapters 4 & 5). Up to date, it is a signature dish of Chinese restaurants not only in Incheon Chinatown, but in the whole Korea. It is a rather simple dish consisting of wheat noodles covered in thick sauce from black beans and caramelized onions. The Jjajangmyeon Museum exhibition states that the dish had been first first eaten from trucks by the Chinese coolies. Later, it became a restaurant food but it remained relatively affordable, as for example a celebratory eat-out after middle school graduation etc.

Today, *jjajangmyeon* is one of the staple "Chinese" foods that you can get in any Chinese restaurant thorough Korea. The sauce also comes industrially produced, ready-made in a can. It is also a specialty dish eaten during the so-called Black Day in Korea, observed on April 14. The Black Day is the last of a string of modern-day "special day" events, the St. Valentine's Day (February 14), the White Day (March 14) and the Black Day (April 14). The first two, the St. Valentine's and the White Day are observed in Japan as well, where the White Day tradition had originated, as another "holiday" initiated through corporate product marketing. Simply put, the common tradition goes as follows: women give chocolates to their chosen partner for the St. Valentine's. A month later on the White Day, men are supposed to reciprocate the favor by giving out white chocolates, a tradition started by confectionery companies, a process that happened in japan with eating chicken and strawberry cake for Christmas or eating especially long *maki* rolls for Setsubun while looking into a particular direction indicated by a compass printed on the *maki* roll box. In Korea, the Black Day of April 14 was added as a day dedicated to those who didn't receive any chocolates that year and so they eat *jjajangmyeon* on that day, sometimes during an organized get-together of single people (field diary April 2017). *Jjajangmyeon* was thus reinvented also as a symbolic dish in a glocalized seasonality.

Jjajangmyeon remains also a staple attraction of the Chinese restaurants in Chinatown: *"I like Chinatown (…) there's delicious food."* said one of my informants. However, some of my informants thought that the Chinese restaurant are part of the *"tourist trap"* Chinatown is and that *"besides, Chinese food outside of Chinatown is better"*.

In short, we could say that *jjajangmyeon* is a trademark food of Incheon, even though you can eat it in other places as well. The same goes for many other Korean cities and towns. In a similar vein,

Chuncheon in Gyeonggi province is known for *ttak kalbi* (spicy chicken grilled on a hot plate with vegetables ad rice cakes), Jeonju in North Jeolla province for *bibimpap* (rice served in a bowl toppled with minced meat, egg and an assortment of vegetables) etc.

One of my informants also used *"seaside and seafood"* among the short labels that describe Incheon for him.

10.2.3   The phenomenon of *matjib* in Korea

Matjib is an abbreviation of *masineun jib* which literally means "delicious house" and designates a restaurant renown for the quality and deliciousness of its dishes. Most often than not, they are also the specialty restaurants serving one or two signature dishes. The "matjib" label seems to be an unofficial, consensual recognition[177] from customers; though shop-owners sometimes write the word *matjib* on the entrance to signal this. When a restaurant establishes as a *matjib*, it is relatively easy to recognize it as such thanks to the queues of customers waiting to be served. Keeping yourself "in the know" about local *matjibs* seemed to me a very natural thing my Korean counterparts did – a thing I observed about my classmates and colleagues when I lived in Seoul[178] and again in Incheon. As far as I can judge, tips on delicious restaurants take an important part in Korean guidebooks. I received a specialized one in the tourist information booth next to Chinatown on which foods and where to eat them in Incheon. On Naver, the biggest Korean online search engine, one of the first search option when you search for a place name is "Place name + *matjib*". The tips for *matjibs* are shared on social media and one of my key informants in Incheon told me that some people, herself included, are willing to make considerable detours during trips to visit one. Which we did when we went to a museum together, we then made more than a 20 minutes detour by car to visit a *matjib* her husband heard about but had never tried and wanted to make it an opportunity to do so. She also introduced me to several *matjibs* around her home.

---

[177]   Not like the Michelin stars, for example.
[178]   During the academic year 2011/2012.

Incheon as a whole is known for *jjajangmeyon*, but the Sinpo Food Market street in Dongincheon area, just a few minutes walk from the Open Port Area, is known for *ttak kan-jeong*, a deep-fried chicken variation with a very spicy honey sauce. The dish allegedly originated in one of the restaurants that has been in operation since the 1980s. Nowadays, there are several restaurants serving that dish, but the original shop has the longest queues, identifying it as a *matjib*. Over lunch there, I struck a short conversation with another customer who told me that he specifically makes a trip from a different part of town to eat at this restaurant: *"Just like once a month, I don't want to get too fat [laughter] (...) I came by car, so sadly, I cannot have a beer[179]."*

We could say that there is a relatively strong "foodie" culture in Korea, though none of my informants had used this word specifically. The word *mat* meaning "taste" in the word *matjib* could lead to the argument that taste plays a more important role as sense in Korean culture, similarly to how David Howes interprets Japanese preponderance toward multi-sensory aesthetics and sense-scapes (in Horský, Martinec Nováková and Pokorný 2019), but I would consider such interpretation overwrought based on my field experience. My informants, however, implied that food and "good food" is valued because of the persisting "culture of scarcity" induced by the Korean War and the subsequent bad state of the Korean economy when eating to satisfaction was a rare occasion, something that was still part of the communicative memory of the elderly generation, an image handed-down in families.

10.2.4   Open Port Cafes and Food Tourism

One bartender at a "memory" coffee-shop in the Incheon Port Area told me: *"We are full over the week-ends (...) people come from far away to look at this place, sometimes even Japanese people (...) they have a coffee and read the books and other materials about history of Incheon from the table (...) our shop is in guidebooks and reviews about cool cafes."* Some copies of said guidebooks were lying on the table besides the books on Incheon's history.

A shop-owner of one of the "memory" coffee-shops remembered: *"Many of those places [old Japanese houses] were abandoned (...) maybe many people had an idea in their mind that they could*

---

[179]   Fried chicken of any kind is commonly eaten with beer (and a small portion of pickled white radish).

be used somehow (…) and then pot_R opened and in 2013 the houses became heritage so there was a domino effect." I come back to this to underline the concept mimicking, the "domino effect" that underscores the commercial use of many of the old Japanese houses in the Open Port Area. The cafes there cluster in a similar way the *jjajangmyeon* restaurants do in Chinatown. Or how the *ttak-kanjeong* places in Sinpo market. Or *naengmyeon* (cool noodle) shops form a "Naengmyeon Street" in Hwapyeong-dong, Dong-gu, a district just north of the Dongincheon Station and East of the Hwadojin Fortress. Of course, such examples are not limited to Incheon. One informant reflected on the situation by saying: *"There are just too many coffee-shops [in the Open Port Area]!"*

Another thing that had been progressively gaining momentum in Korea are the so-called concept cafes. Let me make a brief detour on the history of coffee popularity in Korea. During my first stay in Korea in 2011/2012, the coffee was already the beverage of choice for the majority. The coffee preparation that gained first popularity in Korea, was the so-called "3-in-1" instant coffee with sugar and dried milk sold in one-servings packages. According to The Korea Times: *"the local three-in-one coffee that was tailor-made for Koreans by local instant coffee brand Dongsuh Foods back in 1976. Researchers at Dongsuh were on a quest to create tailor-made instant coffee for Korean consumers' taste. They looked into ways to help local consumers enjoy coffee any time and anywhere. Their years of endeavors led to the three-in-one coffee sachet, which has been a big hit among Koreans."*[180]

It is sold in small to large boxes in a similar way as bagged tea and people buy those ready-made packages for personal use at home, at work etc. Large boxes of instant coffee were virtually unheard of when I was in Korea. In everyday diners and family restaurants, there is a coffee machine where you could claim a small cup of a three-in-one for free upon paying as a take-away after lunch. When I was offered coffee at occasion, it usually turned out to be a three-in-one, even in 2017. *"We'll have coffee after we finish eating (…) but you know... it's Maxim[181]. Do you want some anyway?"* Asked me one of the ladies at a hobby class for stay-at-home women I attended for several occasions. Besides offering me the omnipresent three-in-one, she subtly alluded to the fact that foreigners are known to dislike the Korean instant coffee[182]. Something that is mentioned also in The Korean Times article and something

---

[180] "Koreans Addicted to Instant Coffee" in *The Korea Times* (April 22nd, 2009): http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2010/07/117_43613.html (Acquired March 16th, 2021)
[181] One of the biggest brands producing instant coffee.
[182] Myself included, though the lady didn't know that when asking. I remember considering the change from espresso that I was accustomed to drink in Europe to an instant three-in-one to be a huge downgrade.

many exchange students and expatriates confirmed to me. However, a three-in-one is not something you would go out to drink at a shop. Here is where a change came over the time I could observe.

In 2011/2012, most coffee-shops I met around Seoul or while traveling, were franchise shops. This included international brands such as Starbucks, Costa Coffee or Coffee Bean as well as local franchises, A Twosome Place, Angel-in-us Coffee or Hollys Coffee, to name a few prominent brands that were still popular even in 2017/2018. These franchise shops were selling a selection of (flavored) lattes and americano, which was and is another Korean staple. In Korea, the espresso shot is diluted in 0,3-0,5 l of water to make the Americano which results in a weak drip coffee-like taste. In warmer months, americano is drunk iced. Usually, even non-franchise coffee-shops tended to offer the same variety of products as franchises and have a similar interior design.

In 2017, I have noticed an increase in what I described to my field diary as *"cozy, wannabe French-style, concept cafes"*. They tended to be smaller places with smaller tables, more intimate atmosphere etc. Espresso appeared country-wide on the menu. The "concept cafes" seemed to strife more for a unique design more than posing as a franchise. Coffee and homemade cake menu was often than not part of the concept, commodifying not uniformity but uniqueness.

Another thing we have to bear in mind before seeing where the coffee-shops in the Open Port Area fit into the picture, is that non-instant shop-bought coffee was and is expensive in Korea, especially in comparison to purchasing power parity. In the previous Chapters, I noted that consuming branded coffee was one way to publicly express wealth and status in contemporary South Korea, a process observable with various food products / brands worldwide (Counihan and Van Esterik 2013). As of 2015, an americano in a chain shop could cost anything from 2,800 won to 4,100 – the latter price being from Starbucks, that is notoriously known to sell their coffee in Korea for double the US price[183]. However, in 2017, I could find americano (or espresso, which was priced the same) in non-chain stores for as little as 2,500 KRW in the Juan area of Incheon. At the same time, an espresso in the Open Port Area amounted to 5,500-7,000 KRW, often with a possibility to have a coffee + cake menu

---

[183] *Starbucks rated worst in terms of coffee prices in Korea* https://www.koreaobserver.com/starbucks-rated-worst-in-terms-of-coffee-prices-in-korea-26486/

at a discounted price, or an espresso refill for an extra 1,000 KRW. This being said, price-wise, the cafes in the Open Port Area were definitely being advertised as upper scale, luxurious establishments.

Juxtaposing to it, the pot_R café owner took great pride in her homemade red bean paste sweets. Red bean (*p'at* in Korean, *adzuki* in Japanese) is a traditional source of sweets in both Korea and Japan and is added to a variety of traditional and modern sweets: *mochi* rice-cakes in Japan, *p'at bingsoo* in Korea (bowl of shaved ice with red bean paste and condensed milk), ice-cream, "European-style" pastries etc. In pot_R, they served both *p'at bingsoo* and *mochi* from home-made red bean paste and Nagasaki castella sponge cake, to add a bit of "Japanese" flair to the menu. All of the deserts were limited in quantity for the day, so there was a sense of uniqueness to the offer. Coffee as a luxury product, specialty deserts and a concept cafes space all together – from my perspective, the establishment seemed to ride the major trend waves. Over the week-ends, it was full (even in 2018, five years after opening), and according to the staff, some customers were traveling on purpose to see it.

Other establishments in the Open Port Area took a different approach with much of the same logic, serving traditional Korean herbal teas. Even though there are several major tea growing areas in Korea[184], it was near impossible to find a tearoom[185] outside of the Insadong Area of Seoul in 2011/2012. By 2017, there had been a general surge of popularity of *"ancestral foods"* or *"old recipes"* as I was told by several informants, a variant of the "forgotten foods" trend showing itself in Europe as well. I was also told that those old recipes and ingredients are considered to be more healthy. The "ancestral foods" popularity surge seemed to be a variant of the "culinary nostalgia" (Mannur 2007) but not for an ancestral homeland as it is often described among expat communities, but more in the vein of the Japanese *furusato* nostalgia (that can express itself through food as well, though it wasn't relevant for the Kobe urban setting) for an idealized imaginary past, a sort of "authentic cultural utopia" of the past (Srinivas in Counihan and Van Esterik 2013).

In parallel to that, tea drinking has become a luxurious hobby[186]. In 2017, the tea prices in Seoul looked exorbitant to me and I was even walked out from one shop in Insadong by the staff saying: *"You can't afford to buy anything here. Let me point you to a cheaper place."* The staggering high

---

184   Jirisan mountain range slopes, Haenam county in South Jeolla province and Jeju island respectively.
185   The only one I knew about was close to Korea University campus but had closed down by 2018 when I failed to find it again.
186   I am personally quite a tea drinking person so I had observed the rising prices of leaf tea especially of Chinese origin over the years. Some friends working in tea-importing industry in the Czech Republic told me that it is because tea drinking had become fashionable among Chinese rich and I suspect a similar trend happening in Korea.

prices applied to both Chinese *puerh* tea[187] and homegrown Korean leaf tea. Both coffee and tea were therefore perceived as luxury products. However, whereas leaf tea was much more expensive than good ground coffee in 2017, tea-drinking was often perceived as something only older people do[188] whereas coffee was popular among young people as well[189].

Similarly to other heritage foods, Korean herbal teas had made a popularity comeback sometime in between 2012 and 2017. There are many herbal teas considered (and marketed) as traditional and medicinal, including but not limited to jujube, mugwort, burdock root etc.

Many cafes in the Open Port Area that were not serving coffee were offering those medicinal herbal teas instead. It almost seemed to me that there were two branches of concept strategy among the shop owners: On one hand a stylish cafe with cakes and good coffee and on the other an also stylish tearoom offering Korean traditional herbal tea.

In a sense, the popularity of foods perceived as traditional is an iteration of the "looking for the past that never was" and "reinventing of tradition" (Hobsbawm 1998). But as was the case with the renovation of *kiyo-machiyas,* good knowledge of current trends and a business-oriented approach of the owners was a very important factor shaping the nature in which the Open Port Area houses were renovated and are currently used. In this chapter, I wanted to clarify more on how eating-out and local specialty trends on one hand and the luxurious status given to coffee or tradition value associated with herbal teas coincides with the current uses of those of the Open Port Area heritage houses that were turned into cafes.

To summarize, Kobe has the strong image of Kobe beef associated to it, but it is an outward branding image, not important for the personal image of the residents. No food images related to the Kitano area and the Nankinamchi specialty, the *butaman*, is a local specialty that spread to the Kansai

---

[187]   Another more accommodating shop-owner in Insadong area selling teas and tea-ware told me that puerh was the fashion of the Chinese teas in Korea. That he even bought a plantation in China and makes his own brand puerh (or *p'oi cha* as it is called in Korean) to import.

[188]   I asked one of my almost-retirement-aged informants for tea instead of coffee while we talked. Over the course of the conversation, she later asked me where I planned to retire. I told her that I still had a lot of time to think about it. She then laughed and explained that since in her mind, no young people drink tea, she momentarily took me for someone her own age. I mention this episode to illustrate how strong the stereotype can be for some people.

[189]   If we lent ourselves to detailed stereotypization, older people would be expected to drink a three-in-one and young people an americano.

area. On the other hand, Incheon has several places renown for its food. Some of these coincide with the historical heritage area and adhere to food tourism and "foodie" trends in Korea. I would like to end this chapter by a thought offered to me by one of my respondents in her mid-twenties: *"Koreans feel a sorrow deep down because the Japanese government never apologized. They always say "We did it for you." and "We developed you." But after that, I guess we just love each other's culture. Koreans like Japanese food, fashion, atmosphere. The Japanese also love Korean food..."*

11   Discussion

In this section, I would like to debate further the concept of de-colonization and post-colonial sensibilities that I did (not) encounter during my field research on the images of urban heritage (built remnants) from the colonial period. While I wasn't very surprised to find that indeed, post-colonial sensibilities toward the European settlements in Japan weren't present, I was surprised to find that many of my informants in Korea didn't express them towards remnants of the Japanese colonialism. During my research design, I was aware of the general negative feelings about the Japanese among the Koreans as described by Barbari (2017) and the ongoing issues of the Liancourt Rocks and the comfort women. Therefore, one of my first research premises was that it would impact the perception of the Japanese houses in Incheon, more precisely, that even the Japanese houses in the Open Port Area would be perceived as signifiers of the colonial period by far more informants than it turned out to be so during my research. In this section, I would like to debate how this discrepancy could have been influenced by my academic background.

Georges Balandier (1951) in his famous paper on the "colonial situation" describes the colonial experience as a "total experience", as a "total situation", as something that impacts every single life aspect as long as the colonial situation takes place, similar to the concepts of "total institution" of Goffman (1961) or the interpretations of the prison and the penitentiary system by Michel Foucault (1975). Despite post-colonialism being ubiquitous to worldwide public debate, an instrument of social activism and potentially a social norm, it was not "total" for many of my informants, for their images of a city, for how they related to places. Indeed, some voiced post-colonial sensibilities towards nationally politicized themes (Liancourt Rocks, comfort women) but were relating differently to the Japanese buildings housing coffee-shops; for many, the "Japanese house" didn't automatically signify "colonization". Furthermore, it even seemed that everyday work interaction with a building might not induce an engagement towards a topic (in my case meaning an informant would that they developed post-colonial sensibilities after working in a house dating from the colonial period), meaning not all the buildings dating from the colonial-era were ascribed memory signifiers, and weren't even creating the meaning in themselves, weren't as such sources of power and narrative as Foucault (1975) interpreted some institutions to do.

I noted in previous chapters, that it seemed the "decolonization" as a concept (in relation to urban renewal and city living) is an intellectual construct that was not very relevant to everyday feeling and city-image-creation of my non-engaged informants. Whereas those who were university-educated and also entered into dialogue with international academic theories were conscientiously voicing post-colonial sensibilities. This discrepancy is, according to me, one of the most important point that have arisen during my research. Doubting the universal relevance of post-colonial sensibilities is an important point in thinking about the current state of anthropology and the way we as social scientists interpret socially-wide phenomena.

Jane Jacobs (1996, 5) wrote: *"spatial struggles are not simply about control of territory articulated through the clear binaries of colonialist constructs. They are formed out of the cohabitation of variously empowered people and the meanings they ascribed to localities and places. They are constituted from the way in which the global and the local always inhabit one another. They are products of the disparate and contradictory geographies of identification produced under modernity. These struggles produce promiscuous geographies of dwelling in place in which the categories of Self and Other, here and there, past and present, constantly solicit one another."* To which I had to ask: to what extent are these constant struggles important and relevant? To whom do they exist? To what extent is the "constant identity negotiation" a lived reality by my informants and to what extent a mental construct imposed by the social scientist and Western intellectual? What if the "marginalized Other" does not exist in the equation of the ethnographic experience, or at least is not a human being from a marginalized/under-represented community? Jacobs herself states that her analysis was built on *"institutional discourses about urban space"* (Jacobs 1996, 9) and I felt an urge to re-think to what extent those narratives are key and/or relevant to anthropological analysis. After some frustration of not finding my "engaged post-colonial sensibilities and narratives" among many of my informants, I took inspiration from public policy analysis. There, the "what is not governed" is equally important and telling as the "what is governed". And I realized that the "what is not contested" is equally significant for my research on the images of a potentially politicized objects and that by overlooking the non-engaged points view, I might be overlooking, silencing a large portion of my informants (a process reflected upon in Stöckelová and Yasar Abu Ghosh 2013) because I, as a researcher coming from a

scholarly background valuing engagement and intellectualism, am used to pay attention to those actors who are engaged and do actively seek renegotiation of public discourse on topics such as collective memory, actively raise contention.

However, based on my research, I would say that ascribing political and engaged meanings or expressing socio-political sensibilities (such as post-colonial ones), in favor of personal memory is an acculturated way of thinking, not an anthropological constant. Even more so if that happens outside of "obvious" memory towers (memorials, museums). Such a way of thinking is propagated through only through certain types of education and intellectualism based in (French) social sciences that had, nevertheless, become widespread in Western-based social scientific research. This seems self-evident, but my field research experience illustrated how this can influence the research design, the tendency for neglecting the non-engaged, the ones who do not contest. Taking inspiration from public policy analysis, I would want to apply this to urban anthropology, that we, as scientists, should pay more attention to what is not contested instead of solely focusing on the contested and the contentions, since this point of view can easily lead to assumptions that within the post-colonial identity-building, everyone is an actor somehow engaged in the identity negotiation and the post-colonial contention. On which my field experience suggests otherwise. Studying the non-engaged (which happened to be a majority in my case) unraveled different stories and lines of interpretation and were the origin of the intricate picture of conflicting images of "old" in relation to the city images that could have otherwise be passed upon.

I don't deny that "post-colonialism" can be a useful research perspective or an analytical tool. But in the vein of Hana Horáková's (2012) research on critique of the concept of culture as a "cure-for-all" in contemporary social science, sometimes, the post-coloniality, contention and constant identity renegotiation could lead into a research fallacy of pre-ascription of our own values and views as a researcher onto the field.

12   Conclusion

In my paper, I have studied two former treaty ports, Kobe in Japan and Incheon (Chemulpo) in South Korea. I was interested in how locals (people currently residing in or native to the city) perceive their respective cities, what personal mental images they have about them. My choice of cases was motivated by their similar size, the fact that they represent one city in a former colonial metropolis and one in a former colony, and by choice to follow the scholarship of Jennifer Robinson (2006) in building social scientific knowledge upon case studies of the so-called "ordinary cities".

I was interested in the general "snapshot" images as well as those formed about concrete places and how these images coincide with the official branding of those cities or generally perpetuated stereotypical images of the cities. I was particularly interested in the areas with built remnants from the open port and colonial periods, namely the two Chinatowns of Incheon and Kobe (Nankinmachi) and the Kitano Ijinkan area of Kobe and the Open Port Area in Incheon. Furthermore, I inquired about natural locations, modernity hubs and after pilot interviews, also about "dangerous neighborhoods", as an image of a place is always constructed in relation to another (Raulin 2014).

The city images seemed to form and "operate" very similarly to the communicative versus collective memories, on two levels of dualities, the inside/outside image and collective/personal image. The inside image was a general, collective image held by many inhabitants at the same time while the outside image was that same concept but an image held by those living outside of the city. Those two images could be strikingly different, focusing on different aspects. In the case of Kobe, we saw that the outside image pertains to Kobe beef and the 1995 earthquake whereas the inside image is that Kobe is "fashionable" and "good for living". While the collective image can run on a longer social time (perpetuate images some consider out-dated), the process of updating the collective image of a certain smaller area can be, on the contrary, faster than in a personal image that includes a lot of reconstructing from memory of an individual person. It was noteworthy for me to see that not only the personalized image/perception of a place could override the "generic" image of a city or place subconsciously, but also consciously. Some informants clearly ascertained that they liked a certain place *despite* its unfavorable image.

In Japan and Korea, it seemed that the perception of "danger" is interlinked with the idea of noise, loud people more specifically, on top of the perceived oldness and precariousness of a place – and further studies could be dedicated to the formation and roles of *soundscapes* in personal city landscapes or in everyday routines or research on wider phenomena such as "danger" or "fear". Furthermore, the study of "dangerous neighborhoods" enabled me to track the conflicting images of "old" areas and things in Japan and Korea, being in parallel perceived as "uninteresting", "nuisance", "dangerous", "exotic" and fashionable. In Korea, I have also witnessed the beginning of a large shift of emic conception of "old" due to pop-culture wave – the "newtro" – and the raising popularity of "old" things. If I was to borrow on the concepts of collective memory, the commonplace "old" things are in the communicative memory and only after they traverse the communication void (Vansina in Soukupová *et al.* 2012), their image becomes transformed into exoticized oldness. This also illustrates how an image of a certain place is a "bricolage" of different factors and notions; and that those notion can even appear to be in conflict with each other, or at least not appear complementary at the first sight. Among the factors contributing to an image of a place, I have debated the role of pop culture and food tourism and the idealized past.

I have also discussed the post-colonial sensibilities and their absence in relation to the "heritage houses" in Kobe and Incheon and dedicated the discussion part to debate the relevance of non-engaged informants for ethnographies of conflict and contention.

Many parts of my research could be carried further. Aside of the topic of *sensescapes* and danger, a partial case study could be dedicated to the public "Japanese garden" as a settler urban legacy with regards to their popularity as part of public parks and botanical gardens worldwide.

I also found noteworthy that in a studying cultures (especially Korea) that are typically perceived as conformist from both inside and outside, in city images, there are many markers of individuality, personal meaning in the vein of interpretation of Clifford Geertz (1973). Stereo-typically non-individualistic cultures (as Korean and Japanese typically perceive themselves) and individualistic perceptions of a living environment can lead us to rethink what "individualism" means in different societies and cultures and how it is defined.

13 Glossaries

13.1 Index of Native Terms

It is always difficult to write a text that will likely reach audiences from different disciplines and specializations. For the sake of better flow, I have kept unexplained the native Japanese or Korean terms that are easily understandable for those of Japanese and Korean studies backgrounds or those terms that have entered the general knowledge to some extent.

However, I understand that readers of different scholarly backgrounds that have no or little knowledge about contemporary Far East could be interested in this study, so as to facilitate their reading, I put together this index of terms. I included all the native Japanese and Korean words that I used thorough my study, from common words to urban studies related vocabulary that was explained also in the text.

The index is alphabetical, mixing together Japanese and Korean words so the reader searching for an unknown term wouldn't need to know the origin of the word he is looking for.

abunai (jap.)

> Lit. "dangerous". Word used to describe a range of feelings from uneasiness, lack of comfort to substantial threat. As exclamation, it can be used to mean "Watch out!", if the threat is immediately present, such as the possibility of touching a hot pan, a child running into the street etc.

anime (jap.)

> A short for Japanese animated cartoons, pop-cultural phenomenon popular worldwide. Sometimes, an *anime* is an adaptation of *manga*.

banchan (kor.)

> or *panchan*. A Korean generic word for side-dish. Often comprised of differnet types of *kimchi*. Other types include but are not limited to: non-spicy pickles (e.g. yellow radish, various seaweed), different kinds of salads (based on lettuce, seaweed or potatoes), vegetable pancakes called *jeon*, or small garnished fish. *Banchan* is a cornerstone of Korean cuisine, the more somptuous the meal, the more *banchan* served with it, but there is always at least one. In 2011/2012, an average number of *banchan* served with a simple dish in an affordable diner was

around 5-6, in 2017, the number dropped to about 3-4. *Banchan* is by principle an "all-you-can-eat". The recipes for *banchans* vary across regions, and across families and are even subject to fashion, with new ingredients or variations adopted and spread through TV cooking shows, blogs etc. However, there are also nation-wide *banchan* staples such as the cabbage *kimchi*.

daldongnae (kor.)

Precarious neighborhood, shantytown. In urban Korea, they are usually small (sometimes one-room only) one-story houses. Used to be commonplace, they have been subjected to urban renewal efforts and redeveloped into residential high-rise areas since the 1970s. However, they are still to be found in less desirable neighborhoods in big cities, including Incheon and Seoul.

dorama (jap.)

Japanese word for TV soap-opera. A special genre, the *asadora,* means "morning *dorama*" and targets the stay-home housewives. Currently, *dorama* of Korean origin is popular in Japan as well.

drama (kor.)

South-Korean word soap opera series for TV, often used to mean precisely "South-Korean soap opera". *Drama* are a substantial portion of the TV production in Korea on both public and cable TV, and has achieved big popularity and viewership outside of Korea in both other Asian countries and the rest of the world. *Drama* is one of the building blocks of *hallyu*, "the Korean Wave".

furusato (jap.)

Lit. "old hamlet", the feeling of nostalgia for nostalgia, nostalgia for the imaginary past and for one's (imaginary) rural hometown. Widespread phenomenon in post-WW II Japan. See Robertson (1988).

gaijin (jap.)

Word meaning "foreigner". Depending on the speaker, the term can range from mildly to highly pejorative. The non-abbreviated form "*gaikokujin"* is more neutral. Usually conveys the idea of non-Asian foreigner, a "Western" person.

goshiwon (kor.)

or *goshitel.* A type of cheap housing in Korea. It consists of a small room (3-11m2), and a kitchen and bathroom shared with other lodgers on the floor. They originated as lodgings for people preparing for civil service examinations, as a place of no distraction. They look similar to university dormitories in principle, but are independent, and room in a *goshiwon* can be rented out regardless of one's (study) status. There is also no rent deposit and the rent itself is comparatively low, so over time, they became housing for the precarious.

ijinkan (jap.)

Lit. "foreign house". The term is used for Western-style houses built during the Meiji and Taishō eras (late 19th – early 20th century). The term is very much linked to the Kitano area in Kobe, as it is one of the best preserved *ijinkan* areas in Japan. Kobe Kitano area is often referred to as "Kitano Ijinkan" or simply "Ijinkan". In my paper, I follow this use and say *ijinkan* for a Western-style house and *Ijinkan* with a capital "I" to designate the Kobe Kitano area.

izakaya (jap.)

A Japanese pub. An informal establishment that traditionally serves sake and small snacks. Nowadays, other alcoholic drinks, most often beer or Japanese whiskey, are served there as well. *Izakaya* is a synonym for a laid-back, non-fancy drinking place, similar in feeling to the English term "pub". Sometimes, *izakayas* operate on the "all-you-can-drink" basis, customers pre-paying one or two hours of consumption in advance.

hallyu (kor.)

Lit. "the Korean wave". A term encompassing elements of South Korean pop-culture (*drama*, K-Pop, Korean cuisine, *manhwa* etc.) that is gaining popularity worldwide. *Hallyu* is overtly used as a soft-power tool of South Korean diplomacy to increase the popularity of South Korea overseas. *Hallyu* gained momentum over Japanese pop-culture (*anime, manga, dorama*, J-Pop etc.) in terms of popularity worldwide. There are even specialized "products" of *hallyu* (music bands, *drama*) targeting specific foreign audiences: a *drama* can be written as to cater to a specific market at home or overseas (Chinese, South Asian, Japanese, to name a few). The same goes for K-Pop bands: it is not uncommon for a group to have songs made for home market and then translated and/or re-arranged to suit an overseas market, most often Japanese or Chinese. The songs intended for "Western" markets usually coincide with the "home" version. For a comprehensive introductory resource on *hallyu*, see for example the *Dálný východ / Far East* magazine, vol. V (1): 2015.

hanbok (kor.)

    Korean traditional dress.

hangeul (kor.)

    Native Korean alphabet. Contrarily to the Japanese *kana, hangeul* is not syllabic, each letter has a corresponding sign. When writing, the letters are arranged into syllabic "ideograms" to form words.

hanja (kor.)

    Korean word for Chinese characters, usually refers to the set of Chinese characters used to write Korean. Nowadays, Korean is written down using *hangeul* only, with sparse usage of commonly known characters in newspaper headlines, advertisements, product branding etc. The basic set of *hanja* is nevertheless still studied at school.

jjajangmyeon (kor.)

    Noodles in a black sauce (made of black soy bean paste, meat and onions). A specialty dish of Incheon that is nationwide perceived as a "Chinese" dish and can be found on the menu of Chinese restaurants thorough Korea. It was eaten by the Chinese coolies in Chemulpo, but is a product of colonial blending, a dish that originated in the "Goghwachun" restaurant (nowadays Jjajangmeyon Museum) inside Chemulpo's Chinese settlement area. Presently, the dish is also eaten by single people observing the Black Day on April 14 (See Chapter 10.2).

jjimjilbang (kor.)

    Korean spa, an important part of Korean personal wellness. In Korea, the spas usually have a non-segregated dry-sauna area where people wear special loose clothing issued at the entrance. In addition, there can be sex-segregated bathhouse and massage areas included in the establishment. Typically, a Korean *jjimjilbang* also has its own restaurant, smoking corner etc. on the premises and it is possible to pay a special overnight rate and spend the night in a dedicated sleeping room, making *jjimjilbangs* very popular with student backpackers as a hostel alternative.

jinja (jap.)

    Japanese generic word for a Shinto shrine.

kana (jap.)

Native Japanese syllabic alphabet used in addition to *kanji.* There are two sets of *kana* in Japanese: *hiragana* used for simple words, to mark grammatical structures etc. and *katakana,* used to transcribe words of foreign origin, onomatopoeia, to add emphasis etc., it's a Japanese equivalent of the italics.

kanji (jap.)

Japanese word for Chinese characters, refers to the set (and variant) of Chinese characters used to write down Japanese. Japanese is written down using a mix of *kanji* and both *hiragana* and *katakana*.

karaoke (jap.)

Lit. "empty orchestra", a sing-along entertainment activity originated in Japan in the late 1960s, soon spreading to the US, now known worldwide, especially popular in Asia.

kimchi (kor.)

A sub-type of *banchan*. *Kimchi* is a generic term for vegetables fermented with smoked red chili flakes and other condiments. The most famous type of *kimchi* is made of Chinese cabbage, but other popular base vegetables for *kimchi* include scallion, cucumber, radish or turnip (leaves or bulbs alike). *Kimchi* is being marketed as having many health benefits and has been identified as a showcase Korean dish to be promoted overseas; in other words, *kimchi* is part of *hallyu*. *Kimchi* and *kimchi*-making are also registered intangible cultural properties in South Korea.

kimono (jap.)

Japanese traditional dress.

kohyang (kor.)

Word meaning "hometown". Used both as a designation for one's place of (family) origin, one's birthplace, and one's current area of residence, depending on the context. "What is your hometown?" is a common wording for asking "Where are you from?"

manga (jap.)

Japanese word "comics", customarily implying the Japanese-made comics with specific drawing style. Japanese *manga* has a worldwide fan base.

manhwa (kor.)

Korean words for "comics", usually refers to Korean comics. Part of *hallyu*, though less substantial than both other *hallyu* elements and Japanese *manga.*

machiya (jap.)

Japanese merchant house of the Edo and Meiji periods. The *machiya* has a characteristic outlay of a front shop, a back courtyard and living quarters on the second floor. Regional differences in between periods and cities can occur, but the general plan remains recognizable. The merchant houses in Kyoto are referred to as *kyo-machiya.* The *machiya*-style outlay was used also for the Japanese merchant houses in the colonies, including Chemulpo. The first archive-cafe in the contemporary Incheon Open Port Area, the "pot_R", opened in a former *machiya* house in 2013.

machizukuri (jap.)

Lit. "town creation". Term in Japanese urban planning that refers to community development and civic participation in city planning processes. According to Satoh (2019): *"The term 'machizukuri' encompasses an ensemble of approaches and activities based on the resources existing in each local society, carried out by diverse actors in order to improve the quality of life and surrounding living environments." Machizukuri* is to be taken as an opposite to top-down policy creation, it is a form of participatory government, very similar to the French term "*concertation*".

noraebang (kor.)

Korean word for *karaoke;* a very popular past-time across generations in Korea as well.

one-room (kor.)

A *one-room* is a studio ranging from 10m2 to 20m2 with monthly rent and no deposit needed, offering short-term contracts, a synonym for affordable housing in Korea. Being a studio, the *one-rooms* include a small cooking range a private bathroom. Usually a type of housing for students, singles, young couples and the working class that, however, bears a lot

less precarious stigma than *goshiwons*. Indeed, there can be *one-room* apartment blocks perceived as almost "luxurious", depending on the address.

onsen (jap.)

Japanese hot spring spa. Technically, the water in the resort have to come from a hot mineral spring to be qualified as an *onsen*. Aside of true *onsen*, public bathhouses, called *sento*, exist in Japan in large numbers. There, the hot water is heated on the premises. Both *onsen* and *sento* have pools of different temperatures, a massage pool, a herbal pool etc., often a dry-air sauna is included. The establishments are segregated by sex, having a female and a male section in parallel.

In general, *onsen* are considered more luxurious than *sento*, but the word *onsen* is often used for *sento* establishments in common speech. They operate on a "pay-per-entry" basis and a regular *sento* entrance remains fairly low-priced (around 500 JPY in 2016/2017; about 4 USD), making spas a staple in personal hygiene routine and a common occurrence in contemporary urban Japan, where limited living spaces mean that not all flats do have a bathtub (only a shower – but bathing is considered important for personal wellness).

oegugin (kor.)

Word meaning "foreigner". The Korean reading of the same Chinese characters as the Japanese word "*gaikokujin*" (see *gaijin*), literally a "person from an outside country". Depending on the speaker, the term can range from neutral to highly pejorative. Similarly to the Japanese term, it usually conveys the idea of non-Asian foreigner, a "Western" person.

pachinko (jap.)

A Japanese type of mechanical gambling game, comparable to slot machines. Since gambling is prohibited by law in Japan, *pachinko* uses a loophole in the system: the machines use tokens instead of real money. The tokens are sold in an establishment next to the *pachinko* parlor that is technically independent from it, thus no legal violation takes place. Conversely, the *pachinko* tokens can be exchanged back for money in the same "independent" venue. *Pachinko* machines can have licensed designs based on popular *anime*, video-game etc. *Pachinko* parlors are often found in amusement arcades (in more precarious neighborhoods) across urban Japan and are viewed as both entertainment and gambling. The *pachinko* industry in 2017 has been estimated to be equivalent of 4% of the national GDP.

shinkansen (jap.)

Japanese high-velocity train.

uiheom (kor.)

Korean word roughly meaning "danger". It can be used to describe a range of feelings from uneasiness, lack of comfort to substantial threat, it is similarly fluid to the Japanese word *abunai.* See Chapter 7.

yakuza (jap.)

Japanese word for organized crime, "mafia".

13.2 Index of Place Names

This study talks about specific locations in two cities, Kobe and Incheon, and as much as they are familiar places for me, they can be hard to remember and picture for my readers. Here is a list of places that come up repeatedly thorough my text.

As with the list of native terms, the index of place names is in alphabetical order, mixing together places in Japan and in South Korea.

Airport Island (island; Incheon)

> see *Yeongjeong-do*

Amagasaki (town; Japan)

> A town in the Hyogo prefecture, part of the Hanshin area, situated on the Osaka Bay shoreline west of Osaka, on the line in between Osaka and Kobe, directly neighbors Osaka. A town notorious for high levels of poverty and crime rate as being the blue-collar suburbs of Osaka, heavily hit by the 1995 Hanshin-Awaji earthquake.

Arima (town; Japan)

> A town in the Hyogo prefecture, north of the Rokko mountain ridge. An *onsen* hot spring resort renown nationally, accessible by Kobe public transport.

Ashiya (town; Japan)

> A town in the Hyogo prefecture, part of the Hanshin area, situated on the Osaka Bay shoreline west of Osaka, on the line in between Osaka and Kobe, directly neighbors Kobe. A high-end residential place, the top address in the whole Hanshin Area, known for being the home of celebrities. Considered to be the unachievable dream place to live by many of my informants.

Biwa (lake; Japan)

> The largest fresh-water lake in Japan, located in the Shiga prefecture, close to Kyoto; UNESCO protected wetlands. Historically significant area: part of the historical province of

Ōmi, its capital Ōtsu was among the last stops of the Tōkaidō route, the first Japanese railways were laid around the shore of lake *Biwa*. One of popular destinations of local (*furusato*) tourism.

Bupyeong (ward; Incheon)

An Incheon ward in north-eastern part of the city, very close to the city of Bucheon. Considered by some as the Soul's bed-town part of Incheon, not "true Incheon". Recently one of the popular downtown entertainment areas of Incheon.

Chinatown (location; Incheon)

Referred to as *Chainataun* in Korean, Korea's only Chinatown is located in inner Incheon, at the location of the former Chinese settlement during the open port period, at the terminus of Seoul Subway Line 1. As with Chinatowns worldwide, it was reinvented into its current form as part of Mainland China's soft power policy. It's home to Incheon's food specialty *jjajangmyeon* and remains one of Incheon's main tourist attractions.

For the Chinatown in Kobe, see *Nankinmachi.*

Dongincheon (neighborhood; Incheon)

Lit. meaning "East Incheon", the easternmost part of the innermost Incheon area. Currently used to refer to environs of the Dongincheon Station of Seoul line 1 both north and south of the rail tracks. To the south, the Dongincheon slopes towards the Sipo Food Market, Open Port Area and Chinatown. Rather derelict at the time of my research. To the north of the tracks, there is a large plaza used to hold the Hwadojin Festival and other cultural events. This area was already been partially redeveloped (new apartments blocks etc.)

Ganghwa (island; Incheon)

The biggest island off the West coast of Korea, at the estuary of Han river, close to the North-Korean border, belongs to Incheon Metropolitan Area. Location of several military incidents in between Chosŏn Korea and Western powers or Japan: French invasion of 1866, the Battle of Ganghwa with the US in 1871 and the Japanese Battle of Ganghwa in 1875. Location of signature of the Korea-Japan Treaty of 1876 aka the Ganghwa Treaty.

Currently has population of around 65,000; rather rural. Mt. Mani, its highest peak (469 m), holds the Chamseongsdan altar where Tangun, the mythological founder of Korea, performed rituals. On October 3rd, a Confucian ceremony is held there annually to celebrate the National Foundation Day that is calculated since Tangun's descent from Heaven in 2333 B.C.

Guwol-dong (neighborhood; Incheon)

A new popular downtown entertainment district in the Incheon City Hall environs.

Gyeyang (district; Incheon)

District in north-eastern Incheon, north of Bupyeong. Considered by some as the Soul's bed-town part of Incheon, not "true Incheon". Residential area with nature locations: Gyeyang Mountain ridge, Ara waterway etc.

Hanshin (area; Japan)

Term encompassing the (mostly coastal) area in between Kobe and Osaka, including the small towns in between, such as Ashiya, Nishinomiya or Amagasaki. When included in the term *Keihanshin*, it refers to the macro-region including Hanshin area and Kyoto.

One of the private railway companies operating in Kansai, the Hanshin Line, derives its name from the area. Other known names including reference to the area are: the "Hanshin Tigers" (nationally famous baseball club based in Nishinomiya) or the "Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake" of 1995.

Hwadojin (location; Incheon)

Fortress in the Dong-gu ward of Incheon, dating from late Chosŏn dynasty. Location of signature of the Shufeldt Treaty of 1882 in between Korea and the US. This event is commemorated there with the "Hwadojin Festival" held annually in May since 1989.

Juan (ward; Incheon)

A ward and a train station at the intersection of Seoul line 1 and Incheon line 2. An entertainment, downtown, area in Incheon close to Inha University. Currently considered old a dilapidated, even dangerous. Some label it "the Harlem of Incheon".

Kansai (region; Japan)

Aka *Kinki*, an area in central Honshu. Encompasses the following prefectures: Hyogo, Osaka, Kyoto, Nara, Wakayama, Shiga and Mie.

Keihanshin (area; Japan)

Term referring to metro area of Kobe-Osaka-Kyoto. The second most populated area in Japan after Tokyo.

Kitano (neighborhood; Kobe)

Sometimes referred to as Kitano Ijinkan or Ijinkan, formerly colloquially called "the Hill". A place on the slopes of the Rokko Mountains in between the Ikuta shrine and the Kobe Kitano Tenmangu shrine, where wealthier members of the foreign community of Kobe built their private residences, as "the Hill" had better living conditions than the Settlement. Presently the area of Kobe with most preserved and restored *ijinkan* houses (foreign residences), some used as museums. Considered by some Kobe inhabitants as "a place for tourists".

Mikage (ward; Kobe)

A ward in the eastern part of "inner Kobe", a highly coveted area desirable for living.

Motomachi (neighborhood; Kobe)

Lit. the "Native Town" that sprouted in between the port of Hiōgo and the newly designated Settlement during the open port period in Kobe. Presently a place name for a shopping arcade and the adjacent area, as well as several train / subway stops in the vicinity. Nankinmachi is part of the old "Native Town" but is currently designated as a separate area from "Motomachi".

Nagata (ward; Kobe)

A ward in western part of "inner Kobe" with bad reputation for high crime and poverty rates. One of the worst-damaged areas during the 1995 earthquake. Favored by some for its "retro" feeling and local food restaurants.

Nankinmachi (neighborhood; Kobe)

Lit. "Chinese town", Japanese term for Chinatown, used to describe the Chinatown in Kobe in the paper, though Japan has three Chinatowns in total: in Kobe, Yokohama and Nagasaki. Kobe Nankinmachi is located within the former "native town" of the open port period, presently close to JR Motomachi station. As with Chinatowns worldwide, it was reinvented into its current form as part of Mainland China's soft power policy. Kobe Nankinmachi is known for its dumplings filled with minced pork, the *butaman.*

Nara (city; Japan)

Former capital city of Japan (710 – 794) before Kyoto. A prefecture and a city in the Kansai region, most of the historical city of Nara is a UNESCO heritage site (or protected as a buffer zone). Famous for its shrines and temples and wild sacred *shika* deer roaming freely into the Nara Park. Otherwise considered more "rural" than Kobe.

Open Port Area (neighborhood; Incheon)

Name used for the revitalized area of former Japanese and Joint-Area concessions in Incheon, directly adjacent to Chinatown. Renovated since 2012/2013, in 2013, some buildings registered as cultural heritage in Korea. Area known for its concept "Japanese" coffee-shops and tea houses serving traditional Korean herbal teas. Increasingly popular thanks to the "newtro" fashion in South Korea.

Port Island (island; Kobe)

Artificial island in Osaka Bay facing the Sannomiya area in Kobe. The Kobe Airport Island is located behind Port Island, further into the sea.

Rokko (ward; Kobe)

A ward in the eastern part of "inner Kobe", a highly coveted area desirable for living. Kobe University, considered to be a rather high-quality university, is located there.

Rokko-san (mountain-ridge; Kobe)

Mountain ridge stretching from Tarumi ward in Kobe in the West to Takarazuka city to the East, creating a natural northern border of the "inner Kobe". Popular hiking spot.

Rokko Island (island; Kobe)

Artificial island in Osaka Bay facing the Rokko/Mikage neighborhoods in Kobe.

Sannomiya (neighborhood; Kobe)

Main transportation hub, shopping district and downtown of Kobe just north of the former Settlement where the current City Hall is located and a walking distance south of Kitano Ijinkan; the "heart" of contemporary Kobe.

Shinkaichi (neighborhood; Kobe)

Lit. meaning "New Land", a movie theater and relight district established during the Taishō-era at the outskirts of the town of Hiōgo; currently an "old" downtown of Kobe, often considered as "dangerous" or "deep side". Some covet it for its Shōwa-era "retro" feel or Kansai food restaurants.

Shioya (neighborhood; Kobe)

Neighborhood in the Tarumi ward of Kobe. Developed in the 1920s by Ernest W. James as high-end European-style residential area. Holds a limited number of preserved "heritage houses".

Sinpo Food Market (location; Incheon)

Food market and specialty street food area in between Dongincheon and the Open Port Area.

Songdo (ward / town; Incheon)

Can refer either to "old Songdo", an area surrounding the Incheon Metropolitan City Museum and the Incheon Landing Memorial; or to the Songdo IBD, a new master-planned business district on reclaimed land in southern part of Incheon. Branded as the "city of the future", a hallmark Korean project for a "green sustainable city". Often considered by Incheon inhabitants as a separate town. A rather prestigious address.

Suma (ward and beach; Kobe)

A ward in western part of Kobe. The best known and most central beach in Kobe bears the same name. Suma Beach is hosting a regular summer festival and has a permanent aquarium.

Wolmi-do (island; Incheon)

Island in Incheon just off the coast across the former Settlements with spa resorts at the beginning of the 20th century, used to be known as Geppi Island or Getsubito (月尾島). Attached by a bridge to mainland since the colonial period. The location of the forefront of the Incheon Landing lead by General MacArthur during Korean War. Entertainment area with a public park, considered "old" or "retro".

Yeongjeong-do (island; Incheon)

Aka the Airport Island. An island part of the Incheon Metropolitan Area, artificially enlarged through land reclamation to enable construction of the Incheon International Airport (opened in 2001), the main airport serving Seoul. Connected to downtown Seoul via AREX high-speed train.

Part of the Incheon FEZ, location of one of the "future cities" luxurious developments, the Midan City (yet unfinished). The main settlement on *Yeongjeong* is called Unseo.

14   Bibliography

Aktüre, Zeynep. 2017. "Ephesus as Ritual Space: From Roman Civic to Modern Tourist Processions". In *Ritualizing the City: Collective Performances as Aspects of Urban Construction,* edited by Ivan Foletti and Adrien Palladino, 47-72. Rome: Viella

Ashkenazi, Michael. 1993. *Matsuri. Festival of a Japanese town.* Honolulu: University of Hanwai'i Press

Assmann, Jan. 2008. "Communicative and Cultural Memory". In *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, edited by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, 109-118. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter

Augé, Marc. 1999. *An Anthropology for Contemporaneous Worlds.* Translated by Amy Jacobs. Stanford: Stanford University Press

Avenell, Simon Andrew. 2010. *Making Japanese Citizens: Civil Society and the Mythology of the* Shimin *in Postwar Japan.* Berkeley: University of California Press

Bak, Cheon Su. 2012. 일본 속 고대 한국 문화 – 近畿지방 *(Ancient Korean Culture in the Kinki Region).* Seoul: Northeast Asian History Foundation

Balandier, Georges. 1951. "La situation coloniale: approche théorique", *Cahiers internationaux de sociologie* 11: 44-79

Barbari, Jamal. 2017. "Anti-Japanese Sentiment among Graduates of South Korean Public Schools". Masters thesis, SIT Graduate Institute, Capstone Collection n. 3064. Available online: https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/capstones/3064 (Acquired March 15, 2021.)

Bathaïe, Azita and Véronique Bontemps. 2016. "Normes de dangers et production d'urbanités: Quelques réflexions à partir de villes en conflit (Kaboul et Naplouse)", *L'Homme: Revue française d'anthropologie* 219-220, no. 3-4: 263-286

Bestor, Theodore C. 2004. *Tsukiji: the fish market at the center of the world*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press

Bestor, Theodore C., Steinhoff, Patricia G. and Victoria Lyon Bestor, *eds.* 2003. *Doing Fieldwork in Japan.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press

Brett, David. 1996. *The Construction of Heritage.* Cork: Cork University Press

Bryman, Alan. 2004. *The Disneyization of Society.* London: Sage

Cangià, Flavia. 2013. "From Heterotopias to Cultural Landscapes: On Reconstructing Buraku Leather Towns into 'Japanese National Spaces'", *Urbanities* 3, no.1: 42-60

Caprio, Mark E. 2009. *Japanese assimilation policies in colonial Korea, 1910-1945.* Seattle: University of Washington Press

Chambers, Erve. 2000. *Native Tours: The Anthropology of Travel and Tourism.* Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press

Chateauraynaud, Francis. 2008. "Des disputes ordinaires à la violence politique. L'analyse des controverses et de la sociologie des conflits." Working paper available online: http://gspr-ehess.com/documents/FC-Des_disputes_ordinaires_a_la_violence_politique.pdf

Ch'oe, Yŏng-jun. 2005. *Land and Life: A Historical Geographical Exploration of Korea.* Fremont, CA: Jain Publishing

Choi, Chang-jo. 1992. "How Koreans View and Utilize Nature", *Korea Journal* XXXII/4: 26-45

Choi, Chungmoo. 1997. "The Discourse of Decolonization and Popular Memory: South Korea". In *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia,* edited by Tani E. Barlow, 349-372. Durham and London: Duke University Press

Chung, Heesun. 2006. "Reflecting Collective Memories on Landscapes: Disputes over the Statue of General Douglas MacArthur in Incheon, South Korea", *Geographical Journal of Korea* 40, no.2: 169-184

Clammer, John. 2001. *Japan and Its Others: Globalization, Difference and the Critique of Modernity.* Tokyo and Boston: Trans Pacific Press

Clark, Donald N. 2003. *Living Dangerously in Korea: the Western Experience 1900-1950.* Norwalk, CT: EastBridge

Clark, Timothy, Gerstle, C. Andrew, Ishigami, Aki and Akiko Yano, *eds.* 2013. *Shunga: Sex and Pleasure in Japanese Art.* London: The British Museum

Conrad, Sebastian. 2015. "Japanese Historical Writing". In *The Oxford History of Historical Writing. Volume 5: Historical Writing since 1945*, edited by Axel Schneider and Daniel Woolf, 637-658. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Counihan, Carole and Penny Van Esterik, *eds*. 2013. *Food and Culture: A Reader.* Third Edition. New York and London: Routledge

Covell, Jon Carter and Alan Covell. 2009. *Korean Impact on Japanese Culture. Japan's Hidden History.* Ninth Edition. Elizabeth, NJ and Seoul: Hollym

Dalby, Liza. 2010. *Gejša.* Translated by Zdeňka Vasiljevová. Prague: Československý spisovatel

Delissen, Alain. 1993. "Patrimoine urbain séoulite, impermanence et simulacres". In *Asies II: Aménager l'espace* edited by Flora Blanchon, 219-231. Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne

Delissen, Alain. 1994. "Ense et Abaco. La formation de l'empire colonial japonais 1895-1910". In *Historiens-Géographes* 344: 201-214

Dolan, Daniel. 2008. "Cultural Noise: Amplified Sound, Freedom of Expression and Privacy Rights in Japan", *International Journal of Communication* 2: 662-690

Ducruet, César. 2011. "The port city in multidisciplinary analysis". Available online in HAL archives: https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00551208 (Acquired February 13, 2021.)

Ducruet, César. 2015. "Global Maritime Connectivity: a Long-Term Perspective", *Port Technology International, Maritime Information Services,* 65. Available online in HAL archives: https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01145658 (Acquired February 3rd, 2021.)

Ducruet, César, Carvalho, Luis and Stanislas Roussin. 2012. "The flight of Icarus? Incheon's transformation from port gateway to global city" in *Cities, Regions, and Flows*, edited by Peter V. Hall and Hesse Markus, 149-169. London and New York: Routledge

Dudáš, Michal. 2019. "Studie destiček ema zavěšovaných v šintoistické svatyni Rokkó Jahata Džindža v Kóbe". Bachelor thesis, Faculty of Humanities, Charles University. Charles University Digital Repository: https://dspace.cuni.cz/handle/20.500.11956/110463 (Acquired February 2nd, 2021.)

Eckert, Carter J., Bláha, Petr, Klöslová, Zdenka and Jakub Tomíšek. 2009. *Dějiny Koreje.* Second Edition. Prague: Nakladatelství lidové noviny

Em, Henry. 2015. "Historians and Historical Writing in Modern Korea". In *The Oxford History of Historical Writing. Volume 5: Historical Writing since 1945*, edited by Axel Schneider and Daniel Woolf, 659-677. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Ennals, Peter. 2014. *Opening a Window to the West: The Foreign Concession at Kōbe, Japan, 1868-1899.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press

Eom, Sujin. 2013. "The Specter of Modernity: Open Ports and the Making of Chinatowns in Japan and South Korea", *TSDR* 24, no.2: 39-50

Fabian, Johannes. 2002. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. Second Edition. New York: Columbia University Press

Frantál, Bohumil and Jaroslav Maryáš, *eds*. 2012. *Prostorové chování: vzorce aktivit, mobilita a každodenní život ve městě.* Brno: Masarykova univerzita

Frescura, Franco. 2017. "The Farmer, the Preacher and the Freemason: Dutch Colonial Settlements at the Cape of Good Hope". In *Ritualizing the City: Collective Performances as Aspects of Urban Construction,* edited by Ivan Foletti and Adrien Palladino, 139-154. Rome: Viella

Fritzová, Marie. 2011. "Konstruování „životního příběhu" jako adekvátní nástroj vědeckého nahlížení", *AnthropoWebzin* 3/2011 (Special printed edition): 227-230

Gelézeau, Valérie. 2003. *Séoul, ville géante, cités radieuses.* Paris: CNRS Editions

Gelézeau. Valérie. 2016. "From hyper-capitals to shadow capitals: an archipelago of Korean capital cities", *IIAS Newsletters, International Institute for Asian Studies*. Available online in HAL archives: https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01338172 (Acquired Februrary 3rd, 2021.)

Gelézeau, Valérie, De Ceuster, Koen and Alain Delissen, *eds.* 2013. *De-Bordering Korea: Tangible and Intangible Legacies of the Sunshine Policy.* London and New York: Routledge

Goody, Jack. 1996. *The East in the West.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Graburn, Nelson H. 1989. "Tourism: The Sacred Journey." In *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, edited by V. Smith, 21-36. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press

Grafmeyer, Yves and Jean-Yves Authier. 2008. *Sociologie urbaine.* Second Edition. Paris: Armand Colin

Gragert, Edwin H. 1994. *Landownership under colonial rule: Korea's Japanese experience, 1900-1935.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press

Halbich, Marek. 2019. "Smysly v sociálněvědním výzkumu: od psychofyzického esencialismu k etnografii". In *Antropologie smyslů,* edited by Jan Horský, Lenka Martinec Nováková, Lenka and Vít Pokorný, 153-188. Prague: Togga

Hamada, Shingo, Wilk, Richard, Logan, Amanda, Minard, Sara and Amy Trubek. 2015. "The Future of Food Studies", *Food, Culture & Society, An International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research* 18, no. 1: 167-186

Han, Ju Hui Judy. 2010. "Neither friends nor foes: Thoughts on ethnographic distance", *Geoforum* 41: 11-14

Hanovská, Lenka and Linda Hroníková, *eds.* 2013. *Člověk a strach: Strach v antropologických perspektivách.* Prague: Togga

Hein, Carola. 2002. "*Toshikeikaku* and *Machizukuri* in Japanese Urban Planning. The Reconstruction of Inner City Neighborhoods in Kōbe", *Japanstudien* 13, no.1: 221-252

Hein, Carola. 2003. "The Transformation of Planning Ideas in Japan and Its Colonies". In *Urbanism: Imported or Exported?*, edited by Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait, 51-82. Chichester: Wiley–Academy

Hein, Carola. 2008. "Machi: Neighborhood and Small Town – The Foundation for Urban Transformation in Japan", *Journal of Urban History* 35, no. 1: 75-1-7

Hein, Carola, *ed.* 2011. *Port Cities: Dynamic Landscapes and Global Networks.* London and New York: Routledge

Hein, Carola, Diefendorf, Jeffry M. and Ishida Yorifusa, *eds*. 2003. *Rebuilding Urban Japan After 1945.* London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Henderson, Virginia and Tim Webster. 2015. *Yangon Echoes: Inside Heritage Homes*. London and Bangkok: River Books Press

Henry, Todd A. 2005. "Sanitizing Empire: Japanese Articulations of Korean Otherness and the Construction of Early Colonial Seoul, 1905-1919", *The Journal of Asian Studies* 64, no.3: 639-675

Henry, Todd A. 2014. *Assimilating Seoul: Japanese Rule and the Politics of Public Space in Colonial Korea, 1910-1945.* Berkeley: University of California Press

Henry, Todd A. 2016. "Ch'anggyŏng Garden as Neocolonial Space: Spectacles of Anticommunist Militarism and Industrial Development in Early South(ern) Korea", *Journal of Korean Studies* XXI, vol. 1: 7-43

Hobsbawm, Eric. 1998. *On History.* London: Abacus

Horáková, Hana. 2012. *Kultura jako všelék? Kritika soudobých přístupů.* Prague: Slon

Horský, Jan, Hroníková, Linda and Marco Stella, *eds.* 2014. *Natura et cultura I. Antropologická bádání mezi empirií a interpretací.* Prague: Togga

Horský, Jan, Martinec Nováková, Lenka and Vít Pokorný, *eds.* 2019. *Antropologie smyslů.* Prague: Togga

Howard, Keith. 2018. "The Life and Death of Music as East Asian Intangible Cultural Heritage". In *International Perspectives on Translation, Education and Innovation in Japanese and Korean Societies,* edited by David G. Herbert, 35-55. Cham: Springer

Jacobs, A. J. 2011. "Japan's Evolving Nested Municipal Hierarchy: The Race for Local Power in the 2000s", *Urban Studies Research.* DOI: 10.1155/2011/692764

Jacobs, Jane M. 1996. *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City.* New York and London: Routledge

Janoš, Jiří. 2007. *Japonsko a Korea: Dramatické sousedství.* Prague: Academia

Jeong, Jae Jeong, *ed.* 2010. 일제 강점 지배사의 재조명 *(Japanese colonial policy in Korea, 1910-1945)*. Seoul: Northeast Asian History Foundation

Jin, Jong-Heon. 2007. "Demolishing Colony: The Demolition of the Old Government-General Building of Chosŏn." In *Sitings: Critical Approaches to Korean Geography,* edited by Timothy R. Tangherlini and Sallie Yea, 39-58. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press

Jo, Young Ha. 2004. "Heritage Interpretation". In 도시역사 문화 *(City History and Culture)*, vol. 2, edited by Seoul Museum of History, 131-175. Seoul: Seoul Museum of History

Kang, Hildegarde S. 2001. *Under the black umbrella: voices from colonial Korea, 1910-1945.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press

Kasarda, John and Greg Lindsay. 2011. *Aerotropolis: The Way We'll Live Next.* New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux

Kašparová, Blanka. 2017. "Perception of Japan and the Japanese in Sŏ Chaep'il's Work: Focused on Selected Events of the Late 19th Century." In *Korean Ways of Rebellion: Proceedings of the 3rd Conference of Young Koreanists,* edited by Blanka Ferklová and Vladislava Mazaná, 24-41. Prague: Nová vlna

Kendall, Laurel, *ed.* 2011. *Consuming Korean Tradition in Early and Late Modernity.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press

Kim, Hyun-ju. 2012. "Understanding the Colonial Modern Period of Korea through the Lens of Conceptual History", *Korea Journal* 52, no.4: 5-11

Kim, Il-su. 2008. "Colonial Modernization of the Traditional City of Daegu", *Korea Journal* 48, no.3: 77-103

Kim, Michael. 2015. "The Japanese Empire's Colonial Project: New Approaches to the Colonization of Korea", 사이間 *SAI* 18: 223-253

Kim, Michael. 2016. "Re-Conceptualizing the Boundaries of Empire: The Imperial Politics of Chinese Labor Migration to Manchuria and Colonial Korea", *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies* 16, no. 1: 1-24

Kim, Yong Deok, *ed.* 2008. 일본의 식민지 지배와 식민지적 근대 (Japanese colonial rule and colonial modernity). Seoul: Northeast Asian History Foundation

Kimijima, Kazuhiko. 2000. "The Continuing Legacy of Japanese Colonialism: The Japan-South Korea Joint Study Group on History Textbooks". Translated by Inokuchi Hiromitsu. In *Censoring History: Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany and the United States*, edited by Laura Hein and Mark Selden, 203-225. Armonk, NY and London: M. E. Sharpe

King, Anthony D. 1976. *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment.* London and New York: Routledge

King, Anthony D. 1995. *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture.* Second Edition. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press

King, Anthony D. 2015. *Urbanism, colonialism, and the world-economy: cultural and spatial foundations of the world urban system*. London and New York: Routledge

Kingston, Jeff. 2004. *Japan's Quiet Transformation: Social Change and Civil Society in the Twenty-First Century.* London and New York: Routledge

Kocinová, Kateřina. 2017. "The Beginning of Modern Postal Services in the Late Chosŏn and Its Development Thorough the Enlightenment Period". In *Korean Ways of Rebellion: Proceedings of the 3rd Conference of Young Koreanists,* edited by Blanka Ferklová and Vladislava Mazaná, 42-77. Prague: Nová vlna

Krištofová, Veronika. 2018. *Pod vycházejícím sluncem: Japonsko-korejské vztahy v průběhu 19. a 20. století.* Prague: Epocha

Križnik, Blaž. 2011. "Selling Global Seoul: Competitive Urban Policy and Symbolic Reconstruction of Cities", *Revija za sociologiju* 41, no.3: 291-313

Kure, Komei and Takahashi Shinichi. 2015. 南京町と神戸華僑 *(Nankinmachi and Kobe Overseas Chinese)*. Kyoto: Shoraisha

Kwon, Hong Soon. 2008. "Formation of the Modern City of Busan: Focusing on the Space and Culture of the Japanese Settlement in Busan before 1910.", *Korea Journal* 48, no.3: 41-76

Ladd, George Trumbull. 1908. *In Korea with Marquis Ito.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons

Lee, Min Joo. 2020. "Touring the land of romance: transnational Korean television drama consumption from online desires to offline intimacy", *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change.* Available online: DOI: 10.1080/14766825.2020.1707467 (Acquired February 3rd, 2021)

Lee, Young-ho. 2014. "Land Reform and Colonial Land Legislation in Korea, 1894-1910", *Korea Journal* 54, no. 3: 126-149

Lee, Min-Jung and Min-Ja Kim. 2011. "Dress and Ideology during the late 19th and early 20th centuries Korea, 1876~1945". *International Journal of Costume and Fashion* 11, no. 1: 15-33

Lehmann, Jürgen. 2009. *100 Jahre Deutsche Schule Kobe 1909 bis 2009*. München: Iudicium

Lichá, Alexandra. 2015. "Prague: Imagining the Metropolis of Romance." *Dálný východ / Far East* 5, no. 1: 61-71. (Quoted as Lichá 2015a)

Lichá, Alexandra. 2015. *Songdo and Sejong: Master-Planned Cities in South Korea.* Working paper issued from masters thesis. Available online in HAL archives: https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01216229 (Acquired February 3rd, 2021) (Quoted as Lichá 2015b)

Lichá, Alexandra. 2017. "Scamble for Chemulp'o Port." In *Korean Ways of Rebellion: Proceedings of the 3rd Conference of Young Koreanists,* edited by Blanka Ferklová and Vladislava Mazaná, 185-200. Prague: Nová vlna (Quoted as Lichá 2017a)

Lichá, Alexandra. 2017. "Rites of colonial past-age". In *Ritualizing the City: Collective Performances as Aspects of Urban Construction,* edited by Ivan Foletti and Adrien Palladino, 83-97. Rome: Viella (Quoted as Lichá 2017b)

Lichá, Alexandra. 2018. "'Green' and 'Smart' Cities Diffusion: The Case of Songdo, Korea". In *International Perspectives on Translation, Education and Innovation in Japanese and Korean Societies,* edited by David G. Herbert, 223-240. Cham: Springer

Liu, Sung-ta. 2013. "Settler urban legacies: A case study of Taipei City", *Cities* 31: 239-247

Lo, Shih-Wei. 1998. "A Palimpsest of Faits Urbains in Taipei", *Journal of Architecture Education 52*, no. 2: 68-75

MacCannell, Dean. 2009. "Sightseeing and Social Structure: The Moral Integration of Modernity". In *Tourists and Tourism: A Reader,* edited by Sharon Bohn Gmelch, 55-70. Second Edition. Illinois: Waveland Press

Mannur, Anita. 2007. "Culinary Nostalgia: Authenticity, Nationalism, and Diaspora", *MELUS* 32, no. 4 (Special issue "Food in Multi-Ethnic Literatures"): 11-31

Matsuzato, Kimitaka, *ed*. 2010. *Comparative Imperiology.* Sapporo: Hokkaido University, Slavic Research Center

Mauss, Marcel. 1936. "Les techniques du corps" *Journal de Psychologie* 1936, XXXII, no. 3-4. Originally presented at Société de psychologie on May 17, 1934

McCormack, Gavan. 2000. "The Japanese Movement to "Correct" History". In *Censoring History: Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany and the United States*, edited by Laura Hein and Mark Selden, 53-73. Armonk, NY and London: M. E. Sharpe

Minami, Ryoshin. 2008. "Income Distribution in Japan: Historical Perspective and Its Implications", *Japan Labor Review* 5, no.4 (Special Edition: Disparity, Poverty and Labor): 5-20

Mongin, Olivier. 2017. *Urbánní situace: Město v čase globalizace.* Translated by Edita Wolf. Prague: Univerzita Karlova, nakladatelství Karolinum

Moon, Myungki. 2008. "Korea-China Treaty System in the 1880s and the Opening of Seoul. Review of the Joseon-Qing Communication and Commerce Rules", *Journal of Northeast Asian History* 5, no. 2: 85-120

Mudruňková, Kateřina. 2015. "„We are in Korea, everybody is ready to change": Etnografie plastické chirurgie v Korejské republice". Masters thesis, Faculty of Humanities, Charles University. Charles University Digital Repository: https://dspace.cuni.cz/handle/20.500.11956/1916/discover (Acquired March 15th 2021.)

Myers, Ramon H. and Mark R. Peattie, *eds*. 1984. *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945.* Princeton: Princeton University Press

Nahm, Andrew C. and James E. Hoare. 2004. *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Korea*. Second edition. Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press

Nakajima, Michio. 2010. "Shinto Deities that Crossed the Sea. Japan's "Overseas Shrines", 1868 to 1945", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 37, no. 1: 21-46

Namba, Seiichiro, Kuwano, Sonoko and August Schick. 1986. "A cross-cultural study on noise problems", *Journal of the Acoustical Society of Japan (E)* 7, no.5: 279-289

Narangoa, Li and Robert Cribb, *eds.* 2003. *Imperial Japan and National Identities in Asia, 1895-1945.* London and New York: Routledge

Nielsen, Morten and Nigel Rapport, eds. 2018. *The Composition of Anthropology: How Anthropological Texts Are Written.* New York and London: Routledge

Nora, Pierre. 1989. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire" *Representations* (special issue *Memory and Counter-Memory*) XXVI: 7-24

Nützenadel, Alexander and Frank Trentmann, *eds*. 2008. *Food and Globalization: Consumption, Markets and Politics in the Modern World.* Oxford and New York: Berg

Oppenheim, Robert. 2005. ""The West" and the Anthropology of Other People's Colonialism: Frederick Starr in Korea, 1911-1930", *The Journal of Asian Studies* 64, no. 3: 677-703

Oppenheim, Robert. 2008. *Kyongju Things: Assembling Place.* Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press

Oppenheim, Robert. 2014. "The Ontological Politics of Place in Contemporary Kyŏngju", a presentation given at the Centre for Korean Studies at EHESS on May 23rd, 2014 (personal notes)

Pai, Hyung Il. 2010. "Resurrecting the Ruins of Japan's Mythical Homelands: Colonial Archaeological Surveys in the Korean Peninsula and Heritage Tourism". In *The Handbook of Post-colonialism and Archaeology,* edited by Jane Lydon and Uzma Rizvi, 93-112. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press

Pai, Hyung Il. 2013. *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity & Identity.* Seattle and London: University of Washington Press

Papp, Melinda. 2013. "Molding of a Rite of Passage in Urban Japan: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives", *Urbanities* 3, no.1: 61-82

Pak Youngsook. 2016. "Seventeenth-century Japan as seen by the Korean Envoy Hogok Nam Yong-ik (1628-1692)". Keynote speech at the 2016 NAJAKS conference in Stockholm, personal notes from the lecture.

Park, Chan Seung. 2008. "Colonial Modernity and Making of Mokpo as a Dual City", *Korea Journal* 48, no.3: 104-132

Pauknerová, Karolína. 2012. "Urbánní krajina: senzuální přístupy". In *Úvod do urbánní antropologie* edited by Blanka Soukupová, Miroslav Hroch, Peter Salner and Róża Godula-Węcławowicz, 53-59. Prague: Fakulta humanitních studií v Praze, společensko-vědní modul

Pauknerová, Karolína. 2013. "Cesty antropologa ve městě: o lidských smyslech, městské krajině a antropologii". In *Cesty urbánní antropologie: Tradice – nové směry – identita,* edited by Blanka Soukupová *et al.,* 87-99. Prague: Fakulta humanitních studií Univerzity Karlovy

Pels, Peter and Oscar Salemink, *eds.* 2000. *Colonial Subjects: Essays on the Practical History of Anthropology.* First Paperback Edition. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press

Pernice, Raffaele. 2017. "Shaping the City of Tomorrow in East Asia: Concepts, Schemes and Ideas for Urban Development from 1960s to 2010, and Beyond". In *Proceedings of AESOP Annual Congress 2017*, 3262-3270

Pink, Sarah and David Howes. 2010. "The future of sensory anthropology / the anthropology of the senses", debate section, *Social Anthropology / Anthropologie Sociale* 18, no. 3: 331-340

Prakash, Gyan. 2015. "Postcolonial Criticism and History: Subaltern Studies". In *The Oxford History of Historical Writing. Volume 5: Historical Writing since 1945*, edited by Axel Schneider and Daniel Woolf, 74-92. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Rahn, David and Emi Higashiyama. 2006. *Kobe, City of Lights: A Guide to Kobe and Foreign Culture.* Translated by Komei Kure. Kobe: Kobe Shimbun Publishing Center

Rapport, Nigel and Joanna Overing. 2005. *Social and Cultural Anthropology: The Key Concepts.* Lonodn and New York: Routledge

Raulin, Anne. 2014. *Anthropologie urbaine.* Second Edition. Paris: Armand Colin

Reader, Ian and George J. Tanabe, jr., *eds.* 1998. *Practically Religious: Worldly benefits and the Common Religion of Japan.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press

Rew, Joung Yole. 2008. *Japanese Colonial Government of Korea: Empire Building in East Asia.* Paju: Hanguk Haksul Cheongbo

Robertson, Jennifer. 1988. "*Furusato* Japan: The Culture and Politics of Nostalgia", *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 1, no. 4: 494-518

Robertson, Jennifer, *ed.* 2005. *A Companion to the Anthropology of Japan.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing

Robinson, Jennifer. 2006. *Ordinary Cities: Between Modernity and Development.* New York and London: Routledge

Robinson, Michael Edson. 1988. *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920-1925.* Seattle and London: University of Washington Press

Rojek, Chris and John Urry, *eds*. 1997. *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*. London and New York: Routledge

Roux, Pierre-Emmanuel. 2012. *La Croix, la baleine et le canon: La France face à la Corée au milieu du XIXe siècle*. Paris: Cerf

Sassen, Saskia. 1991. *The Global City: New York, London and Tokyo*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Sekine, Yuki. 2008. "The Rise of Poverty in Japan: The Emergence of the Working Poor", *Japan Labor Review* 5, no.4 (Special Edition: Disparity, Poverty and Labor): 49-66

Shaw, Debra Benita. 2018. *Posthuman Urbanism: Mapping Bodies in Contemporary City Space*. London and New York: Rowman & Littlefield International

Shin, Gi-Wook. 2006. *Ethnic Nationalisms in Korea: Genealogy, Politics, and Legacy*. Stanford: Stanford University Press

Shin, Gi-Wook and Michael Robinson, *eds*. 1999. *Colonial Modernity in Korea*. Cambridge (Massachusetts) and London: Harvard University Press

Siewicz, Agnieszka. 2011. "Anthropology as an inspiration to food studies: Building theory and practice", *AnthropoWebzin* 3/2011 (Special printed edition): 143-148

Shore, Cris and Susan Wright, *eds*. 1997. *Anthropology of Policy: Critical Perspectives on Governance and Power*. London and New York: Routledge

Sohn, Sei Kwan *et al.* 2006. "The Modernization of the Korean Housing Under the Japanese Colonial Rule", *International Journal of Human Ecology* 7, no. 1: 1-12

Song, Yeun-Jee. 2013. *Historicizing the Discourse on Pro-Japanese Collaborators in Contemporary Korean History from the Late 1970s to the Late 2000s*. Doctoral dissertation. Asian Languages and Cultures at UCLA. Available online: https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8611g873 (Acquired February 3rd, 2021.)

Sorensen, André. 2004. *The Making of Urban Japan: Cities and Planning from Edo to the Twenty First Century*. London and New York: Routledge

Sorensen, André and Carolin Funck, *eds*. 2007. *Living Cities in Japan: Citizens' Movements, Machizukuri and Local Environments*. London and New York: Routledge

Soukupová, Blanka, Hroch, Miroslav, Scheu, Harald Christian and Zuzana Jurková*, eds*. 2012. *Mýtus – „realita" – identita: Státní a národní metropole po první světové válce*. Prague: Fakulta humanitních studií Univerzity Karlovy

Spirou, Costas. 2011. *Urban Tourism and Urban Change: Cities in a Global Economy*. New York and London: Routledge

Stöckelová, Tereza and Yasar Abu Ghosh, *eds.* 2013. *Etnografie. Improvizace v teorii a terénní praxi.* Prague: Slon

Sugimoto, Yoshio, *ed.* 2009. *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Japanese Culture.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Sugimoto, Yoshio, *ed.* 2010. *An Introduction to Japanese Society.* Third Edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Sugiura, Yoshio. 1978. "Innovation Diffusion and Urban System in Japan during the Meiji and Taishō Era, 1868-1926", *Geographical Reports of Tokyo Metropolitan University* 13: 29-48

Tamura, Keiko. 2007. *Forever Foreign: Expatriate Lives in Historical Kobe.* National Library of Australia

Toyosawa, Nobuko. 2019. *Imaginative Mapping: Landscape and Japanese Identity in the Tokugawa and Meiji Eras.* Cambridge (Massachusetts) and London: Harvard University Press

Uchida, Jun. 2011. *Brokers of Empire: Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1876-1945.* Cambridge (Massachusetts): Harvard University Press

Verdeil, Éric. 2020. *Atlas des mondes urbains.* Paris: Les Presses de Sciences Po

Waldmannová, Eliška. 2013. "Změna obrazu Prahy po roce 1989 očima turistů". Masters thesis, Faculty of Humanities, Charles University.

Wells, Sharon. 2002. "Food in the City: An Interdisciplinary Study of the Ideological and Symbolic Uses of Food in the Urban Environment in Later Medieval England." Doctoral dissertation, The Centre for Medieval Studies, The University of York.

Williams, Harold S. 1975. *The Kobe Club.* Kobe: The Kobe Club

Wolfe, Patrick. 1999. *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event.* London and New York: Cassell

Woo, Yun-joo and Jeong-Hann Pae. 2011. "개항기 한국인의 공원관 형성 (Korean Perspectives on Parks during the Port Opening Period)", 한국조경학회지 *(Journal of the Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture)* 39, no.6: 76-85.

Yeoh, Brenda S. A. 2001. "Postcolonial cities." *Progress in Human Geography* XXV, vol. 3: 456-468

Yoon, Hong-key. 2007. "The Role of *Pungsu* (Geomancy) in Korean Culture". In *Proceedings of The 5th Biannual KSAA Conference, the Enlightening Korea: Converging or Diverging,* edited by KS Shin and H. Chang, 7-12. Available online: https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/8655 (Acquired February 3rd, 2021.)

Zreik, Raef. 2016. "When Does a Settler Become a Native? (With Apologies to Mamdani)", *Constellations* 23, no. 3: 351-364

Other Printed Sources

1883-2001 인천의 도시계획 *(Urban Planning in Incheon in 1883-2001)*. Incheon: Incheon Metropolitan City, 2004 (Quoted as "Incheon Planning")

Dong-gu ward of Incheon. 2004. *Dong-gu tour*. Incheon: Dong-gu Ward Office

Genron NPO: *11th Japan-China Joint Opinion Poll Analysis Report on the Comparative Data (2015)*. Available online: https://www.genron-npo.net/pdf/2015forum_en.pdf (Acquired January 18th, 2021.)

Incheon Historical Data Office. 2003. *Incheon, her History and Culture*. Incheon: Incheon Metropolitan City (Quoted as "Incheon H&C")

Incheon Historical Data Office. 2008. *The First in Korea and the Oldest in Incheon*. Incheon: Incheon Metropolitan City (Quoted as "The First in Korea")

Incheon Foundation for Arts and Culture. 2009. *Incheon Open Port Historic Walks*. Incheon: Incheon Foundation for Arts and Culture (Quoted as "Historic Walks")

Kobe City Museum. 2013. ホンモノに会いに行こう – 神戸市立博物館で楽しむ歴史と美 (Let's go see Hon-mono "Real Japan": History and Art Made Fun at Kobe City Museum). Kobe City Museum official guidebook. Kobe: Kobe City Museum

Korean National Commission for UNESCO, *ed.* 2003. *Korean anthropology: contemporary Korean culture in flux*. Elizabeth, NJ: Hollym

Merk, Olaf, *et al.* 2011. "The Competitiveness of Global Port-Cities: the Case of the Seine Axis (Le Havre, Rouen, Paris, Caen) - France", *OECD Regional Development Working Papers*, 2011/07. Paris: OECD Publishing. Available online: http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5kg58xppgc0n-en (Acquired February 13, 2021.)

Osaka Museum of Housing and Living. 2015. Official Guidebook – English Edition. Osaka: Osaka Museum of Housing and Living

Tsuruga City Museum. 2016. 敦賀長浜鉄道物語 – 敦賀みなとと鉄道文化 (Tsuruga-Nagahama Railroad Story: Tsuruga and Minato Railway Culture). Second Edition. Tsuruga: Tsuruga City Museum

Chosun Railway Travel Guide, Railway Bureau of the Government-General of Korea, 1915:61

Kobe within Japan.

Source: Wikimedia Commons,
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:
Map_of_Japan_with_highlight_on_Kobe_
city.svg
(Acquired march 31st, 2021.)

Incheon province within South Korea.

Source: Wikimedia Commons,
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/
File:Incheon-gwangyeoksi_in_South_
Korea.svg
(Acquired March 31st, 2021.)

Progressively down-scaling maps of Kobe, the last one shows the area in between Sannomiya and Kitano Ijinkan.

Source: Mapy.cz, cropped by the author (Acquired March 31st, 2021.)

Top and middle: Progressively down-scaling maps of Incheon, the second one shows the Chinatown and Open Port Area and Dongincheon areas enclosed by the blue Seoul Subway Line 1.

Source: Mapy.cz, cropped by the author (Acquired March 31st, 2021.)

Bottom: "Map of the Chinese Concession in Incheon, 1884", Creative Commons, https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Map-of-the-Chinese-Concession-in-Incheon-1884_fig12_259169691

(Acquired March 31st, 2021.)
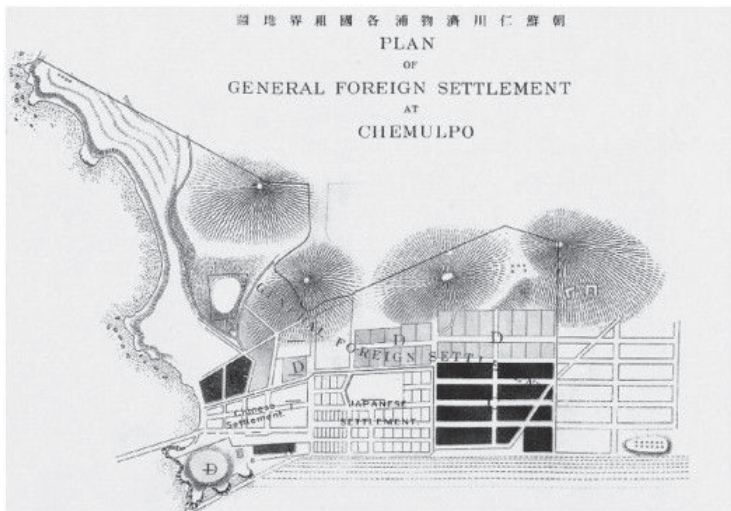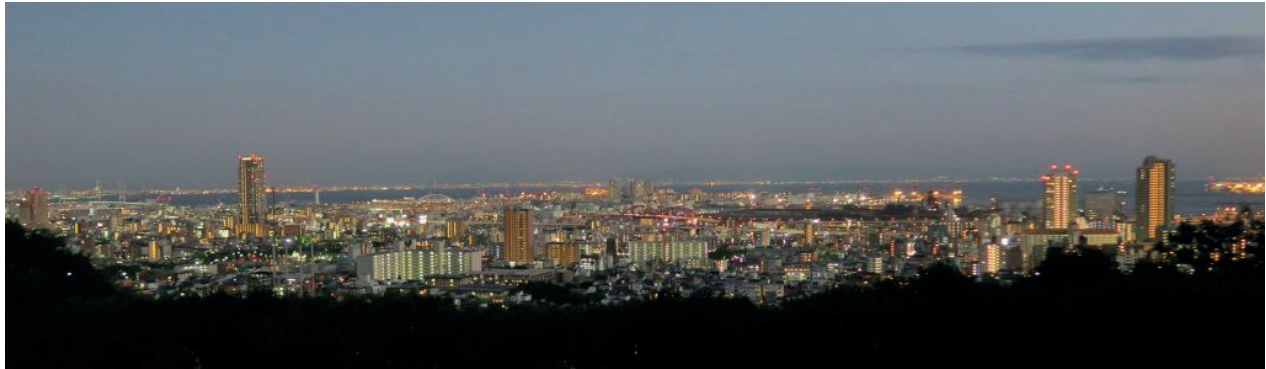
Top: The Kobe dusk skyline taken from the Kobe University main campus. The lights on the horizon belong to Osaka. The Osaka Bay skyline is considered (and promoted) as one of the three most scenic of all Japan. **Bottom left:** House variety in Kobe skyline, immediate vicinity is the coveted Rokko residential area. **Bottom right:** The Harborland area and Kobe Tower illuminated, a travel poster-like picture, this sight is often featured in Kobe branding materials (postcards, tourism advertisements etc.)
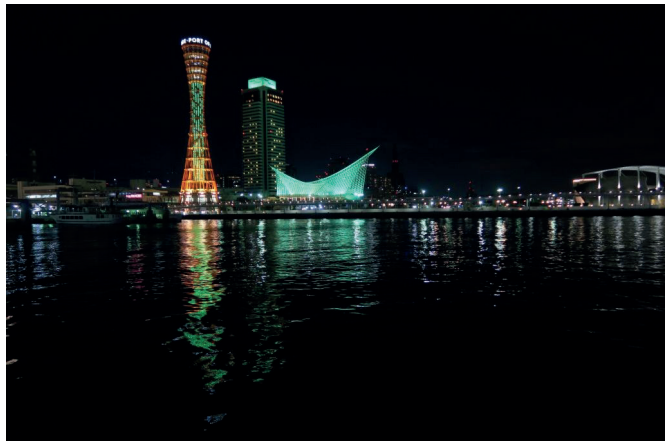
Bottom left: The artificial islands of Kobe seen from the Rokko mountains. **Bottom right:** Part of Kobe port seen from the Rokko Island, in the background are the coveted areas of Rokko and Mikage and further the residential areas crouched on the slopes of the Rokko Mountain ridge. This picture illustrates how the inner Kobe lies enclosed in between the sea and the mountains.
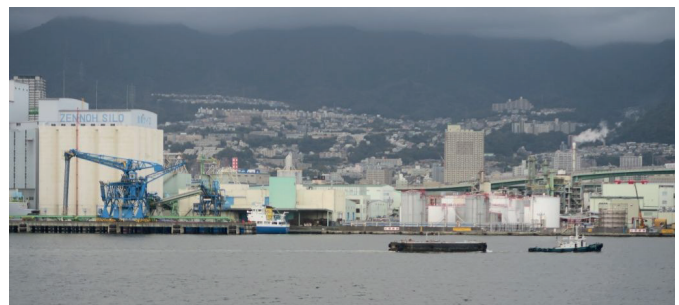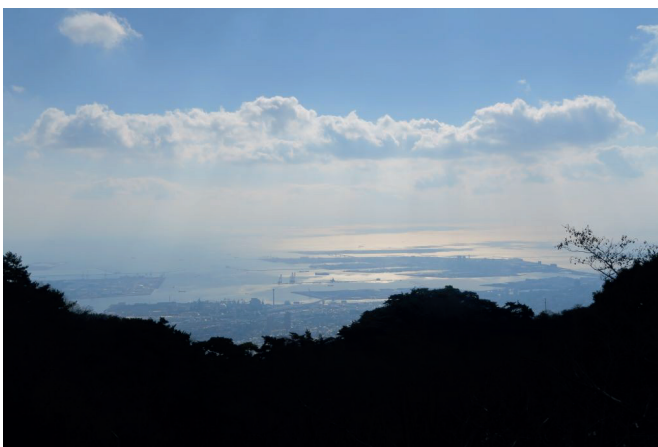
Incheon: apartment blocks and high-rises. **Top left**: The Gyeyang ward seen from Mt. Gyeyang ridge, a residential area facing inland, one of the "bed town" districts of Incheon. **Top right:** Cheongna International City seen from Mt. Gyeyang ridge, sea on the horizon.

"Old Incheon". **Top left:** The inner port seen from the Jayu Park, Wolmido island with observatory tower on the right. **Top right:** The port on the horizon seen from the Hongmyeomun Gate, marking the contours of the Open Port Area. On the right one of the popular "cozy" concept cafes. **Bottom left:** A restaurant street near the Sinpo Food Market. **Bottom right:** Old Songdo seen from the massive Incheon Landing Memorial, New Songdo on the horizon.
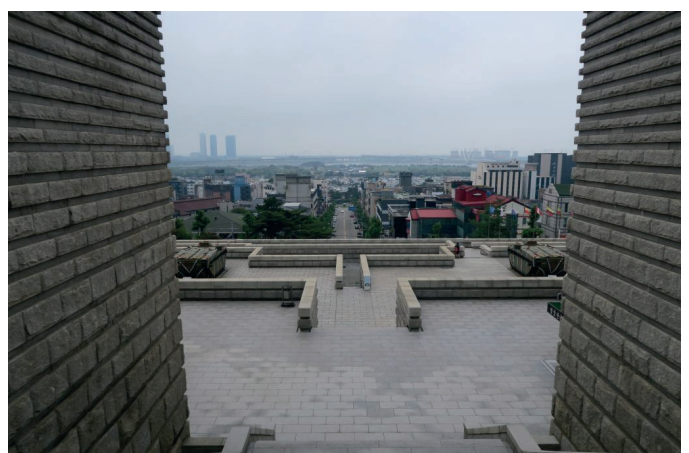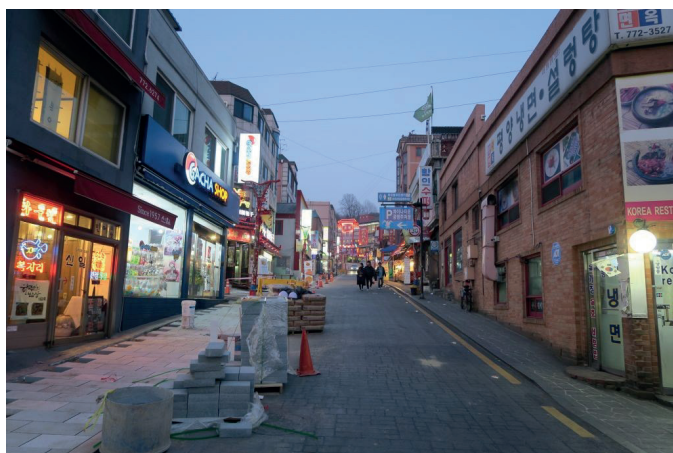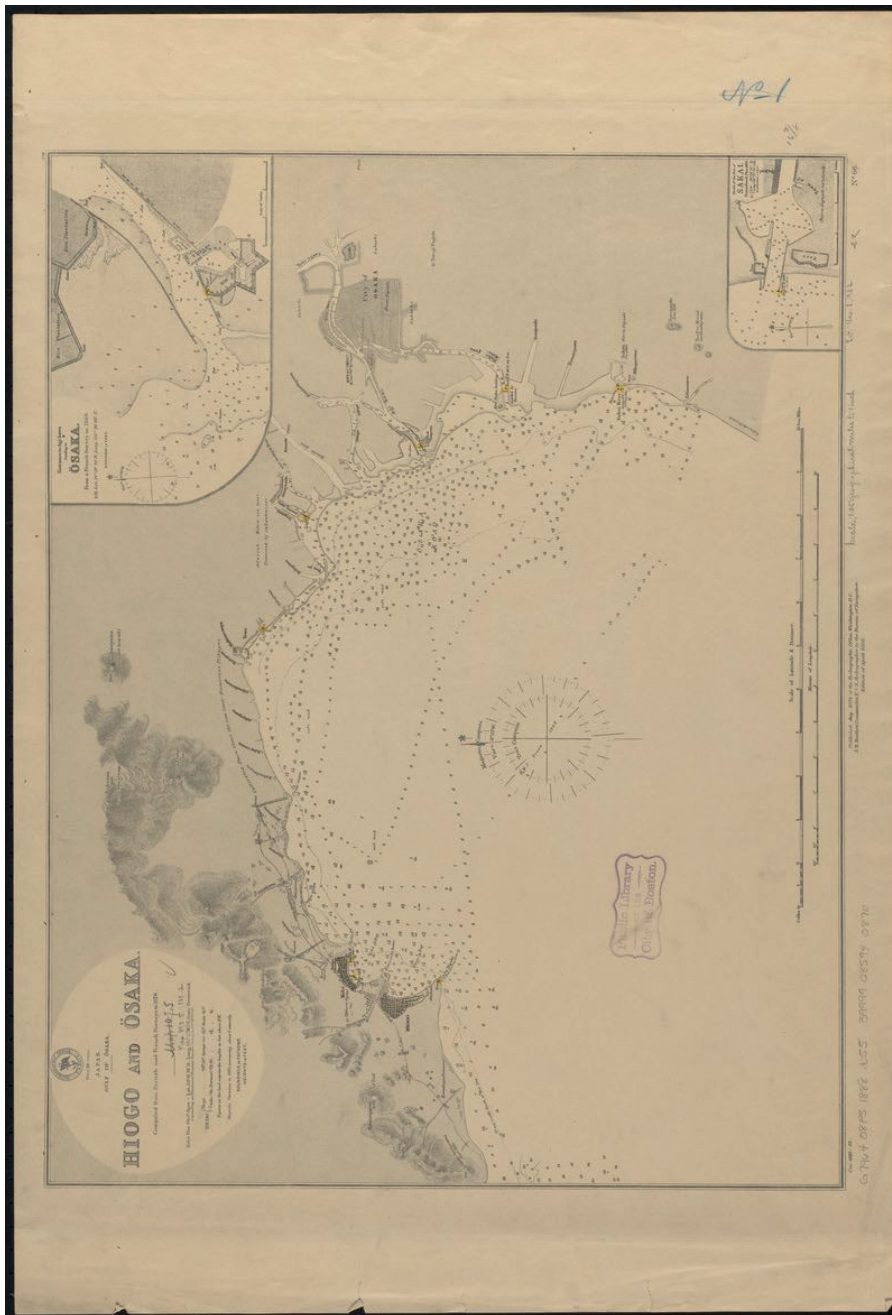
Left: Japan, Gulf of Ösaka, Hiogo and Ösaka : compiled from British and French surveys to 1878.

United States. Hydrographic Office. "Japan, Gulf of Ösaka, Hiogo and Ösaka." Map. 1888. Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center, https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:0z709d38m (accessed March 30, 2021).

Bottom left: A detail on the twin cities of Kobe and Hiogo, cropped from the same map by the author.

Kobe Settlement. **Top left:** Rendering by the Kobe City Museum, with clearly distinguishable Bund and the public garden. **Top right:** The emplacement of the Settlement within the current map of Kobe with visible changes to the waterfront (Kobe City Museum). **Middle bottom:** Lots of the Settlement, with notable establishments of the time (Kobe City Museum, all Summer 2017). **Bottom:** Chemulpo settlements' rendering by Incheon Metropolitan City Museum, green hilly area is presently partly taken by the Jayu Park (July 2017).

Kobe *ijinkan* houses outside of Kitano.
Top left: A house in the former main Settlement area.
Top right: The "Hassam House", relocated from the Settlement to the Sorakuen garden.
Bottom left: The "Guggenheim House" in Shioya as seen from the JR Shioya Station.
Bottom right: The Sun Yat-Sen house, "Ijokaku", in the Tarumi area in the forefront, other *ijinkan* house in the background on the waterfront (August 2019). Picture by KishujiRapid, Wikimedia Creative Commons, https://commons.m.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ijokaku_201908 17.jpg
 (Acquired March 2021).
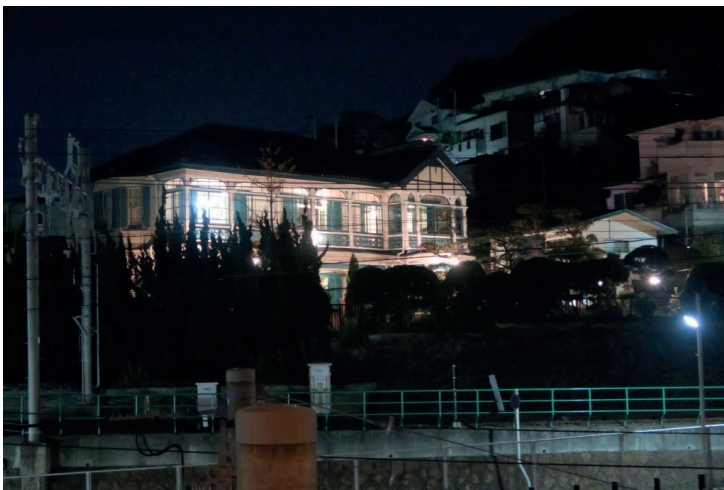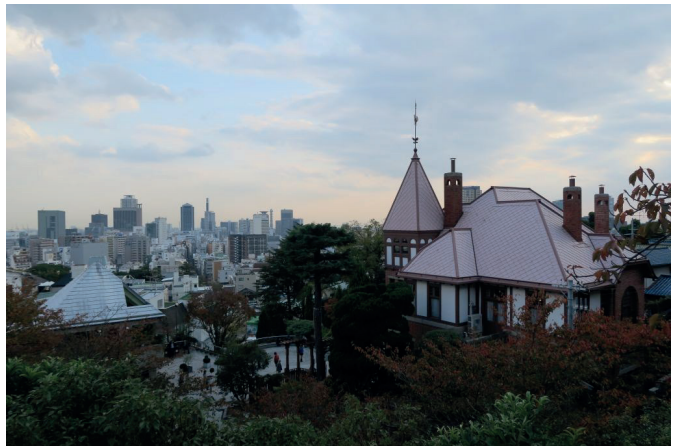
Top left: Kitano-dōri, main street of Kitano area, with themed museums. **Top right:** Kobe skyline from Kitano towards Sannomiya, the iconic Weathercock House on the right.

Top left: Kitano Monogatari-kan house, a registered heritage *ijinkan,* now hosting a Starbucks coffee branch, relocated to Kitano after 1995. **Top right:** Gunther Geihinkan house, a registered heritage *ijinkan*, hosting a wedding hall and saloon, not freely accessible to the public. **Bottom left:** Newly built houses in Kitano Ijinkan area adhering to style regulations of the protected area. **Bottom right:** The "Denmark House", themed museum in Kitano, however, not located in an *ijinkan* house, with costumed staff.

Top left: A non-renovated house at the border in between Chinatown and the Open Port Area housing a Chinese souvenir shop. Even though the picture is from 2017, this was how all of the "heritage houses" looked during my first visit in early 2012. **Top right:** One of the main streets in the Open Port Area with renovated houses on the right. Note the trademark lamp (the yellow fliers on it say "Open Port Area"), they were installed after the renovation of the area on the main streets.

Top left: The "pot_R" cafe (left), the first renovated house of the Open Port Area to be designated heritage. **Top right:** The renovated Japanese-style tearoom on the second floor of "pot_R". **Bottom left:** A former Japanese bank building in the Open Port Area, now museum. **Bottom right:** A row of tearooms in the northern tip of the Open Port Area specializing in "traditional Korean" herbal teas.
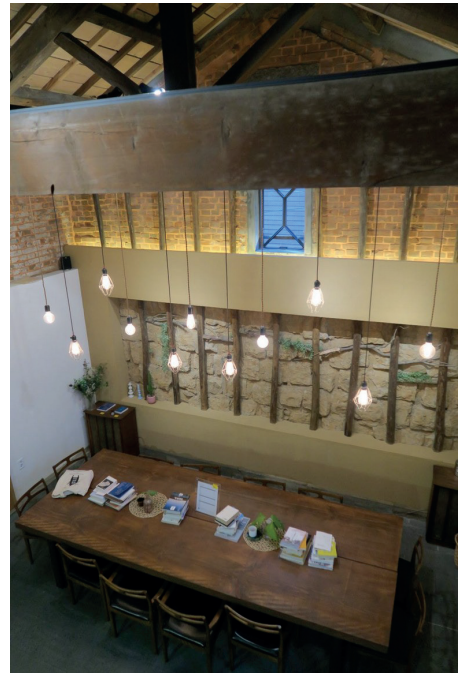
Top left: The building of Jung-gu ward's culture and tourism department, Open Port Area. **Top middle:** A "Japanese-style" tearoom in one of the "heritage houses" with beams brought from a *hanok* house. **Top right:** The interior of one *kinyeom* (memory) cafe in the Open Port Area, located in a refurbished warehouse. On the table are books on Incheon's history, coffee-shop guidebooks etc. **Bottom left:** The essence of "newtro" wave: a 1980s arcade games shop located in a "heritage house" in the Open Port Area (August 2018). **Bottom right:** The Open Port Area stamp rally "passport" with a stamp filled in, held open by a cappuccino cup from the coffee-shop featured at the opened page, a social media picture created for the purpose of claiming the stamp rally's promotional item.

Kobe Nankinmachi. **Top left:** The main Nankinmachi square. People queuing in front of the best known *"butaman"* restaurant of all Nankinmachi. **Top right:** A Kobe beef steak restaurant in Nankinmachi alongside Chinese food restaurants.
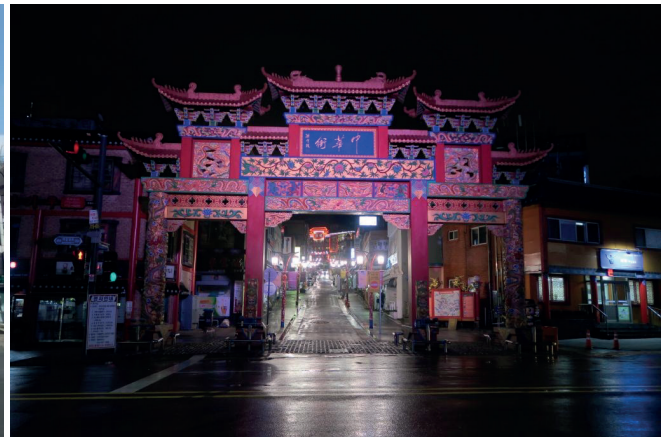
Incheon Chinatown. **Top left:** Entrance gate to Chinatown in front of the Incheon-Chinatown Seoul Subway Line 1 station in February 2012. **Top right:** The same gate in April 2017. **Bottom left:** Chinese dumpling restaurant in Chinatown, in front a stall with sweets, 2017. **Bottom right:** The staircase leading up to the Jayu Park, marking a border in between Chinatown and the Open Port Area, decorated with lanterns for the Buddha's Birthday celebrations observed nation-wide in South Korea, 2017.

Kobe places. **Top left:** Illuminated Tor Road, Kobe Kitano. **Top right:** Sorakuen garden. **Bottom left:** Motomachi covered shopping street. **Bottom right:** The "Motoko" *kōkai-shita* (a business arcade below train tracks), entrance n.6. Motoko runs from Kobe Station to Sannomiya; favored by some informants for its "retro" feeling.

Incheon and memory. **Bottom left:** The statue of General MacArthur in Jayu Park (February 2012, remained the same in 2017/8). **Bottom middle:** The 100th anniversary memorial of diplomatic ties in between Korea and the USA, Jayu Park (February 2012, remained the same in 2017/8). **Bottom right:** A national flag half-hoisted over a private house in Juan area for the Memorial Day (June 6), commemorating people who died in the military service, esp. during the Korean War or the independence movement (June 2017).
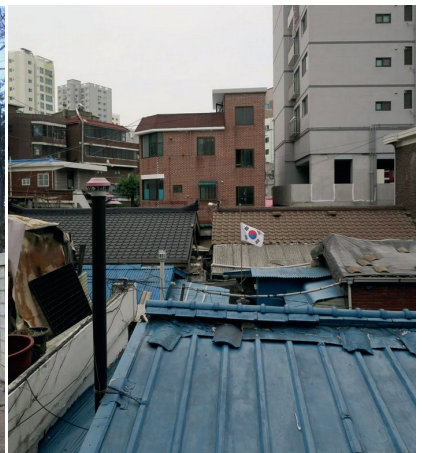
Hwadojin Festival, Dongincheon Station part. **Top left:** People eating and drinking, music stage in the background. **Top right:** A young woman who attended the festival wearing *hanbok* stands in the middle of the picture. (May 2017)


Kobe Luminarie and Kobe Tea Festival. **Top left:** The "end" part of Luminarie seen from the Kobe City Hall observation deck. **Top right:** The same area from the ground, a small "chapel" structure that served for throwing lucky coins in the middle, picture taken at one of the days noted in my field diary as "less busy". **Bottom left:** A Luminarie panel with the official logo of the "150Y Port of Kobe Anniversary" celebratory events. (Luminarie of December 2016) **Bottom right:** Kobe Tea Festival, an event created purposefully for the 150Y celebrations. Kobe Harborland area with Kobe Tower in the backdrop. (January 2017)
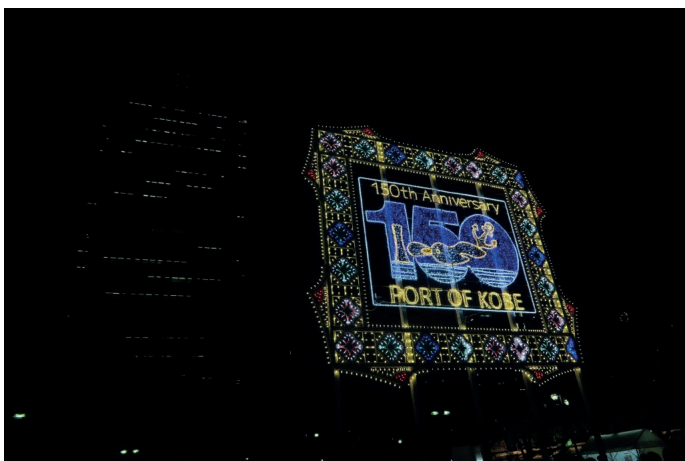
Up: Seasonal flowers. *Left:* Kobe skyline seen through ume tree flowers at Kitano Tenmangu Shrine. *Right:* Cheongna International City seen through blooming azalea trees at Mt. Gyeyang range, Incheon. **Down:** *Top left:* A poster showing the autumn leaves (*momiji*) progression at various destinations of the Hankyu Railway in Kansai, poster from Arashiyama Station in Kyoto. *Top right:* The "French House" museum in Kitano Ijinkan (Kitano-dōri) decorated for Christmas. *Bottom left:* Kitano stamp rally station. *Bottom right*: A Hankyu Railway advertisement for Kobe travel from a station outside of Kobe showing the Weathercock House and the imagery of Kitano as a romantic place.
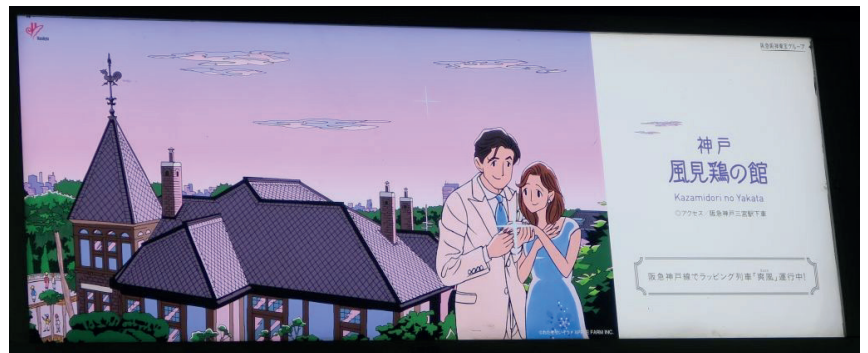
Kobe Sannomiya, the new Kobe "downtown". **Top left:** Shopping malls and office buildings, south of the rail tracks. View from the Kobe City Hall observation deck. The "Kobe" illuminated sight on the Rokko Mountains is a permanent installation. **Top right:** Ikuta road (the Ikuta Shrine is at the end), Sannomiya north of the tracks, bar and restaurant area, sometimes considered "dangerous at night".

Top left: Riverbed cast in concrete near Shin-Kobe Station. Image invoking the *"kirei"* (nice, clean) feeling and modernity (esp. in the Shōwa era). **Top right:** Night view of Incheon bridge. Image by Dogtra_Nick (Nov. 22, 2009), Creative Commons license, https://www.flickr.com/photos/ko79/4126772149/ (Acquired March 2021, unaltered). Incheon bridge is one of the "modernity" branding images of Incheon. **Bottom left:** Songdo Central Park, with the prominent POSCO tower and the *hanok*-style hotel surrounded by pine trees on the right. **Bottom right:** Songdo Central Park, people day-camping and having picnic; many likely not residents but visitors from other parts of Incheon. Songdo is another perceived and propagated image of "modernity" within Incheon.

"Dangerous neighborhoods", Juan (Incheon) on top, Shinkaichi (Kobe) below. **Top left:** Restaurants and bars in Juan. **Top right:** Another bar/restaurant street in Juan. The lady on the right is sitting in front of a *noraebang* (karaoke), she is likely a "hostess" of the establishment. **Bottom left:** Shinkaichi arcade, the rows of scooters and bikes are parked in front of *pachinko* casinos. **Bottom right:** Shinkaichi arcade, a noodle stand in the background (navy blue sign) and a pawn shop in the forefront.

Bottom left: Non-redeveloped area of Dongincheon, considered "strange", "dangerous" or "difficult to like". The small house in the middle housing a 24h mini-shop (yellow sign) likely dates from the colonial era. The houses in the picture as a whole convey the image of a "not well developed area", the old as "uninteresting" or "nuisance". **Bottom right:** A street in Nagata ward of Kobe, area considered "dangerous", sometimes linked to *yakuza* presence or precariousness of the neighborhood. Conveys similar images as Dongincheon area. (The picture also shows one of the rare days of snowfall in Kobe.)
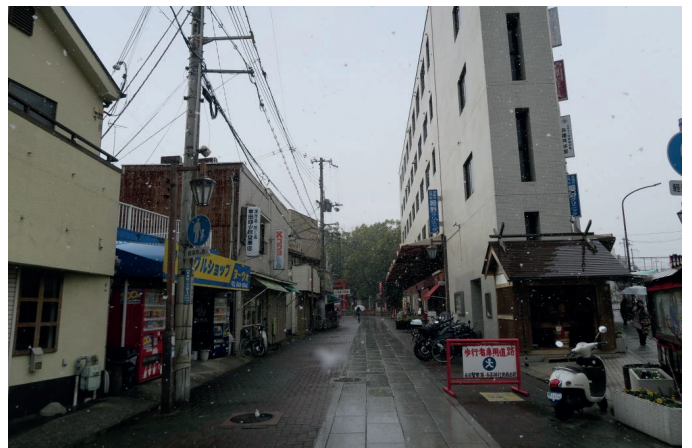
Busan redevelopment. **Top left:** Busan's famous colonial settlement on the hill towering the Haeundae Beach. (Summer 1967, photo courtesy Richard Wong.) **Top right:** The few remaining colonial-era houses, rest of the hill redeveloped with apartment blocks. (Spring 2017)

UNESCO sites under change, Anapji in Gyeongju (top) and Suwon fortress (below). **Top left:** Young Koreans pose in front of the Anapji pond. (Summer 1967, photo courtesy Richard Wong.) **Top right:** Anapji illuminated, February 2012. **Bottom left:** Suwon fortress, Hwaseomun gate (March 2012). **Bottom right:** Parts of the Suwon fortress under construction, already designated a UNESCO site at the time, March 2012.

Top left: Shanty-houses in Chinatown (Incheon), conveying the images of "uninteresting", or "nuisance" oldness. **Top right:** Rural part of Nara city near the Nara Castle, touted by some of my informants as "uninteresting", or "nothing much".

Furusato (top) and *kohyang* (bottom) images. **Top left:** Rice paddies in Asuka with Asuka Temple in the background. Asuka is a prime spot for *furusato* tourism. **Top right:** Rice paddies in Hata (near lake Biwa), another famous *furusato* tourism destination in Kansai. **Bottom left:** Yongin Folk Village near Seoul, entering into the "romanticized history" imagery. In the forefront are jars for fermenting *kimchi* or soybean paste (still used by many people). **Bottom right:** Yongin Folk Village was used as a filming location for many popular historical *drama*, making it also a *drama* tourism destination. The panel on the right recalls the famous *drama* "Jewel in the Palace" that aired 2003-4. (Yongin pictures date from Fall 2011).

Top left: A *paekpan* style of Korean food, several main courses (fish and crab) with a wide assortment of *panchan*. Picture from an Incheon *matjib*. **Top right:** Jujube tea and jujube lemonade, served in one of the concept "memory cafes" in Incheon Open Port Area.

Incheon food specialties, *ttak kangjeong* (up) and *jjajangmyeon* (below). **Top left:** Sinpo Food Market, the first and most famous *ttak kangjeong* (fried chicken in a honey-spicy sauce) in the area. The shop gave the recipe a twist that made it a Sinpo specialty. **Top right:** A takeaway stall of the same restaurant, showing chicken bits and prices for a large and medium portions. **Bottom left:** Gonghwachun restaurant in Chinatown, today Jjajangmyeon Museum, building registered heritage. **Bottom right:** The *jjajangmyeon* noodles. Photo by stu_spivack, Wikimedia Creative Commons, https://www.flickr.com/photos/stuart_spivack/370040691/ (Acquired March 2021).

Kobe food. **Top left:** Poster for all-you-can-eat grill, serving cuts from Kobe beef as well. **Top right, descending:** *Butaman* as served with tea and condiments at the famous Laoxiangji restaurant in Nankinmachi. An *okonomiyaki* "pancake" on a hot plate, a specialty (street) food of Kansai. There's a "feud" about whether *okonomiyaki* originated in Hiroshima or in Kansai and even in Kansai, slight regional variations on the recipe occur in between Akashi, Kobe, Osaka and Nara. In Kyoto, a similar food exists, called *negiyaki*, using scallion as the base ingredient instead of the white cabbage used in *okonomiyaki*. It's one of the "there's never one true right recipe for this" foods. **Bottom left:** A cafe in Kitano serving ice-cream and other products made from the Rokko Farm milk. **Bottom right:** A "Showa-style" (because of the interior design) cafe in Shinkaichi, serving "siphon coffee" popular in Japan in 2016-18, prepared from a house blend roasted on-the-spot.