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Cultural Appropriation: Kimchi Controversy and Culture Wars between China and South Korea

MODL5300M Research Methods and Project for MAPLIS

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Abstract

This dissertation focuses on revealing the significant points concerning cultural appropriation and exploring how the notion of “cultural appropriation” contributes to a Kimchi controversy and culture wars between Internet users from China and South Korea. The research method of this dissertation involves an in-depth examination of public perceptions of cultural appropriation and the controversies on social media. The findings of this research show three themes - Critiques of cultural appropriation, Support for cultural export, and Commenters’ factual claims. The main conclusions of this research are that the ownership of cultural products, the protection of cultural identity, cultural diversity, and the geographical and historical issues are the important points in understanding cultural appropriation, while the aggressiveness of arguments, the misinterpretation and misuse of the concept of cultural appropriation, and the disagreement on the markers of cultural appropriation are the contributors to the controversies.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Motivation of Research

In this piece of research, the Kimchi controversy and culture wars between Internet users from China and South Korea are investigated as the representations of debates around cultural appropriation. Such a topic is worth investigating because the term “cultural appropriation” has been used by people as an accusation to produce tensions and raise conflicts on social media, having an extremely serious impact on China-South Korea relations. It also affects intercultural communication as civilised conversations have been replaced by the fierce exchange of words. It is truly a sad fact that people from the two countries have been deeply divided by the increasingly fervent controversies. Thus, the researcher wonders where the problem lies and decides to research the cause and effect of the series of on-going controversies. More emphasis is placed on the major incident, the Kimchi controversy, while the two associated culture wars are also worth mentioning. Therefore, the research is motivated by the need to provide a comprehensive understanding of cultural appropriation, address the importance of interpreting the notion appropriately, and find ways to ease the tensions between the two countries. The focus of this dissertation is to clarify the significant points in relation to the true nature of cultural appropriation. The purpose of this dissertation is to present an explanation of the cultural controversies by examining people’s attitudes towards the controversies as well as perceptions of cultural appropriation.

1.2 Kimchi Controversy

On 9 January 2021, the famous Chinese YouTuber Liziqi posted a video named *The last episode of the “Life Series”: The life of white radish!* on her channel. This 20-minute video introduces the Chinese traditional way of growing, pickling, and cooking white radish in the alternation of seasons across a year. It delivers an immersive experience for viewers to have a fair idea of the life of white radish according to the Chinese solar terms. In the video description, it is stated that Xiaoxue (minor snow) and Daxue (major snow) before the Chinese New Year are the best terms

to pickle vegetables and cure meat (The last episode of the “Life Series”: The life of white radish!, 2021). The video showcases the full process of collecting and sowing seeds in Chunfen (vernal equinox), harvesting white radish and other vegetables, dehydrating and pickling them, and cooking dishes in Xiaohan (minor cold). However, with estimated 15 million subscribers and more than 10 million views of this video, Liziqi was publicly accused by Korean viewers of “culturally appropriating” Korean Kimchi (fermented vegetables) for a Chinese dish. This is mostly due to the main ingredients, the red colour, and the production process of Chinese Paocai (fermented vegetables) and Korean Kimchi (see Appendix A for the screenshots of Chinese Paocai-making and cooking in *The life of white radish!* and Appendix B for the screenshots of Korean Kimchi-making and sharing). To be precise, it is not white radish, the main object of the video, that causes the controversy but pickled cabbage. Immediately, the comment area of the video has become an online war zone where the notion of “cultural appropriation” has been utilised as a weapon by Internet users from China and South Korea to fight against each other.

1.3 Culture Wars between China and South Korea

As more and more Internet users enter the digital battlefield, the Kimchi controversy has triggered several culture wars between China and South Korea, concerning not only food culture, but also dress culture and festival culture. The Hanfu versus Hanbok controversy and the Chinese New Year versus Lunar New Year controversy are inextricably interwoven with the Kimchi controversy. The Hanfu (Han Chinese clothing) versus Hanbok (Korean clothing) controversy showed an early sign of dispute about two months before the Kimchi controversy. The source of the controversy is the costumes in the Chinese TV drama *Royal Feast*, which was recognised by Korean Internet users as “culturally appropriating” Korean Hanbok. The drama producer clarified that “This is definitely Hanfu of the Ming Dynasty, and it cannot be described as ‘Hanbok’ by the illiterate just because it was adopted in ‘Goryeo’, which was a vassal state of the Ming Dynasty” (Ji, 2020). This sharp response was not accepted by Korean, but further inflamed tensions. As for the Chinese New Year versus Lunar New Year controversy, it took place about one month after the Kimchi controversy when the situation was extremely sensitive. At the heart of the storm are the social media posts of Spring Festival greeting, mostly by

celebrities, influencers, educational institutions, and government officials from all over the world, some of whom were criticised for their word choice of “Happy Chinese New Year” or “Happy Lunar New Year”. However, the online posts have become evidence of appropriating Chinese or Korean festival cultures. The two cases are taken to the international stage along with the Kimchi controversy, drawing global attention to the conflicts of cultural appropriation between China and South Korea.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter critically reviews the academic literature relevant to the research topic, focusing on defining key concepts, comparing different theories, highlighting viewpoints and developments of influential research, and identifying limitations and gaps of previous studies. It has to be mentioned that cultural appropriation is a very broad subject, and it would be difficult to comprehensively cover massive information in this literature review. Thus, this chapter tries to derive certain answers from literature, use them as inspirations, and shows how this research fits in the field.

2.2 Definition of Cultural Appropriation

The notion of cultural appropriation has been defined by many scholars in different ways, constantly evolving with the changing world of language and culture. Literally, the word “appropriation” is from the Latin word “appropriationem (a making one's own)” (Online Etymology Dictionary, 2001). In general, the common feature of the various ways of defining cultural appropriation is “the act of [people] *taking* of a cultural product that is produced by members of another culture” and making it their own (Mosley and Biernat, 2020, p.5). Clearly, it involves people from different cultural groups and the ownership of cultural products. More elements are taken into consideration regarding contexts, as Hart (1997, p.137) gives a comprehensive definition of cultural appropriation as

speaking for others or *representing* them in fictional as well as legal, social, artistic, and political work [as] appropriate or proper, especially when individuals or groups with more social, economic, and political power perform this role for others without invitation.

He provides a detailed illustration of different categories of cultural products and more importantly, he brings a new point, power, into the discussion. Following his work, more crucial

factors have been raised from different perspectives and times. From the legal aspect, cultural appropriation is defined as “*taking*-from a culture that is not one’s own-of intellectual property, cultural expressions or artefacts, history, and ways of knowledge” (The Writers' Union of Canada, 1992, cited in Ziff and Rao, 1997, p.1). Further, Merry (1998, cited in Butera, 2020) asserts that in the framework, “this kind of ‘taking’ is always without the permission of the source community and there is always a power imbalance between the appropriating culture and the source culture”. Both Hart and Merry indicate the power relations among cultural groups and address initiative and intention. From the social and political aspect, Mosley and Biernat (2020) believe that cultural appropriation is a form of cultural thievery of identity based on not only power relations but also social structure, highlighting its influence on international relations. They also combine the definition with the current situation and point out that cultural appropriation “recently re-emerged as a controversial societal issue after several high-profile instances were highlighted in the media in cases of art, music, literature, and costume” (2020, p.4). Overall, defining cultural appropriation is an ever-going task conducted in bits and pieces, bringing insights into the significant points closely linked with cultural appropriation.

2.3 Cultural Appropriation and Power

Based on the definitions of cultural appropriation mentioned above, it is necessary to explore the relationship between cultural appropriation and power which is one of the mediating factors in defining cultural appropriation. In general, power is described by Nye (2004, p.2) as “the ability to influence the behaviors of others to get the outcomes one wants”. It is commonly accessed by the capability, development, and might of individuals or cultural groups and exercised over others through coercion, influence, authority, force, and manipulation (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962). In intergroup contexts, the uneven power among cultural groups becomes the main topic of discussion. Ziff and Rao (1997, p.5) suggest that “power and the relationships of power can be construed as central to the concept of cultural appropriation”. They discover the multidirectional characteristic of cultural appropriation and point out that the primary perception of cultural appropriation is often one-sided (Ziff and Rao, 1997). In light of this, Cuthbert (1998) indicates that cultural appropriation

can occur both in the form of dominant cultural groups taking from marginal, minority and colonised cultures and in the reverse direction, with members of minority or colonised cultures ‘appropriating’ elements of the dominant culture.

However, the act in the reverse direction is identified by Ziff and Rao (1997) as cultural assimilation. By contrasting the two ways of cultural transmission, they establish a framework to explain the differentiation of cultural appropriation and cultural assimilation based on two types of power relations (see Figure 1).

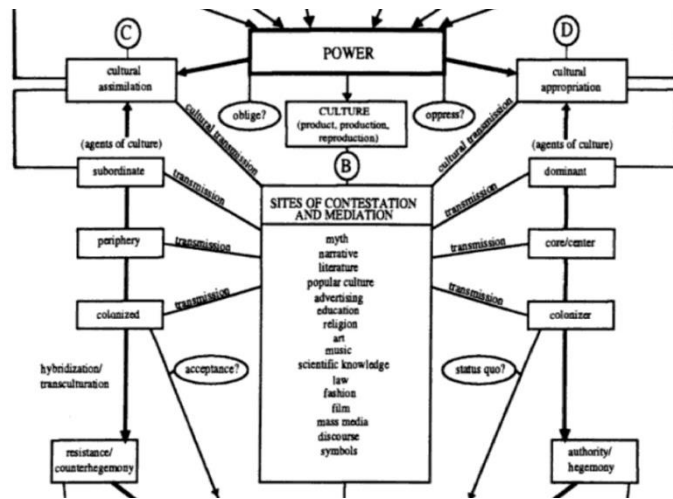


Figure 1: A structural representation of cultural transmission: appropriation or assimilation? (Ziff and Rao, 1997, p.6)

In this way, they define cultural assimilation as “a process whereby cultural minorities often are encouraged, if not obliged, to adapt or assimilate the cultural forms and practices of the dominant group” (Ziff and Rao, 1997, p.5-7). This act of less powerful cultures taking elements of other cultures is bound up with transcultural flows termed by Pennycook (2007, p.6) as “the ways in which cultural forms move, change and are reused to fashion new identities in diverse contexts”. In this process of remaking, cultural products are constantly being changed to fit the context, served as the resistance of less powerful cultural groups. What can be observed is that cultural appropriation is not limited to cultural taking of dominant groups from subordinate groups. It takes place in both directions and thus the practices are termed differently. Moreover, this raises the question of whether the imbalance of power is the absolute condition of cultural appropriation. When it comes to the third situation, cultural groups with equal power, the form of

cultural transmission is identified as cultural exchange (Rogers, 2006). In this case, cultural groups share ideas, traditions, and knowledge equally with mutual respect, which is different from cultural appropriation in openness and reciprocity (Dunker, 2018; Galchen and Holmes, 2017). Overall, unequal power relations, reflected in the dominant or subordinate position of the two parties, are a core precondition of cultural appropriation.

2.4 Cultural Appropriation and Identity

As Mosley and Biernat (2020) address the role of identity in cultural appropriation, it is essential to continue to examine the relationship between cultural appropriation and identity. In intercultural studies, identity is described by Verhaeghe (2014, p.15) as “a balance of tensions; we are torn between the urge to merge with and the urge to distance ourselves from the other”. He gives an example of individuals’ perception of identity - “I am who I am because I belong to this group – and certainly not to that one” (Verhaeghe,2014). This distinct categorisation of “we”, “I”, and “the other” can be explained by social identity theory introduced by Tajfel and Turner (1979). The theory proposes that

because people’s collective identities are important contributors to sense of self and self-regard, they are motivated to differentiate these ingroup identities from outgroups in order to maintain group distinctiveness” (Mosley and Biernat, 2020, p.11).

In this way, the uniqueness of a cultural group is considered as a symbolic representation of ingroup identities. The recognition of identity becomes a motivation for cultural groups to protect group distinctiveness and derive value from it. This does apply to cultural appropriation as Mosley and Biernat (2020, p.11) put it:

As cultural elements and expressions help to define and differentiate group identity, the use of those elements by an outgroup member can lead to increased feelings of threat to the group’s distinctiveness.

Thus, cultural appropriation could be viewed as a threat to group distinctiveness as well as the cause of insecure social identity. Furthermore, it is predicted by Tajfel and Turner (1979, p.46)

that “when a group's action for positive distinctiveness is frustrated, impeded, or in any way actively prevented by an out-group, this will promote overt conflict and hostility between the groups”. In other words, some groups’ willingness of differentiating themselves might clash with other groups’ ideas or behaviours of taking advantage of intergroup similarity, resulting in tensions and conflicts. It could also be interpreted that when a culture is appropriated, it could lose its distinctiveness, provoking resistance from the cultural group who regard the culture exclusive to them. Therefore, it could be assumed that theoretically, identity could be one of the sources of the controversies of cultural appropriation.

2.5 Identification of Cultural Appropriation

With regards to power and identity, a primary understanding of cultural appropriation could be formed. However, it has been questioned what the markers of cultural appropriation are, how to determine cultural appropriation, and who the judge of cultural appropriation should be. Though it would be quite challenging to arrive at a final definitive answer to each question, identity is also recognised as one of the factors driving the identification of cultural appropriation. Eze (2018, p.14) proposes that “The critique of those who appropriate is also an affirmation of identity - *it is mine; it belongs to me*”. In most cases, the perceivers of cultural appropriation consider themselves as the judge. When they face the uncertainty of or threat to the ownership of their cultures, they use the critique of cultural appropriation to restate their identities. Further, Mosley and Biernat’s (2020) study reveals that

Judgments of harm and injustice are influenced by the identity of the perceiver, and those judged to be appropriating may also be viewed as intentionally representing or using aspects of an identity without fully understanding or acknowledging their cultural or historical significance (Mosley and Biernat, 2020, p.13).

Thus, the judgment of cultural appropriation is the perceivers’ response to the acts considered intentional and harmful to their identities as well as the ignorance of their cultures. To move beyond identity and answer the questions from a broader view, other markers of cultural appropriation are presented in inaccurate opinion of cultures, reinforcement of stereotypes,

misapplication of cultural elements, and taking advantage of cultures without crediting the sources (Raypole, 2020). To clarify what determines whether a practice is cultural appropriation, the concept of cultural appreciation is commonly used for comparison. The line between appropriation and appreciation is very thin and often blurred so it is of great importance to understand that appreciation is “the recognition and enjoyment of good qualities” (Collins English Dictionary, 2021). The conditions of cultural appreciation are generally in opposition to cultural appropriation, including proper application of cultural elements with permission, learning and sharing cultures, and giving credits to the sources (Raypole, 2020). To distinguish the two concepts, Han (2019, p.9) suggests thinking twice about “how much recognition should be attributed to a culture and whether we are celebrating a culture or deepening a cultural stereotype”. Therefore, a lack of critical thinking is also a contributor to cultural appropriation. Nevertheless, the question of who has the expertise or authority to accuse others of cultural appropriation is rarely discussed in these studies. It is truly hard to appoint certain people since freedom of speech allows every Internet user to be the judge in the digital age.

2.6 Criticism of Cultural Appropriation Concept

As cultural appropriation is mostly described as negative, the concept has been criticised focusing on four arguments. Firstly, it has been argued that what is called “cultural appropriation” is positive or with positive intentions. McWhorter (2017) presents an argument that cultural cross-fertilisation, a form of imitation of cultures, is positive in its true sense of admiration. He also criticises the term “appropriation” for its negative and misleading meaning of theft (McWhorter, 2017). In addition, the concept of cultural misappropriation, the dishonest form of cultural appropriation, is taken for comparison (Das, 2020). It is argued that misappropriation means “to appropriate wrongfully (...) without an understanding of the deeper meaning or cultural context” while appropriation with good intentions is misused and misconceptualised on social media (Das, 2020, p.21). Interestingly, this is a relatively new idea that needs further examination. Secondly, the contradiction between cultural appropriation and intercultural communication has been discovered. It is explored that

Sharing culture across communities and even continents is an inherently human process. The concept of “cultural appropriation” runs contrary to this fact and could inhibit future cultural exchange (Public Broadcasting Service, 2017, p.5)

Indeed, it is possible that the concept contributes to cultural insecurity and overcaution of cultural groups, as Wang (2020) gives a passive idea that as a result, the world might become a prison of cultures. This could be explained by the concept of transcultural flows mentioned above that cultural products should not be static but be kept involved in exchanges and blending (Pennycook, 2007). Thirdly, the issue of the boundaries of cultural ownership has been raised. The concept could become problematic when it comes to cultures owned collectively by different groups (Archambeault, 2017). In the Web 2.0 context, the justification of the originality of “digitalised” cultures becomes the new challenge (Sanders, 2015). It is mainly posed to “ideas of authorship and intellectual property versus creativity and open access” (Sanders, 2015). Lastly, discussions around the concept have also been questioned. An extreme idea is proposed by Pham (2014) that the debates around cultural appropriation are pointless or unnecessary. During this culturally sensitive time, the controversial concept has been used as a tool to create tensions and deepen divides between communities (Siems, 2019). Overall, the concept of cultural appropriation is more than complicated and thus hard to be thoroughly understood. It is the aim of the following chapters to close the gaps in understanding cultural appropriation by researching how people view this concept in the Kimchi controversy and associated culture wars.

CHAPTER 3

Research Method

3.1 Introduction

This chapter first restates the research questions and aim, then introduces the research method. It includes the adopted approach, the design of framework, the process of data collection, the development of themes, and the justification of choices. Additionally, the challenges of the methodology and the limitations of the research are covered as well.

3.2 Methodological Approach

The research questions are set out to explore:

1. What are the significant points to consider in relation to cultural appropriation?
2. How does the notion of “cultural appropriation” contribute to the Kimchi controversy and culture wars between China and South Korea?

The main objective of the research is to examine Internet users’ perceptions of cultural appropriation through their responses to the controversies. In order to gain a comprehensive insight into recent public arguments, this dissertation investigates qualitative data samples in the form of comments from YouTube.

The methodology adopted in the research is thematic analysis (TA), a standard methodology widely used in qualitative research “for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 79). The reasons for choosing TA are flexibility and inductive thinking. To be specific, it is a highly flexible and systematic method for analysing qualitative data with an emphasis on identifying themes across a set of texts (Caulfield, 2020). Theoretically, its flexibility offers an opportunity for the researcher to design a framework specifically applied to the research questions and determine themes in an adaptive way (Braun and Clarke, 2006). In particular, it is considered as a suitable method to answer questions

concerning people’s viewpoints through their responses, which is exactly the objective of the research. Another advantage is that it enables the researcher to sum up key features, reduce them to several themes, and generalise a thick induction of a complex account of data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). As a result, this research systematically presents a large body of public arguments in the form of significant points. These characterises of TA also assist the research in building the practical process. To go into detail, the research follows a six-step process developed by Braun and Clarke (2006), including data familiarisation, data coding, theme identification, theme revision, theme finalisation, and report production. As a guideline in sequential order, these steps could be blended so the key phases of conducting TA could also be put as gathering, summarising, categorising, and interpreting. To apply the framework, this research listens to diverse viewpoints, identifies the “triggers” of objections, establishes an organisational system classifying themes, and explains the cultural phenomenon. During the process, the semantic approach, a content-driven approach to investigate people’s opinions and statements at the micro level, is employed (Caulfield, 2020). At the stages of coding and theming, the induction of data is purely determined by the explicit content of the comments, particularly keywords in relation to cultural appropriation. In this way, a thematic map is produced, which conceptualises the significant points regarding cultural appropriation based on the comment patterns and further presents the casual relationship between the notion of “cultural appropriation” and the Kimchi controversy and associated culture wars.

3.3 Data Collection

Data collection consists of two steps - data familiarisation and data coding. To start with, the chosen samples are the comments in different languages under Liziqi’s video *The last episode of the “Life Series”: The life of white radish!*. The comment area is selected as the primary source for data collection because of the voluminous information it offers, considering that it comprises over 300 thousand comments. As a freely accessible database in the public domain, it contributes to the scope and openness of the research as well as the reduction of the general requirements of ethical concerns. However, this richness of data brings challenges to data inclusion in the practical term. Unfortunately, YouTube and other third-party platforms only allow users to view

comments sorted by “Top comments”, “Newest”, and “Oldest”. Due to this technical limitation, it is difficult to access comments from a certain period of time. Another issue is that due to the popularity of the video, numerous comments have been generated immediately after the video was uploaded. To tackle these challenges, the timeframe of data inclusion is set to be the last month because it is observed that the frequency of new comments is decreasing. Sorted by “Newest”, the comments posted within a 30-day period before the time of data collection, which is from 12 AM (GMT) on 7 June 2021 to 12 AM (GMT) on 7 July 2021, are included as primary samples. To approach that, Hadzy (2021), a YouTube comment search engine, is used for checking the time of posting. Initially, the raw data of 453 comments are collected and stored in a Word document, including the original texts and screenshots. As the first phase, data collection is conducted with content familiarisation and context immersion by reading and rereading (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Due to the interlingual nature of the research, this process also involves translation from Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Thai, Vietnamese, Russian, and Spanish to English. Some English comments produced by viewers using machine translation are grammatically incorrect, but it is decided to keep the texts in the original way perceived by other viewers. It is also noticeable that there are repeated contents posted by the same users and short texts that do not stand for a specific point, which should be excluded from the collection. To further limit the data, the rest of them are justified by the connection and relevance to cultural appropriation, related controversies, and other comments, eventually leaving 200 comments for analysis (See Appendix C for the screenshot of one of the comment samples). The iterative screening also contributes to moving beyond statistics and generating initial codes – “the most basic segment, or element, of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon” (Boyatzis, 1998, p.63). These significant features of the semantic content are captured by keywords extraction. The frequent occurrence of terms, for example, “cultural theft”, “Korean traditional food”, and “East Asian”, represents the common opinions voiced. By organising the data into coded groups, specific themes could be extrapolated in the next phase.

3.4 Theme Development

Theme development comprises three steps - theme identification, theme revision, and theme finalisation. It is an interpretative process to establish a linkage between codes and themes, form an illustrative framework, and tell the overall story. Above all, to move to the higher level of themes, the long list of codes is collated into potential themes and subthemes. It is recommended by Braun and Clarke (2006) to use visual representations to assist this process. Therefore, a draft thematic map is created to present the candidate themes in different levels as well as the relationship between them (see Figure 2).

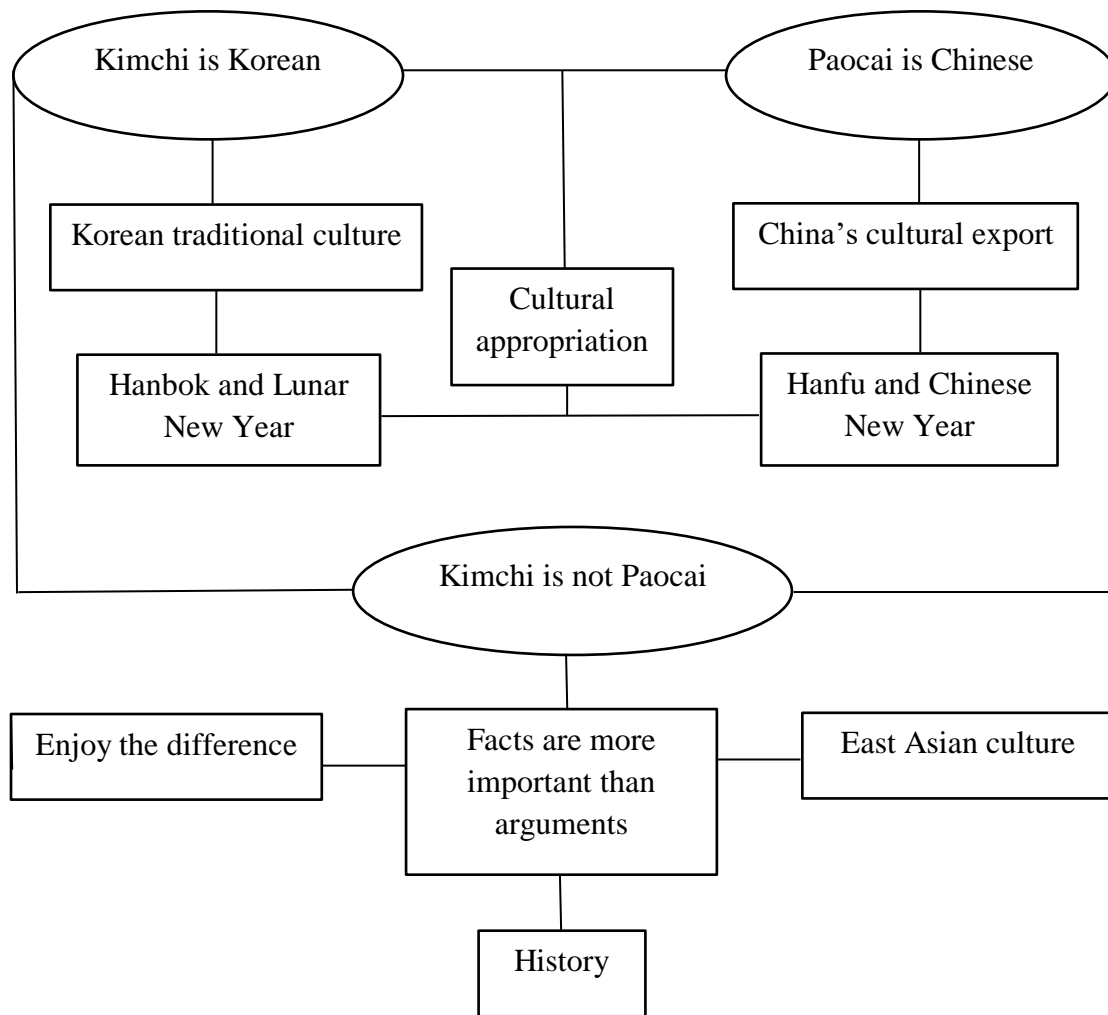


Figure 2: The initial thematic map of the YouTube viewers' comments on the video

After the formulation of themes, it comes to the phase of modification where the map is reviewed and refined. The identified themes and subthemes are broken down, combined, or discarded to achieve simplicity and coherence, while new themes emerge. In the last step before

presenting the developed themes, it is necessary to reconsider the “accurate representation” referring to the accuracy and validity of themes as units in relation to the data set as an entirety (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.91). The finalisation of the thematic map is accompanied by a detailed analysis of the themes in the next chapter.

3.5 Justification of Choices

Before analysing the findings, it is acknowledged that one of the disadvantages of using TA is subjectivity resulted from its flexibility. On the one hand, it largely relies on the researcher’s decisions on developing guidelines and choosing the range of data to focus on (Braun and Clarke, 2006). On the other hand, it would be challenging for the researcher to progress from simple descriptions of themes and significances to comprehensive interpretations of contexts and assumptions (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Thus, this research scrupulously follows the criteria for data inclusion and carefully reflects on patterns of meaning to reduce the degree of subjective judgement. Additionally, some broader topics above the phenomenon are taken into consideration in the discussion chapter. Though, the issue of subjectivity might not be entirely avoidable, which becomes one of the limitations of the research. Apart from that, it is noted that some of the comments, as internet speeches, contain unpleasant or impolite language. They could be edited, reported, blocked, or deleted before and after data collection. In some ways, aggressiveness and directivity could be viewed as the indicators of strong arguments for or against, which brings more insights to commenters’ emotional reactions to cultural appropriation.

CHAPTER 4

Analysis of Findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of TA according to the collected data and the interpretation of findings. It includes the visual representation of the finalised themes and the detailed analysis of each theme and subtheme. Though the timeframe of data collection is limited to the last month, data analysis is an on-going process.

4.2 Presentation of Findings

The findings of data collection are presented in the form of the final thematic map (see Figure 3).

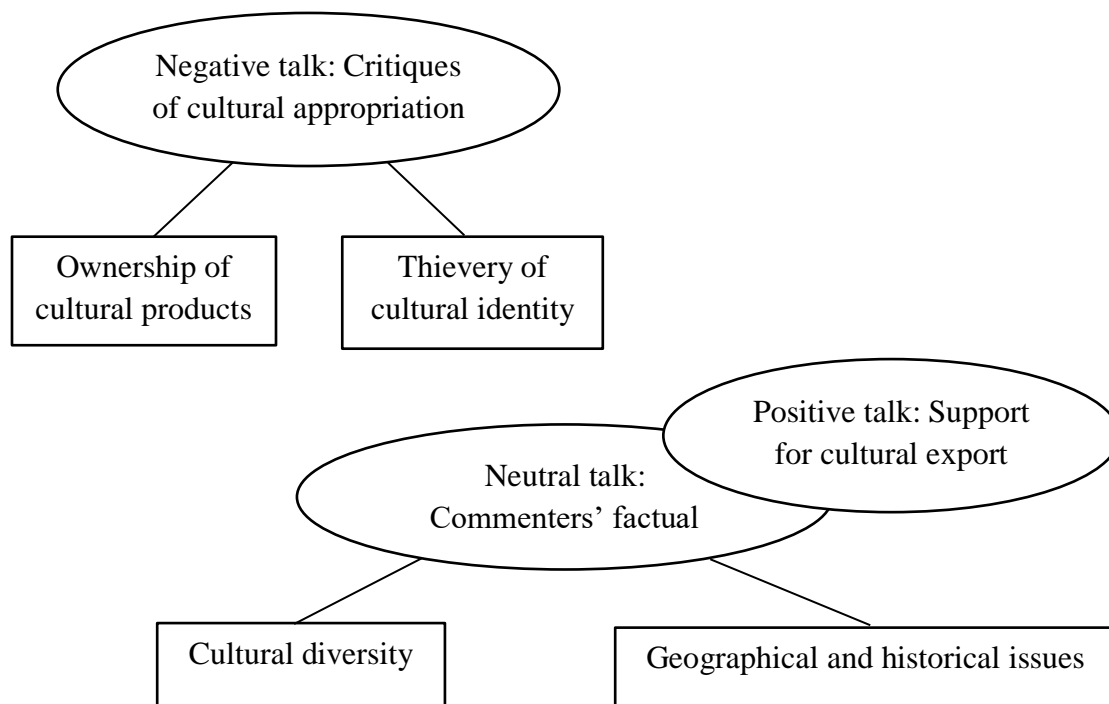


Figure 3: The final thematic map of the YouTube viewers' comments on the video

The collection of the YouTube viewers' responses to the video shows three overarching themes from different perspectives: (1) Critiques of cultural appropriation, (2) Support for cultural export, and (3) Commenters' factual claims. Inductively, these main themes are analysed in detail with consideration of their subthemes in the following sections. To conduct a critical and balanced analysis, equal consideration is given to the negative, positive, and neutral talks. The analysis contains a general description of the respective themes with excerpts of relevant comments and a narrative identification of the significant points they convey. With the overall story in mind, it is essential to present the single stories told by the themes regarding the research questions (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This is where the prevalence of the themes is discussed based on the frequency of the common opinions being voiced and the rate of the representative arguments being objected to. Also, it should be noted that, to some extent, there could be overlaps in the subthemes as they share the same sources but commit to different points.

4.3 Critiques of Cultural Appropriation

The first theme emerging from the data is the negative talk - Critiques of cultural appropriation, consisting of two subthemes labelled as Ownership of cultural products and Thievery of cultural identity. This theme is identified as the main thread of public arguments contributing to the Kimchi controversy and culture wars. The notion of cultural appropriation is used frequently by commenters from China and South Korea to express their critiques of each other, as 김수정 says:

China should not appropriate the cultures of other countries.

Another representative comment is posted by 刘洋:

Korean must stop appropriating other cultures.

These comments reflect most Chinese and Korean viewers' opinions that they perceive the practices of the other cultural group as cultural appropriation, carrying a negative implication of the notion and a strong disagreement between the two cultural groups. With the constant broadening of the Kimchi controversy, the two associated culture wars are recalled repeatedly by

commenters to support their arguments and rebut others who disagree, as TIKTOK 吃貨大王蛋糕怪 notes (see Appendix D for the screenshot of the full text):

Count the theft in South Korea: (...) Spring Festival = the Spring Festival of Korea. (...) Hanfu is Korean. Kimchi is Korean. (...)

This Chinese commenter responds to Korean's blame by listing South Korea's practices of cultural appropriation. It shows that the two cultural wars are considered by people as highly relevant to the Kimchi controversy and these cultural products are believed as being culturally appropriated as well. It is also found that some comments in this theme are particularly rude and aggressive, as 吴迪 reviles:

How dare South Korean grandsons slander their Chinese ancestors?

This type of comment with a high degree of sensitivity reflects the patterns of statement and objection, as 허재광 replies:

This means that China is not developing its own culture. (...) This is why China is the bully in the world.

It can be seen that people become emotional and argumentative when it comes to their national image and status. This is identified as how they become deeply divided in the controversies. To look into the theme in detail, the two subthemes are observed as the major targets of blame, both of which have been touched on by many previous studies in the literature review. They show how the public debate around Liziqi's video escalates into the argument of the ownership of the food culture and the accusation of cultural identity theft. The following analysis provides direct answers to the second research question while bringing helpful insights to the first research question.

4.3.1 Ownership of Cultural Products

The first subtheme emerging from the negative talk, Ownership of cultural products, is substantially formed by two distinct voices, as 권소라 states:

Kimchi is not only traditional Korean food, but also a 'culture'.

自小江 comes straight to the point:

Paocai is Chinese. (...)

These claims of ownership are posted by many commenters with substantial evidence. Though the video does not mention the name of the pickles, some commenters recognise that they are Korean Kimchi while other commenters insist that they are Chinese Paocai. Linguistically, the Korean word “Kimchi” only refers to Korean fermented vegetables, while in Chinese, “Paocai” is the general name of all fermented vegetables including Kimchi, and there is not a specific term for Kimchi. Consequently, it has become a trend that the transliteration, “辛奇(Xinqi)”, is adopted by Korean Internet users for differentiation, as 이재민 argues:

Xinqi is not Chinese, it is Korean.

It might be of interest to mention that, on 22 July 2021, “辛奇(Xinqi)” is officially designated by the Korean government as the Chinese translation of “Kimchi” to help avoid misunderstandings and reduce the Kimchi controversy, but it is unsure whether Chinese people would accept the new name (KBS WORLD, 2021).

To understand the disagreement on the origins of the food as well as the food culture, the evidence provided by both sides is illustrated as follows. SIwooYT leaves a long comment (see Appendix E for the screenshot of the full text):

Hi, I will explain why Kimchi is Korean kindly. First, if you type 'origin of kimchi' in google, (...) Second, Koreans were saying Kimchi was Korean's over thousands of years, (...) This article is to inform you that Kimchi is Korean.

This comment draws attention to the controversial issue of the origin of Kimchi. It shows that it is widely believed by Korean people that Kimchi, as a traditional side dish, has been historically owned by South Korea. To support the statement above, 반달KR adds:

(...) Kimjang, Kimchi-making and sharing, has been listed by UNESCO as a Korean intangible cultural heritage. (...)

This comment addresses that the tradition of making and sharing Kimchi is officially admitted as owned by South Korea as well. However, it should be noticed that the food Kimchi has not been recognised by UNESCO as a cultural heritage of any country. Importantly, similar dishes can be found across the globe, including Chinese Paocai. T Chu Yi Ke replies with a long list of Paocai from different regions of China (see Appendix F for the screenshot of the full text):

(...) Look, Koreans, These are all Chinese paocai. These are only one twentieth of China's paocai. The paocai in one province of China is more than ten times that of your whole country. How do you compare?

This comment presents the huge number of categories of Paocai in China to address that China does have a voice on the issue. To support the comment above, Ying Hu adds:

I'm from Sichuan too, and the way she makes pickled radishes is exactly like my grandma.

It is observed that Paocai is particularly common in Sichuan Province, Liziqi's hometown as well as one of the most famous Paocai producing areas. Based on these data, it could be assumed that Liziqi's homemade pickles are intuitively perceived by viewers as Kimchi or Paocai because they share some similarities in appearance and production method. This could be seen as the initial involvement of the notion of cultural appropriation in the Kimchi controversy because both parties recognise the cultural product as their own. Apart from Kimchi and Paocai, other pairs of cultural products from the two culture wars are involved as well, as 석로파

진심녀 (가끔 록런파) claims:

Kimchi is Korean traditional food. Hanbok is also a Korean traditional dress. Lunar New Year is also a Korean traditional festival.

These cultural products are taken as examples by commenters as a supplement to their claims of ownership and critiques of cultural appropriation.

As a highly interactive topic, this subtheme reveals how valuable the ownership of cultural products is to people and how it contributes to critiques of cultural appropriation. As discussed in Chapter 2, the ownership of cultural products is an essential element in defining cultural appropriation, which is unanimous in people's perceptions reflected by the data. It is believed to be an important right worth fighting for, as 이 재민 remarks:

A post tells me to take down the video because Xinqi is Korean, and the video is an abuse of Korea's pride.

It is also argued by Hy K:

(...) I think it is pathetic to see that Kimchi is a traditional Chinese recipe. Personally, I think it is to make money by increasing the number of views. Anyway, is Kimchi yours? It is clear that Chinese do have any culture to be proud of. (...)

These comments criticise Liziqi's video of appropriating Kimchi and making profits from it in a serious sense. In relation to the identification of cultural appropriation, Liziqi's video is viewed by Korean Internet users as misrepresenting Kimchi and taking credit for Korean culture. Conversely, Korean's claim of the ownership of Kimchi is considered by Chinese Internet users as misrepresenting Paocai and taking credit for Chinese culture. When the two parties, Chinese and Korean, face threats to the ownership of their cultures, they intend to resist by criticising each other for cultural appropriation, which adds up to a vicious cycle. It could be concluded that the debate around the ownership of Kimchi, Paocai, and other cultural products generates critiques of cultural appropriation, which becomes one of the sources of the controversies. Broadly, the ownership of cultural products is considered by most people as a significant point in defining, identifying, and criticising cultural appropriation.

4.3.2 Thievery of Cultural Identity

The second subtheme emerging from the negative talk, Thievery of cultural identity, is developed from people's pride in cultural distinctiveness. The main content of this subtheme is that Chinese and Korean Internet users accuse each other of stealing their cultural identity and declaring cultural wars, as 自小江 puts it:

Paocai is Chinese. You Korean stole it! So what? Even if you applied for the heritage, Chinese culture is always in our hearts. You Korean can't steal it.

This comment links back to the finding on Korean intangible cultural heritage in the previous section. Based on the claim of the ownership of the food, this comment addresses that the food culture is rooted deeply in Chinese cultural identity thus it cannot be taken over by Korean. A similar opinion is voiced by 김우바이지:

Kimchi is Korean food. It contains the spirit and identity of the ancestors from generation to generation.

This comment demonstrates that Kimchi plays an important role in Korean cultural identity, considered as a national brand with an unshakable status. It also shows that people believe that cultural identity is closely linked with group distinctiveness, supported by social identity theory. At this stage, the problem is no longer between Liziqi and Internet users. This is where the conflict continues to grow and take the accusation to the national level, which motivates viewers to fight for their cultural identity as well as national pride.

Different from what is discussed in the theoretical term, this subtheme focuses more on the act of theft. As mentioned in the previous section, the two culture wars are quoted to demonstrate that theft has been a "tradition" of that country. An interesting point is raised by 누리 (see Appendix G for the screenshot of the full text):

(...) This is Shyness tradition called '贼喊捉贼' which means 'the thief shouts to catch the thief'. For them, big population and big voice is important to implement this tradition (贼喊捉贼). (...)

Using the Chinese idiom, this comment implies that China, as the real cultural thief, frames South Korea as the theft. It also conveys the idea that China with a larger population has a louder voice on this issue. It is discovered that Korean people perceive China as having a higher position in power relations, which could be explained by the relationship between cultural appropriation and power. Though these comments do not literally quote the concept of cultural appropriation, they gradually depart from the incident, take the accusation of theft as a weapon, and use the defence of identity as a shield. Following this lead, it could be understood how the comment area is turned into a battlefield and why people persist in defending what they recognise as being culturally appropriated. It is because that they perceive the other cultural group's behaviour as disrespectful to their cultural identity and harmful to the national interest. Therefore, they are eager to address their cultural identity and protect cultural distinctiveness by resisting change. To some extent, this is related to the concept of transcultural flows but in this case, it seems that the movement of culture is not accepted peacefully by people. Overall, the protection of cultural identity is widely considered by people as a significant point in the controversies, and it also contributes to critiques of cultural appropriation.

4.4 Support for Cultural Export

The second theme emerging from the data is the positive talk - Support for cultural export. This is a highly centralised theme without any subtheme because commenters seem to be strongly united. The central idea is that Liziqi's video is not identified as cultural appropriation but cultural export, as 张心心 gives praise to Liziqi:

Sister you are so cool exporting the culture of our country. We support you. Keep it going.

From the viewpoint of Chinese people, Liziqi has become a representative of China with the responsibility of exporting Chinese culture on the international platform. She is supported by many commenters for her outstanding achievements in building a positive image of Chinese cultural values and internationalising Chinese culture. Based on observation, the idea of supporting cultural export mainly comes from Chinese commenters who look at the video from a

completely different angle. Possibly, this theme might emerge from the Weibo Super Topic *Phenomenon of cultural export*, which is a heated digital community with a campaign of protecting and promoting Chinese culture and exposing cultural plagiarism. To a certain extent, the Super Topic could have an influence on leading public arguments.

To compete with the negative theme of critiques of cultural appropriation, this positive theme also generates a few arguments against Korean Internet users, partially contributing to the worsening situation. For instance, 平行世界 4 号 likes the video and disagrees with the harsh critiques:

It is just a pickled vegetable. I am so sick of you claiming it as yours. She just took a video of pickling vegetables. Some of you turned it into plagiarism. You can try harder.

This comment criticises that it is inappropriate to judge the video in such a vicious way. From this point of view, the video is simply a presentation or tutorial of pickling vegetables, which is far away from the charge of plagiarism. In some ways, this might stand for the initial intention of the content creator Liziqi. More importantly, this shows that there is an awareness of the misinterpretation and misuse of the notion of cultural appropriation though the reason is not explained in detail. It could be guessed that these commenters might have a brief acknowledgment of the markers of cultural appropriation, so they do not identify the video as cultural appropriation.

4.5 Commenters' Factual Claims

The third theme emerging from the data is the neutral talk, Commenters' factual claims, which insists that "facts" claimed by commenters based on their knowledge and experiences are more important than arguments. Two subthemes branch from it, named as Cultural diversity and Geographical and historical issues. Though this theme is a less discussed topic than the previous themes, it arrives at a balanced approach to view the controversy, as aushaneelee explains:

As a chef, I really wanna say to you, Kimchi is not paocai and Kimchi is not chinese food also, Kimchi is Korean traditional food. (...) This argument is useless. This is the truth and the fact! That's all.

This comment makes an appeal to professional knowledge, which is a rhetorical device to persuade people. By considering both the critical and supportive sides, the commenter tries to clarify the relationship between Kimchi and Paocai by making a claim about “the truth and fact” with the critique of argumentation. In this theme, negative arguments are viewed as lacking credibility and ignoring other people’s feelings, as mymm0m complains:

(...) 🙄 so many disrespectful people arguing about nonsense. Plz leave this beautiful, hard working women alone!

焦糖 suggests:

Let's be quiet and enjoy this video.

These comments are critical of the noises and disrespect brought about by unhealthy arguments because they rob viewers of the enjoyment of watching the video. The theme does not directly involve the concept of cultural appropriation, but it shows that commenters adopt the strategy of presenting evidence as “facts” to defend their claims, and it presents the negative effects of argumentation.

4.5.1 Cultural Diversity

The first subtheme emerging from the neutral talk, Cultural diversity, carries a thought-provoking idea, which is led by Sanjana Parashar Classes’ comment:

(...) enjoy the difference 👍

This subtheme suggests that cultural differences should be embraced and celebrated equally, and it is inappropriate or groundless to argue about cultural appropriation. In the case of the Kimchi controversy, Woori Nara puts it:

In the process of developing pickled vegetables, each country and region has different technologies and methods, resulting in a unique food culture. This is common sense all over the world.

This comment illustrates that there are numerous types of pickles around the world, representing the diversity of food cultures. Further, 사랑 사랑 ♡ reminds people of the fundamental point:

Paocai and Kimchi are completely different foods. (...)

The commenters from this theme have realised the importance of cultural diversity in relation to the ownership of cultural products. This awareness contributes to their identification of cultural appropriation. From a more general aspect, 噢噢哦哦 replies to the commenters from the negative theme:

(...) In the sea of culture, you are a dry desert. (...)

This comment implies that most people do not take cultural diversity into consideration and their judgement of cultural appropriation is one-sided. Therefore, it is clear for some people that cultural diversity is an important point to think about before using the notion of cultural appropriation.

4.5.2 Geographical and Historical Issues

The second subtheme emerging from the neutral talk, Geographical and historical issues, brings more insights. From the geographical perspective, 嘿書生 emphasises

Kimchi can be bought in many countries and regions in East Asia.

This comment gives a forthright opinion on the Kimchi controversy. It mirrors the fact that East Asian cultural products are shared by different cultural groups and evolved with similar traditions. It does apply to the context of China and South Korea as the two countries are located in East Asia, facing each other across the Yellow Sea. From the historical perspective, きむらひ むうが notes:

What is South Korea? Once upon a time, a vassal state of China. (...)

This comment could be based on the Hanfu versus Hanbok controversy as it proposes that South Korea used to be a tributary vassal of China. Though the historical issue between Goryeo, an earlier Korean kingdom, and the Chinese dynasties remains controversial, it affects people's perception of the relationship between South Korea and China even in modern times. In light of these facts, the comments in this subtheme leave valuable opinions to consider in relation to the identification of cultural appropriation. To summarise this section, there are some uncertainties in the existing evidence, but some people are aware that the geographical and historical issues are an important point determining whether a practice is cultural appropriation.

CHAPTER 5

Discussion

5.1 Introduction

This chapter moves from an illustrative analysis to an interpretative discussion. By observing assumptions underlying the data, the discussion explores the association of ideas from the controversies to broader topics at the macro level. In the background, there are many latent issues of unforeseen tensions driving the incidents, including resolutions to cultural appropriation, Soft Power, international relations, territorial issues, hate speech, racism, the influencer economy, and the COVID-19 pandemic. For the purpose of the dissertation, the discussion chooses to focus on three major topics - resolutions to cultural appropriation, Soft Power, and international relations.

5.2 Resolutions to Cultural Appropriation

From the analysis of commenters' factual claims, it is found that some people try to negotiate with others and mediate the controversies. As a form of conflict resolution, cross-cultural mediation bridges cultural differences and reconnects the divided cultural groups (Mahan and Mahuna, 2017). The willingness and initiative, at the individual level, to cooperate in negotiations, convince people to embrace differences, and bring people together could be of assistance to help find resolutions. However, the unequal power relations between the conflicted parties pose a challenge to intercultural mediation as Kleiboer (1996, p.368) states that "a balance of power between the disputants is crucial for successful mediation to come about". The

acceptance of mediation is determined by mutual efforts - dominant cultural groups' loosening of control and subordinate cultural groups' willingness to compromise (Kleiboer, 1996). Though commenters' attempts of mediation and negotiation might not arrive at a satisfying answer, it is a positive sign that they are open to differences, and they possibly suggest that rather than arguments, there could be a better way to resolve the issue. Mahan and Mahuna (2017, p.14) address that education on global issues, particularly cultural diversity, "enables individuals to adapt to changing tides". Therefore, it is essential to consider commenters' views on cultural diversity as they encourage people to explore cultural differences in a respectful manner, approach diverse traditions carefully, and think twice before using "cultural appropriation" as an accusation. These are recommended as the possible resolutions to cultural appropriation as well as the basic principles in intercultural communication.

5.3 Soft Power

The topic of Soft Power is developed from the theme of cultural export. China's cultural export refers to developing China's influence overseas through exporting cultural products and services, and Soft Power is believed to be the key to this process (Hall, 2015). In general, Soft Power is defined by Nye (2011, p.27) as "the ability to affect others through the co-optive means of framing the agenda, persuading, and eliciting positive attraction in order to obtain preferred outcomes". In the context of China, it means shaping the preferences of members of other cultural groups by enhancing Chinese culture's appeal and attraction. Liziqi and her videos are commonly considered by the public as a contributor to China's Soft Power. It could be interpreted from the analysis of data that there might be an underlying subtheme carrying Chinese commenters' pride in having Liziqi as one of China's Soft Power assets. However, Soft Power is less effective or even fails when a necessary condition for influence is not met (Lee and Hao, 2018). It is difficult to control the outcome of Soft Power since it depends on the target's attitude towards and openness to foreign cultural products (Nye, 2004). The effectiveness of China's Soft Power in South Korea relies on "whether they [Korean] have perceived China's global influence positively, and whether they have a favorable image of China" (Lee and Hao, 2018, p.872). From the Korean perspective, China's Soft Power development through Liziqi,

recognised as “cultural appropriation”, could pose a threat or cause damages to Korean Soft Power and national interest. This is why different opinions on Liziqi’s video and China’s Soft Power are voiced by Chinese and Korean. The practices of “cultural appropriation” could be negatively perceived by people as a means to promote one’s Soft Power and oppress others.

5.4 International Relations

The issue of international relations, as part of the motivation of the research, is inseparable from Soft Power. The growing intensity of contemporary international relations seems to be a severe consequence of the wars of Soft Power. This section is open to generally discussing how China - South Korea relations are negatively affected by the Kimchi controversy and culture wars. In this context, the state of international relations could be both a contributor to and a result of the controversies. There have long been tensions and oppositions between the two countries, from the Korean War to the historical controversies, inevitably affecting their relations (Lee and Hao, 2018). As seen from the analysis of data, the perceived historical relationship between China and South Korea contributes to people’s perceptions of cultural appropriation as well as the controversies. The vicious cycle formed by commenters’ critiques of cultural appropriation further generates disharmony and contradictions, resulting in a more intensive relation. It is insightful to view international relations not only from the state-centric perspective but also at the individual level (Morin and Paquin, 2018). In this case, tensions in individuals and cultural groups could be initially inspired by historical international relations and eventually taken back to the national level in a cycle. As mentioned previously, governments have taken actions to ease the controversies and resume the relations. With this progress, it is hoped that China and South Korea can work together on the issue of cultural appropriation and cooperate in the cultural industry, setting an example for people. It is also expected that people from the two countries can actively participate in effective intercultural communication again.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

In conclusion, this research is conducted to explore the significant points in relation to cultural appropriation and discuss how the notion of “cultural appropriation” contributes to the Kimchi controversy and culture wars between China and South Korea. To investigate people’s perceptions on the issue, the research analyses some comments under Liziqi’s YouTube video *The last episode of the “Life Series”: The life of white radish!*. The findings are presented in three themes with subthemes: Critiques of cultural appropriation, Support for cultural export, and Commenters’ factual claims. The analysis of these themes indicates that the ownership of cultural products, the protection of cultural identity, cultural diversity, and the geographical and historical issues are considered by people as significant points concerning cultural appropriation. It can also be drawn that the aggressiveness of arguments, the misinterpretation and misuse of the concept of cultural appropriation, and the disagreement on the markers of cultural appropriation contribute to the controversies. Further, people’s considerations of resolutions to cultural appropriation, Soft Power, and international relations are discussed as the underlying drivers of the controversies. Additionally, there are some unsolved questions that could be explored in future research, including the concept of cultural misappropriation, the historical relationship between the Chinese dynasties and Goryeo, and more practical resolutions to cultural appropriation. Finally, it is expected that people can gain a better understanding of cultural appropriation from the incidents, and the tensions between the two countries can be eased soon.

Appendices

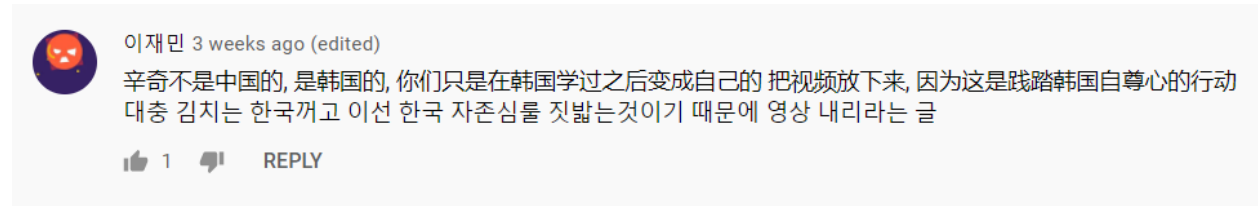
Appendix A: Chinese Paocai-making and cooking in *The life of white radish!* (Liziqi, 2021)




Appendix B: Korean Kimchi-making and sharing (UNESO, 2013)



Appendix C: Screenshot of comment sample



Appendix D: Screenshot of comment posted by TIKTOK 吃貨大王蛋糕怪

 **Highlighted comment**
 TIKTOK吃貨大王蛋糕怪 1 month ago



Count the theft in South Korea: pop= Kpop Chinese medicine = Korean medicine Chinese medicine = Korean medicine Acupuncture = Korean acupuncture Feng Shui = Korean Feng Shui Spring Festival = the Spring Festival of Korea Mid-Autumn Festival = Qiuxi Festival Paper = Korean paper Chinese calligraphy = Korean calligraphy painting Chinese painting = Korean painting [Japanese painting] Chinese wind = oriental wind Celadon = Korean celadon Su embroidery = Korean embroidery Tuan Fan = Korean Tuan Fan Little Red Festival Chinese screen = Korean screen This is only a small part of it. Hanfu is Korean, kimchi is Korean, and Chinese characters are used to apply for the World Heritage. Chinese knots are used to apply for the World Heritage. After a Korean man came to China to study Pipa for several years, he brought back to Korea the five-stringed Pipa restored by Mr. Fang Jinlong with reference to the five-stringed Pipa of the Tang Dynasty collected by the Japanese Shokura Academy. In Korea, he began to vigorously promote their Korean Pipa. They even want to apply for the World Heritage with Pipa. They steal too much. They steal all kinds of Chinese murals and paintings, saying that they are Korean. I really can't count them. What I have listed is only the tip of the iceberg of their theft. [Laughing and crying]韓國의 竊盜行為:pop= Kpop 漢方=漢方医漢方藥=韓國藥鍼=韓國鍼風水=韓國風水春節=韓國의 旧正月中秋節=秋夕節紙=韓國紙中国的書道=韓國의書道画中国画=韓國画東洋画中国風=東洋風青磁=高麗青磁蘇州刺繡=韓國刺繡うちわ=韓國のうちわ小紅節中国屏風=韓國屏風これはまだほんの一部、そして漢服は韓國のもの、キムチは韓國のもの、漢字で登録したもの、中国結びに韓国結びに登録したもの、韓国一男が中国に来て何年か琵琶を習ってから方錦毫さんが日本正倉院が所蔵している唐代の螺紫檀の五弦琵琶を参考にして復元した五弦琵琶を韓国に持ち帰って、韓国で強力に琵琶の宣伝を始めた。 한국 절도 행위 세수:

Pop[Kpop]
 한방 의사
 한약
 침구
 풍수
 설날
 추석
 한지로 만든 종이
 중국 서예
 중국화동양화
 중국풍
 고려 청자
 소다 자수
 작은 붉은 축제
 중국 병풍

이것은 소부분에 지나지 않는다. 그리고 한복은 한국의것이고 김치는 한국의것이고 또 한자로 등재하고 중국매듭을 가지고 한국의 등재라고 한다.그리고 한국의 한 남자가 중국에 와서 몇 년 동안 비파를 배운 후에 방금룡 선생을 참고하여 일본 정창원이 소장하고 있는 당대(唐代)의 나전 자단 오현 비파를 복원한 오현 비파를 참고하였다 한국으로 가져와 한국에서 이들의 한국 비파를 대대적으로 홍보하기 시작했다. 심지어 비파를 가지고 유물을 신청하려고 합니다. 그들이 훔친 것은 너무 많아서 각종 중국 벽화와 서화를 훔쳐서 한국이라고 하는데, 정말 세세히 셀 수 없다. 내가 열거한 것은 모두 그들이 훔친 빙산의 일각일 뿐이다. [웃음]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

Show less

  REPLY

Appendix E: Screenshot of comment posted by SIwooYT

S Highlighted comment

SIwooYT 1 month ago

Hi, I will explain why Kimchi is Korean kindly.

First, if you type 'origin of kimchi' in google, then it will say: "Kimchi is a traditional Korean dish that originated over 3,000 years ago. The tradition of making kimchi started as a way to ferment and store vegetables during the cold winter when many Koreans died of starvation. It said it was made by Korea 3000 years ago, understand? 3000 years.

Second, Koreans were saying Kimchi was Korean's over thousands of years, and Chinese never, EVER complained. but Chinese people started to say Kimchi is their's few months ago, so it's not long. Why are Chinese starting to complain now? Some Chinese people say 'Kimchi was made by China for 800 years'. If kimchi was made by Chinese over 800 hundred years (or more), Chinese should have been complained to us for Years, but why now? I don't understand.

well if you still doesn't understand, please give me a logical reason(not links from Chinese website or other Chinese things, please give me an english link or something) for me that kimchi is Chinese.


Can you still call yourself an 'adult' when you just stole our Korean culture?
You must feel ashamed of yourself.

(feel free to copy this comment and use it)
(이 댓글을 마음대로 복사해서 이용하실 수 있습니다. 이글은 김치가 한국의 것이라는것을 알려주는 글 입니다.)

Show less

👍 1 🗨️ REPLY



Appendix F: Screenshot of comment posted by T Chu Yi Ke

 T Chu Yi Ke 1 month ago

甜酱甘露、甜酱姜芽、甜酱什锦菜、甜酱瓜、白糖蒜、西黄酱等12种，其中甜酱黑菜、甜酱八宝菜，天源酱园/桂馨斋，国泰、余姚榨菜辣妹子 榨菜鱼泉榨菜 六必居酱腌菜 六必居酱腌菜 沁香坊、峨眉赋菜 宜宾碎米芽菜 乌江、涪陵榨菜 四川泡菜制作历史已有1500多年的历史，云南永香斋玫瑰大头菜，贵州盐酸菜，山西太原泡菜 太原泡菜的制作非常简单，主要原料有白菜，萝卜，黄瓜，大蒜，辣椒。重庆涪陵榨菜 上海萝卜干 山东酱菜 湖北酸白菜 河北酱菜 河南辣蒜 河南小拌菜 河南糖蒜 河南腌菜 河南腌冒菜 雪里红咸菜 梅菜干 四川芽菜、四川冬菜 腌大头 腌蒜薹 腌辣菜 腌黄瓜 腌芽菜 宁波雪菜 商丘榨菜 独山酸菜 潮州梅菜 惠州贡菜 保定春不老泡菜 天津东菜 腌酸豆角

Look, Koreans, These are all Chinese paocai. These are only one twentieth of China's paocai. The paocai in one province of China is more than ten times that of your whole country. How do you compare?

Show less

 2  REPLY

Appendix G: Screenshot of comment posted by 누리

 Highlighted comment

누리 1 month ago (edited)

Shyness Tradition (贼喊捉贼)

Shyness say "we have older history, so all our neighboring countries and cultures were originated from us. If K country have something famous, we have a right to claim its originality. K country is thief country since originally everything in K country was from us." This is Shyness tradition called '贼喊捉贼' which means 'the thief shouts to catch the thief'. For them, big population and big voice is important to implement this tradition (贼喊捉贼).

Example: Shyness say "Kimchi is a kind of pickle(Paocai) and we have first record of pickle, so Kimchi belongs to us. Spaghettis is a kind of noodle and we have first record of noodle, so Spaghettis belongs to us."

To steal Kimchi, insisting "Kimchi is part of Paocai" is very important. So, they will never allow to call Kimchi as Kimchi. They even made a law to ban using the name 'Kimchi' in their country.

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 2  REPLY

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