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언론정보학석사학위논문

일본 만화산업모델의 한국적 도입

-1988~1999년 주간만화잡지 아이큐점프가

한국 만화산업의 생산 및 유통에 가지는 전환기적 중요성-

**Korean Adaptation of the Japanese Comic Book Industry Model:  
*Weekly IQ Jump* from 1988~1999 and its Transitional Significance  
in the Production and Distribution of the  
South Korean Comics Industry**

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## Abstract

### **Korean Adaptation of the Japanese Comic Book Industry Model: Weekly IQ Jump from 1988~1999 and its Transitional Significance in the Production and Distribution of the South Korean Comics Industry**

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The 1990s were a period of rapid change for South Korean society and its comic book industry. The period not only witnessed an explosive growth in the quantity and variation of comic books and artists, and a heightened level of social and governmental interest in the business, but also attempts by publishers to change the very nature of the traditional distribution system, which in turn resulted in radical consequences for every aspect of the domestic comic scene. Historically, comic books in Korea were distributed through rental retailers called *manhwabang* — which literally means “comic book room” — where customers rented and read comic books for a small fee. The *manhwabang* was the major and final consumer in the domestic market ever since comic books were mass produced and popularized in Korea, but there were constant attempts and struggles by publishers to shift the consumer target from rental retailer to the reader. Publisher Seoul Munhwa and its weekly comics magazine *IQ Jump* was at the forefront of this change, pursuing aggressive strategies modeled after the Japanese comics industry model, most particularly on the extremely successful Japanese weekly comics magazine, *Shonen Jump*. A constant weekly publication cycle, editorial decisions based heavily on popularity poll results, employment of new artists over established artists, and acquiring profit by accumulating and publishing serialized comics into comic book volumes (the so-called "magazine-tankoubon model") were some of the key factors *IQ Jump* adapted from the Japanese comic book business model and *Shonen Jump*. Yet the contents of *IQ Jump*, Seoul Munhwa's actions in the comics industry, and interviews from the artists and editors who produced *IQ Jump* during the 1980s and 1990s indicate that *IQ Jump* differed largely from its role model, *Shonen Jump*, due to their different socio-economical and historical backgrounds. For example, *IQ Jump* relied heavily on foreign, mostly Japan-imported comics for sales,

competed against not only legally operating rival publishers but also abundant local piracy, and continued to maintain a complicated relationship with rental retailers. Compared to their counterparts in the *Shonen Jump* editorial team, editors at *IQ Jump* were severely understaffed, worked under an editorial system that increasingly relied on the success of foreign titles, and thus were often incapable of fully supporting or guiding its artists. For artists, the comparably loose editorial control resulted in either greater creative control or loss of narrative direction. Meanwhile, readers' tastes were largely affected by the surge of both legally licensed and pirated Japanese comic books, and young artists who have internalized the generic narrative and visual style of the most up-to-date commercial Japanese comics gained an advantage over older, established artists, resulting in a massive generational shift of creators. Additionally, publishers' attempts at shifting the final consumer from rental retailers to readers resulted in an empowered fan base, a public more willing to spend on comics than before, and the establishment and normalization of the magazine-tankoubon model. Ultimately, the choices and limitations of 1990s comics publishers affected not only the business model but the genre, aesthetics and preferences of the Korean comics market.

**Keywords:** comics industry, comics magazine, manhwa, *IQ Jump*, *Shonen Jump*, oral history

## 국문초록

1990년대는 한국 사회 전반은 물론 만화산업에 있어서도 격변의 시기였다. 만화 및 만화작가의 수량과 다양성이 급증하고, 사회적 및 정부 차원의 산업적 관심이 증가하였을 뿐만 아니라, 기존의 유통구조를 바꾸려던 출판사들의 시도가 국내 만화업계 전반을 크게 변화시키는 결과를 낳았다. 역사적으로 한국의 만화책은 주로 만화방이라고 하는 대여업체를 통해 이용자들이 저렴한 비용을 지불하고 만화책을 현장에서 읽거나 빌려가서 읽는 방식으로 유통되었다. 이렇게 한국에서 만화가 대량생산 및 대중화되기 시작했을 때부터 만화방은 최종적이며 주된 구매자로서 기능한 셈이었으나, 한편으로는 만화책 구매자를 대여업체에서 독자로 이전하려는 출판사들의 지속적인 노력과 시도가 있었다. 출판사 서울문화사와 1988년 창간된 서울문화사의 주간만화잡지 “아이큐점프”는 그러한 변화의 선두에 있었으며, 일본 만화 출판업계, 특히 당시 상업적인 성공을 거둔 일본의 만화잡지 “소년점프”의 사업모델과 전략을 도입하는 방식을 채택했다. 즉 정기적인 주간 출판 주기, 독자 인기 투표가 중대한 영향을 미치는 편집상의 결정, 기성 작가 대신 신인 작가의 채용, 그리고 소위 “잡지-단행본” 모델이라고 하는, 주 수익을 만화잡지가 아닌 연재물을 묶어서 출판한 단행본으로 얻는 사업모델이다. 하지만 “아이큐점프”의 내용, 서울문화사의 만화업계 관련 활동, 그리고 8~90년대 “아이큐점프”의 제작에 참여한 만화가 및 편집자들의 증언에서 알 수 있듯이 실제로는 사회경제적 및 역사적 배경의 특성상 “소년점프”와는 크게 구별되는 차이점이 산재했다. 대표적인 차이점으로 “아이큐점프”는 특히 초기에 해외 수입만화에 크게 의존했으며, 국내의 해적판 출판물과도 경쟁해야 했고, 또한 대여업체와 지속적으로 복잡한 관계를 유지했다. 또한 “아이큐점프” 편집자들은 “소년점프” 편집자들에 비해 인원수가 훨씬 적었으며 해외작품의 성공에 점진적으로 높은 의존도를 보이는 편집구조 내에서 활동했기에 만화가들을 전폭적으로 지원하거나 지도하는 데에는 한계가 있었다. 일본 출판사에 비해 제한적이었던 편집부의 통제력은 만화가에게는 더 높은 창의적 자유도 내지는 연재 방향성의 방황으로 이어지기도 했다. 한편 만화독자들의 취향은 정식 라이선스 및 불법해적판을 통해 대량으로 유입된 최신 일본만화의 영향을 크게 받았다. 최신 일본 상업만화의 장르적 특성과 시각적 스타일을 쉽게 소화할 수 있었던 젊은 작가들이 대본소 공장 시스템에 뿌리를 두고 있던 윗 세대의 기성 작가들에 비해 유리하였으며, 그 결과 만화창작업계의 대대적인 세대 교체가 일어나게 되었다. 또한 최종 소비자를 대여업체에서 독자로 전환하려던 만화출판사들의 시도의 결과 만화 팬덤의 성장, 만화 소비

및 소비방법과 다양한 수익모델의 촉진, 그리고 잡지-단행본 모델의 정착화와 정상화가 전개되었다. 궁극적으로 서울문화사와 90년대 출판사들의 한계와 선택은 만화산업 모델 뿐만 아니라 장르, 미학, 및 경향 전반에 큰 영향을 끼쳤다.

주제어: 만화산업, 만화잡지, 한국만화, 아이큐점프, 소년점프, 구술사

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## 1. Introduction

Comics have been one of the most popular and ubiquitous mediums of our time. Essentially a systematic combination of words and pictures employing specific representational codes such as images, texts, panel frames, and word balloons (Varnum & Gibbons, 2001, p. ix), comics are a powerful and highly accessible form of communication. For the producer, comics are accessible in terms of average production cost; the minimal material requirement for an artist is relatively cheap.<sup>1</sup> For the audience, comics are not only cheap or even freely accessible entertainment but a highly comprehensible medium, as the message is conveyed instantaneously through pictures and words. Due to these characteristics, the medium was utilized from its earliest stages as means to transmit humor and political commentary<sup>2</sup>. At the same time, the high accessibility of comics — low-budget, low-price, easy comprehension also its intimate connection with humor — has been the cause of a major source of controversy and discussion surrounding the discourse of comics. The long and forgoing dispute over the naming of the medium is one of the most visible signs signifying the struggles over the definition, expansion and distinction of what can convey “comics.” For instance, Joseph Witek have argued that the use of “sequential art” — a definition conceived by Will Eisner on his work *Comics and Sequential Art* — over “comics” can have the advantage of avoiding the negative connotation connected to the term; more specifically, its associations to “the burlesque and the ridiculous (Witek, 1989, p.6).” Similarly, definitions such as graphic novel, comix, *gekiga*, *manga*, and *la bande dessinée* were additional vocabulary<sup>3</sup> created and used during the struggle against what was perceived as the socially and aesthetically limiting connotations associated with the term “comics” — often perceived merely as a “cheap, disposable kiddie fare (McCloud, 1994, p.3).”

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<sup>1</sup> Writing utensils and paper are merely the most basic, fundamental, and traditional tools of comics production. However, comics can be created by a number of mediums including Indian ink and brush, watercolor, oil paint, screen tones and digital tools.

<sup>2</sup> This tendency and potential is particularly evident in the example of early Western comics by Hogarth and Daumier (Harrison, 2008, p.127).

<sup>3</sup> In North America, the term “graphic novel” is used by publishers for comic books with “mature themes” in order to differentiate the works from light, humorous comic books for children and teenagers (Harrison, 2008, p. 166), although to be precise, the term was initially created by publishers in order to designate and market comics to a mature audience. “Comix” refer to underground comics during 1960-70s America (Pustz, 1999, p. 60). In 1960s Japan, Osaka-based artists had begun calling their works “gekiga (劇画: literally, “dramatic pictures”)” instead of the popular term, “manga (漫画: literally meaning “comical, exaggerated pictures;” although outside of Japan the word can refer to comics created in Japan or created by Japanese artists)” for motivations similar to the case of graphic novels or comix in America. “BD” or “la bande dessinée” literally means “a strip of drawings” in French and functions as a general definition regarding the comics medium; or when used outside of France, French and Belgian comics (Khordoc, 2001, p. 157).

Yet a term such as "sequential art" may exile single panel and text dominated works from the realm of comics (Cohn, 2005), while "graphic novel" may appear to privilege the literary characteristic over the visual and also result in relegating non-American comics to the background (Labio, 2011, p.124). In this research, the term "comics" will be used because although "comics" may not be a perfect definition, it has also become a generic term associated with complex sociolinguistic and cultural codes (ibid, p.126) far beyond the works created for the funny pages of American newspapers (ibid), and thus capable of encompassing the complicated hybrid nature of the medium. In addition, the particular type of comics that will be discussed in this paper is highly commercial and produced for children and teenagers, much closer to the "lowly origin (ibid, p.124)" associated with the term "comics." This paper will also use the definition "manhwa (만화 漫畵)" to refer to comics created in Korea, or by Korean creators in the Korean language. It should be noted that manhwa carries different meanings depending on the context: inside Korea or the Korean linguistic zone, manhwa refers to comics in general, but outside of Korea or the Korean linguistic zone, comics created by Korean creators in the Korean language are referred to as "manhwa." Because this is an English research paper, and also for the sake of convenience, the latter definition will be used to define comics created by Korean creators in the Korean language. Likewise, the term "manga (まんが 漫画)" will be used to refer to comics created in Japan, or by Japanese creators in the Japanese language. In addition, Korean and Japanese names will be written so that the surname is placed first, as per local custom.

### (1) Comics in South Korea

In South Korea, the comic book publishing industry have grown steadily since the late 1980s, and at one point comic books dominated 19.68% (6,647 titles) of all new books published in 2002. Yet since this peak, comic book publishing have fallen rapidly, hitting 9.72% (4,095 titles) on 2006, and the most latest available figures analyzing 2012 publication statistics indicate that 12.3 % (5,308 titles) of Korean publications are comic books (Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, 2014). Another important trend noticed by the 2013 Cartoon Industry White Paper — an annual white paper published by the Korea Creative Content Agency (henceforth “KOCCA”) — is the decline of the 3 major comic book publishers. Since the 1990s, the South Korean comics industry have been dominated by the following companies: Daewon CI (대원씨아이), founded in 1991, Haksan Munhwasa (학산문화사), founded in 1995, and Seoul Munhwasa (서울문화사), founded in 1988. At their height in 2005, the aforementioned publishers

(abbreviated as "DHS") dominated 63.4% of the entire comic book market (KOCCA, 2012, p.80). Another striking factor about these numbers is the disproportionately high ratio of translated comics — mostly imported from Japan — prevalent in all three publishers. In 2010, 83.7% of Daewon CI comic books were translated editions, while 90.4% of Haksan Munhwasa comic books and 78.7% of Seoul Munhwasa were translated editions (ibid, p.81). In other words, only 16.3%, 9.6% and 21.3% of the respective publishers' comic books were manhwa. The remaining comic book publishers were more evenly divided and actually published more manhwa, with 40.5% translated comic books and 59.5% domestic comic books (ibid). This heavy reliance on translated editions of mostly manga is rooted in the 1990s, a once profitable business choice that may have been partially responsible for the current declining sales of the DHS, as domestic “webtoons<sup>4</sup>” are gaining more prominence.

The current state of the comics publishing industry and comics of South Korea cannot be discussed without examining the 1990s, and the 1990s comics industry cannot be examined without analyzing the DHS. In that regard, the comics magazine<sup>5</sup> *IQ Jump* (아이큐점프), published by Seoul Munhwasa since 1988, is a particularly useful research subject. *IQ Jump* is a meaningful and significant periodical precisely because it was the very embodiment of “cheap, disposable kiddie fare” — mass produced, cheap, popular, and marketed primarily towards children and teenagers. A comics magazine for children satisfies every aspect of what defines “the popular” according to Raymond Williams; something that is widely liked, perceived as superficial and lowly, and created intentionally to be liked by the public (Harrington & Bielby, 2001, p.2). Additionally, as one of the most popular comics magazines of the 1990s, *IQ Jump* not only embodied the characteristics of what defined low culture, popular culture, and juvenile culture in South Korean society, but also played a significant role in the transition of the local comic book publishing industry.

Since the late 1980s, the pressure of globalization and open markets accelerated in South Korea. South Korean creative industries were facing increasing challenges as well as opportunities from globalization. Fearing that the 1994 Uruguay Round may effect the screen quota that had protected domestic films, film industry workers consistently protested to maintain the quota (Gijoo Shin, 2006); there was a heightened level of social and governmental interest on "cultural industries," famously defined by the phrase “Jurassic Park made US \$ 850,000,000 in 1 year, the equivalent of 2 years of

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<sup>4</sup> A portmanteau of “web” and “cartoon,” a Korean term for webcomics. Outside of Korea, the term “webtoon” is often used to refer to Korean webcomics.

<sup>5</sup> By “comics magazine,” I am referring to a periodical predominantly featuring comics, and which identifies itself and/or is classified as a comics magazine.

our car export revenue<sup>6</sup>;" the ban on Japanese culture was officially lifted on 1998, allowing Japanese films, music, and television shows to be shown and sold in South Korea, albeit limitedly. Like other creative industries at the time, the South Korean comics publishing industry experienced market expansion, partially benefiting from economic growth and a reduced level of government censorship, and was undergoing multiple transitions in areas of production, distribution, and aesthetic/generic trends. For decades, South Korean comics publishing was based on rental retailers — book rental stores called daebonso (대본소) where customers could read or rent books for a small fee. Pre-publication censorship of comics books which started from the early 1960s were abolished by the late 1980s, allowing more artistic freedom and also direct piracy,<sup>7</sup> which in turn lead to a rise in the publication of pirated Japanese comics. A notable difference from the past was the rising demand for comic books from readers who wished to purchase and own comic books; in other words, comics directly sold to the general public to be possessed, in contrast to the traditional distribution model where the daebonso purchased the books and rented them out to readers. *IQ Jump* publisher Seoul Munhwasa was one of the earliest magazine publishers to publish collections of comics serialized on its magazines, therefore fully capitalizing on the comic book market for the general public. Essentially, Seoul Munhwasa responded to existing market demands by partially borrowing strategies from business models and production processes of Japanese comic book publishers and magazines — in particular the extremely successful comics magazine *Shonen Jump* — and played a key role within the late 1980s~1990s comics industry. *IQ Jump* was the first South Korean magazine to legally serialize Japanese comics, was one of the earliest magazines to actively apply popularity poll-based editorial decisions, to employ new artists — which was extremely rare within the artisan-type hierarchy at the time — and also published its serialized works as comic books; all of which were tactics to answer demand, while influencing the market, popular trends, and the industry. Several results of Seoul Munhwasa and its competitors' decisions were a surge of officially licensed foreign (mostly Japanese) comics, decrease

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<sup>6</sup> This widely quoted phrase was first mentioned during a Presidential Advisory Council on Science and Technology report to President Kim Young-sam on May 17, 1994 (Kim. H, 1994). It reflected the recent public recognition of the creative industry's economic value, as well as providing ground for government investment into creative industry projects such as the Seoul International Cartoon and Animation Festival.

<sup>7</sup> "Indirect piracy" refers to the practice of an artist hand-copying another artist's works; in this case, usually a local Korean artist will copy from a Japanese comic book or comics magazine. This process was necessary during pre-publication censorship, as the original manuscript or artwork had to be submitted to the censorship board before publication. Occasionally, parts of the original artwork or even story elements were altered for multiple purposes including localization, self-censorship, or the copier's personal preferences and conveniences. When pre-publication censorship was changed to post-publication censorship, there was no reason for an intermediation process involving copier artists, and so the original works were copied directly with copy machines: therefore the term "direct piracy."

of pirated comic books and pirate publishers, increase in comic books and comics magazine publication and sales, changing artistic and generic trends influenced by Japanese commercial comics, a generational shift of artists, all of which contributed to the collective memory of the 1990s as a “Renaissance” of Korean comics. Another factor to such collective memory is the steady decline in comic book publishing as well as the sales and titles of comics magazines for non-educational entertainment purposes, which is a sharp contrast to the mid-90s when there was a surge in the publication of comics magazines and comic book publications.

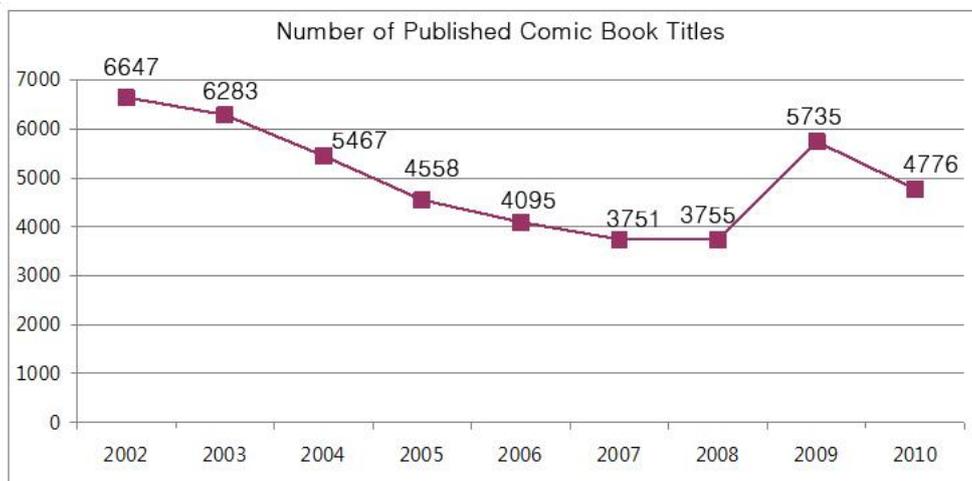


Figure 1. Number of published comic book titles, 2002~2010 ()

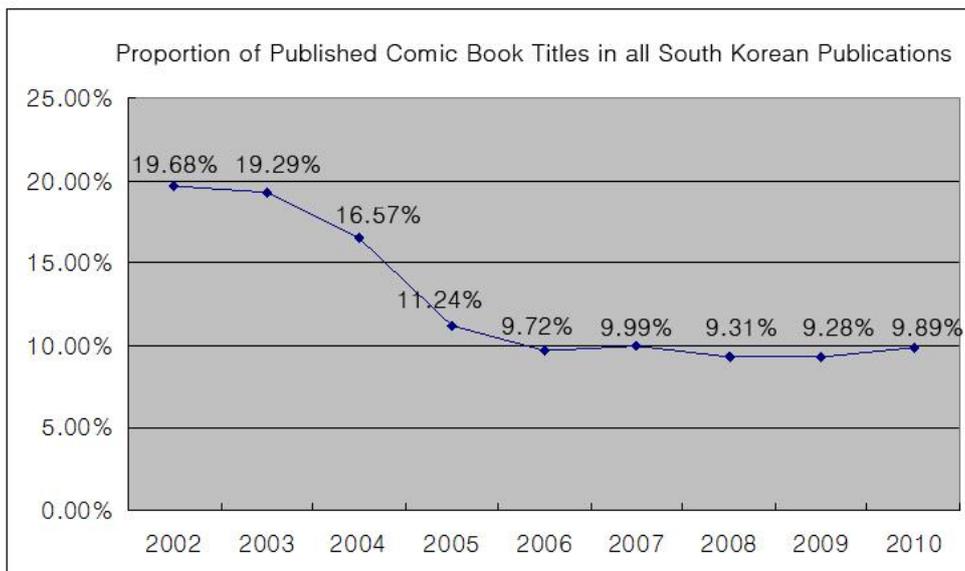


Figure 2. Proportion of comic book publications

Currently, the center of the Korean comics market is the “webtoon” — the Korean definition of webcomics — that are published on search portals such as Naver and Daum. In particular, Naver dominates 80% of the South Korean search market (SEONGNAM, 2014), and free daily updates of new webtoon episodes are just one of the many means Naver uses to attract traffic. There are the “official” Naver webtoons in which the artists are paid regularly by Naver — although the sum varies largely depending on the popularity and prominence of the artist — to upload one or two new episodes in the designated weekday. Then there is a firecely competitive separate section for “Naver challenge webtoons (네이버 도전만화)” where any Naver user may upload their webtoon freely, hoping for a chance, however meager, to be hired as an official Naver artist. Naver artists are either chosen from the “challenge” section, annual competitions, or recruited from other web portals, publishers, or agencies if the artist is popular. Daum and other web portals function in a similar way, although some slight differences exist, such as Daum’s tendencies to target mature readers as a means of competing with Naver. According to the *2013 Comics Industry White Paper*, portal webtoons are the most common means for Korean readers to access comics (61.4%), followed by printed comic books (47.4%), Internet comics<sup>8</sup> (17.9%), applications (13.3%), and educational comics (13.1%). By adding the results for web portal comics, Internet comics, and applications, it can be assumed that essentially 92.6% of the comics accessed by Korean readers are in digital format. Among printed comics, the most widely accessed format is the danhaengbon<sup>9</sup> (71.5%), educational comics (12.5%), newspapers (5.7%), and lastly, comics serialized on magazines (4.8%), showing the drastic fall of comics magazines. Due to the dominance of portal webtoons, the fact that past and current episodes of webtoons have been completely free since the early beginnings of webtoons, the lack of profit models for webtoons, decreasing comic book sales, and the fall of the comics magazines which were once at the center of the 1990s “manhwa Renaissance,” critics have often connected webtoon readership as a worrying regression to the decades of cheaply rented comics. Although the “free” nature of webtoons allowed comics to become highly accessible and prevalent to a possibly unprecedented degree in Korean history, it has also sparked concern that webtoons will

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<sup>8</sup> Refers to online comics that are not provided by web portals, such as comics published on various social network services, personal blogs, online communities, online shopping website, online news websites, comics-only service websites, and etc.

<sup>9</sup> "Danhaengbon" is the Korean pronunciation of 単行本 or tankoubon, a Japanese publishing term often used to refer to individual volumes of a single manga, as opposed to manga on magazines. If the magazine is an anthology of works by multiple artists, then tankoubons are generally collections of a single serial which had been published on a magazine over multiple issues. Printed collections of individual webtoons are also referred to as danhaengbon.

spread the notion that comics are cheap, or worse, free and undeserving of any form of remuneration. This current status of the Korean comics industry has further contributed to the romanticization or idealization of the 1990s comics scene, when comic books and magazines sold hundreds of thousands of copies, numerous magazines were launched, and with it the emergence of various new trends and artists.

Yet while the 1990s comics magazines and their publishers were certainly pioneering examples in some aspects and commercially successful, and therefore has been credited and also blamed for their impact on the Korean comics industry, there are very few researches on the specific details of the changes that overtook the production and distribution of comics at the period by focusing on a certain magazine and its producers. By examining *IQ Jump* and Seoul Munhwasa's activities through data, related documents, and the microhistory arranged from interviews with industry workers, their actual influences and significance within the transitional period of the 1990s — as well as the significance of the period itself and its impact on Korean comics in the 21<sup>st</sup> century — can be discovered.

## (2) Research question

This research focuses on transitions in the South Korean comics industry during the 1990s by observing the changes present in *IQ Jump* from its launch in 1988 to 1999, as well as from analyzing interviews on the artists and editors who were involved in the production of *IQ Jump* during this period. The 1990s was a period of rapid change for South Korean society as well as its comic book industry, with an explosive increase in comic book and magazine publication, introduction of the Japanese comics industry model and the *Shonen Jump* editorial model, attempts by publishers to shift its target consumers, and saw the rise of numerous important artists, and significantly, the establishment of visible comic book fandoms. *IQ Jump* was selected not simply because it was one of the most popular magazines leading the forefront of change in the 1990s comics industry, but because it was a transitional magazine which bridged the 1980s and the 1990s. Firstly, *IQ Jump* was the first Korean weekly comics magazine for children<sup>10</sup>, and borrowed the weekly circulation format, the "Jump" title, two words from the key

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<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that two comics magazines titled *Jugan Manhwa* (translated as "Weekly Comics") have been published before *IQ Jump*, one by Park No-jin on 1960, and the other by publisher Hosan Munhwasa on 1987. However, both were targeted at adult readers, and the latter was actually a biweekly magazine.

phrase "friendship, endeavor, victory"<sup>11</sup> from *Shonen Jump*, even officially licensing the Korean publication of *Shonen Jump*'s most popular serial, Dragon Ball, thereby becoming the first Korean comics magazine to openly and legally publish manga. In addition, *IQ Jump* was launched on December 1988, while contemporary comics magazines such as the monthly Bomulseom was launched in 1982 and discontinued on 1996, and *IQ Jump*'s rival *Sonyeon Champ* was launched in 1991. Unlike *Sonyeon Champ*, which was a latecomer and adapted *Shonen Jump* tactics — such as the recruitment of new artists through contests — and generic style and tastes of shonen manga more quickly, *IQ Jump* had initially hired established daebonso-based artists mostly and was comparatively late in publishing "danhaengbon comics" — comic books which are collections of multiple installments of single serials — of manhwa. Creators in *IQ Jump* were a mixture of daebonso-based artists, their apprentices or employees, and even younger artists who never underwent the hierarchical apprenticeship system. The very dissonance and discord within *IQ Jump* — which was both a pioneer and reactionary — makes it an appropriate subject for examining the transitional period that was the 1990s. By analyzing the magazine and interviewing its producers during the 1990s, this research aims to explain how the “Japanese model” was selectively applied by Seoul Munhwasa, and how its application affected the creators and editors, which in turn influenced changes in manhwa.

By directly listening to the voices of individuals who were involved in the production of *IQ Jump* during a crucial period for its publisher as well as the entire Korean comics industry, this study aims to address the following questions:

- i. In what ways did Seoul Munhwasa adapt the Japanese comics industry model and the *Shonen Jump* editorial model in producing *IQ Jump* and its comic books collections?
- ii. How did *IQ Jump* editors and artists adapt to the changes in the 1990s Korean comics industry?
- iii. What were the consequences of Seoul Munhwasa's actions, and how did it influence the South Korean comic book industry?

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<sup>11</sup> *IQ Jump*'s key phrase was "friendship, endeavor, success."

## **2. Research period and method**

### **(1) Research period: 1988~1999**

This research will focus on IQ Jump and the South Korean comics industry from the late 1980s to the late 1990s. The 90s were significant not only due to the abundance of academic and business research on comics as a result of heightened social and governmental interest in the cultural industry, but also because of the multiple changes that overtook the comics industry, affecting distribution, production, and even the aesthetic and generic trends. Such changes were caused by both environments such as the IMF bailout or the traditional rental market, and also stimulated by the particular choices and strategies made by publishers like Seoul Munhwasa. The 90s saw a sudden rise in the number of comics magazines and comic book sales, and was the first time in the Republic of Korea's history to publicly and legally approve the introduction of Japanese cultural products in the country, leading to the official licensing and publication of Japanese comic books (Han; 1996). The IMF-Korea bailout in 1997 — often dubbed the “IMF crisis” in Korea, as IMF reforms resulted in depressed wages, massive layoffs, multiple bankruptcies, which in turn lead to lowered living standards and high suicide rates — struck the comics industry in the sudden increase of a new rental system called "book rental stores (doseo-dayeojjeom)", which impacted the industry in the late 90s. Book rental stores were considered an attractive family business for countless laid-off workers, with over 96% stores dealing in comic books (J. Lee; 1996). While traditional rental libraries or manhwapang (literally translates to “comic book room”) were designated as a “harmful business against minors” and was only allowed to operate outside certain distances from school premises, the book rental store was supported by the government's book promotion policy — also perceived as one of the few viable options for independent businesses — and was allowed to set up shop near schools and residential areas. Basically, book rental stores were a much more attractive and accessible rental library than the traditional manhwapang, perceived as a closed, masculine space full of cigarette smoke (Won, 2002, p.148).

The 90s were also a period of increasing artistic agency. Comic book artists increasingly became more vocal and socially visible, asserting their rights as creators and workers. Before, the discourse on comics was formed by agents outside the comics industry, such as government legislators, the media, parents, and teachers. Now, popular established artists openly protested against social prejudices surrounding comics, censorship, and the overflow of Japanese comics; signifying another central aspect in

the 90s — fear of cultural colonialism. Korean media was traditionally hostile towards any Japanese culture due to Japan’s brutal colonial rule spanning 35 years, and comics and animation were the most visible and easy targets. Newspapers would denounce Japanese animated serials and question whether they should be allowed to air on public television<sup>12</sup>, while pirated Japanese comics were demonized as racy, violent, and a corrupting influence to children and youth. While all comic books have been demonized and publicly persecuted for decades, some Korean artists tried to avoid this negative perspective of comics by utilizing the anti-Japan atmosphere to shift the target to Japanese comics (Choi; 1995). With the ban against Japanese culture lifted, the 1990s was ripe with discussions and research on the possible affects of Japanese culture and how exposure to sex, violence and “Japan-ness (called 왜색 woesaek, literally meaning “Japanese colors”)” in its comics will (negatively) influence Korean youth. The Youth Protection Board and the Board on Publication Ethics published a report titled *The List of Harmful Media for Minors from 1987 to July 1997*, the YMCA published *Analysis of Weekly Comics Magazines* in 1993, *Monitoring Report on Harmful Publications* in 1995, and *Monitoring Report on Japanese Comic Books in Korea* in 1996 — all of which directly and unquestioningly linked comic books with the concept of “harmful” media. Yet the artists’ enmity towards Japanese comics were not simply due to culturally implemented fear, but reflected a very real, concrete threat to their businesses. The explosion of comic book publishing, the rising demand for comic books, and the shifting tastes of readers were answered by publishers through the massive supply of imported Japanese comics. Although pirated Japanese comic books have existed long before, now legally licensed, better translated and better printed comics were published in masses by companies with larger capital than the pirate publishers. Japanese comics were superior in quantity, survived a much larger, competitive market and many were extremely successful bestsellers. While the South Korean film industry was protected from Hollywood movies by the screen quota<sup>13</sup> — a policy credited with nurturing the domestic film industry and market — the comic book market did not receive such protection.

Furthermore, the 90s was a period when interest in the cultural industry was highly popular, with an increase of governmental and academic research on the business

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<sup>12</sup> The airing of Japanese animation on public television was approved by a loophole in the system. Since many Japanese animated serials were produced by subcontracted animators in South Korea, the Japanese origins were effectively excused because, albeit partly, they were considered as Korean productions. The decision was also motivated by necessity, as the number of children’s programs was direly limited at the time (S. Kim; 207).

<sup>13</sup> The screen quota was a legislated policy that forced domestic theatres to show Korean movies for at least 146 days each year. It was first enforced in 1967.

potential of comics. Comics, electronic games, animation and character business were among the new industries of interest. In 1997, the Ministry of Culture and Sports announced the Comics Industry Promotion Plan (Ministry of Culture and Sports, 1997, p.112), and the ministry's *Culture Industry Report 1997* included a section titled "developing the comics industry" under the publications category, as well as a 10-page section titled "the comics industry in 3-parts" under the film category, introducing the size and economic potential of the animation and character industry. In the *Culture Industry Report 2000*, the comics industry was given its own chapter, reflecting an increasing governmental interest in its potential. Additionally, the title and number of published comic books increased explosively, revealing a heightened economical interest in the medium. To summarize, the 90s were significant for the history of comics because for the first time, comics became widely recognized for its economic potential, a perception beyond the traditional notion focusing on the content of comics and its affect on children.

Aside from the publishers' attempt to change the distribution system by shifting the final consumer from the rental retailer to the reader, the late 90s also saw the rise of the Internet and online fan communities, as well as early examples of online file sharing and the first webcomics. This prolonged tradition of renting followed by free online software consumption maintains a certain pattern that have defined comics consumption in Korea; that is, consuming the "software" but not necessarily the "hardware" or physical form of comics. The resulting accessibility was certainly one factor that contributed to the popularity and prevalence of comics, but also resulted in an unstable, perilous industry affecting publishers and artists. Therefore, it is crucial to focus on the 90s — a period when efforts to abolish the model and forces that sustained it were occurring simultaneously.

## (2) Research Method

The purpose of this study is to analyze how comics in South Korea were produced and distributed during the 1990s through the case study of *IQ Jump*, and analyze its impact on the domestic comics industry from a cultural-historical perspective. The following methods were utilized in order to achieve the aforementioned research purpose: literature review of contemporary studies, reports, and data on the comics industry; analysis of *IQ Jump* issues; and one-on-one interviews with artists and editors who were active at *IQ Jump* and its rival magazine during the 1990s.

Regarding the first method, there is an abundance of literature on comics industry and consumption patterns since the 1990s, such as government reports and academic research work on the size and structure of the comics industry at the time. The Bucheon Cartoon Information Center, a government institution established in 1998 to promote the culture and business of comics, publishes an annual report of the comics industry, the structure of the rental market, and reader polls on consumption patterns. Past issues of *IQ Jump* were analyzed as well; Seoul Munhwasa has preserved nearly every issue of the periodical since its launch in 1989 in its archive, where I was granted access by courtesy of current *IQ Jump* editor-in-chief and comics department director Gwak Hyun-chang.

Interviews with former editors and artists of *IQ Jump* were conducted in order to gain insider insight into the creative and editorial production of the magazine and the working structure of the industry. The interviewees were four editors and five artists. The editors were three former *IQ Jump* editor-in-chiefs —Lee Jaeshik, Jeon Jaesang, and Kang Inseon — and one current editor-in-chief: Gwak Hyun-chang. Five artists were interviewed: Cho Jaeho, Kim Soo-yong, Lee Choong-ho, and Kim Joon-beom who all formally worked for *IQ Jump*, and one former artist from the rival magazine *Sonyeon Jump*, Miru Choi, to provide a comparative picture. Initially, two editors (Lee Jaeshik, Jeon Jaesang) and two artists (Cho Jaeho, Miru Choi) were introduced through pop culture columnist and online comics journal *Mahn* editor Lim Chae-jin. The interviewees in turn introduced other interviewees, enabling snowball interviews. Aside from Jaesang Jeon whose interview was conducted over telephone, all the interviewees were interviewed in person, and the conversations were recorded with their consent.

The interviews will be incorporated with an understanding of the South Korean comic scene from the late 1980s to the end of the 1990s based on academic and industrial researches. Additionally, issues from the periodical *IQ Jump* and comic books accumulating its serialized works will be analyzed for support.

### (3) Previous Research

Literature on comics, including academic research and publications, rose sharply during the 1990s due to the increased public interest in the comics medium. The overall theme of comics-related research can be divided roughly into five categories: comics as tools, comics as text, effects of comics, the comic book industry, and history of comics. Comics as tools, or instrumental approach to comics, focused on the extremely efficient ability of comics in conveying meaning, and sought to utilize comics

as a learning method (T. Choi, K. Kim; 1999). The approach reflects a renewed perspective of comics as efficient educational tool, inspired by the success of *Far Country, Neighbor Country* (먼나라 이웃나라)<sup>14</sup> — innovative for receiving support and praise from parents and teachers, groups that were traditionally hostile towards comics — as well as a pragmatic understanding and reluctant acceptance of the comics medium as a vital and inseparable part of children’s culture<sup>15</sup>. The instrumental approach was a more positive turn from the traditionally popular effects approach, which was concerned with the potentially negative effects of comics on children and youth (Y. Chang; 2002). The textual approach towards comics treated comics as artistic and literary texts worthy of academic analysis, and focused on the relationship between comics and its consumers, and also the social significance and structure of meaning within Korean society. Examples include feminist readings such as Soo-in Noh’s “The relationship between Korean and Japanese girls’ comics: with a focus on in-depth interviews with Korean girls’ comic book artists” and “Research on the struggle over meaning in the female genre of comic book publication: focusing on *The Four Daughters of Armian*<sup>16</sup>” by Rah Hyun-sook and Cho Young-nam (Rah, Cho; 1996). Examples of semiotic analysis of comic book texts were works such as Kwon Kyung-min’s *A Semiotic Theory of Comics* and Soo-jin Lee’s *Comic Book Semiotics*.

The earliest works on the history of Korean comics were Sang-ik Sohn’s *A Holistic History of Korean Comics* published in 1996 and Choi Yeol’s *The History of Korean Comics* in 1995. *Summary of Korean Art History*<sup>17</sup> also included the comics medium from its volume on the 1970s, describing changes in aesthetics style,

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<sup>14</sup> *Far Country, Neighbor Country* was a highly successful six-volume comic book series written and illustrated by visual design professor Won-bok Lee. The series was an educational comic book or 학습만화 (hakseup manhwa) that introduced the history, culture and society of six European countries — the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Germany, France, Switzerland, and Italy. Initially serialized on the Children’s Daily Hankuk 소년한국일보 and published as comic book volumes in 1987. The series was not simply a textbook as it includes the artist’s personal observations and reflections from his experiences living and studying abroad in Europe. Because of its educational and informative nature and partly due to the artist’s “respectful” occupation and education, *Far Country Neighbor Country* played an important role in the changing discourse of the comics medium, as well as paving the way for a successful category of comics — the educational comics.

<sup>15</sup> By the 90s, the YWCA acknowledges that “comics are too intimate with children’s culture to be separated” and sought “efficient means of utilizing” the medium, an improved approach from simply banning and condemning comics.

<sup>16</sup> *The Four Daughters of Armian* is a fantasy romance by artist Il-sook Shin. First published in 1986, the series illustrates the lives of the four royal princesses of Armian, a fictional ancient Middle Eastern kingdom. *The Four Daughters of Armian* remains one of the significant works of early Korean girls’ comics, or soonjung manhwa 순정만화 (literally, pure romance comics).

<sup>17</sup> *Summary of Korean Art* is a series outlining the various forms of arts in the Republic of Korea by decade and was edited by the Research Institute of Korean Art in the Korea National University of Arts. Its writers were professionals from subsequent fields.

distribution, and production throughout the ages. Historical researches utilize government data, information and memoirs from individuals associated with the comics industry, and other quantitative data preserved by the publisher.

Research on industry and distribution — the subjects of interest in this paper — were largely conducted or funded by the government or businesses, and served to forecast the business potentials and offer developmental policies and strategies. The earliest example is *Research on the Korean Cartoon and Animation Industry* (1995) by Chang-wan Han. The book systematically organized, recorded and analyzed the size of the domestic comic book and animation industry, provided extensive quantitative data to prove the present condition and problems of the industrial model, and proposed alternatives to improve and develop guidelines for the business. “The problem of Korean comic book distribution and methods for improving its condition (Sae-hyong Park; 1995),” “Research on strategies to develop the comic book publication industry (S. Cheong; 2002),” *A Social Studies of Japanese Comics: the Foundation of its Competitiveness from a Historical Perspective* (H. Cheong; 2004), “The pros and cons of comics as contents industry (S. Park; 2006)” *Comics, Cultural Industry and the City* (Hak-soon Lim and etc.; 2007), and annual reports published by government organizations such as the Ministry of Culture and Sports<sup>18</sup>, Bucheon Cartoon Information Center, and Korea Creative Content Agency are just a few examples of the numerous research conducted on the subject. Initially, government annual reports simply presented data on the number of registered comic book titles and rental retailers, but gradually expanded to include vast information on the industry through detailed market and consumer research. Thus, there are plenty of quantitative data available on the comics industry; however, the perspectives and tendencies of such research are also limited by their purposeful nature and concerning interest groups; namely, the government and businesses. Since the researchers’ chief interest lied in providing useful business models and strategies for governmental and business agencies, industrial researches share common perspectives and approaches, a prevailing standpoint in comics industry research is the establishment of the Japanese comics, animation and character industry as a superior role model, a new norm for Korean businesses to follow. The problem with the approach was that the Japanese comics industry far from being a “norm” but a highly exceptional example, even from international standards. Also, the two countries had vastly different social, historical backgrounds that have shaped their domestic comic book industries accordingly. Later research still share the commercial

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<sup>18</sup> Re-established as the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 1998, and as the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism in 2008.

approach and interest, presenting examples of comic book industries in various foreign countries, analyzing case studies and offering lessons and strategies that can be adapted for the Korean market. Essentially, a majority of business and industry researches were closer to business reviews and proposals rather than academic research.

As the goal of the commercial approach was in reproducing the success of the Japanese model, researchers were also interested in the poor and unstable condition of the Korean comic book market — mainly concerning low sales — and provided their own insight or solutions in order to explain and solve the situation. Chang-wan Han stated that the overflow of pirated Japanese comics and the political scapegoating of comics resulted in a weak market, that “dirty adult comics” leading to a low social perception of the medium, and the economic limitations imposed on by the rental market (Han; 1995). Cheong Seol also targeted the rental market and pressures from the international market caused by the mass import of Japanese comics (Cheong; 2002). Choi Seung-ju pointed out the weakness of the market itself — i.e; the lack of artists and works — and an industry structure that does not allow the individual artist from profiting beyond the basic fee-per-page, such as receiving royalties from character goods as in Japan (S. Choi; 1995). Along with the rental retailers, blaming the reader for lacking ethical responsibility as consumer and having limited understanding of copyright infringement was also a recurrent topic in discourse and debates over the comics scene (O. Lee; 2003). The reader and the consuming pattern became and increasingly popular targets entering the 2000s, possibly because the rental retailers were decreasing in number and illegal sharing of digitalized comics became more prevalent. Readers, rather than the overall structure, were being held accounted for. Annual government reports reflect this belief as well, showing an increasing emphasis on illegal contents use and persecution rate, reflecting a belief that the answer to the weak market lies primarily within the reader-consumer.

To summarize, the market failure of Korean comics is largely understood as a resulting interaction between the rental system, globalization or the mass import of foreign titles, free online content, and the “immorality” of the reader. After the rental system has lost competitiveness against the availability of online content including illegal scan files, the reader’s “lack of consumer ethics” and a tendency to assume comics as “free content” due to historical rental consuming patterns are blamed as the major reasons behind the weak market.

### 3. Korean comics

In South Korea, comics occupy a unique cultural, economical, and social position. The government perspective over the medium of comics itself have shifted drastically from “unwholesome material (유해물)” deserving persecution to “useful educational tool” and a potentially profitable “creative business” worthy of government promotion and investment. Culturally, the comics scene was and still is a site for constant political, cultural and diplomatic dispute and discourse concerning cultural colonialism. Since the 1960s, Japanese media, including comics, was regarded by the South Korean government as an unwholesome culture accused of harming the national identity and morals of Korean juveniles, and were officially banned until 1998 (Kim, 2007, p. 125). The reinforcement of the ban contradicts and yet simultaneously reflects the extinct of the popularity and influence of Japanese comics in South Korea, widely distributed and consumed both legally and illegally. Currently however, printed and digitalized comics are largely popular and widely recognized throughout South Korean society. Blockbuster films and hit television serials such as *The War of Flower* (타짜) (2006), *Princess Hours* (궁) (2006), *Le Grand Chef* (식객) (2007), *War of Money* (쩨의 전쟁) (2007), *Moss* (이끼) (2010), *Late Blossom* (그대를 사랑합니다) (2011), and *Misaeng* (미생) (2014) were adaptations from manhwa, contributing to the positive image of comics as a powerful, attractive and commercially productive original source material (Park, 2006). National search engines such as Naver and Daum provide free webcomics which are updated every day of the week and viewed by millions each day<sup>19</sup>. Some comics have been influential enough to be a social phenomenon, perhaps most famously the Japanese serial *Kami no shizuku* 神の雫, which immensely affected the local wine industry and popular wine preferences (Hong 2007, Song 2009, Yu 2008).

Yet actual figures suggest a dismal, unstable and high-risk industry based on a feeble distribution and profit system. The copies and titles of comic books rapidly decreases by each year, with 6647 titles published in 2002 plummeting to 4095 by 2006 (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2008, p. 346). Even the most popular webcomics ultimately rely on book publishing sales for profit<sup>20</sup>, while publishers suffer critical losses from online piracy — scanned comics in digital format (ibid, p.77). To summarize, comics are one of the most widely viewed but scarcely consumed mediums

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<sup>19</sup> The Daum webcomic *Moss* at its height saw 3.4 million daily viewers (Jeong, 2010); the Naver webcomic *Come to the Convenience Store!* (와라! 편의점) boasted an accumulated number of 400 million viewers as of August 15, 2010 (Cheon, Lee, 2010) since its launch in July 2008.

<sup>20</sup> In recent years, web portals have changed this model so that portions of completed webcomic serials are available through online payment. The price varies depending on the popularity of the work.

in South Korea. What is unique however is that the digital age and the abundance of “free stuff” is not the single contributor to this pattern; rather, it is often believed to belong within the continuity within the history of comic consumption. For decades, comic books in South Korea were not consumed to be purchased and collected by individual readers, but to be rented and read within the limited compounds of rental libraries. Since the popularization of the internet, most readers do not even have to pay the rental fee as web portals provide free webcomics to generate more traffic, and scanned files of comic books are easily accessible through P2P websites or even personal blogs. In essence, aside from a very small pool of loyal fans who purchase and collect comic books, comics in South Korea before the 90s were not considered a medium to be purchased and owned by readers, but to be rented or even taken for free. Distribution ended at the rental market, not the readers; in other words, rental libraries were the consumers, not the readers. This distribution system and consuming pattern were maintained for decades and was the norm, which was unique even compared to other creative industries in South Korea at the time (Sohn, 1998, p.206). Yet there was a period when publishers attempted to break the pattern, targeting readers directly instead of rental libraries. The early 1990s in the comic book industry is considered by many artists, fans and researchers as the “Renaissance” or the Golden Age of manhwa. More comics magazines were launched than ever before, popular local titles sold millions of copies, new artists were introduced, and the concept of purchasing and owning comic books were popularized. One of the early pioneers of this era was the publisher Seoul Munhwasa and its periodical *IQ Jump*, launched on December 1988 as the first weekly comics magazine in South Korea. As a medium *IQ Jump* is significant on multiple levels; first, as one of the most popular comics periodicals, second, as an anthology of serialized comics, and lastly, as a form of popular media catering to children and young adults. The periodical and its publisher is significant for their role within the history of South Korean comics; most notably for attempting to adapt and appropriate the comics magazine model — specifically, that of the immensely popular weekly comics magazine *Shonen Jump* — of Japanese major publishers into South Korea (Kim, 2005, p.295), as well as being the first magazine to introduce and print Japanese comics legally. This led to rival publishers such as Daewon to serialize popular Japanese comics on their own magazines, which was particularly meaningful as a previously unprecedented, nearly unfiltered globalization process within the comic book industry. Artistic styles, genres, editorial decisions, business strategies, and the shape of the business itself was altered significantly because of publishers' choices, changing tastes and market structure. Older established artists who profited from the traditional artisan production process fell

behind a generation of new artists who quickly adapted manga styles and conventions, or targeted specifically local needs manga had yet to provide. Simultaneously, artists were forced to compete against a tsunami of illegally and legally published Japanese comics, which easily surpassed the local titles in quantity and quality. The publishers who had initially supported such new artists increasingly relied on the sales of foreign imported titles, which assured quicker and safer profit than nurturing new artists. From the publishers' perspective, complicating factors such as the IMF, falling sales, censorship, and the stubborn permanence of the rental-based distribution system were direct threats that had to be dealt with immediately, even should the strategies cause damaging consequences in hindsight. Such decisions were instrumental in shaping the South Korean comic scene of the 2000s and beyond.

(1) Historical background



Figure 3. *Saphwa* by Do-young Lee, 1909. This is the earliest example of the modern newspaper cartoon in Korea.

Due to its strengths as a medium, comics boast a high efficiency in conveying meaning, and also had an economic advantage in terms of relatively low production cost and access fee. However, the benefits have also condemned the medium with a lowly social status (McCloud, 1994, p.3) across various societies and cultures. This

perspective was prevalent during the early period of modern comics in Japan as well (Schodt; 1999), the country that transferred Westernized newspaper cartoons to the Korean peninsula, naturally influencing the medium's direction in Korea. At the same time, Japan's colonial policies over Korea have resulted in restricting and stiling the development of the comics medium.

Korean comics — or, at least, modern comics as a mass-produced medium — took root during the early 20th century when the innovative style of Japanese and American newspaper cartoons were first introduced and mass publication became highly accessible (Sohn, 1998, p.81). The first modern Korean cartoon appeared on the newspaper *Daehan Minbo* on 1909 (figure 1). The first modern comics appeared in newspapers, and effectively fit into the category of “low culture” as signified by its high accessibility and anonymous<sup>21</sup> authors (Harrington & Bielby, 2001, p.2). Throughout the late Joseon period and the Japanese colonial period, comics occupied a small portion at the page corners of magazines and newspapers. Due to foreign stylistic influences, spatial limitations, and censorship, political satire gradually gave way to social satire of a less political nature<sup>22</sup>, or mostly non-political gag strips. While most of the satirical cartoons apparently seem to target adults, examples of children's comics appear frequently on children's magazines such as the *Eorin-yi* (어린이) (G. Park, 1999, p.57). Publication during the colonial period was severely restricted — all published material had to be registered and permitted by the governor-general — and consequently comics literally remained in the margins of print for decades, until Korea was liberated in 1945.

The post-liberation era from 1945 to the 1960s is significant for the development of comics in Korea, as the liberated publication system allowed for a mass release of books and magazines, leading to more comics pages in magazines and, most importantly, the first Korean comic books (Y. Han, 2001, p.7). For the first time, comics in Korea were moving beyond the margins of magazines and newspapers onto a more independent realm, and began experimenting in various styles and genres. The publication and distribution of comic books meant that the medium's commercial value was recognized in the market (Sohn, 1998, p.36), which in turn paved the way for more artists, titles a wider market, signaling a turning point for the cultural and artistic history of comics in Korea. Comics artist Yong-hwan Kim<sup>23</sup> recalls there were “plenty of work

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<sup>21</sup> Remaining works of the earliest newspaper cartoons show that artists' names were rarely present, or when stated, were fake names obviously made up hastily and jokingly, such as "silly" or "idiot (Sohn, 1998, p.81)."

<sup>22</sup> This meant that any hint of criticizing the Japanese government was forbidden, but poking fun at apparently apolitical social phenomenon such as the “new woman” — a term for non-traditional women adapting Western thinking and fashion — was acceptable.

<sup>23</sup> Yong-hwan Kim, also known as Kojubu (meaning “bignose”), was one of the early pioneers of pre-

and money” during the period (ibid, p.37), and artist Park Gi-jun, a young reader at the time, reminiscences that “comic books were sold by the dozens, hanging on clothes lines in bookstores or stationeries” — reflecting how comics distribution and the comics industry was growing rapidly during the post-liberation era (G. Park; 2008).

The Korean War (1950~1953) brought about a new distribution system — renting books. Renting was a practical choice amidst wartime poverty and the lack of raw materials (Sohn, 1998, p.206). Rental retailers were called *manhwabang*, and for a small fee per book the customer could read comic books on the spot. The first rental retailers were street vendors on the marketplace, but gradually evolved to the *manhwabang* — a small store stacked with comic books and chairs or benches to sit on.

## (2) Production

Aside from daily newspaper cartoons<sup>24</sup>, commercial comics production was rarely a one-person project (halim, 2004). This was not only the case with factory-style productions; assistants and apprentices were vital human resources for producing consistent quality and quantity required in magazine serials as well. The production process of comics can be summarized into the following five stages (KOCCA, 2010, p.122).

The first stage is planning. Planning is where the theme, subject, story, and characters are conceptualized and established. This process involves research and collecting materials for ideas through newspapers, magazines, books and the internet; narrating a general outline of the story; and designing characters as well as backgrounds and objects that will feature prominently in the finished work.

The second stage is drafting, also called “*conte* (콘티).” This is the process of constructing the skeletal structure of the work, and is essentially a rough outline of writing dialogues, organizing panels, and positioning of characters and speech balloons. Depending on the artist — or whether the artist is collaborating with a writer — the dialogue and story may be written in a script format beforehand. This is also when reference images such as photographs are collected from other sources, or sometimes

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liberation era Korean comics. He graduated the Tokyo Teikoku Art School in 1938 and drew illustrations for the Japanese children’s magazine *Shonen Club*. Kim gained immense popularity in Korea for the series *Kojubu’s Three Kingdoms* — an adaptation of the Chinese classic novel *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* — that ran on the youth’s magazine *Hakwon* from 1952 to 1955. *Kojubu’s Three Kingdoms* was also the first comics series to run for more than a year in Korea (D. Choi, 2004, p.514).

<sup>24</sup> “Newspaper comics” here refers to single-panel to four-panel cartoons — usually containing social or political commentary — featured on newspapers, and differs from multiple page comics featured on tabloid newspapers, which requires staff.

photographed by the artist or his/her assistants.

The third stage is sketching, which is drawing the artwork in detail. Traditionally, this process was done with pencil on certain types of paper that are sustainable enough to endure repeated penciling, erasing, and inking. With the advancement of printing, some artists skip the inking process and submit pencil drawings. Digital tools such as painting software and pen tablets are used.

The fourth stage is inking, the process of producing refined outlines over the penciled surface with drawing ink or India ink and various types of pen nibs. Again, this process may also be done digitally.

The fifth stage is finishing. Traditionally, this process involves erasing, filling ink in allocated areas, applying screentone sheets<sup>25</sup>, adding special effects<sup>26</sup>, and fixing mistakes.

The artist is assisted by assistants and apprentices (to be precise, “munhasaeng 문하생”). Assistants are temporary employees who are hired when their service is needed, usually during an urgent deadline. Apprentices are the artist’s “apprentices” who provide their services while learning from the artist. Their pay is much lesser than that of assistants — sometimes even working for free — and they often lived in the artists’ house or studio. Some artists collaborate with writers, who are usually credited as co-creator in a small-size production team, but omitted in a large-size “factory” system<sup>27</sup>. Generally, an apprentice will enter an artist’s studio upon graduating high school (Hyol, (1), 2002). Initially the apprentice was given manual tasks such as erasing and filling in allocated areas with ink, as well as assisting in research, shopping, and housework. Gradually the apprentice will learn techniques such as inking and sketching from the artist or senior apprentices, and given more advanced tasks such as adding effects, drawing backgrounds, and drawing extras or mobs. At the time, this apprenticeship practice was not generally considered as labor exploitation<sup>28</sup>, as the artist was expected

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<sup>25</sup> Screentone sheets are transparent sheets with a printed layer on one side and a wax adhesive layer on the back. The sheet is peeled off, applied on paper, and cut off to accomplish the desired effect. Sometimes, elaborate techniques such as shaving off the printed surface are used to accomplish special effects. Screentones were crucial in adding depth — more specifically, invoking an illusion of various “gray” shades, although in reality the printed surface is formed by tiny black dots — and variety to the predominantly black-and-white comics of East Asia. While screentone sheets are decreasing in use since the advancement of digital methods, it is important to note that black-and-white comics still utilize the effects of screentone sheets, even when the tools are digital.

<sup>26</sup> The “effects” can be various special effects used to achieve desired results, such as drawing multiple lines to give the appearance of violent action, or using white paint or correction fluids over a black surface to produce snow or city lights.

<sup>27</sup> In 2007, there was a class action lawsuit where story writers sued artists for joint copyright (“Who create comics? Story writers sue billions in damages,” 2007).

<sup>28</sup> This apparent satisfaction with the apprenticeship practice may be due to several reasons: a majority of apprentices were young and socially inexperienced, had few chances to interact with other studios’

to teach, guide, and perhaps most importantly, recommend and introduce the apprentice to publishers. The apprenticeship system has remained the norm for decades, and strengthened by the “factory” system.

The size of a production team can vary from two — one artist and one apprentice or assistant — to dozens. The smaller sized teams were called studios, while the larger sized teams were called productions or factories.

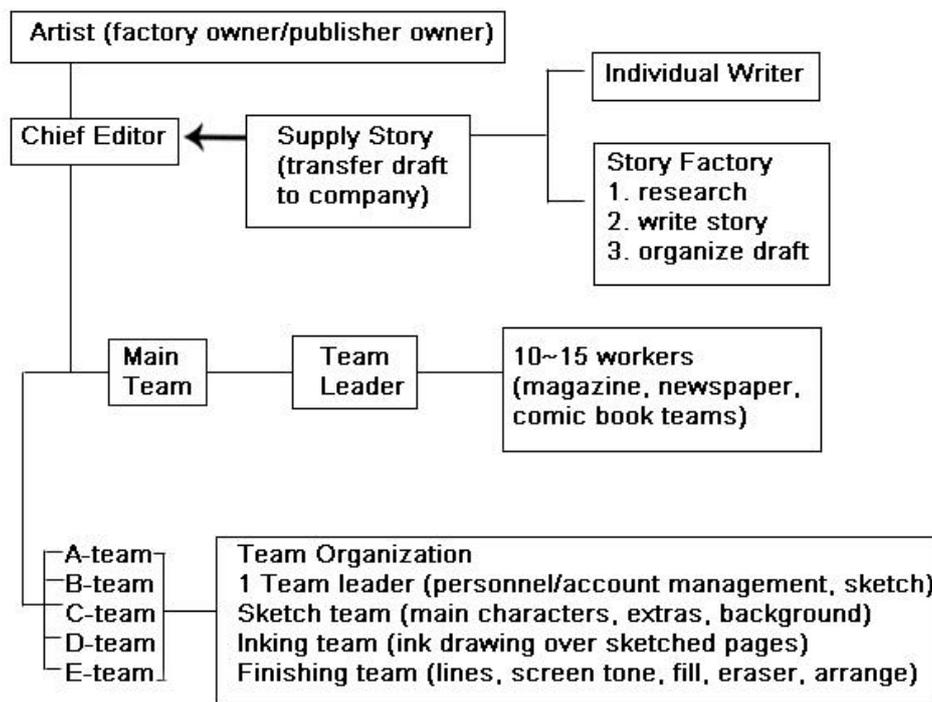


Figure 4. The comics factory system (Han, 1995, p. 76)

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assistants and organize themselves, the artist-apprentice relationship was informal and personal and based on a patriarchal family-like order, and the closed nature of the industry meant that interpersonal connections were crucial in getting published (Hyol, 2002). However, it is also possible that any issues or disputes were simply silenced, as apprentices were not organized in unions or other interest groups; and also because the apprentice was likely to suffer severe career and personal damages for being “disloyal” and “disrespectful” to his/her teacher, which can be fatal in a Confucianist authoritarian society. A glimpse of artist-apprentice issues is exemplified in a 2002 lawsuit filed against former *IQ Jump* artist Chang Tae-gwan by 9 of his previous and current apprentices, who accused Chang of repeated assault, sexual harassment, intimidation, and fraud (Hong, 2002).

### (3) Distribution

Publication during the colonial period was severely restricted — all published material had to be registered and permitted by the governor-general — and consequently comics literally remained in the margins for decades, until Korea was liberated in 1945.

The post-liberation era from 1945 to the 1960s is significant for the development of comics in Korea, as the liberated publication system allowed for a mass release of books and magazines, leading to more comics pages in magazines and, most importantly, the first comic books (Y. Han, 2001, p.7). For the first time, comics in Korea were moving beyond the margins of magazines and newspapers onto a more independent realm, experimenting in various styles and genres. The publication and distribution of comic books meant that the medium's commercial value was acknowledged in the market (Sohn, 1998, p.36), paving the way for more artists, titles, and a wider market, signaling a turning point for the cultural and artistic history of comics in Korea. Comics artist Yong-hwan Kim<sup>29</sup> recalls there were “plenty of work and money” during the period (ibid, p.37), and artist Ki-jun Park, a young reader at the time, reminisces that “comic books were sold by the dozens, hanging on clothes lines in bookstores or stationeries” — reflecting how comics distribution and the comics industry was growing rapidly during the post-liberation era (Park; 2008).

Following the Korean War (1950~1953), renting was a practical distribution method amidst wartime poverty and the lack of raw materials (Sohn, 1998, p.206). Rental retailers of books were called “daebonso (대본소 translates to "book-renting place"),” or as most of them offered comics books, “manhwabang (만화방 translates to "comic book room”).” Since comics were predominantly distributed and read at such stores — which also provided non-comic books such as magazines and pulp novels — daebonso and manhwabang were used interchangeably. For small fee per book or time, the customer could read comic books on the spot. The first rental retailers were street vendors on the marketplace, but gradually evolved to the manhwabang — a small store stacked with comic books and chairs or benches to sit on.

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<sup>29</sup> Yong-hwan Kim, also known as Kojubu (meaning “bignose”), was one of the early pioneers of pre-liberation era Korean comics. He graduated the Tokyo Teikoku Art School in 1938 and drew illustrations for the Japanese children's magazine *Shonen Club*. Kim gained immense popularity in Korea for the series *Kojubu's Three Kingdoms* — an adaptation of the Chinese classic novel *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* — that ran on the youth's magazine *Hakwon* from 1952 to 1955. *Kojubu's Three Kingdoms* was also the first comics series to run for more than a year in Korea (Deok-gyo Choi, 2004, p.514).



Figure 5. 1950s street comic book vendor



Figure 6. Early 1970s manhwabang

The popularity of manhwabangs and comics added more demand for a wider variety of comic books, and resulted in numerous small publishers competing in the market. In 1967, all publishers in the comics industry were merged under the dominant publisher Jinyoung and became a consortium called “Hapdong (합동),” which literally meant "coalition." Hapdong maintained monopoly over the publication and distribution system (ibid, p.56). Hapdong controlled every aspect of the production process, from the story, genre, title of the works and down to the artist’s pen name (Han, 1995, p.93). Since mass production and profit were Hapdong’s sole interests, some new artists were forced to copy popular works and even adapt a pen name similar to the original artist (J. Park, 1995, p.100). Domestic and Japanese titles were copied or plagiarized under the approval and incitement of the monopolizing publisher-distributor. Retailers were forced to buy books in “packages” consisting of popular and unpopular works, and should they protest, Hapdong would withhold distribution entirely, effectively threatening the retailer to purchase (Han, 1995, p.93). Comics historian Soh Sang-ik

criticizes that Hapdong has damaged the Korean comics industry by a) monopolizing distribution and using its influence to regulate the creative process of artists, degrading Korean comics and comics culture, b) enforcing purchase instead of the free market; resulting in low-quality, low-price comic books<sup>30</sup> to maximize profit, leading to an extremely negative social status of manhwabang, and c) accumulating capital through monopoly and preventing competitors from entering the market (Kim & Park, 2010, p.56). This monopoly continued until Hankook Ilbo, a major newspaper company, attempted to enter the comic book industry in the early 1970s. Although previously experienced in children's media with its children's newspaper *Sonyeon Hankook Ilbo* and having a strong capital, Hankook Ilbo found Hapdong to be a formidable obstacle. Most artists were bound to Hapdong, making it difficult to secure titles, and retailers refused to purchase and display Hankook Ilbo books after Hapdong discontinued distribution to retailers that purchased books from Hankook Ilbo (Choi, 1995, p.144). In turn, Hankook Ilbo used its journalistic assets to expose Hapdong to the general public, dubbing the Hapdong owner with the nickname "the Shinchon President" and condemning the tyrannical impact the company wielded over the comics industry. However, Hapdong persisted with its traditional monopolizing system and accumulated capital, even when threatened with a tax investigation (ibid). By the end of 1971, the two companies agreed to share the market evenly, ending the Hapdong monopoly (Kim & Park, 2010, p.101).

Daebonso comics — to be precise, comics that were intended to be purchased and owned by readers instead of rental retailers — first appeared on the 70s. The most prominent example was a label called Clover Books, published by Eomoongak from 1972 to 1984. Unlike the manhwabang books that were for rental purposes, Clover Books were intended to be kept, and thus were printed as compact 4\*6 size volumes with delicate vinyl covering, with various attempts at elegant cover designs (Nakho Kim, 2004). There were 429 volumes in total, 389 of which were comic books (Dae-hong Kim, 2009). These books were sold in bookstores or by delivery, which was an improvement than rental retailers. Clover Books multiple artists and various genres — including comic book versions of classic novels, which were marketed to parents as educational material — and original works from South Korean artists. However, there was a negative side of the comic industry at the time that effected Clover Books as well: a large number of its books were pirated Japanese comics, or plagiarized from Japanese comics. *Glass Castle*, the first volume in the label, was plagiarized from Masako Watanabe's creation of the same title, but under a Korean author named "Soo-jin Hwang

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<sup>30</sup> Throughout the 1960s, comic books became increasingly thinner and printed in cheap, course paper.

(Nakho Kim, 2004).” The most popular series in Clover Books, *Babel II*, was a pirated copy of Mitsuteru Yokoyama’s famous sci-fi and action manga of the same title (ibid). Additionally, Clover Books and comic books still remained a minor presence in bookstores throughout the 70s and 80s (halim, 2004).



Figure 7. A Clover Books advertisement

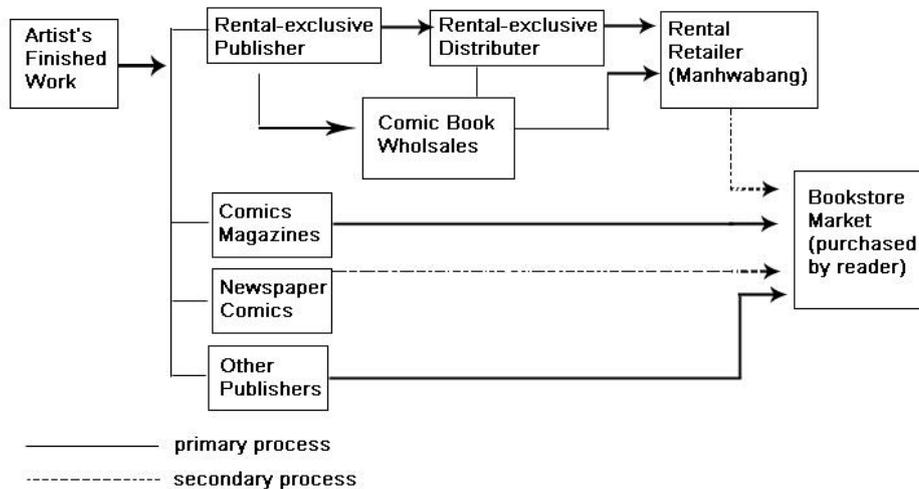


Figure 8. The production and distribution of Korean comics publishing (Han, 1995, p. 90)

#### (4) Readership

Comics during the 1960s was a vital, if not sole, source of entertainment for children, and the manhwabang was the center of children’s culture. According to a 1965 survey conducted by *Sae-Sonyeon* (새소년) — one of the most popular children’s

magazines during the 1960s and 1970s — 74% of 3<sup>rd</sup> grade children, 75% of 4<sup>th</sup> grade children, and 40% of 5<sup>th</sup> grade children answered they went to manhwbangs regularly (Comics and Nostalgia, <http://cafe.naver.com/oldcomic.cafe>). Aside from the 5<sup>th</sup> graders who were forced to give up leisure time in order to study for the middle school entrance exam, more than 70% were going to manhwbang and reading comics (Kim & Park, 2010, p.53). The manhwbang expanded as a cultural and social space for children and youth, offering access to various popular media such as martial art novels, magazines, and even television (Han, 1995, p.94). Occasionally, retailers may sell snacks and drinks. As the young customers aged and with few public places for teenagers to gather, the manhwbang became increasingly connected to the image of juvenile delinquency; a space full of cigarette smoke and unsupervised, occasionally runaway, teenagers. This characteristic was one of the reasons why the comics medium was easily persecuted and demonized.

According to a 1988 YWCA report on manhwbang, 47% of its customers were in their 20s, followed by 28% who were over 30, 22% junior high and high school-age customers, and only 2% were grade school children (Publication Industry Promotion Agency of Korea, 1991). Another aspect of manhwbang was its gender imbalance; 81% were male, while only 19% were female (Publication Industry Promotion Agency of Korea, 1990, p.). 84.8% read comic books at the manhwbang, while only 7.0% rented books (ibid, p.44). The average number of books owned by a manhwbang was 1419 volumes, with 17% retailers owning under 400 volumes, 10% owning 500 to 900 volumes, 26% owning 1000 to 14000 volumes, 12% with 1500-1900 volumes, 20% had 2000-2400 volumes, and 15% had more than 2500 volumes (ibid, p.48). Additionally, a majority (45%) of manhwbang were under 33.058 square meters wide. Manhwbang appears to be a low-risk business easy to start and to quit, as 34% stores have been in business for 1 year or less, 36% had operated for 2 to 3 years, 15% were in business for 4 to 5 years, 9% had operated for 6 to 10 years, and 6% operated for over 11 years (ibid, p.70). Customers responded that they were first introduced to manhwbang at a average of 13.4 years of age, mainly (54%) through friends or senior students (ibid, p.73). 44.7% out of the 25.3% who answered that they have used a manhwbang after 12:00AM said they did so purposely to sleep (ibid). To summarize, while manhwbang started out as a service mainly for children, it aged with its customers, and had become a mostly adult male space by the late 80s. Added with the poor quality of the books, alternative use as temporary lodging, and cigarette-smoke filled atmosphere due to adult male customers, authority concerns with manhwbang could have been easily justified.

#### 4. Japanese comics and *Shonen Jump*

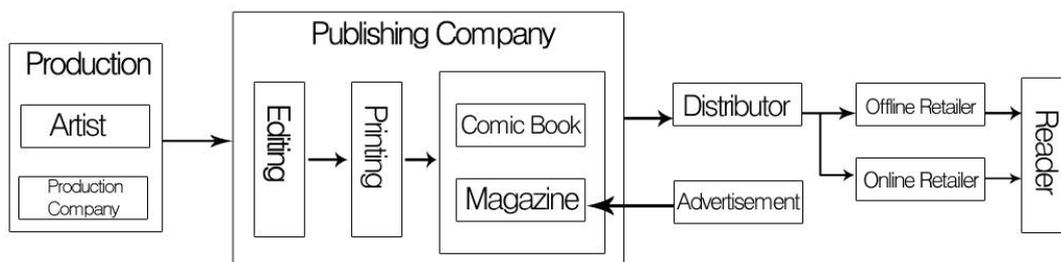


Figure 9. Industrial structure and domestic distribution of manga (JETRO, 2005, p.4)

Japanese comics — especially works serialized on mainstream comics magazines such as *Shonen Jump* — are first and foremost intricately and purposefully manufactured commercial products. Aside from a few exceptions, mainstream comics first appear as 30~40 page serialized episodes in a weekly, biweekly or monthly magazine sold at convenience stores, train station kiosks, and bookstores (Prough, 2010, p.98). A manga magazine does not make money off its own sales; in fact, deficit operations are considered the norm for magazines. The publishers gain profit from sales of manga "tankoubon" — comic books that are compilations of serialized works — also, additional profit from character goods and royalty from anime/live-action TV series/film/game production. For consumers, the comics magazine functions as an extended catalogue or sampler of works by various artists; for publishers, a testing ground for evaluating the commercial potentials of each series (ibid); and for artists, a means for public exposure and source of regular income. Thus, quality maintenance and developing profitable products are extremely important for the publisher, which are the reasons why the editor's role is crucial to the mainstream Japanese comics industry. To quote Paul Gravett, editors are "manga's secret weapon," juggling multiple roles of coach, collaborator, critic, friend, researcher, promoter, psychiatrist, cook, and more (Gravett, p.15). The size of an editorial team can vary depending on the magazine; a monthly may employ from 4 or 5 staff members to 20, but the usual number of staff in a weekly boys' magazine is over 20 (Lee, 2011). The manga editor is responsible for disciplining the artist so that the work is finished on time for printing, maintaining and controlling the quality of the work, and also creating a commercially successful product. The editor presides over every stage of the creative process, "weighing on the content, tenor, and artistic quality of the manga story, from coming up with story lines and characters to approving the final draft (Prough, 2010, p.99)." Thus, editors have a great

amount of influence over the work's style and content, and the production of manga is understood as a negotiation process between artists and editors (ibid). The intimacy and intensity of the collaborative process is exemplified by the surprising amount of animosity in the editor-artist relationship, caused by the editor's imposing work discipline and differing perceptions on manga. While the artist may view his/her work as a personal and cultural creation, the editor views comics as a product manufactured by the editor him/herself (Kinsella, 2000, p.9).

Just as modern comics were introduced in the Korean peninsula through Japanese artists, British caricaturist Charles Worgman played a vital role in establishing comics as a popularized, commercialized modern medium in Japan. In 1862, Worgman published a 10-page booklet of cartoons and comic titled *Japan Punch*<sup>31</sup> at the Yokohama foreigner settlement (Shimizu, 2001, p.39). Although initially targeted at foreign residents in Japan like the artist/publisher himself, the simplified, distinctive and powerful satiric imagery of European journalistic cartoons appealed also to the Japanese public as well, influencing newly-launched local newspapers such as *Koukou Shinbun* (江湖新聞) and *Yokohama Shinpo Moshihokusa* (横浜新報もしほ草) to feature cartoons (ibid, p. 40). While the cartoons featured in such early newspapers were usually individual illustrations accompanied by writing, comics as sequential art — connected and completed by multiple panels — appeared as newspaper serials during 1910 and 1920, a period when Japan saw a boost in newspaper circulation<sup>32</sup> (Cheong, 2004, p. 42). Comics for children first appeared on children's magazines, the most popular example being Tagao Suiho's *Nora Kuro* (のらくろ) serialized on the monthly children's periodical *Shonen Club* from 1931 to 1941<sup>33</sup> (Shimizu, 2001, p.143). The series — featuring the misadventures of a stray dog enlisted in an army of anthropomorphized animals — not only assisted in boosting the sales of *Shonen Club* but also influenced the editorial decision of its publisher Kodansha, resulting in an expanded comics section in its children's magazines (ibid, p. 140). After World War II,

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<sup>31</sup> London-born Worgman was in turn influenced by the art and stylistic expressions of *Punch*, a weekly cartoon periodical first published at London in 1841 when Worgman would have been nine years old (2001, Shimizu, p. 42). The stylistic similarities between *Japan Punch* and *Punch* are analyzed in detail by Shimizu with accompanied images in his publication, *The History of Japanese Comics*. *Japan Punch* ran until 1887 and remains a valuable historical record of late Edo-period Japan and the Yokohama foreigners' settlement.

<sup>32</sup> Although these newspaper serials featured observations from everyday life, were generally apolitical in nature and designed to appeal to a more general audience than the political satire of earlier cartoons, they were nevertheless targeted mainly at adults.

<sup>33</sup> *Nora Kuro* was discontinued not because the series became unpopular, but due to wartime censorship. In 1941, the artist was summoned to the Information Bureau of Japan and castigated for drawing Manchukoku citizens as pigs since the expression “praises bourgeois commercialism and insults national policy (Shimizu, 2001, p. 139).”

comics increasingly became a crucial competitive asset among Tokyo-based children's magazines, and publishers answered reader demand by adding comic book booklets and recruiting talented artists<sup>34</sup> from across Japan (Nakano). However, these children's magazines were still distant from the comics-only magazines of today, and a typical issue consisted of illustrated stories, written articles, photographs of popular athletes, and several pages of comics (Shimizu, 2001, p.191). Genuine comics-exclusive magazines did not appear until the 1960s, and were closely interconnected with the introduction of the weekly magazine.

The weekly children's magazine is significant because it symbolizes an economy where children can afford to consume a periodical in a constant chronological cycle, therefore recognizes children (and not their parents) as serious consumers (Saito, 1996, p.6), and content-wise, has to include something that is more exciting and fast-paced than a monthly. Initially, early children's weekly magazines — Kodansha's *Weekly Shonen Magazine* and Shogakukan's *Weekly Shonen Sunday*, both launched in 1959 — differed very little from their monthly counterparts (Shimizu, 2001, p.191), and had assembled text and comics pages quite evenly. However, the publishers came to realize that the demand for fast-paced weekly content combined with an increasingly television-friendly audience<sup>35</sup> preferring the visual rather than the written medium could be best met by weekly comics. The popularity of the baseball series *Star of the Giant* (巨人の星) and the boxing drama *Jo of Tomorrow*<sup>36</sup> (あしたのジョー) significantly boosted *Weekly Shonen Magazine* sales, with circulation reaching 1 million copies by 1966 and 1.5 million by 1969 (ibid). Both works illustrated the training and development of the hero from boyhood to manhood, his struggles against poverty, society, rival athletes and himself, ending with the final game followed by the hero's

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<sup>34</sup> Among these newly recruited artists was young Tezuka Osamu, an exceptionally talented and industrious artist credited for revolutionizing the style and shape of postwar Japanese comics. His main accomplishments include the establishment of “story comics (Cheong, 2004, p.42)” — complex dramatic narratives illustrated throughout several hundred pages, which was phenomenal for the 1940s since an average of 1-8 pages constituted a single comics serial in magazines at the time. Tezuka is also credited for developing the “cinematic technique” or the dynamic use of panels, as well as training and supporting many new artists (Schodt, 1999, p. 252).

<sup>35</sup> Television broadcasting in Japan first started in 1953, by 1958 over 1 million viewers were subscribed, and by 1962, over 10 million television sets were sold .

<sup>36</sup> Both serials were collaborative works by a story writer and an artist. *The Star of the Giant* was written by Kajiwara Ikki and illustrated by Kawazaki Noboru, while *Jo of Tomorrow* was written by Takamori Asao and illustrated by Chiba Tetsuya. Actually, Kajiwara and Takamori were a same writer writing under different pen names. This division of creative labor was first established as a creative production system by Makino Takero, the first editor-in-chief of *Weekly Shonen Magazine* (Yoshihiro, 1998, p. 54). The production system was instrumental in expanding the theme, subject matter and professional scope concerning the content of Japanese comics. Critically acclaimed works such as the long-running food drama *Oishinbo* (美味しん坊) or *Times of Botchan* (坊っちゃん) — an introspective history of Meiji-period literary giants — were created collaboratively by writer/artist teams (ibid, p.58).

symbolic “death<sup>37</sup>.” The serious overtone of the *Shonen Magazine* sports dramas appealed to teenage youth rather than the initial audience of young boys (Uryu, 2009, p. 230), and this unintentional neglect of the child readers was what *Shonen Jump*, a latecomer, was able to capitalize on (ibid, p. 232).

*Shonen Jump* is a particularly unique and exceptional example of a comics magazine in Japan — or, to be precise, in global standards as well — for its financial success, market predominance and influence reaching out beyond the publishing industry onto Japanese society, popular culture, and everyday life. The almost mythical status of *Shonen Jump* is perhaps best signified and empathized by the increasing number of its circulated copies<sup>38</sup>, which began at merely 100,000 copies upon its launching in 1968, but literally “jumped” to 1.1 million in 1970, 2.1 million in 1977, 3 million in 1979, 4 million in 1984 and at its height in the early 90s, an extraordinary number of 6 million copies (p.11, 1998, Yoshihiro). Even taking into account that 40% of Japan’s entire publication sales percentage was already dominated by comic books and comics magazines by 1995 (p.19, 1999, Schodt), 6 million was a record-breaking number for a Japanese magazine (p.12, 1998, Yoshihiro). The weekly periodical is read by a wide range of audience, from grade school boys to middle aged men who literally grew up with *Shonen Jump* (p.83, 1999, Schodt). *Shonen Jump* is also closely interconnected with the Japanese animation, gaming, and film industry as well; many of its bestsellers have been produced into commercially successful animated series, electronic games or even live-action film, such as *Dragon Ball*, *Fist of the North Star*, *Slam Dunk*, *One Piece*, *Naruto* and *Death Note*. Understandably enough, the magazine was and still remains a subject of interest and discussion for Japanese critics, educators and publishers — as well as Korean publishers and government-funded researchers in the 90s with their increased level of interest towards the creative industry.

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<sup>37</sup> These “death” endings are symbolic since the heroes’ deaths are not literally stated within the dialogue, yet made obvious within the narrative or artistic expression. The hero of *The Star of the Giant* wins the final game but fatally injures his right arm, effectively ending his life as a baseball player. The hero of *Jo of Tomorrow* is rendered unconscious after a bloody match against the world champion. Despite losing the match the hero wears a content, peaceful expression and murmurs the famous monologue, “I burned it all out... white as ash.”

<sup>38</sup> Decrease in copies (Nakano)



Figure 10. The first issue of Shonen Jump

Despite its huge success, *Shonen Jump* had humble, even highly unstable beginnings. The magazine was launched on 1968 by the publisher Shueisha, a subsidiary company of Shogakukan which was already publishing its own children's weekly, the *Weekly Shonen Sunday*. The magazine had several critical setbacks from the start; aside from being severely understaffed, the staff was additionally charged with the production of *Shonen Book*, a children's monthly magazine — a medium that was rapidly plummeting in popularity and profit, falling behind the weekly comics magazines, and pressure from its parent company preventing weekly circulation<sup>39</sup>, the editorial staff had failed to secure any popular artists<sup>40</sup> while the launching date was approaching (Yoshihiro, 1998, p. 15). As a result, the first issue of *Shonen Jump* assembled the works of obscure, inexperienced new artists and one imported foreign cartoon, *Blondie* (Nishimura). Although the recruitment of new artists — who were closer in age with the readers than the popular established artists — was unintentional and forced by limited options, the decision proved to be highly successful and was one

<sup>39</sup> As Shogakukan was already competing against Kodansha in the weekly magazine market, any additional competitor, even from its subsidiary company, would have been considered problematic. Because of Shogakukan's interference, *Shonen Jump* initially started as a biweekly magazine and turned biweekly from its 3rd issue (Nishimura).

<sup>40</sup> According to Nishimura, one of the founding members of *Shonen Jump*, all the popular artists at the time were bound to extremely busy schedules, working for various weekly and monthly magazines. Editors of rival magazines as well as the artists' managers were also uncooperative or even interfered at times.

of the preconditions vital in forming the *Shonen Jump* editorial strategy.

The four basic editorial principles of *Shonen Jump* are: 1) avoid artist-writer collaborative productions as much as possible<sup>41</sup>, 2) publish only comics; no stories or articles, 3) emphasize on reader polls and 4) place artists under an binding contract (Uryu, 2009, p. 232). The third and fourth principles in particular are considered to be core aspects behind the magazine's success.

The third principle is symbolically embodied in the *Shonen Jump* key phrases “friendship, endeavor, and victory (友情, 努力, 勝利),” collected from the reader poll results of *Shonen Book*<sup>42</sup> to research the interests and preferences of its readers (Saito, 1996, p. 11). The poll questioned grade 4 to grade 5 children to choose from 50 words that: “1. makes you feel most warm at heart,” “2. you value the most,” and “3. makes you feel most happy” — henceforth the results “friendship, endeavor and victory.” As a principle, works published on *Shonen Jump* are required to include at least one theme from the three words<sup>43</sup>. This signifies the extent on which the editorial staff respected and valued the opinions of young readers, and aggressively researched and pursued reader's interests and demands from the start (ibid, p. 12). The relatively concrete and practical side of the third principle is reflected in a particularly dynamic and if somewhat brutal editorial system which enables readers to affect editorial decisions directly. A reader poll postcard is attached inside each *Shonen Jump* issue, which could be marked and sent back to the publisher for 1 yen (Uryu, 2009, p. 233). If a new series fails to capture readers' attention after five issues, the series is discontinued after the tenth issue — regardless of the personal fame and previous experience of the artist. On the other side, popular works were forcibly continued<sup>44</sup> even after the artist had decided to conclude the story. Motomiya Hiroshi's *Lone Man Boss* (男一匹ガキ大将) was the

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<sup>41</sup> This was directly in contrast with rival magazine *Weekly Shonen Magazine*'s editorial principles, with its heavy reliance on writer Kajiwara Ikki and the recruitment of graphic designer Yokoi Tadanori aiming for a “comprehensive visual magazine (Yoshihiro, p.232).” Also, as the *Shonen Jump* principle was established in the late 1960s, it should be noted that exceptions were made after time, such as the hugely successful series *Fist of the North Star* (1983~1988) — a collaborative work between writer Buronson and artist Hara Tetsuo. A more recent example is artist Obata Takeshi who had collaborated with writers to create *Hikaru's Go*, *Death Note* and *Bakuman*.

<sup>42</sup> *Shonen Book* was a monthly children's magazine published by Shueisha. The periodical was discontinued in 1969 following the launch of *Shonen Jump*.

<sup>43</sup> Hiroyuki Goto, editor-in-chief of *Shonen Jump* around 1990, remarked in an interview with *AERA*: “We believe that rights are more important for children than ability...the three words [friendship, endeavor and victory] represent the positive and optimistic side of our readers. We at *Shonen Jump* do not believe in the aesthetics of defeat.” (Schodt, 1999, p.86)

<sup>44</sup> Motomiya recalls that editor-in-chief Nagai even bowed down on the floor and wept before the 23-year-old artist, pleading him to continue the *Lone Man Boss* series (Uryu, 2009, p. 233). Nagai's approach was successful, although the series suffered from irregular discontinuations, reflecting Motomiya's creative frustration (ibid). This episode illustrates that not only monetary compensation but also emotional tactics were used to persuade and bind the artists to *Shonen Jump* rules.

first of such *Shonen Jump* hits to be extended by the editorial principle because the series was simply too popular to be discontinued (ibid, p. 233). Although this strategy have been criticized<sup>45</sup> for exhausting artistic talent and causing repetitive patterns in the narrative, such persistent pursuit of commercialism by laying out the most crude standard of popularity — a quantitative accumulation of reader polls — as the core basis of editorial decision, was undoubtedly the very strength behind *Shonen Jump* and its outstanding, unusual success.

The fourth principle concerning the binding contract of artists also include the publisher's editorial management and control over its artists. All *Shonen Jump* artists are required to sign a long-term contract which specifically forbids them from working for any other publishers. The contract also binds the artist to entrust all licensing rights — which includes publishing rights, character goods, and animation production — to the company (Schodt, 1999, p. 85). Instead, Shueisha acts as manager and agent; editors are responsible for educating and guiding the young, inexperienced artists while the company aggressively promotes and advertises comics by investing in various PR campaigns and marketing strategies. Fundamentally, the key factors that enable and constitute the binding contract system are a) young, inexperienced artists and b) company as manager/agent. As mentioned earlier, the first *Shonen Jump* issue was assembled almost entirely of new artists with minimal or no previous experience in publishing. Producing serialized works for publication on a constant basis — especially on a weekly basis — is an arduous and stressful task even for the experienced established artist, and the editor's role is vital in assisting the artist's creative production as well as preparing the works for publication. *Shonen Jump* had to supervise young, inexperienced artists, and the role of the editor as an all-around manager became increasingly important. The specific functions of editorial operation are: creative production, quality control, and the selection and development of human resources (Lee, 2007, p. 74) For example, although the afore-mentioned Motomiya was one of the most popular artists in *Shonen Jump*, he still had to undergo quality control management<sup>46</sup> by his editor Nishimura before beginning the rough sketch (Nishimura, 2007, p. 142).

An editor's main task involves visiting the artist's home or studio, securing the

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<sup>45</sup> To quote from former editor-in-chief Nishimura's own words: "Even after an artist feels that a story has gone long enough and wants to end it, he/she is forced to continue drawing as long as the series remains popular. The discontinued works and the forcibly extended works both face the same problem (Nishimura, 2007)."

<sup>46</sup> A typical production process of a Japanese magazine comics episode consists the following stages: planning the story, organizing a rough draft of panels and dialogues — which is also known as "nemu," rough sketch, penciling, inking, and applying screen tones. Generally a rough draft must be approved by the editor before proceeding on to the actual art work, which is why repeated discussions and negotiations are made between the editor and artist during the planning and rough draft process (Lee, 2007).

finished work, and delivering it to the company before deadline (Schodt, 1999, p. 236). In urgent situations, an editor may even confine an artist to a hotel or inn in order to shut off any potential distractions<sup>47</sup> and keep watch until the pages are finished. The editor is also responsible for discussing and cooperating in plot development, mediating communication between the editorial department and the artist, and organizing a stable work environment for the artist, which can include research, art assistance, and even domestic chores. Although personal styles may vary by individual editor, persuasion through threats and flattery is a common strategy (ibid). Sometimes editors are credited with the success of immensely popular works, perhaps the most famous example being the relationship between *Dragon Ball*'s creator Toriyama Akira and his editor, Torishima Kazuhiko. It is undeniable that *Dragon Ball* — which has sold more than 300 million copies worldwide — was one of the greatest contributors behind *Shonen Jump*'s 6 million copy legend, and that its creator Toriyama Akira is a rare genius — but Torishima was the editor who first discovered, supported, and groomed the artist for years (Nishiyama, 1997, p.214). Initially, Toriyama's style was considered too "foreign" for the Japanese market, and the quality of his works were deemed rough and unrefined, not even deserving of a new artist's competition award. However, Torishima discovered something unique and intriguing about the art style and insisted *Wonder Island* — Toriyama's short — be published on the magazine (ibid, p.213). *Wonder Island* was received unfavorably in reader polls, but Torishima set to training the new artist for two years, rejecting approximately 500 pages in order to refine and polish Toriyama. After two years of training, Toriyama became a bestselling author with *Dr. Slump* (1980~1984), a science fiction adventure of a robot girl and her townsfolk. *Dr. Slump* was made into an popular animated series the following year, a process that was closely and painstakingly monitored by the editorial department of *Shonen Jump* following previous disasters in poorly animated adaptations (ibid, p.223). *Dragon Ball* started in 1984 after *Dr. Slump* ended, and was initially a fantasy action adventure loosely based on *Journey to the West*, a Chinese classic novel. A story about an outrageously strong but innocent boy called Goku and orange orbs called Dragon Balls which will grant any wish if all orbs are collected and assembled, the series received mediocre reviews until action sequences involving battles against powerful enemies increased. Following reader demand and reflecting Torishima's opinion on wishing to emphasize the

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<sup>47</sup> This practice is known as "kanzume," which means canned goods in Japanese. While efficient and highly affective, kanzume is known to be physically and psychologically stressful for both artist and editor. The editor must remain awake in order to watch over the work process and prevent the artist from falling asleep or escaping confinement. He/she is also responsible for providing whatever necessities required by the artist during the work process, such as art materials and food (Fujiko, 1996).

application of a video game-style narrative<sup>48</sup> to comics, *Dragon Ball* took a sudden turn from its initial fantasy adventure genre to a more science fiction, battle-oriented action genre. For instance, part 2 of *Dragon Ball* abruptly reveals that Goku is from a race of warlike aliens, and that an extremely powerful enemy has destroyed his home planet, effectively setting place for new enemies and new battle scenes. What began as a light-hearted fantasy adventure suddenly turned into a violent action series, with increasingly powerful and outrageous enemies. *Dragon Ball* not only sold 6 million Shonen Jump copies but sold exceptionally well as comic books, spun a highly popular animated TV series and animated feature films, and numerous video game titles (Nakano, 2004, p.173). The case of *Dragon Ball* illustrates perhaps the most successful product of the Japanese comics magazine system and Shonen Jump editorial policy; the editor as a talent discoverer and drill coach, a dedicated and talented artist, and a company that successfully manages “media mix” projects. However, it is important to note that 6 million copies were possibly the highest limit for *Shonen Jump*, or any other comics magazine in Japan, as sales dropped rapidly after *Dragon Ball* ended (ibid, p. 174), although it still remains the most popular magazine in Japan.

## 5. IQ Jump

### (1) Introduction

*IQ Jump* was a weekly comics magazine first published in December, 1988 by Seoul-based publisher Seoul Munhwasa. As apparent from its namesake, the magazine was modeled after the Japanese magazine *Shonen Jump*<sup>49</sup>. Since the Japanese comic book market was worth over 400 billion yen by 1988 (Nakano, 2004, p.147) and *Shonen Jump* was at the very top of the market, it was not surprising that the comics market, and its most popular magazine/brand, would offer a powerfully attractive example to Seoul Munhwasa or any other publisher.

The Ministry of Culture and Sports’ annual *Culture Industry Report* and *Study of the Korean Cartoon & Animation Industry* — the first research work on Korean comics industry — by Chang-wan Han both feature extensive details on the structures

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<sup>48</sup> Torishima was highly aware of the popularity of the Nintendo Famicom market and its affect on grade school boys, and eventually became the first chief editor the video game-comics crossover magazine *V Jump* (Nishimura, 1998, p.214).

<sup>49</sup> This is a fact confirmed and acknowledged by former editors of *IQ Jump*; the then-CEO was excited after visiting Japan and discovering *Shonen Jump*, and ordered “a comics magazine just like that” to be produced.

of the Japanese comics and animation industry. Many foreign language books on anime and manga were translated and published as well, reflecting a heightened interest in the Japanese market as a role model. Seoul Munhwasa just happened to be the pioneer, and naturally *IQ Jump* borrowed more than namesake from *Shonen Jump*. The key components *IQ Jump* borrowed from *Shonen Jump* and Japanese publishers were:

- ① Weekly circulation
- ② Magazine-to-comic book profit model
- ③ Hiring new artists.
- ④ Editorial decision based on popularity polls.



Figure 11. The first issue of *IQ Jump* published December 22, 1988

The first issue of *IQ Jump* was a 348 page-book and cost 1000 won. It presented itself as a “weekly teen magazine” and the cover was illustrated by popular artists Lee Hyun-sae (whose character is the most largest one in size, and featured at the very center of the page), Sang-Moo Lee, Haeng-seok Ko and Woo-jung Lee, as well as featuring the titles of their works. From its beginnings, *IQ Jump* had a different head start from *Shonen Jump*; first, it presented itself as a teen magazine targeting older teenage readers instead of young children, and had greater access to established,

experienced artists. A list of the titles and artists published in the first issue clearly shows that the magazine was dominated by mostly middle-aged, established artists who owned their own studios or “factories.”

Table 1. List of artists and works on *IQ Jump* Issue No. 1, Dec. 22, 1988

Title (by page order)	Creators	Genre & Characteristic
The 4 <sup>th</sup> Zone 제 4지대	Kim Tae-young Lee Sang-moo 김태영 이상무	Sci-fi, mature theme
Our Idol 우리들의 우상	Ko Haeng-seok 고행석	Teen drama, School drama
Little Kong 리틀 콩	Shin Moon-soo 신문수	Myungrang <sup>50</sup>
Hello Pop 헬로팝	Kim Hyung-bae 김형배	Sci-fi for children
Nakhwa and Yusu 낙화와 유수	Lee Woo-jung 이우정	Teen drama, Sports (baseball)
14-year-old Youngshim 열네살 0십이	Bae Geum-taek 배금택	Teen drama, comedy
Kenny 캐니	Jang Tae-san 장태산	Human drama
Sparkman <sup>51</sup> 스파크맨	Shim Hyung-rae 심형래	Sci-fi for children
Give me back my young	Cheon Yu-seong	Myungrang

<sup>50</sup> Myungrang (명랑) literally means "bright and cheerful" in Korean. Myungrang manhwa (명랑만화) refers to a specific genre in manhwa which are often comedic, adventurous and targeted at children or readers of all ages. Myungrang manhwa usually features simple, stylized characters and a wholesome, funny, light-hearted approach to the subject matter. In other words, it represented the type of children's comics largely approved by adults and authorities, and what was considered appropriate comics for children. At times artists will attempt to deviate from the "wholesomeness" expected of myungrang through various means, perhaps the most famous example being Soo-jung Kim's *Baby Dinosaur Dooly*. Kim alleged that since human characters were more often subject to censorship than animal characters, he evaded censorship by using a talking dinosaur character to behave in a way which censors considered inappropriate for human children, such as snapping back at adults. For visual samples of myungrang manhwa, see appendix.

<sup>51</sup> *Sparkman* was a film comic using images from the children's science fiction film *Sparkman*; essentially a promotion for the movie. The credited artist, Shim Hyung-rae, is actually the director of *Sparkman*.

days 청춘을 돌려다오	Ko Sang-han 천유성 고성한	
A pair of cockroaches 바퀴벌레 한쌍	Kim Cheol-ho 김철호	Teen drama
Ttortal 또딸이	Yoon Joon-hwan 윤준환	Myungrang
Lady Master Shadowless 무영여객	Hwang Mina 황미나	Action, wuxia, comedy
Nabaron Monkey 나바론 몽키	Lee Roma 이로마	Myungrang
Gypsy on the Asphalt 아스팔트 위의 집시	Lee Dong-po 이동포	Teen drama, music
Adults don't know 어른들은 몰라요	Jae-hak Lim 임재학	Educational
Armageddon 아마게돈	Lee Hyun-sae 이현세	Sci-fi, mature theme

Lee Sang-Moo, Ko Haeng-seok, Shin Mun-su, Kim Hyung-bae, Bae Geum-taek, Jang Tae-san, Yoon Jun-hwan, Hwang Mina, and Lee Hyun-sae were all highly recognizable and prominent artists at the time. In terms of genre, four works were science fiction (two with mature themes, and the other two aimed at children), five were teen dramas with music or sport sub-themes, four were myungrang or comedies for children, and also there were one human drama, one action, and one educational work each. Overall, a well-balanced yet also focused collection of works targeted at the male teenage demographic. The most highlighted artists in the issue were Lee Sang-Moo and Lee Hyun-sae, both successful artists from the daebonso market and highly popular among the regular daebonso patrons: male teenagers and adults. Both artists' works were placed at the very beginning and end of the magazine, with Lee Hyun-sae's *Armageddon* not only decorated the cover but also boasted an extensive 48-page story, which was more than twice the average amount of published stories (a story series would consist of around 20 pages, while a comedy would be around 10 pages.). *The 4th Zone* and *Armageddon* both set themselves up as science fiction for mature audiences from the first episode — for example, *The 4th Zone* begins with a completely black page with the sentence "If there was a God...if I can see God, I would have stabbed

Him in the heart, while cursing my birth..." followed by a violent airplane accident that kills all but one passenger — which would have also drawn interest from the adult readers who were the parents of the target readership, and likely to purchase the magazine for their children. *IQ Jump* was even advertised on radio and television<sup>52</sup>, which was rare for a comics magazine. The television commercial emphasizes the list of its popular, established artists, and also that *IQ Jump* is for "readers between 12 to 16," another example that *IQ Jump*'s main selling points at its early stages were its recognizable artists and mature contents for teenage readers.

South Korean comics magazines have existed long before *IQ Jump*, but *IQ Jump* differed from previous periodicals in several aspects. First of all, *IQ Jump* was a weekly, and compared to the monthly periodical, a weekly is fast-paced; readers would more likely be steady fans hungry for the next issue, who would probably purchase with his or her own pocket money. Parents may have purchased monthly comics magazines for their children as a once-a-month treat, but a weekly magazine faced several more risk factors concerning the adult consumers. A weekly would accumulate much more quickly, was printed and bound using cheaper, weaker material, and socially there was a general attitude that comics were a distraction from studies and even possibly harmful for children. For these reasons, weekly magazines had to appeal to its young readers directly, rather than relying too much on adult approval and purchase<sup>53</sup>. Another important aspect of *IQ Jump* was its target audience; predecessors like *Bomulseom* featured various miscellaneous comics encompassing comedies, serious science fiction, adaptation from classic novels, war stories, and romance for girls (Kim & Park p.155). In other words, while *Bomulseom*'s target audience was presumably children, it lacked direction on specific genre and tone of the works published, nor displayed much interest or research on its readers. *IQ Jump* was also noticeable for targeting the teenage and preteen males, a demographic that was being neglected by magazines and the daebonso market (ibid, p.192).

To fully recognize the characteristics and significance of *IQ Jump*, the comics magazine *Bomulseom* needs to be addressed. The most prominent and popular mainstream comics magazine before *IQ Jump* (and also the first Korean comics magazine) was monthly *Bomulseom*, published by the Yook-young Foundation — a non-profit, children's welfare foundation founded by President Park Chung-hee's wife.

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<sup>52</sup> The commercial may be viewed on Youtube: [http://youtu.be/5DtXcYgrJ\\_I](http://youtu.be/5DtXcYgrJ_I)

<sup>53</sup> *IQ Jump* was clearly interested in its consumers; in the poll survey postcard of the first issue was the question: "How did you buy IQ Jump?" Available answers were: my parents got it for me / I begged my parents / With my own pocket money — i.e. differing degrees of parental involvement and the child's independence in consuming choices.

*Bomulseom* was the first comics magazine for children, and dominated the 1980s comics industry. *Bomulseom* was launched in 1982, a period when President Chun Doo-hwan lifted the 36-year old nationwide curfew (UPI, 1982) and used the so-called "3S policy"<sup>54</sup> to both appease and control the public, lifting regulations on the media and entertainment industry. The relaxation of social control in the 1980s, Yook-young Foundation's unique status guaranteed by its association with a former first lady and her daughter (Park Geun-hye, the foundation's chief director at the time), and the popularity of *Manhwa Bomulseom* (만화 보물섬) — a bonus booklet to Yook-young Foundation's children's magazine *Ükkedongmu* (어깨동무), and composed entirely of comics — were instrumental in the launch of *Bomulseom*. Artists hired by *Bomulseom* were either experienced artists who were active at daebonso, or were connected with daebonso artists and debuted on the comics section of children's magazines and newspapers. While *Bomulseom* did open contests calling for new artists in the late 1980s, it was not active on recruiting or developing new artists. Additionally, although many popular comics were serialized on *Bomulseom*, with *Baby Dinosaur Dooly*, *Pink the Fairy* (요정 핑크), *Run, Honey* (달려라 하니), and *Penking Laiking* (펜킹 라이킹) being made into television animation, Yook-young Foundation did not publish danhaengbon of such works. Perhaps because *Bomulseom* was run by a largely non-profit organization, the publisher was not so keen on increasing profit which involved more investment and effort in cultivating a new, risky market, an option more attractive for a commercial publisher<sup>55</sup>. At the time, comic books were usually just under B5-size (250 X 176mm) and were usually collections of a single artist's work, rather than multiple artists as in the case of comics magazines. Comic books that were compilations of serialized works from magazine issues were rare at the time, which was why some dedicated fans cut out pages from a magazine issue — selecting only the pages drawn by the fan's favorite artist — and bound them together to create a hand-made comic book. When a comic book composed serials on magazines did manage to get published, the publisher was never the magazine publisher, but another publisher that had acquired permission from the artist (2009, Kang). Simply put, the magazine publisher including Yook-young Foundation was — at least up to the late 80s — in no way involved with or interested in turning their serialized works into comic books (ibid). The presence of such comic

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<sup>54</sup> Abbreviated for sex, sports, and screen, a policy implemented to distract the public from political movements. Since Chun became president through a coup d'etat and overthrowing a brief liberal government following President Park Chung-hee's assassination, he was highly unpopular at the time. Changes brought by the 3S policy included color television, longer broadcasting hours, more entertainment programs, and the creation of the professional baseball and soccer leagues.

<sup>55</sup> Kang, a former *IQ Jump* editor who had also worked for *Bomulseom* before, confirmed that this attitude was typical in the *Bomulseom* editorial department, which was personally frustrating for her.

books indicates that market demand did exist, but was not considered a market of interest by the magazine publishers. The magazine-tankoubon model was therefore implemented from practical need and existing demand. A clear proof of this was the magazine-tankoubon model attempted by the monthly girls' comics magazine *Daengi* in the late 1980s (ibid) by the Yook-young Foundation, the same publisher behind *Bomulseom*. The difference was that 1990s publishers such as Daiwon and Seoul Munhwasa took the magazine-tankoubon to a much more aggressive level business-wise, establishing a new standard for the industry.

Another important role of *IQ Jump* was legally importing and serializing manga — the immensely popular *Dragon Ball* — which was a first time for a Korean magazine. By the end of 1989, *IQ Jump* had exhausted the pool of its most popular works, with serials that had begun with the first issue had ended or were approaching their finale. Editors in *Shonen Jump* would solve such problems by more or less forcing popular artists to continue the series, or hiring new talent and binding them to an binding contract — essentially forcing them to draw for the publisher, since they are not allowed to work for other publishers. However, editors at early *IQ Jump* did not have such options. The early artists were successfully established professionals who could easily find a job elsewhere or sometimes even had the resources to self-publish or find a publisher to publish their books, so binding such artists in contract was out of the question. Additionally, editors were often younger than the artists, which caused further power imbalance within the Confucianist ageist tradition of Korean society (Jaeshik Lee, 2009). Seoul Munhwasa could have chosen to hire new, younger artists, and to a degree they did; Kim Joon-beom was recruited in December 1989 because *IQ Jump* was looking for new artists (J. Kim, 2010). Yet these artists were not seen as sufficient enough to fill in where the prominent artists had left off, and because *Dragon Ball* was already extremely popular in Korea through pirated copies, Seoul Munhwasa purchased the rights to *Dragon Ball* from Shueisha and started to serially publish the series on *IQ Jump* (Kim & Park, 2010, p.192) Instead of training and waiting for its new artists to mature, or recruit other popular artists, Seoul Munhwasa had opted for an instant quick fix. At any rate, *Dragon Ball* is credited for boosting sales of *IQ Jump*, which achieved a circulation of 300,000 copies at its height (Hyun-shik Lee, 2007).

Observing the success of *IQ Jump*, Daewon — a company which specialized in producing and importing animation — launched the weekly magazine *Sonyeon Champ* on December 1991. Like *IQ Jump*, *Sonyeon Champ* was a weekly magazine targeted at preteen and teenage boys. However being a late starter, Daewon had limited access to professional artists, most of whom were being published on *IQ Jump*, so Daewon

recruited new artists and started publishing *Slam Dunk* — another popular *Shonen Jump* import — on *Sonyeon Champ*. Met with a formidable competition, Seoul Munhwasa employed several strategies to solve this situation. The ongoing competition between these two weekly magazines was one of the important factors that determined the editorial and business strategies of both publishers.

(2) Contents of *IQ Jump*

The following is an analysis of *IQ Jump* by examining the contents of the magazine from 1989 to 1999. For each year, three issues were examined, and lists of the published works of one issue is provided as an example of the changes in trends. The list for 1989 is omitted, as it does not show any significant changes from the aforementioned first issue launched on December, 1988.

i) Late 80s and early 90s *IQ Jump* (1988~1992)

Table 2. List of artists and works on *IQ Jump* Vol. 3, No. 27, Nov. 9, 1990

Title (by page order)	Artist	Genre & Characteristic
Hero Boy Boolsoja 쾌걸 소년 불소자	Jin Dong-il 진동일	Action (wuxia)
Sky Wrestler 스카이 레슬러	Jang Tae-san 장태산	Action (wrestling)
A Window into your Notes <sup>56</sup> 쪽지의 창	Won Soo-yeon 원수연	Comics version of advice-seeking letters from teenage or young adult readers
Super Trio 슈퍼트리오	Hwang Mina 황미나	Comedy, action
Seven Spoons 일곱개의 숟가락	Kim Soo-jung 김수정	Family drama, myungrang
Tomorrow and Tomorrow Again	Lee Hyun-sae 이현세	Family comedy

<sup>56</sup> A Window into your Notes was a collaborative work between Kim Hyung-mo, publisher of *Teen Notes* (십대들의 쪽지), and Won Soo-yeon, a soonjung manhwa artist. *Teen Notes* were monthly booklets distributed to schools nationwide which printed advice-seeking letters from teenagers, as well as Kim Hyung-mo's answer to the letters.

내일 또 내일		
A Chorus of Geniuses 천재들의 합창	Oh Su 오수	Teen drama, comedy
My Friend Hoho 내 친구 호호	Kim Jae-won 김재원	Myungrang
The Legendary Baseball King 전설의 야구왕	Ko Haeng-seok 고행석	Sports (baseball)
Dancing Center-forward 춤추는 센터포드	Kim Chul-ho 김철호	Sports (soccer)
Jjambo Rambo 짬보람보	Kim Young-ha 김영하	Comedy, pop culture parody
Run,Thunderboy 달려라 썬더보이	Kim Dong-hwa 김동화	RC car racing
14-year-old Youngshim 열네살 0심이	Bae Geum-taek 배금택	Teen drama, comedy
Akbari 악바리	Lee Roma 이로마	Myungrang
Mecha Warrior 109 기계전사 109	Kim Joon-beom 김준범	Sci-fi, mature theme
Star of the Ghetto 게토의 별	Kim Hyung-bae 김형배	Historical, military action
Dragon Ball Part 2 ドラゴンボールZ 드래곤볼 2부	Toriyama Akira 鳥山明	Action, fantasy, sci-fi

Table 3. List of artists and works on *IQ Jump* Vol. 4, No. 12, Jul. 4, 1991

Title (by page order)	Artist	Genre & Characteristic
Dancing Center-forward 춤추는 센터포드	Kim Chul-ho 김철호	Sports (soccer)
Sky Wrestler 스카이 레슬러	Jang Tae-san 장태산	Action (wrestling)
Akbari 악바리	Lee Roma 이로마	Myungrang
Run,Thunderboy	Kim Dong-hwa	RC car racing

달려라 썬더보이	김동화	
14-year-old Youngshim 열네살 0십이	Bae Geum-taek 배금택	Teen drama, comedy
Super Trio 슈퍼트리오	Hwang Mina 황미나	Comedy, action
Jjambo Rambo 짬보람보	Kim Young-ha 김영하	Comedy, pop culture parody
Alto's Sword 알토의 검	Kim Joon-beom 김준범	Sci-fi comedy, action
Tomorrow and Tomorrow Again 내일 또 내일	Lee Hyun-sae 이현세	Family comedy
Napoleon II 나폴레옹 2세	Lee Sang-moo 이상무	Sports (baseball)
The Great Cotton Candy War 솜사탕 대전쟁	Kim Min-gi, Lee Young-seok 김민기, 이영석	Romantic comedy
A Chorus of Geniuses 천재들의 합창	Oh Su 오수	Teen drama, comedy
Shaolin Kkangdori 소림 강돌이	Yoo Jin-bu, Maeng Sang-soo, Jang Jae- bo 유진부, 맹상수, 장재보	Wuxia, sci-fi
The Legendary Baseball King 전설의 야구왕	Ko Haeng-seok 고행석	Sports (baseball)
My Friend Hoho 내 친구 호호	Kim Jae-won 김재원	Myungrang
Ranger Boy Tttoma 유격소년 또마	Jang Gwang-hee 장광희	Action
Dragon Ball Part 2 ドラゴンボールZ 드래곤볼 2부	Toriyama Akira 鳥山明	Action, fantasy, sci-fi

Table 4. List of artists and works on IQ Jump Vol. 5, No. 41, Nov. 2, 1992

Title (by page order)	Artist	Genre & Characteristic
Jjambo Rambo 짬보람보	Kim Young-ha 김영하	Comedy, pop culture parody
Space War 스페이스 워	Hwang Soo-hyun 황수현	Sci-fi
Dancing Center-forward 춤추는 센터포드	Kim Chul-ho 김철호	Sports (soccer)
Akbari 악바리	Lee Roma 이로마	Myungrang
Speed Taekkyeon 스피드 택견	Choi Sung-ho 최성호	Action (martial arts)
My Friend Hoho 내 친구 호호	Kim Jae-won 김재원	Myungrang
Brothers Apart 따로따로 형제	Kim Joon-beom 김준범	Family drama
Boy Fighter Yong 소년협객 용	Kang Joo-bae 강주배	Action (wuxia)
14-year-and-a-half old Youngshim 열네살 반 0십이	Bae Geum-taek 배금택	Teen drama, comedy
Shaolin Kkangdori 소림 깡돌이	Yoo Jin-bu, Maeng Sang-soo, Jang Jae- bo 유진부, 맹상수, 장재보	Action (wuxia), sci-fi
Paradise 파라다이스	Hwang Mina 황미나	Sci-fi
Teary Waltz Shoot 눈물의 왈츠 슈트	Ko Haeng-seok 고행석	Sports (soccer)
Pengo 펑고	Kang Mo-rim 강모림	Myungrang
The Chief and the fool 촌장과 푼수	Heo Moo-young 허무영	Comedy
A Chorus of Geniuses	Oh Su	Teen drama, comedy

천재들의 합장	오수	
Triangle 트라이앵글	Jang Tae-san 장태산	Action (wrestling)
Run,Thunderboy 달려라 썬더보이	Kim Dong-hwa 김동화	RC car racing
4P Tanaka-kun 4번 타자 왕종훈 4P田中くん	Kawa Sanbanchi 川三番地	Sports (baseball)
Dragon Ball Part 2 ドラゴンボールZ 드래곤볼 2부	Toriyama Akira 鳥山明	Action, fantasy, sci-fi
Kenji 태권소년 拳児	Fujiwara Yoshihide 藤原芳秀	Action (martial arts)
Mobile Police Patlabor 기동경찰 패트레이버 機動警察パトレイバー	Yuki Masami ゆうきまさみ	Sci-fi, robot action
Superboard 슈퍼보드	Heo Young-man 허영만	Action (fantasy)
Prince of the Sun 태양의 왕자	Kang Hee-dae 강희대	Action (sci-fi)

It should be noted that aside from the weekly release, the early years of IQ Jump were quite similar to *Bomulseom* in terms of content, artists, and editorial direction. The variety in genre, particularly the emphasis on family-friendly material such as myungrang or family dramas, appears to be intended to appeal to the parents who were buying the magazine for their children. The focus on "wholesomeness" and seeking legitimacy from adults — to be exact, the parents of the target readers who are likely to be the direct purchasers — is also noticeable in works such as *A Window into your Notes*. Another example is a series of columns written by celebrities or public figures — such as National Assembly member Roh Moo-hyun<sup>57</sup>, who later became president of South Korea in 2003, or professional Go player Cho Hunhyun — on favorable personal impressions on comics. On the 1992 call for the new artist contest, the phrases

<sup>57</sup> "Comics helped me get elected into the National Assembly (나를 국회의원으로 당선시켜 준 만화)" IQ Jump No. 10, published Mar. 9, 1991.

emphasize on how *IQ Jump* has lead the children's manhwa industry, and that it is seeking artists who wish to draw children's manhwa. Also artists such as Lee Hyun-sae, Lee Sang-moo, Hwang Mina and Kim Su-jung were highly popular and had worked for *Bomulseom* perviously. Still, *IQ Jump* was a commercial magazine in the late 1980s, and was thus subject to vibrant changes. In terms of genre, the steady popularity of the sports genre and the increase of the action genre are noticeable, a move from wholesome, family-friendly children's genre and towards the tastes of teenage boys who were absorbed in pirated shonen manga. The number of Japanese comics have also increased, with *4P Tanaka-kun*, *Kenji*, and *Mobile Police Patlabor* running alongside *Dragon Ball*. As for *Dragon Ball*, the advertisement in a 1990s *IQ Jump* issue indicates that Seoul Munhwasa was at least profiting from comics danhaengbon, even though it was limited to *Dragon Ball* and any manhwa on *IQ Jump* were yet to be published into comic books by Seoul Munhwasa. Wuxia<sup>58</sup> action, which was a traditionally popular genre in daebonso novels and comics, also figure prominently throughout the 90s. While most wuxia manhwa featured traditional daebonso-style works as exemplified by *Soobak Fist*, *Shaolin Kkangdori* is a unique exception in the genre both artistically and content-wise, freely mixing science fiction and Greek mythology into wuxia. Although early 90s *IQ Jump* was dominated by daebonso artists, glmpses of changes are shown in the works of new artists such as *Mecha Warriors 109* and *Shaolin Kkangdori*, and an increasing action genre seems to reflect caution against manga serials or the changing trends they bring.

ii) Early 90s to mid-90s *IQ Jump* (1993~1996)

Table 5. List of artists and works on *IQ Jump* Vol. 6, No. 42, Oct. 19, 1993

Title (by page order)	Artist	Genre & Characteristic
A Real Man 진짜 사나이	Park San-ha 박산하	Action (School-based)
Rumble Picnic 럼블 피크닉	Kim Joon-beom 김준범	Fantasy
Spike Man	Choi Sung-ho	Sports (volleyball)

<sup>58</sup> Wuxia 武侠 — or Moo-hyup (무협) in the Korean pronunciation — literally means "martial hero" and refers to a broad genre of fiction concerning martial artists in China or China-like settings. The genre was first introduced in South Korea on 1961 by the novel *Jeong Hyup Ji* (情俠誌), which was translated from Chinese author Wei Chiwen 尉迟文's novel *剑海孤鸿* and serialized on the daily newspaper Kyunghyang Shinmun. Wuxia novels and comics at daebonso were extremely popular among mostly young and middle-aged male readers, and still retains their popularity in the online format as well.

스파이크맨	최성호	
The Invincible Striker 최강의 스트라이커	Oh Il-ryong 오일룡	Sports (soccer)
Do not challenge me 덤비지 마라	Kang Joo-bae 강주배	Action (wuxia)
Non-stop 논스톱	Kim Jong-suk 김종석	Action
Ducal 듀칼	Kim Jae-hwan 김재환	Action, fantasy
Endless Match 끝없는 승부	Im Dong-jae 임동재	Action
Sawang Prince Hongdo 사왕천자 홍도	Kim soo-jung 김수정	Myungrang
Com back Jurassic 컴백 JURASSIC	Lee Tae-wook 이태욱	Sci-fi
Captain Survival 캡틴 서바이벌	Sohn Tae-gyu 손태규	Action (airsoft)
My Love 마이 러브	Lee Choong-ho 이충호	Love comedy, fantasy
Everwhite Flower 백록화	Lee Jin-young 이진영	Action, fantasy, romance
A Chorus of Geniuses 천재들의 합창	Oh Su 오수	Teen drama, comedy
King of Hell 지옥의 제왕	Maeng Sang-soo 맹상수	Action (wuxia), fantasy
Jjambo Rambo 짬보람보	Kim Young-ha 김영하	Comedy, pop culture parody
Legend of Eight Dragons 팔용신전설	Park Sung-woo 박성우	Action, fantasy
Unbeatable cadet 못말리는 후보생	Joo Kyung-hoon 주경훈	Action
4P Tanaka-kun 4번 타자 왕중훈 4P田中くん	Kawa Sanbanchi 川三番地	Sports (baseball)
Dragon Ball Part 3 ドラゴンボールZ	Toriyama Akira 鳥山明	Action, fantasy, sci-fi

드래곤볼 3부		
Dalsook 달속이	Lee Jae-suk 이재석	Comedy, action
Kenji 태권소년 拳児	Fujiwara Yoshihide 藤原芳秀	Action (martial arts)
기동경찰 패트레이버 機動警察パトレイバー Mobile Police Patlabor	Yuki Masami ゆうきまさみ	Sci-fi, robot action

Table 6. List of artists and works on *IQ Jump* Vol. 7, No. 1.2, Jan. 11, 1994

Title (by page order)	Artist	Genre & Characteristic
부전자전 Like Father, Like Son	Kim Joon-beom 김준범	Family drama
A Real Man 진짜 사나이	Park San-ha 박산하	Action (School-based)
Rock Don Quixote 락동키호테	Lee Gyu-suk 이규석	Teen drama, music
Predator 육식동물	Kang Woong-seung 강웅승	Action, sci-fi, military
The Invincible Striker 최강의 스트라이커	Oh Il-ryong 오일룡	Sports (soccer)
Do not challenge me 덤비지 마라	Kang Joo-bae 강주배	Action (wuxia)
Pitapat Thump Thump 두근두근 쿵쿵	Jeong young-jin 정영진	Love romance
Everwhite Flower 백록화	Lee Jin-young 이진영	Action, fantasy, romance
Magnum 44 매그넘 44	Woo Jae-chang 우제창	Action
Spike Man 스파이크맨	Choi Sung-ho 최성호	Sports (volleyball)

Jjambo Rambo 짬보람보	Kim Young-ha 김영하	Comedy, pop culture parody
Captain Survival 캡틴 서바이벌	Sohn Tae-gyu 손태규	Action (airsoft)
My Love 마이 러브	Lee Choong-ho 이충호	Love comedy, fantasy
Legend of Eight Dragons 팔용신전설	Park Sung-woo 박성우	Action, fantasy
A Chorus of Geniuses 천재들의 합창	Oh Su 오수	Teen drama, comedy
Astria Khan 아스트리아스 칸	Shin Gimyo 신기묘	Action, sci-fi
Akbari 악바리	Lee Roma 이로마	Comedy
Punch Punch 펀치 펀치	Im Dong-jae 임동재	Action
Dragon Ball Part 3 ドラゴンボールZ 드래곤볼 3부	Toriyama Akira 鳥山明	Action, fantasy, sci-fi
Dalsook 달숙이	Lee Jae-suk 이재석	Comedy, action
Kenji 태권소년 拳児	Fujiwara Yoshihide 藤原芳秀	Action (martial arts)
기동경찰 패트레이버 機動警察パトレイバ ー Mobile Police Patlabor	Yuki Masami ゆうきまさみ	Sci-fi, robot action
4P Tanaka-kun 4번 타자 왕종훈 4P田中くん	Kawa Sanbanchi 川三番地	Sports (baseball)

Table 7. List of artists and works on *IQ Jump* Vol. 8, No. 9, Feb. 28, 1995

Title (by page order)	Artist	Genre & Characteristic
A Real Man 진짜 사나이	Park San-ha 박산하	Action (School-based)
곤충대장 Captain Insect	Kim Dong-hwa 김동화	Action
Akbari 악바리	Lee Roma 이로마	Comedy
Heir of the Empire 제국의 후계자	Choi Byeong-ryul 최병열	Action, fantasy
Diet Go Go 다이어트 고고	Cho Jae-ho 조재호	Action
The Out-boxer 아웃복서	Jang Tae-gwan 장태관	Sports (boxing)
Wangchang the Invincible 천하제일 왕창	Kim Young-ha 김영하	Comedy, action
Continental Warrior 대륙전사	Lee Jin-young 이진영	Action, fantasy
Dalsook 달숙이	Lee Jae-suk 이재석	Comedy, action
Karta 카르타	Lee In-seop 이인섭	Action, fantasy
Rain Boy 레인보이	Jeong Tae-sung 정태성	Action
Tank fighter 탱크 파이터	Yoon Jong-moon 윤종문	Action, military
Y-Generation Jaegal Gongdu Y세대 제갈0두	Bae Geum-taek 배금택	Comedy
A Chorus of Geniuses 천재들의 합창	Oh Su 오수	Teen drama, comedy
My Love 마이 러브	Lee Choong-ho 이충호	Love comedy, fantasy
Captain Survival	Sohn Tae-gyu	Action (airsoft)

캡틴 서바이벌	손태규	
Magic Logo 매직로고	Kang Joo-bae 강주배	Fantasy
Crash 크래쉬	Lee Tae-ho 이태호	Action
Dragon Ball Part 3 ドラゴンボールZ 드래곤볼 3부	Toriyama Akira 鳥山明	Action, fantasy, sci-fi
Kenji 태권소년 拳児	Fujiwara Yoshihide 藤原芳秀	Action (martial arts)
4P Tanaka-kun 4번 타자 왕중훈 4P田中くん	Kawa Sanbanchi 川三番地	Sports (baseball)
Captain Tsubasa 캡틴 쓰바사 キャプテン翼	Takahashi Yōichi 高橋 陽一	Sports (soccer)

Table 8. List of artists and works on IQ Jump Vol. 9, No. 53, Jun. 18, 1996

Title (by page order)	Artist	Genre & Characteristic
Animal Zodiac Warriors 12지전사	Sohn Tae-gyu 손태규	Action, fantasy
Middle Man 미들맨	Park San-ha 박산하	Sports (soccer)
The Worst Dunk Army Ever 사상 최악의 덩크군 단	Park Myeong-woon 박명운	Sports (basketball)
Z-file Z파일	Joo Kyung-hoon 주경훈	Action
Not like you 너랑달라	Kim Jae-yeon 김재연	Teen drama
Kindaichi Case Files 소년탐정 김전일	Kanari Yozaburo Sato Fumiya	Murder mystery

金田一少年の事件簿	金成陽三郎 さとう ふみや	
Kkakkoong 까꿍	Lee Choong-ho 이충호	Comedy, action
The Out-boxer 아웃복서	Jang Tae-gwan 장태관	Sports (boxing)
Mong Mong 몽몽	Yi Jae 이제	Comedy
Jupiter Blues 슈피터 블루스	Lee Jin-young 이진영	Action, sci-fi
Demon World Wars 마계대전	Kim Sung-mo 김성모	Action, fantasy
A Chorus of Geniuses 천재들의 합창	Oh Su 오수	Teen drama, comedy
Diet Go Go 다이어트 고고	Cho Jae-ho 조재호	Action
Dalsook 달속이	Lee Jae-suk 이재석	Comedy, action
Sun and Moon 해와 달	Kwon Gaya 권가야	Action (wuxia)
Crayon Shin-chan 짱구는 못말려 クレヨンしんちゃん	Usui Yoshito 臼井儀人	Comedy
Vamp X 1/2 뱀프X2분의 1	Park chan-seop 박찬섭	Action, fantasy
Magic Boy Ttomong 요술소년 또몽	Choi Byeong-ryul 최병열	Action, fantasy
Gangdagu 강다구	Lee Jong-hee 이종희	Comedy
Ranma 1/2 란마 1/2 らんま½	Takahashi Rumiko 高橋留美子	Comedy, action
4P Tanaka-kun 4번 타자 왕중훈 4P田中くん	Kawa Sanbanchi 川三番地	Sports (baseball)

Captain Tsubasa 캡틴 쓰바사 キャプテン翼	Takahashi Yōichi 高橋 陽一	Sports (soccer)
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The period between 1993 and 1995 was when *IQ Jump* began to actively utilize the editorial system of *Shonen Jump*, recruiting and hiring young artists who were familiar with recent trends, which was shonen manga. Incidentally, it was a period when plagiarism was either easily recognizable or rampant, as the surge in popular manga influenced readers' tastes and more manga publications meant more readers could speedily identify and criticize plagiarism.

While interviewees denied that *IQ Jump* editors actively encouraged plagiarism, many examples indicate that even if it was not encouraged (which is sufficiently probable as Seoul Munhwasa was frequently working with Japanese publishers), then editors were ignorant of the plagiarism. Two prominent examples are *The Out-boxer* and *Y-Generation Jaegal Gongdu*, the latter of which will be discussed later. Although *The Out-boxer* traced and copied numerous sequences from *Hajime no Ippo*, it was only discovered after 1995, when Haksan Munhwasa published the official Korean-language edition of *Hajime no Ippo*.



Figure 12. Upper frames: *Hajime no Ippo*; lower frames: *The Out-boxer*

However, not all manga-like familiar elements should be treated as plagiarism, and most artists merely struggled to incorporate shonen manga elements into their own works, or succeeded in absorbing such elements flawlessly. An example of manga codes that were imported and popularized were the skirt flipping, panty-exhibitionism, often followed by a character bleeding profusely from the nose as a result of being overly excited by witnessing a highly sexual body part/underwear.



Figure 13. *Karuta* and *Diet Go Go* from *IQ Jump* Vol. 8, No. 9, Feb. 21, 1995

Another typical example was the super saiyan style transformation, where a character's hair turns up on the end and his body shines, indicating that the character has gained special powers and/or has become more powerful.

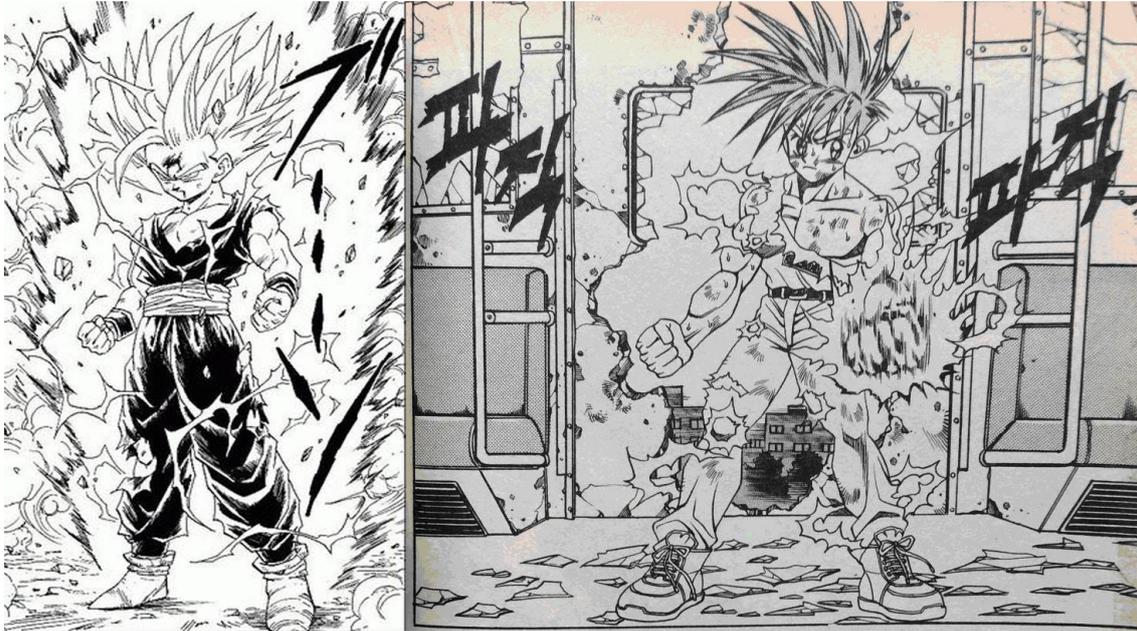


Figure 14. Left: *Dragon Ball*; Right: *Diet Go Go* from *IQ Jump* Vol. 8, No. 9, Feb. 21, 1995

Additionally, this was the period when manhwa millionsellers such as *My Love* and *A Real Man* were serialized, and *Captain Survival* and *Diet Go Go* were popular as well. New artists who were familiar with the language and codes of shonen manga and also capable of adding originality became the most popular creators.

iii) Late 90s *IQ Jump* (1997~1999)

Table 9. List of artists and works on *IQ Jump* Vol. 10, No. 42, Oct. 14, 1997

Title (by page order)	Artist	Genre & Characteristic
Superdimensional Warrior Next 초시공전사 넥스트	Lee Jin-young Eom Jae-gyong 이진영/엄재경	Action, sci-fi
Kkakkoong 까꿍	Lee Choong-ho Eom Jae-gyong 이충호/엄재경	Comedy, action
Animal Zodiac Warriors 12지전사	Sohn Tae-gyu 손태규	Action, fantasy
Upside-down Fairy Tales	Kang Joo-bae 강주배	Fantasy

거꾸로 가는 동화		
Blue Lover 블루러버	Jeong young-jin 정영진	Love romance
Diet Go Go 다이어트 고고	Cho Jae-ho 조재호	Action
Dokebi Prince Kkaechi 도깨비왕자 깨치	Do Gi-sung 도기성	Myungrang
Kinko and Kolby 킹코와 콜비	Lee Jin-joo 이진주	Myungrang
Battle of the Sky Wolf 천랑열전	Park Sung-woo 박성우	Action (wuxia)
When Dad was your age 아빠 어릴 적엔	Kang Mo-rim 강모림	Myungrang
A+ Model Student A+ 모범생	Park San-ha Park Dong-hyun 박산하/박동현	Action (achool-based)
Uncle Top 영클 톱	King young-ha 김영하	Comedy
Kindaichi Case Files 소년탐정 김전일 金田一少年の事件簿	Kanari Yozaburo Sato Fumiya 金成陽三郎 さとう ふみや	Murder mystery
King-stone 왕돌	Choi Shin-oh 최신오	Adventure, history
Superhuman Jin 초인 진	Seo hong-seok 서홍석	Action, sci-fi
Detective Conan 명탐정 코난 名探偵コナン	Aoyama Gōshō 青山剛昌	Mystery fiction
4P Tanaka-kun 4번 타자 왕중훈 4P田中くん	Kawa Sanbanchi 川三番地	Sports (baseball)
Tottemo! Luckyman 떴다! 럭키맨 とっても! ラッキー	Gamō Hiroshi ガモウひろし	Comedy

マン		
Rurouni Kenshin 바람의 검심 るろうに剣心 -明治 剣客浪漫譚-	Watsuki Nobuhiro 和月伸宏	Action, history

Table 10. List of artists and works on IQ Jump Vol. 11, No. 47, Nov. 17, 1998

Title (by page order)	Artist	Genre & Characteristic
Kkakkoong 까꿍	Lee Choong=ho Eom Jae-gyong 이충호/엄재경	Comedy, action
힙합 Hip Hop	Kim Soo-yong 김수용	Dance (hip hop)
핫도그 Hot Dog	Choi Byeong-ryul 최병열	Action (school-based)
Battle of the Sky Wolf 천랑열전	Park Sung-woo 박성우	Action (wuxia)
Let's Play, Pil-seung 필승아 놀자	Kim Joon-beom 김준범	Drama
Records of the Guardian 열풍 지킴이 전기	Park chan-seop 박찬섭	Action, fantasy
Superhuman Jin 초인 진	Seo hong-seok 서홍석	Action, sci-fi
Boom Boom 붐붐	Lee Jae-seok 이재석	Comedy
The Rookie 루키	Park Sun-ho 박선호	Sports (basketball)
Jin Dochi, Greatest Troublemaker 천하말썽 진도치	Kang Geyong-hyo 강경효	Comedy
Kindaichi Case Files 소년탐정 김전일 金田一少年の事件簿	Kanari Yozaburo Sato Fumiya 金成陽三郎 さとう ふみや	Murder mystery

Upside-down Fairy Tales 거꾸로 가는 동화	Kang Joo-bae 강주배	Fantasy
Legend of the Star 별의 전설	Choi Shin-oh 최신오	Sports (judo), history
Toy Soldier 토이 솔저	Lee Tae-ho 이태호	Action
Rurouni Kenshin 바람의 검심 るろうに剣心 -明治 剣客浪漫譚-	Watsuki Nobuhiro 和月伸宏	Action, history
Super Radical Gag Family 우당탕탕 괴짜가족 浦安鉄筋家族	Hamaoka Kenji 浜岡賢次	Comedy
Detective Conan 명탐정 코난 名探偵コナン	Aoyama Gōshō 青山剛昌	Mystery fiction
아이즈 I's	Katsura Masakazu 桂正和	Love romance

Table 11. List of artists and works on *IQ Jump* Vol. 12, No. 52, Dec. 21, 1999

Title (by page order)	Artist	Genre & Characteristic
힙합 Hip Hop	Kim Soo-yong 김수용	Dance (hip hop)
폭주 기관차 Runaway Train	Cho Jae-ho 조재호	Sports (soccer)
Battle of the Sky Wolf 천랑열전	Park Sung-woo 박성우	Action (wuxia)
Jin Dochi, Greatest Troublemaker 천하말썽 진도치	Kang Geyong-hyo 강경효	Comedy
21st Century Neighbor 21세기 이웃사촌	Hwang Seung-man Kim Chul-hee 황승만/김철희	Action- sci-fi

The Rookie 루키	Park Sun-ho 박선호	Sports (basketball)
Raz 라즈	Jeong Beom-soo 정범수	Action, fantasy
Animal Zodiac Warriors 12지전사	Sohn Tae-gyu 손태규	Action, fantasy
Can 깡통	Kim Jong-min 김종민	Comedy
Visitor X 비지터 X	K. Taehyung K. 태형	Comedy, sci-fi
Records of the Guardian 열풍 지킴이 전기	Park chan-seop 박찬섭	Action, fantasy
U la la Jaegu 울랄라 재구	Seo Chi-hyuk 서치혁	Action, fantasy
Cipher 사이퍼	Kang Shin-ho 강신호	Action, fantasy
Kindaichi Case Files 소년탐정 김전일 金田一少年の事件簿	Kanari Yozaburo Sato Fumiya 金成陽三郎 さとう ふみや	Murder mystery
Hikaru no Go 고스트 바둑왕	ほったゆみ 小畑健 Hotta Yumi Obata Takeshi	Board game (go)
Super Radical Gag Family 우당탕탕 괴짜가족 浦安鉄筋家族	Hamaoka Kenji 浜岡賢次	Comedy
Detective Conan 명탐정 코난 名探偵コナン	Aoyama Gōshō 青山剛昌	Mystery fiction
아이즈 I's	Katsura Masakazu 桂正和	Love romance

Towards the late 90s, the number and page length of manga increased on *IQ Jump*. The most popular manhwa titles were *Hip Hop*, a serial about break dancing, *Runaway Train*, a soccer manhwa, and *Hot Dog*, a school-based action serial. Brief returns of established artists such as Kim Young-ha and Choi Shin-oh are noticeable; however, it should also be noted that their serials did not run for long.

Overall, magazine sales dropped in the late 90s regardless of the number of manga published on its pages. Some interviewees allege that aside from *Dragon Ball* (and *Slam Dunk* in the case of *Sonyeon Champ*), no manga was capable of increasing magazine sales as it did. Contractual obligations were at key, rather than the increase of magazine sales. Yet manga book sales still remained important to publishers in the late 90s, partially due to the increase of rental bookstores.

## 6. Oral History of *IQ Jump* Production

### (1) The interviewees

Table 12. List and profile of interviewees

Name	Occupation	Year of birth	Interview date/place	Interview length
Lee Jaeshik 이재식	Editor	undisclosed	Apr. 28, 2009 C & C Revolution Office, Kyunggi-do	01:53:18
Jeon Jaesang 전재상	Editor	undisclosed	May 3, 2009 Telephone	01:15:38
Kang Inseon 강인선	Editor	undisclosed	May 6, 2009 Gobooky office, Seoul	01:19:01
Gwak Hyun- chang 곽현창	Editor	undisclosed	May 12, 2009 Seoul Munhwas comics department office, Seoul	01:03:58
Cho Jaeho 조재호	Artist	1968	Oct. 9, 2010 cafe in Nowon-gu, Seoul.	01:33:49

Kim Soo-yong 김수용	Artist	1972	Oct. 10, 2010 office in Induk University.	00:52:02
Lee Choong-ho 이충호	Artist	1967	Oct. 20, 2010 cafe in the Hongdae area, Seoul.	01:19:34
Kim Joon-beom 김준범	Artist	1967	Oct. 19, 2010 his office in Hapjeong, Seoul	01:11:26
Miru Choi 최미르	Artist	1973	Oct. 13, 2010 Korea Manhwa Contents Agency building, Bucheon	01:08:08

A total of nine individuals were interviewed one-on one. The interviewees were four comic book magazine editors and five comic book artists. All editors were former *IQ Jump* editor-in-chiefs — Jaeshik Lee, Jeon Jaesang, Kang Inseon, and also Gwak Hyun-chang, who was editor-in-chief and head of the Seoul Munhwasa comics department at the time of the interview. Four artists who previously worked for *IQ Jump* were interviewed: Cho Jaeho, Kim Soo-yong, Lee Choong-ho, and Kim Joon-beom; additionally, Miru Choi, who worked for the rival magazine *Sonyeon Jump*, was also interviewed to provide comparisons with Seoul Munhwasa as well as insight into the overall background of 1990s comics production.

Jaeshik Lee (이재식) graduated Kyungpook National University with a B.A in journalism in 1993, and joined Daewon Inc. (currently Daewon C.I.) in 1994. Prior to joining Daewon, he had wanted to be a comics artist and joined a creative workshop called Comics Academy. He moved to seju Publishing on 1995, was instrumental in launching the comics magazine *Mr. Blue*, targeted at adults. In 1997 he moved to *Seoul Munhwasa*, was editor of *IQ Jump* and also participated in launching the women's comic magazine *Nine*. In 2000 he became editor of Comics Today, one of the first online comics services in South Korea. At the time of the interview, he was the president of C & C Revolution, a comics publisher that deals with online and printed comics. The interview with Lee took place on Apr. 28, 2009 at the C & C Revolution office.

Jeon Jaesang (전재상) was editor of the comics magazines *Daenggi* (a comics

magazine targetted towards girls which was published by the Yook-young Foundation, the publisher of *Bomulseom*), *IQ Jump*, *Wink*, *Nine*, and *Young Jump*, and most recently, *Poptoon*. He also lead the comics department team at Anibooks, a comic book publisher established in 2002 by the Munhak Dongnae publishing group. The interview with Jeon was conducted on May 3, 2009 via phone.

Inseon Kang (강인선) is the only female interviewee. She entered the comics industry when she was hired to work for the *Bomulseom* editorial office in 1986. She was editor-in-chief of *Daenggi* and *IQ Jump*. She was involved in the creation and editorship of various comics magazines for girls and women, such as *Wink*, *Mink*, *Nine*, and *Owho* and was a prominent figure in the soonjung manhwa (comics for girls and women) industry. She started the publishing company Gobooky in 2005, which mainly publishes comic books and children's books, and remains its CEO to the current day. The interview with Kang was conducted at the Gobooky office on May 6, 2009.

Gwak Hyun-chang (곽현창) was *IQ Jump* editor-in-chief and head of the Seoul Munhwasa comics department at the time of the interview, but has since retired. After completing his military service on 1988, he was impressed by the comics magazine *Weekly Manhwa* and worked at its editorial office for six months, then moved to Seoul Munhwasa and became an *IQ Jump* editor. On 1995, he moved to the editorial office of *Chance*, Haksan Munhwasa's newly launched comics magazine for boys. He returned to Seoul Munhwasa on 2004. The interview with Gwak was conducted on May 12, 2009 at the Seoul Munhwasa comics department office in Yongsan, Seoul.

Cho Jaeho (조재호) entered apprenticeship under comic artist Geum-taek Bae at his last year of high school, and continued to train and work at Bae's studio for 4 years. After finishing military service, Cho worked at a "comic book factory" for awhile, then won a New Artist Award at Daewon Inc. on 1996 and made his debut at *Sonyeon Champ*. Yet differences in the editorial direction of *Sonyeon Champ* and Cho's creative preferences prompted Cho to move to *IQ Jump* within the same year. His first *IQ Jump* serial, *Diet Go Go*, was a highly popular and commercially successful action adventure centered around a drug which compresses fat into muscle, thereby turning extremely obese individuals into the most powerful fighters. His 2000 work, a soccer series titled *Runaway Engine*, was also a hit which partially benefitted from the rising popularity of soccer due to the 2002 World Cup. He continues to work as a comics artist, mostly with Seoul Munhwasa. The interview with Cho was conducted on Oct. 9, 2010 at a cafe in Nowon-gu, Seoul.

Kim Soo-yong (김수용) entered apprenticeship under comic artists Jong-han Kim and Kim Joon-beom at 1991, but was also active at an amateur comic artist team since 1988.

From 1992 to 1993, Kim was the leader of one of the dance groups which was hired through Seoul Broadcasting System's special recruitment process, an experience which he will utilize later when creating *Hip Hop*. He debuted as a comics artist at Haksan's comics magazine *Chance* on 1996, but gained popularity through *Hip Hop*, which started at 1997 on IQ Jump. *Hip Hop* starred young break dancers and introduced break dancing techniques, many of which were new and fresh to Korean society and strongly appealed to teenage readers. Kim continues to publish new comics on the web, and also teaches students as adjunct professor at the Induk University Cartoon and Animation Department. His interview was conducted on Oct. 10, 2010 at an office in Induk University.

Lee Choong-ho (이충호) entered apprenticeship under comics artist Shin-ho Choi on 1991 after completing his military service. Choi connected Lee to magazines such as *Sonyeon Joong-ang* or *Manhwa Wangook*, where Lee submitted short works which were published. One of the shorts in *Manhwa Wangook* attracted the attention of the late Moon-hwan Kim — the *IQ Jump* editor-in-chief at the time — who scouted Lee for his “cute and adorable art style.” On 1993, Lee began his first series *My Love* — a fusion of romantic comedy and fantasy action — which was an immense hit and became one of the early Korean millionsellers in the comics industry. Around volume 3 of *My Love*, Lee began collaborating with writer Um Jae-gyeom. After *My Love*, Lee produced another hit for IQ Jump titled *Kkakkoong*, a comedy-action adventure. Quickly recognizing the fall of the comics magazine around 2000, Lee moved on to educational comics for children, such as the comic book adaptation of Hwang Seok-young's edition of the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. He also gained popularity in the webtoon scene with *Wulin Investigators*. On Jan. 2014, Lee was elected chairman of the Korea Cartoonist Association. His interview was conducted on Oct. 20, 2010 at a cafe in the Hongdae area, Seoul.

Kim Joon-beom (김준범) was active at the amateur cartoonist organization PAC and entered apprenticeship under Young-man Heo at 1985. On 1989, Kim debuted on IQ Jump with the series *Mecha Warrior 109*, adapted from a story given to him by Jin-soo Noh, one of the writers working for Heo. *Mecha Warrior 109* was both a cyber punk-themed political commentary and family drama and often credited as a Korean science fiction classic, its plot concerning an android created as a replacement for a boy's deceased mother, who evolves into a revolutionary leader fighting for the freedom of robots. Kim's strength appears to be in family drama, as represented by original series on IQ Jump such as *Brothers Apart* (1991) and *Like Father, Like Son* (1994). On 2008, he published a remake version of *Mecha Warrior 109* on Naver's Webtoon page. His

recent work is a comic book on meditation titled *Why did Nemo Go Up the Hill?* (2013) His interview was conducted on Oct. 19, 2010 at his office in Hapjeong, Seoul.

Miru Choi (최미르크) entered apprenticeship under Woon-hak Cho on 1987. He quit the apprenticeship on 1991, and debuted at 1992 on *Bomulseom* with *Neo Alien*. He moved to Daewon and produced *Nice Combi* (1995) for *Sonyeon Champ*, then *Sword-Bang Man* (1998) — a comedy action which mixed wuxia and the western — for the same magazine. During the late 90s, Choi also produced comics which were published directly to single volumes for the purpose of capitalizing on the growing demand from rental bookstores. From 2000 to 2008, Choi created the wuxia series *Gangho Paedogi* on *Comic Champ*, the changed name of *Sonyeon Champ* since 2002. His interview took place on Oct. 13, 2010 at the Korea Manhwa Contents Agency building in Bucheon, where his studio is located.

## (2) The Role of the Editors and the Artists

The Korean editors were essentially tasked with similar responsibilities as their Japanese counterparts: recruiting and training new artists, production planning, maintaining quality control, delivering finished works before the deadline, editing the magazine and making editorial decisions concerning the continuation or discontinuation of works. In essence, producing magazines with a certain degree of stable quality, and procuring commercially successful titles. However, as examined later, the details of the means to accomplish such ends and what was generally expected of the editors differed considerably from those of Japanese editors due to multiple reasons, one of them being the size of the editorial department.

The artist's task was to plan and produce a finished work and deliver it to the publisher before the designated deadline. This process required arduous and intensive artistic and physical labor. For a weekly magazine, an artist would typically produce 16 pages per deadline<sup>59</sup>. For example, Jae-ho Cho's work schedule was in following order: "Friday was the deadline, so I try to finish the work by Friday morning, hand it over to the publishers, and take a break for the rest of the day. I start planning ideas and finish a layout by Saturday, and start sketching from Sunday to Tuesday night. Wednesdays and Thursdays are for inking, cutting/attaching screen tones, and general clean-ups. Then it's

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<sup>59</sup> A "gag comic" or non-story, 4-panel humorous comic would be 10 pages, while a monthly magazine would request thirty to thirty-two pages (Lee, Chuoog-ho, 2010).

Friday all over again." Other artists weren't so organized; Kim Soo-yong alleged that he once had to finish sixteen pages in a single day. Such a demanding weekly workload was made possible because most artists hired three to four live-in assistants.

### (3) Application of the Japanese model in practice

First of all, it should be noted that Korean artists and editors were working from a professional background and market which was drastically different from either *Shonen Jump* at its beginning, not to mention the contemporary *Shonen Jump*. According to former editors, the *IQ Jump* editorial team ranged from 4 to 6 staff members including the editor-in-chief<sup>60</sup> (Jeon, Kang, Gwak, J. Lee). The maximum number of staff for a weekly was six — four editors, one design staff, and one part-time assistant<sup>61</sup> — during the early 90s (J. Lee, 2009). A biweekly magazine would have even less staff, and a monthly such as *Bomulseom* employed only three workers (Kang, 2009). Artist Jae-ho Cho even claimed that one or two editors were not even full-time employees, but temporary workers (Cho, 2010). It is evident that compared to the size of the Japanese weekly editorial team — with around twenty staff members — the Korean editorial team was much smaller. With limited staff, priority was placed on book production — which means constantly disciplining the work progress of artists, proof-reading and checking for errors to maintain quality, and delivering the finished work to the printing house before the deadline. Since there were three or four editors against eleven or twelve artists, planning and collaborating with the artist was an optional, less significant task that an editor could rarely afford to participate in. Also, the task of planning would become increasingly less important with the rising reliance on imported comics. Yet even with less various responsibilities, editors suffered from heavy workload. Jae-shik Lee states that “If we (the editorial team) had more people, things would have worked better. We lacked the know-how and time, so we couldn’t do better even if we wanted to. With just three or four of us, every week was simply one deadline after another.” Requests to expand the number of editorial staff was rejected because the company deemed such investments unnecessary and unprofitable (Kang, 2009).

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<sup>60</sup> The editorial staff included the editor-in-chief, who was in a management position and did not participate in the production part. Thus, when the number of an editorial team is four, the task of editing and organizing the book was actually done by three people (Gwak, 2009).

<sup>61</sup> The assistant was responsible for typesetting the dialogues of comics, and counting popularity polls of the reader response postcard. However this task would also often fall to editors as well.

i) The "producer system" in practice

Despite limitations in their professional environment, founding members and editors during the early 90s were ambitious about attempting the “Japanese producer system” as they called the collaborative creative process between artist and editor. Gwak Hyun-chang recalls that one of the motives for benchmarking *Shonen Jump* were “to try out the producer system like Japan. Previous magazines — *Sonyeon Joongang*, *Bomulseom*, *Eokaedongmu* — were general interest magazines for children, but *IQ Jump* was a specialized comics magazine where over 95% of the content were comics. Japan had many such examples (of specialized comics magazines), so that was the first motive. The second motive was trying out the producer system, where the editor and the artist make comics together. Before that, the editor would just tell the artist ‘Sir, please draw twenty-four pages,’ and wait until the deadline. Instead, we could try a system where the story, the synopsis and the world is made from the start through (editor-artist) collaboration.” Jae-shik Lee confirms that Korean publishers were highly aware of the system’s success in Japan, and that the editorial guidance behind *Dragon Ball* was a “legend” — Korean editors were familiar with stories that “*Dragon Ball* started out as a run-of-the-mill racy comic, but was later changed into an action story; the editor played a great role in this turning point, it was the greatest editorial achievement ever, and he went on to become editor-in-chief. So there was this idea that we can’t depend solely on the artist; a great editor should also take action.”

In order to follow the footsteps of the Japanese system, the editorial team initially established procedures such as offering editorial advice and pressure to the artist, persuading and guiding the artist, and requesting the synopsis and draft beforehand (Lee, Jae-shik, 2009). Exceptions were made on “influential artists, established popular artists, and artists with great storytelling ability (ibid).” However, the exceptions were what thwarted the “producer system” from the start; since almost every artist in the earliest issues were established professionals or their pupils, editors found it difficult to exercise any editorial control over them. An evident hierarchy existed between editor and artist during the early years of *IQ Jump*; the artists were popular, influential professionals, and considered editors merely as courier-like workers who pick up the finished work (Gwak, 2009). Confucianist ageism was another obstacle; most of the established artists were middle-aged and much older than the editors — who were still in their twenties and had freshly graduated from university or had just finished their military service — making it almost impossible for editors to

interfere<sup>62</sup>. It was only after new artists such as Kim Joon-beom, Park San-ha, and Chuoog-ho- Lee were employed that editors could attempt to exercise editorial collaboration (ibid). Therefore, "With the new artists — Kim Joon-beom, Park San-ha, and Chuoog-ho- Lee — (unlike in the cases of popular established artists) I could actually have a conversation with them. We were about the same age or just a few years apart, so it was easy to approach them." The artist and editor would discuss the general tone and genre of a work, total number of potential volumes, and consult plot points. It was thus that bestsellers by young domestic artists — works like *My Love* or *A Real Man* — were published, effectively causing a generation shift of artists. However, editors admitted that primarily the artist was the center of the production and the "producer system" never developed to the extent of its original form in Japan, indicating that an intensive, controlling editor-artist relationship was not the norm.

Editors also provided examples of what they considered were negative examples of editorial direction — according to *IQ Jump* editors, other editors or editors in the rival magazine *Sonyeon Champ* would often give manga to artists and tell them to copy the books (Kang, Gwak, Lee). This anecdote is an example indicating that the editors themselves were untrained in the collaborative production system (Kang, 2009), and although the shape of the procedure was initially adapted, editors lacked the resources and experience to actually conduct the process. To sum up, the editor-artist collaboration, or the "producer system" was adapted only partially in Korean magazines due to limited staff, lack of investment from the publisher, and lack of experience and knowhow on the editors' part. Also, as reliance on imported comics grew, there was less need for investing on domestic artists.

When artists were questioned about the collaborative editor-artist procedure, only Cho answered that the procedure were influential and helpful during the creative process. Kim Joon-beom was visibly upset and offended by the very suggestion that an editor could have contributed to the creative process, responding that "Why do you keep asking about the editors? Sure, they say 'we brought up artists,' but they're drinking buddies at best...they never did plan and raise an artist." Choi said that "although it was annoying," some editorial advice he received as a beginner — such as including at least one funny panel per page — did improve his work; however, as his popularity grow, the editor was replaced with a newly hired employee who never criticized or offered advice. Cho said, "When I got popular, I actually missed the editorial attention. It would have been nice if editors gave me the readers' perspective so I could get a sense of

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<sup>62</sup> Gwak admitted few exceptions such as the case of artist Du-ho Lee, who would consult an editor and accept his advice when confronted by a writer's block. But "95% were like, 'don't invade my territory,'" making editorial guidance difficult.

balance...it would have been nice if they'd given me some advice." Lee Choong-ho perceived editorial guidance as meager and unprofessional. However, he perceived that the Korean system had its benefits, as it provided artists with more creative control than Japanese artists. Other artists answered that they usually ignored editorial advice because they didn't consider it helpful or found it irritable; when Kim Soo-yong's editor asked him to insert a female character for sex appeal, Kim declined and ignored the advice because "I hate those useless female characters that exist just to look pretty. Also *Hip-hop* was about Korean hip-hop dancers, and honestly there weren't many women dancers at the time. If I was drawing *Hip-hop* now, I'd probably add some women dancer characters (Kim, Soo-yong, 2010)." Cho said he would have constant meetings with editors on plot and direction, which would help him maintain quality control and avoid falling into mannerism. Cho was especially grateful to an editor who advised him: "After you were released from the hospital, your drawings have stunted. You should practice and focus on the drawing part from now on." Cho believes that if he hadn't followed the advice, his art style would have remained out of fashion, and he couldn't have found work after 2000 (Cho, 2010). Still, Cho did admit that he was an exception.

Artists did not receive monetary or other type of extra support from the editorial team in terms of research; Kim Soo-yong, who had to travel constantly to videotape hip-hop events, had to do it on his own terms. However, the publisher did support Kim when he went to research a hip-hop contest in Taiwan.

Some of the editors and artists also confirmed a darker side of editorial guidance: encouraging plagiarism. While none of the interviewees — including Miru Choi, who was never affiliated with Seoul Munhwasa — stated that Seoul Munhwasa editors openly encouraged plagiarism, they did claim that Daewon was very overt about actively encouraging artists to adapt the style of popular Japanese comics. Two specific anecdotes from interviewees support this allegation: according to Miru Choi, Daewon was more blatant in coercing its new artists to comply to manga trends, and allegedly even “tossed them a Japanese comic book and told them to copy it.” Such coercion of plagiarism is also confirmed by Lee Choong-ho, who claimed that "around 1992 — between summer and autumn I think — when I was drawing shorts, *Champ* gave me a story, said it's similar to a certain Japanese manga, and told me to draw it since rookies aren't good at stories. I declined." A popular Daewon title does support such anecdotes; the *Sonyeon Champ* series *Fight Ball* (파이트볼) prominently featured characters from the Namco arcade game *Tekken* and the SNK arcade game *King of Fighters* without permission, and was accused of copyright infringement<sup>63</sup>. Yet even if the editors of *IQ*

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<sup>63</sup> Daewon eventually had to acquire permission from Namco, but did not seek permission from SNK.

*Jump* never encouraged plagiarism, they did fail to recognize or stop such cases, as exemplified by *Jaegal Gongdu*<sup>64</sup>. Created by established artist Geum-taek Bae, *Jaegal Gongdu* was similar to *Crayon Shinchan* not just in the kindergarten-age protagonist who mouthed racy jokes inappropriate for his age, but details of supporting characters such as the boy's family and friends, and many plots and stories were nearly identical<sup>65</sup>.



Figure 15. *Crayon Shinchan* and *Jaegal Gongdu*

As shown in the example of *Jaegal Gongdu* by Bae, an established established artist who was not likely subject to editorial coercion, plagiarizing or adapting Japanese comics were not necessarily signs of editorial encouragement. The shonen manga style, particularly that of works such as *Dragon Ball*, was extremely popular. Iconic action sequences of *Dragon Ball* were most frequently applied techniques, spiky hairstyles reminiscent of Goku's hair was extremely common among Korean boys' comics during the 90s (Kang, 2009), and effects similar to the famous Super Saiyan transformation<sup>66</sup> were prominent as well. Even the most extreme examples of plagiarism and illegal use of licensed characters were caused by mixed factors: a decades-old production process of illegal piracy which was only discovered by readers since the 1990s with the licensed publication of more Japanese comic books, encouragement or coercion from editors to create trendy contents in a short amount of time, the artist's own eagerness and convenience, and overall lack of understanding or actual legal implications in relation to intellectual property infringement. According to Choi, the popularity poll-based editorial system also was a structure which contributed to this problem, as editors were desperate to produce quick results but lacked the experience or know-how to come up

<sup>64</sup> It is possible that editors intentionally overlooked this, since Bae is a respected established artist, and this issue is rarely discussed openly in the comics scene. Jae-shik Lee stated that it's only natural for Bae since he preferred racy subject matters before, while Gwak was more accepting of the plagiarism accusation, stating "(chuckles) Yes, when I read *Jaegal Gongdu*, I was like...oh. (laughter)"

<sup>65</sup> Rather ironically, Seoul Munhwasa later acquired licenses to *Crayon Shinchan* and even published it on *IQ Jump*.

<sup>66</sup> One of the most iconic and unique elements in *Dragon Ball* where a Saiyan — an alien warrior race — transforms into a more powerful state at when he is extremely angered or desperate. When transformed, the usually black hair turns golden and stands up on its ends, which gives an overall flame-like appearance; the character is also surrounded by a flashing golden aura and electric special effects.

with alternative, creative solutions. However, such practices were gradually reduced as the increase in licensed Japanese comics allowed readers to recognize and criticize plagiarism more frequently.

To summarize, it appears the artists' explanation mostly coincides with the editors' perception of the editor-artist production system in the 90s, in that the system was not as established or structured as in Japan, and as a result artists generally wielded more creative control than their Japanese counterparts. However, the darker side to the system was the presence of plagiarism. New and unpopular artists could be encouraged or even coerced into copying popular Japanese manga. At times plagiarism was ignored because the artist was too popular and established (as in *Jaegal Gongdu*), or went unnoticed (or possibly tolerated) because the original was yet to be legally published in Korea (as in *The Out-boxer*).

## ii) Editorial decision-making

Editorial decision-making — recruiting artists and deciding the publishing, continuation and discontinuation of works — was an area where editors had considerable power, as opposed to the collaborative creative procedure. Editors were responsible for selecting winners from regularly held open competitions, as well as recruiting new artists. Editors who were well-connected with artists were valuable assets to the publisher (Kang, 2009), as well as those who could spot talented artists and read trends quickly (Jeon, 2009). For example, an editorial decision by former editor-in-chief Moon-hwan Kim mutually benefitted Cho and *IQ Jump*; since Cho debuted on Daewon's *Sonyeon Champ*, he tried to pitch the idea of *Diet Go Go* to Champ's editor, but was rejected because "they said the idea (fat compressed into muscle) didn't make sense." Yet when Cho approached Moon-hwan Kim with a single page explaining the main concept of *Diet Go Go*, "He said, 'Do you need money?' and asked me how much I needed, then called somebody in the general affairs department and gave me 2,000,000 won, and recruited me. So the editor does matter."

*IQ Jump*'s decision to hire young and new artists was not simply to adapt the philosophy of *Shonen Jump*, but largely borne out of practical reasons. By 1991, most of the established artists publishing on *IQ Jump* had completed their series, the newly launched *Sonyeon Champ* was actively seeking young and upcoming artists, and new artists could be paid less. In the traditional apprenticeship system, apprentices had to acquire the artist's permission before submitting their work to publishers in order to

become professionals<sup>67</sup>. This system was maintained because the existing publishers were fewer in number and closely interconnected; however, the active recruitment of inexperienced artists by magazines such as *IQ Jump* changed this tradition. Kim Joon-beom's anecdote depicts a transitional struggle in entering the professional field: "There was some trouble when I was hired. The established artists...Mr. Heo tried to stop me. For really cheap reasons. Well, at least it only lasted for that one night." More publication outlets and open recruitment allowed younger artists to flourish, creating some of the Korean comics million-sellers of the early and mid-90s and reflecting styles and trends in tune with younger readers.

Editorial decision-making also included deciding which comics to import. The shifting dynamics in the importance of imported comics within the magazine is reflected in the editors' recollections of what they considered their best achievements as *IQ Jump* editors. For example, Lee and Gwak, who were founding members working from the late 80s to the early 90s, constantly recalled the recruitment and personal exchanges with specific artists. However, Jeon and Kang, who joined the *IQ Jump* editorial team in the late 90s, rarely spoke of individual *IQ Jump* artists<sup>68</sup>. However, Kang did speak proudly of spotting the potential appeal of the *Shonen Jump* series *Hikaru no Go*, market testing the comic by dispensing roughly translated pages to her sons' friends, and pushing to have it licensed despite opposition from her superiors who thought a manga about a board game was too niche. Discovering and importing the "right" Japanese comic book had increasingly become a safer and cheaper method to guarantee magazine sales, and this is reflected by the growing number of Japanese comics on *IQ Jump*. The first manga on *IQ Jump* was *Dragon Ball* in December 1989; by issue 230 on July 1994, four manga serials — *Dragon Ball*, *Mobile Police Patlabor*, *Taekwon Boy*<sup>69</sup> and

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<sup>67</sup> According to Kim Joon-beom, as a result of this system some apprentices couldn't publish their own creations even though they were over 40, and "there were rarely professional artists who were between the age of myself and (middle-aged) masters such as Young-man Heo, Lee Hyun-sae, or Tae-san Jang."

<sup>68</sup> It should be noted that Jeon and Kang are primarily known for their involvement in the development of comics magazines for girls, which reached its height in the mid and late 90s. Jeon was well-known for recruiting artist Kye-young Chon famous for her unique art style in works such as *Unplugged Boy*, *Audition*, and *DVD*. Hers was the first Korean comic work to be produced digitally, and Kang presented her work as print-outs, which other editors considered appalling but was accepted by Jeon. Kang also has a long experience with girls' comics and girls' comics artists since her work at *Daenggi*, the first girls' comics magazine. She was subsequently involved in the launching of *Wink*, *Mink*, *Nine* and *Owho*, significant magazines in the history of girls' and women's comics. Kang's apparent detachment from *IQ Jump* may stem from the fact that although she was heavily involved in the launching of *Nine* in January 1998 — *Nine* was the first magazine to target mature female readers — and also acted as its editor-in-chief, Seoul Munhwasa made her editor-in-chief of *IQ Jump* in the same year in order to recover falling sales. She left Seoul Munhwasa in 2000.

<sup>69</sup> Original Title: *Kenji*, written by Ryuichi Matsuda and illustrated by Yoshihide Fujiwara and published by Shogakukan.

*Cleanup Hitter Wang Jong-hun*<sup>70</sup> were regular serials running alongside with twenty serials by Korean artists. By issue 286 on 1995 August, there were five manga serials — *Crayon Shinchan*, *Kindaichi Case Files*, *Ranma 1/2*, and *Captain Tsubasa* — while the number of domestic comics were reduced to sixteen. By December 1998, there were 5 manga and twelve domestic comics on *IQ Jump*. While the number of manga has remained steady, domestic comics were decreasing, reflecting lagging popularity and sales. In these circumstances, investing time and money on training domestic artists were even less of a priority; especially considering that Seoul Munhwasa was reluctant about investing in the editorial board, despite the fact that the company's initial intention was adapting the Japanese production model. What is interesting to note is that by the late 90s, such Japanese titles were not published on magazines because they were popular — very few of the Japanese titles published on either *IQ Jump* or *Sonyeon Champ* were actually popular, and none achieved the nearly unshakeable status of *Dragon Ball* or *Slam Dunk*. In some weeks, Lee Choong-ho's *My Love* beat *Dragon Ball* which was on its later stages<sup>71</sup>. However, Japanese comics continued to get printed mostly for convenience; to quote Choi, they are "verified, easy to manage, and cheap." In such situations, it was only reasonable that editors would look to imported comics rather than recruit and nurture domestic artists.

Popularity polls were important to editorial decision-making when magazine sales were high, as it meant more readers responded to the polls through the survey postcards attached to the magazines. Popular artists were given bonuses, and unpopular titles were discontinued. However, editors claim this system was partially responsible for "homogenizing" the serialized titles, with school-background action comics dominating the magazine. Gwak believes that the combination of the polling system, increase of Japanese titles on the magazine, and the reinforcement of the Youth Protection Act caused this homogenization. According to Gwak, increased Japanese titles meant less Korean titles could be printed, and when the popularity poll is taken into account, action titles and a few comedies remain. Regardless of the accuracy of Gwak's analysis, it is true that compared to early issues which included diverse genres, the later *IQ Jump* titles are more action-based. By the late 90s, the poll was rendered nearly irrelevant as only 200 to 300 postcards were sent to the publisher.

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<sup>70</sup> Original Title: *Kazehikaru Koushien*, written by Taro Nami and illustrated by Sanbanchi Kawa and published by Kodansha.

<sup>71</sup> According to Lee Choong-ho, "They said that whoever beat *Dragon Ball* and got to first place will win 10,000,000 won. Well, when I did beat *Dragon Ball*, the editor-in-chief said they meant that I can win the prize if I got to first place many times. So they just gave me a fax machine instead."

### iii) Binding contract

All of the editors alleged that no binding contract existed in *IQ Jump*. However, statements from artists were more conflicted. Kim Joon-beom, Kim Soo-yong and Cho Jae-ho said such contracts weren't necessary since Korean works rarely surpassed the popularity of manga. However, Miru Choi answered that the practice was common in Daiwon and Haksan, except that the artist did not receive any earnest money for the contract (Choi, 2010). Additionally, Lee answered that he and Park San-ha received a sizeable sum of earnest money in exchange for signing the binding contract, which was understandable since their books sold millions of copies. He said editors may not have answered the question honestly because it could raise problematic issues for them; he also added that when he mentioned his binding contract with *IQ Jump* during an interview with film magazine *Cine 21*, the editor-in-chief at the time said it was inappropriate to say such things outside (of the comics industry).

### iv) Magazine-tankoubon model

The interviews further prove that Seoul Munhwasa did not hurry to adapt the magazine-tankoubon model, and initially opted to acquire profit by the magazine sales. For example, although *Mecha Warrior 109* completed its run on 1990, it was only published as individual volumes on 1992. Seoul Munhwasa began actively publishing comic book collections of its serials since 1992 and 1993, possibly influenced by its rival Daewon. The magazine-tankoubon model was effective to a certain extent, as seen in million sellers such as *My Love* and *A Real Man*, which were published into volume collections at the height of their popularity.

The emergence of rental bookstore chains was a critical element in changes in the magazine-tankoubon model as well as the comics industry. While mainstream publishers were initially against rental bookstores and condemned them on the back pages of their comic books, criticizing that books at the rental bookstores were a haven of germs and bacteria. However, this animosity changed as rental bookstores increased and naturally the demand for comic books rose. Seoul Munhwasa and other publishers answered the demand by producing comics directly for the rental retailers, which meant that comics that were never introduced through serialization on magazines were made straight into comic books. All of the interviewed editors were critical about the publishers' role during the increase of the rental bookstore. This business model

contradicts the magazine-tankoubon model, where the magazine acts as the first channel of introduction for the comic, as well as extended catalogue and testing ground. In fact, it was actually closer to the daebonso or manhwabang market, in that a large amount of books were produced for the rental retailer. Lee says, "The magazine-tankoubon model was the business model and philosophy for us editors, and a major industry paradigm. But we destroyed it ourselves when we mass produced straight-to-rental books for rental bookstores during 1998 and 1999. Normally we printed thirty to forty titles each month, but the rental bookstores asked for more, so the company expanded it to two hundred titles a month." A small company specializing in producing direct-to-rental comics were set up, and comics editors who couldn't read Japanese were ordered to browse Japanese comics magazines, list promising works, and find out whether any other Korean publisher has licensed it. Although a predominant majority of straight-to-rental comic books were Japanese imports, some established magazine artists and new artists also produced such books. As the editors saw it, the period was a heyday for comics artists and publishers, albeit damaging to the industry in foresight. Struck with the IMF crisis and staggering from dropping book sales and scarce advertisers, publishers saw comic book sales as one of the few available options that will yield guaranteed profit (Lee, Gwak).



Figure 16. An *IQ Jump* page advertising straight-to-rental comics, an imprint that was named Hit/Angel Comics from Seoul Medialand.

This "boom" was brief, lasting until 1999 when the number of newly opening rental bookstore chains reached a limit and the retailers did not have to purchase huge amounts of comic books; just recent issues of the most popular serials and magazines were sufficient enough. However, this surge of imported comics caused permanent changes in the market. Readers were literally exposed to a tsunami of various types of manga, which were now much more accessible than pirated copies at the manhwabang,

since rental bookstores were allowed to operate near school zones and residential areas. While the traditional manhwbang was mostly an adult male-dominated space, rental bookstores were frequented by children and teenagers of both sexes, as well as workers and homemakers. A large, random audience had cheap access to comics of various styles and genres, which was, as Gwak put it, "beneficial for the readers but not for the artist...that's when readers got their taste of manga...which was very detailed and well orchestrated storylines...I believe that's when readers started thinking, 'manga is so fun, but Korean comics lag behind.' That's when the gap widened, I think; that's when Korean comics started to get belittled. And the publishers were partially responsible for that, for putting out so many translated comics (Gwak)." Another factor that may have caused the readers to compare and rate Korean comics and manga on the same scale, instead of separating into independent fandoms, was that Korean comics and manga shared many visible similarities. Both were predominantly black-and-white, utilized similar techniques and tools, and had overlapping style and genre. For example, Korean girls' comics — also called soonjung manhwa — had its roots in pirated editions of postwar Japanese girls' manga. Overall, the editors perceived the Korean comics industry in the 1990s as a young and developing market that could have needed the comic book equivalent of screen quota; instead, publishers opted to import and publish massive amounts of highly competitive and varied titles for quick profit.

When inquired whether the boost of comic book sales after the IMF crisis had brought them a large amount of profit as the editors claimed, the artists showed mixed reactions. Kim Joon-beom said that he was not active as a comics artist at the time; he was busy campaigning against the Youth Protection Act and publishers were not interested in re-printing past works, so since he did not publish any new books he did not gain profit. Miru Choi and Jae-ho Cho admitted the late 90s were particularly profitable for them, and Choi said he even drew some direct-to-rental books on the side. Kim Soo-yong did not recognize a difference — presumably because *Hip-hop* topped the polls always, was a hugely successful bestseller and also began running on December 1997, so a comparison before 1998 was impossible in his case. Lee however said that the short-lived comic book boom in the late 1990s actually hurt his sales figures. He said "it was a low-road approach...for example, let's say there's a popular work that gets 100,000 copies printed. But with the rental bookstores, every comic gets only 30,000 copies." Successful artists whose work sold beyond the minimal requirement request from rental bookstores saw their sales dropping because every comic got the equal treatment in print numbers, regardless of their popularity and demand. Essentially, the artists who profited from the late 90s boom were those who

were producing comics at the precise time period, and also those who had previously sold less copies than the symbolic "30,000" copies. For an extremely brief period, publishers and some artists benefited from standardized sale numbers, although the model did not last for long.

## 7. Conclusion

### (1) Findings

The research questions are answered as follows:

i. In what ways did Seoul Munhwasa adapt the Japanese comics industry model and the Shonen Jump editorial model?

The magazine-tankoubon model was initially successful, not only for Japanese bestsellers such as *Dragon Ball*, but also saw Korean millionsellers such as *My Love* and *A Real Man*. The introduction of new artists vitalized the industry and artistic and generic trends, and the distance between artist-reader relationship became more intimate, whether in terms of the age gap between artist and the target reader, or the fact that mostly readers, as opposed to retailers, were buying comic books. The popularity poll-based editorial decision-making process was also affective in reflecting popular trends. Although Korean publishers were interested in replicating the success of the Japanese model, they were unwilling to expand the editorial department to the degree of offering nearly one-on-one management to each artist. It is also difficult to understand if *Shonen Jump*-style explicit contract was practiced, as Lee Chuog-ho and Miru Choi are the only interviewees to acknowledge it. Yet since the issue is controversial, it is understandable if editors will not admit to it. Korean publishers also made active use of popular imported Japanese comics.

The magazine-tankoubon model was not applied initially, which is apparent as early *IQ Jump* serials were released as comic books only after they finished running on the magazine. Seoul Munhwasa initially sought to profit by magazine sales. When the magazine-tankoubon model was applied, the result was quite successful, leading to the creation of more magazines. Editors occasionally made plot suggestions to artists or, in the case of young and unpopular artists, coerced artists to reference or even plagiarize popular Japanese media. In general, the artists did not receive any support from publishers regarding research for their work, and had to conduct research on their own

terms.

ii. How did *IQ Jump* editors and artists adapt to the changes in the 1990s Korean comics industry?

*IQ Jump* adapted the *Shonen Jump* production and distribution model, affecting the Korean comics industry with increased comics books and changes in trends. This was a significant move that attempted to shift the final consumer from the rental retailer to the reader. However, this period was short-lived due to several factors, such as the particular distribution system in Korea, rise of a new type of rental retailer, opening of Japanese culture, the IMF, and also the internal systematic problems of Seoul Munhwasa. Being severely understaffed compared to their counterparts in Japan and working under an editorial system that relied primarily on the success of foreign titles, editors at *IQ Jump* were unable or incapable of supporting its artists and giving them the full attention as in the case of *Shonen Jump* artists, nor had enough resources to plan a new title. Increasingly it became important and convenient for editors to find a bestseller from Japanese titles rather than nurturing or cooperating with a domestic artist. For artists, a comparatively loose editorial control could mean either greater creative control or losing narrative direction. For the magazine as a whole, lack of editorial direction meant less planning — and also a visible demise of commercial and competitive strategies. The failure in establishing a comics purchasing market is generally understood as the result of rental retailers and existed in a confrontational stance against magazine publishers; but according to interviews with the editors and artists, the relationship was not entirely oppositional. A sudden increase in rental bookstores meant more demand for comic books, and magazine publishers complied, supplying the rental bookstores with not just comic books originated from their magazines, but direct-to-bookstore comic books. Basically, they were functioning almost identically as the publishers during the traditional rental system, supplying in mass quantity. Thus, for a brief period during the late 1990s, certain artists and publishers did benefit from rental bookstores, contrary to popular belief. However, this benefit was proven to be short-lived when the number of rental bookstores reached a limit and demand for comic books plummeted. This complex factors prove how the Japanese model was adapted selectively and that there were conditions that made it highly difficult, almost impossible, for it to function properly in Korea.

ii. What were the consequences of the publisher's actions, and how did it shape the

## South Korean comic book industry?

It is difficult to conclude whether the magazine-tankoubon profit system "failed" to be established successfully in Korea. If the magazine-tankoubon system is limited to the magazine publisher profiting mostly from tankoubon sales of works that were serialized on its magazine, then *IQ Jump* did find partial success in the model during the mid-90s, and it still continues to release comic books of works serialized on its magazines, although none of them have approached the so-called millionseller status of early hits such as *My Love* or *A Real Man*. *IQ Jump* also explicitly used itself as a "catalogue" — perhaps more so than *Shonen Jump* or any Japanese magazines did — introducing and marketing manga for the purpose of selling their tankoubon version while combating rivals in the form of piracy by publishing multiple volumes at once and only serializing the recent episodes, following just a few pages of brief introductions on the plot up to the point. The downside to this method was that "producing" artists — training them and possibly offering them the time or resources for in-depth research — increasingly became less important and difficult to perform. Yet in a wider sense, the magazine-tankoubon model did promote a wider culture of readers as consumers, and the idea and expectation of the model still affect the Korean comics industry, even with the rise of online comics. The core idea of the magazine-tankoubon model is in providing the artist with steady income while regularly and continuously introducing his/her work on a cheap, accessible format — which essentially serves as a "catalogue" — then publish the collection of the serials on books. Currently, web portals and webtoon service providers such as Lezhin Comics function as "clients" who pay artists as well as "catalogues" which display the works to readers for free or cheap prices. Although web portals used to be reluctant or confused about capitalizing on webtoons aside from gaining increased traffic, now they carry banner advertisements and charge readers for certain portions of completed serials. If a serial is popular or fortunate enough, some publishers will publish the webtoons on printed books while the series is running, thus providing artists with another source of income and readers the opportunity to own the works as books. Printed books of webtoons such as *Misaeng* (미생) or *Dieter* (다이어터) are the bestselling comic books in recent years. In a way, the essence of the magazine-tankoubon model remains, influencing a new type of consuming pattern for comics.

The publisher's attempt to shift the target consumer from rental retailers to the reader should also be credited for as an innovative and significant approach at the time. The early success of *IQ Jump* and its rival *Sonyeon Champ* also proves the effectiveness

of the Shonen Jump model. The problem was that the model was difficult to maintain in Korea, and was selectively adapted to start with. Seoul Munhwasa was reluctant about investing in its editorial staff, or researching and expanding onto related businesses such as animation and games, which are crucially necessary factors as book sales alone is more than often not enough to capitalize upon. Also, socio-historical factors such as the decades-old tradition of the rental system, piracy, rise of a new rental retailer, censorship, the IMF and the Internet were not easy to be effectively dealt with. Profiting through rental bookstore sales and foreign imported works is certainly a unique Korean aspect of the industry and is significant as a domestic twist and adaptation, but it was also an extremely short-sighted approach that did not contribute to the industry in the long run. In conclusion, part of the Japanese system — recruiting new artists, conducting and reflecting reader polls, the magazine-tankoubon system — did prove to be effective in Korea as well, albeit temporarily. But it had its limits, partly because the system was never fully established and invested upon, and also because it only functioned best in Japan during a certain time period. Trying to find answers from the Japanese model or attempting to mold the Korean market as the Japanese market — as many frustrated researchers and industry workers attempted to do — was limited from the start. As the editors reflect, perhaps more investment and more insight could have directed the Korean comics industry to a more commercially successful direction. Or perhaps the 1990s was changing rapidly so that instant profit and survival seemed to be the only viable option. Yet the many artists and writers who have debuted and struggled during the 1990s remain some of the most popular and significant webtoon artists in recent years, and attempts at shifting the final consumer resulted in an empowered, consuming fan base and a public more willing to spend on comics than before. These may be the true contributions and lessons of IQ Jump, Seoul Munhwasa and the Korean comics industry of the 90s.

Another important contribution — or influence — by Seoul Munhwasa was its role in evolving manhwa to what it is in the 21st century. With mass amounts of an incomparably larger and more sophisticated market imports, customer tastes were greatly altered. While this has damaged established local artists considerably, it had the effect of discouraging piracy and plagiarism; both because publishers attacked piracy in order to oust competition, and because readers could now differentiate between the original and the plagiarized works, causing the artists to create works that appeal to trends while avoiding plagiarism. *Hip Hop* was an example of such creativity and commercial calculation. Additionally, increased magazines and rapidly changing customer tastes allowed many new artists to work while strengthening authorship,

which was impossible under the apprenticeship system. Many of such artists have moved onto online comics, but still remain active creators. Yet the almost indiscriminate importing of foreign comics had a negative side; while introducing diverse genres and changing trends, detailed tastes in a small market limits profit, and changing trends usually resulted in homogenized copycats. However, the effects of the IMF and new media entertainment appears to have been more influential factors for ending the “Renaissance;” according to Ministry of Culture and Sports studies, comic book reading in rental bookstores were steadily decreasing. In this context, lessons can be learned from the trials and errors of Seoul Munhwasa and the *IQ Jump* editorial team, particularly concerning the capitalization of book rental stores as a means of gaining short-term profit, which possibly resulted in greater damage in the long run. To summarize, *IQ Jump*'s contributions lie in establishing and normalizing the magazine-tankoubon system, narrowing the age gap between artist and reader, invoking a generational change in artists, and introducing more commercial trends that stimulated the local comics scene.

## (2) Limitations and objectives for further research

This study could have been improved by more intensive research on the contents of *IQ Jump*, which deserves a content analysis research on its own. The interviews were limited as each interviewee was only interviewed once for about 1~2 hours, while multiple interviews with each individual would have developed a degree of trust and a deeper understanding of the subjects. Most regrettable is that this research was conducted after the death of former editor *IQ Jump* Kim Moon-hwan in 2006. Mr. Kim figures prominently in many of the interviews, as he was in the *IQ Jump* editorial team since its launch and played key roles in *IQ Jump* as well as the boys' comics division of Seoul Munhwasa, collaborated with the early millionselling artists, and appears to have had a keen insight and taste, as exemplified by instantly hiring Cho Jaeho for his work *Diet Go Go* as well as publishing Gwon Gaya's unique and almost experimental wuxia manhwa *Sun and Moon* on *IQ Jump*. Another limitation to this study was that although information such as the maximum number of published editions (300,000 copies in the case of *IQ Jump*) which were favorable to publishers were available, Seoul Munhwasa refused to provide actual sales figures and related accounting data, as it is classified company information. Additionally, a comparison with *Sonyun Champ*, *IQ Jump*'s rival magazine, could have resulted in a more organic and efficient model of the 90s boys' comics scene, as both magazines and their respective publishers made editorial

decisions and even launched new magazines in reaction to the other.

For further research, a full-length comprehensive analysis of the magazine *IQ Jump*'s or a comparative research with its rival *Sonyun Champ* will provide a closer, detailed perspective of transitions in the 1990s boys' comics magazines. Another possible development can be made by organizing an extensive oral history of comics industry professionals in the period, including artists, editors, and also retailers as well.

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Appendix 3. Examples of a typical 1980s~early 1990s wuxia-based action manhwa: Soobak Fist (수박권법) from *IQ Jump* Vol. 4, No. 25, Dec. 19, 1991



Appendix 4. *Shaolin Kakkngdori*, a non-traditional wuxia action from *IQ Jump* Vol. 4, No. 25, Dec. 19, 1991



Appendix 5. Example of action manhwa: *Sky Wrestler* from *IQ Jump* Vol. 3, No. 26, Oct. 25, 1990



Appendix 6. *Mecha Warrior 109* from *IQ Jump* Vol. 3, No. 26, Oct. 25, 1990





Appendix 8. An advertisement of *Dragon Ball* danhaengbon from *IQ Jump* Vol. 3, No. 27, Nov. 8, 1990. The phrase in the bottom reads "the one and only original edition made by *IQ Jump*," while on the top part, an emphasis is made in "continuous publication" of recent issues.



Appendix 9. *IQ Jump* Vol. 5, No. 41, Nov. 2, 1992 and *IQ Jump* Vol. 6, No. 3, Jan. 19, 1993



Appendix 10. *Hip Hop* Vol 1, Kim Soo-yong



Appendix 11. Developments in IQ Jump Soccer Comics:

Top left, Dancing Center-forward from IQ Jump Vol. 3, No. 27, Nov. 8, 1990

Lower left: Middle Man, IQ Jump Vol. 8, No. 47, Nov. 21, 1995

Right: Runaway Train, IQ Jump Vol. 12 No. 52, Dec. 21, 1999