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Analysing the Korean Diaspora:
A case study of Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans

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Abstract

Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans are ethnic Koreans living in the post-Soviet countries. This paper tries to clarify the terminology regarding these ethnic Koreans in the post-Soviet countries through the diaspora theory, and analyze them further with the concept of the 'Korean diaspora' and 'the place of diaspora'. The research took Small-N comparison and case study method by reviewing Korean, Russian, and English literature. By analysing the Soviet Korean diaspora through 'homeland-host country-international society' framework with political, economic and social aspects, 'the place of diaspora' is visualised.

Abstrakt

Koryo-saram i Sachalin Koreańczycy to etniczni Koreańczycy mieszkający w krajach postsowieckich. W artykule tym stara się wyjaśnić pojęcia dotyczące tych Koreańczyków etnicznych w krajach posowieckich poprzez teorię diaspor i przeanalizować je dalej z koncepcją „koreańskiej diaspory" i „miejsca diaspory". W badaniu wykorzystano metodę „porównania z małym N" i „studium przypadku", dokonując przeglądu literatury koreańskiej, rosyjskiej i angielskiej. Analizując diasporę sowiecko-koreańską poprzez ramy „kraj-gospodarza-społeczeństwo międzynarodowe" z aspektami politycznymi, gospodarczymi i społecznymi, wizualizuje się „miejsce diaspory".

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Chapter 1. General Introduction

Russia is a multicultural and multi-ethnic country with a variety of ethnic groups. The diversity of ethnicity is Russia's geohistorical heritage as it is the largest country in the world so that it naturally covers the great variability of ethnic groups that have been staying in the territory of today's Russia or had moved to Russia. The fact that one of these ethnic groups is Korean is not well-known to the people with a little interest in the region. These ethnic Koreans do not live only in Russia, but also they are in all other post-Soviet countries in Central Asia, Eastern Europe, Transcaucasia and Baltics since the Soviet Union. Their settlement to the Far East Russia dates back to the 19th Century during the Russian Empire and their further generations have gone through the Soviet era and happened to be in the post-Soviet countries until today.

They are mainly called 'Koryo-saram (Russian: Корё-сарам, Korean: 고려사람)'. There are other words to call these ethnic Korean Diaspora in the post-Soviet countries such as 'Koryo-in'[1], 'Sakhalin Koreans'[2] and 'Soviet Koreans'. The disconnection with South Korea due to the Cold War and Sovietisation process differentiate Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans from the South Korean migrants who moved to the post-Soviet countries after the

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[1] It is an equivalent term of 'Koryo-saram' as 'saram(사람)' and 'in(인)' both means 'person/people'. The term 'Koryo-in' is widely used among South Korean scholars. In this research, the term 'Koryo-saram' because 'Koryo-saram' is more frequently used in English literature than 'Koryo-in'.

[2] The term 'Sakhalin Koreans (Russian: Сахалинские корейцы, Korean: 사할린 한인)' describes generations of ethnic Koreans in Sakhalin Island who moved to Sakhalin during the 1930s and 1940s by the Japanese Empire. They prefer to be called 'Sakhalin Koreans' than 'Koryo-saram'. (For more information, check Encyclopedia of Overseas Korean Culture. (n.d.)., '사할린 한인들은 왜 고려인이라고 불리는 것을 싫어할까?', www.okpedia.kr/Contents/ContentsView?contentsId=GC95300015&localCode=cis&menuGbn=special, (accessed 30 January 2022).

dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. The exact number of Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans in the post-Soviet countries is unknown, but the estimated number is about 500,000.[3] On the other hand, 'Коре́йцы (Koreans)'[4] is commonly used to describe the ethnic Korean diaspora among Russian language users for the daily bases, but as 'Koreans' include all the groups of ethnic Koreans as well as South Koreans, North Koreans and Korean migrants after 1991, such terms - 'наши корейцы (our Koreans)', 'Russian Koreans', 'Uzbek Koreans', and 'Kazakh Koreans'- is used to specify *which* Korean that the speaker intends to mention. Though Koryo-saram society was formed around 160 years ago (based on the year of writing this paper, 2022), Koryo-saram studies has mainly focused on historical description, collecting historical data, practical researches in the form of governmental reports, identity and culture including language, food and traditions. The history of Koryo-saram or Sakhalin Korean studies are not long, especially in South Korean academia as the researchers had begun to be interested into Koryo-saram studies when the Soviet Union fall and the documents in the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF) (Russian: Государственный архив Российской Федерации (ГАРФ)) started to be accessible to the public. Research on ethnic Korean diaspora in the Soviet Union interested South Korean scholars only in the 1980s, when the researchers acknowledged the existence of Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans (Yang, 2019: p.354). Seung Jo Yang concluded in his research on the trends of Koryo-saram researches from 1984 to 2018 that Koryo-saram researches expanded both in quantitative and qualitative scale, but a lot of subjects that can be studied under the

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[3] Sang Keun Lee estimated the number to be 450,000 (2003). Hwang estimated the number to be 470,000 in Encyclopedia of Korean Culture. (n.d.)., '고려인(高麗人)', http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Item/E0072273 (accessed 30 January 2022). Ministry Of Foreign Affairs (2019) estimated the number to be 500,000 in '재외동포 정의 및 현황', https://www.mofa.go.kr/www/wpge/m_21507/contents.do, (accessed 30 January 2022).

[4] It is a Russian word for 'Koreans'. Therefore, it includes not only ethnic Korean diaspora in the post-Soviet states, but also South Koreans, North Koreans and other ethnic Koreans.

umbrella of Korean diaspora studies have not been covered yet, and the Korean researchers should remain "a universal perspective" rather than "ethnic framework" (2019: p.373).

Furthermore, to understand the wave of research on Sakhalin Koreans, Il-Kwon Bang's paper on the review of South Korean and Russian publications about Sakhalin Koreans is representative. He analysed about 250 essential literatures on Sakhalin Koreans written between 1990s and 2011 in Korean and Russian language, and divided them into the four areas; forced mobilization, the issue of repatriation, resettlement to the historical homeland, and the memory and memory studies (2012). He points out that there are differences in the tendency of South Korean researchers and Russian; the number of South Korean researches are outnumbering Russian researches on Sakhalin Koreans, but most of the South Korean researchers only "temporarily" show interests in the Sakhalin issue, and therefore, it is difficult to expect "critical academic approach and responsibility for the academic achievements" and in that way "it is impossible to form an academic discourse" (2012: p.409-410). On the other hand, the number of Russian researchers in the issue of Sakhalin Koreans are relatively little, but they have "an advantage in compiling historical records" and Russian researchers in the field "continues to produce follow-up studies" so that "the foundation for the further qualitative development in Sakhalin Korean studies is ready" (2012: p.410).

Leading scholars on Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Korean studies in the Russian language based academia are represented as Bok Zi Kou (In Russian: Бок Зи Коу, According to Korean pronunciation: Park Soo Ho), Kuzin A.T. Dalnevostochnye, Park Seung Y (Пак Сын Ы), German Kim, and other researchers who had achievement in historical document research and who are currently working on the topic with interdisciplinarity.

English written literature is limited due to the unfamiliarity of the topic and the language barrier in approaching previous research on Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans. Important

pieces in English are "Voices from the Shifting Russo-Japanese Border" by Svetlana Paichadze and Philip A. Seaton, "The Forgotten Histories: The Korean Diaspora and its Effect on Shaping the Korean Identity" by Kevin Andreola, "Self-Referentiality of Cognition and (De)Formation of Ethnic Boundaries" by Oleg Pakhomov, Alexander Kim's paper on the Repression of Koreans in the Soviet Union, and MA and PhD graduate thesis about Korean Diaspora written in English. One thing that researchers on Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans can agree on is that there are many uncovered topics to be addressed with the Korean diaspora and now is a turning point of the field as many young researchers are interested in the issue of Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans.

1.1 Research Aim

In connection with what was mentioned above, this research analyses Koryo-sarm and Sakhalin Koreans through the literature published in Korean, Russian and English. Existing researches often focus on one of the group instead of conducting comparative research between Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans, or conduct a comparative research between other diaspora groups than comparing Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans (for instance, comparative research on Uzbek Koryo-saram and Kazakh Koryo-saram, or research on Sakhalin Koreans and Japanese Korean diaspora). It happened to be that the researchers approach Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans as thoroughly different groups by the default as their historical experience is different. However, during the Soviet Union and until today, the two groups co-existed with each other and both groups faced similar patterns of social changes through sovietization, disconnection from Korea, the collapse of the Soviet Union and adaptation to the new economic system which are different from the experience of Korean diaspora in capitalist countries who migrated during or even before the Cold War and

kept their connection with Korea (such as Korean diaspora in the U.S. and Canada). How are Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans different? What similarities do they have?

In the same time, some researchers of comparison of Korean diaspora often approach Koryo-saram as the combination of the traditional meaning of Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans so that Koryo-saram means Korean diaspora in the post-Soviet countries or CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) countries. Therefore, there is a need to crystallize the terminology and definitions of the terms and concepts, especially "Koryo-saram". By analysing Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans, we can find an answer how to approach to the general concept of Koryo-saram in the research, and in which scope it can be acceptable or not acceptable to put Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans in the same group for the comparative diaspora studies. It can be done by analysing 'the place of diaspora' that how Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans are perceived in the country that they are living in (host country) and their homeland because the diaspora's relationships with host country and homeland forms the diaspora identity, politics, and the diaspora's social position. The place of diaspora is diaspora's contradictory position in the home country and host country that diaspora experiences acceptance and discrimination in the same time by confronting 'local invisibility and hospitality' (Werbner, 2002: p.128; Lim, 2008). It is discussed further in the theoretical part in Chapter 3.

However, the question that needs to be answered before moving on to the place of diaspora is whether Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans are diaspora. In order to answer the question, diaspora theory is discussed in Chapter 3 with an answer for the question of how Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans can be Korean diaspora.

Moreover, the identity of Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans is changing through the generations. Compared to the first and second generations of the diaspora who could speak Korean fluently, the population of diaspora who speak Korean and the tie with Korea

perceiving South Korea as their homeland is weakening in further generations (Hwang, 2016; Lee, 2009; Chung, 2011). Analysing the place of diaspora can help clarify the historical and ethnic identities for future studies and introduce an unused concept in Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans' research.

Finally, the Korean diaspora acts as a bridge that interacts with the two home countries; host country and homeland such as Russia and South Korea, and Kazakhstan and South Korea. Revealing the 'place' of the Korean diaspora in the fragmented and changing international relations will help to evaluate the international cooperation between the two countries connected by the diaspora, and it will lead to the regional development of the far east and the Korean diaspora communities. Researchers in Korean diaspora studies have different context in understanding the issues of the diaspora due to the different personal viewpoint and academic environment, and combined research of Korean and Russian written literature can help in obtaining "universal perspective" (Seo & Lee, 2014: p.61; Yang, 2019: p.373).

1.2 Research Questions

To sum up, this research aims to analyse Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans and several research questions have been mentioned above.

At first, this research answers the question whether Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans are diaspora and from what moment can they be considered diaspora.

The second question is how Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans are different or similar from the interdisciplinary perspective of Korean diaspora studies.

Thirdly, the most important question is where are the 'place' of Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans. To understand the dynamic changes of the international relations that they had experienced, the 'place' of diaspora should be addressed not only in diaspora-homeland-host country relations, but the international relations and the changes of world politics as well.

Therefore, this research discusses the political place, economic place, and social place of Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans in host country, homeland, and in the changes of international relations.

1.3 Research Outline

This paper aims to analyse the Korean diaspora in the post-Soviet countries, who are represented as Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans. In Chapter 1, concepts about the Korean diaspora, brief background of the topic, and precedent literature were reviewed. In consequence, three main questions are followed; 1) Are Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans diaspora? If they are a diaspora, from when did they become the diaspora? 2) How are Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans different and similar? Some papers consider that they are both included in the notion of 'Koryo-saram', and some papers separate them. How should we approach the terminology? 3) Where are the 'place' of Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans in the approach of the diaspora studies?

To answer the questions, Chapter 2 explains the methodology used in the paper. The design of this study, language usage, data collection method, and conceptual frameworks are presented in this chapter. The three conceptual frameworks are explained and visualized in Table 1, Table 2, and Table 3.

In Chapter 3, theoretical background is presented in the five subsections. It includes theoretical review of the diaspora studies, the concept of 'place of diaspora', the development of Korean diaspora studies, and the study subjects; the concept of Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans. While reviewing the notion of diaspora, the first research question is answered.

In Chapter 4, the discussion is divided into the three parts to understand the place of Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans through the perspectives of host country, homeland, and the changes of international relations. Each section is analysed with multiple angles.

Finally, Chapter 5 concludes the research and answers the second and third research questions. This chapter presents the findings and overview of the research.

Chapter 2. Methodology

This paper is a case study and historical comparative research. Case study enables in-depth qualitative and comprehensive research of the topic. In the comparison of Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans, this research uses the method Small-N comparison. Historical comparative method which explains 'large-scale outcomes' in the processes of certain events over time are employed here to conduct the in-depth analysis of the changes of Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans' 'place' in diaspora studies (Mahoney, 2004: p.81).

Literature is collected in Korean, Russian, and English languages. Firstly, scholarly texts in Korean are collected in the four most used online archives in South Korean academia: KiSS (Koreanstudies Information Service System), KCI (Korea Citation Index), RISS (Research Information Sharing Service), and DBpia (DataBase Periodical Information Academic). Keywords that are used for data collection are 'diaspora', 'Korean diaspora', 'Koryo-saram', 'Koryo-in', 'Sakhalin Koreans', and 'Soviet Koreans' in English and Korean language. Russian and English literature is collected in Google Search and Google Scholar using the same keywords in English and Russian language. All the collected data and literature is reviewed comprehensively.

Methodological framework introduced by Min-kyu Seo in his PhD dissertation of "Analyzing the Korean Diaspora - A Case Study of the Korea-Chinese -" is widely applied. Seo analysed

the 'place of diaspora' for the Korean-Chinese diaspora through the interactions between "the

relations of homeland, host country, and the international community" and analysed the

political, environmental, and social position of the diaspora in the three bodies of the diaspora

interactions - homeland, host country, and the international community. This method is

formulated in the Chapter 2 of his paper as the result of his theoretical study of the "place of

diaspora" and the "factors of the changes in the place of diaspora" in the Chapter 2. It is
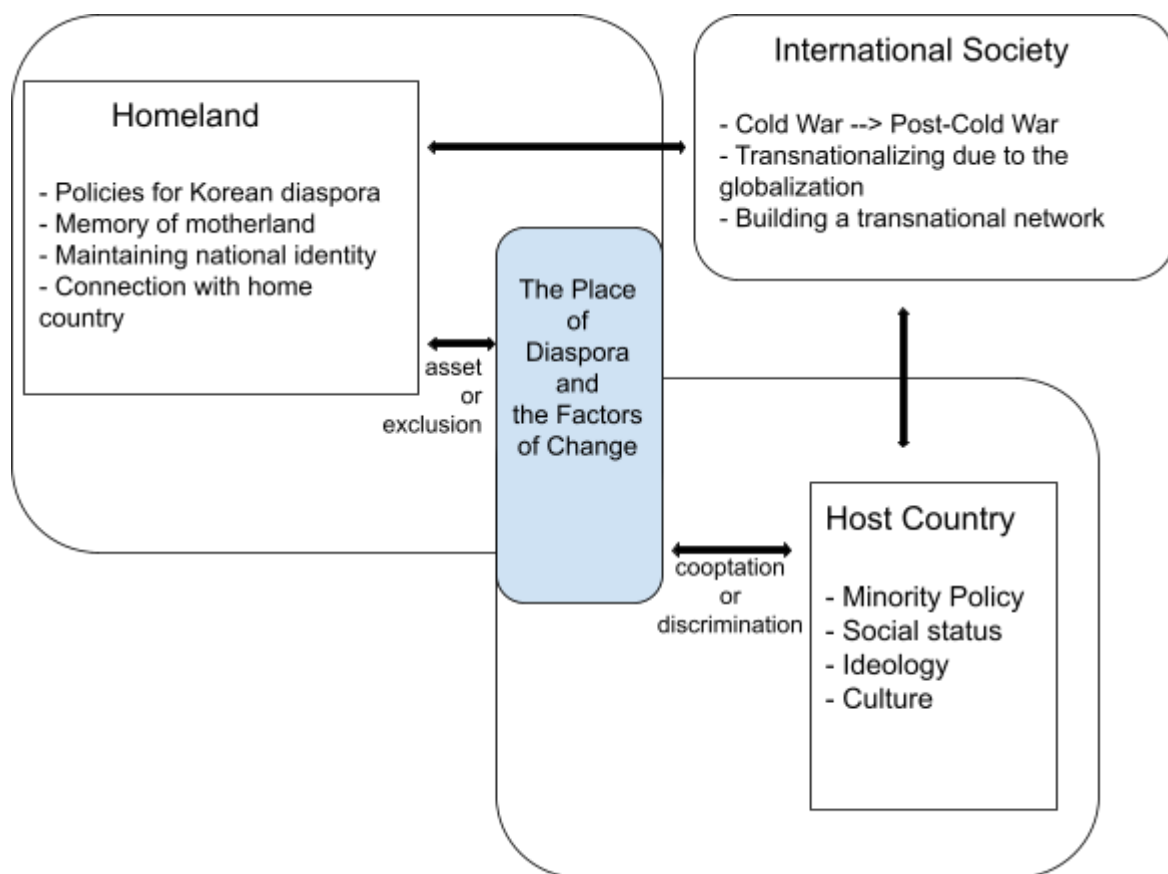
formulated in Table 1 in below.

Table 1. The Place of Diaspora and the Factors of Changes[5]

[5] Translated table from the PhD dissertation "Analyzing the Korean Diaspora - A Case Study of the Korean-Chinese -" of Min-Kyu Seo. 2013. p.39.

Based on his findings in the Table 1, Seo developed a practical framework of analysing the place of diaspora using the concepts of 1) rigid international society, 2) flexible international society, 3) cooptation, 4) discrimination, 5) asset, and 6) exclusion or removal.

1) Rigid international society is "the Cold War environment, in which transnational movement was restricted in the bipolar system between the United States and the Soviet Union due to ideology".

2) Flexible international society is "the post-Cold War environment and the era of globalization in which transnational activities are possible". These changes in the international society led to the "cooptation policies or discrimination policies in the host country, and these implemented policies have a tremendous effect on the migrants (minority)."

3) Cooptation is "accepting and socializing immigrants as members of society before social stability and order are destroyed by migrants (minority) in the host country."

4) Discrimination is "the deprivation of social rights of migrants (minority) on illegal or legal grounds in the host country"

5) Asset is explained with the concept of the 'ethnic asset' which means "the homeland recognizes the diaspora as a useful resource for the development of the homeland and values the diaspora accordingly".

6) Exclusion or removal[6] means that "the homeland stops supporting the diaspora by no longer recognizing diaspora as an asset or compatriot and by excluding diaspora from the members of the homeland". (p.22-24)

Table 2 visualizes the place of diaspora according to the six concepts explained above.

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[6] As exclusion and removal means the same, this research takes exclusion for the terminology to simplify.

	Rigid International Society			Flexible International Society		
		Homeland		Homeland		
		Asset	Exclusion	Asset	Exclusion	
Host country	Cooptation	A	B	A`	B`	Cooptation	Host country
	Discrimination	C	D	C`	D`	Discrimination	

Table 2. The Place of Diaspora according to the International Society-Host

Country-Homeland[7]

'A' on the left side of the table is a diaspora group that lives in the rigid international society, and is considered to be an asset by the homeland and faces engagement policies in the host country.

'B' on the left side of the table is a diaspora group that lives in the rigid international society, and is excluded by its homeland and faces engagement policies in the host country.

'C' on the left side of the table is a diaspora group that lives in the rigid international society, and is considered to be an asset by the homeland and faces discriminatory policies in the host country.

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[7] Translated table from the PhD dissertation "Analyzing the Korean Diaspora - A Case Study of the Korean-Chinese -" of Min-Kyu Seo. 2013. p.21

'D' on the left side of the table is a diaspora group that lives in the rigid international society, and is excluded by its homeland and faces discriminatory policies in the host country.

'A`' on the right side of the table is a diaspora group that lives in the flexible international society, and is considered to be an asset by the homeland and faces engagement policies in the host country.

'B`' on the right side of the table is a diaspora group that lives in the flexible international society, and is excluded by its homeland and faces engagement policies in the host country.

'C`' on the right side of the table is a diaspora group that lives in the flexible international society, and is considered to be an asset by the homeland and faces discriminatory policies in the host country.

'D`' on the right side of the table is a diaspora group that lives in the flexible international society, and is excluded by its homeland and faces discriminatory policies in the host country. (p.25-26)

A, B, A`, and B` diaspora groups have a high probability of being assimilated into the host country's society due to the engagement policies of the host country. B and B` groups are excluded by the homeland, therefore, B and B` have a higher chance to engage into the host country. On the other hand, C, D, C`, and D` groups remain as strangers in the host country due to the discriminatory policies in the host country, and D and D' groups remain in the boundary of homeland and host country that stays in between of the two countries but excluded by both (p.26).

Furthermore, Seo classified the characteristics of the Korean diaspora by applying the features of the diaspora into the Korean diaspora in different countries. Seo analysed Cohen's and Safran's definition of diaspora and divided the feature as below (p.35-38). The findings are organized in Table 3.

Characteristics of Diaspora		Definitions and Characteristics of Korean Diaspora
Relation with the Host Country	Ethnic Dispersion	- Definition: Dispersion of people from one place of origin to two or more foreign countries - From the middle of the 19th century, Koreans began to disperse through the migration to Hawaii and to Primorsky Krai.
	Nonvoluntary Dispersion	- Definition: The cause of migration is not voluntarily -it is due to the political and economic pressures and other various pressures in society to force people to leave their homeland. - At the early stages of the migration, Koreans migrated due to the economic reason, but after the Japanese colonization and losing sovereignty, people migrated for more reasons such as political motivation of supporting the independence movement, avoiding expropriation, forced labour and conscription for labouring abroad.
	Maintaining Ethnic Identity	- Definition: Maintaining a sense of belonging to the homeland and national culture due to the discriminatory experiences in the host country. - Korean diaspora maintained their ethnic identity by forming collective residence of Koreans and not naturalizing in the host country.

Relation with the Homeland	Memory of Homeland	- Definition: Sharing a collective memory or myth about the homeland - To maintain national identity and to preserve and inherit traditional culture, the Korean diaspora used the Korean language, keeping Korean lifestyle and food, and formed Korean schools or had a form of collective Korean education.
	Return to Homeland	- Definition: The consciousness of returning to the homeland when there is an opportunity to return. - Most Korean diaspora did not define themselves as permanent immigrants, but regarded them as temporary and inevitable immigrants, who will return to homeland one day.
	Devotion to the Homeland	- Definition: The desire to participate in the development of one's home country collectively - The Korean diaspora wanted to participate in the independence movement when an opportunity was given for the independence of the homeland.
Relation with the International Society	Connection with Homeland	- Definition: The desire to maintain ties with the homeland - After the liberation of Korea, the Korean diaspora formed ties with the homeland, depending on the

		relationship between the host country and the divided two Korean homelands.
		- Korean diaspora in the host country also determined their homeland according to the relationship between the host country and one of the Korean homeland and formed ties with the selected homeland.
		- For example, the Korean diaspora in the US considered South Korea as their homeland and formed ties with South Korea, while the Korean diaspora in China considered North Korea as their homeland and formed ties with North Korea.
	Building a Transnational Network	- Definition: Establishing networks to maintain ethnic ties and to interact with compatriots in the transnational movement
		- After transnational migration based on ethnic connections, the Korean diaspora tried to establish their own community in the new host country (or new city) for stable settlement and adaptation.

Table 3. Definition of Each Characteristics of Diaspora and Korean Diaspora's Characteristics.[8]

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[8] Translated table from the PhD dissertation "Analyzing the Korean Diaspora - A Case Study of the Korean-Chinese -" of Min-Kyu Seo. p.17-18.

By analysing whether Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans share the characteristics of diaspora and in which timeframe they meet the criteria, it defines from when Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans are diaspora, or from when they are not diaspora.

Chapter 3. Theoretical Background

3.1 Diaspora Theory

Diaspora as a disciplinary originates from the Holocaust and the tragic history of Jews during WWII and has developed to include a much wider range of the communities and ethnic groups in the World. The theoretical structures of these studies have developed since the 1990s, and the definition of diaspora varies among scholars (Gazsó, 2017). The classical theory of diaspora defines diaspora based on the definition and criteria published by William Safran, one of the first scholars who polished the concept of diaspora to academia. Safran describes the criteria of diaspora as below in his article 'Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return'.

1) Dispersal from a centre to two or more peripheral or foreign regions;

2) Retention of collective memory, vision or myth;

3) The belief that full acceptance by the host country is not possible, resulting in alienation and insult;

4) Regard for the ancestral homeland as the true or ideal home and place of final return;

5) Commitment to the maintenance or restoration of safety and prosperity in the homeland;

6) Personal or vicarious relations to the homeland in an ethno-communal consciousness (1991: p.84).

The term diaspora has proliferated since then, and it is today widely recognized in the world not only to call the paradigmatic cases of the diaspora groups such as Jews, Armenians and Greeks but often the movement of people due to political reasons, voluntary migration, and global transportation (Shuval, 2000). Shuval notes that diaspora today refers to "much wider categories which reflect processes of politically motivated uprooting and moving of populations, voluntary migration, global communications and transport" (2000: p.42). Scholars such as Anna Harutyunyan argued that most of the Diaspora research follows Safran's criteria without challenging it and brought up criticism over the classical theory of diaspora in order to suggest an alternative approach to the diaspora framework (2012). The classical theory of diaspora is expanded through the 'reaffirmation of the value' of the collective myth, ethnic identity, homeland, integration and assimilation of the diaspora into the host country. Therefore, classical diaspora researchers had focused on the reasons and conditions of migration, their relationship between home country and host country, and integration to the host country. But Harutyunyan claims that the researchers have not put enough attention on "where and how these people lived before their dispersal/(re-)migration and, most importantly, what cultural baggage (symbolic or otherwise) they continue to bring with them from their countries of (re-)migration to a concrete community space in the Diaspora" (2012: p.7) Harutyunyan the characteristics of diaspora as;

> "1) the fact of dispersal from one to many locations and the existence of the triadic relationship between original homeland (defined as the center), ethnic community and host-land;
>
> 2) the everlasting feeling of longing for and belonging to the homeland and collective knowledge of the ethnic group about its history and identity;
>
> 3) a continuous wish of return to and idealization of the homeland;

4) the process of transnationalization and networking among the communities of a

given ethnic group;

5) and finally strengthening connections with and involvement in the homeland"

(2012: p.5).

Another disciplinary foundation of diaspora studies is Cohen's typology of diaspora that typologizing diaspora groups according to 1) the social context, 2) collective myth, and 3) solidarity in each groups' circumstances to victim diasporas, 4) labour and imperial diasporas, 5) trade diasporas, 6) cultural diasporas, and 7) global-deterritorialized diasporas, and 8) a group of diaspora may have overlapping typology when their diasporic character changes with history (Cohen, 1997).

Another frequently discussed concept in the diaspora is the 'hybridity' introduced by Stuart Hall (2020). Hall described diaspora with the concept of identity hybridity focusing on the 'recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity' that broadens the boundaries of Diaspora theory. The concept of hybridity that the diaspora experience is defined "not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of 'identity' which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by hybridity" (2020: p.235).

Similarly, Omeje (2007) explains diaspora as a wider group of people focusing on the unwillingness and nonvoluntarily movement of people. In his words, diaspora is who have been "forced or compelled to move from their traditional homeland to a new Settlement, without completely losing all the elements of their original identity" and therefore the notions of diaspora's identity also changes (2007: p.94).

Gazso also signifies diaspora through wider criteria; "1) geographically dispersed macro communities of migratory origin; 2) which have integrated into the society surrounding them, but have not fully assimilated, and 3) which have symbolic or objective relations with kin

communities living in other areas, but believed to be of identical origin, and with their real or imagined ancestral homeland or kin-state", but warns the usefulness of typology of diaspora pointing out the importance of being "self-ascribed" in categorization (Gazso, 2017: p.66). Critical views on the hybridity and widening the criteria of diaspora exist as such; the condition of hybridity effects in "blurring" the frames of the diaspora theory and "risks leaving the concept of the Diaspora without definition(s)" (Harutyunyan, 2012: p.7). Toloyan (2000) suggested limiting the definition of diaspora in order to prevent the notions of diaspora being mixed with migrants and other notions to describe people who moved voluntarily. Brubaker also expressed worries that if "universalization of diaspora" blurs the borders of diaspora, "then no one is distinctively so…the term loses its discriminating power - its ability to pick out phenomena, to make distinctions" (2005: p.3).

Another major trend in classical writings on diaspora is that the cases of Armenians, Greeks, and especially Jews has left such a big impact on diaspora studies, therefore, most of the researches focus on those cases and yet there is a need for expansion of the diaspora case studies for the development of the diaspora theory (Clifford, 1994; Sheffer, 2003; Shuval, 2000; Harutyunyan, 2012).

Suming the definitions and criteria of diaspora mentioned above, Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans generally fit in these criteria as they had clear ethnic identities of being a Korean, as well as a clear image of homeland with the willingness to return to their homeland and series of external pressure resulting them to move. It is also presented in Table 3 in Chapter 2 in the description of the characteristics of the Korean diaspora.

However, the new generations of Koryo-saram are losing their Korean identity due to the localization, the loss of interest in 'imagined homeland' and the death of older generations who witnessed the historic path of their movement (Kim, 2019; Chung, 2011). Not only Koryo-saram, losing attachment to the homeland and losing identity of being a diaspora is

rather a general phenomenon throughout the world that the generations grew up in the host country are more likely to be localized (Harutyunyan, 2012). But, if a group meets only some of the diaspora criteria and does not meet others, is that group not a diaspora? Safran himself noted that Jewish diaspora is the "ideal type" and none of Armenian, Maghrebi, Turkish, Palestinian, Cuban, Greek, and Chinese diaspora "fully conforms" like Jewish diaspora (1991: p.84), but in practice, not all Jewish communities meet all the criteria suggested by Safran. Jewish communities in the US are often successfully integrated into US society and are not willing to return to Israel any more. In this sense, James Clifford's argument that diaspora exists in most of the states in the world seems to be credible (1994: p.302).

In sum, there are a variety of definitions and criteria of diaspora in academia and the discussion in terminology and typology is still ongoing. In fact, diaspora studies is a relatively new field of study starting from the 1990s. Therefore, the selection of diaspora definition and criteria is dependent on the researcher's intention for the research as well as the self-identification of the community itself. As Gazso states, "neither politicians, nor researchers should decide if a person is part of a community or not" and "there are many communities dispersed all over the world which are defined as diaspora by the kin-state, even if the people who belong to them use other terms of definition and identification." And Gazso continues that "the importance of this distinction lies not only in external definitions and self-identification, but also in the evolution of institutional frameworks" (Gazso, 2017: p.67). Therefore, ongoing discussions of typology and definition within diaspora studies is a useful and even fundamental for the development of diaspora studies, and Seo (2013) built the framework of Korean diaspora previously presented in Table 3. I believe Seo's framework includes all the diaspora criteria mentioned above, and Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans meet the characteristics of Korean Diaspora in his framework. In addition, Hwang argues that regardless of the generations Koryo-saram are highly interested in their "historical homeland"

which is Korea, and are willing to visit Korea during their lifetime if it is possible (2016, p.168). According to Lim (2003), though Koryo-saram historically originate from the Northern part of the Korean peninsula, they have closer relationship with South Korea than North Korea due to North Korea's unique political system and international policies. On the point of North Korea's isolationism, Koryo-saram in the post-Soviet countries who are the foreign citizens on the North Korean perspective are not able to permanently return to North Korea. Moreover, two Koreas were the same country when Koryo-saram dispersed from Korea, Koryo-saram are less likely to perceive only North Korea as a homeland. Therefore, this paper understands South Korea as the homeland in the point of Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans returning to homeland, and it refers to Korea in general as ethnic homeland and 'imagined homeland' that their ancestors come from.

However, inevitably when the time passes, younger Koryo-saram generations who are localized and facing identity crises will meet less of the criteria of being a diaspora. In that case, I agree with Gazso that each Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans have the right to decide whether they are a Korean diaspora or not. For example, a young Koryo-saram who grew up in Kazakhstan after the independence, sees oneself as an ethnic Korean and a Kazakh citizen, eats Korean food at home and does not speak Korean nor Kazakh language, but speaks Russian for mother tongue, and grew up with parents and grandparents who are more of Russified than having a new Kazakh identity, how should this person define her or his identity? Or a young Uzbek Koryo-saram who grew up in Uzbekistan who sees oneself as an Uzbek and belongs to the Koryo-saram community, speaks Uzbek for mother tongue is more likely to identify herself/himself as an Uzbek person. The diaspora has multiple identities that national identity and ethnic identity are different. Future interviews and surveys with young Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans will answer the question of how the young generation of Korean diaspora's ethnic identity changes.

3.2 The Place of Diaspora

"To prove their identification with their homeland and other diasporic causes, members of diaspora communities must constantly confront their local invisibility through public acts of mobilisation and hospitality, and through demonstrations of generosity which reaches out beyond their present communities" (Werbner, 2002: p.128).

The 'place of diaspora' is diaspora's contradictory position of diaspora in the homeland and host country; diaspora's non-subjective and heterogeneous existence leads to diaspora's experience as strangers or people in the boundaries, and diaspora is accepted by the homeland as an asset or excluded by the homeland where considers diaspora as outsiders who abandoned the homeland (Werbner, 2002; Lim, 2008). The place of diaspora is affected by the host country (the country diaspora lives), homeland (the country diaspora comes from), and international community (changes of international politics). The factors described in Table 1 shows how host country, homeland, and international community influence each other and form the place of diaspora. While pursuing settlement opportunities in the host country, diaspora observes the policies of their homeland (if homeland's policies supports the diaspora group or excludes them), and builds the networks in a direction that favours them (Seo, 2013: p.41).

3.3 Korean Diaspora Studies

The Korean diaspora started to form in the 19th century, but despite the relatively short history of the disperse, there are over 7.2 million Korean diaspora (overseas Koreans) in 170 countries in the world. The policies of each host country of the Korean diaspora are different, but there is a high possibility of surviving national identity regardless of the policies due to

the short history of dispersion. The wide dispersion implies the trans-nationalism of the

Korean diaspora (overseas Koreans) and their network with one another (Seo, 2013: p.46-53).

During the early formation of Korean diaspora studies, historical and political context of

migration were discussed in understanding the Korean diaspora's migration causes,

processes, and the life in the host countries. However, in most of the Korean diaspora's host

countries, the first generation of migration has passed away so that the research on the second

and further generations' adaptation, identity, and ethnic culture are actively discussed (Park,

2012: p.258).

On the contrary, research on Soviet Koreans started in South Korea only from the late 1980s

because South Korean researchers could not show their interests towards Korean

communities in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union and South Korea did not have any

diplomatic relations and were ideological and political enemies during the Cold War (Yang,

2019: p.354).

The historical path of colonization and division in East Asia resulted in conflicts between

states and people, but also between diaspora groups from the same homeland. When the

Japanese colonization of Korea ended in 1945, the expectation was to form a nation-state as

Koreans have been living in the Korean peninsula historically through the monoethnic

dynasties. However, Korea was soon divided into North and South as the result of the Korean

War in 1950, a proxy war where North Korea was supported by the communist bloc and

South Korea was supported by the capitalist bloc, and still Korea is divided into the two

different states. It affected the lives of Korean diaspora groups in the US, Soviet Union,

China, Japan and other countries forming Korean historical trauma (Chung, 2015:

p.237-238). The trauma coming from the dynamic changes of political and historical conflicts

in relation to Japanese imperialism and the Korean War is visible in the literature of Korean

diaspora studies in South Korean academia (Andreola, 2019; Son, 2012). I also have the same

trauma on the Korean history of the 20th Century due to my South Korean background. By acknowledging it, it will help to maintain a balanced view on reviewing literature and to avoid possible bias.

3.4 Koryo-saram

In the 1860s Koreans started to move to Primorsky Krai because of the former kingdom of Korea, Joseon[9], faced severe corruption of the government which led to the exploitation of farmers. After the colonization of Joseon by the Japanese empire in 1910, Korean fighters for independence from the Japanese empire moved to the Korean villages near Vladivostok and the biggest Korean village in Vladivostok 'Koreyskaya sloboda (In Russian: Корейская слобода)' which is also called 'Sinhanchon (In Korean: 신한촌)'[10]. Koreyskaya sloboda quickly became the central place for the Korea's independent movement and the life of Korean settlers in Far East Russia (Yoon, 1997). Meanwhile, these Koreans participated in the Russian Revolution and the Russian Civil Wars firstly on the side of the White Army and later aligned with the Red Army to fight the Japanese Army and the White Army which was sponsored by Japan (Chung, 2015: 245).

Under Stalin's administration, ethnic minorities in the Soviet Union suffered through the mass deportation, and Koreans were not the exception from this forced transfer. Koryo-saram were informed about the transfer of the residence only a week before the deportation or two to three days before the deportation. They were told to leave the real estate and to prepare food for only two or three days. The Soviet Union promised to provide new pieces of land and houses free of charge at the new settlement places, but there were neither houses nor

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[9] Joseon (1392-1910) was the country(kingdom) of Koreans. The Joseon dynasty was the longest dynasty in Korean history. The former dynasty of Joseon, the Goryeo (or Koryo) dynasty (918-1392) was known as 'Core/Corea' in Arab and Europe which is the origin of the English word 'Korea'. North Korea still names North and South Korea as Joseon.
[10] For further understanding of the name, check Encyclopedia of Overseas Korean Culture. (n.d.)., '블라디보스토크의 한인마을은 왜 신한촌이라고 불리게 되었을까?', http://www.okpedia.kr/Contents/ContentsView?localCode=cis&contentsId=GC95300003

compensation. About 180,000 Koreans were transferred to the random wasteland in Central Asia, and a large number of Koryo-saram died from illness and accidents. Most of the elderlies and children under the age of 2 died, and the sudden changes in climate, lack of food, poor sanitation facilities in the wasteland and the lack of medical clinics caused death of about 25,000 to 30,000 Koryo-saram (Choi, 2018; Yun, 2020; Lee, 2011; Jo, 2018). The reason for the decision was to 'stop Japanese intelligence from infiltrating the Far East' (Yun, 2013). Yun (2013) summarized the causes of mass deportation of Koreans; 1) to prevent Koreans from being used in Japan's intelligence activities, 2) due to Soviet concerns that Koreans may claim the Korean Autonomous Region in the Soviet Far East, 3) to develop Central Asian wasteland, 4) due to the conflict between Koreans and Russians regarding land and criticized Stalin and the Soviet government treating and identifying all Koreans as spies because of a small number of spy among the people.

Koreans were moved by train in the cargo compartments or livestock transport compartments. The condition and memories regarding the train are described below.

"There was a stove in the middle of each vehicle and no window. People who brought some food from their home could eat at least something inside the train, or people needed to buy food when the train stopped by a station. People who brought money could buy food, but those who did not have money could not eat. There was no toilet in the train. All the people should have held themselves until the train stopped. In the early days, when moving in the train, the train was stopped by the train stations, but as there were extremely many people, going to the toilet was very difficult. Later on, the train stopped not in the train stations but in the middle of nowhere, saying that cleaning the train stations is problematic. After moving in the train like this for a month, some were asked to leave the train in Kazakhstan and others in Uzbekistan." (Lee. B, 2011)

After getting off the train, people were put in a car, and the car left people in some empty field in the middle of winter in Central Asia. Koreans had no place to live, so they were sleeping in the middle of the ground or they dug a hole in the ground to avoid the cold and to sleep and built an underground cave. Some people lived in the abandoned houses if they could find one. (Lee. B, 2011)

After settling down in Central Asia, Koryo-saram started to achieve better living conditions through their hard work. In the 1960s to 1980s, Koryo-saram became a successful model of the Soviet minority based on their high interests in education and success, and moved to other regions in the Soviet Union. Many Koryo-saram achieved national recognition for their works in politics, culture, science and sports, however, when the Soviet Union dissolved into the 15 independent states, Koryo-saram faced discriminatory policies in the nationalistic new independent states. Most of the Koryo-saram spoke Russian as a mother tongue, therefore, many of them wanted to move back to Russia (Kim, 2019).

Both Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans in the Russian Federation had fewer problems in the process because they remained in the same linguistic and cultural area (even though some had troubles in acquiring citizenship/nationality and some still are stateless). However, Koreans in non-Russian regions had to re-adapt to a new society with a different language and culture, and some Koryo-saram became stateless in Uzbekistan, Ukraine, Estonia and so on due to the nationalistic policies of the independent states and the chaos of the transition period. In Tajikistan, there were about 13,000 Koryo-saram during the Soviet era, but the civil war that took place immediately after independence and Koryo-saram are almost gone now. In 2013, the Russian government recognized Koryo-saram in Tajikistan as 'Russian compatriots (Российские соотечественник)'. Finally, Koryo-saram in Crimea faced changes of their nationality from Ukrainian to Russian, and the ongoing conflicts in the Donbas is the biggest concern for them. (Hwang, 2016: p.163-170)

Regarding the terminology, Chapter 1 briefly introduced terms and definitions of Koryo-saram, but more explanation is needed. In some papers, 'Koryo-saram' is explained as a concept of both 'Korean diaspora scattered throughout the post-Soviet countries due to the mass deportation in 1937' and 'Sakhalin Koreans' (Hwang, 2016: p.166). Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans have differences in their migration history and identity, researchers should explain in detail when stating both groups as 'Koryo-saram' in the bigger context (Yang, 2019: p.360). For example, 'A Comparative Study on Life Histories of the Korean Diaspora in China, Japan and the CIS' did not mention Sakhalin Koreans and included the notion of Sakhalin Koreans in Koryo-saram, and took only Uzbek Koryo-saram for the subject of Korean diaspora in CIS country (Lee & Lee, 2014).

Furthermore, Hwang points out that instead of using 'CIS Korean diaspora', 'post-Soviet Korean diaspora' is a correct term to include Koryo-saram in the Baltics and the Caucasus. (2016: p.166)

3.5 Sakhalin Koreans

"In 1905, after Russia's defeat in the Russo-Japanese War, the large (nearly one thousand kilometers long) island of Sakhalin, previously under the Russian jurisdiction, was divided between Russia and Japan" (Lankov, 2010). Koreans have been living in Sakhalin since the 1860s. However, Koreans in North Sakhalin were deported to Central Asia by the Soviet Union in 1937, so Sakhalin Koreans are people who immigrated to Sakhalin through employment and mobilization during the Japanese occupation in 1910 and their descendants. In 1938, when Japan forcibly conscripted Koreans for labour, the number of Koreans in South Sakhalin increased to 40,000 (Chung, 2015: p.247). Sakhalin Koreans were left in Sakhalin after the end of World War II without any legal sources to go back to their homeland (Lee, 2003). Number of massacre cases towards Sakhalin Koreans were also found recently.

For example, a report of population changes in Estoru[11] around WWII was found in 2012, which mentions the reason for the Korean population decline in Estoru is due to the massacre by Japanese militarists. It states that "72,262 Japanese and 10,229 Koreans were populated in Estoru before the war, and after 1946 the population significantly decreased to 50,424 Japanese and 5,332 Koreans." and the reasons of the population decline is dispersing of people, evacuation, and Japanese militarists murdering Koreans (Bang, 2013).

After Japan lost in World War II, the Japanese residents in Sakhalin returned to their homeland. However, Sakhalin Koreans became stateless in the "blind spots of human rights" and were forced to stay in Sakhalin. They did not have a right to go to neither South Korea, Japan, nor outside of Sakhalin Island. The Soviet Union and the United States, which were responsible for the return of Sakhalin Koreans, were not particularly interested in that issue and both parties did not want to take the responsibility. In 1950, the Korean War divided the Korean peninsula into South and North, and the ideological differences became an obstacle as the Soviet Union could not agree with sending Sakhalin Koreans to South Korea, even though Sakhalin Koreans came from the Southern region of Korea. Thus, the Soviet Union planned to send Sakhalin Koreans to North Korea or to keep them in Sakhalin for the labour force of reconstructing Sakhalin after the war (Hwang, 2012). Sakhalin Koreans could only go to North Korea if they wanted, and some Sakhalin Koreans went to North Korea hoping they would go to South Korea from North Korea. However, it was not possible and those people who moved to North Korea could not come back to Russia as North Korea isolates itself (Seon, 2012). Only less than 1,000 Sakhalin Koreans who had a Japanese wife could leave the Sakhalin Island, and almost all remaining ethnic Koreans were not allowed to leave Sakhalin to return to South Korea until the collapse of the Soviet Union. In contrast, all Sakhalin Japanese had returned to Japan (Hwang, 2012). The United States and South Korean

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[11] In today, it is Uglegorsk

government did not recognize the existence of Sakhalin Koreans until Sakhalin Japanese returned to Japan in 1956 (Chung, 2015). Similar to the path of Koryo-saram, Sakhalin Koreans became successful through their hard work, and together with Koryo-saram Soviet Koreans had become a model minority. Sakhalin Koreans often have strong attachment to their homeland (South Korea) and are willing to visit South Korea or permanently return to South Korea.

Chapter 4. Discussion

4.1 The Place of Diaspora in the Host country

The formation of the Korean diaspora in the post-Soviet space has its roots in the second half of the 19th century. First accounts of Korean settlers in Priamursky region in Russia date back to 1850s, however first official data regarding Korean settlers arriving to the Russian Far East date back to November 30, 1863 (Пак Б.Д., 1993: p.32). Afterwards, the Korean population grew continuously from a few dozen families to almost 4000 people in the 1870s due to the fact that Korea, especially its northern provinces (Hamgyeong), was experiencing economic difficulties which forced thousands of Koreans to leave their houses and seek better life across the Tumangang river – in the Russian Far East (Пак Д.Б, 1993: p.32). During the first decades after resettling from their motherland, Koreans resided exclusively in Korean ethnic villages, where they were able to preserve their region-specific traditions, language, and way of life, for the bigger part of the 19th century, and until the 1930s, which were marked by mass deportations to Central Asia.

In the second half of the 19th century, the first Koreans appeared in Sakhalin, which at that time was part of the Russian Empire. However, the growth in the number of Korean residents in Sakhalin would not happen until after several decades when the defeat of Russia in the Russo-Japanese war forced St. Petersburg to cede the southern part of Sakhalin (divided by the 50th parallel) to Japan in 1905 and the annexation of Korea by the Japanese Empire in 1910. From the 1940s, the Japanese authorities rolled out a mass campaign in Korea recruiting contract workers who would be sent to Sakhalin's (Karafuto) coal mines and factories. At the initial stage, the recruitment was of voluntary nature and represented an opportunity for many Korean men, mostly from agricultural and relatively poor regions in the southern part of the country, to significantly improve their financial situation. However, as the Japanese Empire began to be more embroiled in its quest of forming the Asian Coprosperity Area, its armies advanced throughout numerous Asian countries, and it officially waged war on the US and became part of WWII, it required more resources to sustain its military ambitions. For this reason, the recruitment of Korean workers began to be carried out by force with bleak prospects of humane treatment, fair compensation, and even darker prospects of returning home alive and well. After the end of the war and the successive capitulation of the Japanese Empire, Tokyo officially declined to recognize the Korean workers in Sakhalin as Japanese citizens and thus did not include them into its repatriation program. As a result, a large number (approximately 30,000) of ethnic Koreans were left in Sakhalin, whose whole territory was under control of the USSR (Дин Ю.И, 2013: p.39). The Soviet authorities severely restricted the freedom of movement of ethnic Koreans, many of them for decades (even till the current moment) could not obtain either Soviet or Russian citizenship. Being forced to live only in certain ethnically defined towns and villages, the Sakhalin Koreans, much like their fellows from Primorsky krai and Central

Asia, were able to maintain their traditions and culture, but more than anything, their historic memory of the motherland.

Against this general background, the two parts of the Korean diaspora had been developing. Despite their drastically different historical experiences, there are several similarities affecting the goal of this research of positioning the diaspora in the triangular relations with its mother nation, host nation, and international environment. First, the main factor in play is the separation from the historic mother nation – Korea. Second, the non-voluntary nature of the migration of the two communities that afterwards would form two distinct parts of the Korean diaspora. Thirdly, both communities, though to different extents, have managed to maintain cultural adherence to historic roots in the form of customs, traditions, cuisine, Korean-language media, and rituals.

4.1.1 Political Place

4.1.1.1 Koryo-saram

Since the period of 1860s when the first Korean settlers arrived to the area that now constitutes Primorsky krai, which Russia acquired after signing the Beijing treaty in 1855, the history of the Korean community in the new homeland had consistently involved the change of their political and legal status. Such transformation was not linear and was marked by setbacks depending on policies of the incumbent local and state administration, as well as the geopolitical environment around the region.

One observation regarding the nature of the Korean migration to the Russian Far East is provided by Oleg Pakhmov: 'The exodus from the Chosŏn Kingdom to the Russian Empire was not just simply a movement of individuals for economic reasons but marked the transition of political loyalty from the Korean King to the Russian Emperor and local authorities (General Governors). It meant that from the very beginning the life of the Korean

diaspora was at the mercy of the Russian state that demanded further integration into the social hierarchy of the Empire' (Pakhomov, 2017: p. 36).

The profile of newcomers at the initial stage, as was proposed by Park (Пак Б.Д,1993, p.15-21), can be summarized as follows: landless peasantry from the northern Korean province of Hamgyeong escaping their historic fatherland due to the worsening of economic conditions, floods destroying the harvest, famine and oppression of local administrators. At the early stage, when the first Korean villages in the Posiet harbour areas were formed, the local Russian administration saw particular benefits of having Koreans as a possible source of labour. According to Gelmersen (in Пак Б.Д, 1993: p.19-20), their specific application was recommended in coal mining, growing crops, and making bread, which could be supplied to the local army garrisons for cheaper prices. The original 'open doors' policy towards Koreans sparked the growth in their numbers, as it is evident from the statistics: in the 1870s there were only 3700 Koreans in the Russian Far East, whereas by the 1900s this number was 32,380 (Пак Б.Д, 1993: p.32, p.74).

Subsequently, the attitude of the Russian authorities towards the Korean community had undergone certain changes, involving, attempts of legalization of their residence in the Russian Empire, introduction of migration policies, and, under the administration of Priamur General Governor Unterberger, measures restricting the inflow of new coming Koreans and their settlement in the region in the early 1900s.

The kingdom of Choson (Korea) and Russia established diplomatic and trade relations only in 1884, which gave way to negotiations regarding the status of Koreans in the Russian Far East. However, when, in 1888, the parties concluded the agreement on the border and trade in the area of the Tumen River separating the two states, it did not cover any issues regarding the legal status of Koreans residing in Russia. Thus, the proposition of the first Russian

ambassador to Korea Weber regarding granting those Koreans that arrived to Russia before 1884 and successfully naturalized the same set of rights as those of other Russian subjects was rejected by the Choson side (Wada, 1993: p.27). After that governor general Korf attempted at bringing the status of Koreans within legal boundaries by dividing the Korean population into three groups: those who arrived to Russia before 1884 and were willing to become Russian subjects, those who arrived after 1884 — they were not allowed to stay in their settlements for more than two years, and they were expected to leave to Korea, the final category included temporary workers who entered the Russian territory upon obtaining necessary documents allowing such stay from the Russian authorities (Wada, 1993: p.27).

It is worth mentioning that the Choson kingdom was adamant at preventing Korean subjects from migrating to the Russian Far East. Specifically, Choson banned crossing the border and any interactions with Russians, and the local administration of the border city of Kanheung destroyed all the transport across the Tumangang river. Moreover, the Korean border guards were ordered to shoot those attempting to flee to Russia across the river (Park B.D, 1993: p 21).

Throughout the course of tenure of several governor generals of Priamur Region, except for Unterberger's, who in 1905 was conducting the policy of repression towards Koreans, the administrations of Grodekov, Dukhovskoi, and Gondatti expressed their support for the Korean population and spearheaded the policy of naturalization (Wada, 1987: p.29). Accordingly, the number of naturalized Koreans who were granted Russian nationality increased to 27,000 (Пак Б.Д,1993: p.93).

Along the course of time, political involvement of Koreans in the Russian Far East had also been growing, as they were becoming more deeply interconnected with the new home. According to Pakhomov (2017: p.37), one of key events that contributed to the growth of political participation of Koreans was the First Russian Revolution (1905-1906). It marked

"the rise of social unrest driven by demand for social justice that also obtained support among Russian-Korean political activists". Later, this support would explain the popularity of socialist ideas among Koreans of the Russian Far East (ibid.).

Moreover, political development of the Korean community in Russia coincided with another stream of migration which was propelled by a tragic event of 1910, namely the annexation of Korea by the Japanese Empire. Thus, Primorsky krai became one of the key bases for the Korean Independence movement striving for overthrowing the exploitative regime of Japan in Korea (Pakhomov, 2017: p.37-38). According to Wada (1987: p.29), the annexation of Korea also led to the strong demand of many Koreans, who were seeking refuge in the Russian Far East, for Russian nationality.

By the time of World War I, it is thus possible to conclude that the political role of Koreans in the Russian society of the Far East had increased. One factor that can demonstrate the relationship of the host state and the Korean community at that time is the affiliation of the ethnic Korean subjects and their demonstrated loyalty to the new state in the form of military service, which in its turn served as a means of upward social mobility and acquisition of the same rights as other Russian subjects. Despite a certain number of those naturalized Koreans who escaped to Manchuria to avoid the military draft, 4,000 Koreans, including 150 officers, were mobilized during WWI (Сон Ж, 2013: p.108). In addition, with the advent of the October Revolution, the majority of Russian-Koreans demonstrated their support for the formation of the new socio-political order (p.111). Ethnic Koreans who shared the communist ideology were 'willing to fight for the liberation of their motherland from Japanese colonizers, local landlords, and capitalists' (ibid.).

Thus, from the mid-1920s, the Communist International began recruiting Soviet Koreans for secret operations on the Korean Peninsula. More stimulus to support the advance of communism among Koreans was provided by the declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of

Russia which Bolsheviks on November 15, 1917, stipulated 'political empowerment for all national minorities of the Russian Empire to abolish all national and religious privileges, provide equal rights and free development' (Pakhomov, 2017: p.37). Moreover, such background inspired many Koreans to join the Bolshevik guerilla fight in the Far East.

At the early stage of the communist rule in Russia, the Soviet authorities conducted a policy of fostering ethnic consciousness of ethnic minorities by promoting their language, culture, education, media etc. In 1924, the head of the Soviet government Rykov signed the Charter of the Korean community which granted wide rights to ethnic Koreans, allowing the creation of national schools, libraries, publication of newspapers and books in the national language (Сон Ж, 2013: p.161). An active role in the national revitalization at that period was played by the so-called Korean Union; however it was quickly dissolved as the USSR did not want to provoke tensions with Japan, to whom it promised to abstain from supporting organizations acting against Tokyo's interests (declaration on relations with Japan 1926). In the 1920s, the Korean community was actively campaigning for the creation of an autonomous republic, but such ideas were not meant to be implemented.

Repressions and Deportation

By the end of the 1920s, which were marked by ethnic identity building policies of the USSR, the Soviet authorities changed the course towards 'fight against nationalism'. It meant the gradual end of support for ethnic minorities and consolidation of the course towards centralization of power and Sovietization of ethnically diverse citizens of the USSR (Сон Ж, 2013: p.206). The process of centralization of power included repressions among communist activists (including Kirov) and those representing ethnic minorities became more widespread. Specifically, Korean communists also did not avoid the repressions, which culminated in deportation of 172,000 ethnic Koreans from the Far East to Kazakhstan and Central Asia in

1937 (Сон Ж, 2013: p.423-432). The reasons behind this tragic and traumatic event can be explained by the geopolitical situation in the region, domestic 'espionage' paranoia, and the totalitarian nature of the Soviet state in the 1930s. First, provocations on the Soviet-Manchuarian border and Japan's plans of militarily advancing to the northern part of China made Soviet leadership wary of potential repercussions for its Far East. Second, even before 1937, in 1936, national enclaves located in borderline regions began to be considered by the Soviet authorities as prone to hosting foreign intelligence agents recruiting local residents as informants. This actively played into the growing paranoia towards foreigners and coincided with the general trend of repressing any discontent in the country. Moreover, that reason was cited as the official pretext to carrying out deportation (№ 1428-326cc Совета Народных Комиссаров Союза ССР и Центрального Комитета ВКП(б) от 21 августа 1937 года)[12]. Third, as German Kim points out earlier, during the Russo-Japanese war, Lenin's reforms in the 1920s, and Stalin's collectivization, the Russian/Soviet authorities had already experimented with relocation of Koreans to regions far from the state border, though it was carried out on a smaller scale than in 1937. Thus, according to him, the deportation step came as an extension of the Stalinist totalitarian regime, which was aiming at forming the new type of person — homo sovieticus (Ким Г.Н., 2013: p.52-59).

The deportation undoubtedly caused harm to the Korean community. First, the ethnic Koreans were forced out of their land, their familial ties were broken. Secondly, it affected the identity of Soviet Koreans, as even before the deportation they were already well integrated into Soviet society, however, the deportation was viewed by them as betrayal by fellow communists. Apart from political identity, national characteristics of Soviet Koreans had been dramatically transformed due to the new social and physical reality of the new area (Central Asia), which they could not leave until 1953 (Сон Ж, 2013: p.432-434). Language,

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[12] № 1647-377cc «О выселении корейцев с территории Дальне-Восточного края»

as a factor binding ethnic communities and creating psychological ties with the historic mother nation (or homeland) after generations, was lost by the Korean community (ibid). Han Yeon-sook (Хан Ё., 2003) explains such a phenomenon by stating that the optimal strategy of survival among ethnic Koreans in Central Asia was pledging allegiance to the current regime, in the hope of regaining their social position, and subjugation to the enforced Russification, which as part of the USSR's state policy towards ethnic minorities, stimulated them to integrate into Soviet society.

Due to deportation, the label of 'untrustworthy' citizens, and the oppressive measures limiting their freedom of movement and activities, Soviet Koreans who found themselves living in a new environment had no other option but to adjust to it. Only after Stalin's death in 1953, when the Soviet state faced a crisis of ideology related to the de-stalinization, Koreans were able to campaign for their rights again. However, as Pakhomov argues, it did not exhibit traits of seeking certain autonomy but rather proved the fusion of the Korean ethnic community into the Soviet state and the 'fixation' of the communist party rule in the country. Thus, 'Soviet Korean intellectuals tried to find further ways of socialist modernization of Soviet Korean ethnic culture strictly relying on the mechanisms available within the hierarchy of Soviet bureaucracy' (Pakhomov, 2017: p.43). The state, in its turn, planned to attract more Koreans to participate in the Communist party's activities and accept more members of Korean origin. This form of political work towards them was met with indifference and resistance (ibid.).

Political activity after the Deportation

Despite the hardships and limitations of the Soviet system, ethnic Koreans in Central Asia managed to achieve significant successes in building careers in almost all spheres of life. One of the most active professional groups, highlighted by G.Kim, was leaders of collective farms

(kolkhozes), such as Polar Star, Politotdel, Northern Lighthouse etc. For example, Kim Pyeong-hwa, head of the Polar Star kolkhoz, was elected as a deputy to the Supreme Council of the Uzbek SSR (Ким, Г.Н. 2013: p.318). Another head of a large Soviet enterprise, Vasilii Tsoi, was elected as a deputy of the Supreme Council of the USSR (ibid.). According to Kim, a significant part of ethnic Koreans were involved in education with more than 1,000 of them having PhDs, whereas the much larger Korean community in Japan had less than 100 university professors (ibid). After the collapse of the USSR in 1991, Central Asian republics gained independence, and the structure of the diasporic leadership changed. For example, heads of various republican associations who belonged to intelligentsia were replaced by businessmen. For them in retrospect, the leadership of the Korean association represented a shortcut for being elected to national governments — a similar trend was evident in Russia (Ким, Г.Н, 2013: p.320). In Russia, such politicization of ethnic Koreans took a turn towards closer cooperation with pro-state forces, which at the dawn of the dawn of the 1990s were perceived as protective of ethnic minorities against discrimination (Pakhomov, 2017: p.54). It is worthy noting the respective legislation that was passed in 1991, specifically the law on Rehabilitation of Repressed Peoples (Russian: Закон РСФСР от 26 апреля 1991 г. N 1107-I "О реабилитации репрессированных народов") and On Rehabilitation of Russian Koreans, which further propelled hopes of ethnic communities for restorative justice.

4.1.1.2 Sakhalin Koreans

First ethnic Koreans appeared in Sakhalin in the second half of the 19th century, however, their presence there lacked permanent or systemic character. According to Bok (Бок З. 1993: p.12-14), most of them started coming to the island after 1860 to work in the fisheries and coal mines. Their number was unlikely to exceed a few hundred until 1905.

Since 1855, according to the Treaty of Shimoda signed by Russia and Japan, both Japanese and Russian citizens were given the right to settle on the island. This however changed in two decades, when the St. Petersburg Treaty was concluded, according to which the whole territory of Sakhalin was transferred to Russian jurisdiction. The subsequent Russo-Japanese war tipped the balance once again, and Japan as a victor of the conflict gained control over the southern part of the island, according to the 1905 Portsmouth Treaty (Бок З. 1993: p.15-19).

In April 1907, by the decree of the Japanese emperor, the Karafuto as a territorial unit encompassing Sakhalin was formed (Бок З. 1993: p.25). The island quickly attracted Japanese entrepreneurs, as it is rich in natural resources, such as wood, coal, and fish stocks. Since 1914, the pulp-and-paper manufacturing industry started developing on the island, as a number of wood processing factories began operation in Sakhalin. Approximately at the same period, the number of Koreans on the island began increasing, as many of them (being Japanese subjects due to the 1910 annexation of Korea by Japan) were relocating to Karafuto for seasonal work, mostly on the island's logging industry. In 1925, there were only 3206 Koreans on the island, and by 1935 this number had doubled by reaching 7503 (Бок З. 1993: p.33).

As the Japanese Empire was advancing throughout the Asia Pacific, its need for qualified labour able to extract necessary mineral resources had been increasing, especially during the course of WWII. Thus, the recruitment process of Koreans, mostly from southern agrarian regions of the Korean peninsula, was rolled out by Japanese companies involved in industrial activities in Sakhalin. Bok Zi Kou (1993: p.38-44) proposes three distinct periods of recruitment, each with different characteristics:

1) From June 1939 till February 1942 — during this period, recruitment exhibited non-violent voluntary traits and was predominantly carried out by Japanese firms'

recruiters supported by the local government officers in Korea. Given the background of poverty and exploitation in the southern part of Korea during the Japanese colonial rule, such recruitment presented an opportunity to improve one's financial situation;

2) From February 1942 till September 1944 — the period of state sanctioned forced labour recruitment through the specially formed Korean labour association;

3) From September 1944 till August 1945 — due to the more in-depth involvement in the ongoing war, the law On national labour duty was passed in Japan, and later expanded to Korea. It sanctioned special police units to chase Koreans and send them to Sakhalin for work;

After the Japanese Empire was defeated in August 1945 and in September signed the capitulation act, whereas the Soviet troops advanced from the north to the south of Sakhalin, the Japanese authorities began the repatriation of Japan's citizens from the island. As Korea was liberated from Japanese rule the same year, Japan no longer considered it as its part, and consequently denied taking on the responsibility of repatriating the Korean community to Korea. According to Bok's estimates (Бок З., 1993: p.44), by 1945 the number of Koreans who stayed on the island reached 27 088, meanwhile Din (2013: p.41) provides an estimate of 23,498.

As was demonstrated in the section regarding the Soviet national policy towards ethnic minorities in the 1920-1930s, at the early stages of the state building the Soviet authorities paid a great deal of attention to fostering ethnic development, culture, and education in respective national languages. After the Sakhalin Korean community found itself in the new country, namely the USSR, they experienced the same approach of the Soviet state. Specifically, the communist government organized Korean language schools, newspaper (Seakoryo Shinmun, exists till today), radio, theatre, and print press (Дин Ю.И, 2015: p.107).

In contrast to the policy of outright assimilation, Naisen ittai[13], conducted by the Japanese government towards ethnic Koreans, who at best, despite official declarations of equality, were considered as second class citizens, the Soviet approach provided more ground for successful ethnic and national development of Koreans in Sakhalin. As Din argues, such an approach helped to preserve the local Korean culture in a closed community, however, on the downside, it meant a certain degree of exclusion from society due to poor knowledge of the Russian language (Ibid.). In 1963, the Soviet authorities eliminated most of the institutions of Korean culture in Sakhalin, which accelerated the integration of local Koreans into Soviet society.

The main problem that Sakhalin Koreans faced was the issue of citizenship. According to Din (2015: p.143-153), before the end of WWII, the population of the Korean peninsula was considered as subjects of the Japanese Empire with varying degrees of freedoms and political representation. Nevertheless, when Tokyo signed the San-Francisco peace treaty in 1951, Japanese citizenship of all foreigners in Japan's former colonies was revoked. One exception was the population of Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands. The new procedure required them to reapply for citizenship for it to be reinstated. As Sakhalin was under the USSR control with its closed borders, it was physically impossible for the Korean community in Sakhalin to use this opportunity to retain Japanese citizenship which would make them qualify for repatriation. Thus, after Sakhalin Koreans lost their Japanese citizenship and did not acquire the Soviet one, they found themselves in a situation in between national or state jurisdiction, or simply without citizenship. The USSR allowed them to apply for Soviet passports in 1953, however, due to language barriers and expectations of soon repatriation the process began to get delayed indefinitely. Another option was to apply for North Korean citizenship, which only a few Sakhalin Koreans decided (or were forced) to obtain.

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[13] Lankov, A. (2011). 'Japanese policy of assimilation'. *The Korea Times*. http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/nation/2021/03/165_82414.html

People without citizenship were subject to a number of limitations in Sakhalin, including the freedom of movement. Only the 1978 law on USSR Citizenship[14] partially rectified the situation by automatically granting Soviet citizenship to all the people born to non-citizens after July 1979.

4.1.2 Economic Place

4.1.2.1.Koryo-saram

The history of Koryo-saram in the Russian Empire takes its beginning in the 19th century when the first settlers from the northern Korean province of Hamgyeong brought with them their knowledge of agriculture, specifically related to rice farming (Wada, 1987: p.35). For this reason, the imperial and Soviet administrations viewed them as a reliable source of labour and food procurement given the dire situation the region was experiencing due to low rates of domestic migration of Russian peasants from the European part of Russia. Subsequently, the growing Korean community underwent differentiation, according to which land-owning farmers, landless peasants, and industrial workers (primarily in the coal mining industry) emerged. 80 percent of Koreans were peasants (Сон Ж. 2013: p.210).

In December 1927, the Fifteenth Party Congress declared massive collectivization of agriculture. Thus, the state applied emergency measures to extract grain from farmer households (Wada, 1987: p.39). According to Son, by 1929 (2013: p.210-214), 87 Korean collective farms (kolkhozes) were created, and in the 1929-1930 period almost every Korean settlement had a kolkhoz. By the end of 1931, 50 percent of all Korean households were collectivized, in total 200 kolkhoz were formed that united around 50,000 Koreans. By mid-1934, collectivization of Korean households was completed (ibid.). Despite initial resistance from Koreans who denied joining the kolkhozes or deliberately killed their cattle to

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[14] https://docs.cntd.ru/document/765700341

avoid collectivization, this process also provided certain benefits to the Korean community. As Son points out (2013: p.214), collectivization solved the issue of land ownership, it granted (until 1937 at least) that they would not be purged from their land, and kolkhozes provided a platform for preserving their ethnic identity due to being enclaves of the ethnic minority. According to Wada, many Koreans took lead in the collectivization process in hope of acquiring land and Soviet citizenship (Wada, 1987: p.40).

Agriculture remained the main activity of the Soviet Koreans even after deportation. In the new environment, they continued formation of kolkhozes under the banner of the state policy of collectivization. Among the most notable kolkhozes in Central Asia were Polar Star, Pravda, Leninskii Put — all the Tashkent area, Third International and Vanguard located in Kzyl-Orda, as well as 18 Years of Kazakhstan (Wada, 1987: p.66). Many of the listed kolkhozes played a crucial role in supplying agricultural products to the Red Army during World War II or the Great Patriotic War (Хан В.С, 2014: p.102), which was acknowledged by the state as more than 1,000 Korean workers received the medal For Valiant Labour in the Great Patriotic War 1941–1945. Apart from rice, such collective households were involved in growing cotton, corn, sugar beets, wheat, potato, onions, and watermelons.

Another form of economic activity that was typical of Soviet Koreans in Central Asia was kobonjil, a semi legal cultivation of vegetable (onion) growing and (water) melon growing, based on the group's rental of land and leadership under a brigade leader and connected with seasonal territorial migrations (Kim, 2009: p.32). According to Khan (2014: p.144), this form of agriculture had high harvest volumes as its end goal, which is why brigades involved in kobonjil demonstrated more efficiency in agriculture than regular collective farms. Khan also attributes improved standards of living and wealth of Koreans in Central Asia to this form of entrepreneurship (Ibid.).

As Kim postulates, kobonjil served as a stepping stone for the creation of a class of entrepreneurs and businessmen after the collapse of the USSR and liberalization of economic activity (Ким 2013: p.267). According to him, ethnic Koreans who used to do kobonjil transformed into regular businessmen. Kim calls this process commercialization of public consciousness, as the number of self-employed merchants, traders, entrepreneurs in Central Asia is growing, whereas the group of intelligentsia (scientists, artists) within the Korean community is shrinking (Ким 2013: p. 291-293).

4.1.2.2 Sakhalin-Koreans

The after war period was particularly difficult for Sakhalin Koreans, as the proficiency of the Russian language was the main determinant of a successful career. Thus, not having adjusted to the new economic regime and new society, Sakhalin Koreans were employed as regular labourers at Soviet enterprises and in the agricultural sector. Also, with a tacit approval of the Soviet authorities, Sakhalin Koreans resorted to selling agricultural products grown in their private gardens, which allowed the community to considerably improve their financial situation.

With time, the degree of integration into Soviet society among Sakhalin Koreans was increasing, as the majority of them considered Sakhalin and the USSR as their motherland. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the economic transition largely affected the Sakhalin Korean community. First, due to the deep economic crisis in the 1990s the population of the Sakhalin oblast began decreasing, and this downward trend was also visible within the Sakhalin Korean diaspora. Nevertheless, as Din states, Sakhalin Koreans have managed to successfully integrate into the new capitalist economy by organizing their own enterprises in a variety of sectors: from logistics to tourism (Дин Ю.И, 2015: p.178). Moreover, many representatives of the Korean community are involved in local politics as

members of the regional parliament. In addition, the Korean community demonstrates a continuous growth in income and education.

According to Din, due to the various historical repercussions, the Sakhalin Koreans who were born in different historical periods demonstrate different attitudes regarding their identity. The first generation still maintains their language and culture, whereas the second generation, despite their language proficiency and knowledge of their culture, tend to combine traits usually found among ethnic Russians. The third generation, usually relatively young people, tend to differ from the first two groups by rather focusing on their geographical, than national identity, by calling themselves 'local Koreans' as juxtaposed to inhabitants of the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (Дин Ю.И, 2015: p.217-222).

4.1.3 Social Place

4.1.3.1 Koryo-saram

One of the most important pillars of preserving one's culture, identity, and passing it on to the next generations is education. Before the October Revolution, the Korean community in the Russian Far East organized school education in their national language on a limited scale, which lacked a systematic character.

However, with the Soviet policy oriented at creating a new type of people — Soviet citizens, and its focus on the promotion of national languages, Koreans obtained an opportunity to conduct their education systematically and in their own language. According to Son (Сон Ж. 2013: p.224), there were 224 Korean schools with more than 12 000 students in the Primorsky region in 1923. Only 40 of that number were state schools, and in 1924 the local government introduced a plan of transferring all schools under state control. Also, Koreans could continue education at the Nikolsk-Ussuriysk vocational school's Korean-language department, which later was transformed into a separate normal college. In 1931, Vladivostok

Korean Teacher's Institute was founded. Ideological education was carried out also at the East Communist Labor University.

As a consequence of education's proliferation in the region, especially in Communist party schools, more than 400 ethnic Koreans joined the ranks of leadership of regional towns and townships (Сон Ж. 2013: p.226-227). According to Son, Koreans occupied such positions, as judges, prosecutors, school principals, heads of kolkhozes and factories. (Сон Ж. 2013: p.228).

Culture was also rapidly developing, for example, as Pakhomov pointed out, Cho Men Hee (1894–1938) and Tsai Yong (1906–1981) played an important role as founders of Soviet Korean proletarian literature by staging proletarian literature in Far Eastern Theater in the Primorsky region (Pakhomov, 2017: p39). A number of printed newspapers in Korean were available, such as the Seongbong (Vanguard) and Lenin's way, magazines Shin Saenghwal (New Life), Culture, Nodongja (Worker), and such newspapers as Nongon shinbo (Peasant's newspaper), Tonga Gongsan shinmun (Newspaper of the Eastern Commune). As Son argues, all the outlets were heavily censored in a way to stimulate the formation of Soviet mentality among Koreans. According to her research, the Soviet authorities in the Far East tried to root out all the Korean traditions and customs by banning important religious and traditional celebrations (Сон Ж., 2013: p.231).

Undoubtedly, after the Soviet authorities wrapped its favourable policy towards ethnic minorities in the mid-1930, the Korean language at Korean schools was replaced by Russian as a medium of instruction (Ким, Г.Н, 2013: p. 410 - 415). Since that period and after the mass deportation, the Korean language proficiency considerably decreased across the generations, as the demand for Korean had been decreasing. It is explained by the fact that many Koreans considered learning Russian as a means of upward social mobility through

career or education, whereas Korean due to its limited use did not have much to offer in that regard.

Currently, Korean language education in the Central Asian republics is offered in higher educational institutions on a par with private language courses. The Korean language media comprises such newspapers as Koryo Shinmun (Korean newspaper, Uzbekistan) and Koryo Ilbo (Korean Daily, Kazakhstan) (Ким, 2013: p.508; Хан, 2014: p.177-183).

As was mentioned earlier, due to the transition to the market economy, numerous Koreans engaged in business and politics.

4.1.3.2 Sakhalin Koreans

The Korean community in Sakhalin has undergone significant transformations inevitably affecting their identity and social position that changed from exploited imperial subjects to non-citizens, and crucial members of the modern Sakhalin society.

Due to the sovietization policies aiming at raising education levels and Russification, the Korean community has continuously demonstrated lower and lower degrees of proficiency in the Korean language. For instance (Дин Ю.И, 2015: p.186), in 1959, out of 42,337 Koreans in Sakhalin 39,729 stated their proficiency in the Korean language, whereas in 2010 only 6,169 Koreans confirmed their ability to speak Korean. Nevertheless, the opportunities for learning Korean in Sakhalin are represented by local universities, as well as the Korean Cultural Center opened in 1993 by the South Korean government. Moreover, Korean-language speakers, mostly the first and second generations of Korean in Sakhalin, can access news in Korean through the printed newspaper Saekoryo Shinmun along the television programs broadcast by the Urimal Bangsong TV station.

4.1.4. Conclusion

Throughout the discussion 4.1 The Place of Diaspora in the Host country, the paper explored the political place of Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans in the Host country, the Economic Place of Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans in the Host country, and the social place of Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans in the Host country. The South Korean government did not realize the existence of the Korean Diaspora until the 1990s, therefore, related collective data and there are only a number of remarkable moments in the relations with South Korea and Korean diaspora in the post-Soviet countries. However, host countries, where Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans have lived during the whole period of their existence, have a longer history of active communication and political changes as well as in relations with people's settlement in the host country. By roughly dividing the breaking changes of Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans place in the host country, several fiducial points are manifested. These moments are; Koryo-saram's collective settlement in Far East Russia building an autonomous community, the mass deportation of Koryo-saram, Russo-Japanese War, Sakhalin Koreans being stateless without remaining in Sakhalin island, and the collapse of the Soviet Union.

In the early period of Koryo-saram settlement, the Russian Empire and Soviet Union had many changes of the policies depending on the local officers view towards Koryo-saram community, but generally speaking, Koryo-saram were accepted as the part of the host country and the host country provided the legal status to settle in the Far East for Koryo-saram. The international society was rigid due to the wars, ideological conflicts of the world powers, and the physical transnational movement was not easily accessible in normal lives. Therefore, in the table of diaspora placement, Koryo-saram is located in 'A', or 'B' section depending on the policy of the homeland.

However, this cooptation period changed through the mass deportation under Stalin. It was a tragic moment of betrayal by the government in the perspective of Koryo-saram, and it was the moment of strong discrimination for Koryo-saram because their survival was not considered during the process of the deportation and the settlement in the new land and numerous people passed away as the result. Therefore, from 'A' or 'B' section, the place of Koryo-saram changes to 'C' or 'D' section.

As soon as Koryo-saram adjusted to the new environment of the central, they started to regain their political and social status in the Soviet Union. Through their achievements in farming, factory productivity, scientific discovery, and cultural exchange, Koryo-saram communities had become authorities of the local government. From 'C' or 'D' section of discrimination, Koryo-saram are in the place of cooptation by the host country again. It means they move back to the first section, either 'A' or 'B'.

Meanwhile, Sakhalin Koreans started from the discriminatory policies by the Soviet Union. They were stateless, and their movements were restricted to the Sakhalin island. However, soon Sakhalin Koreans were sovietized by learning Russian and adjusting to the new social system. Therefore, Sakhalin Koreans start from the section 'C' or 'D', and move to the section 'A' or 'B'.

Finally, with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, capitalism and liberalism changed the surroundings of the international atmosphere in the post-Soviet countries. Independent states that Koryo-saram lives had discriminatory policies in the early transitional period, but it was not directly targeting Koryo-saram; it was the chaos and shock of the rapid transition the society has faced which affected all the lives of the society. Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans were accepted in the new society with the status change of Soviet Korean to the citizens of the host country. Therefore, from the section 'A' or 'B' the place changes to 'A`' or 'B`'

4.2 The Place of Diaspora in the Homeland

4.2.1 Political Place

The Korean diaspora exists in all neighbouring countries of Korea, but from the establishment of the South Korean government in 1948 to 1990s, the absence of a practical policy for overseas Koreans was not a considerable political issue. However, throughout the 1988 Seoul Olympics, Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans re-discovered their homeland that it is no longer a 'imagined homeland' but a tangible one that they can visit in the future. Until today, about 60,000 Koryo-saram as well as Sakhalin Koreans returned to South Korea permanently and settled down to the new environment. They mostly settle down in the area that adapted supporting policies or facilities for the convenience of Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans. They live all around South Korea, but especially in Ansan, Anseong, Hwaseong, Gwangju, Gyeongju, Gimhae, Daegu, Seoul, Incheon, Asan, Cheonan, Jincheon-gun, Eumseong-gun. Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans who permanently returned to South Korea live in a society that is widely different from their previous residence. Visible changes - such as change of language, customs, legal status, social status - to the minor differences - food, fashion, lifestyle, culture - appears due to the differences of South Korean society and host country's society. The South Korean government provides social inclusion programs to ease Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans' adjustment to the society and runs information centres for foreigners with Russian language (Kim, 2018).

In 1998, about 800 Koreans from Sakhalin returned to Korea. The permanent return project of Sakhalin Koreans was started in 1992 and limited the scope to the first and second generations who were born before the liberation on August 15, 1945. And from 2008, the permanent return project was expanded for the wider range of Sakhalin Koreans. The 3rd and 4th generation of Sakhalin Koreans can come to South Korea on a family visa, tourist visa, or work visa, but the problem is that families often separate depending on generation, such as

grandparents live in South Korea permanently, but grandchildren should visit Russia

constantly to renew the legal status to stay in South Korea. Improvement for the legal basis of

stay permit is required as a humanitarian action for the diaspora families (Lee & Youn, 2015).

Koryo-saram permanently returned to Korea mainly from Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and

Russia. Visit and Employment visa (H-2), Overseas Koreans visa (F-4), Permanent Residence

(F-5), Family visa (F-1) or other visa is required for Koryo-saram to return to South Korea

(Sun & Parpiyev, 2018).

4.2.2 Economic Place

The visa types for Koryo-saram mentioned above, Visit and Employment visa (H-2),

Overseas Koreans visa (F-4), Permanent Residence (F-5), Family visa (F-1) or other visa,

entitles economic activities. Koryo-saram mainly move inside South Korea to areas where

industrial complexes are concentrated as such areas are easier to find a job. However, due to

the language differences and unstable status in the society, Koryo-saram faces

communication problems and labour problems in particular. At the same time, the biggest

reason for Koryo-saram to return to South Korea is the desire to find a stable and well-paid

job, successfully settle down in South Korea, to provide an educational environment for

children, and to bring their families to South Korea (Kim, 2018). Comparatively, Sakhalin

Koreans often have better Korean language skills. As a result, they face less communicational

trouble, and it results in a preferable position in the job market.

4.2.3 Social Place

During the Soviet era they lived in the socialist system and Russian nationalism, and after the

dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, the society has changed to a new environment

dominated by chaotic systemic transformation and nationalism of the independent country.

Korean society is capitalistic with solid monoethnicity. With the difficulties of settling down in South Korea, Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans sometimes continue to live a diasporic life. According to Sun and Parpiyev's research, returned Koryo-saram has the most difficulties in using and learning Korean, and has high interests in their children's Korean language education. Also, Koryo-saram who returned to South Korea expressed a high level of interest in Korean food, culture, entertainment, music and has an attitude to understand and accept Korean culture overall. Finally, research has shown that Koryo-saram prefer to interact with other Koryo-saram than South Koreans in their daily life and often have better relationships with Koryo-saram than South Koreans (Kim, 2018). In every Korean city with Koryo-saram residential areas, there are civic groups that support Koryo-saram communities for language education, translation, legal assistance, and support for employment. The local government of Gwangju city especially enacted a legal framework to support Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans that include aid for legal status, language education, human right and anti-discrimination actions, interpreter service, childcare assistance, aid in employment and opening businesses (ibid.).

4.2.4 Conclusion

As mentioned in the previous parts of the discussion, Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans were excluded in South Korea until the collapse of the Soviet Union and the establishment of diplomatic relations with the post-Soviet countries. Therefore, the place of Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans was 'B' and 'D' in the rigid international society. From 1991, the South Korean government opened the door for Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans to visit South Korea by establishing diplomatic relations with the post-Soviet countries. It means that South Korea perceives Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans as an asset, and it is the change from the previous periods of excluding Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans from any policies to

today's aids for them to return to South Korea. Therefore, from the 'B' section, the place of Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans move to 'A`'.

4.3 The place of Diaspora in the Changes of the international relations

Both of the Korean communities, Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans, despite their drastically different historical experiences, have been affected by the global international environment. Throughout the 20th century, the international system transformed from a rigid structure which was defined by two competing ideologies during the Cold War era to a flexible international environment.

One key characteristic of the rigid ideologically informed system was the clarity of state boundaries and the existence of the so-called 'iron curtain' coined by Winston Churchil[15]. Behind the curtain, or strongly guarded borders, was the USSR with its multiethnic population. Both of the Korean communities which, due to the reasons and historical events described above, found themselves in the stronghold of communism. The nature of the Soviet regime did not permit interaction with ideologically opposing states, which made, in the case of Sakhalin Koreans, technically impossible to maintain direct contact with South Korea deemed by many of them as their historical homeland. The only other option was North Korea ideologically affiliated with the USSR. However, the reality of the totalitarian regime which formed there for many (not all) Sakhalin Koreans did not allow either to return there or maintain any kind of relationship with the northern part of the Korean Peninsula. As for Koryo-saram, due to the repressive nature of the Soviet state they had been cut off from any means of communicating with the Korean homeland since late 1920 or early 1930s. The continuous process of integration into Soviet society through Russification and sovietization led to their isolation from the historic motherland in both geographical and cultural senses.

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[15] https://www.britannica.com/topic/Iron-Curtain-Speech

By the last decade of the 20th century, the collapse of the USSR provided an opportunity for the inclusion of the post-Soviet bloc countries into the globalized system. Along with it, it presented an opportunity for Koreans from Sakhalin and Central Asia to rediscover their ties with the lost homeland. The former obtained a chance of meeting members of separated families from South Korea, and the latter have gained a means of access to certain forgotten parts of their history and culture in the form of visits, consumption of cultural content, and education. In retrospect, both groups have benefited from the open borders and the absence of ideological burden. Nevertheless, new challenges, such as issues of national identification within newly independent republics arose, and now it entirely depends on respective members of the Korean communities whether they will shift their identities in favour of the titular nations, or will find sources of revitalization of ethnic consciousness through contacts with the historic homeland.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

"Papa-host (father): Once upon a time, in a faraway land, there lived some very kind people. They lived in happiness, until one day… A very mean man forced them to move to a remote land. The people had to make a long trip by train, and not all of them survived. Finally they arrived. Years and generations passed . . . and then you were born. That's all.

Daughter: Not really, we still need to make a period.

Russian client: Why is your fairy tale so sad?

Papa: It's not a fairy tale. It's the real story of my nation.

Client: So what?

Papa: Well, every nation needs its Hanaan, the Land of Promise, . . . like the heaven on Earth.

Client:	*Then your Land of Promise is Korea, isn't it?*

Papa: *Not necessarily.*

(Original in Russian)

Папа-хозяйн (Корёин): Давным давно далеко предалеко жили были
            добрые люди. Жили они жили. Вот однажды один злой человек
            какой-то дяденька решил переселить всех в заморских стран. Потом
            они ехали на поезде ехали, но доехали далеко не все. А потом они
            доехали. Жили, жили, жили жили, наконец появилась ты. Всё.

Дочка: *Нет, не всё. Надо точку поставить.*

Клиент: *Доцент, слышишь? а чё ты грустную сказку сказал?*

Папа: *Нет, это не сказка, это история моего народа.*

Клиент: *И чё?*

Папа: *Каждому народу должен быть свои Ханаан, обетованная земля.<....>*
            короче, Рай на Земле.

Клиент: *И значит, твоя обетованная земля — это Корея? твоя получается?*

Папа: *Зачем?"*[16] *From movie "Hanaan (2011)"*

This script of the movie "Hanaan (2011)" probably describes the situation of Koryo-saram

the best for the general understanding. Sakhalin Koreans also share this 'imagined homeland'

as 'Hanaan, the land of promise'. Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans have the shortest

history of building relationships with the homeland among Korean diaspora, but also one of

the most anticipated diaspora groups as an asset to Korea.

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[16] This is a conversation between a father who is also the owner of a shop, a daughter in the shop with her father, and a Russian client visiting their shop for shopping. The movie is directed by Ruslan Pak, the third generation of Koryo-saram in Uzbekistan.

There are eight characteristics in the Korean diaspora with the understanding of three aspects of the relation with the host country, the homeland, and the relation with the international society. The eight characteristics of Korean diaspora are 1) ethnic dispersion, 2) nonvoluntary dispersion, 3) maintaining ethnic identity, 4) memory of homeland, 5) return to homeland, 6) devotion to the homeland, 7) connection with the homeland, 8) building a transnational network.

At first, Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans dispersed due to the political and economic pressure, Japanese colonization and to support the independence movement of Korea. Secondly, nonvoluntary dispersion comes from Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans' migration to the Far East of Russia and to Central Asia driven by political pressure and persecution. The third, Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans preserved their ethnic identity as Korean by forming a collective residential area of ethnic Koreans and put efforts on education of Korean language, founding Korean schools, publishing Korean newspapers, preserving Korean cuisine, and other efforts on keeping traditional culture. Fourth, Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans share memories of their homeland. Even though they could not visit South Korea and have any direct ties with South Koreans, their memory of homeland remains through communities and culture. Especially stories of ancestors in family hood such as how they moved to the host country from Korea, and the collective activities in the Koryo-saram and Sakhalin communities have become the place of sharing the memory of homeland. Fifth, both Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans have a willingness to return to their homeland. Some of them return to South Korea permanently, and many Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans visit South Korea not only for tourism, but to find family roots, to work, to study in a South Korean organization, and to visit their family members who permanently returned to South Korea. Sixth, during the colonization, Koryo-saram residents were the central place to aid the independence movement of Korea from Japan, and they are

willing to participate in the activities related to their homeland when the opportunity is given. Seventh, Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans could not have a direct connection with the homeland, especially with South Korea until the establishment of the diplomatic relationship with the post-Soviet countries. However, they kept their interest on the issues related to Korea. In today, they have direct connection with the South Korean government and participate in international political matters related to the homeland. Finally, Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans built transnational networks throughout the post-Soviet countries and South Korea. These networks based on ethnicity, family connections, and neighbourhood played an important role in maintaining ethnic Korean communities and residential areas. These eight features answered the first research question that Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans are diaspora.

In addition to the Chapter 3 Theoretical Background, many notions on diaspora and terminologies are analysed and concluded that Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans can be identified as diaspora using the diaspora theory.

In Chapter 4 Discussion, the place of diaspora is analysed in the subparts of the place in host country, homeland, and the international society. Host country and homeland parts are also separated in the three parts of the political place, economic place and the social place. The experience of Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans were different in terms of the migration path to the host country, the timeline, mass deportation, the experience of forced labour, and resettlement in the independent state after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans' place as a diaspora has changed accordingly. However, Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans had similar experience as a Soviet Korean that they share the Russian identity by using Russian language and familiarize with the Russian society and their success stories in the Soviet Union throughout 1960s to 1980s. Therefore, as an answer for the second research question, Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans have different historic paths, however,

they can be in the same group as 'Soviet Koreans or post-Soviet Koreans' in research of the Korean diaspora in the post-Soviet countries. The experience of post-Soviet Koreans (Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans) are different from the experience of Korean diaspora in the capitalist countries such as the United States or Canada, and in this sense, the differences of Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans can be in the similar scope of differences of the Korean diaspora in Hawaii from the 19th Century and the Korean diaspora in Los Angeles from 1960s. By understanding the dynamics of ethnic Koreans in the post-Soviet countries, the important thing is that the researcher must state in the paper the usage of the terminology while using such terms of 'Koryo-saram', 'Russian Koreans', and 'Korean diaspora in CIS' to show which scope of Korean diaspora is the paper tries to cover.

To answer the third research question, the place of diaspora in the host country appeared to be different for Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans until 1950s - 1960s roughly speaking, but they had the same position from 1960s until the dissolution of the Soviet Union. During this period, the Soviet Union implemented the same set of policies towards ethnic minorities. Koryo-saram settled down successfully near Vladivostok until the Soviet Union stopped favourable policy towards ethnic minorities in the 1930s that led to the mass deportation of Koryo-saram in 19370. On the other hand, Sakhalin Koreans faced discrimination in the early stages of the settlement that they were stateless in Russia and were restricted to stay only inside the Sakhalin island. Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans then quickly adjusted to the new environment and became successful as a Soviet citizen and a model minority until 1991. The dissolution of the Soviet Union caused by the change of international powers caused Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans to readjust to their host countries, but the contact with South Korea and post-Soviet diaspora started over the iron curtain. The South Korean government issued special laws and legal basis for Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans to aid their return to homeland.

By applying these findings in the Chapter 4 Discussion to Table 2, the place of Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Korean is able to visualize.
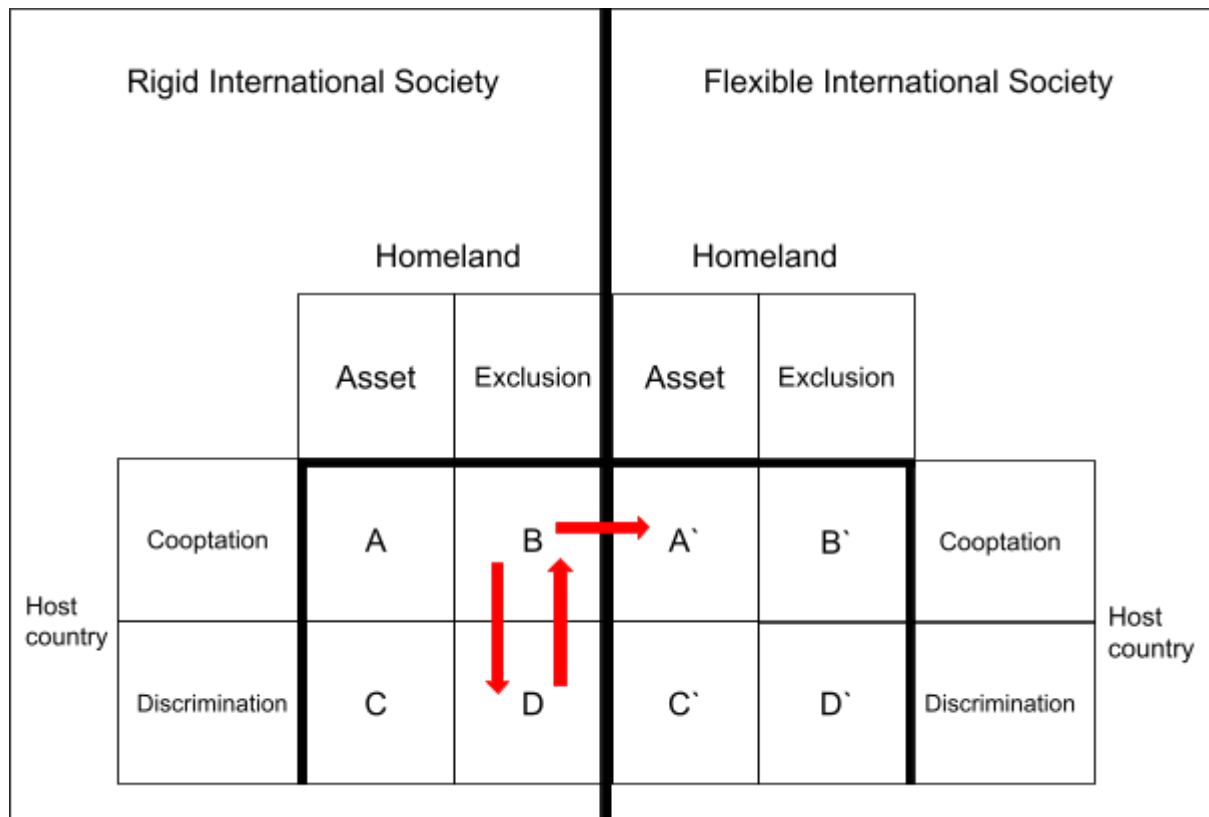

Table 4. The Changes of the Place of Koryo-saram according to the International Society-Host Country-Homeland

At first, Koryo-saram was accepted in the host country and excluded in the home country in the rigid international society. Hence, the place of Koryo-saram was section 'B'. Throughout the mass deportation, Koryo-saram faced discriminatory policies in the host country and still excluded in the home country in the rigid international atmosphere, so the place of Koryo-saram changes from 'B' to 'D'. By adjusting to the new settlement and becoming a loyal member of the society, Koryo-saram regained favourable positions in the society so that their place moved from 'D' to section 'B' again. In 1991, the international society changed from rigid to flexible, and South Korea considers Koryo-saram as an asset through the direct

connection between the diaspora and homeland. Thus, the place of Koryo-saram changes from 'B' to 'A`'.

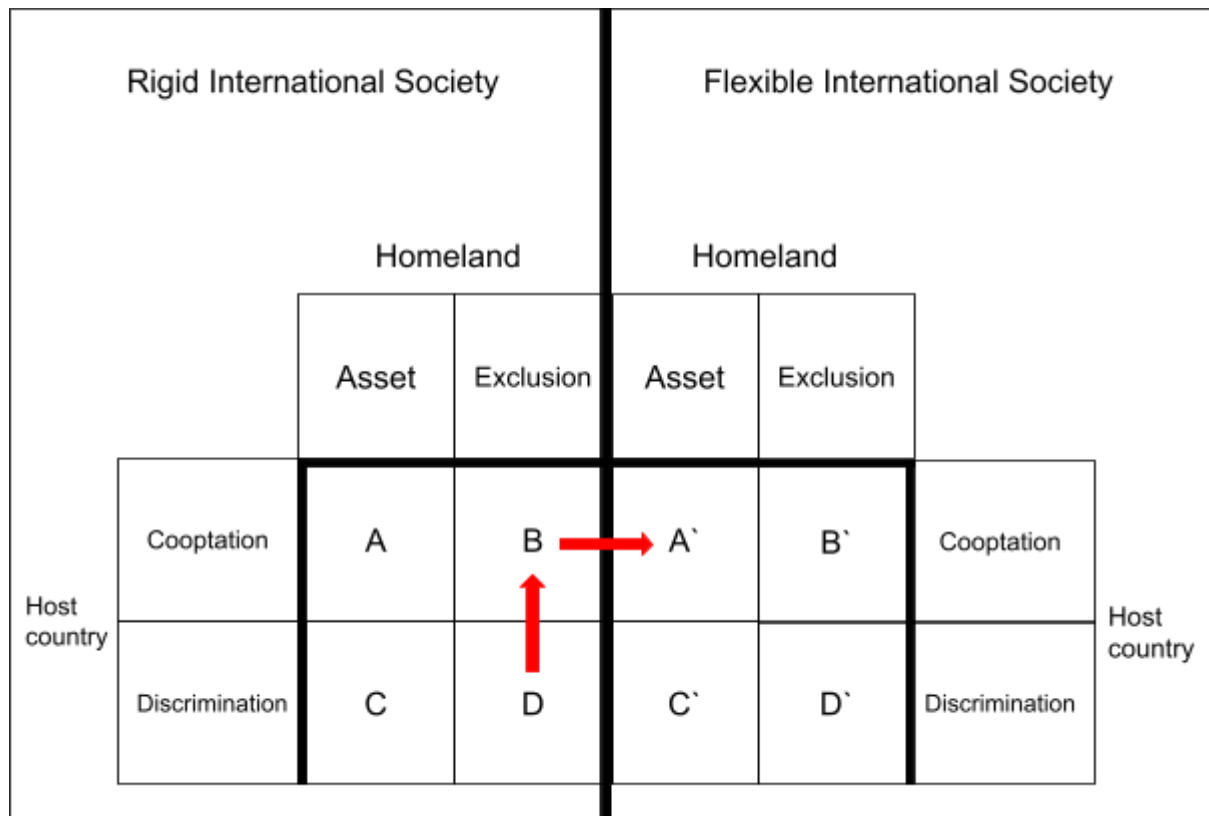Furthermore, below is the place of Sakhalin Koreans.

Table 5. The Changes of the Place of Koryo-saram according to the International Society-Host Country-Homeland

While settling down to the Soviet society, Sakhalin Koreans experience discrimination by the Soviet government. The homeland excluded the Sakhalin Koreans in the rigid international society. Thus, the place of Sakhalin Koreans was section 'D'. By adjusting to the Soviet Union and socio-economic status, the Soviet Union implemented favourable policies to Sakhalin Koreans. Therefore, the place of the Sakhalin Koreans moved from 'D' to section 'B'. In 1991, the international society changed from rigid to flexible, and South Korea considers Sakhalin Koreans as an asset through the direct connection between the diaspora

and homeland while supporting return of the Sakhalin Koreans to South Korea. Thus, the place of Sakhalin Koreans moves from 'B' to 'A`'.

To be concluded, the place of diaspora changes through time periods. Diaspora groups are affected by the policies of the host country and homeland. The changes of the international atmosphere, such as globalization, nationalization, and transnational networks influences the policy of homeland and host country towards the diaspora groups, and they also work as a trigger to individual diaspora groups to constantly make choices for a better life.

The limitation of this research is the limited implementation of North Korea as a homeland. Future research on the Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans can analyse the change of international policies of North Korea and its effect on Koryo-saram and Sakhalin Koreans. Moreover, this research can be extended to other Korean diaspora in the United States, Japan, Western Europe, South America, Africa and so on. Individual research on Koryo-saram in the Baltics, Caucasus, Belarus and other countries where a small number of Koryo-saram reside is also recommended to expand the research of post-Soviet Koreans.

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