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Self-Referentiality of Cognition and (De)Formation of Ethnic Boundaries

A Comparative Study on Korean Diaspora in Russia, China, the United States and Japan

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Contents

Abbreviations

ADHD	Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder
CD	Certificate of Deposit
CDFI	California Department of Financial Institutions
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CK	KPSS Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CRE	Commercial Real Estate
DIF	Deposit Insurance Fund
DPRK	The Democratic People's Republic of Korea
FDIC	The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation
ICHC	I Can Has Cheezburger?
IT	Information Technology
KIWA	Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance
NKVD	The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs
MIWON	Multi-Ethnic Immigrant Workers Alliance
RGASPI	Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History
SBA	Small Business Administration
SCAP	Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers
VKP (b)	All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)

Abstract

The purpose of this research is to develop a new approach towards formation of the ethnic boundary as complex interrelation between cognitive structures and ethnic/national boundaries formation process. The Korean Diaspora in China, Russia, the USA, and Japan illustrate how this process correlates with nationalism of host societies and how it can be different and similar at the same time. Korean diaspora developed a complex of adaptive reactions that cultivate particular social expectations and internalize produced disappointments into national or ethnic discourse that function as an important source of motivation to pursue further nation or ethnic boundaries building process as a part of modernization. (Post)socialist nations such as Russia, China, and North Korea exploit ethnic/national culture as a form of distribution of political power between state and society. The capitalist nations such as the USA, Japan, and South Korea rely on reproduction of social inequality to regulate reproduction of ethnic/nationals boundaries. In other words, the Russian Korean and Chinese Korean ethnic boundaries oscillate between anti-state and pro-state positions and the Russian and Chinese state between anti-ethnic and pro-ethnic policies. Identities of the Korean American diaspora oscillate between abundance and scarcity of money for Korean American diaspora and other ethnic group. Dynamics of Japanese Korean diaspora refers to complex of moral reactions against economic exclusion oscillating between positive moral reaction (compassion) and negative moral reaction (criticism).

Keywords Diaspora · Social complexity · Cognition · Ethnicity · Nationalism · Capitalism · Socialism · Modernization

Chapter 1
Introduction

Abstract Ethnic boundaries of Korean diaspora after more than hundred years still remain important political and economic factor both for ethnic Koreans all over the world, their host nations and nation of origins. Boundaries persist in spite of failed nation-building process as well as process of ethnicity formation. Contradictions of nation state, high level of labor division, presence of ethnic minorities and immigrant groups, corruption, extreme individualism and ecological problems are supposed to convince society that nation is hardly possible. However, the attempts to prove the constructed or imagined character of national/ethnic boundaries and attempts to deconstruct or assimilate them often produce opposite effect that strengthens social faith in nation and ethnicity. This work is an attempt to show on the example of Korean diaspora in Russia, China, the United States and Japan that the persistence of ethnic and national boundaries is in fact manifestation of persistence of the complex interrelation between cognitive structures and ethnic/national boundaries formation process.

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The choice of the Korean diaspora in countries like Russia, China, USA and Japan for this study requires an explanation. The first reason is that Korean immigrants are a window to a process of social evolution that allows one to observe formation of clear patterns of ethnic boundaries formation. They have a long history of residing outside of the current boundaries of Korea, averaging about a hundred years and having from three to five generations. A second reason is that Russia, China, the United States, and Japan represent different paths to modernization, which strongly influenced formation of ethnicity among Korean immigrants. Russia is an example of European socialist modernization. China gives an example of East Asian socialist modernization. The United States is a classic example of capitalist modernization and Japan represents an example of East Asian capitalist modernization. In addition, all four countries have relatively large Korean populations—close to 150,000 (Russia), about 1.8 million (China), nearly 1.5 million (USA), over a half million (Japan), respectively.

The main object of research is interrelation between host nations, nations of origin on one side and communities of Korean diaspora on the other. These local communities are represented by four cities with relatively large Korean populations. Russia, the Primorsky region and Ussuriysk-city in particular had about a hundred thousand Koreans in 1917 and nearly twenty thousand at the beginning of 2010s. In China, YKAP and Yanji-city with nearly 200,000 Korean population. In In the United States, Los Angeles Korea town has 120,000 residents. In Japan, the Kansai region of Osaka has about 130,000 Koreans and Kyoto, another thirty thousand Japanese Koreans. This work is not detailed historical or sociological research of Korean Diaspora but represent an attempt to describe a certain patterns of ethnic/boundaries reproduction. The research covers only certain episodes of how ethnic Koreans reacted to capitalist/socialist modernization of their host nations and nations of origin by constructing ethnic boundaries and vice versa. That is why the time span spreads from late 19th century until 2010s that covers the first attempts of modernization in Choson Kingdom, formation of Korean Diaspora, its further integration into different "modernities" of their host nations and development of North/South Korean Diaspora politics in 2010s. The Korean Diasporas analyzed here, in order of appearance in this study, all have long histories of settlement. Russia and China have the longest more than a century and a half history, beginning in second half of 19th century, followed by the United States and Japan with nearly eleven decades, beginning in early 20th century.

The selection of these particular sites and groups needs additional clarification. Four regions in particular were selected—the Primorsky region in case of Russian Korean diaspora, In China, YKAP and Yanji-city, the Los Angeles metropolitan area in case of Korean American diaspora and the Kansai region in case of Japanese Korean diaspora. Each of the region's Korean community is representative example of the different types of ethnic boundaries formation. In addition to their numbers, the Korean diaspora's varying responses to their host societies' political trends in the Primorsky region and YKAP, economic changes in Los Angeles and Kansai region make their study a worthy pursuit.

The Russian Korean diaspora in the Primorsky region is a good example of the politicization of ethnic boundaries. The history of Russian Koreans began in the Primorsky region more than one hundred years ago. The formation of ethnicity reflects general trends of political power not only in the Primorsky region but in Russia society in general. Moreover, reflection of political contradictions in terms of cultural differences even coincide presence or absence of Korean people in the Primorsky region. The political conflict with the state during 1920s–1930s ended in forced relocation in 1937 from the Primorsky region to Central Asia. The latter's return from Central Asia back to the Primorsky region coincided with the process of formation of state support and loyalty towards state officials in 1990s and 2000s. The same dynamics of ethnicity politicization is true despite differences in generations so that the generations of Soviet Koreans from 1920s until 1990s all represented management ethnic boundaries conflicting with the state. Even after the collapse of Soviet Union, Russian Koreans managed to avoid possible conflicts with the state.

The Chinese Korean diaspora in Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture (YKAP) is an example of politicization of ethnic boundaries but in opposite way. Unlike Soviet Union/Russia, ethnic culture of Chinese Koreans (*chaoxianzu*) developed on a fixed territory in Northeast China for more than century and a half. The territorial institutionalization of *chaoxianzu* had strong impact on the pattern of ethnic boundaries formation that developed as reaction to different trends of political power in China. Since the beginning of Korean immigration in second half of 19th century to China, this territory was a place where different forces collided, putting ethnic Koreans in the middle of political contradictions first within Qing Empire and later between Chinese nationalists, Communists and Japanese Empire. Besides, YKAP reflected all contradictions of socialist modernization since establishment of People's Republic of China in 1949 and eventual transition to capitalism since early 1980s.

The Korean American diaspora in Los Angeles is an example of exploitation of ethnic culture as a form capital accumulation and upward mobility within a capitalist society. Besides the fact that the population of Korean Americans is the largest in Los Angeles, this community represents a more diversified form of commercialization of ethnic culture. If New York City (second largest Korean community in the United States) is an economic center of America, as represented by Wall Street, then Los Angeles is a cultural center that mixes both capitalist economic and capitalist cultural features together in Hollywood. It makes the Korean American diaspora in Los Angeles not only an example of ethnic entrepreneurship, represented by the first generation of the third wave (post-1965) of Korean immigration but also a reflection of the integration of Korean American producers and artists into cultural mainstream of American society.

The Japanese Korean diaspora in the Kansai region exemplifies the opposite pattern of moralized reaction against economic exclusion. Besides the demographic factor—the Japanese Korean community in Kansai region is the largest in Japan—there is also a symbolic factor that makes it a good example of moralization of

ethnic culture in comparison with Japanese Korean diaspora in other regions such as the Kanto area. It retains the central symbols of Japanese Korean diaspora that shows evolution of gradual reliance on moral rationality in construction of ethnic boundary from Japanese society to which younger generation of Japanese Koreans still refer as the most crucial. For instance, the Utoro-area, the Kyoto Higashi Kujo district, and Kobe City have come to symbolize the initial success of Japanese Koreans in protecting their right to ethnic education. In addition, the Korea town in Osaka's Tsuruhashi district conducts annually a large ethnic festival. And finally, the Kansai region is the most often referred to place in the imagination of Japanese Korean writers about their experience as Japanese Koreans.

1.1 Review of Literature

Previous studies on the Korean diaspora examine different interaction strategies of social integration of Korean immigrants into host society. The advantage of these approaches is that they can show how particular individuals and social groups interact with external objects such as the larger society negotiating their identities. The interaction paradigm explains variations of social boundaries formation in terms of the ethnic culture's uneven interaction with economy, politics, art, and religion of the host society or country of origin. There are three main lines of inquiry distinguished by what they describe. The first is the assimilation approach, which describes ethnic culture in terms of its similarities or differences with the larger society. The second one is power functionalism that examines a given ethnic culture in terms of its power relations with the dominant society, often with the intent to criticize that domination or to supply ideological justification for compensatory claims. The third one is the instrumentalist approach that describes ethnicity as a source for motivation and organization of economic, political, artistic, or religious activities.

Yet these three approaches fail to explain how ethnicity functions and how it applies to the Korean diaspora. The interaction approach reduces social complexity to individual motivations and these individual motivations combine to influence ethnicity of all Koreans in the diaspora even though individual motivations may have different economic, religious, moral, artistic, or political backgrounds. The advantage of this approach is that it can provide in-depth analysis of individual interests and emotions but it is limited by its one-sidedness. For example, In Jin Yoon (2004) looks at Korean diaspora through the eyes of economic motivation and social mobility by placing social reproduction of ethnic boundary upon the individuals whose arbitrariness cannot be counted on to be consistent under all conditions faced by members of the same group and host society and conditions imposed on society by the economy. Moreover, the interactionist approach reduces economics, politics, or religion to only particular forms of description of a given Korean diaspora in terms of differences between individual and collective, society and state, minority and majority and the difference between individuals.

For example, according to Niklas Luhmann the main problem with interactionist approach is that it reduces society to a sum of the individuals and their interactions describing this difference between individual and society as distinction between social and personal identity. However, only because individuals know how to handle this difference can society emerge beyond interaction. This conceptual formation remains socio-psychological and is not suitable for comprehending the highly complex problems of the societal systems which cannot be ascribed to individuals or to their interaction.[1]

The assimilation model helps to grasp the particular relationship between the ethnic minority and the majority. It describes the degree of compatibility of the culture of diaspora with the culture of host society or the culture of country of origin that is for some an external object. There are at least three main perspectives for describing the Korean diaspora within the assimilationist paradigm. The first one describes difference between country of origin and Korean diaspora.[2,3] It deals with the dynamics of presence or absence of Korean cultural markers, such as language, costumes, cuisine and ethnic identity among members of diaspora. The second one describes the difference between the Korean diaspora and the host society and the degree of compatibility of the ethnic boundary between the Korean diaspora and the host society in the process of social adaptation.[4] The third one is the multicultural perspective that describes the Korean diaspora as different from both the country of origin and the host society. According to this perspective members of the Korean diaspora are people of a unique culture.[5]

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[1]Niklas Luhmann, *Social Systems*. Translated by John Bednarz Jr, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), 405.

[2]In Jin Yoon, Korian diaseupora: jaeoe hanin ui iju, jeogeung, jeongcheseong [The Korean Diaspora: Migration, Adaptation, Identity of Overseas Koreans] (Koryeo Daehakgyo Chulpanbu, 2004), 8.

[3]The idea of blood-based nationalism is probably the most common argument for solidarity among Korean people. See for example the work of Gee Wook Shin, *Ethnic nationalism in Korea:* Genealogy, Politics, and Legacy (Standford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006) where describes how "blood" became the dominant source of Korean identity.

[4]Yasunori Fukuoka, Myung Soo Kim, *Zainichi kankokujin seinen no seikatsu to ishiki* [The Lives and Consciousness of Young Japanese Koreans] (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1997), 129–135; Also see Yasunori Fukuoka, *Zainichikankoku chōsenjin:* wakai sedai no aidentiti [Japanese Koreans: Identity of Young Generation] (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1993), 2–20; Han Tonhyon, *Chima chogori seifuku no minzoku shi:* sono tanjō to chōsen gakkō no josei tachi [Ethnic History of Chima jeogori Uniform: Its Origin and Korean Schools Female Students] (Toyko: Sofusha, 2006), 15–23; Jīn Jùn Fēng, *Zhōng guó cháo xiǎn zú mín jū* [Chinese Korean Tradition Dwellings] (Beijing: Mínzú chū bǎn shè, 2007), 101–103.

[5]Kon Cha Yun, *[Zainichi] wo kangae ru* [On the Debate over Japanese Koreans] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2001), 169; Gyong Su Mun. *Zainichichōsenjin mondai no kigen* [The Origin of Debate on Japanese Koreans] (Tokyo: Crane, 2007), 214; Shi Jong *Kim*, *[Zainichi] no hazamade* [Japanese Koreans in Between] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2001), 211–213, 457. See for instance, Kamensky M.S., *Koreyci v Permskom Kraye: Ocherki Istorii i Etnografii* [Koreans in Perm Region: Sketches on History and Ethnography] (Sankt-Petersburg: Mamatov, 2014), 127.

The notion of adaptation is supposed to introduce dynamism to description of the Korean diaspora.[6] It describes degree of compatibility between the presence or absence of ethnic markers and the environment of the larger society. In Jin Yoon, Korean Diaspora (2004) describes the growing compatibility of the Korean diaspora with the host society (adaptation). In order to understand differences/similarities he applies adaptation model of Korean immigrants to host society. The schema includes gradual process of growing compatibility (assimilation) of Korean immigrant's ethnic culture to the social environment of the host society and consists of (iju) adaptation (jeogeung), assimilation (donghwa), identity (jeongcheseong), and co-existence (gongdongche).[7] He begins with the Pre-Contact Phase, which includes background of immigration and relations between country of origin and destination country and then goes into the Contact Phase when immigrants make first contact with culture of the host society. His Settlement Phase marks the beginning of adaptation to the host society culturally, economically, psychologically. The final phase is the "Adaptation" Phase when immigrants' complete the socio-cultural structure forms.[8] Each phase means greater difference from the country of origin and increasing similarities with the host society. However, for In Jin Yoon, the extent of adaptation depends on the initial reasons for immigration—voluntary immigrants tend to seek assimilation whereas involuntary immigrants refuse assimilation and harbor strong intentions of returning to the country of origin. In Yoon's view, therefore, bi-national politics of the host and home countries play an important role in determining the extent of preservation of Korean culture, the rise of social and class structure of the ethnic community, and the ethnic individual's participation in life of the host country.

Suzuki Kazuko in her comparative study Divided *Fates: The State, Race, and Korean Immigrants' Adaptation in Japan and the United States* (2016) published in the English language offers different form of dealing with adaptation as resistance against domination.[9] She proposes a "new framework of comparing immigrant adaptation" that divides a host society into three levels of description of compatibilities between the immigrant community and the host society. These levels are the state level that describes government role in formation of "state's nationality policy and ideology of nationhood" the societal level that refers to "prevailing patterns of race and ethnic relations" and the community level that refers to "existence and

[6]See for instance Won H. Chang, "Communication and Acculturation," in *The Korean Diaspora: Historical and Sociological Studies of Korean Immigration and Assimilation in North America*, edited by Hyung Chan, Kim (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, Inc., 1977), 135 or Milton Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life:* The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 71.

[7]In Jin Yoon, Korian diaseupora: jaeoe hanin ui iju, jeogeung, jeongcheseong [The Korean Diaspora: Migration, Adaptation, Identity of Overseas Koreans] (Seoul: Koryeo Daehakgyo Chulpanbu, 2004), 17.

[8]Ibid., 40.

[9]Kazuko Suzuki, *Divided Fates*: The State, Race, and Korean Immigrants' Adaptation in Japan and the United States, (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books), 2016, 149.

nature of their own ethnic communities."[10] The assumption that "each level determines the distinctive state mode of immigrant incorporation"[11] cannot clarify how and why a host society deals with differences between state and society, majority and minority and what impact it has on the incorporation of immigrants precisely because of the closed ness distinctive of different levels. The "combination of contextual factors"[12] would mean that these differences should be constantly negotiated between state, society, and ethnic community because the "new framework" does not describe how members of society deal with these differences beyond interactions.

The authors using the adaption approach therefore face certain limitations. They show only degree of assimilation to mainstream culture and emphasis on the conflict and crisis of identities rather than on correlation between self-descriptions of Korean diaspora and self-descriptions of host society. Moreover, the very fact that authors who give place to freedom of choice, are handicapped by serious limitations in the description of the internal mechanism of ethnicity. It draws attention of observer to social contradiction between individual and collective identities. The problem with this type of multiculturalism is that it assumes the individual determines all and that clearly is not the case since society also defines who a person is no matter what that person may think or no matter what identity that person adopts for him/herself. Samuel L. Bailey warns us against simplifying adaptation and introduced more variables in this interplay explaining that "the nature and degree of adjustment of immigrants in an urban receiving society." He notes that the combination of "methods of agreement" and "method of difference" draws attention more to the environment (whether host society or country of origin) than to the immigrants and assumes the immigrants must change (adjust) in different dimensions to increase compatibility.[13]

To add to this, the notion of social adaptation is based on tautological assumptions. Descriptions of the dynamics of compatibility of immigrant community with country of origin and host society do not explain mutual adaptation of both sides of interaction and also ignore the process of self-adaptation. On the theoretical level this tautological assumption means that a system can adapt to environment if environment were adapted to system and vice versa.[14] On one hand, an immigrant community represents a challenge for the host society and host society has also change itself in order to adapt to the immigrant community.

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[10]Ibid., 214–216.

[11]Ibid., xxx.

[12]213–214.

[13]Samuel Bailey, "Cross-Cultural Comparison and the Writing of Migration History," in *Immigration Reconsidered:* History, Sociology, and Politics, edited by Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 241–253.

[14]See Niklas Luhmann, *Social Systems*. Translated by John Bednarz Jr, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), 31–32; Also See Hurh Won Moo, and Kwang Chung Kim, "Adhesive Sociocultural Adaptation of Korean Immigrants in the U.S.: An Alternative Strategy of Minority Adaptation," in *International Migration Review* XVIII, no. 2, 1983, 188–216.

For instance, the nation-state in response to immigration has to impose at least two restrictions on their sovereignty—the principle of racial non-discrimination as represented by the idea of "human rights" and by the transnational identities of immigrants as represented by the idea of "post national membership."[15] On the other hand, the description of compatibility does not specify what internal operations contain Korean ethnicity to make distinction between system and environment that is ethnic boundary between "Korean culture" and everything else?

The instrumentalist approach concentrates on specific aspects of the Korean diaspora. It describes ethnic culture as motivation for various kinds of social activities and vice versa. For instance, as seen in works focusing on Korean American religion they fail to account for the sources behind Korean American diaspora. These scholars see religious identity as having the only source of motivation that influences Korean American diaspora (tradition of "Korean American spirituality"); they neither examine the internal logic of religious communication nor connect religion to ethnicity formation. Within instrumentalist approach, religious faith is a source of ethnic and even inter-ethnic solidarity,[16] but also intra-group conflict such as Korean American Protestants and Buddhists.[17] Religious identities, especially if shared, can influence socioeconomic adjustment[18] and even circumscribe sexual behavior within an ethnic boundary that "promotes ethnic identity and endogamy." Religious motivation can reproduce ethnic differences in different (hybrid) ways or reduce individual anxiety and disappointments from contingent cultural or intergenerational differences.[19]

The researchers on the Korean American diaspora often look at economic background of individual motivation formation and its influence on the diaspora. For instance, economic instrumentalists view the Korean American diaspora from two opposing angles even though both share similar explanation of ethnic boundary or ethnic solidarity based on economic activities. On the one hand, some interpret ethnic culture and ethnic solidarity forms of capital formation in which Koreans became "middlemen" with "class and ethnic resources."[20] They see this capital formation as the critical element for ethnic solidarity.[21] The impact of their

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[15]Christian Joppke, *Immigration and the Nation-State*: The United States, Germany, and Great Britain (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 273–276.

[16]Sang Hyun Lee, "Liminality and Worship in Korean American Context," in *Religion and Spirituality in Korean America*, edited by DavidYu and Ruth H. Chung, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 100–115.

[17]Sharon A. Suh, "Asserting Buddhist Selves in a Christian Land: The Maintenance of Religious Identity among Korean Buddhists in America," in *Religion and Spirituality in Korean America*, 40–59.

[18]Okyun Kwon, "The Religiosity and Socio-economic Adjustment of Buddhist and Protestant Korean Americans," in *Religion and Spirituality in Korean America*, 60–83.

[19]Rebecca Kim, *God's New Whiz Kids?*: Korean American Evangelicals on Campus (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 35–49; and Mary Yu Danico, *The 1.5 Generation:* Becoming Korean American in Hawaii (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 151–182.

[20]Ivan Light, Edna Bonacich, *Immigrant Entrepreneurs:* Koreans in Los Angeles, 1965–1982 (University of California Press, 1988), 178–204.

[21]Pyong Gap Min, *Caught in the Middle*, 16.

economic activities produces individual and collective disappointments inside the Korean diaspora, which does not, results in intragroup conflict but rather ethnic solidarity. Their economic activities also provoke individual and collective disappointments outside the Korean diaspora that results in host society hostility, which in turn cements ethnic solidarity.[22]

Another approach to the analysis of Korean ethnicity is what American anthropologist Marshal Sahlins labeled as "neo-functionalism of power."[23] The central idea of power functionalism is to describe social differences in general and cultural differences in particular as mutually exclusive. Korean diaspora in Russia, the United States and Japan give different examples of power functionalist self-description. This approach views ethnic culture of Korean diaspora in terms of the standard social contradiction between individual and collective, society and state, men and women and minority and majority.

The reference to these contradictions has one important function to justify claims for compensations. This pattern emerged within the idea of the welfare state and is based on the assumption that every difference must be compensated. It came about in part because class differences prevented equal distribution of wealth in society and on the other hand, the system theory was believed to be one that would preserve this social structure. As a result, many intellectuals shifted to criticism of society in awkward return to Marxism when the dominant function of social science was the production of anxiety and warning "without offering possibility of risk-free solutions."[24] The notion of "ethnicity" became a special case of social criticism and ideological justification of claims in terms of cultural differences. For instance, Russian or Chinese Korean ethnicity is usually an example of description of difference between state and society to prevent excessive political power of state[25]; Korean American ethnicity stresses differences between individual and collective[26]; Japanese Korean ethnicity and Japanese society provoke mutual moral irritation and then criticize this irritation to justify monetary compensations of social exclusion.[27]

Power functionalism describes difference between personal and social identities as contradiction. According to Nazli Kibria in her work *Becoming Asian American:*

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[22]Ibid., 15–27.

[23]Marshall Sahlins, *Waiting for Foucault*, *Still* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2002), 22–23.

[24]Niklas Luhmann, *Political Theory in the Welfare State*, translated by John Bednarz Jr. (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1990). 1990, 71.

[25]See for instance, Han Valery, *Koryo-saram: Kto Mi?*: Sketches on History of Korean People [Koryo-Saram: Who Are We?] (Bishkek, 2009), 55; Shí Yuán Huá, *Zhōng guó gòng chǎn dǎng yuán zhù cháo xiǎn dú lì yùn dòng jǐ shì* 1921–1945 [History of Chinese Communist Party's Assistance to Korean Independence Movement 1921–1945], (Beijing: Zhōng guó shè huì kē xué chū bǎn shè, 2000), 394–396.

[26]See for instance, Heerak Christian Kim, Korean-American Youth Identity and 9/11: An Examination of Korean-American Ethnic Identity in Post-9/11 America, Hermit Kingdom Press, 2008, 124–155.

[27]Ri Kōkei and Choi Kilsong, *Sabetsu o ikiru zainichi chōsen jin* [Japanese Korean Life through Discrimination] (Tokyo: Daiichishobo, 2006), 219.

Second-Generation Chinese and Korean American Identities (2002), Asian American identity refers to the process of negotiation between individual and collective to find the balance between two. "For some it [Asian American identity] signified an effort to impose an artificial and fake social and political unity". Yet for others "Asian American" signified a restriction on individuality.[28] However, the very fact of possibility of compromise or balance means that this is not contradiction because contradiction describes mutually exclusive distinctions. Instead, what is at work here is only one side of what can form contradiction, namely individual actions that challenges collective identities. To put it in abstract terms, "Asian American" within the individual and collective distinctions refers to social contingency and an uncertain future.

This introduces the problem of imagination and anxiety and their impact on observation and descriptions of social identities. It is true that imagination plays important role in formation of identities but it covers only one side of this process. Benedict Anderson[29] observes what impact does the imagination have on formation of nationalism in particular and Arjun Appadurai[30] regards imagination as important factor in modernity in general. However, both these authors and Nizla Kibria do not specify the opposite side of imagination, namely reason. This is crucial for understanding of how observations of the Korean diaspora are possible in modern society. The situation is typical for modern society beginning from European Enlightenment which defined itself in terms of mutually exclusive distinctions like rational and irrational, dependency and freedom, certainty and uncertainty, homogeneity and heterogeneity, state and society, individual and collective, nature and culture. Simply put, imagination is responsible for the supply of contingency and uncertainty in society. It means that within European rationality, imagination refers only to one side of distinction, namely to different kinds of social contingency creating the conditions where the individual is forced to make choices and take risks but does not specify how these future risks can be processed because this is also the work of reason.

Reference to uncertainty can become a scientific argument that explains the nature of ethnicity. Individual freedom to decide the meaning of ethnic culture usually ends by reference to nowhere without clarifications. It goes without specifications of what meaning should this reference to uncertainty have. For instance, John Lie locates Japanese Korean ethnicity in different temporal dimensions when ethnicity is simultaneously in the future, past, and present waiting for individual to choose one. He says, "Ethnic identity is after all as much about the future as about the past or the present" and "needless to say, each individual comes up with her or his conclusion, yet that conclusion is often influenced, at times profoundly, by

[28]Nazli Kibria, *Becoming Asian American:* Second-Generation Chinese and Korean American Identities (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 205.

[29]Anderson Benedict, *Imagined Communities:* Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (London: Verso, 1983), 7.

[30]Appadurai, Arjun, *Modernity at Large*: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 3–11.

reading or listening to intellectuals such as Kang and Tei. Legal and economic conditions may change beyond recognition." At least he justifies uncertainty "what we should learn is the limitations of facile sociological generalizations, whether to assume a singular identity in a population or to reduce identity to history and sociology."[31] In fact, individualization of ethnicity is itself a "facile sociological generalization" and is extremely reductive because it tells nothing but that the dynamics of contradiction between personal and social are uncertain, while the reference to "uncertain" future has clear function with relatively predictable consequences for formation of ethnic boundaries.

Another example of the usage of uncertainty and individual manipulation is the work of famous researcher of Japanese Koreans Sonia Ryang. In her book *North Koreans in Japan: Language, Ideology, and Identity* (1997), Ryang looks at language as one of the possible markers of Japanese Korean identity. By doing this she ignores the function of language in society and takes it as just a symbol for individual manipulations. "Rather than asking whether it is true or not," Luhmann reminds us, "We must ask why many individuals all say they are A rather than B or C." Hence, Ryang says the ethnicity of North Koreans in Japan, on the one hand, "reflects the power flow that *Chongryun* directs upon individuals" and "the unequal distribution of social power" while on the other hand, an individual may oppose this flow of power through the imagination of crossing boundaries of different discourses, that is, by imagining and negotiating of one's own identities (nomadic identity). She says, "The boundaries inside and outside are subject to negotiation and dependent on individuals' action…" I live as a *Chongryun* Korean and I do not; I move in and out of the symbolic boundaries of *Chongryun* life and non-*Chongryun-life*."[32]

Anxiety is another possible solution to the problem of uncertainty within interaction paradigm. Individual anxiety is one of the crucial factors that make reference to individual consciousness attractive for scientific analysis. There are a number of works that stress primarily the descriptions of individual anxieties in terms of cultural differences and represent them as an analysis of ethnicity. For instance, in *Becoming Asian American* Nazli Kibria provides examples of a large number of ways that the second-generation Korean and Chinese Americans refer to anxiety when describing individual and collective contradiction in terms of cultural differences. In *Blue Dreams* (1995) authors Nancy Abelmann and John Lie develop a bond between the reader and the interviewees because each of the latter gives individual and emotional self-descriptions of individual anxiety after the 1992 Los Angeles Riot in particular and his experience as immigrant in general where "the voices of Korean Americans in the Los Angeles Riot provide a crucial source for this book."

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[31]John Lie, *The End Of The Road? The Post-Zainichi Generation* in Diaspora without Homeland Being Korean in Japan. Sonia Ryang and John Lie (ed.) (Berkely and Los Angeles: University of California Press), 178–179.

[32]Sonia Ryang, *North Koreans in Japan*: Language, Ideology, and Identity (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1997), 218, 220.

However, they pay little attention to understanding ethnicity but rather focus on the processes that take place in the individual consciousness and not in society. Anxiety is probably the only phenomenon in society that cannot be deconstructed and refuted because its existence is beyond the realm of debate. This approach allows the individual the right to manipulate justifications of one's expectations and disappointments with reference to anxiety to make a description of the Korean diaspora seem real and authentic. Anxiety is how individual consciousness reacts to social complexity, namely the indifference of social systems towards individual motivations, and belongs to consciousness and not to society. Hence, little can be learned from anxiety as it relates to ethnicity when such studies ignore the difference between individual and collective.

Power functionalism paradigm also exploits the difference between state and society. For instance, studies on Russian Korean ethnicity exploit the difference between state and society. German Kim, a famous researcher of ethnic Korean minority in the former Soviet Union describes the reasons for the forced deportation of Korean immigrants from Russian Far East to Central Asia as a growing distrust among state authorities and at the same time growing state control and conflicts with Korean people that already began before the 1917 Russian Revolution and ended with their mass deportation in 1937. According to Kim, Korean deportation to Central Asia was a logical culmination of tsarist and soviet national policy in the Russian Far East. German Kim adopts a simple explanation of Korean deportation in particular and the phenomenon of a Deported People in general as a problem of hegemony of state with excessive power over society. He says "the main reason for deporting the Koreans and other ethnic minorities lies in the nature of the totalitarian regime that had taken shape in the USSR by the end of the 1920s and developed to its fullest extent in the 1930s and 1940s."[33] The reason why mass deportation was carried out is because people "were continually brainwashed with images of dangerous and cunning enemies." Eventually German Kim makes the argument of absolute mutual incompatibility between socialist state and society. He writes, "Moreover, these enemies were not discrete persons or social groups or classes, but entire nations and ethnic groups. It was only logical that terror would be considered a necessary part of the struggle against nationalities hostile to socialism, the motherland, and its leader." The weakness of Kim's position is its one-sidedness placing of responsibility of this tragic event upon only the State and portrays Koreans as mere victims. However, the deportation was logical outcome of political regulation of risks in Soviet Union and Korean immigrants were not passive victims but active participants in this process.

The rationality of violence is clear if one looks at for instance accusations in "Japanese espionage" as a case of political communication. The very logic of political power creates risk that participants would describe each other in terms of mutually exclusive antagonisms (class struggle). Politicized Soviet Korean diaspora

[33]German Kim, *Koryo Saram*: Koreans in the Former USSR (New Haven, CT: East Rock Institute, 2001), 29.

first of all represented a parallel source of political power that put it in conflict not only with Soviet state but also described relations among Soviet Koreans in terms of struggle for power. In other words, Soviet Korean diaspora was a form of political contradiction between the state and the diaspora and between members of the diaspora. To put it as a paradox, on the one hand there would not be a deportation without the politicization of Soviet Korean ethnicity and on the other, there would not be such thing as Soviet Korean ethnicity without the politicization of culture. It means that the "problem" of "Japanese espionage" among Soviet Koreans was not a part of "Soviet propaganda machine" as German Kim sees it[34] but rather was a rationale for their mass deportation promoted by both the State and the Koreans as part of a common "class struggle" in Soviet Union.

In addition, power functionalism has irreconcilable internal contradictions. In *Blue Dreams* (1997) Nancy Abelmann and John Lie describe Korean American ethnicity in two mutually exclusive ways. They promote the idea of solidarity ("never-ending need for solidarity")[35] but in the form that is absolutely impossible. They speak about social heterogeneity of Korean American experience and then construct interdependencies in Durkheim style of "organic solidarity" alternative to class or ethnic solidarities. In other word, the antonymic contradiction is obvious here, because solidarity is incompatible with idea of heterogeneity because if the first is right the second is wrong and vice versa. The attempts to create interdependencies already failed a hundred years ago when already Durkheim faced serious difficulties with this notion of solidarity in the context of growing division of labor.[36] Moreover, "the role of sociologists is not to take part in the production of ideology [or critic of ideology], but to enlighten society regarding its own complexity."[37]

The authors of *Blue Dreams* use two successive techniques to promote the idea of solidarity. The first one is the emotional level of solidarity where they show different forms of social interaction from the transnational level within South Korea-United States relations or the interracial relations on the local level with reference to emotional and intimate descriptions of Korean American motivations for coming to the United States, and their disappointment with American society. Reading these stories creates an impression of emotional proximity with those people and on the other hand makes each case look individual. The disappointments then show that ethnic or class solidarity is hardly possible. For example, ethnic solidarity is impossible because "the romantic vision of ethnic solidarity evaporates in the cold atmosphere of class division and mobility."[38] On the other hand,

[34]German Kim, 2001, 32.

[35]Nancy Abelmann and John Lie, *Blue Dreams*: Korean Americans and the Los Angeles Riots (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), xvi.

[36]Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society* (New York: Free Press, 1997), 31–176.

[37]Steinar Stjernø, *Solidarity in Europe*: The History of an Idea (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 291.

[38]Nancy Abelmann and John Lie, *Blue Dreams*: Korean Americans and the Los Angeles riots, 188.

"worker solidarity evaporated in the Riot's flames—that he [African-American co-worker] was left alone in the store, unable to reach the absent Korean owner residing in the suburbs, was deeply upsetting."[39] However, it does not prevent one from dreaming about solidarity, as Abelmann and Lie say, "He also wished that Korean American, Latino, and African American employees who had lost their jobs through the riots could fight together for government aid. As much as national and ethnic solidarity is a 'real' for him, interethnic class solidarity also remains a possibility." (see Footnote 39).

The second level of interdependency is reactive solidarity. This is the dimension that often appears in the power functionalist approach—the "critic of ideology" or as Nancy Abelmann and John Lie labels it, "American Ideologies on Trial." The reference to solidarity against "homogenizing" mainstream society (or may be they dream of "sisterhood and brotherhood"[40] in the form of interdependencies is a substitute for the word "culture" that is less useful within the power functionalist paradigm to construct ideological justifications for compensation claims. They depict solidarity formation as dialectical process where every participant is potentially hegemonic. With this approach they oppose simple mainstream binaries such as Black-Korean conflict that "homogenizes diverse people and phenomena and thus elides alternative interpretations."[41] The idea of heterogeneity that the authors promote is an attempt to construct mutually balanced model of interaction of wills which is the "same ideological coin, which presumes that United States is an open society with no systematic barriers to success"[42] where for instance "the primary source of Korean American racism toward African Americans is the American racial ideology."

1.2 Theoretical Aspects of Observations on Diaspora

The theoretical approach of Rogers Brubaker is of special interest here. In *Ethnicity without Groups* (2004) he demonstrates advantages and disadvantages of the interactionist approach. It is important to note that his approach too has limitations similar to the interactionist approach in explaining the phenomenon of ethnicity. Brubaker questions the traditional constructivist approach that assumes the notion of "group" and "identity." He generally defines it as "groupism" which is according to him is the tendency to treat ethnic groups, nations, and races as substantial entities to which interests and agency can be attributed.[43] He finds the "group" has gone without scrutiny when the concept too requires explanation. He also finds two

[39]Ibid., 155.
[40]Ibid., 190.
[41]Ibid., 149.
[42]Ibid.,
[43]Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

extremes to the notion of "identity" which some understand "in a strong sense" and thus "implying a singular, abiding, foundational sameness" while others take the term in a weak sense to refer to the "multiple, fluid, fragmented, negotiated" dimension which he finds as "too little."

Brubaker proposes instead an alternative approach to understanding ethnicity's dynamics. He argues that "ethnicity, race, and nation" should not be thought of in terms of fixed or substantial groups but rather as "practical categories, situated actions, cultural idioms, cognitive schemas, discursive frames, or organizational routines, institutional forms, political projects, and contingent events." His approach is to view ethnicity as a process and hence ethnicization, racialization, and nationalization are all political, social, cultural and psychological processes and are not fixed entities. Hence, in Brubaker's analysis, the "group" does not exist but rather "groupness" which is "a contextually fluctuating conceptual variable." "Groupness" is an event that "happens" and serves as a "potential basis for group-formation" and "group-making" is a project "aimed at transforming categories into groups or increasing levels of groupness." What is most important is that notions like race, ethnicity, and nation are "not the things in the world, but perspectives on the world."[44]

The cognitive structure of ethnicity includes "ethnicized ways of seeing (and ignoring), of construing (and misconstruing), or inferring (and mis-inferring), of remembering (and forgetting). They include ethnically oriented frames, schemas, and narratives, and the situational cues … that activate them." In Brubaker's analysis, "framing and coding" of ethnicity has three categories. The first contains stereotypes which are "cognitive regularities" of "judgment without any awareness on the part of the perceiver." The second involves social categorization which is the "perception of belonging to two distinct groups" with "accentuation effects" when "people tend to exaggerate both similarity of objects within category and the differences between objects in different categories." The third category has "organized hierarchically" "schema" with "the top levels, representing core, invariant aspects of concepts, are fixed, but lower levels have "slots" that need to be filled in by contextual cues through information revealed in the course of interaction, or by "defaults value." They serve "for standardized sequence of events." For instance, in the case of ethnicity, African Americans have racialized schemas which are "stereotypical sequence of events for example "being stopped by the police for DWB" (driving while black)."[45]

Brubaker sees greater potential for the cognitive perspective in research of ethnicity. Rather than treating racial, ethnic, and national groups as substantial entities, he calls for viewing them as "collective cultural representations" with "widely shared ways of seeing, thinking, parsing social experience, and interpreting the social world." By adopting the cognitive perspective, Brubaker shifts analytical attention to "group-making" and "grouping" activities such as classification,

[44]Ibid., 11–13, 17.

[45]Ibid., 17, 73–75, 77.

categorization, and identification, positing that these are "… not things in the world but, perspectives on the world—not ontological but epistemological realities" or simply put, "ways of seeing the world." By doing so, Brubaker believes the "cognitive perspective" produces a "cognitive construction" or "social construction" that avoids psychological reductionism and holds the promise of connecting "our analyses of what goes on in people's heads with our analyses of what goes on in public" because "cognitive construction, in short, is social construction." Hence, researchers must ask different questions about ethnicity so that instead of asking "what is race?", "what is an ethnic group?" or "what is a nation?" they should ask how, when, and why people interpret social experience in racial, ethnic, or national terms."[46]

Brubaker's theory does not resolve the main contradictions of the interactionist paradigm but simply raises it to a new level. On one hand, he does a commendable job in theoretically safeguarding against problems associated with "identity." Yet, on the other hand, Brubaker does not clarify the nature of "identity" in general and "race, ethnicity, and nation" in particular. He faces similar difficulties as the adaptationist paradigm which cannot answer how mutual adaptation of systems to an environment is possible. Using Brubaker's "cognitive perspective" for the study of ethnic conflicts means adapting the ethnic frame to the conflict if the conflict were adapted to the ethnic frame. This tautology does not allow Brubaker to fully explain the problem of the legitimacy of different framings for society that are more possible in one case and less possible in another. That is why it is difficult to explain ethnic conflicts in Soviet Union where internal tautology can give only tautological conclusions like ethnicization of political conflict became possible because of politicization of ethnic conflict and vice versa.

Brubaker offers a paradoxical solution to tautological problem. It means that according to this theoretical apparatus there should be an authority outside of society that decides applicability of framings. He looks for answers in organizations because like Max Weber, organizations and institutions are the main source of rationality in deciding what framing is applicable for this or that conflict. The basis of institutional authority is in their "certain material and organizational resources, that they (or more precisely their members) are capable of organized action, and thereby of acting as more or less coherent protagonists in the ethnic conflict." These organizations and institutions are "strongly institutionalized ethno national classificatory system makes certain categories readily and legitimately available for the representation of social reality, the framing of political claims, and the organization of political action."[47]

However, focusing on organizations has serious limitations. While Brubaker is correct in highlighting the importance of institutions in decision-making, yet such organizations are not the whole of society. As Niklas Luhmann also pointed out that "they [organizations] become important for society as a whole to the extent that, in

[46]Ibid., 79, 81, 86–87.

[47]Ibid., 15, 54.

its most significant functional domain like politics, the economy, the education, science, health care and the military, society depends on and distributes power by means of organizations." However, "the problems of organization are still not the same as those of society" because "if one wants to do justice to the realities of modern society, then the point of departure has to be the fact that the societal system includes all human communication and therefore transcends all organizations. At any given time society is the all-encompassing social system. Organizations, however, are formed as particular social systems of (in) society. They have special rules to which one submits in entering into them and which one can forgo by leaving them." There is also a problem of attribution of power that emerges not in organization but outside them when "the existence of complex organizational systems within society is the fact that organizational power is asserted differently from outside organization than from within."[48]

Another important shortcoming of focusing on organizations is the decision-making process. Brubaker represents organizations as the active agent in making the decisions (or make manipulations) about how to frame a given conflict. This raises the problem of relationship between action and decision because it shows that organizations, in order to make decisions, are dependent on social expectations that cannot be explained within and by reference to organizations. Niklas Luhmann correctly points out "one can speak of a decision if and insofar as the slant of meaning an action has in reaction to an expectation directed to that action… Situations in which a decision is made emerge only, if the action is expected, when expectation is directed back to the action or its omission."[49]

That is why Brubaker is oversimplifying by saying that "categorization is also a fundamental and ubiquitous mental process."[50] The process of "decision-making" is necessarily ambivalent. The standard definition of decision making as a choice indicates only one aspect of this overall behavior (see Footnote 42). Brubaker's simplification is clear if ones looks at the notion of "meaning" that has to take into account communication outside organizations in society. That communication supplies expectations under which organizations operate because "the expectation's reference needs to be incorporated in the determination of meaning; one needs to act in a certain way because it is expected". Meaning of a decision cannot be supplied by individual consciousness or by organizations because otherwise it would mean that individual consciousness and organizations know all possibilities of social evolution that existed in the past and can predict all possible alternatives in every moment in the future.[51] According to Niklas Luhmann a decision related to meaning lies in connection of before/after differences when "before the decision there is a difference

[48]Niklas Luhmann, *Political Theory in the Welfare State*, 88–89,163.

[49]Niklas Luhmann, *Social Systems*. Translated by John Bednarz Jr, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), 295.

[50]Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups*, 2004, 7.

[51]For instance, Luhman defines meaning as "a surplus of references to other possibilities of experience and action" (Luhmann, *Social Systems*, 60).

between alternatives; after the decision there is, in addition, a relation to this relation, namely the relation of the chosen alternative to the difference between possible choices."[52] In other words, "the decision transfers contingency from one into the other form, and it can do so because contingency is constituted along with the expectations that structure the situation (see Footnote 52)."

The main problem with the interactionist model, therefore, is that it is based on a subject-centered paradigm. Assimilation, adaptation, power functionalism or "cognitive perspective" are all different versions of the first-order observation that presumes external observer whose aim is to construct a theory of an observed phenomenon. This results in a one-sided analysis of ethnic culture with a tautological reference to the subject. The failure of subject-centered paradigm produces not solutions but ideological mystifications that try to include all possible observations as equal (postmodernism), in a critique of hegemony (neo-Marxism) or an instrumentalist exploitation of ethnic culture as "cultural capital" or a source for "framings." This is a replication of the logic of a department store (or "department store frame," to use Brubaker's terminology) where an individual based on cognized or un-cognized motivations choses "identities" like commodities or resist them as "ideologies" with already fixed or not-yet-fixed meanings (ideologies) in interaction with those commodities and other people.

1.3 Methodology

Previous studies on the ethnic policies in Russia, China, the United States and Japan examined nation state and ethnicity formation as the process of interaction strategies and negotiations between ethnic majority and ethnic minorities in an attempt to construct national identity. This interaction approach reduces social complexity to individual motivations and these individual motivations combine to influence ethnicity of all members of ethnic group even though individual motivations may have different economic, religious, moral, artistic, or political backgrounds.[53] The advantage of this approach is that it can provide in-depth analysis of individual interests and emotions but it is limited by its one-sidedness. It looks at the process of national an ethnic culture formation as a result of interactions (negotiations or conflicts) thus placing social reproduction of ethnic boundary upon the individuals whose arbitrariness cannot be counted on to be consistent under all conditions faced by members of the same group and others and conditions imposed on society. Moreover, the interactionist approach reduces economics, politics, or religion to

[52]Ibid., 260.

[53]Yoon, 'Korian diaseupora: K'orian Diasŭp'ora: Chaeoe Hanin Ŭi Iju, Chŏgŭng, Chŏngch'esŏng' [The Korean Diaspora: Migration, Adaptation, Identity of Overseas Koreans], 17.

only particular forms of description of a given ethnic group in terms of differences between individual and collective, society and state, minority and majority and the difference between individuals.

The *Theory of Ethnos*[54] developed by Russian anthropologist S.M. Shirokogorov at the beginning of 20th century can offer alternative to interactionist paradigm. The theory examines the phenomenon of ethnicity as the problem of social complexity. He confines ethnos as a process of complex interrelationships within ethnic unit and between ethnic groups. Ethnos exists in balance, i.e. is well adapted to its internal conditions and environment, is also the most viable and stable in relation to its external environment. It means that ethnic process in every moment of time is not result of negotiations between members of ethnic unit(s) but is a result of extremely complex interrelation of different reactions of ethnic system towards its environment expressed in development material culture, social organization and psychomental complex by ethnic unit. This echoes with the theory of closed self-referential systems developed in the second half of 20th century, which means that S.M. Shirokogorov's Theory can help to transfer to anthropology the rich theoretical apparatus of social complexity studies represented by the works of Chilean biologists Maturana and Varela,[55] English mathematician George Spencer Brown,[56] English anthropologist Gregory Bateson,[57] Austrian American scientist, an architect of social cybernetics Heinz von Foerster,[58] Dutch sociologist Felix Geyer[59] and German sociologist Niklas Luhmann.[60]

However, *Theory of Ethnos* focus on distinction is good but does not go far enough. The description of ethnos as a system still stresses on system stability, system control and system maintenance letting it fluctuate within a specified margin around an equilibrium coined in notions "dynamic equilibrium"[61] or "disequilibrium of psychomental complex".[62] Particularly, *ethnic equilibrium is a result of activity of two forces that together form its dynamics. These forces are* namely, those that «consolidate» [centrifugal force] the unit and those that «disintegrate» it [centripetal force]. These forces produce impulses of variations that can be positive contribute to maintenance of dynamic equilibrium and negative that destroys it. Using the language of the tradition of social cybernetics Shirokogorov has started transition from the first-order cybernetics to the second order cybernetics but this

[54]Shirokogoroff, S.M. *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus* (London: K. Paul, 1935), 33–41.

[55]Humberto Maturana and Francisco Varela, *Autopoiesis and Cognition: The Realization of the Living*, (Berlin: Springer Science & Business Media, 1980), xxii.

[56]Spencer George Brown, S.G., *Laws of Form*, 2nd ed. Reprint, (New York: Dutton, 1979), 1.

[57]Gregory Bateson, "*Steps to an Ecology of Mind: Collected Essays in Anthropology, Psychiatry, Evolution, and Epistemology*" (Chicago.London: University of Chicago Press. 1972), 455–471.

[58]Heinz von Foerster, *Understanding: Essays on Cybernetics and Cognition* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 2003), 287–304.

[59]Geyer, F. The march of self-reference. *Kybernetes*, vol. 31 (7–8), 2002, 1021–1042.

[60]Luhmann, *Social Systems*, 1995.

[61]Shirokogoroff, '*Psychomental Complex of the Tungus*', 35.

[62]Ibid., 739–745.

transition is not yet complete. In other words, this stuck-in-the-middle situation reveals itself in attempts to describe interaction between deviation-counteracting mutual casual systems (negative feedback loops) and deviation amplifying mutual (positive feedback loops) systems within the paradigm of deviation-counteracting mutual casual system.[63]

This does not permit Theory of Ethnos to resolve the weaknesses of the first-order cybernetics and fully implement the advantages of the second-order cybernetics. The stress on homeostasis and thus on negative feedback loops to grasp complexity of ethnic system makes theory observer dependent. As Felix Geyer put it that the way system boundaries are drawn is obviously observer-dependent, time-dependent and most importantly also problem-dependent.[64] Within this paradigm, it was technically hard for Shirokogorov to provide convincing criterion that would help to define whether system in the state of equilibrium or not rather than in terms of fluctuations of ethnic system or system of psychic and mental reactions (conscious or unconscious) in the process of adaption to environment (disequilibrium of psychomental complex). It was also hard to explain why e*thnos in the process of its reproduction inevitably provide numerous facts that* selected information for ethnic self-description contradicts actual behavior when members of a given ethnic unit can act in opposite way than their "*inherited physio-psychological complexes*" expect them to do.

Reconsideration of the notion of "adaptation" as self-referential process can help to resolve this weakness. Shirokogorov already pointed it out that adaptation of ethnic system is the unity of two simultaneous movements: the movement towards a further complication of the complexes and movement towards a simplification of the complexes and the elements. This autopoietic understanding of adaptation process cannot form balanced relations between two opposite processes because it creates asymmetrical relations in levels of social complexity on both sides of produced distinction. Ethnos reproduces distinction between system and environment as unity that creates asymmetry on both sides of distinction because the level of complexity in the system is always less than one of the environments. The unity of distinction means that this asymmetry (and thus instability) is always present in every single operation of ethnic process because unity of ethnic system is the unity of distinction between ethnic unit and its environment. This instability (unselected information) returns to ethnic system both as pressure to select and as information for further reproduction and reduction of self-produced complexity. In this sense, ethnos is not well-balanced but well dis-balanced system.

This also can help to look at the problem of external observer and stability of national/ethnic boundaries in spite of its instable operations from a different angle. Members of national/ethnic group distinguish themselves from others groups that form their environment but the criterion of information selection remains

[63]Magoroh Maruyama, The Second Cybernetics: Deviation-Amplifying Mutual Casual Processes. *American Scientists* 5:2 (1963): 164–179.

[64]Geyer, F. '*The challenge of sociocybernetics*', 6–32.

unobservable because every observation implies a "blind spot". On must draw distinction in order to make indication but cannot make indication within the distinction.[65] If they try to observe a distinction, they must make yet another distinction to observe that distinction which will itself be invisible to them and have its own "blind spot". The fact that the process of distinguishing remains unobservable and uncognized permits members of national/ethnic group to conserve previously made distinction and rely on it without understanding in order to provide stable connectivity of further distinctions.

The present work is an attempt to describe some aspects of how this self-referential cognitive mechanism functions on the example of transnational experience of Korean Diaspora. It shows how ethnic policies to regulate interethnic relations within national boundaries produce disappointed expectations and in fact demonstrate inability to provide neither harmony nor unity, neither equality nor solidarity but permit to internalize disappointments as motivation to pursue them. Both state and society believe that the main purpose and most expected outcome of ethnic policies is to build a modern nation. It means that the function of psychomental complex shaped by European modernity is to look for the ways to mobilize social resources in order to fully exploit economic and political potential of society on the basis of recursive cognitive circuits. This makes nation-building process and the process of ethnic boundaries formation more dependent on disappointments and self-criticism because it increases contingency and thus create more possibilities to draw distinctions as a new source of motivation to modernize society as nation. Disappointed expectations return into national discourse as political ideologies that help to preserve government's legitimacy, legitimacy of the idea of nation/ethnicity and motivate society to continue nation-building process.[66]

Each society in this study represents two different models of ethnic/national boundaries processing. It does not mean that society and ethnicity can be reduced only to one model of risk processing, but there are different models that co-exist simultaneously in society with different degree of social trust. This study deals only with two forms of information selection and description of difference between the Korean diaspora and the host nation and nation of origin, namely political and economic. Korean diaspora developed complex adaptive reactions that exploit self-produced instability to mobilize its own ethnic resources as well as national resources of host nation/nation of origin to fully exploit its economic and political potential. In other words, this adaptive mechanism permits to internalize disappointments into national or ethnic discourse as motivation to pursue further nation or ethnic boundaries building process. It consists of national dimension that covers relations between Korean minority and non-Korean majority in non-Korean nations and transnational dimension and relations between North and South Korean nations

[65]Niklas Luhmann, Autopoiesis als soziologischer Begriff. In: Hans Haferkamp & Michael Schmid (eds.): *Sinn, Kommunikation und soziale Differenzierung. Beiträge zu Luhmanns Theorie sozialer Systeme*, (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1987), 307–324.

[66]Moeller, '*The Radical Luhmann*', 28.

and overseas Korean population. (Post) socialist nations like Russia, China and North Korea relies on distribution of political power between state and society and capitalist nations like the United States, Japan and South Korea on reproduction of social inequality to regulate reproduction of ethnic/nationals boundaries. To be more precise, the Russian Korean and Chinse Korean ethnic boundaries oscillate between anti-state and pro-state positions and the Russian and Chinese state between anti-ethnic and pro-ethnic policies. Identities of the Korean American diaspora oscillate between abundance and scarcity of money for Korean American diaspora and other ethnic group. Dynamics of Japanese Korean diaspora refers to complex of moral reactions against economic exclusion oscillating between positive moral reaction (compassion) and negative moral reaction (criticism).

However, this approach has two limitations. The first one is chronological and the second one is observational. System theory that operates on the second-order observation is applicable only to modern societies that emerged in Europe in the seventeenth century and later spread to the rest of the world. The main difference from traditional society is in the form of self-description. Hierarchically organized traditional society describes itself using a schema "whole and parts" while functionally differentiated modern society uses a schema "system and environment."[67] The second limitation is the second-order observation itself because it also creates its own blind spot. "An outside observer [of second-order] can make this blind spot [of the first-order observer] visible by distinguishing the observed system's distinction as a form that contains both of its sides, but in doing so, any such second-order observation must rely on its own blind spot and is bound to reproduce the paradox of observation at the operational level of its own distinction."[68] Within system theory the problem of the second-order observations can be resolved by a third-order observation that however also has its own blind spot.

Besides, the comparative approach has its advantages and disadvantages. On one hand, comparative perspective permits to look at how same phenomenon develops in different social contexts, how it moves through boundaries, which helps to better understand similarities and individualities of various cultures and facilitate connection of scientific findings to other spheres of knowledge. However, on the other hand, comparison demands to concentrate on a certain aspect of studied phenomenon and leave other aspects with less attention. In other words, the wider the scale of comparative study is, the narrower the view on subject becomes. This is the reason why this research attempts to describe general principles of Korean diaspora ethnic boundaries reproduction covering only main episodes of socialist and capitalist modernization in Russia, China, the United States and Japan. The size and comparative structure of this work does not permit to describe complexity of people's experience in diaspora and complexity of their relations with host nations and nations of origin on individual and collective levels. It also does not permit to

[67]Hierarchically organized traditional society describes itself using a schema "whole and parts" while functionally differentiated modern society uses a schema "system and environment".

[68]Eva Knodt, Social Systems, 1995, xxxiv.

cover unconscious aspects of Korean diaspora ethnic boundaries formation. All this demands separate in-depth study of one particular ethnic/social group and development of different theoretical apparatus that would combine both conscious and unconscious perspectives on ethnic boundaries and describe complexity of interrelation between collective/individual structures and social, natural or technological environments.

Finally, the usage of notions "ethnicity", "diaspora", "nation" and "society" also needs clarification. This work operates with two basic ways to describe a group of people and their actions who define themselves as "Koreans" where both represent a certain relation of Korean people to their environment. In other words, the main criterion of defining various aspects of Korean collectivity is distinction between system and environment. Simply put it, "Korea" appears as "nation" as long as distinction from other nations or non-national (ethnic) entities is concerned while ethnicity refers to necessity to distinguish Korean people as ethnic minority from majority, other minorities or stress their distinction from "nation" to describe transnationality of ethnic boundaries. The notion of "Korean society" refers to the state of contingency when it is not clear what environment is concerned and how it should be distinguished. "Ethnicity" is an observational perspective on the Korean diaspora. "Diaspora" defines the object of research and answers the question "who?" or "what" while the notion of "ethnicity" refers to a certain kind of observational perspective on diaspora, a mechanism of information selection and reduction of social complexity that answers the question "how?" Ethnicity is the process of how members of the Korean diaspora on one hand and the host society on the other observe and describe ethnic boundary between them.

Chapter 2
Formation of Korean "Modernities"

Abstract Inconsistency between ethnic and national boundaries is reaction of Korean society to the pressure of modernization. At least since second half of 19th century growing influence of modern European nations and Japan forced political activists, intellectuals and peasants to try to shift from traditional hierarchically stratified society to absolutely different form of social organization as nation-state. It meant introduction of new principles of national and ethnic boundaries reproduction in form of recursive self-reproduction. It meant that social contradictions become major source of motivation to effectively exploit political and economic potential of Korean society. In this sense, political actions of each social group in Korea made nation-building process more dependent on disappointments and self-criticism because it increases contingency and thus create more possibilities to draw distinctions as a new source of motivation to modernize Korean society as nation. This helped political activists to return disappointed expectations into national discourse as political ideologies that permitted to preserve government's legitimacy, legitimacy of idea of nation/ethnicity and motivate society to continue nation-building process. However, all social groups that pursued national unity faced lack of resources to implement the political and economic purposes of modernization. This forced them to rely on transnational resources whether as foreign assistance to promote further modernization inside Korea or emigration to other nations to implement expectations cultivated by modernizations outside Korea as ethnic minority.

Keywords Nationalism · Modernization · Korean diaspora · Capitalism · Socialism

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Logic of modernity demanded construction of contradiction-centered form of social organization in Kingdom of Chosŏn. Political activists in the late 19th century developed two opposite strategies of social modernization that would help to provide political independence as nation state.[1] Both exploited the main social distinction available in traditional social hierarchy that distinguished upper from lower classes.[2] This changed political order of Chosŏn dynasty from a source of stability to a source of contingency that forced both sides of political hierarchy whether to accept or resist modernization. For instance, the upper class saw its role in enlightening of lower classes in a new modern way as well as in elimination of factions in the upper class that they thought represented "traditional" Korea and thus were enemies of modernization. The proponents of this program of modernization believed that they introduced authentic western institutions[3] in their original forms different from traditional "outdated" Korean institutions.[4] Peasants introduced modernity into Korean society from the opposite side of social hierarchy believing that they preserve authentic Korean culture and resist foreign influence. It should also be noted that political violence against rigid bureaucratic structure of Chosŏn Kingdom in case of pro-Western intellectual and aristocrats[5] or against

[1]Kim Han Sik, "Silhak kwa tonghak ŭi pyŏnhyŏk sasang" [A View on Change in Silhak and Donghak], *Tonghak Studies Review*, Vol. 9 (1), 2005, 55–104.

[2]Niklas Luhmann, "Interaktion in Oberschichten: zur Transformation ihrer Semantik im 17 und 18 Jahrhundert" *Gesellschaftsstruktur und Semantik* (Frankfurt am Main, 1980): 72–162.

[3]Park Choong-Seok, *Han'gukchŏngch'I sasangsa esŏŭi pop'yŏnsŏn ggwa kaebyŏlsŏng* [Universality and Particularity in the History of Korean Political Thoughts], *The National Academy of Science, Republic of Korea Collection of Works* (Social Studies series, Vol. 53 (2), 2014, 67–116).

[4]Lee Jae Seok, *Han'guk chŏngch'i sasangsa* [Political History of Korea] (Seoul: Jipmoon Press, 2002), 418.

[5]Sin Yon Ha, Kapsinjŏngbyŏn ŭi chŏn'gae [History of Gapsin coup], *National Institute of Korean History review* Vol. 38, 1999, 375–433.

rapidly growing foreign influence by Korean peasants was an attempt to compensate inability to provide national unity of modernized Korean society.[6]

Modernization and nation building from above eventually increased foreign influence. On one hand, the upper class activists who represented themselves as adherents of modernization did not have enough economic and political resources to reach social consensus with lower classes and subjugate resistance of political opponents to turn Chosŏn Kingdom into modern nation state.[7] Traditional reliance on gradual changes through reforms[8] and political violence[9] that did not endanger existing political order[10] only increased contingency because they could no longer rely on resources of political hierarchy that was losing its legitimacy. Although intellectuals viewed education as one of the important of modernization[11] they still relied on hierarchical elitarian forms that distinguished themselves not only from traditional aristocratic Confucian schools but also from uneducated Korean peasants whom they saw as representatives of traditional Korean culture. The less their program met understanding among lower classes the more disappointments it produced and thus the stronger was the pressure to compensate their inability to mobilize society for modernization with reliance on the assistance of foreign countries. For example, in order to justify participation of other nations in internal life a number of political activists tried to replace traditional Chinese-centered international order of Chosŏn diplomacy with new one with modern developed nations at the center.[12]

Lower classes were another source of modernization from the opposite side of social hierarchy. Second half of 19th century marked mobilization of Korean

[6]Bae, Hang Seop, *Chosŏnhugi minjung undong gwa tonghak nongmin jŏnjaengŭi palbal* [Democratic Movement During Late Choson Period and Donghak Peasant Rebelion] (Seoul: Kyungin Publishing, 2002), 108–109.

[7]Sin Bong Yong and Kim Yong Deok, *Soh Jaipil kwa kŭsidae* [Soh Jaipil and His Era] (Seoul: The Philip Jaisohn Memorial Foundation, 2003), 180, 200.

[8]See for example attempt of land reforms as an attempt to shift from central state to more democratic forms of land ownership purposed by one of the central figure of Silhak movement Jeong Yak Yong known as Dasan: Lee Dog Il, *Chŏng Yag Yong gwa kŭŭi hyŏngjedŭl 2*: idŭri kkumkkun sesang [Jeong Yak Yong and His Two Brothers: Their Dreams about World] (Seoul: Dasanch'odang, 2012), 311–316.

[9]For example, Korean literary purges (*sahwa*) in 15–16 centuries was a part of the process of formation absolute monarchy in form of resistance between Choson kings and aristocracy. For details see Kim Mankyu, *Hankuk ŭi chŏngch'i sa* [Korean Political History] (Seoul: Hyunmoon, 1999), 129–130.

[10]See for example on necessity of democratization of politics proposed by Silhak movement activists in Kim Hea Seung, "Hankuk minchok chuŭi: palsaeng yangsik kwa chŏnkae kwachŏng" [A Study on the Origination and Development of Korean Nationalism] *Korean Political Science Review*, Vol. 31 (3), 1997, 213–217.

[11]Han Cheol Ho, *Hankuk kŭntae kaehwap'a wa t'ongch'i kiku yŏnku* [A Study of The Enlightenment Party and Governance of the Joseon] (Seoul: Sŏnin, 2009), 23–24.

[12]Chu Chino, "19 seki mal chosŏnŭi chachu wa toklip" [Independence and Self-Governance of Choson Kingdom during late 19th century] *Korean and Japanese History Review*, Vol. 4 (2), 2010, 24–27.

peasantry to become an important political force that relied with the help of religious discourse attempted to promote nationalism and modernity in Chosŏn Kingdom. The modernity of peasant rebellions like Donghak movement originated from the way they constructed their ideologies that exploited distinction between religious dimension of Western or Japanese culture from Korean one to justify integration of modern elements of the former dimension of Korean culture as the source of motivation to mobilize Korean people for European modernization.[13] This permitted to integrate modern influence by representing it as traditional Korean that helped not only to cultivate trust towards their ideology inside Chosŏn Kingdom but also empowered Donghak activists to justify demands of political independency as a nation among other nations. They adopted religious discourse that previously used to legitimize social inequality in feudal Korea but in opposite way namely to integrate growing social disappointments back into political discourse as religious justification of unjust character of existing political order of Chosŏn Kingdom as well as unjust politics towards their country from other nations. In other words, Donghak ideology operated with social distinctions in a modern way as a source of political mobilization to cultivate national solidarity, economic, political and gender equality both inside and outside national boundaries.[14]

However, modernization from beneath of social hierarchy also resulted in strengthening of foreign nations influence. The Donghak movement was much more successful in mobilization of large groups of population and had strong democratic basis[15] that permitted to fight against Chosŏn aristocracy and could be destroyed only with the help of Japanese intervention.[16] The main reason of its failure however was its inability to establish stable national institutions that would take advantage of modernity[17] that was impossible without resources of upper class. Modernization demanded creation of national bureaucracy responsible for urbanization, development of national economy based on the national legal system as well as integration into international division of as independent nation guaranteed by international law.[18] However, while members of Donghak movement perceived

[13]On description of anti-feudal and anti-interventionist character of Donghak movement Kim Jeongui, *Hankuk munmyŏng ŭi saengmyŏnglyŏk* [Vitality of Korean Civilization] (Seoul: Hyean, 2002), 119–126.

[14]See for example on idea of "Great Justice" (*taechong chŏngŭi*), Hwang Seon Hui, *Tonghak ch'ŏntokyo yŏksaŭi chaechomyŏng* [History of Donghak and Cheondoism Revisited] (Seoul: Mosinsaram, 2009), 83.

[15]Yun Chol Sang, *Tonghaknongmin hyŏkmyŏng ŭi yŏksa chŏkŭimi, sahoewayŏntae* [Historical Meaning of Donghak Peasant Revolution] (Seoul: Society and Modern History Publishing, 2003), 74.

[16]Sin Won Seon, *Tonghak hŭikok ŭi chae chomyŏng*, [Drama of Donghak Movement Revisited] (Seoul: Korean Research 2005), 185.

[17]Sin Yong Ha, *Tonghak nongmin hyŏkmyŏng untong ŭi sahoesa* [Social History of Donghak Peasant Movement] (Seoul: Jisik Sanop Publications, 2005), 218–219.

[18]Jang Yeong Min, *Tonghak ŭi chŏngch'i sahoe untong* [Donghak as Socio-Political Movement] (Seoul: Kyungin Publishing, 2004), 587–589.

bureaucrats and pro-western intellectuals as their opponents[19] they were unable to take full power in Chosŏn Kingdom.

Eventually, foreign intervention was reaction to inability to provide national unity neither from above nor from beneath of social hierarchy. Local resistance that culminated in March 1st Movement (March 1, 1919) did not only reveal huge inconsistency between growing national expectations and lack of internal resources of their implementation but also marked radical transition to reliance on foreign resources. Japan took full advantage of this inconsistency to impose stronger control over Korean modernization within Japanese Empire. Korean independence movement too had to move abroad to deploy their activities in China, Russia and the United States.[20] In order to justify governance and exploitation[21] of Korea, Japan adopted Pan-Asianism[22] that depicted Empire as reliable, well-organized source of political will and economic resources enough to "assist" Korean people to overcome their "backwardness".[23] In other words, Japanese Empire represented itself as substitution of consensus between Korean upper and lower classes to provide what they could not provide by themselves[24] for instance, modern bureaucracy, education or legal system and mobilize Korean labor force for industrialization. Besides, official ideology described membership of Korean people in Japanese Empire not as an annexation but as a part of common struggle of people of Asia against "western intervention".[25]

Further struggle for national independence developed within different patterns of modernizations. The Decree on Peace written by Vladimir Lenin November 8, 1917 and Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points in January 8, 1918 supplied Korean political activists with two alternative images about the ways of Korean modernization and nationalism. Both were attempts to find the solution to existing contradictions within capitalism that sharpened during WWI (1914–1918) where

[19]Lee Hyeonhui, Tonghaklan, tonghak hyŏkmyŏng nongmin chŏnchaeng [The War of Donghak Peasant Revolution] in *Tonghak, untong inka hyŏkmyŏng inka* [Donghak, Revolt of Revolution] (Seoul: Sinsŏwŏn, 2002), 53.

[20]Byung Yool Ban, The Rise of The Korean Socialist Movement: *Nationalist Activities in Russia and China*, 1905–1912. Seoul: Hanul Academy, 2016, vii–xxii.

[21]Nak Nyeon Kim, *Nippon teikoku shugi ka no chōsen keizai* [Korean Economy under Japanese Imperial Rule] (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 2002), 59.

[22]Suzuki Takeo, *Chōsen keizai no shin kōsō* [New Concept of Korean Economy], (Keijo: Toyokeizai Publishing, 1942), 54.

[23]Moriya Katsumi, "Kyū rai no Chōsen nō gyō shakai ni tsuite no kenkyū no tame ni," [A Study on Traditional Korean Agriculture] in *Keijō teikoku daigaku hobun gakkai: Chōsen shakai keizaishi kenkyu* [Keijo Imperial University Review. Korean History and Society Series] (Tokyo: Tōkō Shoin, 1933), 297–520.

[24]As famous political activist Yun Chi-ho noted after failure of First of March Movement that Korean national independence eventually depends on "strong nations". See for instance, Yu Yong Yeol, *Kaehwagi ŭi Yun Ch'i-ho yŏn'gu* [A Study on Yun Chi Ho's Theory of Civilization] (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1985), 247.

[25]Saito Yoshie, *Kinsei tōyō gaikō shi josetsu* [Introduction to Early Modern Diplomatic History of East Asia], (Tokyo: Iwamatsudo, 1927), 284–297.

Woodrow Wilson offered introduction more democratic and anti-imperialist modifications into capitalism while Vladimir Lenin and The October Revolution in Russia in 1917 offered alternative form of modernization without private property. The difference between two paradigms was in how in they related to the problem of social inequality as a source of motivation to mobilize society for modernization as nation state. For instance, Korean nationalists viewed modernization as process of reproduction of social inequalities that would permit to exploit economic potential of society in the process of capital accumulation both within and outside national boundaries. Korean socialists on the opposite viewed modernization as the process of elimination of social inequalities in form of national and international class struggle.

Capitalist modernization uses social inequalities to exploit economic potential of Korean society inside and outside national boundaries. On one hand, social inequality cultivated expectation of upper social mobility to mobilize individuals to participate in market economy but on the other, cultivated expectations could not be satisfied within national boundaries that pressure Korean people to look for better economic opportunities in other nations. For example, during colonial period Japanese recruiters exploited economic pressure to encourage Korean people to move to Japan as labor force.[26] Eventually, capitalist modernization produced three large waves of Korean migration to the United States under ideological construct of "American dream". Each wave referred to different manifestations of social inequality between Korean and the United States. The first wave in early 20th century of Korean laborers in Hawaii marked disadvantaged condition of Korean agriculture in comparison with American[27]; the second wave that started after Korean War (1950–1953) marked distinction between war destroyed Korean families and economic stability of American households[28]; and third wave since the implementation of new The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 marked difference between entrepreneurial opportunities for small business in South Korea and the United States.[29]

Socialist modernization used social inequalities to exploit political potential of Korean society inside and outside national boundaries. Nationalist discourse of Korean socialists depicted the problem of social inequality not as a source of economic motivation but as a source of motivation to mobilize Korean people for class struggle to eliminate all inequalities. However, lack of political and economic resources against their opponents forced Korean socialists rely on international

[26]Takasaki Soji, *Shokuminchi chōsen no nipponjin* [Japanese People in Colonial Korea] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shōten, 2002), 111.

[27]Sin Seong Ryeo. *Hawai imin ryaksa: Inmaek ŭl t'onghae pon sarm ŭi hyŏnjanggi* [Concise History of Immigration in Hawaii: Through the Eyes of Contemporaries] (Korea University Ethnic Culture Research Center Press, 1988), 79.

[28]Ji Yeon Yuh, *Kichich'on ŭi kŭnŭl ŭl nŏmŏ: mikuk ŭlo kŏnnŏ kan hankukin kunin anaetŭl iyaki* [Beyond the Shadow of Camptown: Korean Military Brides in America] (Seoul: Samin, 2007), 18.

[29]Kim Taegi and others, *Chaemi hanin sahoe ŭi kyŏngche hwankyŏng* [Korean American Social and Economic Environment] (Seoul: Jipmoon Press, 2005), 79–80.

socialist movement in struggle for national independence or participate in socialist building in other nations in Soviet Union and China. From socialist perspective political unity of Korean society as nation or as diaspora was possible in form constantly reproduced contradiction of labor against capital where one group of Korean people represented labor and other represented capital.[30]

It meant that adherents of socialist and capitalist modernization in Korea could no longer rely on their own resources to obtain national independence. Liberation of Korea in the year of 1945 marked the end of WWII (1939–1945) but at the same time, it marked involvement of Korean peninsula into new international order shaped by contradiction between socialist and capitalist camps known as Cold War. On the local level, it culminated as "hot" Korean War (1950–1953) that fixed political division of Koran peninsula according to the boundaries defined by this contradiction.[31] Integration of Korea into new international reality of Cold War significantly decreased opportunity for national consensus between different political and social groups. New world order opened up access to large political, economic, ideological and military resources for adherents of socialism and capitalism to force opposite side to accept their view of future national modernization. International political legitimacy of Soviet Union and the United States as well as legitimacy of their Korean allies depended on how efficient they can provide those resources and how efficient they can accept this support.

Difference between socialist and capitalist modernizations put Korean nations and Korean diaspora in state of contingency produced by inconsistency between ethnic and national boundaries. Involvement into global politics of the Cold War during post-1945 period fixed not only political division of Korean society according to participation whether socialist or capitalist pattern of modernization but also created pressure to maintain national as well as ethnic boundaries and inability to do so. On one hand, North and South Korea have to justify their political legitimacy as nation of Korean people in spite of the fact they do not include Korean population of the opposite nation as well as large population of overseas Koreans. The overseas Koreans face similar state of contingency in opposite manner they have to justify their membership in a non-Korean nation in spite of their ethnic ties with Korean nations.[32]

However, Korean society integrated this inconsistency as crucial source of motivation to mobilize people for modernization both as nations and as diaspora. Inconsistency between ethnic and nationals boundaries re-appears in national discourses of North and South Korea as well as national discourses of the Korean

[30]Han Sangdo, *Chungkuk hyŏkmyŏng sok ŭi hankuk toklip untong* [Korean Independence Movement and Chinese Revolution] (Seoul: Jipmoon Press, 2004), 159–162.

[31]Pak Sun Seong, *Pukhan kyŏngche wa hanpantot'ongil* [North Korean Economy and Unification of Korean Peninsula] (Seoul: Pulpit, 2003), 246.

[32]For instance, famous researcher on CIS Koreans Khan Valery proposed an idea of Korean Diaspora as "meta-nation": Khan Valery, "Koreyskoye mezhdunarodnoye soobshestvo: *utopia ili perspectiva*" [Korean Global Community: Utopia or Perspective], *International Journal of Central Asian Studies*. Vol. 6. Seoul: IACD, 2001, 90–105.

Diaspora's host nations in form contradiction between pressure to overcome this inconsistency and inability to do so. This permits to internalize disappointed expectations about national unity and social equality back into political discourse as ideologies that motivate people to pursue further nation building process and permit to exploit political and economic potential of society. It is possible to describe this process at least in two dimensions: national dimension that covers relationships between Korean minority and non-Korean majority within national boundaries of host nation and transnational ethnic dimension that covers relationships between North and South Korean nations and overseas Korean population. Both dimensions include (post) socialist nations that react to this inconsistency by distribution of political power between state and capitalist nations that react by reproduction of social inequality to regulate reproduction of ethnic/nationals boundaries.

Chapter 3
Korean Diaspora and (Post) Socialist Modernization in Russia and China

Abstract Russia and China provide two opposite variations of Korean Diaspora ethnic boundaries formation within the context of socialist modernization. Socialist revolutions in Russia and China promised that taking power from the upper classes or the redistribution of wealth inside the national community would solve the problem of unequal distribution of wealth in society, which turned ethnic/national culture into a form of class struggle between labor and capital. Politicization of ethnicity demanded provision of Korean minority with its own national territory where they could enjoy a certain degree of autonomy, national schools, and national elites as a tool of dictatorship of the proletariat. Unlike China, Soviet/Russian government refused to provide territory to ethnic Koreans that defined further development. Logic of politicized Soviet/Russian Korean ethnicity constantly pressures to establish autonomy and at the same time resist its establishment. It meant that ethnic boundaries of Chinese Korean diaspora were reaction to different trends of political power in Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture, Soviet/Russian Korean Diaspora developed in similar way but without politically guaranteed relation to certain territory that forced them to spread their activities in different regions all over the country.

Keywords Korean diaspora · Socialism · Modernization · Class struggle · Soviet union · Russia · China

Socialist revolutions in Russia and China promised that taking power from the upper classes or the redistribution of wealth inside the national community would solve class contradictions. It came about in part because of the assumption that class differences prevented the equal distribution of wealth in society. Socialist ideologies permit the government to preserve legitimacy despite its inability to resolve the problem of social inequality. Specifically they exploit economic inequality to justify the moral demand of social justice both for excluded social/ethnic groups and for those who benefit from social inequality, namely socialist parties whose political legitimacy rests on the belief that bureaucratic institutions' intervention can overcome social inequality. The "cultural stuff" in both nations was important to

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organize class struggle between labor and capital, modernity and tradition inside the ethnic minorities as a part of a wider national class struggle in Soviet state[1] and later in China.[2] During Stalin era in USSR (1928–1953) and Mao Zedong era in China (1949–1976) government actively discouraged voluntary assimilation and instead promoted the national self-consciousness of the population non-Russian and non-Han Chinese population.[3] According to this approach, minorities were supposed to be granted its own national territory where they could enjoy a certain degree of autonomy, national schools, and national elites.

These ethnic policies formed the basis of political legitimacy of socialist government in both countries following the soviet principles of construction of ethnic culture as the contradiction between labor and capital as a central principle of ethnic culture development that in its extreme point would form one socialist culture. In this sense, Russia and China provide two opposite variations of Korean Diaspora ethnic boundaries formation within the context of socialist modernization. Both Soviet/Russian and Chinese Korean diaspora evolved in interaction with state as reaction to different trends of political power but both of them significantly differed in patterns of territorial institutionalization of this process. Non-provision of territory for establishment of ethnic autonomy defined further development of Soviet/Russian Korean diaspora ethnic boundaries. Logic of politicized Soviet/Russian Korean ethnic culture pressures to establish Autonomy and at the same time resist its establishment. It meant that while ethnic boundaries of Chinese Korean diaspora were reflection of different trends of political power on a certain territory of Northeast China (Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture (YKAP), Soviet/Russian Korean Diaspora developed in similar way but without politically guaranteed relation to certain territory that forced them to spread their activities in different regions all over the country.

However, taken power and redistributed resources did not lead to formation of national unity. Eventually it became clear that attempts to remove class distinctions did not only remove them but produced new equalities that cannot be reduced to traditional class differences. As a result, moral imperative of solidarity loses its legitimacy and so does the idea that national unity is possible under socialist slogans. Since the collapse of socialist system, Russia and China embarked on the transition to a market-oriented economy that also had strong impact on ethnic policies in both nations that were going through big change. Instead of trying to overcome social inequality, government on contrary constructed a version of nationalism that permitted to take advantage of those inequalities to exploit economic potential both of host society and of Korean minority thus promoting further modernization.

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[1]Lenin, *Kriticheskiye zametki po nacionalnomu voprosu* [Critical Remarks on National Issues], 144; Also see Stalin, *'Marxism e nacionalny vopros' [Marxism and National Question]*, 290–367.

[2]'*Mao zhuxi yulu*' [Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung], 1964.

[3]Yin, *Chaoxianzu jiaoyu de lishi, xianzhuang qi duice* [History and Present Problems in Education for the Korean Minority in China with Countermeasures], 68.

3.1 "National (Dis) Unity" of Korean Diaspora in Russia

Novel *Squirrel* (1985)[4] written by famous Soviet/Russian Korean writer Anatoly Kim is a good example of art work that helps to illustrate the complexity of Korean people's experience in Soviet Union and Russia. The novel begins with a scene in a Korean forest where a Korean woman bears a child who turns into squirrel who later would make his/her adventure into society. "Korea" here is just beginning and later becomes irrelevant in a larger process of evolution of nature. Throughout the novel, the squirrel has to travel about society by changing personalities, genders, and nations trying to show the unity and interconnectedness of all humankind. The squirrel's travel conveys the idea that all individual life is meaningful only if it perceives itself as a part of larger Universe. Similar is true for the history of ethnic Koreans in Russia. On one hand, the logic of ethnic culture development within Soviet/Russian context demands establishment of territorial organization of ethnic culture in form of regional autonomy. Yet, the same social context of Russian society prevents Soviet/Russian Korean from establishing their ethnic autonomy. In other words, this contradiction demand and at the same time prevents *Koryo-saram* from fixation to a certain territory turning their history into a history of "traveling" both inside and outside Soviet/Russian national boundaries.

Soviet/Russian ethnic boundaries are constructed and reconstructed in interaction with state. In order to reduce the risk of discrimination and exclusion in Russian society and to cultivate trust, members of Soviet/Russian Korean diaspora mainly relied on political rationality to describe ethnic boundary between Diaspora and Soviet/Russian society. Reliance on political rationality emerges from strong contradiction between state and society that cultivated trust (or distrust) towards decisively important role of government in development of Russian society. State demands political loyalty from ethnic Koreans as a crucial condition of their national membership. However, attempts to construct ethnic boundaries in way to express political loyalty towards Russian state makes Soviet/Russian Koreans into source of political power. This in turn creates situation of contingency for Soviet/Russian state because it cannot ensure whether ethnic Koreans will be loyal or disloyal. Contingency cultivates negative expectations towards Korean minority provoking even stronger demand of political loyalty.

The idea of Korean autonomy necessity emerges from interaction with state periodically throughout the history of Koreans in Russia. During soviet period in early 1930s, the first demand of autonomy was logical outcome of the idea of self-organization of labor where Soviet Korean autonomy would have been the form of politically self-organized class struggle of Korean labor. In the post-war period Soviet Korean intellectuals in the Central Asia organized so called "petition campaign" in late 1950s where they claimed that establishment of ethnic autonomy as an attempt to correct Stalinist legacy during de-Stalinization campaign. Soviet Korean autonomy was supposed to overcome deviation of ethnic culture from

[4]Anatoly Kim, *Collection of Works* (Moscow: Koryo-Saram, 1997), vol. 1, 13–281.

socialist content produced by forced deportation in 1937 and permit to reach the balanced interrelation between socialist politics and ethnic culture.[5] The third time when this idea appeared in post-soviet period in early 1990s in the context of de-Sovietization. The demand for autonomy dovetailed with the Russian government's emphasis on the spirit of "Rehabilitation of Russian Koreans" in September 1993. As one Russian Korean intellectuals claimed "rehabilitation of the Korean people of the Soviet Union meant restoration of all abandoned civil and political rights, including the right to restore the Korean National District and the National Agricultural Soviets."[6]

3.1.1 *Expansion of State Power and Politicization Soviet Korean Diaspora*

Politicization of the Korean diaspora had already begun in Russian Empire. Immigration of Korean peasants from Northern Provinces of Korean Peninsula to Russian Far East in second half of the nineteenth century was first of all a political action that made the Korean diaspora in Russia a part of the political evolution of the wider society. 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 Korean diaspora was at the mercy of Russian state[7] that demanded further integration into social hierarchy of Empire.[8]

Korean settlers on the Russian Far East also could not avoid politicization of their economic activities. State tried to integrate Korean population into political hierarchy of Russian Empire when after obtaining citizenship and baptized into Orthodoxical Christianity most of them joined the class Russian peasantry. This made them a part of larger process of commercialization of agriculture initiated by Emancipation reform of 1861 that abolished serfdom and Stolypin reform since 1906. Agricultural reforms marked transition from political to economic coercion

[5]Here Soviet Korean intellectuals refer to Nikita Krushchev criticism of the "personality cult" who also appealed to Lenin's legacy in opposition to Joseph Stalin as an argument against the consequences of Stalinist national policy. See Nikita Krushchev, "O kulte lichinosti e ego posledstviyah," [The Personality Cult and its Consequences] in *Izvestiya CK KPSS* [Newsletter of Communist Party of USSR], no. 3, 1989, 128–170.

[6]Svetlana Nam, *Koreyskiy natsionalny raion: puti poiska issledovatlia* [Korean National Region: The Path of a Researcher] (Nauka, 1991), 21.

[7]Boris Park, *Koreyci v rossiyskoy imperii: dalnevostochniy period* [Koreans in Russian Empire: Far Eastern Period] (Moscow: International Center of Korean Studies of Moscow University, 1993), 19–20.

[8]Kirilov A.V., "Koreyci sela Blagoslovennogo" [Koreans of Blagoslovennaya village], *Priamurskiye Vedomosti*, no. 58, 1895, 2–7.

making social inequality a dominant form of relation between peasant and their landlords population as well as inside peasant community. Although serfdom did not affect Russian Korean farmers and they were relatively free from enormous financial burden imposed on peasants by Emancipation reform, still their agricultural activities were strongly dependent on Russian landlords, Cossacks or from wealthy Korean farmers from whom they had to rent the land they cultivated. To add to it, growing anti-Korean and anti-Chines sentiments of local authorities who saw them as a political threat to national boundaries and economic competitors of Russian peasants and workers considerably limited chances of successful economic activities for the vast majority of Korean population.

That is why disappointed expectations were likely to reappear in Russian national discourse as political demands of social justice. The fist Russian Revolution (1905–1906) marked the rise of social unrest driven by demand of social justice that also obtained support among Russian Korean political activists. Later these political sentiments became basis for popularity of socialist ideology that promoted the idea that taking power from upper class or re-distribution of wealth inside national and ethnic community would solve class contradictions. It came about in part because of assumption that class differences prevented equal distribution of wealth in society. Socialist ideologies permit government to preserve legitimacy in spite of its inability to resolve the problem of social inequality. Socialist paradigm exploits economic inequality to justify moral demand of social justice both for excluded social/ethnic groups and for those who benefit from social inequality and whose political legitimacy rested on the belief that state institutions intervention can overcome social inequality. For example, Primorsky region and Vladivostok was one of the important destinations for Korean Independence movement who promoted idea among Russian Koreans that exploitation of their Korean motherland by Japanese Empire and exploitation of Korean people in Russian Far East are different manifestation of the same capitalist nature that even closely geographically located and that could be resolved together.

Most of the Russian Koreans saw October Revolution in 1917 as a historical chance to put socialist paradigm into practice. Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia which Bolsheviks announced in November 15, 1917 promised political empowerment for all national minorities of Russian Empire to abolish all national and religious privileges, provide equal rights and free development that inspired many Korean residents to join pro-Bolsheviks Far East partisan movement. Besides, Bolsheviks were willing to provide support for Korean Independence movement in Manchuria and Russian Far East against Japanese occupation that many saw as alternative to reliance on the United States whose anti-colonial appeal ideologically backed by Wilson's Declaration of the Principle of Self Determination in 1919-promised national independence but did not promise freedom from capitalist exploitation. Soviet socialism regarded "cultural stuff" as important tool to organize class struggle between labor and capital, modernity and tradition inside the Soviet Korean diaspora as a part of a wider class struggle to eliminate existing social inequalities and exploitation in Soviet state. In accordance with the famous thesis of Joseph Stalin about "national form and socialist content," Korean culture

and language was supposed to become an instrument for this political struggle and self-organized ethnic labor[9] within boundaries of the future ethnic autonomy.

More or less the same may be said about the absolute majority of Soviet Russia's minorities. The presumed oppression against their national cultures under the Tsar regime was understood to be the political rationale for them to be loyal to the Soviet system. This alliance between Bolsheviks and minorities was formed under the early Soviet policies, often described as "affirmative actions" of sort that positively discriminated in minorities' favor.[10] For example, the Soviet leaders were not committed to turning their country into homogenous nation—state. In the early Soviet period they actively discouraged voluntary assimilation and instead promoted the national self-consciousness of the non-Russian populations. This was important to let each officially recognized ethnic minority, however small, to be politically empowered as self-organized ethnic labor that controls class struggle of labor against capital within ethnic boundaries. According to this approach, minorities were granted its own national territory where it enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy, national schools, and national elites.

The crucial aspect of the Korean diaspora during Soviet period was the politicization of the economy. Mobilization of the Soviet Korean diaspora for economic activities rested on a political contradictions during modernization of ethnic labor in 1920–1930s. It assumed that the main form of self-organized ethnic labor and thus a source of motivation of economic activities were class contradictions that demanded mobilization of economic resources in the form of internal class struggle where one group of Soviet Koreans people represented labor and another capital. This permitted Soviet and Soviet Korean authorities evaluate the efficiency or inefficiency of ethnic labor in close relationship with efficiency or inefficiency of political class struggle inside Soviet Korean diaspora. Evaluation of economic activity would very likely result in political descriptions that would demand political solutions. For instance, peasant labor resistance and economic inefficiency towards mechanization was automatically interpreted as examples of disloyalty while efficiency was regarded as proof of loyalty.[11]

Literature of the Soviet Korean diaspora was also form of political action. From the very beginning leftist-oriented Koreans and later Soviet Korean writers

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[9]See Soviet idealized image of Soviet Korean kolkhozes Kim Sung Hwa, *Ocherki po Istorii Sovetskih Koreycev* [Sketches on the History of Soviet Koreans] (Alma-Ati:Nauka, 1965), 171–179; *Ekonomika Peredovogo Kolhoza "Polyarnaya Zvezda"* [Economy of Progressive Kolkhoz *Polarnaya Zvezda*] (Tashkent: Academy of Science of Soviet Uzbek Republic, 1954); For more critical analysis Vanin Yuri, *Koreyzi v SSSR* [Koreans in USSR] (Moscow: Institute of Oriental Studies, 2004), 259–261.

[10]Terry Dean Martin, *Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union*, 1923–1939 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 13.

[11]The heroes of labor, so called *Stakhanovism* played important role in politicization of labor. The best examples of Soviet Korean *Stakhanovism* were fish collective farms represented both Soviet Koreans and Russians. For example, the head of Korean fish collective farm "Giant" in Olginsky district of Primorsky region Kim Yonsu published an article about successes in labor organization and improvement of living conditions published in *Krasnoye Znamya*, December 15, 1936.

described their ethnic culture as united with the political process and in terms of political contradictions. During the early period of proletarian Soviet literature in the 1920s and 1930s, 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. Both politicized Korean culture, depicting it in terms of mutually exclusive class contradictions (class struggle). Their works were written in Korean and were mainly aimed at stirring up the Korean independence movement's socialist version inside and outside of Korea. They wrote of Korean national independence as possible within the Soviet state and the formation of a Soviet Korean nation was result of the victory of Korean labor over Korean capital. For example, one of the most famous works at the time described this antagonistic form of Korean culture by Cho Men Hee in *Low Atmospheric Pressure* (1926) and *Naktogang River* (1927).[12]

Generally speaking, politicization of ethnic literature in particular was underlying principle of Soviet identity construction and remains so in post-Soviet Russia. According to Vladimir Lenin ethnic culture was a form of class struggle. He saw the contradiction between labor and capital as a central principle of ethnic culture development that in its extreme point would form one socialist culture.[13] According to Stalin, different ethnic cultures should organize this struggle as different parts of a single whole personified by one political party.[14] The function of ethnic art was to describe this dialectical unity of conflict and opposites that goes through all ethnic cultures and serves as common ground for intercultural class solidarity.[15]

Participation of the Soviet Korean diaspora in political struggle during the early post-Revolutionary years already marked growing number inequalities in distribution of political power.[16] It was unclear who was more legitimate in the regulation of national and international political actions of Korean communists, the state

[12]See also *Gorky e koreyskaya proletarskaya literatura* v 1920–1930 godah [Gorky and Korean Proletarian Revolution during the 1920s and 1930s] (Moscow:1965), 49–61.

[13]Vladimir Lenin, *Kriticheskiye zametki po nacionalnomu voprosu* [Critical Remarks on National Issue] Collected Works. (Moscow: Political Literature Press, 1967), vol. 5, 113–150.

[14]Joseph Stalin, *Marxism i nacionalny vopros* [Marxism and National Question] (Moscow: Political Literature Press, Collected Works, 1958), vol. 2, 290–367.

[15]There are too many books to list here, but some notable volumes include the following: Vladimir Lenin, *Partiynaya organizaciya e partiynaya literatura* [Organization of Political Party and Party's Literature] *Novaya Zhizn,* no. 12, November 13, 1905, quote from Vladimir Lenin, *Full Collection of Works* (Moscow: Political Literature Press, 1967), vol. 12, 99–105; Anatoly Lunacharsky, "Klassovaya borba v iskusstve," [Class Struggle in Art], *Iskusstvo*, no. 1–2, 1929, 15–16; Fedor Kaloshin, *Soderzhaniye e forma v proizvedeniyah iskusstva* [Form and Content in the Works of Art] (Moscow: Political Literature Press, 1953), 195.

[16]Although many Russian Korean researchers prefer to blame only the Soviet state for the deportation, a few do not. See for example Nikolay Bugai, *140 let v Rossii: Otcherki istorii rosiyskih koreycev* [One Hundred Years in Russia: Sketches on History of Russian Koreans] (Moscow: Institute of Oriental Studies of Russian Academy of Science, 2004), 184–185.

or the diaspora.[17] In other words, centralization of decision making on the national level contradicted with centralization of decision making on the ethnic level. This had serious consequences for the process of political decision-making and coordination of political actions inside and outside Soviet Union. For instance, there were numerous cases of participation of Korean guerrilla troops robbing Korean peasants[18] and the never-ending factional struggle among Soviet Korean leaders cast doubt[19] on ability of the Soviet Korean diaspora as a whole to organize any unified political action both in Soviet Union and communist underground movement on Korean peninsula.

Similar inequalities in distribution of political power also existed with ethnic boundaries of the Soviet Korean diaspora. Political self-description by the Soviet Korean diaspora reflected the movements of power oscillating between the governors and the governed as they moved towards greater centralization of decision-making power inside the diaspora. Each side preferred to realize their own anticipations and compensate for disappointments by obtaining more political power through Soviet Koreans political activists or other politically connected groups to the detriment of the others.[20] For instance, participation of Koreans in the Civil War (1917–1923) and further membership in the Soviet Communist Party posed a serious problem of coordination of political actions with other Koreans. Numerous cases of participation of Korean guerrilla troops robbing Korean peasants[21] and the never-ending factional struggle among Soviet Korean leaders cast doubt[22] on ability of the Soviet Korean diaspora as a whole to organize any unified political action on a fixed territory.

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[17]See for instance, Tsypkin, S., Shurigin, A., Buligin, S. *Octyabrskaya revoluciya e grazhdanskaya voyna na Dalnem Vostoke:* hronika sobitiy 1917–1922 [October Revolution and Civil War on the Far East: Timeline of Events 1917–1922] (Moscow—Khabarovsk: Far Eastern Press, 1933), 304–305.

[18]*VKPb, Komintern e Koreya* [All-Union Communist Party Bolsheviks, Comintern and Korea], edited by Haruka Wada, (Moscow: Russian Political Encyclopedia, 2007), 243.

[19]For instance, Boris Shumyatsky, head of the Far East Bureau of Communist International at the Founding Session of Korean Communist Party in 1921 that "all members must ask themselves if they can get rid of their bourgeois psychology, individualism that cannot admit any form of organization which is crucial for any communist…Chaos, lack of discipline, and anti-communist hysteria that already express some members of session… make any true communist wonder if it is really a time for the founding of the Korean Communist Party." *Narody Dalnyego Vostoka*, no. 2, 1921, 199–200.

[20]For instance, in September, 20 1928 on the session of Comintern former member of "Irkutsk group" Che Hun said "how can we work effectively if we act according to the orders of Japanese police and Japanese Imperialist?" See, RGASPI. F.495.Op.45.D.25.ll. 2–44.

[21]Some ex-guerilla fighters forcedly took money from Korean people. Mass falsification of certificates of member of guerilla troop was organized under initiative of Park Ilya, commander of Sakhalin volunteers. These were examples of the so-called "anarchist activities of communists", *VKPb, Komintern e Koreya* [Comintern and Korea] (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2007), 243.

[22]For instance, the head of Far East Bureau of Communist International Boris Shumyatsky In 1921 on the Founding Session of Korean Communist Party he said, that "all members must ask themselves if they can get rid of their bourgeois psychology, individualism that cannot admit any form of organization which is crucial for any communist…Chaos, undisciplined ness and anti-communist hysteria that already express some members of session… make any true

Paradoxically efficient and inefficient construction of socialism equally led to political conflict between Soviet state and Soviet Korean Diaspora. Both successes[23] and failures[24] socialist modernization of Soviet Korean diaspora during collectivization and industrialization during late 1920s and first half of 1930s contributed to further politicization of Soviet Korean ethnic culture that justified further political interventions as a proof of its success or as necessity to compensate the failures of socialist modernization. This raised the question of who controls this politicized ethno-social space. The result was increasing conflicts between two parallel sources of political power, namely the diaspora and the state. On one hand greater socialist modernization of the ethnic culture demanded higher concentrations of power and economic resources[25] inside the Soviet Korean Diaspora and establishment of ethnic autonomy. Yet, on the other hand, socialist modernization of Soviet society in general demanded similar political concentrations of resources in one center, further expanding state power. Eventually the forced deportation of Soviet Koreans to Central Asia in 1937 was one of the numerous attempts that Soviet state applied in the Far East trying compensate its inability to construct socialist nation by mass population relocations from/to Soviet Far East with political violence justified by necessity to construct socialist nation through struggle with internal[26] or external enemies.[27]

(Footnote 22 continued)

communist think if it is really a time for foundation of Korean Communist Party." *Narody Dalnyego Vostoka*, 199–200 no. 2 (1921).

[23]The heroes of labor, so called *Stakhanovism* played important role in politicization of labor. The best examples of Soviet Korean *Stakhanovism* were fish collective farms represented both Soviet Koreans and Russians. For example, the head of Korean fish collective farm "Giant" in Olginsky district of Primorsky region Kim Yonsu published an article about successes in labor organization and improvement of living conditions published in *Krasnoye Znamya*, December 15, 1936.

[24]The Soviet Russians evaluated the condition of Korean kolkhoz organization not as good but as satisfactory. The arguments were that in spite of good results their work is still badly organized and it is not clear who is responsible for successes and failures. See e.g., *Dalnevostochny Kolkhoznik.* 12, no. 11 (1930). Besides some observers noticed "left opportunism" among Koreans who "denied the fact of existence of kulaks in Korean village" and excessive self-confidence in the readiness of Korean village for modernization when in fact it still remain semi-feudal without proper mechanization of ethnic labor. See e.g., *Revoluciya e Nacionalnosti* [Revolution and nationalities] Monthly journal of Soviets of nationalities of Central Committee of USSR and Communist Academy, 76–81, no. 2–3 (1931).

[25]Osip Ermansky, *Teoriya e Practica Razionalizacii* [Theory and practice of rationalization] (Moscow: Gos.Izdatelstvo, 1928).

[26]In addition, the Soviet state was quite sensitive about the geographical location of the Soviet Korean settlements in the strategic region at the eastern edge closest to the Japanese Empire. See for instance analysis of USSR politics in the pre-war years on the Far East: Vladimir Peskov, *Voennaya Politika SSSR na Dalnem Vostoke v 1930e Godi Dvadcatogo Veka* [Military Politics of USSR on the Far East in 1930s of XXth century], (Khabarovsk: 2000); Also see M.V. Zaharov, *Generalniy Shtab v Predvoyenniye Godi* [General Staff in Pre-War Yeats] (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1989).

[27]For instance, Initiative group of Korean communist wrote a letter to Eastern Department of Comintern where they make it clear that mismanagement in communist organizations and economic activity is the result of Japanese spies activities (See RGASPI. F.495. Op.20.D.331.ll. 103–108).

3.1.2 Narrowing of State Power and Soviet/Russian Korean Compensation of Political Vacuum

The Russian Korean reacted to inability to construct national unity both within socialist and capitalism paradigms by attempt to promote idea of ethnic autonomy. As such, during the two decades after the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, they experienced both a period of narrowing of state power in the 1990s followed by a period of expansion of state power in the 2000s, in accordance with public demands for less, then greater state intervention in society. The political descriptions of and the experiences of the Russian Korean diaspora reflected these two opposite trends of political power, a partial result to which they also directly or indirectly contributed. This section discusses of how Russian Korean ethnicity first represented an attempt to compensate gradual loss of legitimacy of socialist paradigm where ethnic autonomy would be good basis for consensus with Soviet state during post-Stalin period (1950s–1960s) and its transition towards the idea that autonomy would refer to anti-state position beginning from the late 1980s and 1990s that again switched to pro-state during the 2000s–2010s when ethnic autonomy is a symbol of loyalty to Russian government as it remains so even today.

After Stalin's death in 1953 Soviet government faced crisis of socialist ideology. During the late *1950s and 1980s*, there was a growing disappointment and loss of legitimacy of socialist paradigm both in communist and capitalist nations around the globe.[28] It became clear that attempts to eliminate class distinctions did not only eliminate them but produced new equalities that cannot be reduced to traditional class differences. As a result, moral imperative of solidarity gradually lost its legitimacy and so does the idea of that national unity is possible under socialist slogans. For example, already beginning from mid 1950s during de-Stalinization campaign Soviet Korean intellectuals expressed their dissatisfaction with current situation of Korean ethnic socialist development culture claiming that establishment of Korean ethnic autonomy was crucial condition that would help to overcome damages produced by Stalinist legacy. Eventually during Perestroika, 1985–1991 Soviet Korean activists abandoned their attempts to reach consensus and played important role in d- legitimization of Soviet state making its own contribution to its collapse. During this period, idea of ethnic autonomy appears again as an attempt to compensate political vacuum when state started gradual withdrawal from society.

The Soviet Korean intellectuals tried to compensate legitimacy crisis of socialist nation state by demanding for more political empowerment. Already during the post-war period in the 1950s members of the diaspora politicized their economic and political hopes and disappointments in terms of the difference between the Soviet state and Soviet Koreans. Reliance on political regulation demanded further expansion of political power whether from the side of the state or from the side of the diaspora. However, Soviet leaders refused to develop centralized Stalinist model

[28]Debates about socialism with human face in Europe in 1960s–1970s and China in 1980s.

in economy that was clear after "de-Stalinization" process at least since 1956. This created a political vacuum in which ethnic culture started to fill. For instance, the "petition campaign" in the 1950s and participation in quasi-legal economic activities in agriculture, the so-called *kobonji* were the first but relatively feeble steps towards the exercise of power by the Soviet Korean diaspora.

"Petition campaign" was one of the crucial attempts to compensate for the political vacuum created by gradual deconstruction of centralized Stalinist state politics. Many Soviet Korean intellectuals believed they needed to help the state to properly regulate ethnic issues in the Soviet Union. Unlike, the years before deportation when the hope for ethnic autonomy largely but not completely depended on fragile balance between efficiency of self-organized ethnic labor (*soviets*) and political trust from central government, the logic of "petition campaign" reflected fixation of communist party nomenclature domination as ruling class. That is why Soviet Korean intellectuals tried to find further way of socialist modernization of Soviet Korean ethnic culture strictly relying on the mechanisms available within hierarchy of Soviet bureaucracy. P.A. Park Il, an Associate Professor of Kazakhstan State University wrote in his 1957 petition that it would be better to let Koreans go back to the Far East where they lived before deportation and permit them to establish Korean Autonomy since the government of the Soviet Union has gradually withdrawn from society due to de-Stalinization[29] which juxtaposed the legacy of the Lenin with Stalin's.[30]

For Park, this decentralization, however, did not mean the abandonment of reliance on the control of socialist state over development of ethnic culture. Rather, he thought it reflected only the manner in which the state regulated this process. He believed that the problem of repatriation had political consequences because of the undeveloped character of the ethnic culture would inevitably lead to deviation from socialist content. The author expressed a concern that there were on the horizon Korean workers who lead an "unsystematic way of life" and that nobody cares about their lives. The logical conclusion was to politically resolve the problem of culture by giving them Korean Autonomy where the Leninist principle of "democratic centralism[31]" or the unity of politics and ethnic culture in the form of autonomy within Soviet nation could be implemented.

Inconsistencies between the Soviet Korean ethnic labor and the Soviet Korean ethnic culture was the central issue during this campaign. The arguments from the Soviet Korean side were that the Korean collective farms were obviously very

[29]For a detailed description of the Korean Kolkhozes, see Georgiy Kan, *Istoriya koreytsev Kazakhstana* [History of Koreans of Kazakhstan] (Almati: Gulum, 1995), 128–136.

[30]Here Soviet Korean intellectuals refer to Nikita Krushchev criticism of the "personality cult" who also appealed to Lenin's legacy in opposition to Joseph Stalin as an argument against the consequences of Stalinist national policy. See Nikita Krushchev, "O kulte lichinosti e ego posledstviyah," [The Personality Cult and its Consequences] in *Izvestiya CK KPSS* [Newsletter of Communist Party of USSR], no. 3, 1989, 128–170.

[31]Vladimir Lenin, *Kriticheskiye zametki po nacionalnomu voprosu* [Critical Remarks on National Issues] (Moscow: Political Literature Press, 1967), vol. 24, 144.

successful in Kazakhstan but this was not due to the form of ethnic culture. In fact, Korean culture was not socialistic enough since it did not coincide with the level of labor relations among the soviet Koreans. They thought that any effort to develop ethnic culture cannot proceed directly from the minority group to reality until Koreans perceived themselves as a part of the whole and that every part cannot reproduce itself individually without the collective assistance of Soviet society represented by the Communist Party. Nam Haryon, editor for the Korean newspaper *Lenin Kichi*, wrote to Nikolay Belyaev, the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, on April 14, 1958 that "in spite of our successes national culture is lagging behind." He purposed the establishment of a Korean Center in Kazakhstan where all cultural institutions can be concentrated—newspapers, radio, theater, printing editions, etc. It was another attempt to deepen their ties with Soviet society through participation in activities organized by the Communist Party.

According to Park Il, Koreans proved that they were wrongly accused by working hard and their recent success in agriculture earned them the right to further develop ethnic culture and labor using the political mechanisms of the Communist Party of USSR in Korean Autonomy. Basically, what Park Il was saying actually undermined the legitimacy of the Communist Party. It is not only Stalin that was wrong but that the Communist Party in general can also make mistakes or is even incapable of making rational decisions at times. In other words, both ethnicity and state were different sources of political power whose legitimacy was possible only at the expense of the other so that when ethnicity intervenes the state is expected to withdraw and vice versa. It means that the state needs corrective regulation from ethnic minorities and the "Petition Campaign" was thus an attempt to help the Soviet state in making rational decisions. That is why the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan's secretary Ivan Yakovlev was against this idea but politely advised to drop the matter.[32]

Eventually "Petition Campaign" even stronger undermined legitimacy of Soviet State in the eyes of Soviet Koreans. The Communist Party proposed a number of political bureaucratic measures to develop Korean ethnic culture. The Bureau of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan made a decision under the banner of "On intensification of mass political work among Korean population of the Republic." According to this plan, Korean workers and peasants were responsible for political agitation among Soviet Koreans. The local branches of the Communist Party were encouraged to accept more Koreans into their membership. Disappointment over this state intervention only strengthened perceptions of the Soviet Koreans about

[32]Koreans worked very hard, were well-provided for, materially and well-equipped. Many of them were awarded by honors and medals of Soviet Union and have the rank of Hero of Socialistic Labor. In Kazakhstan, they published republican newspapers in the Korean language and had a mobile Korean theater. Hundreds of representatives of the Korean youth study in technical schools and universities. In fifteen educational institutions, there are two hundred fifty Koreans. (German Kim, "Ob istorii prinuditelno dobrovolnoygo zabveniya rodnogo yazika postsovetskimi koreycami Kasahstana," [On the History of Forced Oblivion of Native Language by Koreans of Kazakhstan] in *Diaspori* [Diasporas], no. 1, 2003, 118).

the inefficiency of state regulation which in turn produced indifference to the state and thus justified its withdrawal. For example, German Kim, a famous researcher of Koreans in the CIS, said in an interview that nobody really reads the one and only Soviet Korean newspaper *Lenin Kichi* and that Koreans simply threw it away into the garbage.[33]

Experience of the Soviet Koreans in North Korea also contributed to their anti-state expectations. The Soviet Korean group participated in North Korean modernization that eventually resulted in a negative attitude towards North Korea and expansion of state power in society. There were about five hundred Soviet Koreans hired to work in North Korea during the late 1940s and mid-1950s. Their experience of working in North Korea, however, produced a very negative image of this country among Soviet Koreans. What they saw in North Korea was an attempt at implementation of the Stalinist model of modernization with the politicization of many aspects of society. According to this model, the North Korean government had to expand state power that continues until today whereas the Soviet Koreans emerged from a Soviet society with growing anticipation of state withdrawal from society. That is why, almost all of them had to leave North Korea because of the danger of negative sanctions towards them from North Korean state.[34]

Soviet Korean ethnic entrepreneurship[35] also referred to an anti-state stance. The Soviet Korean Diaspora became a parallel source of mobilization of economic resources in opposition to the state controlled economy. German Kim describes "*kobonji*" as "a kind of ethnic entrepreneurship that was supposedly more efficient than the officially planned economy. He defines it as a specific characteristic of the Soviet Koreans' quasi-legal occupation 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."[36] The reason for inefficiency in the planned economy was the inability to distinguish between politics and the economy. This prevented the state, through the system of *Gosplan* from receiving precise information about the market that politicized disappointed expectations produced by economic decisions thus cultivating stronger anti-state sentiments. It also created an illusion that the ethnic group could attain economic prosperity if the state withdrew from society and left the market to itself.[37]

However, it is impossible to properly understand supposed efficiency of Soviet Korean ethnic entrepreneurship without understanding the difference between

[33]See the interview with German Kim in the 2007 documentary on the deportation of Soviet Koreans in *Koryo Saram:* The Unreliable People, directed by David Y. Chung.

[34]See Andrei Lankov, *From Stalin to Kim Il Sung.* The Formation of North Korea 1945–1960 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 110–193; and Gregoriy Kan, *Istoriya Koreytsev Kazakhstana* [History of Koreans of Kazakhstan] (Almati: Gulum, 1995), 137–146.

[35]Radaev Vadim, *Etnicheskoye Predrinimatelstvo: Mirovoi Opit e Rosiya* [Ethnic entrepreneurship: world experience and Russia], *Politicheskiye Issledovaniya* 79–87, no. 5 (1993).

[36]German Kim, *Ethnic Entrepreneurship of Koreans in the USSR and post-Soviet Central Asia* (Tokyo: JETRO, 2009), 32.

[37]German Kim, 2009, 41.

interrelation between private and state sectors in Stalinist and post-Stalinist economy. On January 1, 1961 Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev initiated Monetary reform that introduced drastic changes into Soviet economy formed during Stalin period that permitted private sector to take advantage of state sector at the expense of national economy in general. Official purpose of the reform was 10–1 denomination of Soviet currency. However, the golden standard increased only 4.4:1 and 1 US dollar equal to 90 kopecks that decreased purchasing power of Soviet ruble. Later 1965 Soviet economic reforms even strengthened the importance of profitability and sales and Soviet planned economy. Besides, Khrushchev banned private sector that was integral part of economy in previous years that however did not disappear but became basis for grey sector. Reform raised consumer goods prices higher in private than in state sector and for the first time constantly fixed this difference. It became much more profitable for state-owned farms to supply and state owned shop chains to sell consumer goods to market at higher prices, return planned revenue to state budget but keep the gained difference to themselves. Products of better quality moved to half-legal market that created chronical deficit in state sector and forced Soviet people to purchase consumer goods from entrepreneurs at higher prices. To add to this, revenues from grey sector of Soviet economy contributed to formation of hidden inflation that during early post-Soviet years 1992–1994 turned into hyperinflation devaluing Russian currency and burnt savings of Soviet people.

Politicization of ethnic literature refers to another important aspect of interrelation between Soviet national and Soviet Korean ethnic boundaries. This was part of the politicization of literature and art, including anti-Soviet art in the Soviet Union from the 1960s. The generation of the 1960s that brought together both the pro- and anti-Soviet factions were the result of Twentieth Session of the Communist Party where Khrushchev criticized the "Cult of personality" and made allies on both sides. The idea of de-Stalinization aimed at loosening the Communist Party's social control over the Soviet Union by making their own position in power untouchable. During the Stalin era, mass repressions of former leaders provided a means of upward social mobility for others in that such measures constantly supplied the Communist Party with a flow of new people into positions of power. These means of repressions in particular and the general idea of upward social mobility within Soviet System had to be separated out conceptually if not in practice.

Soviet dissidents therefore worked out a condemnation of Soviet state which they widely disseminated throughout society. They promoted the image of the Communist Party's intervention in society as producing nothing but violence, as seen in the example of the anti-Stalinism is winner of Nobel Prize in Literature Alexander Solzhenitsyn.[38] Others put forth vivid descriptions of the disappointment many experienced on the level of daily life with the Party's rigid rule over many

[38]Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *Arhipelag-Gulag* [The Gulag Archipelago] (Moscow: Sovetsky Pisatel, 1989), vol. 1, 100.

aspects of life[39] and Russian ethnic nationalism as the only solution.[40] Still others encouraged withdrawal from politics altogether through a romanticization of social autism, as seen in Venedict Erofeev or the image of the "intellectual alcoholic."[41] Some even went so far, as movie directors and artists from "Generation of the 1960s," to romanticize the life of criminals as victims of and fighters against Soviet state who supposedly enjoyed real freedom in contrast to the miserable Soviet life[42] or trumpet alternative lifestyles such as the art-group *Mitki*.[43]

There were two forms of politicization of Soviet Russian Korean literature. The first one represented a pro-state orientation in literature. This group of Soviet Korean writers described ethnicity as a way of expression of political loyalty to the state. They wrote and published stories that would be approved by state officials because it was the fulfillment of communist party demands of what socialist ethnic art should look like. Such state regulation was a balance between two sources of political power—state and ethnicity. It was an attempt to provide additional legitimacy to Soviet state and socialist paradigm of nation and ethnicity building. Nearly all publications of this sort were concentrated in one place–in the Soviet Korean newspaper *Lenin Kichi*—that was published in Kazakhstan. They were published mostly in the Korean language and were familiar only to those in the close circle of Soviet Koreans in Kazakh SSR in Almaty-city where the office of *Lenin-Kichi* was located. Besides this newspaper, only fifty books were published in a half century, from roughly 1937–1987.[44]

Anti-state literature generated by Soviet Russian Koreans was opposite form of politicization in at least two ways. Most of the Soviet Korean writers of anti-state group belonged to an underground "dissident" soviet literature and wrote their works in the Russian language for the Russian public ostensibly to unite with others politically against the state. That is why unlike officially approved Soviet Korean authors they were linked neither to particular territory nor to issues of ethnic community. They published their works both in Central Asia and mostly in Moscow or Leningrad and were relate to all Soviet society cultivating anti-state and

[39]Sergey Kara-Murza, *Poteryanniy razum* [The Lost Mind] (EKSMO, 2008), 286–289.

[40]For example, Alexander Solzhenitsyn in *Kak nam obustroit Rossiyu* [Rebuilding Russia] (1990) suggested removing all non-Slavic peoples in Russia and establish a purely Russian state. See Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *Publizistika v tryoh tomah* [Opinion Journalism in Three Volumes] (Yaroslavl: Verhne-Volzhskoye Izdatelstvo, 1995), 538–599.

[41]Venedict Erofeev, *Moscow-Petushki* (Moscow: Interbook, 1990), 4–16. It is interesting that the novel begins with the confession of the main hero who lives in Moscow but did not see Kremlin no matter how hard he tried to find it, regardless of whether he was drunk or not.

[42]See for instance, *The Lost Mind* by Russian social philosopher Sergey Kara-Murza who describes how the Soviet intelligentsia promoted the image of social autism and what disastrous effects it had during *perestroika* and the 1990s. Kara-Murza, Sergey. *Poteryanniy razum* [The Lost Mind] (Moscow: Algoritm, 2005), 15–34.

[43]Vladimir Shinkarev, *Mitki* (Moscow: IMA Press, 1990), 43–46.

[44]See Yan Von Seek, a member of Kazakhstan Union of writers, "*O literature Koreycev Kazakhstana*" [On the literature of Koreans of Kazakhstan] This article is only available on-line http://world.lib.ru/k/kim_o_i/l1rtf.shtml. (Accessed on September 29, 2010).

anti-socialist stance on national scale. Some of the most prominent figures from the 1960s to the 1980s include Roman Kim, singers Victor Tsoi, and Yuliy Kim. This group of writers was disturbed by the expanding state power at the expense of society in the Soviet Union and countered the trend by profaning social realities. They tried to compensate for a lack of political power in society by soliciting moral compassion and producing disdain towards state.

One of the central figures of this process was Soviet Korean singer Victor Tsoi. He was probably the most revolutionary of all singers at the time who personified resistance to the soviet system in general. In his songs, Victor Tsoi successfully connected politics and art in a popular and simple manner. His popularity was due to the manner in which he created an alternative source of political power opposed to the state. His innovation was the image of a man who lives outside of society. His transcendentalism is a crucial element to the power legitimacy in Russia because society is presented as corrupt and meaningless. It means that salvation is possible outside the mainstream of society and represented by individuals with deviant behavior whether criminal or saintly. *Komsomolskaya Pravda* wrote on August 17, 1990 about Victor Tsoi and portrayed his importance to the youth of the nation as a saint.

Tsoi means more to the young people of our nation than any politician, celebrity or writer. This is because Tsoi never lied and never sold out. He was and remains himself. It's impossible not to believe him… Tsoi is the only rocker who has no difference between his image and his real life; he lived the way he sang… Tsoi is the last hero of rock.[45]

The Victor Tsoi concerts represented society as a parallel source of political power. His usual technique was to get thousands in the audience to wave their lighters throughout the stadium, thereby symbolizing the homogeneity of individual expectations with their solidarity with others. His concerts united individual disappointments and expectations towards state. Thus Victor Tsoi became an example of opposition to power of state and his songs were perceived to cultivate a nihilistic spirit of incompatibility between society and the Soviet state. In his songs he promoted idea that meaning is possible in the struggle against something that perfectly fit anti-state atmosphere of Perestroika. Victor Tsoi sang in "We demand changes. We cannot boast of wisdom of our eyes and … gestures of our hands. We do not need it to understand each other."

This collective act had political connotations which reproduced of political boundary between soviet state and society. The mass gatherings at his concerts began after the release of his most political seventh album called *Blood Type*. The songs from this album like *We Demand Changes*, *Star Named Sun*, *Close the Door Behind Me; I am Leaving*; *In Our Eyes*; *Try to Sing With Me*; and *We'll Do It From Here* represented society as solely the social movement opposed to the state. As a result, his Victor Tsoi and his band *Kino* played songs from this album in "Luzhniki

[45]Artemiy Troizkiy, "Zakroi za mnoy dver ya uhozhu," [Close the Door Behind Me; I am Leaving] *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, no. 189, August 17, 1990, 4.

Stadium" (Moscow) for his last concert in which about sixty thousand people gathered. Interestingly, a year later on August 20, 1991 it was enough to gather about fifty thousand people to overthrow the Communist party.[46]

Tsoi's negative portrayal of the state virtually eliminated the possibility of consensus. Victor Tsoi himself and his friends labeled believers in the Soviet State as "daddies," [*papochki (rus.)*] a reference to the generational gap that stood between themselves and those aligning themselves with the state and as such. Moreover, their youth movement represented themselves as an alternative political power and at the same time an identical reflection of the Soviet system. Both sides thought that social problems could be resolved by proper political intervention from one center. For example, in the last scene of Sergey Soloviev's *Assa* movie (1987) became a symbol of the impossibility of consensus with the state. At the end of the movie when he is introduced as part of the new vocals of a local band that plays in a night club, a female director of this club starts reading him instructions about how he should organize his performance using bureaucratic language. Tsoi stands up without saying anything, and departs from the director's room. He then suddenly appears on the stage before a large number of people and starts singing his famous song *We Demand Changes*.

3.1.3 Russian Koreans and Post-socialist Dynamic of Power

The collapse of socialist paradigm in Russia did not de-politicized ethnic boundary between the host society and Russian Koreans but created new forms of politicization. Russian government changed the very basis of its legitimacy to the opposite. Instead of promise to resolve the problem of social inequality and exploitation within socialist paradigm it proclaimed the idea that social inequality is crucial source of motivation. This permitted to exploit the economic potential of Russian society in a way that the outcome of economic competition would fit the expectations of Russian bureaucratic hierarchy. In order to do this, the post-Soviet political order in Russia relied on the consensus between federal government and ethnic minorities in the form of membership in ruling political parties, top bureaucracy and permission to participate in large business projects financed by federal budget. Their purpose is to prevent the real development that would mean uncontrolled upward social mobility and more democratization that in turn would result in stronger social demands to redistribute wealth and power. That is why all government run project to develop ethnic culture are made in a way that their implementation will have only limited impact on society.

[46]Vasiliy Popov, Bolshaya nitchya: SSSR ot pobedi do raspada [The Big Draw: USSR from Victory to Collapse] (Moscow: ENAS, 2005), 207.

The Russian Korean diaspora contributed to the de-legitimization of Soviet state institutions that facilitated transition to capitalism.[47] On September 1, 1993, the Supreme Soviet of Russia adopted the law "On Rehabilitation of Russian Koreans." Many of them believed that withdrawal of the Russian state from regulation of society would have at least two major consequences. First of all, Russian Koreans would become free to restore their Korean ethnic culture as they desired and to organize the Korean Autonomy. Second, the collapse of the planned economy could provide access to South Korean capital and receive compensations from the Russian government. According to this law, the state was supposed to "prepare state program of national-cultural revival of the Russian Koreans; identify sources of funding; organize repatriation of former residence to the territories of living prior to deportation; restoration of farming organizations and other activities; develop proposals for entering into agreements with other States—former republics that formed part of the Union SSR, on the order and conditions of the rehabilitation of Russian Koreans."

Russian Korean intellectuals also made their contribution in de-legitimization of state. The historians and writers like historian German Kim, historian Nikolay Bugai, Soviet Korean writer Valentin Tyan, professor Vladimir Lee, historian from Diplomatic Academy of Ministry of Foreign Affairs or president of International Confederation of Korean Associations of CIS Eugeny Kim in the early 1990s published historical studies that condemned the state, highlighting the state violence towards Soviet Koreans during the 1930s and 1940s. For instance, one of the pioneers who raised the topic of deportation Korean people in Soviet Union was German Kim in his article "*Confession of soren-saram—soviet man*" published in the journal "*Druzhba Narodov*"[48] (Friendship of Peoples) in 1989.[49] Later in 1992 in Moscow Vladimir Lee and Eugeny Kim published *White Book on the Deportation of Korean population in 1930s–1940s*.[50] It was collection of documents on the forced deportation, the investigation materials of the NKVD against the Soviet Koreans that had not been published before. Russian Korean historian

[47]See how ethnic anti-state campaigns eventually contributed to the rise of ethnic terrorism, Sergey Kara-Murza, *Perviy Zaryad in Beslan Vzorval A.D. Sakharov* [The First Charge in Beslan was Exploded by Andrey Sakharov] *Russkiy Dom*, 14–15 December, 12, (2004); Also see anti-Soviet publication on the history of Chechen people Alexandr Uralov (Avtorhanov), *Ubiystvo Chechено-Ingushskogo Naroda. Narodoubiystvo v SSSR* [Murder of Chechen-Ingush people: Murder of Peoples in USSR] (Moscow, 1991), 38.

[48]German Kim in his article *Ispoved Soren-Saram – Sovetskogo Cheloveka* [Confession of soren-saram – soviet man], *Druzhba Narodov* 168—195 no. 4 (1989).

[49]See for instance another example of condemnation of Soviet past by other intellectuals from other ethnic minorities in the same period; H.M.Ibragimbeyli, *Skazat Pravdu o Tragedii Narodov* [To Tell the Truth About Tragedy of Peoples], Politicheskoye Obozreniye 58–63 no. 4 (1989).

[50]*Belaya Kniga: Iz istorii Viseleniya Chechencev e Ingushey* (1944–1945) *Vospominaniya, Arhivniye Materiali, Fotodokumenti* [White Book: On the history of deportation of Chechens and Ingush people: memories, archive and foto materials] (Grozny-Alma-Ati: 1991).

Nikolay Bugai continued the topic deportation of peoples in Soviet Union in his works in the mid-1990s.[51]

De-legitimization of state was part of larger trend of the law-and-order institutions. During Perestroika and the 1990s famous intellectuals in cooperation with anti-Soviet politicians like Boris Yeltsin largely contributed to the justification for the Soviet state withdrawal from society. Their main target was Soviet symbols of political power beginning with the police and the Communist Party to the very idea of a multi-ethnic federalism of the Soviet state. They embraced the anti-KGB and anti-Stalin campaigns and thus welcomed the special focus on the topic of deported peoples.[52] On the other hand, Boris Yeltsin effectively used nationalist rhetoric to gain political legitimacy. He promised economic prosperity for solely Russian people if they agree to get rid of burden represented by the Soviet Republics.[53] The latter found its implementation in proclamation of Russian national independence in July 1990.[54]

Russian Korean activists perceived political vacuum as an opportunity to establish ethnic autonomy.[55] Svetlana Nam, Russian researcher on Russian Korean

[51]Bugai Nikolai, *Pravda o Deportacii Chechenskogo e Ingushskogo Narodov* [Truth about deportation of Chechen and Ingush peoples], *Voprosi Istorii* 32–44, no. 7 (1990); Nikolai Bugai, *Repressirovanniye Narodi Rossii: Chechenci e Ingushi. Documenti, Fakti, Kommentari* [Repressed peoples of Russia: Chechens and Ingush people] (Moscow 1994); Nikolai Bugai, *L. Beriya – J. Stalin: "Soglasno Vashemu Ukazaniyu…"* [From Beriya to Stalin "According to your order…"] (Moscow, 1995); Bugai Nikolai, Gonov Askarbi, *Kavkaz: Narodi v Eshelonah 20e-60e godi* [Caucasus: the Peoples in the Special Trains] (Moscow, 1998).

[52]For example, Galina Starovoyotova (1946–1998), famous human rights activist, was among the intellectuals who in the early 1990s promoted image of ethnic minorities as victims of the Soviet State and that groups like the Chechens had a right to independence. Leaders of the Chechen Republic later used her article to justify their war and acts of terror on the territory of Russia, saying they were victims of Soviet State. See Galina Starovoytova, "Rossiya e Chechnya: Smertelnoye Obyatiye," [Russian and Chechen: Deadly Embrace] *Moskovskiy Komsomolec*, March 14, 1995.

[53]An example of manipulation using nationalist rhetoric is Boris Yeltsin's speech at the First Session of Congress of People's Deputies of Soviet Union in May, 1990, where he said, Imperial policy lead to ambiguity of relations between Soviet Republics, about their rights, duties and responsibilities to each other. First of all, it has to do with Russia. It is impossible to accept the situation when republic is in first place in efficiency of labor but in the last fifteenth place for the level of social expenses." In *Gorbachev – Yeltsin:* 1500 dney politicheskogo protivostoyaniya [Gorbachev – Yeltsin: 1500 Days of Political Confrontation], edited by Leonid Dobrohotov (Moscow: Terra, 1992), 187.

[54]"Deklaraciya o gosudarstvennom suverenitete RSFSR," [Declaration of State Sovereignty of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic] June 12, 1990 in *Vedomisti s`ezda narodnih deputatov RSFSR e verhovnogo soveta RSFSR* [Newsletter of Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union], no. 2, 1990, 22.

[55]Similar attempts to organize a republic in southern Russia were made by Russian German intellectuals and politicians. For example, the governor of Sverdlovsk Oblast, a Russian German named Eduard Rossel unsuccessfully tried to proclaim an independent Ural Republic with its capital in Yekaterinburg, and complete with its own currency, the Ural Franc. Artyom Zhenkin, *Denezhniye surrogati v rossiyskoi ekonomike* [Local Currency in Russian Economy] (Moscow: Alpina, 2000), 47.

history in early 1990s, actively promoted a project of politicization of Korean ethnic culture by establishing Korean national autonomy in the Primorsky region. Her idea dovetailed with the Russian government's emphasis on the spirit of "Rehabilitation of Russian Koreans" in September 1993. Nam's idea of "Korean national autonomy" was a reaction to the narrowing of state power that had to be compensated by an expansion of the ethnic boundaries as an alternative source of political power. Svetlana Nam published *Korean National District: The Path of a Researcher*, a short book in 1991 in which she explained that the "rehabilitation of the Korean people of the Soviet Union meant restoration of all abandoned civil and political rights, including the right to restore the Korean National District and the National Agricultural Soviets."[56]

However, the regional government used this demand for ethnic autonomy as an opportunity to represent itself as the one who prevents ethnic separatism and provides national unity. Local governmental authorities, the police, and even Russian Korean leaders in general displayed negative reactions towards the Russian Koreans. They interpreted ethnicity as one of the primary threats to Russian state power. The local police viewed ethnicity as a source of alternative political power after that was especially true during the conflict in the Chechen Republic and in other locations where separatist movements thrived in Russia during the 1990s. Some of them expressed their opposition writing that the probable establishment of national autonomy of Koreans in the Primorsky region is in fact a conspiracy hatched by both North and South Korea to expand their sphere of influence. Russian authorities believed the Primorsky region would become an arena of struggle for the minds and hearts of the Russian Koreans against the social-economic and spiritual influence exerted by the two Korean nations. Hence, they proposed to make migration legislation much stricter, not more lenient.[57]

Similarly, pro-state reaction came from ethnic counterparts. Some of the Russian Korean leaders had ambitious plans for the repatriation back to the Primorsky region. For example Vladimir Kim, the head of the Russian Korean Society, "Suchan," came up with the idea to move a hundred thousand Koreans from Central Asia to the Far East and place them in compact settlements. Many of the Russian Koreans were against this plan, saying that this would be a "step back in development." But the last word belonged to the Russian government that refused to participate in the organization of repatriation of Russian Koreans from Central Asia to the Primorsky region partly because of the risk of legitimizing separatism as seen in the Chechen War and because it was costly. Eventually, those Koreans who returned to the Primorsky region had to live in abandoned military barracks without electricity and running water.[58]

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[56]Svetlana Nam, *Koreyskiy natsionalny raion: puti poiska issledovatlia* [Korean National Region: The Path of a Researcher] (Nauka, 1991), 21.

[57]Zabrovskaya, 'Russian Koreans and their connections with motherland', 39–50.

[58]Olga Park, "Sudba koreiskoy druzhbi," [The Destiny of Korean Friendship], *Zolotoy Rog,* September, no. 72, 2006.

Korean ethnic entrepreneurship was another form of compensation political vacuum. Russian Korean entrepreneurs took advantage of collapsing socialist system in late 1980s that opened up various opportunities to fill different market niche created by withdrawal of state from economy both within Russia and CIS countries. It was a part of larger trend of integration of post-socialist Russian economy into global capitalist system. Transnational Korean ethnic ties was important form of their own integration into global economy independent from Russian state. Unlike Korean Americans Russian Korean entrepreneurs did not occupy particular market niche in Russian economy as ethnic group and their activity was not necessarily fixed to particular territory but was scattered around different regions in Russia as well as North East Asia. Russian Korean entrepreneurs took advantage of transnational ethnic ties economic potential to gain access not only to South Korean, Japanese and Chinese capital but also mobilize North Korean labor. For instance, Russian Korean entrepreneurs of successful in agriculture in Rostovskaya oblast on South West of Russia, in Nizhny Novgorod on North West, in real estate in Moscow and in logistics in Primorsky region on Russian Far East.

However, increasing social inequalities forced Russian Koreans to legitimize accumulated capital relying on their own ethnic tradition without assistance of state. In order to avoid social exclusion and prevent social discontent of Russian majority to turn into anti-Korean sentiments it was crucial for Russian Koreans to somehow justify the idea of unequal distribution of wealth when state withdrew from society and left population exposed to negative aspects of capitalist economy. Nevertheless, their strategy of private property justification described inequality in terms of ethnic and racial differences between Russians and Russian Koreans. Generally speaking, to have money and to be rich is authentically Korean because Koreans have a tradition of hard work spirit in contrast to the tradition of Russian. Hence, Koreans exhibiting this hard-working spirit are living examples of this traditional culture. They actively propagated a stereotype about Russian Koreans—there are no alcoholics and homeless among the Russian Koreans.[59]

Russian majority reacted to this justification exactly in opposite way by growing anti-Korean sentiments. Many described the Russian Koreans as a threat to Russian society in general and thus explained increasing social inequality as direct outcome of a lack of political regulation. They saw Korean tradition as offering no compensation for the negative effects of Russian Korean economic activity and viewed such references to Korean "tradition" as simply reproducing and legitimizing social inequality in terms of cultural differences. Believing political intervention alone can correct the unequal distribution of scarcity risks, they took the initiative to politicize the ethnic boundaries of the Russian people to protect society from market rationality. For them, political mobilization of society against social inequality would possibly lead to a conflict of power between Russians and Koreans.

[59]Nikolay Kim, *Kto mi takiye*? [Who Are We?] *Koreyskaya Diaspora*, no. 15, September, 2000 from http://www.arirang.ru/archive/kd/15/3.htm.

As a result, growing inter-ethnic tensions returned to Russian political discourse as demand of state intervention that supposedly would help to restore national unity. Many of Russian Korean activists encouraged membership in pro-state political parties since these parties were protective of ethnic minorities in Russia against discrimination and guaranteed safety of their property. They especially pushed membership in "United Russia" which works to prevents others from claiming that the social inequality seen in Russian society was due to the cultural differences between themselves and Koreans. These politicians show that the ethnic boundary is a form of political will and only the convergence of economic interests of ethnic minorities and political interest of state leaders brought the two sides together. These leaders of the ethnic republics in the 1990s actively supported central government policies and their cooperation with Boris Yeltsin in the mass privatization of state property led to a distribution of scarcity risks in Russian society in their favor, but one in which their newly-acquired wealth appeared illegitimate much like the wealth of the Russian oligarchs. Nevertheless, ethnic leaders including Russian Korean politicians became very wealthy.

Generally speaking, solidarity with the state was the main guarantee of private property for ethnic minorities in Russia. Growing disillusionment produced greater demands for state intervention to compensate for the negative consequences of a market economy with little state intervention. State withdrawal increased the risk of the rise of parallel structures of political power where culture plays a crucial role. It meant that the long-term stability of this system required institutionalization of this political consensus among Russian and ethno-regional elites. The end result was the rise of a one-party system under United Russia that included all leaders of the ethnic republics whose support was a crucial condition for its success where the symbol and mediator of this consensus became Vladimir Putin. Among the leaders joining this new political consensus with leaders of the Chechen Republic or Tatarstan.[60]

Russian Korean business also supported increasing role of state in economy. At least since late 1990s and early 2000s many Russian Korean entrepreneurs demonstrated growing interest towards joining political mainstream whether as members of pro-government political parties or as top bureaucrats on regional and federal levels. The motivation to call for stronger state interventions originated from crisis of legitimacy of wealth accumulated in previous periods as well as growing social disappointments with capitalism in general. Most of them believed that it is only state that can guarantee the non-reversibility of mass privatization results of

[60]Russian political scientist Stanislav Belkovsky described the presidencies of Borsi Yeltsin, Valdimir Putin and Dmitry Medvedev as a systems wherein each president has to achieve a very specific stage in the process of legitimization of privatization of Soviet property. He says this "legitimization consists of three stages [with] Boris Yeltsin as a free market radical thinker [who] organized privatization in the 1990s. Later Vladimir Putin with an image of strong 'monarch' legitimized it inside Russia and finally Dmitry Medvedev, the liberal democratic president legitimized it outside of Russia in Europe and the United States of America." See Stanislav Belkovsky, Vladimir Golishev *Biznes Vladimira Putina* [Vladimir Putin's Business] (Moscow: Ultra-Kultura, 2006), 39.

1990s. Absence ethnic autonomy means that participation of *Koryo Saram* in mainstream politics is not linked to particular territory but scattered all over the country. For example, among the most fervent members of political mainstream being a member of pro-government "The United Russia" are Sergey Ten, the First Vice-President of the Tuva Republic, Yuri Ten (1951–2003), a Irkutsk businessmen and member of the State Duma and of the mainstream political party, Valery Kan, deputy of Primorsky region Parliament and Lyubomir Tyan, Nizhny-Novgorod businessman and member of the State Duma.

As a part of this trend, Russian federal and regional government takes advantage of Russian Koreans presence on the Russian Far East to justify state interventions. Since late 1980s when Soviet politburo reconsidered relations with South Korea and established direct trade relations between two countries and after establishment of diplomatic relations between Russian Federation and Republic of Korea in 1991 Russian government lived in an anticipation of large Korean investments. Federal and regional authorities referred to the presence of Koreans in Sakhalin and re-migration of Russian Koreans from Central Asia to Primorsky region as justification of Korean economic participation in development of the regions. On the other hand, they tried to avoid too much stress of ethnic factor and preferred to transfer cooperation on inter-government level when South Korean government can interact with Russian Koreans not directly but through Russian bureaucracy and Russian Korean politicians integrated into Russian political mainstream.

The Russian Korean diaspora tries to symbolically strengthen publicly its union with the state. The main symbol of consensus between the state and the Russian Korean diaspora is "Victory Day" celebration. Both Russian and Russian Korean historians try to restore the historically accurate portrayal of the Soviet Koreans' participation in the Great Patriotic War and emphasize their participation in combat with other Soviet people despite their deportation experience. Their portrayal of choosing to fight on Soviet side was supposedly the most obvious example of political solidarity with Russian society.[61] For example, main internet information portal for Russians in cooperation with the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Science organized the so-called "100 Korean veterans in Great Patriotic War" project. In addition, to online publication of veterans' biographies they also plan to publish their findings in a separate book.[62]

Similar tactics exists on the local level. In the mid-2000s the Russian Korean National Cultural Autonomy of Ussuriysk decided to establish a monument to the

[61]Magomet Abazatov, *Checheno-Ingushkaya ASSR v Velikoy Otechestvennoy Voyne Sovetskogo Soyuza* [Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] (Grozny: Chechen-Ingush Press, 1973), 121–122.

[62]For the information portal of the Russian Koreans, see http://www.ariran.ru/ (Accessed on June 26, 2009).

1920s Korean partisan movement in the Far East.[63] The design of the monument represents political solidarity between Russian society and the Russian Korean diaspora at the local level. It consists of one Red Army soldier in the center and the names and photos of Korean and Russian guerilla fighters who died fighting against Imperial Japanese forces in the Primorsky Region. Russian Korean ethnic culture in the form of a guerilla movement represents the collectively organized use of violence in order to reduce the perception of Russian Koreans as a separate entity. What makes Russian Korean solidarity with Russian society is that they have similar expectations about political nature of the ethnic culture. This monument demonstrates that Russian Koreans also died together with Russian people. The more prosaic reason for solidarity is that this monument is similar with another monument on the central square of Vladivostok, "Monument of Fighters for Soviet Power" that stands in the central square in Vladivostok, built in 1961.

However, institutionalization of Russian Korean ethnic culture within Russian administrative system creates contradictions between national and transnational ethnic boundaries, which is especially clear from the example of Russian Korean National Cultural Autonomies. To institutionalize the relationship between Russian Korean diaspora, other ethnic minorities and states in the year of 1996 Federal government accepted the law on Autonomies. National Cultural Autonomies are non-government and non-territorial institutions formed along ethnic lines. The law integrates Russian Korean Diaspora into Russian bureaucracy in a contradictory way, when economically and politically, it is dependent on regional/federal government assistance, but it does not define how this assistance has to be implemented. This creates highly contingent and risky situations for Diaspora members because the state can interpret their activities as threat to national sovereignty. It increases the importance of an informal compromise between ethnic elites and regional/federal authorities and the public representation of political and personal loyalty. However, the contingent role of Russian bureaucracy motivates Autonomies to rely on the assistance of the North/South Korean government and non-government organizations, which involve them into Korean political and economic activities beyond the control of the Russian government. This inevitably creates negative anticipations of Russian authorities and provokes new attempts to strengthen control over Russian Korean organizations, thus politicizing them again.

Besides, reliance on state to preserve capital from society does not mean preservation of capital from state. Russian Korean mainstream politicians find themselves in contingent situation when they have to justify state interventions to protect their business especially if efficiency of this business depends on access to state budget financing. However, reliance on state interventions deprives them of an

[63]On the ceremony of opening the head of Autonomy said:

The Fifteenth of August is as important for Koreans as the Ninth of May is for Russians. It is not accidental that our countries celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of the independence of Korea and the sixtieth anniversary of the Victory over Fascist Germany. Our peoples live in friendship for 140 years equally dividing sorrow and happiness. I would like to thank the administration of Ussuriysk for their active support and participation in our activities.

opportunity to refer to notion of "private property" to protect their business from state. Exactly, their appeal to state turned government into an ultimate owner of their wealth. This is a logical result of on-going politicization of economy within Russian capitalism when state has all necessary resources to enable transfer of private property form one owner to another. Distribution of wealth among top bureaucracy and large corporation including those Russian Koreans who joined political mainstream depends neither on Russian laws that are supposed to protect private property nor on economic efficiency of their businesses. It is largely a reflection of current form of political consensus within political elite. It means that the right to posses a certain share of wealth is directly depends on presence or lack of this consensus. This is the reason why, any of Russian Korean politician's any moment can become a figure of another corruption scandal and lose wealth and be expelled from political mainstream.

It is also crucial to note that peripheral status of Russian economy in global capitalist system is crucial condition of maintenance of internal political and economic status-quo. At least since early 1990s government promoted the idea that the main source of economic growth in Russia is foreign investments. In order to attract those investors state needed to create particular business environment with special legislation, preferences, disciplined labor force and limited access for the majority of population. Being free market fundamentalists Russian authorities believe that once private companies receives freedom to operate on their own, they can provide long awaited economic growth. Doing so, government attempts to impose international obligations and fix peripheral status of Russia that can hardly be re-negotiated in the future. Otherwise, reliance on internal resources of economic growth can provoke mass uncontrolled upward social mobility that is likely to result in stronger demand of re-distribution of wealth and power. In order to do that, Russian federal and regional top bureaucrats chose small isolated territories around big cities, seaports and territories with deposits of natural resources called "clusters" and attempts to attract foreign investors there. Besides, construction of LNG plants, oil and coal ports is an attempt to represent Russia as supplier of natural resources and fix its status of a nation of peripheral capitalism.

But peripheral integration of Russian economy through enclaves does not mean that state will be able to preserve control over these territories. South Korean politicians and intellectuals beginning at least from late 1990s promote the idea that it is important to establish Korean autonomy in Primorsky region that will mutually benefit for both Russia and South Korea. The presence of ethnic factor permits South Korean side to depict their economic activities on the Russian Far East not just as simple profit making but as a part of higher goal of reunification of Korean nation. From economic perspective establishment of Korean ethnic autonomy will permit to attract big Korean investments to the Primorsky region that will strongly contribute to economic development and implement Russian-Korean projects like connection of Trans Korean and Trans-Siberian railroads. Nationalistic argument presupposes that this autonomy will be an important step towards unification of Korean peninsula. Korean ethnic autonomy is supposed to represent the first case of

unified Korean nation where South Korean capital is working together with North Korean labor on neutral territory.[64]

Finally, alliance with the state does not guarantee protection from Russian ethnic majority. Growing social disappointments force Russian society to actively look for even more radical forms of expansion of political power and political regulation and state intervention is only increasing. Russian nationalism is always present in political discourse as possible form of processing of growing sense of disappointment with the status quo and for mobilizing mass movements against the post-Soviet political elites. It means that ethnic and racial differences have potential to function as parallel sources of whether anti or pro-government political power. The vision of a Russian nation is always vague and unclear but as long as the socio-economic situation continues to deteriorate, society will have to decide how best to handle the ethnic and racial component of collective action. This makes political membership a crucial problem for ethnic minorities, including Russian Korean diaspora, and will strongly influence their own future and the future of Russian society.

3.2 "Social (Dis) Harmony" of Korean Diaspora in China

3.2.1 Formation of Chinese Korean Political Subjectivity

Korean migration to China began as a form of political action. Acceptance of tens of thousands of Korean resettles from Chosŏn Kingdom to Manchuria in the second half of 19th century was a part of Qing Empire strategy to rely on existing order to deal with political and economic crisis produced by growing influence of modern nations. On one hand rural population in southern part of China tried to compensate inefficiency of Imperial political order to deal with pressure of modernization in form of peasant wars that sparked both in Qing Empire known as Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864) and Donghak Movement (1894–1895) in Chosŏn Kingdom. Qing authorities initiated migration programs of Chinese population and permitted Koreans to settle down in Northeast part of Empire that previously was prohibited territory for non-Manchurian ethnic groups. From Qing authorities perspective Korean migration referred to continuation of vassal relations tradition between Chosŏn Kingdom and Chinese Empires that existed centuries before.[65] It also was an attempt to organize politically controllable region within Empire to rely on in struggle against anti-government revolts and in solution of economic problems. For example, majority of Chinese and Korean rural population did not support peasant armies from

[64]Lee Kwang Kyu, Uri eke yŏnhaechu lan muŏs inka: pukpang chŏngch'aek ŭi naakal kil [What Does Primorsky Region Mean to Us: Politics of MovingNorth], (Seoul: puk k'olia, 2008), 35–36, 61.

[65]Yang Jūn and Wang Qiū Bīn, *Zhōng guó yú cháo xiăn bàn dăo guān xi shĭ lún* [Debate on History of Relations between China and Korean Peninsula] (Beijing: Shè huì kē xué wén xiàn chū băn shè, 2006), 187–200.

South that permitted to make Manchuria an alternative source of supply of agricultural products that substituted Southern parts of Empire struck by rebellions.[66]

However, politicization of Korean ethnic boundaries in the Northeast parts of China revealed its ambivalence that helped to not only preserve but also endanger national sovereignty. Late 19th century put Korean population at the center of growing resistance between Chinese side in different variations such as Qing Empire replaced by Chinese nationalist Kuomintang and eventually by Communists on one side and Japanese Empire on the other where each side fought each other through political empowerment of Korean people and resistance to this empowerment. Victories in a number of colonial wars of Japanese Empire against China and Russia permitted to take control not only over Chosŏn Kingdom but also take advantage of Korean presence in China to justify further advance into Northeast territories granting Korean minority with financial support and political rights in exchange of anti-Chinese loyalty toward Japanese Emperor.[67] At the same time, Chinese communist party exploited anti-Japanese sentiments of Korean political activists to mobilize them for military struggle against Japanese Empire as well as against Chinese nationalist.[68] This and also advance of Japan using Korean ethnic boundaries forced Qing Empire and later Kuomintang on one hand and Japanese Empire on the other to implement stronger restrictive measures against Korean minority in the region.[69]

Similar political ambivalence of Korean diaspora functioned within Chinese national boundaries. During the post-WWII period reproduction of ethnic Korean reflected military resistance between two opposite modes of modernization: socialist and capitalist represented by Chinese nationalist party Kuomintang and Communist Party of China. Each side in the conflict defined by their political platforms tried to describe existing inequalities as class contradictions. It was crucial to mobilize Han Chinese majority, ethnic minorities including Korean residents in China as unity in form of nation state. Kuomintang described Chinese national unity as collective actions aimed at preservation inequalities within society and inequality among nations as crucial source of economic motivation. Communist party on the contrary proposed national unity as collective action to eliminate social inequalities and class

[66]See for instance Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Making of a Hinterland: State, Society, and Economy in Inland North China,* 1853–1937, (Berkely, Los Angeles. Oxford: University of California Press), 156; Christopher M. Isett, *State, Peasant, and Merchant in Qing Manchuria* 1644–1862, (Stanford University Press, 2006), 228–234, 260.

[67]Kiyonobu Hiroaki, "Kantō niokeru chōsen jinmin kai to ryōjikan keisatsu: zai mitsuru chōsen jin to ue minchi teikoku Nippon", [Korean Residents Associations in Jiandao and the Consular Police: Koreans in Manchuria and the Japanese Colonial Empire], *Journal of humanities*, vol. 106, 2015, 169–204.

[68]Jin Chéng Gǎo, Cháo xiǎn mín zú gòng chǎn zhǔ yì zhě zài zhōng guó dōng běi kàng rì dòu zhēng zhòng dì dì wèi hé gòng xiàn [The Specific Status and the Great Contribution of the Korean National Communists during the Northeast Anti-Japanese Armed Struggle of China], World History, vol. 3, 2012, 13–20.

[69]Fang Gao, Becoming a Model Minority: Schooling Experiences of Ethnic Koreans in China: Emerging Perspectives on Education in China, (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2010), 2–3.

distinctions by establishment of political domination of one class. For instance, Kuomintang relied mostly on Korean landlords, rich peasants, businessman through the system of economic privileges and loans[70] as well as on external support of capitalist South Korea backed by the United States. In contrast, CPC took its political legitimacy from the opposite side of class hierarchy represented by poor Korean peasants and pro-communist political activists whose military actions was continuation of anti-imperialist struggle against capitalist exploitation on international scale through the support of socialist North Korea also backed by Soviet Union, national and ethnic level within Korean community.[71]

Chinese nationalists and communists differed in the ways they exploited inequalities to gain social support. Kuomintang ideology relied on class distinctions as a future basis of Chinese nation. Theoretically, distinctions were supposed to supply upper class with negative expectations of possible redistribution of resources from lower classes that would encourage former to protect their wealth and power against latter. Simultaneously, social disparities were effective tool to force lower classes to pursue upward mobility through economic and political activities within frameworks defined by upper class. However, nationalists suffered from absence of well-organized repressive mechanism to protect existing inequalities, organize non-market violence initial stages of capital accumulation and promote assimilationist policies towards ethnic minorities and thus could not compensate lack of social support. Chinese communist exploited inequalities in opposite way not as a source of motivation to preserve but to eliminate them through political redistribution of land between Han Chinese and ethnic minorities' peasantry to obtain support from majority of population. Land ownership had not only economic meaning but above all was mechanism of political empowerment of rural communities in form of self-organized labor to conduct constant class struggle against exploitation and inequalities on local and national level.

3.2.2 *Socialism and Antagonistic (Dis) Solidarity Chinese Korean Diaspora*

Socialist modernization further developed Chinese Korean ethnic culture into system of political contradictions. After establishment of People's Republic of China in 1949, The Communist Party of China (CPC) initiated socialist ethnic policies in its Mao's interpretation, who considered national unity of China as well

[70]Pak Hyo Bom, Documents of the Chinese Communist Party, 1927–1930: 89 Documents Selected from Chung-yang Tung-hsun, Union Research Institute, 1971, 624 (769).

[71]Li Méi Huā, "Zhōng guó cháo xiǎn zú guó jiā rèn tóng yán jiū zōng shù" [A Study on Chinese Korean Aproval of State Policies], Journal of Dalian Nationalities University, vol. 14 (2), 2012, 97–102. Also see Mao Zedong' view on common anti-imperialist struggle of ethnic Koreans and minorities *Máo Zé Dōng xīn bǎn máo zé dōng xuǎn jí dà cí diǎn shān xī* [New Edition of Mao Zedong Works] (Beijing: Rén mín chū bǎn shè, 1991), 1019.

as ethnic unity of Chinese Koreans (*chaoxianzu*) could as a form reproduction of class contradictions. This permitted to mobilize Han Chinese and Chinese Koreans for socialist modernization and cultivate both ethnic and national solidarity in spite of produced economic and political disappointments. From Maoist perspective, ethnic solidarity *chaoxianzu* was possible as contradiction produced by social inequalities within ethnic boundaries among Chinese Koreans and between Chinese Koreans and Han Chinese (*hanzu*). Mao Zedong divided contradictions into non-antagonistic and antagonistic to legitimize cooperative or repressive politics towards *chaoxianzu* depending on trend of political power. In other words, Maoism developed ideological mechanisms that reintroduced political and economic disappointments back into socialist discourse as pressure to further pursue national unity and remove obstacles towards national unity represented by Han-chauvinism and local nationalism. For instance, official ideology referred to inequality in level of development between *hanzu* and *chaoxianzu* to legitimize former's assistance towards latter but at the same time describe this assistance as representation of Great Han-chauvinism (*da hanzu zhuyi*). However, CPC could interpret successful development of ethnic minorities as manifestation of local nationalism (*difang minzu zhuyi*). The latter reappeared in Chinese national discourse as necessity to expand state power and increase Han-Chinese population in the region to prevent ethnic separatism while former to justify state withdrawal from society and decentralization leaving more power to minorities.

CPC had to deal with legacy Japanese invasion of Manchuria that linked land ownership with political empowerment of ethnic group. Since the establishment of Manchukuo in 1931, Japan relied initiated politics that provoked interethnic tension by particular way of land distribution among three different ethnic/national groups, namely Japanese, Han Chinese and Koreans. Imperial government tried to use ethnic minorities like Koreans or Manchurians as their allies who could counterbalance Han Chinese in the region. Land ownership reflected place that an ethnic group occupied in political hierarchy. Japanese held the highest rank in and thus had privileged control over main the most fertile lands and transportation infrastructure in Manchukuo. Ethnic Koreans and Manchurians who were citizens of Japanese Empire occupied the second rank and could cultivate agricultural lands in the rural area. Finally, Han Chinese as ethnic group was on the bottom of colonial hierarchy left with lands with least fertile soils.

That is why Chinese authorities described the process of land distribution among *hanzu* and *chaoxianzu* as a form of class struggle against imperialism and capitalism. Under guidance of North East Bureau of CPC in the Northeast China proclaimed new program of equal distribution of land between Han Chinese and Chinese Koreans during the last years of Civil War (1946–1950). It was crucial to preserve political legitimacy of new socialist government and at the same time integrate rural population of ethnic minorities such as *chaoxianzu* into national boundaries based on interethnic class solidarity. The purpose of land distribution in the region was elimination of inequalities and thus injustice that remained since the

time of Japanese occupation.[72] CPC introduced new land legislation that empowered both ethnic groups to distribute land through common interethnic class struggle to "by any means convince landlords to provide land to peasants" on equal basis.[73]

Class struggle also became form of organization of Chinese Korean internal ethnic space. Agricultural politics of CPC since late 1940s to early 1950s succeeded to obtain large support from ethnic Korean who agreed to provide military support to Chinese communist during both Civil War (1946–1950) and Korean War (1950–1953).[74] It meant that distribution of land among mobilized *chaoxianzu* farmers who represented majority of population[75] politically empowered Korean minority transforming its economic activities into a form of national class struggle against capitalism both within and outside ethnic boundaries. Mobilization of Korean farmers into system of farming brigades that provided mutual assistance to each other permitted to encourage Korean people to develop their ethnic culture as a system of political non-antagonistic contradictions in Maoist terms.[76] Mutual help was supposed to motivate *chaoxianzu* to perceive their economic activities as political actions to build socially just society without classes and thus without exploitation using positive or negative sanctions towards those Koreans who according to political activists represented bourgeoisie elements within ethnic boundaries.[77]

This politically empowered Chinese Koreans but at the same time limited this power. Unlike Soviet Union Chinese authorities agreed to provide territory to *chaoxianzu* to establish Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture (YKAP) in 1952 to institutionalize geographically further development of Korean ethnic culture as

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[72]Guō Dé Hóng, Zhōng guó jìn xiàn dài nóng mín tǔ dì wèn tí yán jiū [A Study on Modern History of Peasantry in China] (Qingdao: Qīng dǎo chū bǎn shè, 1993), 432–437.

[73]Liú Huì Qīng anb Jiāng lì, "Zhōng guó cháo xiǎn zú yú jiě fàng zhàn zhēng de shèng lì cóng zhōng guó cháo xiān zú de mín zú rèn tóng tán qǐ"[Chinese Koreans and Victory of Liberation War], *Theory Journal*, vol. 2 (228), 2013, 104–107.

[74]Li Haiyan, "Cóng guó jiā shè huì hé zú qún de shì diǎn lái kàn cháo xiǎn zú de xíng chéng" (1945–1960) [The Formation of Chinese Korean Diaspora from Perspectives of Nation, Society and Ethnicity], *Senri Ethnological Studies*, vol. 90, 2014, 243–254.

[75]Lliú jié and Yī Bǎo, *Zhōng dōng běi jiě fàng qū de tǔ dì gǎi gé yú xīn mín zhǔ zhǔ yì tǔ dì guān xi de jiàn lì* [Land Reforms in Northeast China and Development of New Democracy] (Beijing: zhōng gòng dǎng shǐ yán jiū, 1998), 39–45.

[76]Mao Ze dōng, Mao dùn lún [On Contradictions], *Mao Zedong Collection of Works* (Beijing: Rén mín chū bǎn shè, 1967, 274–312).

[77]Zhōng gòng jí lín shěng wěi huó dòng dà shì jì: 1949.10–1966.4 [Records of Jilin Province Committee of Communist Party of China: 1949.10–1966.4], ed. by Mǎ Chūn Yáng, *Zhōng gòng jí lín shěng wěi dǎng shǐ yán jiū shi*, vol. 1, 1990, 311–319.

For more detailed description of internal contradictions as crucial aspect of ethnic and national unity see Mao Zedong, Guān yú zhèng què chǔ lǐ rén mín nèi bù máo dùn de wèn tí [On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People]. Selected Writings of Mao Zedong, vol. 7 (Beijing: People's Press, 1977), 204–44; and its application to ethnic autonomies Sāng Jié, "Guān yú Máo Zédōng mín zú qū yù zì zhì sī xiǎng de jǐ diǎn sī kǎo" [On Mao Zedong's View on Ethnic Autonomies], *New Heights*, vol. 32 (6), 2013, 48–55.

political unit within national boundaries. On one hand, Constitution of People's Republic of China approved by the First Session of National People's Congress in 1954 provided ethnic autonomy the right of political representation in CPC as well as right to establish and develop ethnic political and educational institutions to cultivate Chinese Korean communist cadres for socialist modernization.[78] However, on the other hand, unitary organization of Chinese state made Chinese Korean political self-organization and national membership to be meaningful only under guidance of CPC. In other words, Chinese Korean membership was legitimate only under condition of superior right of Communist Party to implement negative and positive sanctions in YKAP guaranteed by the same Constitution.[79]

Official ideology developed national solidarity from class solidarity between Han Chinese and Chinese Koreans. In 1956, Central Committee of CPC adopted the law that united different ethnic production collectives into larger interethnic cooperatives. New forms of labor organization were supposed to promote cooperation in different spheres of production and distribution. The logic of socialist modernization from Maoist perspective demanded unification of various ethnic groups into one system of non-antagonistic political contradictions under Party's guidance to form a basis of national solidarity. Interethnic cooperation encouraged Han Chinese and Chinese Koreans ethnic farms in Northeast China to compete with each other in socialist competitions representing different sectors of agriculture and relying on different ethnic background. The former traditionally cultivated grain fields while latter specialized in cultivation of rice. For example, the official declaration claimed that interethnic cooperatives under guidance of Communist Party united workers of every ethnic group into common production struggle that would strengthen ethnic solidarity, provide their mutual political, economic and cultural development, which is crucial for building of socialist society and its collectivist organization of national economy in the regions with diverse ethnic population.[80]

However, the first years of interethnic cooperation revealed numerous antagonisms and growing disappointments among both Han and Chinese Koreans. The system demanded realization of two opposite goals at the same time that is preservation and removal of ethnic boundaries. Preservation of ethnic boundaries was crucial to demonstrate collectivist solidary nature of Chinese agriculture modernization but the very logic of modernization demanded elimination of ethnic boundaries as obstacle of proper economic functioning that in turn undermines expected solidarity. Initially the Chinese Korean rice cultivation demonstrated more efficiency than cultivation of grain performed by Han Chinese farmers that led to

[78]Piáo Tíng Jī and Lǚ Xiù Yī, "Cháo xiǎn zú shè huì wén huà biàn qiān yú mín zú guān xi de fā zhǎn" [Relationship between the Social and Cultural Change of the Korean and the Development of Ethnic Relationship], *Journal of Dalian Nationalities University*, vol. 15 (2), 2013, 101–105.

[79]For instance, all power belongs to people (Article 2) through National People's congress (Articles 21–52) that controls self-government of national autonomies (Articles 67–72) as a special case of local congresses and councils (Articles 53–66).

[80]Cháo xiǎn zú jiǎn shǐ xiū dìng běn biān xiě zǔ [Concise History of Korea: Revised Edition] (Beijing: Mín zú chū bǎn shè, 2009), 209–212.

increasing gap in income between two ethnic groups. Attempts to regulate this inequality by providing more working hours for Chinese farmers within interethnic cooperatives helped to increase productivity and income at the expense of productivity of ethnic Koreans who suffered production and income decline. One of the solutions to this inequality was provision of state financial help directly to Chinese Korean farmers to compensate losses. However, this produced discontents from the side of Han Chinese farmers that in turn provoked *chaoxianzu* complaints who justified the receipt of financial support stating that the reason of production decline because resources were allocated to *hanzu* grain fields. Eventually, in response to that Chinese farmers claimed that socialism is about equality so production decline was necessary to reduce the too much high productivity of Chinese Koreans to the level of Han Chinese.[81]

This discouraged many Chinese Koreans from further participation in interethnic cooperatives and concentrate solely on ethnic collective farms. Mid 1950s made it clear that Han Chinese and Chinese Koreans did not benefit from collectivization of agriculture based on cooperation. The response to government failure was decreasing trust towards national solidarity and stronger reliance on ethnic solidarity that promoted further interethnic alienation. Eventually, the common reaction was abandonment of interethnic collective farms not only by Chinese Koreans but also by many farmers across China. Specifically in YKAP by the year of 1957, nearly 80 out of 351 separated from interethnic farms.[82]

Official ideology reintroduced disappointed expectations back into political discourse as motivation to cultivate national solidarity. In response to failure to cultivate solidary relations between ethnic minorities and majority in Northeast China and modernize agriculture, encouraged officials to introduce new forms of social mobilization based on the Maoist logic of antagonisms. The 8th session of Communist party proclaimed new industrialization policy named "Great Leap Forward" that permitted to describe the unsuccessful experience of collectivization in early 1950s as a proof of intensification of class struggle against capital in form of ethnic conflicts.[83] It justified negative and positive sanctions to further centralize decision making in hands of state and mobilize both ethnic groups into new interethnic collective farms. Specifically, new program expected that national solidarity would emerge from this contradiction under guidance of state authorities and with support of both Han Chinese and Chinese Korean workers and peasants. CPC described unwillingness of ethnic Koreans to promote further cooperation within the framework of interethnic production brigades as manifestation of ethnic

[81]Li, Haiyan, *Chūgoku chōsen zoku shakai niokeru tochi kaikaku to nōgyō shūdan ka no tenkai* (1946–1960) [Development of land reform and agricultural collectivization among Chinese Chaoxianzu (1946–1960)], The Department of Advanced Social and International Studies, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, *Interdisciplinary Social Sciences Journal*, vol. 22, 2013, 66–82.

[82]Ibid., 73–77.

[83]Luo Ping Han, 1957 Nian de tǒng gòu tǒng xiāo "dà biàn lùn" ["The Great Debate" on State Monopoly in Purchase and Sale in 1957], *Historical Studies Journal*, vol. 6, 2009, 98–103.

nationalism and as attempts to restore capitalism.[84] For instance, new socialist modernization strategy demanded cultivation of the "spirit of collectivism and unification of life styles in all possible spheres such as joint labor, joint food consumption, distribution of resources and joint interethnic education".[85]

Chinese Korean officials also exploited contradictions as a crucial source of ethnic solidarity. Failure to combine ethnic diversity with national solidarity during the first Five Year Plan forced CPC in YKAP to develop ideological justification that would permit to preserve its political legitimacy and promote further centralization of power. The main source of this ideological justification was description of the process of development Chinese Korean ethnic culture in form of social contradictions. Official ideology claimed that ethnic culture turns into antagonisms because it cannot effectively reflect interests of the whole nation that inevitably produce disappointments that state authorities can re-integrate into national discourse as "right" or "left-wing" deviations.[86] Subsequently, the role of Communist Party was to promote people's will while preventing contradiction from turning into antagonisms and cultivate national solidarity.

For example, Kim Myong Han Deputy Communist Party Secretary of YKAP in 1958 during the first year of Great Leap Forward published in local newspaper "Yanbian daily" [*Yŏnbyŏn ilbo* (kor.)] an article published in Korean language and titled in Maoist manner "Fight against regional ethnic separatism; fight for ethnic solidarity!". This article was one of the ways to promote ideological justification of new stage of socialist building in Korean Autonomy. In this work, he described political process in YKAP as contradiction between Korean ethnic and Chinese nationalisms that can resolve only increasing role of Chinese Communist Party. Specifically, Kim Myong Han criticized the idea of having multiple motherlands promoted by "left-wing" Chinese Koreans such as "proletarian motherland", "ethnic motherland" or simply "first" or "second motherlands". On the other hand, he also criticized opposite "right-wing" position for ignoring cultural differences possessed by every ethnic group including Chinese Korean "shaped by their history" and functions as crucial factor that influence political and economic decisions. Instead of operating with notions such as "motherland" he introduces the notion of "Leadership of Communist Party" as the most convincing symbol of national solidarity. The centralized but democratic nature of CPC permits to fully reflect

[84]Li Haiyan, Cóng guó jiā、shè huì hé zú qún de shì diǎn lái kàn cháo xiǎn zú de xíng chéng (1945–1960) [The Formation of Chaoxianzu from Perspectives of Nation, Society and Ethnicity], *Senri Ethnological Studies*, vol. 90, 2014, 251.

[85]Kim T'ae Kuk, "Yŏnpyŏn chosŏn chokchach'ichuŭi sŏnglipkwa chosŏnchok sahoeŭi pyŏnch'ŏn" [Establishment of Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture and Its Impact on Chinese Korean Society], *Yŏnpyŏn chosŏnchok sahoeŭi kwakŏwa hyŏnchae* [Past and Present of Chinese Korean Community in Yanbian], ed. by Dan Haeng Bon, (Seoul: Koguryo Research Foundation, 2006), 155–156.

[86]Fàn Shǒu Xin and Xǔ Guǎng Liàng, Jiě dú máo zé dōng xīn mù zhòng dì zhī shi fèn zǐ [Research on Mao Zedong Thought] *Dǎng shǐ yán jiū yú jiào xué*, vol. 6 (175), 2003, 4–14.

interests and individuality of different ethnic groups including Chinese Koreans and unite them into "national interests".[87]

Eventually, socialist modernization of Chinese village in form of cooperation between interethnic brigades under slogans of "Great Leap Forward" (1958–1961) produced disastrous economic effects on agriculture and political effects on national solidarity as well as on legitimacy of CPC. Chinese authorities found themselves caught in a deadlock when state interventions to reduce inequalities produced new ones that could not be reduced by further state interventions but left government with no other options but to continue further interventions. In other words, every new measure to compensate losses to Chinese Korean collective farms and Chinese agriculture in general produced opposite results that aggravated situation. For instance, distribution of previously concentrated resources from production brigades in YKAP decreased rice and grain output. In response to that, CPC forced farmers to provide even more agriculture products to state hoping to cope with growing food deficit by more centralized supply. To this purpose, local authorities demanded that Chinese Koreans are obliged to provide even more rice to state that exhausted ethnic farms, produced cases of hunger, population decline, and even encouraged some to leave China for North Korea.[88]

Failure to cultivate national unity forced Chinese authorities to shift to assimilationist policies. It was crucial to justify further expansion and centralization of power in hand of narrower number of CPC authorities to compensate the failure of national solidarity and social equality between *hanzu* and ethnic minorities including *chaoxianzu* during the period of "Great Leap Forward". New official ideology of "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" (*Wuchan jieji wenhua dageming*) was an attempt to reintroduce social disappointments back into political discourse as necessity to empower ethnic majority represented by Han Chinese to become parallel source of power against anti-revolutionary and separatists movements represented by ethnic minorities. This paradigm described ethnic boundary between Han and Chinese Koreans in YKAP as antagonistic contradictions in at least two forms. First, Korean ethnic boundary symbolized persistence of traditional culture that resisted successful socialist modernization which meant that further modernization demanded removal or substitution of "backward" traditional elements with more "progressive" Han Chinese culture through education and daily economic routine.[89] Second, *chaoxianzu* embodied inefficiency of Communist

[87]Kim Myong Han, "Chibang minchokchuŭil ŭl pantaehako minchoktankyŏlŭl kanghwahacha!" [Fight against regional ethnic separatism; fight for ethnic solidarity!], *Yŏnbyŏn ilbo*, April 26, 1958.

[88]Li, Haiyan, *Chūgoku chōsen zoku shakai niokeru tochi kaikaku to nōgyō shūdan ka no tenkai* (1946–1960) [Development of land reform and agricultural collectivization among Chinese Chaoxianzu (1946–1960)], 66–82.

[89]Hansen, M.H. (1999), Lessons in being Chinese. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 17.

party bureaucracy where bourgeoisie elements penetrated to betray ideals of socialist nation.[90]

Generally speaking, "Cultural Revolution" was an attempt to initiate formation of new source of power opposite to CPC. Official ideology viewed division of labor among different regions under guidance of Communist Party bureaucracy as one of the crucial reasons of failure of cultivation of national solidarity and social equality.[91] That is why, unlike the previous Five Years Plans of socialist modernization that aimed at construction of Soviet-style unified system of labor division *wenhua dagemin* promoted decentralized form of national economy. At the very core, Cultural Revolution derived its legitimacy from grassroots democracy based on the idea of absence of intermediate bodies between national state and people as crucial condition of national solidarity.[92] In order to decrease the role of CPC as an "intermediate body" Mao Zedong promoted cultivation of self-sufficiency of every local community and at the same time cultural homogeneity of all China. Self-sufficiency permitted to move Chinese society out from control of CPC directly to Mao's control and through assimilationist politics extend this mechanism horizontally on all Chinese regions and vertically from the top down to local levels and even individuals.[93]

Nevertheless, development of "Cultural Revolution" demanded mobilization of ethnic minorities including Chinese Koreans. The "Bombardment of Headquarters" (*paoda silingbu*) proclaimed by Chairman Mao on August 5, 1966 during the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China appealed to ethnic minorities as well as Chinese Koreans to view their own culture as a part of greater struggle against "bourgeois dictatorship" and "right deviation". This slogan permitted recruitment of a *chaoxianzu* in the rows of paramilitary social movement Red Guards (*hong weibing*). Participation of Chinese Koreans in "Cultural Revolution" was additional source of legitimization not only from the side of majority but also from minorities to prove universality of class contradictions and provide political support to Mao Zedong. The political and economic climate in YKAP from the year of 1967 reproduced the logic of Cultural Revolution within ethnic autonomy by organizing pro-Mao movement of as various militant groups initially founded by students of Yanbian University and later mobilized

[90]Mao Gong Zhu and Wáng Tie Zhi, *Tuán jié jìn bù de wěi dà qí zhì zhōng guó gòng chǎn dǎng nián mín zú gōng zuò lì shǐ huí gù* [*Under Great Banner of Unity*: Revising 80 Year Ethnic Policies History of Communist Party of China] (Beijing: Min zu chu ban she, 2001), 372–373.

[91]Zhāng Běi Gēn, "Máo Zé Dōng fā dòng wén huà dà gé mìng de jué cè wèn tí yán jiū" [Study on the Issues of Decision-making in Launching the Cultural Revolution by Mao Zedong], *Journal of University of Science and Technology*, vol. 28 (1), 2012, 164–171.

[92]Marshall Sahlins, *Apologies To Thucydides: Understanding History As Culture And* Vice Versa, (Chicago. London: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 140.

[93]Wang Shao Guang, "Is the way of the Humane Authority a Good Thing? An Assessment of Confucian Constitutionalism", *A Confucian Constitutional Order: How China's Ancient Past Can Shape Its Political Future*, ed. by Jiang Qing, Daniel A. Bell and Ruiping Fan, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. China Series, 2012), 149.

larger social groups such as farmers, workers, military and intelligentsia. Political participation of Chinese Koreans consisted of at least two main groups that were opposed to each other. First, was anti-communist party Red Guards that included farmers, intelligentsia as well as Mao's relative Mao Yuanxin, political commissar of Shenyang Military Region. Second group was pro-communist party and relied on YKAP CPC officials, local military stuff, workers and also farmers.

For example, one of the crucial outcomes of "Cultural Revolution" in YKAP was execution of Yanbian CPC longtime leader Chu Doek Hea. According to official ideology his personality simultaneously reflected different images of anti-revolutionary forces at least in three ways. First, he symbolized revisionism while being "Chinese Khrushchev"; second he supposedly advocated for ethnic separatism supporting pro-Soviet separatist movement in North-East China and attempted to give a part of Chinese territory Mount Baektu to DPRK and finally he symbolized collaborationism because of his believed cooperation with imperial Japan back in 1930s.[94]

However, forced cultural homogenization in China produced opposite effect of emergence of new inequalities. Assimilationist politics of "Cultural Revolution" towards Chinese Koreans and other ethnic minorities all over the country followed the principle that socialist modernization in order to eliminate socials inequalities need to rely on contradictions between ethnic minorities and majority, modernity and tradition or state and society. After Cultural Revolution managed to decrease political role of CPC the logic socialist modernization demanded to extend antagonisms within Red Guards.[95] Political activists of Cultural Revolution described new political reality as the process of increasing struggle between different factions that represented rightist or leftist deviation from Mao's political program. For example, one faction depicted absence of political activism in YKAP that undermined idea of proletarian solidarity among different ethnic groups because of politics of "Great Han Chauvinism[96]" against minorities. Others, blamed Chinese Korean attempts to revive political activities in Autonomy as manifestation of separatism and revisionism.[97]

Further reintegration of disappointments into national discourse marked transition from socialist to capitalist paradigm. Mao's death in 1976 and disastrous economic and political legacy of socialist modernization had negative influence on image of

[94]Peng Hai, "Imposing Nationalism on Diaspora Peoples: Korean Chinese in the Master Narrative of Chinese Nationalism", *Global Societies Journal*, vol. 4, 2016, 56–69.

[95]Guobin Yang, *The Red Guard Generation and Political Activism in China*, (NY: Columbia University Press, 2016), 69–92.

[96]See for instance Mao Zedong criticism against Great Han Chauvinism during Cultural revolution in Hé Dōng Chāng, *Dāng dài zhōng guó jiào yù* [Contemporary Chinese Education] (Beijing: Dāng dài zhōng guó chū bǎn shè, 1996), 35.

[97]Kweon Young Ju, "Bunka dai kakumei ki niokeru nobe atari chōsen zoku jichi shū no minzoku kyōiku to gengo mondai" [A Study on Ethnic and Language Education in Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture During Cultural Revolution], *Asian Economics*, vol. 43 (7), 2002, 23–47.

CPC both inside China and in socialist camp.[98] However, at least since Sino-Soviet border conflict in 1969 and the United States President Richard Nixon visit in 1972 China became a vanguard of global trend among socialist nations to become a part of capitalist system of labor division to compensate the failures of socialist modernization. This demanded radical reconstruction of meaning of inequalities for national and ethnic identities. New official ideologies made relations between Han majority and Korean minority dependent on reproduction of social inequalities to exploit economic potential of society. In order to justify this transition and at the same preserve political legitimacy of CPC post-Mao ideologies and legislation relied on Maoist logic of contradictions. Authorities underlined that politics of "Reform and Opening" (*gaige kaifang*) were opposed to Mao Zedong politics and in fact represented a return to earlier socialist reforms of 1950s in order to overcome negative consequences of "Great Leap Forward" and "Cultural Revolution". For example, the first land reforms in post-Mao period in late 1970s and 1980s in order to introduce inequality as basic form of relations in agriculture separated the use rights from technical ownership that permitted to adopt household responsibility system while retaining collective ownership of land. This in turn facilitated land privatization by Chinese individuals as well as foreign investors in later year.

3.2.3 Capitalism and "Social (Dis) Harmony" of Chinese Korean Diaspora

Chinese Korean rock singer Cui Jian [*Choi-Gun* (kor.)] often labeled as "father of Chinese rock" in 1986 performed song titled "*Nothing to My Name*" also known as "*I have nothing*" (*yiwu suoyou*) that later became unofficial anthem for Chinese youth and political activists during 1989 Tiananmen Square protests. The song reflected growing importance of social inequalities produced by economic reforms in China (*gaige kaifang*) since their beginning in December 1978. The lyrics of "*Nothing to My Name*" is a good example of how social identities and economic motivation interact. Cui Jian puts social inequality at the center of relations between people and all attempts to resist only reaffirms its dominant position. In the song, he offers an unidentified girl his freedom (*ziyou*) and dreams (*zhuiqiu*) to convince her to go with him. However, she laughs at his proposal because he has nothing (*yiwu suoyou*). He shows her how desperate he is, trying to compensate absence of wealth by moral compassion ("The ground beneath my feet is moving" [*Jiaoxia zhe de zai zou*]). He then again appeals to her with final request to follow him and this time she is hesitating ("your hands are trembling" [*zheshi ni de shou zai chandou*]). This encourages him to claim superiority of moral and thus more humane motivation over economic one saying that "now you will go with me" [*ni zhi jiu gen wo zou*]

[98]John W. Garver, *China's Quest*. The History of the Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 259–285.

because he has nothing. However, his own identity and future relations with unidentified girl are only meaningful as distinction from those who possess or driven by desire to possess wealth. In other words, at the end of the song he still needs social inequality in order to sustain his identity.

Interaction between Chinese Korean ethnic culture and capitalist economy during post-socialist period follows similar logic. Transition from socialist to capitalist paradigm marked transition from dependency on removal of social inequalities to dependency on reproduction of social inequalities in terms of ethnic distinctions. The purpose of economic and political reforms performed by CPC in the post-Mao period in YKAP was to spread the logic of market relations to possibly wider spheres of life of Chinese Koreans. Dependence of ethnic boundaries on social inequality permits Chinese authorities to effectively exploit economic potential of Chinese Koreans and promote their assimilation into Han Chinese culture. The state policies towards Korean Diaspora in China function as a paradox. On one hand, the egalitarian projects run by government cultivate social expectations that it is possible to decrease income inequalities between Han majority and non-Han population of China. On the other, increase of these disparities and disappointed expectations is logical outcome of these projects. However, in spite of these repeated attempts Chinese nationalism strongly depends on these failed policies to motivate Chinese society to continue efforts to build nationalism under guidance of CPC. This process is especially clear on the example of YKAP where territorial fixation of Korean ethnic culture permits CPC to use state interventions to produce and exploit instability. Paradoxically the more Chinese Koreans develop their ethnic culture backed by assistance of Chinese government the more it increases inequality between majority and minority as well as inequalities within Korean ethnic boundaries that encourage *chaoxianzu* to assimilate into Han Chinese society.

This changed the function of state interventions from being an instrument of removal of social inequalities to guarantee of their reproduction. CPC in the post-Mao period gradually developed legal and ideological basis to legitimize and promote unequal distribution of national/ethnic wealth materialized in the institute of private property and its political protection. In other words, transition from socialism to capitalism changed the meaning of political interventions from necessity to remove social inequalities during socialist period to state interventions to reproduce social inequalities during capitalist period. It helped to exploit economic potential of both Han Chinese and Chinese Korean ethnic culture for the purpose of capital accumulation and at the same time preserve political legitimacy of CPC.

For example, unlike socialist paradigm where the main function of law is to be a tool of class struggle against inequalities and exploitation,[99] CPC introduced into Chinese legal system the notion of superiority of legal acts that empowers

[99]Shaoqi Liu, *O Proekte Konstitucii Kitaiskoi Narodnoi Respubliki: Politichesky Otchet CKC KPK VIII Veskitaysokmu S'ezdu Kommunistichesrkoy Partii Kitaya* [On Project of Constitution of People's Republic of China: Political Report to VIII All China Session of Communist Party of China] (Moscow: Gospolitizdat, 1960), 105–106.

government to ensure persistence of social inequalities guarantee by law the protection of results of capital accumulation in form of private propriety.[100] This meant that proclaimed superiority of law in post-Mao Constitutions did not limit power of state but on the opposite increased opportunities of government to intervene into life of Han and Chinese Koreans. Social inequalities do not only force individuals to participate in economic activities but also encourage them to demand compensations for increasing inequalities between ethnic majority and minority. Another way is to blame government for "lack of reforms" to provoke state interventions that extends the logic of capitalism on wider spheres of life.

State interventions were crucially important to promote capitalist reforms among workers and peasants in China. On one hand, further modernization of China developed as outsourcing of industries from Japan, Europe and the United States that demanded large amounts of cheap but disciplined labor whom CPC mobilized mostly from impoverished peasantry.[101] On the other, attempts to introduce capitalism into industry and agriculture met strong resistance from workers and peasants that government handled with violence and propaganda. The failure to break down workers' anti-capitalist opposition forced CPC to shift its attention on liberalization of agriculture first and return to reforms in urban areas later. For example, De-collectivization (1980–1984) and introduction of Household Responsibility System (HRS) transformed Chinese peasantry into politically disorganized competing petty farmers that opened the way to further transition to capitalism.[102]

Market reforms in agriculture made Korean ethnic boundaries dependent on reproduction of social inequalities. Since late 1970s and at least for three decades afterwards Chinese Government initiated a complex of economic and political reforms to eradicate egalitarian model of wealth distribution in agriculture all over the nation including YKAP. Promotion of capitalist forms of management in rural areas was above all supposed to change fundamental interrelation between territory of ethnic autonomy and Korean people from political unit within Chinese nation to a source or an obstacle of capital accumulation and thus as mechanism of downward or upward economic mobility. Introduction of capitalist forms of managements in rural areas demanded dismantling of commune farming system to make individual peasant household to become a main unit of economic activities.[103]

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[100]Luo Shi Rong and Peng Hong, "Wǒ guó nóng cūn tǔ dì chéng bāo jīng yíng quán de wù quán huā yán jiū" [Study on Property of Rural Land Contracted Management in Our Country], *Journal of Chongqing University* (Social Sciences Edition), vol. 9 (4), 2003, 116–118.

[101]Ho Fung Hung, "Introduction: The Three Transformations of Global Capitalism China", *Transformation of Global capitalism*, ed. by Ho Fung Hung, (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009) 1–21.

[102]Zhun Xu, "The Political Economy of Decollectivization in China", *Monthly review*, May 2013, 17–36.

[103]Central Government officially adopted liberalization of agriculture started from implementation of household responsibility system in Sichuan and Anhui provinces in late 1970s. See for instance, LI Tian Xia, "Wǒ guó sān nóng fǎ zhì de shí jiàn luó jí" [The Practice Logic of "Agriculture, Rural area and Farmer" in Our Country], *Journal of Chengdu Normal University*, October Issue, 2014, 109–113.

Initially agriculture reforms had different forms where each one represented different balance between collectivist and individualist distribution of rewards with growing importance of individualistic and thus less egalitarian distribution. The first one called *contracting production to groups of peasants* (*baochan daozu*) assigned quotas to small work groups within production teams that obtained work points for implementation of economic plan and could gain extra points for overfulfilment of the quota. Second, *contracting production to households* (*baochan daohu*) represented contracting output to the household that obliged peasant to return a certain amount of yield to the state as defined in the contract while permitted to keep surplus beyond the fixed amount. The third was *contracting wide-range output quotas to peasant households* (*baogan daohu*) that was most popular in YKAP since 1983 contracted everything to the individual household but imposed fixed payments to the collective and keep everything else for sale or its own use. Besides, capitalist management of agriculture demanded dis-empowerment of farmers and centralization of decision making by Government controlled political hierarchy. To this purpose CCP in early 1980s based on Constitution of 1982 transferred political and administrative authority of the people's communes to township governments (*xiang*) that represent the lowest level of political division of China operating under control of higher level governments.[104]

Commercialization of agriculture forced Chinese Koreans to exploit land of ethnic autonomy as a mechanism of upward economic mobility. On one hand, inequalities forced to perceive social distinctions within ethnic boundaries as different sources of downward or upward economic mobility. On the other, Chinese Korean ethnic culture could not satisfy growing economic expectations. Commercialization increased dependence of ethnic boundaries on economy and at the same time decreased dependence of economy on ethnic boundaries. Social distinctions between Chinese Koreans, distinction between Korean ethnic minority and Han Chinese majority and eventually distinction between China and developed national economies reappear in ethnic culture as distinction between upward or downward social mobility. The criterion of upward/downward description depends on distinction between degrees of labor division of ethnic, national and global capitalist economy. In this sense, degree of labor division of national economy of China surpasses ethnic economy of YKAP while degree of labor division of global economy is larger than Chinese national economy.

For example, growing productivity of commercialized ethnic agriculture for several Korean farms meant upward mobility while for others less successful farmers this meant downward mobility. Mass bankruptcy of *chaoxianzu* farmers produced surplus of labor force who started seeking for better economic

[104]More detailed description of contracting systems that had more than three forms see for example Wáng Guì Chén, Zhōng guó nóng cūn hé zuò jīng jì shǐ [History of Economic Cooperation in Rural Areas in China] (Shanxi: Shān xī jīng jì chū bǎn shè, 2006, 520–526).

opportunities in major Chinese cities.[105] However, in comparison with South Korea China offers limited economic opportunities for Chinese Koreans without necessity of assimilation into Han Chinese society that encouraged many to migrate to South Korea at least since 1980s.[106] However, economic and social experience of Chinese Koreans in the Republic of Korea demonstrated that upward economic mobility is limited by their low status in their "motherland". This forced migration whether back to China or to more developed economies such as Japan, the United States or Europe.[107]

Similarly, commercialization of ethnic culture also forced to expand capitalism to wider spheres of Chinese Korean life such as gender differences. Entrance of Chinese Korean female to labor market during reform period cultivated particular perception of gender differences as mechanism of whether downward or upward mobility. Mass migration from YKAP produced deficit not only labor forces but also deficit of male population in rural areas.[108] This forced female to join the local market and thus promoted stronger integration into capitalist relation with particular motivation centered on upward mobility. One of the popular ways for Chinese Korean women to realize these expectations was through marriage. It means that the criterion of marriage partner choice most likely depended on economic factors. For example, Chinese Korean male living in rural areas represented downward social mobility while Chinese Korean male with resident status in one of the major Chinese cities or South Korean citizen represent upward social mobility.[109]

Mass migration contributes to further assimilation of Chinese Koreans inside YKAP. Chinese Korean farmers who remain in ethnic autonomy had to adopt to situations of growing deficit of labor force and excess of agricultural land in rural areas because of exodus of ethnic counterparts and population aging. These forces farmers to look for alternative resources to continue land cultivation in Korean villages producing significant social changes that destroys both family and ethnic

[105]Zhang Jingyue and Yang Xue, "Zhōng guó cháo xiǎn zú rén kǒu qiān yí fēng xiǎn yīn sù fēn xī" [Analysis of the Risk Factors on Chinese Korean Migration], *Humanities and Social Sciences*, vol. 3 (5), 2015, 280–285.

[106]Sin Ui Gi, *Chaechung tongp'o e taehan pŏmchoe wa taech'aek*, [Crimes and Ethnic Policies towards Ethnic Koreans in China] (Seoul: Korean Institute of Criminology, vol. 123, 1999, 123).

[107]See for instance, Kim Hyŏn Mi, *Chungkuk chosŏnchokŭi yŏngkuk ichu kyŏnghŏm*: hanin t'aun kŏchucha ŭi salye lŭl chungsim ŭlo [Chinese Korean Experience of Migration between China and Korea: On the Example of Korea Town Dwellers] (Seoul: Korean Cultural Anthropology, vol. 11, 2008, 39–77).

[108]Piáo Jīn Hǎi and Wáng Chūn Róng, "Liú dòng de kùn huò: cháo xiǎn zú kuà guó liú dòng yú biān jiāng dì qū shè huì wěn dìng yǐ yán biān cháo xiǎn zú zì zhì zhōu biān jìng dì qū wéi lì" [A Study of Chinese Korean Transnational Migration and Stability of Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture], *Journal of South-Central University for Nationalities* (Humanities and Social Sciences), vol. 35 (2), 2015, 12–16.

[109]Quán Xìn Zǐ, "Cháo xiǎn zú nǚ xìng shè wài hūn yīn de wén huà nèi hán yú chōng tū" [A Research on International Marriages of Chinese Korean Females], *The Third International Academic Seminar on Women's Development and Progress*, ed by, Zheng Yu Shun, (Beijing: Mín zú chū bǎn shè, 2004), 280–294.

ties that previously was crucial source of ethnic solidarity. To complicate the situation, since the beginning of de-collectivization in YKAP in early-1980s most of the Chinese Korean farmers adopted most liberal and individualistic form of farming *baogan daohu* that contracted everything to the individual household. However, economic difficulties pressured farmers to restore collective forms of farming. They developed at least two adaptation strategies to cope with lack of human resources. First one contracts agricultural lands to Chinese Koreans from other families or even other villages that not only undermines existing family ties in local communities but also pumps out economic resources to other villages. Second strategy is to contract land to Chinese farmers that undermines ethnic ties and increases non-Korean population in the region bringing earnings to another ethnic group.[110]

However, CPC takes advantage of growing inconsistencies between ethnic/national boundaries and economy. One of the crucial elements of Chinese economic reforms was creation of inequalities not only between people but also between different territories that since early 1980s had been institutionalized as Special Economic Zones (*jingji tequ*).[111] SEZ represent territories with particular status and policies that help to facilitate attraction of foreign capital and mobilize people as labor force pushed/pulled to move to territories with better economic opportunities. In 1992, Chinese parliament approved establishment *Hunchun Border Economic Cooperation Zone* in YKAP that promoted the logic of dependent development model of Chinese national economy when economic growth depends not on national or local ethnic but on transnational demand.[112] The function of YKAP within this paradigm is to integrate North Eastern provinces of China to international logistic routes of North East Asia to promote cross border cooperation with Russia, Japan, Mongolia, North and South Korea. For example, YKAP is a part of different international logistic projects such as Greater Tumen Initiative (GTI) that is supposed to provide China with access to Sea of Japan via North Korean and Russian seaports[113] and attract foreign (mostly South Korean) investments.

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[110]Kim Ho Bom and Kazuhiko Ueno, "Chūgoku chōsen zoku nōson no henyō: nobe atari chōsen zoku jichi shū ryū i shi dai uma mura matsubayashi hora o jirei ni" [Rural Change in Chinese Korean Village: A case study of Longjing City in Jilin Sheng] *Bulletin of Tokyo Gakugei University. Humanities and Social Sciences*. II, 2009, 47–58.

[111]Li Wenpu, Chen Tingting and Li Hao, "Cóng jīng jì tè qū dào zì yóu mào yì qū lún kāi fàng tuī dòng gǎi gé de dì san cì làng cháo" [From Special Economic Zone to Free Trade Area: On the Third Wave of Pushing Reform Forward], *Southeast Academic Research*, vol. 1, 2015, 19–27.

[112]See for instance on Hunchun Border Economic Cooperation Zone, Zhāng Lí Jūn and Wáng Yù Fēn, *Mín zú dì qū hé xié shè huì jiàn shè yú biān jìng mào yì fā zhǎn yán jiū* [Construction of Harmonious Society in Ethnic Autonomies and Cross Border Trade] (Beijing: China Economy Press, 2008), 351–359.

[113]Liang Zhen and Chen Min Cai, "Dōng běi yà guó jì hé zuò yú dōng běi dì èr tiáo yà ōu dà lù qiáo jiàn shè yán jiū" [Study on Northeast Asia International Cooperation and Construction of the Second Northeast Asia—Europe Land Bridge], *Northeast Asia Forum*, vol. 5 (103), 2012, 59–64.

Legitimacy of Chinese nationalism within capitalist paradigm depends on how efficiently it can exploit social economic disappointments as a source of national solidarity. Economic development demonstrated by China from late 1980s until early 2010s aggravated existing social inequalities, ethnic regional disparities and produced new forms of inequalities that gave Chinese government officials and Chinese intellectuals an opportunity to use this failure to motivate society to continue efforts towards Chinese national formation. In order to cope with political risks Chinese nationalism offers different ideological constructs that permit to integrate disappointed expectations about national unity back into political discourse as necessity to further pursue unity on national and ethnic levels. Unlike contradiction-centered Maoist logic towards constructions of national ideologies, Chinese authorities prefer avoid any contradiction and demand conflict-free solidarity instead. Chinese government in order to compensate disappointed expectations introduced into political discourse the utopian that helps to legitimately reintegrate them as demand for social justice. For example, moderately prosperous society or harmonious society in mid-2000s called for "further improvement of the socialist democratic and legal system[114]" and "Chinese dream" called for "Great renaissance of the Chinese nation[115]".

Exploitation of inequalities by ethnic minorities is a part of a larger process that forms important basis of Chinese nationalism. The shift from a socialist planned economy (pre-1978) to a market oriented economy (post-1978) had strong influence on ethnic policies in China. At the beginning of the reform period, the Chinese anthropologist Fei Xiaoteng's theory, known as ethnic pluralism within the Chinese nation, defined much ethnic minority policy.[116] Since then, market forces have influenced literally every ethnic minority that has increased the degree of interethnic contact, especially in the marketplace. As a result, government expected that state schools would play a major role in strengthening a sense of common Chinese nationality, thereby moving China along the path of harmonious multiculturalism.[117]

Chinese Korean ethnic education system attempts to preserve Korean ethnic culture in a way that encourage Chinese Koreans to assimilate into Chinese society. Market oriented content of educational process in Chinese Korean ethnic schools in YKAP is supposed to cultivate persons in way that puts ethnic identity into contradiction with rationality of economic competition. Ethnic education is structured around the idea that social inequalities is crucial source of motivation to increase individual economic efficiency implemented in the ideas of leadership, ethnicity as

[114]Baum, R. "Jiang Takes Command: The Fifteen National Party Congress and Beyond" in *China Under Jiang Zemin*. ed. by Hung-mao Tien and Yun-han Chu, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers. 2002), 20.

[115]Xi Jinping Closing Speech to National People's Congress' Xinhua News Agency, 17 March 2013.

[116]Fei, Xiao Tong, "Zhonghua minzu de duoyuan yiti geju" [Plurality within the organic unity of the Chinese nation]. *Journal of Beijing University*. vol. 4, 1986, 1–19.

[117]Gerard Postiglione, "Making Tibetans in China: The educational challenges of harmonious multiculturalism", *Educational Review*, vol. 60 (1), 2008, 1–20.

a form of cultural capital and ethnic pluralism of Chinese nation where all ethnic groups are expected to compete with each other for economic resources and privileges with supposedly equal opportunities.[118] However, the perception of economic opportunities offered by Autonomous Prefecture does not satisfy economic expectations about future income or careers among young Chinese Koreans. In other words, ethnic education cultivate increasing economic expectations among both Han Chinese and Chinese Koreans and on the other hand limit economic opportunities to implement those expectations that forces minorities to abandon their ethnic identity. As a result, many of them prefer to move to big cities with bigger opportunities that results in decline of ethnic population and stronger assimilation.[119]

Bilingual education plays important role in reproduction of inconsistency between economic motivation and ethnic solidarity. Chinese Korean ethnic education cultivates at least two different positions towards the choice of language to learn in school or University. On one hand, the choice between Chinese and Korean language appears as choice between different forms of social mobility. On the other, ethnic schools cultivate moral reaction of compassion towards Chinese Korean ethnic culture. CPC educational programs demand to increase of economic efficiency of ethnic culture and at the same time cultivate political loyalty to ethnic community as an attempt to compensate damage of ethnic/national ties produced by social mobility. For example, advanced command of mandarin offers better opportunity of integration into mainstream society mostly in major Chinese cities while mastering of Seoul dialect—an employment in South Korean companies in China or The Republic of Korea.[120] Similarly, mastering foreign language such as English or Japanese opens up more chances of economic mobility outside both national and ethnic boundaries. At the same time, CPC encourages ethnic minority education to cultivate primacy of ethnic/national solidarity over economy encouraging learning minority language as crucial condition of development of harmonious society on regional and national level that again cultivates economic motivation and thus further reproduces inconsistency between economy and nationalism.

The failure to combine ethnic solidarity and economic efficiency returns to Chinese political discourse as demand of social justice at the expense of ethnic majority. The Chinese Koreans activists claim that the problem is not in market-oriented education but in misbalance between market oriented educational policies and actual economic opportunities provided by government for ethnic autonomies or ethnic businesses. It means that in order to overcome the shortcomings of existing ethnic policies it is crucial to modify ethnic education

[118]Fang Gao. “What it means to be a “model minority”? Voices of ethnic Koreans in Northeast China”, *Asian Ethnicity*. vol. 9, 2008, 55–67.

[119]Wang Shi Yong, The failure of education in preparing Tibetans for market participation. *Asian Ethnicity*. vol. 8 (2), 2007, 131–148.

[120]Xu Fang. “Chaoxianzu shehui de getihua” [Individualization of Chinese Korean Society], *Journal of Shenyang Normal University*. vol. 37, 2007, 172–175.

according to the needs of market economy or with the help of government interventions to eliminate ethnic discrimination providing privileged employment status for ethnic minorities. However, these initiatives ignore the fact that market-oriented education need inequalities as a crucial source of motivation for market economy. As a result, this contradiction between ethnic or national solidarity and economic efficiency reappears as demand for compensations or social justice justified by disappointed expectations. Chinese government takes the lead stating that compensated justice is possible with the help of CPC interventions. This is supposed to create "new curriculum reforms, schooling could come to more accurately reflect the cultural diversity that characterizes China's ethnic minorities and increase understanding among ethnic groups nationwide, as well as make state schools much more attractive to ethnic communities, thereby promoting a harmonious multiculturalism for a more unified nation".[121]

State exploits these claims to strengthen dependence of ethnic education on social inequalities. Government introduced national program of affirmative action (*youhui zhengce*)may provide Chinese Koreans and other ethnic minorities with a preferential status regarding admission to state or public universities, civil service, relaxed family planning policy and subsidies. This is important to show that social justice, equality and harmony of interethnic relations depends on efficiency of bureaucratic apparatus and social assistance so that in case of failed attempts it is possible to use this failure as legitimization of another action.[122] Affirmative action stresses distinction between ethnic majority and minority and draws attention to the fact that this distinction needs to be compensated.[123] However, every attempt to compensate this distinction produces social irritation by the members of another ethnic group who thinks that this compensation is at their expense. This permits Chinese bureaucracy to guide further debates around the issue of what compensation is more just and not to the fact that it is impossible to compensate inequalities between Han Chinese and Chinese Koreans without producing new conflicts.

This turns social inequalities into dominant form of interaction between Korean ethnic minority and Han Chinese majority. The disappointed expectations of social harmony promised by the affirmative actions of Chinese government returns as demand of social justice from opposite sides. State ethnic policies produced disappointed expectations about interethnic equality of opportunities that forces minority to demand more social justice at the expense of majority and at the same time forces majority to demand social justice at the expense of minorities. Common reaction of Han Chinese about affirmative action is that privileged status to ethnic minorities is possible only at the expense of ethnic majority and that this newly created inequality needs compensation. For example, Han majority shares the CPC

[121]Postiglione, '*Making Tibetans in China: The educational challenges of harmonious multiculturalism*,' 1–20.

[122]Chih-yu Shih, "*Negotiating Ethnicity in China*: Citizenship as a Response to the State" (New York, NY: Routledge. 2002), 179.

[123]Niklas Luhmann, "*Political Theory in the Welfare State*" (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1990), 22–23.

ideas that harmonious relations between ethnic majority and minority is possible and this is only the matter of seeking of properly balanced compensatory politics. It means that restoration of social harmony is possible if compensation goes in reverse order providing additional privileges to Han Chinese at the in comparison with supposedly overprivileged ethnic minorities.[124] On the other hand, Korean minority activists claim that necessity of external assistance under guidance of Han Chinese majority is underlying idea of affirmative action that officially fixes and institutionalizes inequality between Chinese government and ethnic minorities. Doing this government admits ethnic minorities cannot overcome existing gap between them and Han Chinese without assistance of CPC.[125] Accordingly, granted privileges is not real empowerment but fixation of their powerless status within Han Chinese controlled bureaucratic system and an attempt to keep them silent.

If harmonious interethnic pluralism is impossible in real world Chinese nationalism can offer its commercialized version.[126] CCP depict YKAP as one of the tourist destinations in China where visitors can enjoy "authentic" ethnic culture of minorities, enjoy their cousine and ethnic festivals and at the same time economically contribute to further development of Autonomy. It permits to enable tourists to be a consumerist, without feeling guilty when consumers buy their redemption from just being consumers who enjoys their flourishing empowered Han Chinese identity while Chinese Koreans and other minorities are in decline. They become active citizens who saves Chinese nation and this is all expressed in one consumerist act. It means that every visit to ethnic villages, ethnic festivals or ethnic restaurants provide them with an opportunity to imagine themselves not as just consumers but as saviors of ethnic minorities' cultural legacy who do their duty to preserve ethnic pluralism of Chinese nation.

It is also possible to locate the source of national solidarity between Chinese Koreans and Han Chinese in the past. One of the crucial component of ethnic history of Chinese Koreans in YKAP as well as national history of China is common struggle of the peoples of China against Japanese empire in the first half of 20th century.[127] This negative image of Japan plays crucial role for both ethnic and national identity formation. It creates strong pressure for national solidarity between Han Chinese and Chinese Koreans. The image of common external enemy is supposed to tell to Chinese Koreans that failures to construct harmonious ethnic

[124]James Leibold, "Han Chinese Reactions to Preferential Minority Education in PRC", *Minority Education in China: Balancing Unity and Diversity in an Era of Critical Pluralism*", (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. 2014), 299–320.

[125]Mette Hansen, *Lessons in being Chinese: Minority education and ethnic identity in Southwest China*, (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1999), xi–xii.

[126]Zhang, E.M. "Chunggugŭi Chosŏnjok Inshik kwa Yŏnbyŏnjosŏnjok chach'iju Kwan'gwangjŏngch'aek" [Chinese Korean Identity and Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture Tourism Strategy], *Graduate student journal of international studies*, vol. 9, 2011, 5–29.

[127]Tian Xi, "Xinzhongguo jianliqian Heilongjiangsheng chaoxianzu jiaoyu yanjiu" [Study on Chinese Korean Education Before Foundation of the New China], *Heilongjiang National Series*, vol. 4 (123), 2011, 109–111.

relations inside China should not discourage them from further efforts to pursue the social harmony. National unity existed outside China in Japanese Empire that supposedly represents successful example of national building and still functions as a threat to Chinese national security. Japanese colonial aggression was well-organized political action of Japanese individuals united by the idea of Japanese nation. Han Chinese government and local authorities use this reference to the common past when peoples of China could stand against Japanese Empire as legitimate demand of national solidarity today.[128]

Similarly, reference to the past may help to justify national dis-solidarity. This approach opposite to the previous one refers to national solidarity between majority and minority in past as an argument to resist this solidarity in present. Chinese Korean intellectuals developed new interpretation of Korean migration history to China that introduces temporal distinctions between Chinese Koreans in a way that would help to motivate their ethnic counterparts to preserve their ethnic identity and resist assimilation into mainstream society. Chinese Korean historical science extends ethnic ties from mid-19th century to much more ancient period of Three Kingdoms of Korea (57 BC to 668 AD) of *Baekje*, *Silla* and *Goguryeo* that marks the first mass migration of Korean people to China. However, the people who migrated from Korean Kingdoms to Chinese Empire (e.g. *Tang Dynasty*) eventually lost their language, culture and became assimilated into Han Chinese society. Although, their ancestors still reside in the North East provinces of China they represent negative example of co-existence with ethnic majority that has to motivate *chaoxianzu* to preserve their ethnic identity.

[128]Zhang, J.Y., Zhang, Y.B. "*Zhongguo de makesizhuyi du ben*" [Chinese Marxism] (Beijing: Qinghua University Press, 2006), 63–65.

Chapter 4
Korean Diaspora and Capitalist Modernization in the United States and Japan

Abstract Korean Diaspora in the United States and Japan represent opposite patterns of ethnic boundaries reproduction in capitalist societies. Korean Americans developed their ethnicity as reaction to successful upward economic mobility. From the very beginning, the trust towards Korean immigrants was reflection of how well they were doing economically. However, this made Korean American Diaspora dependent on the contradictions of American society. The inevitable outcome of their economic activities (successful or not) was increase of racial/class tensions and conflicts that they could not ignore. Every economic activity represents temporal balance between scarcity and abundance and ethnic boundaries of Korean American Diaspora guarantee that scarcity of money and goods is once again present in American society, even for another ethnic group that motivates latter to pursue their own American dream. Japanese Koreans on the contrary developed moralized ethnic boundaries in response to social and economic exclusion. The disadvantaged status forces Japanese Koreans to mobilize their members for protest movements legitimized by the moralized image of Koreans in Japan as victims of discrimination. This does not always produce compassion among Japanese public but very often produces social irritations and eventually counter-protest movements that are also legitimized by moralized image of Japanese society as victim of Japanese Korean demands of compensations. Eventually this gives opportunity to Japanese Koreans to refer to unsuccessful attempts to obtain compensations and the cases of counter protest movement as a new proof of ongoing discrimination against their community to start this cycle of moral discontent once again.

Keywords Korean diaspora · Capitalism · Modernization · Entrepreneurship · Inequality · Exclusion · The United States · Japan

Korean Diaspora in the United States and Japan represent opposite patterns of ethnic boundaries reproduction in capitalist societies. Korean Americans developed their ethnicity as reaction to successful upward economic mobility. From the very beginning, the trust towards Korean immigrants was reflection of how well they were doing economically. However, this made Korean American Diaspora

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dependent on the contradictions of American society. The inevitable outcome of their economic activities (successful or not) was increase of racial/class tensions and conflicts that they could not ignore. Every economic activity represents temporal balance between scarcity and abundance and ethnic boundaries of Korean American Diaspora guarantee that scarcity of money and goods is once again present in American society, even for another ethnic group that motivates latter to pursue their own American dream. In other words, social inequality is crucial for capitalism because it most effectively permit to exploit economic potential of society.[1] It means that Korean American political activists had to refer to inability to remove racial discrimination, class disparities or government inefficiency in a way that preserves them as an ideological constructs that motivates both members of Korean American diaspora and of American society to furtherly exploit their economic potential and integrate social disappointments. In this sense, the pursuit of "American dream" depends more on failure rather than on success.

Japanese Koreans on the contrary developed moralized ethnic boundaries in response to social exclusion. Reliance on moral communication does not mean that members of the Japanese Korean diaspora and Japanese society live in harmony. Morality does not possess socially integrating properties because of its polemic side it is laden with conflict.[2] The cases of social and economic exclusion motivates Japanese Koreans to mobilize its members for protest movements legitimized by the moralized image of Koreans in Japan as victims of discrimination. This does not always produce compassion among Japanese public but very often produces social irritations and eventually counter-protest movements that are also legitimized by moralized image of Japanese society as victim of Japanese Korean demands of compensations. Eventually this gives opportunity to Japanese Koreans to refer to unsuccessful attempts to obtain compensations and the cases of counter protest movement as a new proof of ongoing discrimination against their community. It means that they can use these cases to construct new moralized image of Japanese Koreans as victim of Japanese discrimination to motivate people for further protest movement, and start this cycle of moral discontent once again.

4.1 "Ethnic (Dis) Balance" of Korean Diaspora in the United States

The Korean diaspora in the United States, unlike in the Soviet Union and China, kept the private sphere separate from the public sphere. From the very beginning the Korean immigration to the United States was not the matter of political loyalty to American government, instead it was a matter of economic efficiency of Korean

[1]Niklas Luhmann, *Die Wirtschaft der Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1996), 62.

[2]Luhmann, Niklas. Social Systems. Translated by John Bednarz Jr. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), 235.

labor. Emphasis on economic performance demanded considerable degree of decentralization of economic decision-making in the Korean American diaspora that justified dominance of the private sphere. This was completely opposite of the politicized and centralized system of decision making in case of Korean diaspora in Soviet Union/Russia and China. It meant that for each wave of Korean immigrants in the United States the risks of living in such a society were minimized to largely how well one could or could not do in the sphere of economic livelihood.

In this sense, the pursuit of "American dream" depends more on failure rather than on success. From the very beginning, the trust towards Korean immigrants was reflection of how well they were doing economically. However, the inevitable outcome of their economic activities (successful or not) was increase of racial/class tensions and conflicts that they could not ignore. Every economic activity represents temporal balance between scarcity and abundance and ethnic boundaries of Korean American Diaspora guarantee that scarcity of money and goods is once again present in American society, even for another ethnic group that motivates latter to pursue their own American dream. It means that Korean American political activists had to refer to inability to remove racial discrimination, class disparities or government inefficiency in a way that preserves them as an ideological constructs that motivates both members of Korean American diaspora and of American society to furtherly exploit their economic potential and integrate social disappointments.

The first wave Korean immigrants were largely disengaged from American political activities. They remained distant in large part because of their motivation for emigration to the United States. Specifically, the American recruiting agents placed strong emphasis on the opportunity to make money and pursuit of a comfortable life. Recruiters like Horace Allen who played an important role in the organization of Korean immigration in the early twentieth century emphasized the need for comfort for both Koreans and Westerners. The notion of "need" was necessary to economically describe Korean population and open the way for purely market activities. The "need" is a crucial aspect for the economy because it supplies the motivation to spend money. For instance Horace Allen describes the need for enjoyment and comfort as crucial aspect of the identity of Korean people in this manner:

> They admire comforts … of the home life of the strangers. They go home to ponder on the religion which takes hold of the present life of man and makes it more enjoyable. They mark our cheerful faces and our enjoyment of life and wonder at the cause…[3]

Besides, the recruiting agents in Korea in early twentieth century emphasized that immigration to Hawaii was not an act of coercion but a free choice made by free individuals. From purely an economic perspective, the public space represented by the state is coercive because it set ups barriers to natural desire of human beings

[3]Wayne Patterson *The Korean Frontier in America*: Immigration to Hawaii, 1896–1910 (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 108.

for profit through political action and prevents the free drive of market forces. Specifically, they emphasized that those choosing to emigrate did so, not as contract laborers but as free agents who can support their freedom with money. Recruiting companies like *Tonga Kaebal Haesa* (TKH) loaned to each departing individual a hundred Korean Won in addition to seventy Korean Won to be paid as fare for passage from Kobe to Honolulu.[4]

Korean Protestant churches too, ideologically supported this monetized approach. Church ministers were among those who actively participated in the establishment of Korean immigration to the United States in the early twentieth century.[5] The first native Protestant minister, Sun Chu Kil (1869–1935), who played important role in the formation of Korean nationalism, promoted in his sermons the idea that domination of private space is crucial condition for economic decision making. For example, he considered the individual "I" as starting point of any social action.[6] He reminded his faithful audience that "my destiny depends on me. I feed myself, clothe myself, make the decision whether to stand or lie down, to commit sin, to be moved by the Holy Spirit, and thus to be saved. It is up to me to accept the comfort, joy and hope of the Christian Gospel. I decide whether I shall be loved or disliked by others, to be rich or beggar, to be a winner or a failure."[7]

Local factors contributed to apolitical character of the Korean American diaspora. On one hand, the location the first wave Korean immigrants went to was Hawaii, a territory of the United States and not a state, so that the very presence of the federal government was not very strong, further reducing their consciousness of any need to participate in politics beyond the local issues.[8] In addition, the local Hawaiian politics at the time of Korean emigration in early twentieth century was heavily dominated by whites and former royal Hawaiian family members who made it a point to exclude Asians from their decision-making processes.[9] This meant that instead of participation in local politics Korean immigrants in Hawaii

[4]Norris Hundley, *The Asian American*: The Historical Experience (Santa Barbara, CA: Clio Books, 1976), 133.

[5]Okyun Kwon, *Buddhist and Protestant Korean Immigrants*: Religious Beliefs and Socioeconomic Aspects of Life New Americans (New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC, 2003), 27–28.

[6]Niklas Luhmann, *Law as a Social System*, translated by Klaus A. Ziegert (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 64; Also see on social imperatives on individuality in Niklas Luhmann, *Observations on Modernity*, translated by William Whobrey (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 7.

[7]In Su Kim, *Protestants and the Formation of Modern Korean Nationalism, 1885–1920: a Study of the Contributions of Horace G. Underwood and Sun Chu Kil* (Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan University, 1996), 114.

[8]See for instance on Hawaiian Organic Act, new system of crown land distribution and local distribution of revenue in Kēhaulani J. Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008) 29, 70.

[9]On nativism and racism in political participation in Hawaii in early twentieth century Pei Te Lien, *The Making of Asian America through Political Participation* (Temple University Press, 2001), 1–42.

were more focused on Korean independence movement and Korean politics rather than on political activities on the Territory of Hawaii where they were a small but distinct minority within the large number of minority groups.

Furthermore, first-wave Korean immigrants were part of an industry that discouraged political participation. After arrival in Hawaii, these first-wave Koreans became a part of larger sugar industry in the American West. Specifically, they were supposed to support the industrial centers of American West. From 1905 to 1925 nearly seven thousand Koreans migrated to Hawaii. The social background of immigrants varied from non-agrarian male urban population and ex-farmers to females who also came to Hawaii as picture brides.[10] They were hired for temporary work on sugar plantations to earn money and to return to Korea or leave for the American mainland. The sugar cane that they gathered in Hawaii (where enforcement of federal laws was lax) was sold by contract to the American Sugar Refining Company in San Francisco, the center of American industrialization in the West, and the Californian and Hawaiian Sugar Refining Company, also established in San Francisco, to take full advantage of that city's access to the American market.[11]

To add to this, the Korean American diaspora benefited from the American military. American style of capitalism "worked" for the first wave of the Korean diaspora and thus gave the hope the same would work for the Third Wave too, especially when it came to servicing the military establishment. They were able to climb out of the contract labor status in Hawaii by working in the service sector economy to the American military whose growing presence prior to the 1941 bombing of Pearl Harbor meant lots of construction jobs and real estate boom for all, particularly Koreans. For instance, Koreans dominated the tailor industry and laundry service for the American military in Hawaii. Moreover, fears of an impending Japanese invasion brought on by the Pearl Harbor Attack prompted many Island Caucasians to sell their homes quick and cheaply, making real estate a very profitable venture for those Koreans who entered this line of business.[12]

Ties to the American military were also true for second wave of Korean diaspora in the United States. The Second Wave of Korean immigrants were war orphans and war brides whose entire livelihood and social relations were bound up with the American military from which they inherited a strong anti-Soviet and anti-communist bias. Ergo, they inherited a belief that made them think the private sphere and money was the right thing and intrusion by the central government into the private sphere, a wrong thing. For instance, the principal organs of government, the major political parties, the trade union movement, leading church spokesmen,

[10]Wayne Patterson, *The Ilse*: First-Generation Korean Immigrants in Hawaii, 1903–1973 (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), 80–99.

[11]Prinsen Geerligs H. C., *The World's Cane Sugar Industry*: Past and Present (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 362.

[12]Wayne Patterson, *The Ilse*: First-Generation Korean Immigrants in Hawaii, 1903–1973, 75–77, 217.

and many public and private institutions in the United States in the 1950s were all in agreement that the Communists had no legitimate role in American society.[13]

The economic growth in South Korea further contributed to the de-politicization of the Third Wave of the Korean American diaspora. Third Wave Korean Americans came from a Korea that was growing economically and equaling if not surpassing the state-controlled economy of North Korea in the mid-1970s.[14] However, those who benefited the most from South Korea's economic growth often had strong connections with that government and others, particularly the wider South Korean populace, accrued some of the "trickle-down" wealth through avoidance of politics.[15] When Korean immigrants landed in Los Angeles, they didn't have the strong connections with any central government at all, either USA or Korean. In fact, many of them had violated the immigration agreement by overstaying their medical school/service contract or had their family members smuggle Korean currency out of South Korea to use as their financial base for small businesses.

The Third Wave was a reflection of the larger economic processes in South Korea and the United States. Specifically, it was a result of industrialization in South Korean, de-industrialization of the United States,[16] and suburbanization of American cities. Centralization of economic decision making in post-war South Korea created shortages of economic opportunities for small- and medium-sized businesses and restricted career opportunities.[17] On the other hand, the decentralization of industry and the suburbanization in post-World War II America created a demand for small entrepreneurs, particularly in the inner cities abandoned by the large corporations. They were supposed to supply increasing population of ghettoes with corporate products in the hollowing inner cities that large companies did not risk to penetrate until mid-1990s.[18] Initially, the first immigrants in the post-1965 period were mostly high-skilled college-educated individuals. Later through

[13]Michael Heale, *American Anticommunism*: Combating the Enemy within 1830–1970 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1990), 167.

[14]See for instance, Tai Hwan Kwon, "Demographic Trends and Their Social Implications," in *The Quality of Life in Korea*: Comparative and Dynamic Perspectives (Verlag, NY: Springer, 2003), 32–34.

[15]Jae Seung Shim and Moo Sung Lee, *The Korean Economic System*: Governments, Big Business and Financial Institutions (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2008), 54.

[16]Lloyd Rodwin, Hidehiko Sazanami, *Deindustrialization and Regional Economic Transformation*: The Experience of the United States (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 90–95; On postwar deindustrialization of American economy see for instance Barry Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison, *The Deindustrialization of America*: Plant Closings, Community Abandonment, and the Dismantling of Basic industry (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 140–192.

[17]Jae Seung Shim and Moosung Lee, *The Korean Economic System*: Governments, Big Business and Financial Institutions, 54.

[18]Alison Blay Palmer, *Imagining Sustainable Food Systems*: Theory and Practice (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2010), 98–99. Also see examples of expanding of chain stores after 1992 LA riots, "Vons Plans to Expand into South Central L.A.," *Daily News of Los Angeles* July 23, 1992; "Ralphs Opens New Site," *Daily News of Los Angeles* June 11, 1993.

reunification with families, the portion of working class among Korean immigrants increased.[19] During a period of 35 years since 1965, close to 800,000 Koreans came to the United States.[20]

4.1.1 Korean American Concentration of Economic Resources

Nara Bank at the intersection of West Olympic Boulevard and Vermont in Los Angeles is usually the starting point from which the participants of the Korean Parade begin their procession during the Los Angeles Korean American Festival. While this ethnic festival, held annually at the Seoul International Plaza, is supposed to represent the Korean American diaspora of Los Angeles, in reality the Festival, as represented by Nara Bank, one of the largest Korean banks in Los Angeles,[21] is dominated by those associated with financial institutions. As such, banking institutions with their capital assets originating in places other than the Korean American diaspora itself have nevertheless brought about the monetization of the Korean American diaspora. The increasing role of ethnic community banks and mainstream American banks lead to a decreasing role of local ethnic resources as a source of economic security. In other words, greater Korean American diasporic dependence on financial institutions whose capital did not originate with the diaspora meant greater vulnerability to financial speculations originating with individuals not part of the Korean American diaspora.

The Korean American Festival in Los Angeles and Nara Bank are two examples of monetization of Korean American diaspora. Both complete each other because the Korean Festival represents cultural aspect of the Korean American diaspora and Nara Bank represents the financial aspect of the Korean American diaspora in Los Angeles.[22] The history of the Festival started with local events organized by Association of Korea Town prosperity founded in 1972. Beginning in 1998 the Festival was annually organized by Korean American Festival Foundation together with Korean American Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles. The purpose of the festival was (and still is) the promotion of racial awareness and harmony among

[19]See detailed analysis of demographics of third wave of Korean immigrants to the United States in Won Moo Hurh, *The Korean Americans*, 41–43.

[20]William David Thomas, *Korean Americans* (Terrytown, NY: Marshall Cavendish, 2009), 10.

[21]See *Los Angeles Times*, September 13, 2000 on four Korean American Banks in Top Ranks of SBA Lending; Finance: Hanmi, Wilshire, Nara, California Center among top ten using popular loan program to boost minority firms. Hanmi Bank, Wilshire State Bank, Nara Bank and California Center Bank were among the top 10 institutions loaning the most money to Los Angeles County businesses through the SBA's popular 7(a) lending program, according to the analysis, which reviewed SBA lending in the 1990s. Only 5 years ago Hanmi Bank was in the top ten.

[22]David H. Kaplan Kaplan and Wei Li, *Landscapes of the Ethnic Economy* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), 125–129.

diverse make-up of the City as well as ethnic solidarity among Korean Americans. The sponsorship of the Festival served both purposes and called attention to the multicultural character of its backers. The main sponsors were large South Korean, American and Korean American companies, mass media organizations and financial institutions such as Asiana Airlines, McDonalds, Budweiser, Wells Fargo, Radio Korea, *Korean Times* Los Angeles, Hanmi Bank, and the Wilshire State Bank.

Nara Bank remains as one of the highlights of financial history of the Korean American diaspora. Nara Bank, founded in 1989, became one of several financial institutions that provided secure access to capital to the Korean American diaspora in California. The earliest pioneers of Korean American banks in California were, however, the Wilshire State Bank and the Hanmi Bank, which opened their offices in the early 1980s. The presence of banks was reflection of increasing demand for secure access to credit for the Korean American diaspora in California. Traditionally, popular access to credit for small businesses was from relatives or from the informal credit rotating associations. However, both suffered from low degree of economic security. The first one was not stable since it depended on personal relations among individuals. The second provided larger sums of money, as high as $US20,000–30,000 but at very high usurious rates especially for those who recently joined the associations.[23]

Before establishment of ethnic financial institutions, the Korean American diaspora had to rely on its own financial resources. Economic security represented by savings, investments, and credit was the dominant form of establishment of connections between members of the diaspora that was already true for the first wave in the first half of the twentieth century. Reliance on money is relevant as long as the ethnic boundary is a primary source of economic security. The connection made between family members and between generations coincided with the distribution of money. For instance, the first and third waves of the Korean American diaspora were famous for their high saving rates and rotating credit associations. In addition, the coming of the picture brides to the Korean sections of the plantations in Hawaii sparked greater investment in local real estate that became important source of profit for Korean American households.[24]

The Korean American diaspora developed the means of concentrating economic resources. Their racial ideologies played crucial role in pursuit of economic security and helped them to exploit the economic potential of the Korean diaspora in competition or cooperation with other ethnic and racial groups in the United States. The importance of biological forms of economic mobilization represented by race grew from their particular image of the human body in a physiological sense as the material supply of needs for the market. Racial boundaries they set motivated members of the Korean American diaspora to adhere to constant sums of money (price of ethnic labor) which was necessary for cooperation, exchange, and

[23]*New York Times*, September 24, 1989.

[24]Bong Youn Choy, *Koreans in America* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1979), 101.

competition with non-Koreans on a regular basis. Those racial boundaries they established also preserved their economic potential and maintained economic discipline among the members of the Korean American diaspora by including individuals who fit the biological criterion of membership while excluding everybody else.

The socio-economic environment of Los Angeles encouraged Korean immigrants to exploit the racial and ethnic boundaries they formed to attain their economic goals. The majority of the Third Wave Korean immigrants arrived in Los Angeles, a very multi-ethnic/racial city segregated along racial, class, and ethnic lines. Therefore, they did what is natural: they exploited their family and co-ethnic labor, they used church connections to get their business started and used the church facilities as a childcare centers. As a result, their approach simply reinforced the blood/family and ethnic/racial ties especially for entrepreneurial activities since all of these connections involved almost exclusively other Koreans. Small businesses were further divided along racial lines with Korean small shop owners on one side and African American customers on the other, further reinforcing the "racial" divide. This made Korean American entrepreneurs depend on each other for access to capital, through the credit rotating associations (*kye* system) that monetized ethnic boundary.

Credit is a crucial element of the description of the Korean American diaspora in terms of money payments. Until early the 1990s the Korean American diaspora in Los Angeles could combine maintaining its economic potential and ethnic solidarity relying mostly on ethnic source of money. They distributed debt obligations among its members.[25] Reliance on ethnic resources was a result of not having access to capital in South Korea and in the United States. For the monetized Korean American diaspora, secure access to money meant not only saving against future economic uncertainty but also was important for the reproduction of their ethnic boundary since that reproduction depended on secure access to capital. For instance, Korean American entrepreneurs could rely on informal credit rotating associations or *kye*, on families or Korean friends to get access to credit for the needs of entrepreneurial activities or for consumption.[26]

Money helps to describe the Korean American diaspora with high degree of precision. According to Kye Young Park there are different forms of commercialization of ethnic solidarity in the Korean American diaspora by rotating credit associations called *kye.* The very existence of these ties among participants of *kye* or different kinds of loans from friends or relatives appears in calculable forms of certain amounts of money that has to be paid off in the future. Participants can regulate and predict the behavior of each other by regulating the amounts of issued

[25]For an utopian view on the rotating credit system, see Chang Rae Lee's *Native speaker*: "My father would have thought him crazy to run a *ggeh* with people other than just our own. Spanish people? Indians? Vietnamese? How could you trust them? Then even if you could why would you?" in Chang Rae Lee, *Native Speaker* (New York: Wheeler Publishing, 2002), 261.

[26]Also see Light Ivan, Im Jung Kwuon and Deng Zhong, "Korean Rotating Credit Associations in Los Angeles," *Amerasia*, no. 16 (1), 1990, 35–54.

solvency, defining access and time of usage of credit. In addition, money frees members of credit associations from necessity of explaining and justifying aid to each other because money is the universal motivation. For instance, friendship may obtain monetary description in *chinmok kye* and ethnic solidarity through collective investments in *nakchal kye.*[27]

Money helps to regulate ethnic boundaries by regulating access to it. There were at least three major crises that tested relations between ethnic and nation solidarity on one side and the sequence of payments on the other. The first crisis of solvency occurred after the Los Angeles Riot of 1992. The second was the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997–1998[28] that struck South Korea particularly hard, and the third one was famine in North Korea during 1997. Each crisis demonstrated that the ethnic boundary can be regulated by the distribution of money. It means that the economic security reproduces ethnic boundary and risk of economic insecurity refers to the breakdown in the ethnic boundary. For instance, donations to help Korean Americans recover from the Los Angeles Riot totaled for South Korea between $US400 million and $US500 million for the wider Korean American community,[29] and additional $US200,000 from the Japanese Korean *Mindan.*[30] However, Korean American Business Association of Los Angeles who was the main recipient of the financial aid refused to pay out compensations to victims of riots even after receiving the large donations. This forced victims to abandon entrepreneurial activities or search for alternative sources of solvency outside the Korean American diaspora.

This does not overlook the fact that some members of the Korean American diaspora may have benefited from losses of their counterparts in South Korea. Many Korean American entrepreneurs could take advantage of the economic crisis in South Korea by selling Korean goods at lower prices due to the de-valuation of the Korean *won*. The *New York Daily News* described in the midst of Asian Financial Crisis in 1997 the different side of the Korean American diaspora that benefited from South Korean financial difficulties. It reported "The experiences of Korean-American Kim and Vietnamese-Chinese-American Du Dang illustrate the chameleon-like effects that Asia's financial freefall is having here on businesses owned by Asian-Americans. These Korean-American businesses are benefiting from the sharply weakened Korean *won*, which has lost half its value against the dollar since December, 1997. El Canto owner Dong Jin Kim is able to sell his Korean-made footwear, he says, at a third to half its previous price."[31]

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[27]Kye Young Park, *The Korean American Dream*: Immigrants and Small Business in New York City (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), 59–60.

[28]See on the reason of crisis and its impact on South Korean economy in Kyu Sung Lee, *South Korea's Financial Crisis* (Washington, DC: World Bank Publications, 2011), 35–71, 111–150.

[29]Jennifer Lee, *Civility in the City*: Blacks, Jews, and Koreans in Urban America (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 192.

[30]Pyong Gap Min, *Caught in the Middle*: Korean Merchants in America's Multiethnic Cities (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 156.

[31]*New York Daily News*, December 23, 1997.

This however is not the first example in the history of Korean American diaspora of making money on ethnic counterpart. Another example of benefit on the national scale is the second wave of Korean immigration to the United States. This wave was the direct result of the Korean War (1950–1953) that had devastating effect on Korean families. It included thirteen thousand Koreans adopted by American families[32] and an additional 28,025 war brides who went to the United States after marrying American military servicemen.[33] This permitted the Korean government to decrease its spending of scarce goods and money on economically dependent Korean women and children. For the adoptees and war brides, it meant moving from a society with less economic security to a society with greater economic security.[34] But for the Korean government, the second wave meant a substantial influx of badly-needed American money in the "exchange," as Matthew Rothschild, editor of American monthly magazine *The Progressive*, observed regarding the effect of adoption on the Korean economy, "Korean adoptees bring in hard currency, which is roughly $US15 million to $US20 million a year. They relieve the government of the costs of caring for the children, which would otherwise be a drain on the [national] budget."[35]

This raises the question of balance between ethnic and economic solidarity. This problem was already present for the most of the second generation of Korean immigrants in the first wave in Hawaii during the 1920s who did not identify themselves with Korea. Instead, they represented themselves as Americans and were ready to be assimilated into American society. The main factors that motivated them to keep distant from Korea were poverty and Japanese occupation of their motherland. In other words, the choice of ethnic and national identity depended on the source of economic security represented by the United States. For instance, according to Yong Ho Choe activities of the first generation and social situation in Korea "contributed significantly to creating a negative image of Koreans as an ethnic group who constantly bickered without harmony and unity. Such negative image (coupled with Korea's colonial status with prevalent poverty) discouraged second-generation Koreans in Hawaii from identifying themselves with Korea."[36]

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[32]According to the Korean Ministry of Health and Welfare (2002), there were 148,394 children adopted and taken outside of Korea.

[33]Won Moo Hurh, *The Korean Americans*, 39.

[34]Sgt. Johnnie Morgan returns to the U.S. with a Korean wife who once walked 200 miles to be with him/ …. By the time Korea was a word on the lips of every American, Johnnie and Blue were in love. But love in Korea in 1950 was precious and brief. In late June, with North Koreans coming in on Seoul, Johnnie's outfit withdrew 200 miles south to Pusan, and Blue was left behind. Three weeks later, her feet bare and bleeding, Blue reached Pusan and Johnnie Morgan. She had walked across country to Johnnie. "I knew then," says Johnnie, "how much I loved the kid," and he asked her to marry him. "War bride named BLUE comes home," *Life*, November 5, 1951, 41.

[35]Matthew Rothschild, "Babies for Sale: South Koreans Make Them, Americans Buy Them," *The Progressive*, January 1988, 18–23.

[36]Yong Ho Choe, "Syngman Rhee in Hawaii: His Activities in the Early Years, 1913–1915," *From the Land of Hibiscus*: Koreans in Hawaii, 1903–1950 (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 82.

However, during World War II, many Korean Americans in Hawaii could temporarily put economic and ethnic solidarity together. The main form of expressions of Korean American patriotism towards motherland was in the form of raising funds and donations. The emphasis on the financial side is a reflection of that political union between the United States and a future independent Korea that will guarantee stable access of the Korean American diaspora to economic security. For instance, one of the most common forms of raising funds by Korean nationalist associations like the Commonwealth Association and later by the Korean National Association was the purchase of American War bonds. In addition, advertisement for donations made by leaders of the Korean National Association stressed that it was the money that served as a basis of solidarity between Koreans and Americans and revived the dream of Korean immigrants in America. For instance following the advertisement "Koreans—Help Raise the Flag" a sum of $US26,265 was donated to President Roosevelt:

> Every country is entitled to its own flag, its own government, its own religion! Since 1910 Korea has suffered the domination of the Japanese. If you want to help lower the flag of the hated conqueror and raise that of old Korea—help put over the Korean—American Victory Fund Drive. Every cent raised during this drive ending August 29th will be sent to President Roosevelt to use as HE SEES FIT! Send your generous contribution to AMERICAN-KOREAN VICTORY FUND DRIVE, 1306 Miller St., Honolulu—or—HAWAII MUSIC CO., 1184 Fort St., Honolulu.[37]

Another example of economic expression of ethnic solidarity is the financial help given to South Korea during Asian Financial Crisis in 1997–1998. About 500,000 Korean Americans transferred millions of American dollars to help South Korea through Korean banks at the expense of solvency from local ethnic banks as a financial demonstration of solidarity with country of origin.[38] A similar situation was with North Korea when about fifty thousand Korean Americans donated about a million dollars in 1997 for the victims of famine in North Korea as a proof of Korean solidarity that transcends national boundaries. However, nearly 95% of Korean Americans refused to provide solvency for North Korean as a sign of refusal to maintain ethnic ties.[39]

Reliance on money gives considerable flexibility in the regulation of ethnic boundary. Specifically it gives a large potential in the application of financial tools in regulation of labor activity of family members or relatives or friends in small business enterprises. The fact of belonging to the Korean American diaspora or simply using familial ties legitimizes different kinds of financial manipulations. These manipulations are necessary to utilize the economic potential of family members. Family members involved in small business can for instance express a readiness to withdraw money from consumption for uncertain period of time or

[37]Ibid, 212.

[38]"Mercy for the Motherland; Korean Americans Wire Home Millions in Cash," *Washington Post*, December 21, 1997.

[39]*Jinn Magazine*, April 9, 1997.

exchange their services with obligations for equivalent of payments like support in opening business in the future, or gathering business information. For instance, Kye Young Park defines it *chagigage katki.* (establishing business one's own business) and describes it as a "family sacrifice."[40]

4.1.2 Korean American Diversification of Economic Resources

The Korean American diaspora also developed the means to diversify their economic resources. Economic security for members of the Korean American diaspora depended increasingly upon the resources of the larger society and less upon the ethnic ties and the ethnic niche. Therefore, it became more difficult for them to describe the ethnic boundary in terms of economic relations. The logic of pursuit of the American Dream demanded construction of different boundaries like that of creditor/lender, owner/worker or producer/consumer and different sources for motivation from employment/unemployment instead of recitations of the alleged Korean ethic of hard work or "blood ties." Hence, Korean American financial institutions increasingly shifted away from their co-ethnic clientele to the wider population of Los Angeles in provision of financial services while Korean American entrepreneurs increasingly relied on cheaper non-Korean labor and less on family labor to meet their labor requirements.

Monetization of the Korean American diaspora produced an imbalance between the sources of economic security and the ethnic boundary. From the late 1980s, it became clear that neither ethnic nor racial boundary lines could facilitate economic growth, and new items for investments were necessary. They were confronted with the emergence of new monopolies in IT, food industry and the financial sphere that demanded greater concentration and more diversification of capital that small ethnic businesses could not provide.[41] It meant that the re-establishment of economic solvency for the Korean American diaspora depended on a numerically larger,

[40]"I cannot run this grocery without my wife. She is the only person whom I can rely on, whether or not I am present at this grocery. When I go out for buying merchandise, I need a very reliable person who can manage employees and deal with money. My wife takes all those responsibilities. She also works from opening to closing with me. I cannot expect any employee to work with me from opening to closing with me. So, we have a division of labor in that I deal with things outside of the business such as buying merchandise, and my wife deals everything inside of the business such as cash registering, bookkeeping, and management of employees." Kye Young Park *The Korean American Dream*: Immigrants and Small Business in New York City, 61–64.

[41]Already in early 1990s it was clear for Korean American small business owners that they cannot win competition-wise with the large chain stores in the retail business. See Sharon Bernstein, "Korean Store Owners Protest Supermarkets Retail: Smaller operations worry that the opening of large ethnic groceries will destroy their businesses, "On Friday, about 30 Korean grocery store owners picketed the California Market in Koreatown, carrying signs emblazoned in Korean and English with such slogans as "Do Not Destroy My Children's Future" and "Do Fair Business." See *Los Angeles Times*, December 5, 1992.

culturally diverse, and racially heterogeneous population on one side and on monopolies on the other. Those Korean Americans who remained in the commercial world turned from small, mom-and-pop's shops to franchises of large corporations. In addition, they saw it was the time of fast growth of Korean American ethnic community banks that eventually merged with larger financial institutions of the United States or South Korea.

The Korean American diaspora reflected economic process of larger society. There were at least three aspects in the technological progress and financial sphere that had similar consequences for both American nationalism and the Korean American diaspora. For both it became harder to equate maintenance of a boundary based on nationality and ethnicity with the provision of economic security. First, it was technology of production of genetically modified food that provided poor neighborhoods in South Central Los Angeles with low quality but inexpensive food in large quantity.[42] This made existence of middleman minorities like the small Korean American grocery stores largely unnecessary in an economic sense. Secondly, the period of the 1980s and the 1990s was a period in which large corporations actively outsourced abroad the means of production,[43] turning America from a nation of producers into a nation of consumers. Third and the most important, liberalization of the financial sphere from nationally restrictive laws allowed for greater movement of capital, which in turn fueled financial speculations all over the world.[44] These speculations became the main source of easy money for both American society and the Korean American diaspora.

Initially, introduction of new market trends demanded non-market coercion from the Korean American economic elite, American local officials and large corporations. In the post-Los Angeles Riot era, the Korean American diaspora could not mobilize enough resources not only to recover from the damage done by looters in 1992, but also fulfill the new demands on running of small retail shops. In addition, local officials used the non-market political resources in order to open the way for the large capital. The Assembly Committee of Los Angeles and City Hall imposed very strict building codes for the rebuilding process that exceeded the Korean American small business owners' ability to pay, and refused to modify their demands.[45] New rules put Korean American entrepreneurs in situation where it was

[42]"The food available in South Central Los Angeles is genetically engineered, pesticide laden, hybridized and irradiated. The majority of people here eat food that is bagged, bottled, canned, boxed or frozen. A majority of this food comes from South America and Mexico through free-trade agreements." (Jack Canfield, Mark Victor Hansen, Susanna Palomares, *Chicken Soup for the Soul*: Stories for a Better World: 101 Stories to Make the World a Better Place (Deerfield Beach, FL: HCI, 2005), 365).

[43]Ron Hira and Anil Hira, *Outsourcing America*: The True Cost of Shipping Jobs Overseas and What Can Be Done About It (New York: AMACOM, 2008), 67–92.

[44]Thomas Sowell, *The Housing Boom and Bust* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 1–56.

[45]Marc Gladstone, "Bill to Ease Rebuilding of Korean American Stores Fails: Legislation Assembly committee defeats measure designed to bar the city from restricting reconstruction of liquor-selling establishments that were destroyed in riots. A key issue of dispute is whether stores are magnets for crime," *Los Angeles Times* August 30th, 1994.

hardly possible to mobilize their ethnic resources in order to keep prices for their products low enough and not to lose their competitive edge to larger chains.[46] For instance, new restrictions demanded that owners of liquor stores must increase number of employees by hiring guards and at the same time shorten working hours, all of which was contrary to the Korean American small shops' normal operations that made them previously so profitable.[47]

On the other hand, market trends in general forced a transition from ethnic boundary to boundaries imposed by market. Numerous boycott campaigns in Los Angeles in the 1980s and the Los Angeles Riot of 1992 demonstrated to them that all attempts to maintain racial boundary as a primary condition of economic security failed for both Korean entrepreneurs and the non-Korean population of South Central Los Angeles.[48] This aspect of monetized Korean American diaspora demonstrates that market dynamics requires different forms of people mobilization that is indifferent and independent towards the previously drawn ethnic boundary line. Individuals from other racial groups were ready to work for less money than those who represent ethnic resources, like family members, friends and relatives whose economic expectations were constantly rising. This resulted in a shift from the ethnic boundary based on the organization of labor to a boundary determined largely by market forces, which ignored ethnicity and distinguished only between owners and workers. Labor motivation shifted from Protestant ethics or Confucian ethics to purely economic motivation of being employed or unemployed.

Franchises became one of the popular representations of this trend. From the mid-1990s Korean American entrepreneurs demonstrated an increasing interest in franchising business. This kind of business provided greater security and an easier source of income than the long working hours in independent mom-and-pop stores.[49] In other words, relations with large corporations provided many Korean Americans with a more profitable approach than with ethnic resources provided by

[46]"Eddie Park, owner of B & O, said that he cannot afford the $9-per-h security guard fee, and is facing closure. Without the $US4000's worth of business his store does each month, he said, he won't be able to pay off a city loan he obtained after his shop was looted and destroyed in the 1992 riots." I'm 60 years old, "Park said. "I have no other choice. I'm going to be homeless if I don't work." (Willoughby Mariano, "Liquor Store Owners Attack Security Laws," *Los Angeles Times*, January 14, 2000).

[47]See for example, Leslie Berenstein, "Rebuilding Rules Prevail Merchants Must Hire Guards, Shorten Hours If They Want to Sell Liquor," *Los Angeles Times*, September 4, 1994.

[48]The conflict also showed that it, attempts to prevent payments outside racial boundary by African Americans through boycotts justified by slogans "Buy black" Neither Black entrepreneurs could establish alternative system of small business nor could Korean American preserve their ethnic entrepreneurship. See Patrick D. Joyce, *No Fire Next Time*: Black-Korean Conflicts and the Future of America's Cities (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), 53–119.

[49]"Compared to the liquor store, this is a very safe, clean business," he said. "Now, I have customers who wait outside the store at 6:30 in the morning because they want to have a healthy breakfast." (Diane Seo, "Korean Americans Move On to Franchises; Entrepreneurs: Many are Swapping the Drudgery and Danger of Mom-and-Pop Shops for Brand-Name Businesses," *Los Angeles Times*, November 5, 1997.

the Korean American diaspora. Harrison Kim, Director of the Korean American Chamber of Commerce in Los Angeles, observed that, "Over the past few years, we've definitely seen more mom-and-pop businesses closing up and franchises opening up. Korean business owners have been going in that direction because they realize it's very hard to survive as an independent."[50]

Korean American families also contributed to domination of economic motivations over ethnic boundaries. The crucial aspect of education in Korean American families was expectation of upward economic mobility of children. Parents tried to regulate the lives of their children by choice of future careers. These careers were supposed to provide for children an access to larger and more secure income than their parents. The result for Korean American diaspora was growing inconsistency between monetized family ties that previously served as a source of economic security and economic expectations of Korean individuals. Graduates from prestige universities are unlikely to return to family-run small businesses but prefer employment in larger corporations and state institutions where ethnic resources are not important.

The most crucial factor of misbalance between economic security and ethnic boundary was the financial sector. The period from the late 1990s until 2008 was a era of economic revival for Koreatown on much larger scale than before. Financial speculations were far more profitable sources of money than ethnic resources of the Korean American diaspora. It meant that credit stimulation of consumption and financial speculations through real estate in southern California in general and Koreatown in particular on one hand provided the Korean American diaspora with easy money and on the other, made them much more vulnerable to credit market turmoil. It was a period of when Korean American ethnic community banks started providing money through credit not only to the Korean American diaspora but also to other ethnic and racial groups in Los Angeles. On the other hand, Korean American ethnic community banks were not the only source of capital for the Korean American diaspora but also mainstream American financial corporations.

Reliance on financial speculations of the Korean American diaspora was reflection of mainstream trends in American economy. From the early 1980s until 2008 it was the period of the rapidly increasing role of the financial sector[51] in the economy of the United States.[52] This period marked the beginning of decline of personal saving rates that lasted for three decades. The main source of money for

[50] *Los Angeles Times*, (November 5, 1997).

[51] Repeal of the Glass-Steagall Act by the Gramm-Leach-Bliley Act (GLBA) in 1999 that separated investment banks from commercial (depository) banks contributed to bubble growth.

[52] This credit system resolved two major problems: it helped to collapse Soviet Union and develop industry of Information Technologies (Andrey Kobyakov, Mikhail Khazin, *Zakat imperii dollara e konez Pax Americana* [Decline of Empire of Dollar or the End of Pax Americana] (Moscow: Veche, 2003), 74–80; Also see David Harvey, *The Enigma of Capital*: And the Crises of Capitalism (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 1–39; and David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 152–182.

American households was not savings[53] but credit provided by financial institutions. Simple access to credit permitted to use money for current consumption instead of saving against the future economic uncertainties.[54] For instance, as Bloomberg points it out, "personal, corporate and government savings as a percentage of gross income turned even more negative in the first three quarters of 2009, reaching the lowest level since the Commerce Department started tracking quarterly data in 1947."[55]

The financial politics of the Federal Reserve increased dependence of American households on credit. One of the crucial aspects of "Reaganomics" was system of re-establishment of capital through refinancing of previous loans with new lines of credit. This system of refinancing was possible because of constant decreasing value of money represented by (interest rate) of the Federal Reserve Bank. When in the mid-2000s interest rates dropped to nearly zero, the refinancing of credit was no longer possible and further credit financing demanded new forms of speculations that would postpone the financial crisis, which later became known as the sub-mortgage crisis. Eventually, the amount of accumulated debt for the 30-year period was not paid back because it exceeded the resources of not only the Korean American diaspora and South Korea altogether but also the American economy.

Given the above-mentioned wider economic trends in America, the economic revival of the Korean American diaspora in the mid-1990s coincided with the last stage of credit bubble in the United States. The system of stimulation of consumption by credit began in the early 1980s and ending in 2008 with the collapse of the real-estate bubble. In the mid-2000s, the refinancing of debt obligations was no longer possible. The necessity to re-establish money in larger amounts demanded development of new forms of financial speculations on a much larger scale. The answer was the real-estate bubble and more specifically, subprime mortgage as the means. The speculation in real estate generated a temporary validation of the lending boom,[56] and caused a widespread shift in the anticipations of the households and a "self-willingness to pay ever higher prices for houses," which further stimulated the real estate bubble.[57]

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[53]Brian W. Cashell, *The Fall and Rise of Household Saving* (CRS Report R40647).

The U.S. gross personal saving rate had averaged about 7% of GDP through the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. In the 1990s, the personal saving rate decreased, averaging about 4.5% of GDP. In the 2000s, the personal saving rate continued to fall, reaching a low of 1.1% by 2005.

[54]Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Review November 2007.

[55]David Wilson, "U.S. Savings Rate Falls to Depression-Era Levels: Chart of Day," *Bloomberg*, January 6, 2010.

[56]According to Standard and Poor's Case-Shiller Index and The Housing Price Index (HPI) time-series for the percentage change of the composite housing index for the US the period between 1995 and 2006, marked rise in house prices rose more than 17%.

[57]According to Baker (Baker 2009) the comparison of housing prices with rents shows that this growth did not rest on fundamentals because if it were true for housing prices, then rents should also go up. However, Baker points out that rents didn't rise substantially. It wasn't raising aggregate demand, however, that was fueling the boom, as would be reflected in rising incomes or

The 1980s and 1990s were a period of active expansion of credit among the Korean American diaspora in Los Angeles.[58] There was very strong competition with other ethnic banks. Korean American financial institutions had to take greater risks and increase access to economic solvency for more Korean American entrepreneurs and households. For instance, overall, Los Angeles' seven Korean American banks increased assets at an average annual rate of 22% from 1995 to 1999, according to a 1999 study by Korean economists. That pace was better than that of 268 mainstream American banks (18.3%) and twenty-three Chinese American banks (11.7%) in California.[59]

Eventually the offer of credit expanded beyond ethnic boundaries of the Korean American diaspora. Korean American ethnic community banks had to diversify their credit policy ethnically and racially in order to improve the assets.[60] The largest Korean American banks in Los Angeles started offering more Small Business Administration loans outside their ethnic niche, partly because they had so thoroughly tapped that market and needed to find other sources of revenue.[61] Instead of ethnic boundaries, the crucial source of income was boundary between qualified borrowers and delinquent borrowers and not between Korean Americans and everybody else. For instance, according to Sungsoo Han, a representative of the largest Korean American Bank in Los Angeles, the Wilshire State Bank, said, "My goal is a 50/50 split between Koreans and non-Koreans."[62]

However, the main sources of economic security for the Korean American diaspora were speculation in real estate. The largest Korean American ethnic community banks and developer companies concentrated large amounts of capital in the real estate business in Los Angeles and southern California. The social

(Footnote 57 continued)

population growth, but rather, the belief that aggregate demand would continue to rise forever that fueled the growth (Jarsulic 2010, 38).

[58]For instance, in the late 1980s South Korean Hanmi Bank offered special credit line (SBA loans) for Korean American small business that was analogous of informal credit rotating associations like *kye*. See Los Angeles Times, October 5, 1988.

[59]*Los Angeles Times*, September 13, 2000.

[60]See for instance *Proceedings from the Impact of the Mortgage and Credit Crisis on Asian Small Businesses* in Working Meeting organized by Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, July 1, 2008.

[61]"Rosa Ugarte is an example of the type of business owner Korean American banks want to reach. Three years ago, Ugarte used an SBA loan from Wilshire State Bank to open the third branch of Ordonez Mexican Restaurant & Cantina. She's since sold her other two, but the third is doing well. The SBA loan kept her in business, Ugarte said. Wilshire State Bank "came to each of my properties," she said. "They were hands-on about what needed to be done. Other banks just see paperwork, and on paper, we weren't doing very well." See David Kesmodel, "Four Korean American Banks in Top Ranks of SBA Lending," *Los Angeles Times*, September 13, 2000.

[62]David Kesmodel, "Four Korean American Banks in Top Ranks of SBA Lending," *Los Angeles Times*, September 13, 2000. Also see Kate Berry, "Bank shot: Sung Won Sohn plans to diversify Hanmi by marketing outside the Korean community and selling products outside the real estate sector," *Los Angeles Business Journal*, June 20, 2005.

imperative that real estate prices must increase forever became the crucial source of payments security for the Korean American diaspora. Nearly 70% of portfolios of Korean American banks was in real estate.[63] Between 2000 and 2006, about five thousand housing units were constructed in the Wilshire Center/Koreatown Redevelopment Project Area,[64] and another two thousand luxury condominiums and several shopping and entertainment complexes were slated to be built over the next 3 years.[65] One of the most famous examples of Koreatown real estate bubble was the luxurious Aroma Wilshire Center of $US30 million.[66]

However, economic interdependence of South Korean and Korean American investors within a transnational Korean ethnic boundary could not prevent financial failures. Korean American banks traditionally have the image of financial institutions with a large appetite for risks that are not always successful. Eventually in the late 2000s, Korean American Banks in Los Angeles started experiencing plummeting stock prices because of a growing number of non-performing loans. The growing financial difficulties of the largest Korean American bank demonstrates unmanageable problem of balancing the economy and the ethnic boundary. On the one hand, reliance only upon ethnic resources eventually leads to a loss in competition on financial market. On the other hand, diversification of economic risks beyond ethnic boundary increases dependence of the Korean American diaspora on financial speculations and loss of control over sources of payments. One of the most famous examples of dependence on financial market dynamics is the bankruptcy of the Mirae Bank.

Mirae Bank is not the only one financial institution that suffered from the bubble burst. The deteriorating situation in the financial markets intensified competition in Koreatown for scarce monetary resources. Korean American community banks made different attempts to resolve the financial problems within the confines of the Korean diaspora. The only solution to avoid financial collapse was to further diversify their risks but within the framework of larger financial institutions of South Korea and the United States. From purely an economic perspective, this narrowing concentration of capital represented by monopolies was necessary to provide diversification of risks on a much larger scale since it meant that Korean American banks will increase its dependence on South Korean and mainstream American banks.[67]

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[63] *Los Angeles Business Journal*, August, 20 2007.

[64] Figures provided by CRA/LA, March 2008.

[65] *Los Angeles Business Journal*, April 30, 2007.

[66] Kyong Hwan Park and Young Min Lee, "Rethinking Los Angeles Koreatown: Multi-scaled Geographic Transition Since the Mid-1990s," *Journal of the Korean Geographical Society*, no. 42 (2), 2007, 196–217.

[67] The solution for Korean American Diaspora was external regulation. By the late 2000s it became clear that Korean American ethnic banks were loosing competition to mainstream banks and need external assistance not to go bankrupt. "The banks clustered along a mile-long stretch of Wilshire Boulevard still post signs in both Korean and English, and the tellers are bilingual. But the most competitive lenders have names like Bank of America Corp., Wells Fargo & Co., Credit Suisse and Lehman Bros." (*Los Angeles Times*, May 25, 2007).

Individual Korean Americans also suffered from the economic recession. Their losses from failures in individual mortgage payments following the real estate bust shows how "authentically" Korean American ethnic resources that used to be able to protect Korean immigrants could no longer avert the crisis today. During the real estate boom many Korean American households took out loans to purchase homes and when the bubble burst, borrowers could no longer make payments on those loans. The source of solvency for refinancing of credit depended not on the Korean American diaspora but on certain kind of anticipations in American society in general, that the price of real estate would constantly rise. After the bubble burst and prices on real estate started plummeting, the refinancing of debt was no longer possible and Korean American households started losing their homes.[68]

As a result, the Korean American diaspora became an example of increasing social inequality.[69] In spite of considerable flow of South Korean investments, many of the small business owners did not benefit from it and some even suffered. Dependence of the ethnic culture from credit stimulated economy demanded concentration of larger profits among few at the expense of others. In other words, the Korean American diaspora followed classic pattern of capitalist development by formation of financial monopolies, which in turn increased social inequality among them. For instance, rich Korean Americans deliberately live luxurious life in order to differentiate them from other Korean American and prove that they are better-off people.[70]

The future of the Korean American diaspora depends on how nationalism, ethnic/racial solidarity and economic interest will correlate in American society. As the United States enters into a period of a long-term economic downturn, the role of state will only increase in the absorbing risks from the economic system and centralization of decision making. On the one hand, the national boundary and the idea of cultural homogeneity will likely to prevail over ethnic boundaries and cultural heterogeneity. On the other hand, however, as the reliance on White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) values is no longer possible, this new nationalism will have to offer a new solution of how to handle society which is first, culturally

[68]"Like so many Korean immigrants, Ok Kee Shin worked hard for her American dream. She started her own dry-cleaning business in Glendale. She sent two children to University of Southern California. And finally in 2006, she and her husband bought their own home: a $US 600,000 La Crescenta rambler that was small but cozy, with a corner fireplace and backyard patio that brought the family together for meals, board games and lively conversations. But last year, as the recession cut deeply into Shin's business, she began looking for ways to modify her mortgage and ended up losing her home in what attorneys allege was a massive scam targeting Korean immigrants." (Teresa Watanabe, "Center Accuses Law Firm of Defrauding Korean Immigrants," *Los Angeles Times*, March 10, 2010).

[69]See for instance Alexander D., "No Middle: Koreatown has Exploded in a Glut of Glitzy Towers, but its Residents are among the most Impoverished in the County," (*Los Angeles City Beat*, May 12, 2005).

[70]Kyong Hwan Park and Young Min Lee, "Rethinking Los Angeles Koreatown: Multi-Scaled Geographic Transition Since the Mid-1990s," in *Journal of the Korean Geographical Society*, no. 42 (2), 2007, 210.

and racially diversified and second, society with declining middle class and increasing gap between rich and poor. If nationalism fails the local ethnic community or class identities (class of rich against class of poor) may once again become main form of concentration of economic and political resources.

4.1.3 Korean American Compensation of Social Inequalities

Korean American comedian Danny Cho's joke about his encounter with a homeless individual humorously illustrates a problem Korean Americans confront in their monetized ethnicity. Although the problem of poverty or the unequal distribution of scarcity risks that produces societal tensions is especially acute for Korean Americans, Cho creates distance between himself and the homeless by boldly declaring, "I hate homeless people." He furthers makes light of the subject by relating to his audience how this one homeless individual he encountered made fun of Cho's radar cap as the comedian was trying to get rid of this annoying individual. He further revealed the same homeless individual was confronted again, this time in Koreatown while Cho was drunk, resulting in the comedian's inadvertent urination upon that hapless individual since Cho thought he was a bush! Upon realizing his mistake, Cho says he fled the scene without his pants, much to the audience's laughter.

Cho's story brings home the point that no description would be complete without accounting for how the Korean American diaspora compensates for scarcity of money. The Korean American diaspora has different mechanisms of re-distribution of wealth among individuals who were unsuccessful on market. Social trust towards commercialized Korean American diaspora demands the presence of institutions that would compensate for the negative consequences of economic activities. These institutions help to decrease the social tensions that are likely to increase with the rise of inequality. There are two mechanisms of re-distribution payments—protest movements and charity. The example of re-distribution of payments through protest is evident in the Korean American Labor Associations, charity is best exemplified by the Korean American churches in Los Angeles as well as discourse of mainstream Korean American politicians.

The trust towards the Korean American diaspora in American society demands the presence of institutions that would compensate for the negative consequences of economic operations on a regular basis. Los Angeles Riots in 1992 demonstrated that it is impossible to ignore the persistent problems of American society such as racism, class disparities or inefficient government. It also showed that Korean American diaspora needed to new forms of wider and more active political participation instead of informal connections between ethnic elite of the small business associations and American government. Further presence of Korean Americans in American society demanded construction of their version of a mechanism that would permit to preserve these contradictions and at the same time reintroduce produced social disappointments as important source of motivation for further

pursue of "American dream". The constructed mechanism include two forms of reintegration of class and racial contradiction through Korean American protest movement and participation of Korean American politicians in American political mainstream.

Post LA-Riots Korean American protest movement demonstrated its strong reliance on racial and class differences. The new (1.5 and second) generation Korean American activists promoted the idea that the main reason of Riots was not race but class disparities and government inefficiency that they offered to resolve by constructing multiethnic/racial coalitions. However, the main source of motivation to mobilize people for protest was again racial distinction from white Americans. This permitted to reintroduce inability to resolve the problem of racial discrimination back into American political discourse as demand of social justice for discriminated groups but justified by racial boundaries between American white and non-white population. For instance, As Angela Oh, a spokesperson for the Korean American community after the LA-Riots spoke on the effect of the 1992 Los Angeles riots on the Korean-American community in a speech during the national convention of the Asian American Journalists Association on August 27, 1992: "It was the worst freaking riot or upraising or rebellion that this country has ever seen. And you know why? Because they do not know, what it should be. Why? Because they are white male, and they are surrounded predominantly by white male advisors. They do not have a clue!"

One of the most important examples of protest activities in California is The Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance (KIWA), previously known under its past name Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates. This is a multi-ethnic immigrant worker civil right organization based in the Los Angeles, Koreatown area best known for its successful anti-Assi protest.[71] KIWA is also a member organization of MIWON (Multi-Ethnic Immigrant Workers Alliance), an alliance of four (formerly five) immigrant workers' centers in the Los Angeles area, and ENLACE, a United States/Mexico network of workers' centers. It was established aftermath of the 1992 Los Angeles Riot by human right activist Danny Park and has since been involved in the campaigns to improve working conditions and immigrant worker empowerment mostly in Korean restaurants.[72] According to official site of KIWA, its purpose is "to empower Koreatown's low-wage immigrant workers and to develop a progressive constituency and leadership in the Koreatown community that can struggle in solidarity with other underrepresented communities in and beyond Koreatown."[73]

The mainstream Korean American political activists had to reconsider their ideological images. The successful political career demanded to focus on their competence to contribute to the balanced relations between different ethnic/racial

[71] *KoreAm*, February 29, 2008.

[72] Daisy See Ha, "An Analysis and Critique of KIWA's Reform Efforts in the Los Angeles Korean American Restaurant Industry," *Asian Law Journal*, no. 8 (1), May 2001, 111–152.

[73] See official site of Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance http://www.kiwa.org/.

groups in ethnically mixed communities of California that include both white and non-white population. In this sense, the careers of Jay Kim, the former member of the U.S. House of Representatives from California (Republican); Michelle Park Steel, former member of California State Board of Equalization (Republican); Steven Choi, Mayor of Irvine (Republican); Sukhee Kang, ex-Mayor of Irvine (Democrat) or Mary Chung Hayashi, Member of 18th Assembly District in the California State Legislature (Democrat) give example of successful adaptation of 1992 Riots legacy to appeal to wider American public and join political mainstream. For instance, ex-Mayor of Irvine Sukhee Kang, in the speech that he delivered to the graduating class of 2011 of University of California, Irvine summarized this political strategy: "Out of the flames of destruction came my personal inspiration to build—to build coalitions; to build friendships; to bridge gaps and create trust; to focus on the strength that diversity holds if we work together, not apart."

However, the careers of Korean American politicians refer to the paradox when their political success permitted to reintroduce racial discrimination and class differences in American society once again but in the new form. The criterion of political successes to represent interracially solidary and economically efficient communities is distinction from the cases where racial discrimination and poverty still exists. This is supposed to motivate the former to preserve their achievements and the latter to work harder to pursue their own American dream. The City of Irvine is again a good example of how successful middle class supposedly ethnically diverse community of 212,375 people where Whites (nearly 50%) and Asian American (nearly 40%) constitute absolute majority of population represent contrast with ethnically/racially more homogenous and much less economically successful ghettos of Southern California.

Besides, the stress on multiculturalism by mainstream Korean American politicians sometimes has opposite effect that racialize American politics. The attempt, as Sukhee Kang put it, "to work on both sides of the aisle" produce contradiction between self-positioning of Korean American politicians as a part of ethnic minority group and at the same time as adherents of ethnic diversity in the age of "post-racial America". This brings the racial discrimination back to American political discourse on one hand as the expectation of balanced ethnic diversity and on the other permit to interpret disappointment as a proof of racism. That is why when a successful Korean American politician try to distance him/herself from his/her ethnicity[74] it gives their political opponents an opportunity to blame them in exploitation of ethnic/racial factor to obtain additional voices in elections and at the same time gives a minority politician describe this criticism as a proof racial discrimination.

Korean American churches conduct a similar approach today in dealing with non-Koreans. Korean American religious institutions periodically organize teaching events in the poor neighborhoods of South Central, Los Angeles. This is supposed to help individuals who were economically excluded to return to the market. The

[74]Tony Barboza Irvine embraces diversity at the polls Los Angelese Times, November 09, 2008.

purpose of these programs is to cultivate the spirit of economic self-reliance. For instance, one of the largest Korean American congregations in Los Angeles, the Yong Nak Presbyterian Church has for more than 10 years organized free dinners for the homeless in downtown Los Angeles. Moreover, they organize job training and self-occupation programs for homeless called *Can, Can Play* Program.

The Korean American diaspora also provides economic opportunity for any racial group. Los Angeles Korean American Festival describes Korean American diaspora as opportunity for upward social mobility for other racial groups. The festival takes place every year from 1973 in Los Angeles in Seoul Peace Park and organized by the Los Angeles Korean Festival Foundation and it became popular local event in Koreatown. As mission of the Festival states that "Our marketing and promotional goals towards Korean-American community increased participation of the local organizations and other ethnic groups such as the African-American, Hispanic, and other Asian community groups' involvement."[75]

The Festival represents the Korean American diaspora as a universal source of economic security. The multicultural ideology demonstrates primacy of economic motivation and anticipation of payments over the ethnic boundary. During the Festival the Korean American diaspora appears as a market which is open for any investors. For most of the Mexican American participants of the Festival, the Korean American diaspora is a source of income. For instance, by cleaning the garbage during and after the Festival and selling Mexican sausages and balloons they obtain access to payments from the Korean American diaspora. Another example is that although the majority of products were Korean made the largest stall belonged to Toyota and McDonalds. The most popular one was the Hawaii chicken stall.

Despite the organizers' talk of economic opportunities for all regardless of racial or ethnic backgrounds, economic exclusion and inclusion coincides with racial boundaries. There was a strong contrast in economic sense between Korean American and Latin American or African American visitors of the Festival that I visited in 2008. In spite of multicultural ideology that promised ethnic and racial equality, there was no equality in access to economic security. For instance, many of those African Americans and Latin Americans who came to the Festival could not afford to purchase products sold there and mostly only watched the free performances. The extreme example was homeless African Americans who even did not attempt to enter inside, preferring instead to gaze with indifference at other people having fun while leaning on the iron fence outside of the Seoul International Garden.

4.1.4 *Korean American Commercialized Imagination: Between Nature and Culture*

In the opening scene of the famous comedy movie *They Call Me Bruce?* (1982) starring Korean American actor Johnny Yune, he arrives at his dying Chinese

[75] http://www.lakoreanfestival.com/ (Accessed on August 20, 2008).

philosopher-type grandfather's deathbed in Korea just in time for the old man's last words. Johnny promises that, "I'll make you proud of me. When I grow up, I'll make lots of money." However, grandfather corrects him, "Let me tell you, grandson. Money is not the most important thing in life. The most important thing is… broads… Broads!" Yune's satirical mockery of Korean Americans' preoccupation with money through obscene jokes reflects an important part of Korean American comedians and artists' image of those who attained commercial success in the United States. Their excessive attention to obscenity and vulgarity is not accidental but represents an extreme of form of representation in the capitalist worldview where the contradiction between nature and culture is a crucial element in the construction of an ethnic boundary.

Korean American artists also reflected the monetization of ethnicity. Since early 1990s second and third generation of the third wave of Korean Americans joined entertainment market and some eventually became successful in Hollywood where they expressed their worldview that reduced the Korean American diaspora to different kinds of economic expectations. In particular, they subscribed to one of the most common forms of economic description of a diaspora—the idea of upward economic mobility and integration within the mainstream of American society. They justified artistically the predominance of economic boundaries over racial and ethnic boundaries. In addition, the Korean American artists imagined and presented as desirable market regulation over family and religion in determining boundary lines, with all its possible consequences for individuals. This section attempts to illustrate with some examples of the typical forms of descriptions of the Korean American diaspora as a glamorous and economically successful community, demonstrating the importance of how economic rationality of payments is the most suitable and the most universal form description of a society.

In order to reassure presence of economic motivation at the center of individual worldview imagination usually operates with contradictions in self-referential manner between nature and culture and between economic and non-economic expectations. The first contradiction between nature and culture is crucial to draw attention to particular image of human body as a source of needs for economy. The second one draws attention to scarcity risks that force individual to pursue upward economic mobility. For example, reference to universality of so-called "human nature" appears as an important instrument to overcome coerciveness of ethnic boundaries that limits individual freedom. However, proclaimed primacy of nature also limits freedom that this time forces individual to refer to particularity of ethnic culture to resist "universality" of nature. Achievement of economic success is usually possible at the expense in different spheres of life that prevents from enjoying wealth and thus produces disappointments. Disappointed expectations return as moral compassion towards ignored aspects of individual life or as religious sense of guilt (sin) that again forces individual to make choice between economic and non-economic motivation. It also works in opposite direction when claim of non-economic spheres primacy produces conflict with economic rationality because when ignorance of economic opportunities puts individual in situation of scarcity those forces to purchase accumulation of capital.

The contradiction between nature and culture has two applications. Both applications are important to adjust an ethnic culture to a purely economic rationale. The central idea of this rationale is the domination of the private over the public sphere. It means that the individual and not society is a starting point of all social actions in general and for the Korean American diaspora in particular. This demands first, an image of the human body as the material supply of needs for economy[76] and second, a sufficient degree of decentralization of decision making about how these needs can be satisfied. Through the use of obscene jokes, excessive attention to sex and family issues help artists to overcome internalized coercion that prevents an individual from a free expression of his or her needs. The object of their jokes depends on the source of this internalized coercion, which can be culture or nature. For instance, in case of Margaret Cho, the coercive culture is represented by ethnic tradition and the coercive nature by race or gender that she opposes through her obscene jokes.

Idea of selfishness is necessary to justify domination of the private space over the public. Korean American comedian Margaret Cho refers to selfishness because it plays important role in her performances. She refers to the human body as a starting point of all processes in society. For example, one man commented on the performances of Margaret Cho, "What everybody said about you is right. You are a selfish bitch, and you deserve to die alone," to which she replied that "selfishness is the right of all of us who struggle."[77] Being depicted in a negative way is racism in action, as if self-realization—the dreaming of dreams, the achieving of goals, the living out of rewards—is only bestowed upon the modest, the un-ambitious, the passive, the oblivious. "Selfishness needs to be reclaimed as a tool for empowerment, so that we might all one day live in a world where class can transcend race, where the color of your skin does not affect the color of your money, or the color of the upholstery on your couch. That we are selfish gives us the opportunity to gain the power so that, in time, we might be selfless."[78]

The career of Margaret Cho as entertainer began from attempt to prove domination of private space over public. The central idea of ABC situational comedy *All American Girl* (1994) where Margaret Cho played the main role was the struggle depicted in humoristic manner against the coerciveness of Korean family and traditions. The drama revolves around a young Korean American girl named Margaret Kim (Margaret Cho) who tries to organize her private life while other members of her Korean American family, especially her mother, tries to organize her life for her, in accordance with Korean traditions. These traditions include requirements such as she must do what her parents say; she must date only Korean boys with good career prospects; and to be a modest respectful girl and mother.

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[76]Niklas Luhmann, *Love as Passion*, translated by Doris L. Jones (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), 250.

[77]Margaret Cho, *I Have Chosen to Stay and Fight* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2005), 82.

[78]Ibid.

In opposition to that, Margaret Kim challenges the authority of Korean culture with the help of humor. She wants to show that individual expectations are what really matter and others have to accept that reality. Every episode is an act of emancipation of her true identity from familial coercion and tradition. Profanation of the ethnic culture permits her to decentralize the decision-making process and make private space dominant over the public space. For instance, each episode has a similar structure. It begins with an attempt impose a stereotypical pattern of behavior in absurd form on Margaret Kim or other siblings in her family or her friends. However, at the end it fails because individual identity appears to be not only incompatible with collective identity but also superior to the latter.

Cho employs a similar approach in dealing with non-Koreans. Her racial characteristics as a Korean American and an Asian American serve as the starting point for imagining the culture of her people and to give her a privileged part in deciding what is culturally authentic and what is not. If ethnic or racial symbols are used by outsiders they are perceived as coercive (i.e., as stereotypes) or as a form of domination because they prevent individuals from assuming new risks. In a joke about Asian chicken salad, Cho shows the arbitrary character of an ethnic tradition by making fun of the stereotyped image of Asian people for a non-Asian audience. In the show entitled *Revolution* (2003), Cho jokingly says, "I was on a plane, and the steward was coming down the aisle saying. 'Asian chicken salad…Asian chicken salad…Asian chicken salad…' And he gets to me and he's like, '…chicken salad!' What does he think I'm gonna do? … Dis is not de salad of my people! In my homeland, dey use mandarin orange slices…and crispy wonton crunches!"

Portrayal of Korean Americans as victims of social coercion is another approach in promoting the domination of private sphere. In a series of humorous sketches *Average Asian* starring another mainstream Korean American comedian Bobby Lee from "*MADtv*," an American sketch comedian television series broadcasted on Fox in the late 1990s, suffers from that his Caucasian and African American friends' refusal to perceive him as an average American guy because of his oriental appearance. They expect him to behave according to the stereotypic image of an Asian man while he unsuccessfully tries to prove them that he is just an average person. This represents the coerciveness of race as an absurdity and a meaningless phenomenon. For instance, in a date scene, his white girlfriend asks him where he came from, hoping to hear an Asian country in response. Instead, he answers that he is from Boston. The girl starts hysterically laughing and says, "Right, you were the only Asian on the *Mayflower*."

Domination of private needs may go to the extreme of physiological reductionism. In famous comedy movie *Kumar and Harold Go to White Castle* (2004) the social inclusion of two Asian Americans (Asian Indian and Korean American) into American society and relations among them obtain a vulgar physiological description. After smoking cannabis they watch an advertisement of a fast food restaurant, "White Castle" where white women dressed like cowboys are riding a sausage. On their way to "White Castle," they face different obstacles created by white people that they must overcome. In addition, the relations between two main heroes are full of homosexual connotations. For instance, the story ends up in the

restaurant where the scene of how they eat hamburgers is supposed to represent their integration into American society but is recorded and presented as if it was sexual intercourse.[79]

Nature can also be a source of coercion for Korean American performing artists. Margaret Cho describes gender differences as false boundaries because they appear as obstacles for satisfaction of her individual needs. Her main targets are male authority and straight sex. These are two patterns of sexual culture which is the source of all social coercion. Male in particular and all straight people impose fixed gender boundaries, boundaries are unimaginable without relations of power because any difference is based on cultural boundaries and boundaries are socially constructed and thus coercive. To deconstruct those boundaries, Margaret Cho uses obscene humor to demonstrate that individual needs do not have any boundaries.[80] For instance, one of the popular themes in her performances is menstruation. In the show titled *Notorious C.H.O* (2002), she compares straight men, such as truck drivers with gay men in their imagined reaction of having menstrual cycles.[81] In the same show, she challenges male authority by performing her mother's stories about her "gay daddy."[82]

Race as biological phenomenon is another object for satire. Margaret Cho relates a number of jokes where she pokes fun at stereotypes that people with similar racial characteristics allegedly share since they supposedly belong to the same culture and community. Margaret Cho's aim is to make racial boundaries an object of satire because of its coercive nature. For example in the show "Revolution" (2003), speaking about Asian American stereotyping Cho says, "I get nervous when people say to me, 'I just can't tell any of you Asians apart!' Um, why do you have to tell us apart? Are we gonna be separated for some reason? I can't tell us apart! I was not born with a chip in my neck that would automatically identify every Asiatic person that I would come across, *beebeebeebeebeep* Filipino."

The problem of identification raised by Cho is further clouded by the example of Korean adoptees. They represent a double paradox of the nature/culture contradiction. The questions, "Who I am?" and "What defines family?" are central for the Korean adoptees as people of different race and culture from their foster parents that cannot be resolved within cultural pattern of American kinship. Korean adoptees cannot fall back on the American solution when on the one hand it is man's fate to

[79]Another example is a book by David Yoo *Girls for Breakfast* (New York: Random House Children's Books, 2006) where main character Nick Park tries to fit mainstream American society by having sexual intercourse with white girls.

[80]Paraphrasing Bakhtin's idea of the carnival, physiological processes are opposed to socially imposed inequalities, See Mikhail Bakhtin, *Tvorchestvo François Rabelais e narodnaya kultura srednevekovya e renesansa* [Rabelais and Folk Culture of the Middle Ages and Renaissance] (Moscow: Khudozhestvennay Literatura, 1965), 10, 236.

[81]The reason she gives for speaking about her periods on the stage is that "if Richard Pryor had a period, he would talk about it." See *Notorious C.H.O* (2002).

[82]*Notorious C.H.O* (2002).

"dominate nature, to control it, to use nature powers for his ends"[83] but on the other, to totally rely on nature in defining family members and kinship. The reason why they cannot do it is because of the lack of biological ties between adoptee and adopted parents save for that of cultural (nurture) ties. The opposite is true for Korean parents (biological parents) with whom they share only biological ties but do not share a common cultural background. In other words, each side in the worldview of Korean adoptees represents only one side of the distinction that prevents the construction of kinship. American parents represent only the cultural component without the biological connection whereas the Korean parents represent only biological component without cultural linkage. The question is thus how to unite both sides into one contradiction not as individuals but as mutually exclusive distinctions?

The solution to this paradox is paradoxical in a double sense. It means that a Korean adoptee must repeat the paradox of American kinship twice in their interpretation of their family. In order to make the notion of family meaningful, the adoptee symbolically constructs the missing sides of the distinction between nature and culture both in the adopted family and the biological family. They claim the primacy of culture over nature in case of adopted families and the primacy of nature over culture in the case of the biological family. These very contradictions make both families meaningful and the idea of family meaningful. For instance, on the one hand Korean adoptees try to convince themselves and others that their real parents (in spite of absence of biological ties) are adopted ones because they were the ones who took care of them, that is nurtured them, thus demonstrating the dominance of culture. On the other hand, they demonstrate a high motivation and exert considerable effort towards simply finding their biological parents, especially mothers in Korea with whom they do not share the same culture nor language but only biological ties.

This contradiction appears in different variations. One can make trip to Korea to see one's own biological mother, as in the documentary *Going Home* (2009, USA) directed by Jason Hoffman that tells a story about a Korean male adoptee from a Jewish family in New York who went to Korea in search of his biological mother. Another documentary *Resilience* (2009) directed by Tammy Chu represents the reverse where the biological mother tries to reconnect with her son. The more radical example is *First Personal Plural* (2001) a documentary directed by Deann Borshay Leim where main heroine brings her adopted parents from America to Korea where they meet with her biological parents.[84]

Korean American movie director Michael Kang's debut film "The Motel" (2005) is good example to mention to show correlation between human nature, American household and pressure of upward social mobility. This coming-of-age movie based

[83]David Murray Schneider, *American Kinship*: A Cultural Account (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 107.

[84]All movies were a part of *Korean Adoption Film Festival* on October 29–30, 2010 at the UMass Boston campus.

on a book "Waylaid" (2002) of Taiwanese American writer Ed Lin tells the story of 13 years boy Ernest Chin living with his mother, grandfather and younger sister who run the hourly-rate hotel where stream of prostitutes and their clients come and go. Throughout the film, Ernest Chin resists against double pressure of upward social mobility personified by his mother and biological pressure of puberty personified by hotel's guest Sam Kim, a young Korean American man. The films shows that successful development of Ernest's personality demands reintegration of both pressures into his identity in a meaningful way when sexual desires and desire of success become balanced within boundaries of American household. Mother forces son to abandon writing which he likes and instead work harder in school while he shows no interests but strictly suppresses his sexual desires that often obtain incestual forms. On the other hand, Sam Kim encourages boy to pursue pleasure in life as man with high appetite for risk and free sex. However, Ernest feels that pursue of both without sincerity produce nothing but disappointments. This provokes him to symbolically expel his mother by strongly insulting her and actually expel Korean American male from hotel. In the ending scene Ernest returns to hotel's office where he meets his mother. Mother, filled with emotions, is looking at son hardly hiding her tears. She read his writings and now understands true feeling of her son. Ernest feels embarrassed by this emotional proximity with his mother. Absence of his biological and symbolical father (Sam Kim) as well as presence of grandfather (man without sexual energy) means that from now there is no intermediate body that would divide Ernest from his mother. This newly established emotional proximity turns biological ties into legitimate basis for pursuing of both upward social mobility and satisfaction of his natural sexual desires outside family boundaries.

In the final scene of the comedy movie *They Call Me Bruce?* (1982) Johnny Yune finally finds "the most beautiful girl" that his grandfather asked him to find before he died. Grandfather met this girl in New York and when he worked as a sailor in the Merchant Marine. Johnny Yune and the woman who accompanied him discover that this lady lives on Liberty Island in New York Harbor and that she is also known as Statue of Liberty. The love and symbolic marriage between Johnny Yune and Liberty means that his integration into American society is both a private and collective issue.[85] He is integrated as individual and not as a member of the Korean American diaspora. It means that his individual needs is a starting point of his life in the United States where he has an chance to enjoy economic opportunities in American society and economic security of an American household. When they were about to leave the Statue of Liberty suddenly starts speaking with human voice. She calls Bruce and says, "Bruce! Don't forget the most important thing in life!"

[85]Love needs highly personal form of communication based on intimacy and trust. See Niklas Luhmann, *Love as Passion*: The Codification of Intimacy, 17.

4.1.5 Korean American Bittersweet Life

In the famous South Korean movie *A Bittersweet Life* (2005) the main hero Kim Sun Woo (Lee Byung Hun) at the end of the movie recounts to himself a short story before he dies, "one late autumn night, the disciple woke up crying. Seeing this, the master asked his disciple. Did you have a nightmare? No. Then, did you have a sad dream? No, the disciple said. I had a sweet dream. Then why, the master asked, are you crying so sadly? The disciple answered quietly, while wiping the tears from his face. I'm crying because, the dream I had can never come true." This story reflects the way how the Korean American diaspora pursued American dream. The struggle for sweet life represented by American Dream brings not only sweetness but also bitterness to the lives of Korean Americans.

The sweetness traditionally plays an important role in modern Western cultures. Modern Western society was the only one in the human history that used so much sugar in its daily cuisine. Western world mobilized large numbers of peoples around the globe in the sugar industry who supplied Western civilization with large amounts of sugar. And most of Korean immigrants of the first wave worked on sugar plantations on Hawaii where they became a part of global sugar industry. The experience of sweetness with sugar was a material analogy of the Christian salvation that every individual could achieve. For instance, American anthropologist Sidney Mintz in his classic work *Sweetness and Power* (1986) shows that desire of physiological experience of sweetness[86] is closely connected with modernization and especially capitalist modernization:

> "The desire for sweet substances spread and increased steadily; many different products were employed to satisfy it, and cane sugar's importance therefore varied from time to time."[87] … "Refined sugar thus became a symbol of the modern and industrial. It early came to be viewed in this way, penetrating one cuisine after another, accompanying or following on westernization" or "modernization" or "development". Sucrose turns up as a pioneering and popular sign of "progress" among Native North Americans, Eskimos, Africans, and Pacific Islanders."[88]

However, the very idea of progress and modernization rests on a moral paradox. It shows that what is good for the economy is not necessarily what is good for society. Similar to the paradox of economy that simultaneously increases abundance and scarcity, pursuit of the sweet life also presupposes simultaneous growth of sweetness and bitterness in the lives of individuals. On the one hand, comfort in life is supposed to come from modernization that requires a constant increase of the

[86]See Ronald Takaki, *Strangers From a Different Shore*: *A History of Asian Americans* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1989), 72, 137.

[87]Sydney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*: The Place of Sugar in Modern History (New York: Penguin Books, 1985), xxv.

[88]Ibid., 193.

division of labor.[89] On the other hand, it is the division of labor that prevents individuals from fully enjoying this comfort. The theory of the division of labor leads to a moral paradox which is to say that on the one hand, society with its division of labor (civilization) is richer and more powerful than a primitive society, but on the other hand, the people in society with higher division of labor have to waste their lives doing stupid and monotonous work.[90]

This moral paradox between sweetness and bitterness was already present for the first wave of Korean American diaspora in Hawaii and California.[91] On the one hand, they tried to escape from the bitter experience of a miserable life in Korea in the hope of a sweet life in America. On the other hand, their labor on the sugar plantation was far from sweet. On the contrary, it was very monotonous, exhausting, low paid work without prospects for promotion or advancement.[92] For instance, one woman recalls the hard work in Hawaii, "the sugar cane fields were endless and the stalks were twice the height of myself. Now that I look back, I thank goodness for the height, for if I had seen how far the fields stretched, I probably would have fainted from knowing how much work was ahead. My waistline got slimmer and my back [crooked] from bending all the time to cut the sugar cane."[93]

A similar experience of the moral paradox confronted the third wave of the Korea American diaspora. The pursuit of the American Dream by many Korean American entrepreneurs demanded physically and mentally exhausting labor without any guarantee of success[94] but only the prospect of downward mobility.[95] Most of them were self-employed in small businesses where they had to rely on

[89]See for instance, the work of French economist from Enlightenment Era Jean-Baptiste Say (1767–1832). Jean-Baptiste Say, "Of the Advantage and Disadvantages Resulting from Division of Labour, and of the Extent to Which It May Be Carried," *A Treatise on Political Economy* (Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1821), 72–90.

[90]Niklas Luhmann, *Die Wirtschaft der Gesellschaft*, 221; Also see Niklas Luhmann, "Arbeitsteilung und Moral. Durkheim Theorie," in *Durkheim*, *Emile*: Uber Soziale Arbeitsteilung. Studie Uber Die Organisation Hoherer Gesellschaften (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1988), 19–38.

[91]See for instance the book of memoirs of Korean women Mary Park Lee about her life in California in early twentieth century, Mary Paik Lee, *Quiet Odyssey*: A Pioneer Korean Woman in America (University of Washington Press, 1990), 103–117.

[92]The wages were sixty-five cents for men and fifty cents for women for a 10-h working day. See Won Moo Hurh *The Korean Americans*, 38.

[93]Ronald T. Takaki, *Pau Hana*: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835–1920 (University of Hawaii Press, 1984), 60.

[94]Fifty percent of all Korean American small businesses failed in the first 2 years. See Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Women and Men*: Labor, Laws, and Love (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 82.

[95]Kye Young Park gives the standard example of how Korean American small business owners perceive their work as monotonous and without clear perspectives. For instance, an owner of dry cleaner complains about the heat and the long working hours from seven in the morning to seven in the evening. He finds the work tedious and repetitious. Another greengrocer points to downward mobility of his occupation saying, "all we had to deal is rotten tomatoes." See Kye Young Park, *The Korean American Dream*: Immigrants and Small Business in New York City, 53–54.

their own labor and the labor of their families. In addition, they had to work under strong pressure from manufacturers and in stiff competition with other merchants they competed with who often undercut the prices of Korean small businesspersons, which in turn meant more hard work for less money.[96] For instance, a second generation Korean American describes the lives of his parents, "growing up, you know the air you breathe in your house is not free … when your parents come home at night, you know they weren't out at clubs. They come home and they can't put food in their mouths fast enough, and then they go to sleep so they can wake up six hours later to go back work."[97]

The main work motivation of Korean American entrepreneurs was economic security for their children. They were ready to sacrifice the comforts of life for themselves and instead save for the future of their children. Economically speaking, intra-generational upward economic mobility was possible when the older generation withdrew its money from immediate consumption in order to invest money in the younger generations so that they can increase wealth. As famous Korean American writer Chang Rae-lee, a second generation, says that for many parents, their personal pleasure is irrelevant: "I guess they would say that the suffering is not an issue, there is no need to talk about that. Why complain if my children lives are better."[98]

Korean American parents often expected from their children similar economic-centered behavior. Many of the parents in Korean American families encouraged their children to go to forego immediate pleasures and instead pursue entry into prestigious universities to facilitate their careers as lawyers, medical workers or government officials.[99] The logic of pursuit of the American Dream demands a constant increase of wealth and upward mobility at the expense of immediate gratification or comfort. Eun Young Kim relates the common set of expectation of parents towards their children, "immigrants should make it through hard work in the their own business, children of immigrants who were born in the United States or came to the United States at a young age therefore do not have language barriers should study hard, go to the most prestigious schools and become professionals."[100]

Many of the second generation among the Korean American diaspora believe that they can change the idea of inevitable bitterness of labor. They think that they can somehow combine productive labor with entertainment. That is why, the one of the most popular occupations among the younger generation of Korean Americans is not the hard, monotonous work in small businesses, and not even as lawyers or medical workers like their parents expected them to be. Instead, many find or try to

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[96]*The Los Angeles Times*, August 23, 1995.

[97]Jeffrey Goldberg, "The Overachievers," in *New York Magazine*, April 10, 1995, 50.

[98]Ibid., 52.

[99]Jamie Lew, *Asian Americans in Class*: Charting the Achievement Gap Among Korean American Youth (New York: Teachers College Press, 2006), 27–32.

[100]Eun Young Kim, "Career Choices among Second Generation Korean Americans," *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, no. 24 (3), 1993, 231.

find work in the entertainment and the service sector. Their enjoyment comes from the opportunity for individual self-expression and the illusion of happiness that this kind of work promises. Hence, many younger Koreans favor work in fashion industry as designers or models, show business industry as actors, singers or cartoonists, and the IT industry as web or game designers.

The illusion that labor and enjoyment is possible to combine originates from trends in American and global economy. Many of the second generation Korean Americans entered labor market in the late 1980s and the early 1990s when on the one hand the service, IT, financial sectors and entertainment started playing a more crucial role in the economy of the United States than previous. On the other hand, the physical industrial labor was outsourced abroad, reducing jobs in the blue-collar, manufacturing sector for this generation of Korean Americans. Hence, they grew up believing the idea that information technologies could make life better. Their idea is based on denying the physical cost of access, creation, production, and maintenance of computer networks, technologies[101] and this in turn made many of them think that if the problem of scarcity is no longer relevant they can concentrate their efforts on self-expression and entertainment and at the same time make money on it.

One of the examples of this trend is Korean American graphic designer Ben Huh. He was born in Seoul and moved to Sacramento, California when he was 14 years old.[102] Ben Huh was named by *Fast Magazine* among one hundred to the most creative people in business for the year 2010.[103] Ben Huh achieved commercial success as the owner of popular weblog *I Can Has Cheezburger?* (ICHC for short).[104] This is user-generated content weblog that features *lolcats* which is a set of comical pictures of cats with captions or *failblog* that features pictures and videos with captioned with the words "fail," "epic fail" or "you doing it wrong" for individuals failing at a given activity.

However, it is Korean American entertainment industry that rise the problem of the universality of money and its correlation with other aspects of society. Many Korean American artists try to present their own interpretation of how the market can correlate with family, love, and religion, the non-economic spheres of the Korean American diaspora. The main problem with the application of money to other spheres of life is, on the one hand, the indifference of money to individualities and, on the other, the freedom that money gives to individuals. For instance, the movies like *Never Forever* (1998), *Better Luck Tomorrow* (2002), *The Agent* (2008), *West 32nd* (2007), *Ktown Cowboys* (2010) and mainstream reality shows like *Ktown Reality Show* (2011) and other movies try to justify greater commercialization of the Korean American diaspora as a universal solution or try to show the positive and negative consequences of market regulation.

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[101]Michael Betancourt, *The Aura of the Digital* from CTheory.net. May 9, 2006.

[102]*Techflash. Seattle's Technology News Sourse*, November 6, 2008.

[103]See http://www.fastcompany.com/100/ (Accessed on March 10, 2010).

[104]http://icanhascheezburger.com/ (Accessed on February 18, 2011).

Korean American movie director David Kim presents his imagination of how a commercialized Korean American church would look like. In a short movie *The Agent* directed by David Kim and presented in San Diego, California at the Ninth Annual San Diego Asian Film Festival in October, 2008, the author plays out in a humoristic manner his total reliance on the church for economic regulation and its possible consequences. According to the author, only market regulation in radical sense may help Korean American churches survive in the modern world. The main hero, a Korean American ex-pastor named Tyler Crashman, gives his "fresh" ideas of how to increase the economic efficiency of Korean American churches. First of all, he comes up with the idea of establishing a system of pastoral hiring similar to professional sport players. Second, in order to attract young people to church he offers hip-hop pastors and advises them to use Harry Potter instead of the Bible because "by referring to popular books you can connect your audience a lot better." Third, in order to collect offerings churches should add ATM swipe machines because "it increases offering up to 70%" and in a "paperless society where everybody has credit cards," this innovation is logical. Fourth, Crashman recommends adding a couple of Caucasians in the Korean American church membership so that "you can call yourself multiethnic and appeal to wider demographic. … More people mean more offerings." Eventually he concludes that it is the God's will to regulate church economically:

> I think we have all made sacrifice in life for the greater good.
>
> And in this case the greater good is really great. I mean it's for God! How are going to argue with that? I know I can't.

Money is also a solution for problems in the family. Korean movie director Gina Kim in her work *Never Forever* (2007) that won the Jury Prize at the Deauville Film Festival in 2007, reduces the relationship between a man and a woman to a sequence of payments. The rich white woman who cannot have children with her Asian American husband decides to pay money to a poor Korean American immigrant male to have sex with, and impregnate her. This act is supposed to save the future of her marriage. The emphasis on payment is important to avoid unnecessary consequences of this affair. She makes a single, final payment which means that there will be no more payments from her and thus no further relations between her and the immigrant male. She even exhibits poor memory and fails to recall why she paid out the money, suggesting that money somehow erases the history of the past affair as if it never happened.

Popular web series *Ktown Cowboys* (2010) tell the story of how friendship, love, and ethnic solidarity may become the reasons to spend money. This movie was presented at Los Angeles Asian Pacific Film Festival in the year of 2010 and won "Best First Feature" award. The movie was directed by Daniel "DPD" Park and famous Korean American comedian Danny Cho who was the film's writer and also took part in it as an actor. Their purpose was to offer a most realistic portrayal of Koreatown. It tells the story of Johnny (Lanny Joon), a young Korean American from Richmond, Virginia, who finds himself transplanted to Los Angeles'

Koreatown. Having been recently dumped by his girlfriend and with no immediate job prospects, Johnny is taken under the wing of his cousin Jason and his motley crew of partyhoppers who are dedicated to having a good time. As Lanny Joon, who played the main hero Johnny, observed "we're getting comments like, "This is so stereotypical." In a sense, yes, it is. But it's just a bunch of dudes hanging out, eating and drinking. If that's a stereotype, then I guess it's a stereotype."[105]

The dynamics of ethnic solidarity follows the dynamics of consumption. The actors visit different entertainment spots in Koreatown where each spot represents different aspects of their personalities and shows further evolution of human relations within this group of young people. The introduction of Johnny as a new member begins in the restaurant where they first get know each other and meet Korean American girls. Then they go to a disco bar where fighting for girls with other group of young Korean Americans strengthens their in-group male solidarity. Eventually, movie reaches its climax in a *karaoke* bar where Johnny realizes that he found his love and best friends in Los Angeles Koreatown.

However, what is good for economy is not necessarily good for Korean American individuals. The famous American drama *Better Luck Tomorrow* (2002) tells the story of a group of young people of Asian Americans who engage in the world of crime to reach material success. Their purpose is money as a universal measurement of success. However, money has their own logic which is indifferent to expectations of individuals that eventually has a devastating effect on the lives of young people. The criminal life group member follows the sequence of payments. Demand for easy money in larger amounts forces them to participate in crimes netting larger amounts of money if uncaught. The group began from a cheat-sheet operation in school and continued with drug sales and eventually ended up with murder. Eventually, they permanently split up and one of them became physically disabled after unsuccessful attempt at suicide.

Michael Kang in his movie *West 32nd* (2007) takes a different approach to describing the negative impact of economy on the lives of individuals. The movie was presented at Tribecca Movie Festival in the year of 2007. It talks about a lawyer named John Kim (John Cho), second generation Korean American, who takes the case of 14 years old Korean boy charged with first degree murder. During his investigation of the case John gets mixed up in the world of Korean gangsters in Koreatown, New York city. John Kim wants to overcome his alienation from Korean Americans by displaying values such as justice and ethnic solidarity. Instead he feels excluded from the world of Korean Town where only sex and money keep people together. As Michael Kang writes that he tried to depict this contradiction between alienation and attraction to community in this movie, "when I moved to New York, I found a rich Korean community that both attracted me and alienated me. *West 32nd* came from wanting to explore this relationship."[106]

[105] *KoreAm*, July 13, 2010.

[106] See director's statement on the official site of "West 32nd" http://www.w32nd.com/.

John Kim emphasizes that he is not interested in financial side of the case. He wants to help not because of money or to improve performance of his lawyer agency of public defenders. He wants to help his ethnic counterparts, a poor Korean American family to save their son from jail and restore justice and in some sense to restore ethnic solidarity because he feels alienated from it. John Kim has little to do with Korea and Korean Americans, and barely speaks the Korean language. He believes these motives are the strongest in society. For instance, the sister of accused Korean boy Lila Lee (Grace Park) and asks John Kim (John Cho) about his motivation. She says, "you came out of nowhere and say that your firm is going to help us for free. Why?" He answers, "because we can beat this."

However, in the end money overweighs everything else. Almost all participants eventually benefit economically but this victory has devastating effect on their lives. John Kim discovers that a Korean boy whom he was going to defend was actually guilty of murder. He also discovers that Mike Juhn (Kim Jun Sung), a street mobster whom he meets during the investigation, orchestrated this murder. Mike Juhn usually uses young gang members as contract killers because as he says there is no death penalty in Queens [Borough, New York] for ethnic minorities. In order to avoid arrest for murder and to keep the position of a money launderer for Korean mafia, Mike Juhn kills a woman who he loved because she turned a witness against him about his previous crime. John Kim also receives the chance to improve performance of his agency. He saves a life from prison a young gang member, an older brother of previously accused Korean boy, whom Mike Juhn left to die after he was shot during assault on a hostess bar in Koreatown.

4.2 "Moral (Dis) Content" of Korean Diaspora in Japan

Famous Korean writer Yi Kwang Su (Japanese name Mitsuro Kayama) once said, "Korea is a reflection of Japanese defects."[107] These words aptly capture the meaning of the Japanese Korean diaspora for Japanese society where morality plays crucial role in regulation of ethnic discrimination risks. Moralization of the Japanese Korean diaspora bears a close relationship with expectations of Japanese society. The Japanese Korean diaspora are an example of the moral self-description of Japanese society, represented as authentically the Japanese Korean. Reliance on moral rationality does not mean that members of the Japanese Korean diaspora and Japanese society live in harmony. Morality does not possess socially integrating properties because of its polemic side it is laden with conflict that can depict potentially all social distinctions as moral contradictions.[108] It means that, they

[107]Quote from Kyeong Sik Park, *Zainichichōsenjin undōshi*: 8–15 kaihō-mae [The History of Japanese Korean Movement: 8–15 Before Liberation] (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobō, 1979), 72.

[108]Niklas Luhmann, *Social Systems*, 235.

often conflict with one another and view each other with suspicion, based on the assumption that the other is guilty of violating the norms of morality.

For example, the cases of social and economic exclusion motivates Japanese Koreans to mobilize its members for protest movements to demand compensations legitimized by the moralized image of Koreans in Japan as victims of discrimination. This does not always produce compassion among Japanese public but very often produces social irritations and eventually counter-protest movements that are also legitimized by moralized image of Japanese society as victim of Japanese Korean demands of compensations. Eventually this gives opportunity to Japanese Koreans to refer to unsuccessful attempts to obtain compensations and the cases of counter protest movement as a new proof of ongoing discrimination against their community. It means that they can use these cases to construct new moralized image of Japanese Koreans as victim of Japanese discrimination to motivate people for further protest movement, and start this cycle of moral discontent once again.

4.2.1 Moralization of Japanese Korean Diaspora

From a very early period, Japanese Koreans became defined as "impure." The Japanese created a system of moral rationality during the pre-modern era of feudalism when the need arose for a means of self-description of Japanese society from the point of view of the presence or absence of social pathologies. Their thought system which had already begun in the feudal period and modernization during Meiji Restoration identified the presence of the so-called "dirty people" inside Japanese society who resided from the twelfth century until the early twentieth century[109] when the central government officially abolished all classes based on occupation.[110] Although no longer officially recognized after 1871, their idea of "dirty-people" such as the *burakumin* in feudal Japan and *baekjeong* in feudal Korea was to supply motivation for all members of Japanese society to maintain their own "purity" and avoid "dirt." They applied the dichotomy of "pure" and "impure" to the description of the cultural differences between Japanese and Koreans in Japanese society, offering a powerful motive for average Japanese to conduct themselves in an morally good way especially in politics, economics,

[109]Haruko Wakita, *Nihon jūyo hisabetsumin no kenkyū* [The Study on Discriminated Groups in Middle Ages Japan] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2002). On Korean *baekjeong* see *Joseonsidae saramdeur eun eotteoke sarasseulkka*: *sahoe, gyeongje, saenghwar iyagi* [How People Lived in Joseon Period: Society, Economy and Daily Life] (Seoul: Cheongnyeonsa, 2005), 85–86.

[110]See Edict Abolishing Ignoble Classes (*Senmin Haishirei*) on October 12, 1971. According to Satoshi Uesugi abolishment of feudal classes was dictated by growing necessity of work force for Japanese capitalism. See Satoshi Uesugi, *Meijiishin to senmin haishi rei* [Meiji Revolution and Abolishment of Outcast Group Status] (Kaihō shuppansha, 1990).

education, and religion. Hence, they cast Koreans in a similar light as the "dirty people" *chōsenjin-buraku*[111] in Japan.

Yet, the discourse of "harmony" described Korea as a part of Japanese Empire. Under Japanese occupational rule during the 1920s, the idea of "Korean Harmony" (*naisen yūwa*) or "harmony" between Japan and Korea (*nissen ittai*) legitimized a moral regulation of social risks in terms of cultural differences between Korea and Japan and further transformed into *The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere* (*dai tōa kyōei ken*) with the same principle applying to many societies.[112] Within this model of social reorganization other societies were pathological deviations from the newly modernized Japanese culture.[113] This legitimized the position of Japan as subject of modernization and Korean as an object of modernization. Prince Hirofumi Ito,[114] the first Resident-General of Korea in February 1909 represented this not as external domination but as a preventive measure to keep Korean people from deviating moral norms, an occupation which he characterized as "protection" (*higo*) instead. Ito claimed, "Korea cannot maintain its independence because of its weakness, whatever Korean people say that they can do that they cannot; the truth is that without Japanese protection Korea will not be able to progress."[115]

Representation of Japanese Koreans as a part of the Japanese Empire was an attempt to reduce the risk of massive social deviations. The notion of "Korean harmony" appeared right after the massacre of Korean residents in Tokyo following the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923. Rumors in the post-quake period about Koreans ranged from accusations that they engaged in robbery, sabotage and looting to poisoning of wells and even such far-fetched claims of cannibalism.[116] In response to that, the Japanese government came out with the idea of *naisen yūwa* that above all was supposed to put the Japanese Korean labor movement under state

[111]Gyong Su Mun, *Zainichichōsenjin mondai no kigen* [The Origin of Debate on Japanese Koreans] (Tokyo: Crane, 2007), 73.

[112]Toshihiko Matsuda, *Senzen ki no zainichichōsenjin to sanseiken* [Pre-War History of Japanese Koreans and Political Rights Issues] (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1995), 106.

[113]Unlike non-Asian countries Sphere was a transnational organization where cultural differences are harmonized resulting in productive labor. See Yoshiaki Moriyoshi, *Yamatominzoku no zenshin* [Advance of Yamato People] (Tokyo: Kokusai han tomo renmei, 1942), 133, 165, 215, 251.

[114]That is why Hirofumi Ito "begins with a critical evocation of the feudal legacy of Tokugawa" with its "family and quasi-family ties permeated and formed the essence of every social organization… with such moral and religious tenets as laid undue stress on duties of fraternal aid and mutual succor." See Andrew E. Barshay, *The Social Sciences in Modern Japan*: The Marxian and Modernist Traditions (Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 75.

[115]De Sun Kō, *Itō Hirofumi to chōsen* [Ito Hirobumi and Korea] (Tokyo: Shakai Hyōronsha, 2001), 164.

[116]Shōji Yamada, *Kantōdaishinsai tokino chōsenjin gyakusatsu*: sono kokka sekinin to minshū sekinin [The Massacre of Japanese Koreans after Great Kantō Earthquake: Responsibility of State and Society] (Tokyo: Sōshisha, 2003). See also Chang Cheong Kim, *Zainichi korian hyakunen shi* [One Hundred Years History of Japanese Koreans] (Tokyo: Sangokan, 1997), 53.

control. For instance, in the period of the 1920s it organized the so-called associations of promotion of "mutual love" (*sōaikai*) and "harmony between Japan and Korea" (*naisen yūwa dantai*).[117]

Ideas of Korean harmony *naisen yūwa* transformed into the more radical idea of homogeneity (*nissen-ittai*).[118] Jiro Minami, Governor General of Korea, a promoter of this notion said in 1936 that the purpose of *nissen ittai* was the control of Korea by Japanese Emperor and the mobilization of Korean people into the Imperial Japanese Army.[119] Generally speaking, this idea of further justified moral control over Korean society but with a different application. Both intellectuals and politicians within the Japanese empire understood "harmony" as a prerequisite for unity under which each part has its own proper place. The harmonized whole was supposed to be serve as a deterrent against morally deviant behavior by its individual parts. Harmony in this political system was possible through symbolic unity with the Japanese Emperor; in economics, with Japanese capital (*sangyō ippan*); in education, with Japanese morality (*dōtoku kyōiku*)[120]; and in class struggle, with the Japanese working class (*danketsu*). As one of the authors of "The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," Foreign Minister Hachiro Arita in his radio address delivered on June 29, 1940 said, "people who are closely related with one another geographically, racially, culturally, and economically should first form a sphere of their own for co-existence and co-prosperity and establish peace and order within sphere and, at the same time, secure a relationship of common existence and prosperity with other spheres."[121]

The Japanese emperor was a crucial element to this social "harmony" based on morality. The authors of the Meiji Constitution and the leaders of Japanese modernization like Hirofumi Ito and Yukichi Fukuzawa promoted the idea that there should not be any intermediate body between the Emperor and the people, a concept known as *kokutai*. Yukichi Fukuzawa said "the government will be able

[117]Kyeong Sik Park, *Nihon teikokushugi no chōsen shihai* [The Japanese Imperial Rule over Korea] (Tokyo: Aokishoten, 1973), 56.

[118]Terumi Yamada, Chon Meong Park, *Zainichichōsenjin*: rekishi to genjō [Japanese Koreans: History and Present Time] (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1991), 73.

[119]Tsugio Inaba, "Shokuminchi chōsen niokeru kō tami ka kyōiku no suishin," [Imperial Education in Colonial Korea], *Research Bulletin of Kyushu University*, vol. 1, 1998, 188; According to Jin Yeong Park who in the contest of his criticism of the Japanese Tennō-system said the central message of *naisen ittai* was the elimination of Korean culture not only on the Korean peninsula but also among Koreans all over the world. See Jin Yeong Park, *Tennōsei kokka no keisei to chōsen shokuminchi shihai* [The Formation of Imperial State and Colonization of Korea] (Tokyo: Ningen no Kagakusha, 2003), 84.

[120]Yūko Kubota, *Shokuminchi chōsen no nihongo kyōiku: nihongo niyoru* (*dōka*) *kyōiku no seiritsukatei* [Japanese Language Education in Colonial Korea: Formation of Assimilationist Educational System] (Fukuoka: Kyūshū University Press, 2005), 61.

[121]Radio Address of the Foreign Minister, Mr. Hachiro Arita delivered on Jun 29, 1940 Tokyo gazette: a monthly report of current policies, official statements and statistics (See Tokyo Publishing House, 1940), vol. 4, 78.

to rule easily and the people will accept its rule agreeably, each functioning in his proper capacity to preserve the peace of the nation."[122] Within this model, political power functioned as a guarantee of "social harmony." Inclusion of Korean people through symbolic unity with the Emperor took place in different forms at public representations of loyalty for instance during Japanese-style political ceremonies in Korea, the mobilization of Korean people to serve in the Imperial Japanese Army, and forced marriages of members of the royal Korean family with the royal Japanese family. As Chikako Kashiwazaki observes, "In the case of Japan, cultural assimilation was closely linked to the issue of national security…Assimilation policies demanded 'spiritual' assimilation, centered on loyalty and allegiance to the Japanese emperor, from the colonized population at large."[123]

Still another important form of moralization of Korean culture was unity with Japanese capital.[124] The forced relocation of Korean laborers to Japan during the 1930s to work in Japanese factories under the banner of the "generalization of labor" (*sangyō ippan*) accomplished a merger between Japanese capital and Korean labor but it also came with a problem yet to be resolved—Korean labor was then, still in its traditional pre-modern form while Japanese capital rushed headlong into a modern, exploitative relationship with its own labor force. To harmonize traditional patterns of Korean labor with the needs of modern Japanese capital, the Japanese answer was the moralization of the problem. Japanese capitalists opposed the de-humanization of Korean labor by appealing to a heightened moral sensitivity believed to be still existent among Japanese. As Hirofumi Ito[125] put it:

> In industries, our laborers have not yet degenerated into spiritless machines and toiling beasts in spite of the recent enormous development of manufacturers in our country. There still survives the bond of patron and protégé between them and capitalist employers. It is this moral and emotional factor which will, in the future, form a healthy barrier against the threatening advance of socialist ideas.[126]

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[122]The full quote is "The important thing is to let each person conduct himself correctly on the basis of human nature, then to diligently pursue learning and broaden his knowledge and develop abilities appropriate to his station in life. Thus, the government will be able to rule easily and the people will accept its rule agreeably, each functioning in his proper capacity to preserve the peace of the nation. The encouragement of learning that I advocate has this sole and in view." See Carol Gluck and Arthur E. Tiedemann, *Sources of Japanese Tradition* 1868 to 2000 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), vol. 2, part, 2, 94.

[123]Chikako Kashiwazaki, "The Politics of Legal Status: Equation of Nationality with Ethno National Identity," *Koreans in Japan*: Critical Voice from Margin, edited by Sonia Ryang (London: Routledge, 2000), 17.

[124]Hei I An, *Chōsen shakai no kōzō to nippon teikokushugi* [The Structure of Korean Society and Japanese Imperialism] (Ryūkei Shosha, 1977), 153–215.

[125]Kō De Sun, *Itō Hirofumi to Chōsen* [Ito Hirofumi and Korea], 147–149.

[126]Andrew E. Barshay, *The Social Sciences in Modern Japan*: The Marxian and Modernist Traditions (University of California Press, 2004), 75–76.

Moralization of Korean with Japanese culture even went so far as the physical body. The Japanese government promoted mixed marriages between Japanese and Korean people as a form of biological inclusion of Korean people into Japanese society under the notion of *ketsuen to bunka no kyōdō*[127] which means "unity of culture and blood."[128] Rationality of love represented this process as natural because on the one hand Japanese nature was morally good and on the other hand it was in the nature of Korean people to love harmony represented by the Japanese people.[129] For instance, the Japanese government actively promoted mixed marriages between Japanese and Koreans (*naichō kekkon*).[130] Above all, the leader of mixed marriage was the Japanese Imperial family who forced the royal Korean family to marry into them. The marriage was in 1920 between Korean crown-prince Ri Gin and crown-princess Masako of Nashimoto. Japanese media depicted this marriage as a symbol of solidarity between Japan and Korea.[131]

Even the Japanese Left demanded Koreans unite with Japanese in their class struggle. The leaders of Japanese communist movement like Sen Kitayama, Kazuo Fukumoto, and Hitoshi Yamagawa approached the Korean proletariat from a true Trotskyite position and expressed considerable distrust towards Koreans in general, perceiving them and their culture to be incapable of becoming an independent force in class struggle.[132] They reasoned that because the capital in Korea originated with the Japanese and not Koreans, the culture one found in Korea was not really Korean but Japanese. It meant that both Japanese and Korean laborers faced a common enemy in Japanese capital and imperialism and hence, they should act as one

[127]See for instance, Yasuma Takata, *Tōa minzoku ron* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1939), 3, 39; The unity refers only to "pure" blood with "pure" culture as different from people with supposedly dirty blood like Koreans or *burakumin.* See Michiki Yoshidome, *Nihonjin to chōsenjin*: nihonjin no chi no nakani hisomu besshi to sabetsu [Japanese and Koreans: Discrimination and Disdain that Hides in the Blood of Japanese People] (Tokyo: Yell Books, 1972), 58, 70.

[128]It is important to say that the idea of "common" did not rest only on "race" or "blood" because as Yasuma Takata wrote that people of one blood can have different culture and thus do not form politically organized ethnic group. That is why it was crucial to create one balanced system that would cover all aspects of society in order to form nation. See Yasuma Takata, *Minzokuron* [Theory of People] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1942), 7.

[129]"It is in the nature of Korean people to love Japan." The quote is from Toshihiko Matsuda, *Senzen ki no zainichichōsenjin to sanseiken* [Pre-War History of Japanese Koreans and Political Rights Issues], 106.

[130]Shūko Takeshita, *Kokusai kekkon no shakaigaku* [Sociology of International Marriage] (Tokyo: Gakubunsha, 2000), 173.

[131]*Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun*, April 28, 1920.

[132]See for instance Hirotake Koyama, *Nippon rōdō undō shakai undō kenkyū shi senzen sengo no bunken kai* [Review of Literature on the History of Social Movement in Japan] (Mizuki Shobō, 1957), 112.

proletariat. The destiny of the Korean proletariat[133] was therefore tied to the Japanese proletariat[134] through the so-called *danketsu.*[135]

4.2.2 The Japanese Korean Protest Movement

The Japanese Koreans diaspora described postwar Japanese society as pathological. The evolution of the Japanese Korean diaspora from the end of World War II to the 2010s shows that its members did not abandon the image of moral pathology but rather preserved and used it for their own benefit. Their description of the Japanese Korean diaspora offered a one-sided moralization of the ethnic boundary, consisting of the deliberate cultivation of criticism of Japanese society as well as eliciting compassion towards the Japanese Korean diaspora. Japanese Koreans were able to set themselves apart from Japanese society by distinguishing morally "us" (Japanese Koreans) verses "them" (Japanese), portraying themselves as "good" while the Japanese became "bad." At the same time, they focused on the wider Japanese society and garnered support from sympathetic Japanese based on their image as victims of the wider Japanese society while defining that same society as the victimizer.

Hence, protest movements became a popular form of representation of this one-sided moralization of the Japanese Korean diaspora. Most of their major achievements towards integration into Japanese society came as a result of their mobilization of people for mass protest demonstrations against Japanese Korean social exclusion. After World War II, Japanese Koreans were able to reverse the focus of moral regulation. Prior to World War II, they were the objects of moral regulation as leaders of the Japanese Empire like Hirofumi Ito justified Japan's control over Korea by pointing to the "weakness" or the high risk of moral deviations by Korean people. After the war, however, the Japanese Korean diaspora was able to paint Japanese, not Korean society, as the real zone of high risk for pathological behavior.

They represented the ethnic boundary as an external regulator of Japanese society to prevent social pathologies from re-emerging. Protest movements fit this function well because they impose discipline on society from the outside, as Niklas

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[133]There was also assumption that Koreans just pretended to be communists. See for instance Toshio Iwamura, *Zainichichōsenjin to nippon rōdōsha kaikyū* [Japanese Koreans and Japanese Working Class] (Tokyo: Kōkura Shobō, 1972), 52.

[134]See for instance, Kyeong Sik Park, *Zainichichōsenjin undōshi*: 8–15 kaihō-mae [The History of Japanese Korean Movement: 8–15 Before Liberation], 201.

[135]However, this met resistance from Japanese Koreans. For instance, in *1928 Declaration of the Tokyo Korean Student Association*, they wrote, "What is left for Korean people? They give you a slave education so that they could continue colonial politics. They prohibit the learning of Korean history and Korean language," in Kyeong Sik Park, *Zainichichōsenjin undōshi*: 8–15 kaihō-mae [The History of Japanese Korean Movement: 8–15 Before Liberation], 178–180; Also see Kentaro Yamabe, *Nippon tōchi shitano chōsen* [Korean Under Japanese Rule] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten), 137.

Luhmann says, "Protests are communications addressed to others calling on their sense or responsibility. They criticize practices or states of affairs without offering to take the place of those whose job is to ensure order.[136] … It is disciplined from the outset."[137] Accordingly, the Japanese Korean diaspora made its presence not only more visible but indispensable as the political and social conscience of Japanese society. They made as the purpose of Japanese Korean ethnic culture to constantly remind Japanese society and public officials about their past wartime responsibility[138] and present-day ethnic discrimination.

In the post-war period, many Japanese Koreans stayed away from politics and concentrated on their economic interest at the expense of ethnic solidarity. These were the people of different classes from Japanese Korean entrepreneurs with large corporations to owners of small barbecue shops and pachinko parlors. Some of the more famous examples include Han Jang U founder of *Maruhan Corporation* based in Kyoto that runs entertainment business in Japan like cinema theaters, bowling, and pachinko slots; Aoki Sadao (Yu Byeong Shik), a former president of *MK Taxi* of Kyoto; or Masayoshi Son (Son Jeong Ui), one of the richest man in Japan and founder of SoftBank Mobile; and Masutatsu Oyama (Choi Yeong Eui), founder of the world famous full contact *Kyokushin-kaikan* karate. Infamous examples include Japanese Korean yakuza gang members, some of whom became leaders of Japanese criminal world, like Shinichi Matsuyama (Jo Gyu Hwa), a leader of the Japanese *yakuza* or criminal gang *Kyokuto-kai* based in Tokyo[139] Shyōroku Ishida (Park Tae Jun), leader of the Osaka-based Japanese *yakuza* gang known as *Shoyu-kai*.[140]

In spite of reliance on protest movement, the Japanese Korean diaspora tried to prevent politicization of their ethnic boundary in Japan. The history of Japanese Korean protest provides an example of the transition from usage of morality for political purposes to de-politicization of the ethnic boundary. Initially, during the 1930s and the first decade of the post-World War II period many Japanese Korean political activists used morality to deliberately politicize the ethnic boundary line between themselves and the wider Japanese public. The aim of their protest movements was the struggle against Japanese state to change the political order through revolution. The examples of politicized protest are the left-wing

[136]Also see Niklas Luhmann, *Theories of Distinction*: Re describing the Descriptions of Modernity, edited by William Rasch (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), 64.

[137]Niklas Luhmann, *Risk*: A Sociological Theory, translated by Rhodes Barrett (Berlin, New-York: Walter de Gruyter, 1993), 125–126.

[138]Partial argumentation was provided by Japanese intellectuals who referred to the war as the responsibility not only of Japanese officials but also society in general. For example, Maruyama Masao blamed both imperialists and communists who failed to stop the war. See Masao Maruyama, *Sensōsekinin ron no mōten* 1953–1957 [Debate on War Responsibility] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2003), vol. 6, 159–164; (See also the history of this debate in Shinichi Arai, *Gendaishi niokeru sensousekinin*: gendaishi shinpojiumu Aoki Shoten, 1990), 15–17, 57.

[139]*Yakuza Daijiten* [Encyclopedia of Japanese Mafia] (Tokyo: Futabasha, 1992), 73.

[140]Kenji Ino, *Yamaguchi kumi no kenkyū*: nihonsaidai no kōiki soshiki no uchimaku [Yamaguchi Clan: Insider Story on Japan's Largest Mafia Organization] (Tokyo: Futabasha, 1982), 5.

organizations like radical anarchist *Futeisha* during the pre-World War II period and the communist *Chōren* or *Minsen* during the post-World War II period. The examples of de-politicization of the ethnic boundary are the left-wing Japanese Korean organizations like *Chongryon* and human right activists beginning in the 1950s and 1960s began the transition towards the issues of welfare and financial compensations.

The most famous example of the pre-World War II usage of morality for political ends was the radical anarchist organization *Futeisha*. *Futeish*a was founded by a Japanese Korean political activist named Yeol Park and a Japanese activist named Fumiko Kaneko in May 1923. Their group consisted mostly of Korean students who studied in Tokyo and maintained strong ties with other anarchist organizations in Japan.[141] The members of this organization used highly moralized and provocative symbolism to position themselves in opposition to the social majority and the Japanese state. They described their own group as a "society of outlaws, rebels or malcontents" (in short, *futeisha*). The origin of this name was replication of discriminatory word used towards Koreans at that time. For instance, they even published journal called *Futoi Senjin* which literally meant "fat Korean" but in reality referred to the discriminatory term, *Futei-chōsenjin* which meant "dirty Korean".

The provocative image that they referred to was the manner in which they fought against social coercion. On the one hand, the stigma of "dirtiness" was justification for social control over individual of social group because the latter was perceived as incapable of independent action and self-control which represented them as dangerous to the rest of society. By labeling themselves as dangerous to society, the members of the *Futeisha* moved in the same direction as the Japanese state by doing to themselves what the larger society and state wanted to do with them but without external assistance. Their actions, however, was supposed to symbolically undermine the power of social and state authority because they were no longer necessary. The most extreme example of this political view was suicide of Fumiko Kaneko during her imprisonment after she was sentenced to death. In this act she deprived the state of its ultimate power to kill.[142]

The provocative symbolism also had practical application in their political activities. *Futeisha* tried to bring their disrespectful attitude towards the state into practice. There activities ranged from publishing articles where they criticized the assimilation policies in Korea, calling for direct action against police harassment, public demonstrations of disrespect towards Japanese national symbols and authorities, and even to attempt organization of terrorist activities against state authorities and Korean collaborators in Japan. For instance, in the court *Fumiko Kaneko* shared how members of Futeisha used derogatory words towards state

[141]Shōbe Shioda, *Nihonshakai undō jinmeijiten* [Japanese Social Movement Personalities] (Tokyo: Aoki shoten, 1979), 174.

[142]Fumiko Kaneko, *Watashihawatashi jishin wo iki ru* [I Live My Own Life], edited by Yūko Suzuki (Tokyo: Nashinokisha, 2006), 238.

authorities. They called Emperor (*Tennō*) a "baby" (*bō chan*), labeled the prime-minister as "the rabble" (*uzōmuzō*) *and gave the police the derogatory term, "dogs"* (*inu koro*).[143]

On the other hand, Japanese state used this moral self-description of Futeisha for its benefit. The image of Koreans as malcontents fit the image of Korean people during the post-quake riots in Tokyo and Yokohama. The State used this social unrest as a justification for their negative sanctions against those who criticized Japanese state and its imperialist politics and to promote further assimilation of Koreans in Japan and in Korea.[144] As an example of the socially deviant character of their activities, two members of *Futeisha* were arrested in September 1923, charged with attempts to organize terrorist attacks against Japanese royal family, and finally sentenced to death.[145] The reason for this social misbehavior was an "improper education which could not cultivate love towards authorities".[146]

Another wave of politicized Japanese Korean protest started after the World War II ended. After the liberation of Korean in fall 1945, the newly established Japanese Korean organization tried to resist the pressure from Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) and the Japanese government against Korean ethnic schools. In the context of a looming war on the Korean peninsula and the beginning of the Cold War with communism, the presence of the leftist-oriented Japanese Korean educational institutions that supported the Japanese Communist Party became undesirable.[147] In response to state activities against ethnic education, like the School Education Law that banned Korean schools, Japanese Koreans in cooperation with Japanese communists organized protest movements. The peak of their demonstrations against the school closure was April 24, 1948 when they launched a protest campaign over the Hanshin Education Incident (*Hanshin kyōiku jiken*), an event that later became one of the central symbols of Japanese Korean ethnic identity.

The Hanshin Education Incident represented Japanese Koreans as the victim of Japanese state. In most instances, the demonstrators were severely suppressed by the police, resulting in many casualties and even a few deaths. In Osaka, for example, a very large protest took place on April 26, 1948 when some 20,000–40,000 individuals marched on the central office of the Osaka Prefecture

[143]Ibid., 193–194.

[144]Shōji Yamada, *Kantōdaishinsai tokino chōsenjin gyakusatsu*: sono kokka sekinin to minshū sekinin [The Massacre of Japanese Koreans after Great Kantō Earthquake: Responsibility of State and Society] (Tokyo: Sōshisha, 2003), 160.

[145]They supposedly were going to detonate bomb during the wedding ceremony of the Japanese Crown Prince (future Emperor Hirohito) attacks against Japanese royal family (Hideo Tanaka, *Kanji Ishiwara no jidai*: jidaiseishin no taigen mono tachi) [The Era of Kanji Ishiwara: People and Spirit of Time] (Tokyo: Fuyō Shobō Shuppan, 1988), 29.

[146]Court Verdict on Fumiko Kaneko and Park Yeol case on March 20, 1926.

[147]Tae Gi Kim, *Sengo nippon seiji to zainichichōsenjin mondai*: SCAP no tai zainichichōsenjin seisaku 1945–1952 [Post-war Japanese Politics and Japanese Koreans: SCAP Politics Towards Japanese Koreans 1945–1952] (Tokyo: Keisōshobō, 1997), 604.

Government, demanding an end to discrimination against the Korean schools.[148] Women and children were particularly prominent among the participants. In order to represent their collectivity and at the same time demonstrate their peaceful intentions to Japanese officials, the participants staged a huge traditional Korean circle dance (*ganggangsullae*). However, the police attacked the participants with little regard to the safety of the protesters. As a result, hundreds were badly injured and about three thousand were arrested.[149] The most tragic result was the death of a 16-year old Korean boy shot dead by the police.[150]

Despite the police violence, the ethnic education protest movement proved quite successful. After considerable social unrest, mounting radical activities, and the end of the Korean War, Japanese Korean activists shifted their stance from political struggle against the Japanese state in general to an agenda more narrowly focused on issues, and depoliticized in content. Even their means changed to that of operating within the legal framework of Japan. As a result, they were able to, with considerable success, effect more reforms in ethnic education and preserve the ethnic schools as private institutions. They also charted a course away from continued dependence upon the Japan Communist Party's support and antagonism from the Japanese state, instead, relying only upon their own resources to maintain ethnic education. Reflecting this independent course was the establishment in 1955 of the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (in short *Chongryon*) whose close ties with North Korea resulted in that nation's financial and ideological support for Japanese Korean ethnic schools that were under control of the Association.

Japanese post-World War II economic growth only strengthened the trend towards adopting issues of economic exclusion. Their demand for monetary compensations at least from the early 1970s became a dominant theme of the Japanese Korean protest movement and in turn, was absorbed into the larger process of the formation of the Japanese welfare state.[151] This process ranged from working class and student movements to political confrontations between the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and the leftist movement.[152] The main idea of the welfare state is that all economic differences must be compensated.[153] In the case of

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[148]Chol Kang, *Zainichichōsenjin shi nenpyō* [Chronology of Japanese Korean History] (Tokyo: Yuzankaku, 1983), 266.

[149]Hideki Nishimura, *Ōsaka de tatakatta chōsensensō*: Suitahirakata jiken no seishun gunzō [Korean War in Osaka: Suitahirakata Incident of Young Activists] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2004), 135.

[150]Chol Kang, *Zainichichōsenjin shi nenpyō* [Chronology of Japanese Korean History] (Tokyo: Oyama Kaku, 1983), 266.

[151]Tsutomu Kitaba, *Sengo shakaihoshō no keisei*: Shakaifukushi kiso kōzō no seiritsu wo megutte [Postwar Social Welfare Formation: Looking Back to the Birth of Basic Structure of Welfare State] (Tokyo: Chūō hōki, 2000), 59–89.

[152]Kore SanadaKazuaki Miyata, *Zusetsu nippon no shakaifukushi* [Diagram of Japanese Welfare] (Kyoto: Hōritsu Bunkasha, 2004), 30.

[153]Niklas Luhmann, *Political Theory in the Welfare State*, 22.

Japanese Koreans it was the ethnic differences that they moralized in order to justify their compensation claims. The protesters trumpeted the issues of violent exclusion or violent exploitation of Korean people by Japanese government and Japanese companies.[154]

The demand for monetary compensation[155] was more than a question of money but involved the issue of national membership.[156] In the post war period of the 1950s and 1960s, the Japanese government launched a program of war compensation.[157] The main recipients of compensation were different social groups within Japanese society who suffered much from the war. Among those slated to receive such compensations were farmers who lost their land, the *hibakusha* or the atomic bombing victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the repatriates who surrendered their property on the Asian continent, the *burakumin* or the untouchable class, and the Japanese Emperor who also supposedly was a victim of the militarists. Japanese Koreans, too, were among those who were supposed to receive such compensation since they too suffered from the war.[158]

Wartime compensations held an additional interest for the Japanese Koreans. They had a very strong symbolic meaning because they were a material reflection of the new Japanese national ideology—Japanese as victims, not the initiators of the war.[159] According to this new ideology, Japanese people too were victims of the Japanese militarists[160] who used them for their own ends. Compensations symbolically included social groups whom the government considered to be the new Japanese people. However, Japanese Koreans were not included because they did not fit this ideology since they were allegedly people of a different culture but

[154]Ryōji Nakahara, *Zainichi kankoku chōsenjin no shūshoku sabetsu to kokusekijōkō* [Japanese Korean Employment Discrimination and Citizenship Issue] (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1993), 97, 122.

[155]Jae Eon Kang, *Zainichi kankoku chōsenjin no sengohoshō* [The Post War Compensations for Japanese Koreans] (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1991), 115–133.

[156]According to Gyeong Deug Kim compensations were and are necessary as apologies from Japanese government both towards to Japanese people and Japanese Koreans. See Gyeong-deug Kim, *Zainichi korian no aidentiti to hōtekichii* [Japanese Korean Identity and Legal Status] (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2005), 310.

[157]See for instance, Nobutaka Tanaka, Hiroshi Tanaka, and Eimi Namita, *Izoku to sengo* [Aristocracy and Postwar History] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995), 57; *Kokumin no fukushi no dōkō* [Tendency of National Welfare] (Tokyo: Kōsei tōkei kyōkai, 2000), 265–268. For the victims of the atomic bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki (*hibakusha*), see Toshie Kurihara, *Hibakusha tachino sengo 50 nen* [Postwar Fifty Years History of Hibakusha] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995), 58.

[158]Association Against Ethnic Discrimination, *Zainichi kankoku chōsenjin no hoshō jinken hō* [Compensation Guarantees for Japanese Koreans] (Tokyo: Shinkansha, 1989), 53–59.

[159]James Joseph Orr, *The Victim as Hero*: Ideologies of Peace and National Identity in Postwar Japan (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), 1–14.

[160]It is interesting that Japanese Koreans also claimed that they had their own Korean militarists who cooperated with Japanese militarists. See *Kaihō Shinbun*, October 10, 1948.

whose presence within Japanese society in general served as an important reminder of Japan's imperialist past.

As a result of their exclusion from compensation, the Japanese Korean diaspora portrayed itself as a victim of post-war Japanese nationalism. Representation of the Japanese Korean ethnic boundary in Japanese society took on forms that were diametrically opposite to the Japanese government's actions. Their compensation claims filed by Korean residents depended on how successfully they represented themselves as victims of Japanese society. Both pro-North Korean organizations such as *Chongryon* and pro-South Korean groups like the *Mindan* primarily appealed for compensation using this moral code.[161] During their protests, their participants represented Japanese society as a pathological, to both maintain ethnic solidarity among themselves and to raise Japanese awareness and sensitivity towards the issue of ethnic discrimination, a violation of societal norms.

The Japanese Korean diaspora brought this victimization image out to the street through their protest movements. From the 1950s until the 2000s, each protest represented a different image of victim depending on the particular compensation claim they were pushing. This differentiation in their imaging of Japanese Koreans was done to tailor their message, not to the general Japanese society but to different social groups and classes in it until they succeeded in making their issue become a part of a larger issue. With the protests to protect ethnic education,[162] their main symbol became the Japanese Korean families and especially the children. With the issue of economic exclusion, they offered different images of the victim ranging from young Japanese Korean graduates who cannot find employment in Japanese companies because of their Korean descent[163] to Japanese Korean seniors who cannot obtain pensions due them from the Japanese government.[164] With the comfort women issue, they trumpeted gender differences as the means for representing compensations claims for sexual exploitation of Korean women during the war.[165]

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[161]Kyeong Sik Park, *Zainichichōsenjin undōshi*: 8–15 kaihō-mae [The History of Japanese Korean Movement: 8–15 Before Liberation], 63–64, 80–81.

[162]This movie is important for Japanese Korean ethnicity because even today third-generation Japanese Koreans use this very movie for educational purposes both for Japanese and other Japanese Koreans.

[163]Ryōji Nakahara, *Zainichi kankoku chōsenjin no shūshoku sabetsu to kokusekijōkō* [Japanese Korean Employment Discrimination and Citizenship Issue] (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1993), 97–122.

[164]See the discussion on pensions for Japanese Koreans in Reiko Shōya and Tōru Nakayama *Kōrei zainichi kankoku chōsenjin ōsaka niokeru* (*zainichi*) *no rekishi to seikatsukiban*, *kōrei fukushi no kadai* [History and Living Conditions of Senior Japanese Koreans in Osaka: Debate on Social Welfare for Senior Citizens] (Tokyo: Ochanomizu shobō, 1997), 358–412.

[165]See details in Fumiko Kawada, *Sensō to sei*: Kindai kōshō seido ianjo seido wo megutte [War and Gender: Formation of State Supported System of Comfort Women] (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1995), 73; also see the documentary movie, *Ore no kokoro ha maketenai*: Zainichi chōsenjin (ianfu) sō shintō notatakai [My Heart Will Not Fail: Japanese Korean Comfort Women and Struggle of Shindo Son] (2007).

Protests over the *Utoro* Problem (*utoro mondai*) illustrates well how Japanese Koreans handled the moral representation of their economic exclusion. *Utoro* is area in Uji City, Kyoto that has become an iconic example of the how to morally justify Japanese Korean compensation claims. In 1942, about 1300 Japanese Koreans had come to reside in the *Utoro* area as workers on the military aircraft factory owned by Japan Aviation Industries Ltd. (*Nippon Koku Kōgyō K.K*). After the World War II ended, most of the residents remained in *Utoro*, hoping to receive compensation from the Japanese government as victims of the war. But they were turned down and many of them did not have enough financial resources to return to Korea. Eventually, without having other prospects and places to move to, many of the residents simply decided to stay.

The Association to Protect *Utoro* (*utoro mamoru kai*) and other civil society organizations in Japan supported the action by the *Utoro* residents in collaboration with their counterparts in South Korea. As of 2008, there were sixty-five households and two-hundred three Korean residents. Every year the Association to Protect *Utoro* organizes a *Utoro* festival where they invite journalists from South Korea and Japan. In addition, the Association organizes and leads tours of *Utoro* to show tourists how much the Japanese Korean residents suffer with the substandard housing of the area. Eventually, they successfully lobbied the government of the Republic of Korea for financial assistance, amounting to 3 billion South Korean *won* (360 million).[166] However, the leader of the *Utoro* community embezzled the money and fled[167] to destinations unknown, so the problem still exists.[168]

The "design" of the *Utoro* protest is an attempt to elicit moral compassion from Japanese society. The first thing that any visitor sees when entering the *Utoro* area is the randomly scattered posters written in Japanese and Korean languages. The posters are usually located in places where people will certainly not miss them. Their purpose is to evoke compassion from Japanese society and the South Korean government. These posters communicate the misery of life, suffering, and desperation of residents, and that they are "weak people" unable to help themselves and thus require outside assistance. Their posters' imply that refusal to help or to criticize of the residents makes such an individual as evil and devoid of any compassion.

With this approach, *Utoro* is represented as a concentration of almost all "weak people" from the Japanese Korean diaspora. Except for children, the only residents of *Utoro* are women and senior citizens over 65 years old. With such a demographic profile, the Japanese Korean residents selected the most logical image that

[166]See for instance "Why does Nissan want to destroy our homes?", *New York Times*, March 1, 1993.

[167]The house where he lived has been completely destroyed by the betrayed *Utoro* dwellers. Moreover, they painted this house with numerous words that expressed their hatred and all of them were in the Japanese language. The phrase that sums up their messages is *shine!* which means "DIE!" also written in Japanese.

[168]See the Forced Deportation of Japanese Koreans Research Group, *Kyōseirenkō sareta chōsenjin no shōgen* [Testimony of Forcedly Deported Japanese Koreans] (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1990), 34.

would likely evoke compassion from others—the image of a mother or *omoni* in Korean, as represented by the largest poster on display in the Utoro area. The image of a mother plays upon the familial feelings where mother is the person to whom it is impossible to refuse help because any refusal will immediately place this person in the category of a social deviant and thus condemned by society. In addition, the "mother" image invites viewers to help not only her but assistance for other residents in *Utoro* because they are her friends. For instance, this large poster contains a "Mother's song" (*Omoni-no-uta*) which describes a women who, in spite of harsh living conditions, will not leave Utoro because everybody who lives here are good people and help her.

Another way to infuse morality into social inequality is to connect that inequality with issues of life and death. Many posters communicate the firm resolve of *Utoro* residents to remain in their neighborhood until they die which creates feeling of doom. There are two reasons of referring to the inevitability of death. The first one is to displace responsibility of suffering of *Utoro* residents from themselves on to Japanese society itself and at the same time head off possible negative reactions by Japanese. On the one hand, they assert that due to the ignorance of Japanese people they are left here to die in *Utoro*. On the other hand, however, Japanese Korean residents represent the Japanese as having complete authority over their lives because those who live in *Utoro* are simply "ordinary people" who simply love their "motherland *Utoro*." Their positioning of themselves as weak individuals therefore justifies external intervention or assistance by Japanese people albeit in a very limited form, that is, compensatory payments alone. For instance, one of the posters in Japanese and Korean says "We live in *Utoro* and will be here forever" while other posters declare, "We live and will die here" and "*Utoro* is our motherland." Their previously-mentioned "mother song" sums it up best their expressed sentiments:

The Mother's Song
No, no!
I will never leave here no matter what.
Until death takes me away.
This is my hometown in which I have been living.
Everyone here knows me.
I am a Korean who lives by myself in Japan.
I am a stranger to schools.
When I was sick my friend next door took care of me
Not to starve and
Gave me medicine and showed me how to take it.
That is why I am not alone. I am not lonely.
Because I am the mother of *Utoro*.
Because everyone here knows me.
I will not be able to live like this outside *Utoro*.
I will not be myself anymore if I leave here.

In addition to using sentimental appeals, Japanese Koreans emphasized a more materially minded manner of representation of their demands for compensation. They used descriptions of *Utoro* residents' life conditions. Their purpose was to create a feeling of compassion by contrasting wealthier Japanese with poorer Japanese Koreans against the backdrop of the Japanese welfare state. Their portrayal of the wide income gap was expected to generate compassion from the Japanese public. Hence, the *Utoro* designers stressed the absence of the most basic facilities, like an adequate water supply system and the current system being a danger to the health of its residents. "*Utoro* is the land without consent[169]" because of that there is no water supply and residents have to pump water from the wells to drink. However, the quality of water is very bad… Every day residents are preoccupied with health problems because the water from underground is far from criterion of healthiness and nobody can give a guarantee that there will be no infectious disease. Moreover, in case of fire, residents will not be able to stop it and will have to ask for assistance from neighbors or a Japanese base near *Utoro.*[170]"

Utoro also serves as a constant reminder to the public of the many dark shadows in Japanese history. *Utoro* represents the Japanese Korean people as an irremovable element from Japanese society placed there because of Japan's imperial past. The perspective and experience of Japanese Koreans ethnicity serves as a constant reminder of the dangers of Japanese society traveling down the same path as it did prior to World War II, towards imperialism, colonialism, and ethnic discrimination. *Utoro* is necessary for Japanese society because it is an abiding presence, much like Article of the Constitution which prevents Japanese society from returning to its imperial ways. In other words, they took the high moral ground with respect to the rhetoric regarding World War II and Japanese imperialism, thereby equating anti-*Utoro* and anti-Japanese Korean sentiments expressed in general by some Japanese with the moral equivalent of advocating the restoration of the Japanese Empire. Some of their posters make this rhetorical point clear: "*Utoro* is an anti-war monument;" "To destroy *Utoro* is to destroy the post-war history of Japanese Koreans;" "To destroy *Utoro* is to destroy the post-war history of Japan;" To destroy *Utoro* is destroy the Japanese conscience.[171]"

This image of *Utoro* is consistent with current Japanese national ideology. Many Japanese intellectuals in the post-war era promoted the idea of a national "responsibility of Japan" which included not only the Japanese government but Japanese society as well, leaving behind the immediate postwar view of blaming only "the militarists" while sparing the wider public of the blame for the war. But

[169]*Utoro okizari nisareta machi* [Utoro: Betrayed Village] (Kyoto: Kamogawa Shuppan, 1997), 32–33.

[170]Ibid.

[171]Economic exclusion of Japanese Korean is also proof of on-going Japanese imperialism. See Yeon I Ko, *Minzoku dearukoto daisan sekai toshite zainichichōsenjin* [Being an Ethnic Group: Japanese Koreans as Third World People] (1998), 9–58.

they also introduced a new understanding of "Japan as a victim of the war." Their new ideology no longer blamed Japan's imperial, colonial, and discriminatory past solely on the military which had virtually disappeared from sight in postwar Japan, but instead located the source of this pathology inside Japanese society itself. Their new ideology thus allowed for repeated oscillations of moral communication between norm protection and norm violation, from self-compassion to self-condemnation. That is why on one side there were victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombings and on the other cruelties made by Japanese army or criticism of the *Tennō* or imperial system.

Another important purpose of *Utoro* is to attract financial support from South Korea. After numerous unsuccessful attempts to receive compensations from the Japanese government through the Japanese courts, Japanese Korean human right activists placed their hopes for material compensations upon South Korea.[172] By using the image of the "poor" overseas Koreans, they could tap on to the "anti-Japanese" strain in Korean nationalism to their advantage.[173] For instance, Kyoto-based Japanese Korean Life Center or ILFA[174] began in 2004 organized visits for invited South Korean journalists and government officials to festivals like *Nankyō Madang* to show them how desperate the situation in *Utoro* area was.[175] After returning to South Korea, the national mass media presented *Utoro* as yet another example of social and economic exclusion of Japanese Koreans. As Kim Hyeong Juan, organizer of the "*Utoro* Conference" in April 2005 and a member of South Korean Parliament from the ruling "Our Party" (*uri-tang*) said that after visiting Utoro he realized that the national Parliament must make an effort to stop the oppression of Koreans in Japan by the Japanese government.[176]

However, the *Utoro* Japanese Koreans were in tight competition with other Japanese Korean organizations for South Korean media attention and money. Their main competitor was the *Mindan* who traditionally enjoyed financial support from South Korean government over the years. However, unsuccessful attempts to resolve *Utoro* problems in the late 1980s with the help of the *Mindan* and recent scandals of improper usage of South Korean financial assistance discredited the image of this organization. The *Mindan* failure opened the door for the *Utoro* residents to make their appeal for direct support and they needed additional legitimization for requesting help for the *Utoro* residents.[177] Their principle, "the

[172] *Mainichi Shinbun*, November 11, 2000.

[173] As the vice-president of *Utoro* village, Meong Om Bu said that, today this problem cannot be resolved without assistance of the South Korean government. It is important to reach consensus on how the two countries [South Korean and Japan] understand history of their relations. Japanese politicians are reluctant to do that. See *Asahi Shimbun*, September 5, 2005.

[174] http://lfa-kyoto.org/.

[175] *Asahi Shinbun*, April 24, 2005.

[176] *TongIl News* April 13, 2005.

[177] As then Korean Foreign Minister Ban Ki Moon said in 2005, it was impossible to give them money, as it would be unfair to other Koreans living in Japan who are not entitled to government subsidies." See *Korea Times*, July 27, 2007.

poorer, the better" was at work here. As a guide from ILFA told me that, there is no need to tell to South Korean visitors about *Utoro.* He said, "Just look around! *Utoro* speaks for itself."

Eventually, *Utoro* residents' numerous attempts to attract financial support from South Korean government brought them success. In order to provide direct support for the *Utoro* residents, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade of South Korea (MOFAT) established in 2009, the *Utoro* Foundation (*utorojaedanbeobin*). In February 2011, the Foundation reported their readiness to purchase about 3 thousand square meters of land in the *Utoro* area for \180 million.[178] In addition, one of the conditions of this purchase is that the Japanese government has to build public facilities in *Utoro*, such as parks, roads, hospitals, and flood prevention facilities.[179] As the head of *Utoro* community (*kyōto utoro chiku chōnaikai chō*) Kim Kyo Il said with sense of great relief and gratitude to South Korean side, "finally we have bought this land!"[180]

However, receipt of compensation does not mean the end of the protest movement. As old houses and infrastructure become substituted with new one growing number of Japanese Korean activists express sorrow about the fact that Utoro is losing its symbol of "limitless struggle" of Korean people in Japan. Protest movement being a cognitive construct reveals its self-referential nature where the only purpose of protest movement is nothing but protest movement itself. Preservation of Utoro as Japanese Korean heritage permits to exploit its symbolic power for cultivation of personalities for protest who can exploit this symbol in justification of compensations demand in the future. It means that improve of living conditions of Utoro residents marks the transition to a new form of protest against discrimination and social exclusion of Koreans in Japan. In order to preserve symbolic meaning of Utoro area Japanese Korean activists offer to establish "Museum of Utoro History" (*Utoro yoksaguan*). For example, as South Korean newspaper *The Hankyoreh Shinmun* (*The Korean Nation*) noticed on the visit of South Korean comedian Yoo Jae-suk visit of Utoro area in September 2015 about importance of historical museum establishment for educational and entertainment purposes both for South Koreans and Koreans in Japan: "We need to attract attention of South Korean government to collect money for museum construction and the visit of celebrity like Yoo Jae-suk is important precedent for the future. It would be great to come to Japan, drink beer and learn history. Why not?".[181]

[178] *Yomiuri Shinbun*, February 27, 2011.

[179] *Yonhap News*, February 2, 2011.

[180] *Kyōto Shinbun*, February 27, 2011.

[181] http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/culture/culture_general/708497.html (Accessed on September 11, 2015).

4.2.3 The Counter Protest Against the Japanese Korean Diaspora

Protest movements against Japanese Koreans, too formed an integral part of the moral description of the Japanese Korean diaspora.[182] The main participants in these protests are marginal right-wing Japanese organizations that try to debunk the claims of the Japanese Korean diaspora for compensation and special rights. They represent a reaction to the moralized description of Japanese society offered by the Japanese Korean diaspora. Their reversal of Japanese Korean's moral communication is built on the assumption of an imbalance in the power relations between the two groups. Unlike the wider Japanese public, which accepts the Japanese Korean ethnicity's moralization of Japanese society as a warning against treading again on to the path that led to World War II and coerced creation of minority groups such as Japanese Koreans, the right-wing nationalist organizations refused to accept this view. On the contrary, they represent the Japanese Korean diaspora as not innocent victims but rather corrupted people whose presence in Japanese society is only to be tolerated rather than compensated, and thereby reversing the vector of moral accusation.

Politicization of ethnic boundary is another important purpose of the counter protest. Unlike attempts of Japanese Koreans to use moral arguments to de-politicize their protest movement and reduce it solely to the issues of welfare, Japanese radical right-wing organizations desperately attempt to use morality to politicize the ethnic boundary between Japanese Korean diaspora and Japanese society. For them, the source of Japanese national solidarity is the idea that the majority of Japanese society are victims of ethnic minorities who try to make Japan their colony from the inside in order to exploit Japanese people. They depict the Japanese Korean diaspora as one of the most obvious examples of this reverse "internal colonialism" of Japanese society that should be resisted by all people in Japan.

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[182]The negative moral reaction already existed from the first years of the post-war period. Unlike the pre-war idea of extending assistance to the Korean people because of their "weakness," as Ito Hirobumi specified, after World War II, the image of Korean residents shifted from "weak" to "dangerous." Numerous incidents with *yakuza* like murders, gambling, drug trafficking, prostitution where Japanese Koreans were involved and later their connections with North Korea were representative examples of this danger. These were necessary to justify the exclusion Koreans from Japanese society. These images referred to the incompatibility and impossibility of co-existence between Japanese and Korean cultures in Japanese society because of pathological character of the latter. Almost all conflict situations between Koreans and Japanese were described by Japanese mass media as "incidents" (*jiken*) that refers to deviant situations and the source of these social pathologies were Japanese Koreans. For instance, the most famous incident was above mentioned "Kwon Hyi Ro Incident" on February 20, 1968 which the Japanese mass media described as "Devil with rifle" (*raifuru ma*). Another example is the depiction of Korean culture in Akira Kurosawa's 1963 movie *High and Low* (*Tengoku to Jigoku*) in which the most corrupted place in *Yokohama* called *Kogane-cho* was decorated with sings written in Korean language.

Japanese right-wing movement revived after WWII as reaction to growing threat of communism in North East Asia. Chinese revolution, looming war on Korean peninsula accompanied with poverty struck post-war Japan lead to growing popularity of leftist ideas. This convinced Allied Forces to introduce economic and political measures known as "reverse course" (*gyaku ko-su*) started in 1947–1948 to prevent spreading communism in Japan in particular and in Asia in general and fix role of reindustrialized and remilitarized Japan a key ally of the United States in the region. Consequently, the "reverse course" marked transition of alliance of US government with Japanese leftist against ring-wingers to alliance with right-wing politicians against Japanese left. This new alliance that marked the rise of Japan's Liberal Party permitted to implement anti-worker legislation and introduce Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan in 1960 (*Anpo-jōyaku*) that permitted continued military presence of the US military bases in Japan.

The numerous variations of nationalistic ideologies in Japan basically were reactions to inability to resolve the problem of national solidarity. Right wing political activists at least since implementation of the "reverse course" in late 1940s usually exploited ethnic distinctions within national boundaries and national distinctions outside nation as political contradictions to create pressure inside society to call for national unity. In short, they operated with the assumption that national unity already exists in other ethnic/national groups that is supposed to mobilize Japanese society not only for imagined but also real political unity in spite of social inequalities and presence of ethnic minorities. For example, they exploit image of ethnic minorities mostly Korean residents as well as neighboring nations such South/North Korean, China and Taiwan who take advantage of weakness of Japan after defeat in WWII for their own benefit at the expense of Japanese people. Their political practice initially consisted of alliance with US as well as with South Korean and pro-South Korean organizations in Japan against communist threat of North Korea and China. At least since 1960s right ideologies started shifting towards primacy of national rather than class contradictions. This meant growing protests against both pro South and pro North Japanese Korean political activists who tried to demand compensations for social exclusion and discrimination of Korean residents in Japan.

The most active protesters against the Japanese Koreans' claims are those in the so-called Citizens' Group against Special Rights for Japanese Koreans (*zainichi tokken wo yurusa nai shimin no kai*) or *Zaitokukai*.[183] The number of members counts more than 15,000 individuals. The leader is Makoto Sakurai, also known in the blog sphere as *Doronpa*[184] born on February 15, 1972. He is a conservative public commentator and an historical revisionist/activist from Fukuoka Prefecture, Japan. His geographic sphere of concern is limited to Fukuoka Prefecture yet he appears in the most "sacred" places for Japanese Koreans and is seen frequently in

[183]See the official website at www.zaitokukai.info.

[184]*ameblo.jp/doronpa01*.

the Kansai area. His favorite spots are the Korean schools, the *Utoro* area, and he organizes simultaneous counter demonstrations against the protesters marching for Japanese Korean issues. He leads demonstrations against Japanese officials who cooperate with Japanese Koreans, such as those at the Uji City Hall in the Kyoto metropolitan area. He also cooperates with other right-wing and mainstream organizations like the National Socialist Union (*kokka shakaishugi mono dōmei*), The Party of New Political Modernization (*ishin seitō shinpū*), Citizens' Group for Sovereignty Restoration (*shuken kaifuku wo mezasu kai*), and religious organizations like the *Sōkka-gakkai* and its political party *Kōmeitō*.

Those in such right-wing organizations describe their own actions as efforts to assist both Japanese society and Japanese Koreans. Their aim, however, is to neutralize Japanese Koreans' claims for compensation which they view as excessive. In one of Makoto Sakurai's interview, he specifically relates how what he does is important not only for Japanese society but also for Japanese Koreans. Sakurai claimed he was not against Japanese Koreans per se but that that he was simply calling attention to the root of the problem of Japanese Koreans—within that minority group itself. Sakurai reasoned:

> There is a strong image that Japanese Koreans are dangerous, dark, and that they suffer. They say that 'Do not lump us into one homogeneous group!' However, if there are good and bad Japanese Koreans, then what are the good Japanese Koreans doing to find a solution of the problem of the bad Japanese Koreans. The answer is that they did nothing and this is the reason why this problem is yet unsolved.[185]

Their style of anti-Japanese Korean protest is deliberately provocative. Makoto Sakurai openly challenges the moral authority of the Japanese Korean diaspora by organizing public demonstrations in the very same places that the Japanese Koreans use for examples of their discriminatory experience in Japan. Their purpose is to reverse the moral equation between the Japanese Korean diaspora and Japanese society. Sakurai's direct accusations of the false nature of the Japanese Korean interpretation of Japanese history puts Japanese Koreans and their supporters on the defensive and causes them to take risks to protect their image as "victims." Sakurai's provocative approach leaves Japanese Koreans feeling vulnerable to further accusations of them being the "enemy" since they fear his aggressive anti-Japanese Korean arguments may stimulate some anti-Japanese backlash among their own ranks. Hence, Sakurai encounters largely silence from the Japanese Koreans since they fear confrontations will only hurt their image as victims.

For instance, when Makoto Sakurai organized on December 14, 2008 a demonstration at *Utoro* in what he called as "a first in Japanese history" (*rekishihatsu*), he and other members of *Zaitokukai* marched around the area shouting to Japanese Korean residents to leave. "They (the Japanese Korean residents of *Utoro*) have to leave this land," he declared. His group further demanded explanations for "all these posters," and why Japanese Koreans "illegally occupied this territory." Sakurai and his group queried loudly, "Why would destroying *Utoro* mean the destruction of post-war

[185] http://www.zaitokukai.info. Accessed 20 February 2010.

Japanese history?" In reply to the poster that said, "Send your love to Utoro" his group emphatically declared, "There cannot be any love in *Utoro*."

Japanese officials are another target of his protests. On December 15, 2008, after his demonstration in *Utoro*, Sakurai took his band of protesters to Uji City Hall to demand an explanation for the tolerance of the illegal residency of Japanese Koreans in *Utoro* area. For him, it was important to get the Japanese public to perceive the danger of Japanese Koreans as extending beyond the community's ethnic boundaries to Japanese society itself. In other words, Sakurai aimed to show that Japanese Koreans have already penetrated Japanese politics and manipulated officials for their own benefits, contrary to Japanese law. By doing so, Makoto Sakurai and his band of protester demonstrate that they alone are the sole guardians of Japan against the Japanese Korean danger. For instance, he shouted at the workers of Uji City Hall and demanded a meeting with the mayor. When vice-mayor came out to meet Sakurai, the crusader asked the public official to comment on the decision of the Japanese High Court made in December 2000 that the *Utoro* residents do not have right to occupy this land. The vice-mayor, however, refused not only to comment on this court decision but also refused to reveal if City Hall officials were even aware of this ruling.[186]

Japanese Koreans schools became another important target for the counter protesters. The *Zaitokukai* periodically holds campaigns against Japanese Korean schools. The *Zaitokukai* usually work in cooperation with another right-wing organization to carry out a provocative demonstrations right in front of the schools calling Japanese Korean to get out of Japan and accusing ethnic schools in training North Korean spies (*kitachōsen supai yōsei kikan*).[187]

Right-wing organizations like the *Zaitokukai* and the *Sokka-Gakkai* frequently blame Japanese Koreans. They do so to present Japan as a victim in economic terms and thus readily reject consideration of any proposal for compensations to Japanese Koreans. In fact, they actually accuse the minority group of contributing virtually nothing to the Japanese economy. During a demonstration the *Zaitoku-kai* try to deliver the message that Japanese Koreans were stealing the money of the Japanese people. They employed moral arguments against Japanese Koreans, accusing them of receiving tax-free pensions as well as operating *pachinko* parlors that do not pay taxes. Makoto Sakurai even use the pejorative term, *neko-baba* or "cat's shit" to refer to Japanese Koreans receiving such pensions with no remorse. His solution therefore, called for the expulsion of Japanese Koreans out of Japan to Korea because, as he put it, "they are social parasites."

Groups standing in opposition to Japanese Koreans also oppose all claims of Japanese abuse of "comfort women" during World War II. They aim to morally de-legitimize claims for Japanese compensations by shifting the image of "comfort women" as victims of past Japanese imperialism and symbols of present-day

[186]Sakurai Makoto referred to Decision of High Court on February 14, 2000 not longer complaints which meant confirmation of resolution of Kyoto Court made on January 30, 1998.

[187]*Kyōdō Tsūshinsha* December 18, 2009.

Japanese economic exploitation. Their attempts to undercut the high moral ground away from the "comfort women" begin with their representation of Japan as a victim of Japanese Koreans, a public position of social inequality created by the latter. According to Shuhei Nishimura, an activist/member of the "Society for Restoration of Civil Rights" and a self-designated specialist on the topic of "comfort women," asserts that Korean women during the war were in a much better position economically than most Japanese people. Therefore, Nishimura claimed, there was no exploitation but only economic cooperation when Korean women provided sexual service for money since they were paid salaries that were much higher than what ordinary people in Japan received at the time.[188]

Anti-Korean comic book series (*manga kenkanryū*) too, challenged the moral authority of Japanese Korean diaspora on a much wider scale than the right-wing organizations. *Kenkanryū* appeared as a negative reaction against growing popularity of the "Korean Wave" (*kanryū*) in the mid-2000s that Japanese Korean largely benefited from. The series of comic books was released in the midst of popularity of Korean mass culture in Japan and became a huge success with its sales reaching more than 1,000,000 copies in 10 years from 2005 to 2015.[189] These comic books were so successful that it triggered the social phenomenon known as the "Hate Korea Wave"[190] and gave birth to four sequels. The author or authors hide their identities by writing under the pseudonym *Sharin Yamano*. According to "Yamano," the popularity of Korea pop-culture pushed the Japanese mass media into depicting Korea as an attractive, fashionable, and "cool" place. But for *Yamano* Korea is anything but that and he was simply put into the form of comic books what many Japanese internet users knew to be true about that country.

The story *Yamano* presents revolves around a group of Japanese and Japanese Korean students. There are Kaname, a first-year university student, his girlfriend Itsumi and other members of university's East Asia Investigation Committee and their Japanese Korean friend, Koichi. Initially Kaname believes the story of Japanese oppression of Korea in colonial period as he was taught at school. He is also critical of his grandfather who used to work for the colonial government in Korea. Eventually his belief is challenged by his grandfather's last words before his death that "Japan contributed to the development of Korea."[191] On entering the

[188]Nishimura declared this speech several times before his supporters who participated in the demonstrations on December 25, 2007 and March 7, 2008 before the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

[189]This number is true according to the Shinyūsha Co. Ltd. press release that published the entire series of the *Kenkanryū*. See Sharin Yamano, *Manga kenkanryū 4* [Hating Korea Manga] (Tokyo: Shinyūsha, 2009), cover page.

[190]In the midst of the 2000s there were several publications that manipulated anti-Korean sentiments. See for instance, *Kankokujin nitsukeru kusuri*: Kankoku jikakushōjō nashino urinaraizumu no byōri [Medicine for Korean People: Korean Nationalism without Disguise] (Tokyo: Ōkura Shuppan, 2005), 135–152, 240–262.

[191]Sharin Yamano, *Manga kenkanryū* [Hating Korea Manga], 33.

university the confused Kaname joins the history group and begins his search for the "truth" about Korea and relations between Japan and Korea.

Throughout the comic, Kaname and Itsumi challenge the image of Korea as victim of Japan. In numerous debates they promote the idea that Japan played positive role in the development of the Korean economy and culture during the colonial period. However, instead of gratitude from Korea, Japan receives only disdain, and so they claim that Japan is a true "victim" of Korean nationalism. For instance, they say that on the one hand 'Korea is misrepresenting many Japanese cultural products such as samurai, kendo, and sushi as being of Korean origin, as well as Korea steals and imitates Japanese consumer products. On the other hand Korea invades and occupies the Japanese island territory of Takeshima.

The fourth book *Kenkanryū* criticizes specifically the privileged status of Japanese Koreans. The author depicts Korean residents as social parasites because many of them are unemployed and live on government financial assistance or are members of *yakuza* gangs who also rob Japanese people. They try to construct the counter-image of Japanese society as the "real" victim who is weak and alienated and thus cannot resist the well-organized Japanese Koreans. The author promotes the idea that the Korean residents in Japan use self-constructed images of victim (*higaisha*) as an universal argument to brainwash Japanese people and justify any and all their claims. For instance, in section 6 a group of Japanese Koreans raise a toast to Japan, saying:

> Long live unemployment! Long live social welfare! Long live free tax relief! Japan must feed us! Because we are ancestors of forcedly deported Koreans and we are discriminated by Japan.[192]

Finally, individual protests against Japanese Koreans by Japanese Koreans themselves merit consideration. Third generation Japanese Korean Kazuma Arai used to be one of the active members and vice-president of the *Zaitokukai*. In his book, *Third Generation Japanese Korean* (*zainichi korian- za-sa-do*) (2006), Arai criticizes both South Korea and Japanese Koreans for stereotyping Japan. In his view, the collective identity of Japanese Koreans and Korean nationalism are examples of the corruption of morality because he believes Japanese Koreans are lying to Japanese society and to themselves. He thinks the younger generation of Japanese Koreans are all Japanized so that only right thing for them to do is to abandon this fiction of ethnicity since it does not exist in reality. In writing about the first generation, Arai excuses them, saying "their body was in Japan but heart was in Korea." Unlike them, however, Arai said the third generation is far from Korea and residing in Japan. "After going to Japanese schools, living among the Japanese, whether it is good or bad, I think they become dead to Korea." He also blames Japanese Koreans for manipulating notions of ethnicity and citizenship, saying "There is no hard line (*sabetsu*) between ethnic identity and citizenship; it is just a distinction (*kubetsu*) but that too many Japanese Koreans refuse to recognize

[192]Sharin Yamano, *Manga kenkanryū* 4 [Hating Korea Manga], 135–170.

this fact."[193] Arai even questioned why so many Japanese Koreans retain Korean citizenship, saying, "Why they do not want to change their citizenship to Japanese? Will it change anything? If it changes something, then it only proves that there is no such thing as 'Japanese Koreans' in the first place."[194]

Moreover, other pro-Japanese naturailzed (*kika*) Zainichi activists believe that the whole idea of Japanese Korean ethnic culture which is based on anti-Japanese sentiments is dishonest. They propose instead a "harmonic" solution of the Japanese Korean diaspora by excluding them from Japanese society because they act merely as an irritant. They usually place the right to criticize a state and a society only with membership in that society. It means that their criticism and political activism in Japanese society can be legitimate only if they obtain Japanese citizenship. For examples, as professor at Takushoku University also famous as active author and journalist, naturalized as Japanese citizen Oh Sonfa noticed that: "No doubt that Japanese Koreans are economically one of the luckiest people in the world. However, this is not due to their efforts because they received this economic welfare from successful economic development of Japan. This permits them to live non-stressful lives without feeling pressure of naturalization."[195]

4.2.4 *Japanese Korean Cultivation of Persons for Protest*

One Japanese Korean intellectual noticed that "we are not born as Japanese Koreans but we become Japanese Koreans due to the rampant discrimination in Japanese society and our life-long battle against it."[196] To a large degree, his words aptly describe the role of Japanese Korean ethnic schools and art in the moralization of the Japanese Korean diaspora. Ethnic educational institutions as well as mass culture aim for the cultivation of Japanese Koreans and Japanese into individuals with strong moral sensitivity necessary for active participation in protest movements related to their community and readiness to accept protest claims towards Japanese society as legitimate. Although most of them usually do not become activist s in protest movements, nor does the schools limit the students' career options to such activities, but these ethnic institutions and works of art provide important patterns of how to describe the society in which they live. In that sense, they communicate Japanese Koreans with the high risks associated with the surrounding society and encourage Japanese society to view majority as a source of high risk of discrimination towards minorities. Eventually the logic of this discourse

[193]Kazuma Arai, *Zainichi korian za sado* [Japanese Korean the Third] (Tokyo: Ōkura Shuppan, 2006), 38.

[194]Ibid., 181–186.

[195]O Sonfa, Umi no kanata no kuni e nippon o mezasu kankoku. saishū tō no onna tachi [Women of Korea, Jeju Island Who Cross the Sea to Come to Japan] (Tokyo: PHP Kenkyujyo, 2002).

[196]Chon Yon Hae, "*Tamigayo seishō*": *aidentiti, kokumin kokka, jendā* [People's Reign: identity nation-state gender] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shōten, 2003), 21.

goes further and encourages Japanese Koreans to perceive their own ethnic community and other forms of collectivity, like family, as a source of discrimination against individual.

The ethnic schools were in opposition to Japanese society. The pro-North Korean organization Chongryon controls the majority of Japanese Korean from their inception in the 1960s and 1970s. The anti-Japanese rhetoric, and practices such as the purge of Japanese collaborationists was a crucial aspect of North Korean nation building process that had a strong impact on the ethnic educational institutions in Japan. Hence, the Korean schools in Japan, as part of this purging process, adopted one of the central notions of a "socialist education"—the cultivation of students who would perceive themselves in opposition to the Japanese state. The North Korean leader Kim Il Sung declared that Koreans ethnic schools in Japan was one of the battle lines against Japanese Imperialism:

> We need to be more active in the common struggle together with Koreans in Japan for our national education against Japanese reactionaries. We need to tighten our belts more and provide more support [them] so that our counterparts can build new schools.[197]

In Kim Il Sung's mind, the ethnic schools in Japan were supposed to cultivate loyalty to the North Korean regime. His new "socialist education" defined the Japanese Korean students as "children," and thus were not just to teach factual information but to be molded into loyal citizens of the State and community as it was the case with the students in North Korea. But which state? Not Japan, since the Great Leader encouraged Japanese Korean ethnic schools to study Korean language and history as a part of their "loyalty education" curriculum.[198] As Kim Il Sung said, the greatest happiness of our people (*minjok*) is to follow their Great Leader."[199]

The "child" Kim Il Sung spoke of frequently functions as a moral argument both for Japanese society[200] and for the Japanese Korean diaspora. From the very beginning the central role in representation of ethnic education belongs to students who represent objects for moral manipulations. The "child" in the form of a "student" of the ethnic schools functions as one who accepts the moral message as it is without change. The child functions as a source of motivation for Japanese Koreans to develop ethnic schools and how to elicit moral remorse from the Japanese. For example, as one Japanese Korean specialist in ethnic education tells

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[197] *Kim Il Sung jeojakjib* [Kim Il Sung's Collection of Works], vol. 21 (Pyongyang: Joseon Nodongdang Chulpansa, 1990), 160.

[198] Apichai Wongsod Shipper, *Fighting for Foreigners: Immigration and Its Impact on Japanese Democracy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), 73.

[199] Jeong Nam Cho, Ho Yol Yu and Man Kil Han, *Bukhan ui jaeoe dongpo jeongchae*g [North Korean Politics to Overseas Koreans] (Seoul: Jipmoon, 2002), 28.

[200] In the case of Japan, the most famous symbol of Korean aggression towards Japanese society is a Japanese girl named Megumi Yokoda who was kidnapped and taken to North Korea. There are a number of movies, mangas, and books about her. See *Megumi*: hikisaka reta kazoku no 30 nen [Megumi: 30 Years of a Broken Family] (2006).

the story where it was a little girl (future student) that encouraged adults to establish ethnic schools for them.[201]

Given their North Korean legacy and the moral imperative to protect their children, Japanese Korean schools provided students with an important framework for interpreting their surrounding environment. These schools' respective histories show two main tendencies of what the space inside and outside the school meant for them. As for the latter, the schools portrayed the territory beyond the walls of these educational institutions as hostile. During the 1950s and 1960s, the schools used segregation as an ideology to mobilize Japanese Koreans under political slogans that ostensibly collectively protected their culture and language against Japanese domination. They created and passed on the image of the "heroic" Japanese Korean diaspora[202] and made that image into one of their central symbols. They represented Japan in this manner during a period in which strong ethnic solidarity with the aim of distancing themselves from the nation which they saw as the source of violence against Japanese Koreans. They therefore defined the space outside of school as a battlefield where adults sacrifice their lives to fight with Japanese police in demonstrations they participated in to defend future of Japanese Korean children.

Their strong sense of independence was exemplified in the final scene of a famous movie among Japanese Koreans known as Child of Korea (Chōsen-no-ko) made in the year of 1954. In this scene, the application of the juche ideology of self-sufficiency is evident when one winter morning the Korean children went to an unheated school building where they feel very cold. But undeterred, some of the students suddenly start running around to warm themselves and eventually the entire student body was running around the ethnic school to keep themselves warm. The movie demonstrates how Japanese Korean students in the 1950s practiced self-sufficiency by relying not on external warmth generated by heaters but rather on an internal heat that also provided them with motivation to study at their ethnic schools.

A half a century later, however, the Korean schools modified the framework for understanding space inside and outside the school grounds. In the 1990s and 2000s, their segregationist approach gave way to an integrationist outlook as the third- and fourth-generation Japanese Koreans became socially enmeshed with the wider

[201]"Compatriots, you may think that it is an accident that I speak to you in Japanese. I am sure that you think it is strange. But can you understand how hard it is for me that I standing on this tribune can speak only Japanese. I will do everything to learn and speak fluently the language of our motherland, the Korean language. And it is very painful to realize that I cannot do that. I was very happy when learnt about national liberation that will make Korean a country that nobody can oppress. However, there is one more thing, is that I was merely half-Japanese. After 2 years of liberation I feel very lonely and abandoned. There are a lot of us half-Japanese in this country who cannot speak our native Korean language. After these words she stood up and cried." A quote from Deog Ryong Kim, *Chōsen gakkō no sengoshi*: 1945–1972 [Postwar History of Japanese Korean School: 1945–1972] (Tokyo: Shakai Hyōronsha, 2002), 16–17.

[202]Deog Ryong Kim, Chōsen gakkō no sengoshi 1945–1972 [The Post War History of Korean Schools 1945–1972], 103; Kyu Sang O, Dokyumento zainippon chōsenjin renmei [The Documentary History of League of Koreans in Japan] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2009), 141.

Japanese society. The ethnic schools still defined the meaning of the space outside the campus as hostile but instead of representing such territory as solely a battle-ground, they began to teach that the risks associated with that space "outside" could be managed by Japanese Koreans making compensations claims against Japanese society or by making appeals that would elicit Japanese sympathy for them as a minority group.

The Chima-jeogori Incidents (*chimachogori kiri saki jiken*) of the early 1990s illustrate how the ethnic schools changed their understanding of the world beyond the school walls. The incidents took place in 1994 following in the wake of disputes over the North Korean nuclear problem and the kidnapping of Japanese. From May to June of the same year, female students dressed in ethnic uniforms on their way to school were attacked by unknown individuals who tried to cut their uniforms with knives. The incidents occurred in different parts of Japan but took place in the Tokyo metropolitan area. The police reported about twenty two such incidents while Chongryon officials claimed there were one hundred twenty two.[203]

In spite of these criminal acts of violence, the Japanese Korean diaspora mostly avoided politicization of the conflict. The criticism Chongryon officials leveled against the state remained strictly within the legal framework of Japanese society. The ethnic schools faced dilemma of how to preserve their affiliation with North Korea and at the same time to promote further integration of ethnic schools into Japanese educational system. This integration gave rise to the hope of obtaining similar legal rights and financial support from the government much as "normal" schools in Japan have received. For instance, Chongryon did not organize mass demonstrations for the right of Korean people to wear ethnic dresses as it would happen in 1950s–1960s in order to avoid such incidents in the future. Instead, according to the new rules chima jeogori was declared a "second uniform" (dainiseifuku) so that students can wear them inside the school but while outside, they had to wear Japanese uniform.

Japanese Korean schools' negative image of the outside space was inverse to their positive image of the space inside. The Kyoto Association of Korean Schools promotes the idea that their ethnic schools are the only place where Japanese Koreans are safe from discrimination because the image of "Korea" in Japanese society is normally equated with something "dirty." They apply this stereotype of Japanese Koreans to all Japanese and this negative perception of themselves as a part of their construction of an ethnic boundary between the Japanese Korean diaspora and the Japanese. In interviews with the students, Association officials claim the difference between themselves and the Japanese are comparable to what is normal and what is pathological.[204]

Japanese popular culture promotes a similar image of the Japanese Korean ethnic schools for Japanese society. Movies describing the relationship between Japanese

[203] *Asahi Shinbun*, June 16, 1994.

[204] *Zainichi no ima*: Kyōto hatsu [Japanese Koreans Today: A Case of Kyoto] (Kyoto: Zenchōkyōkyōto, 1994), 12–16, 28.

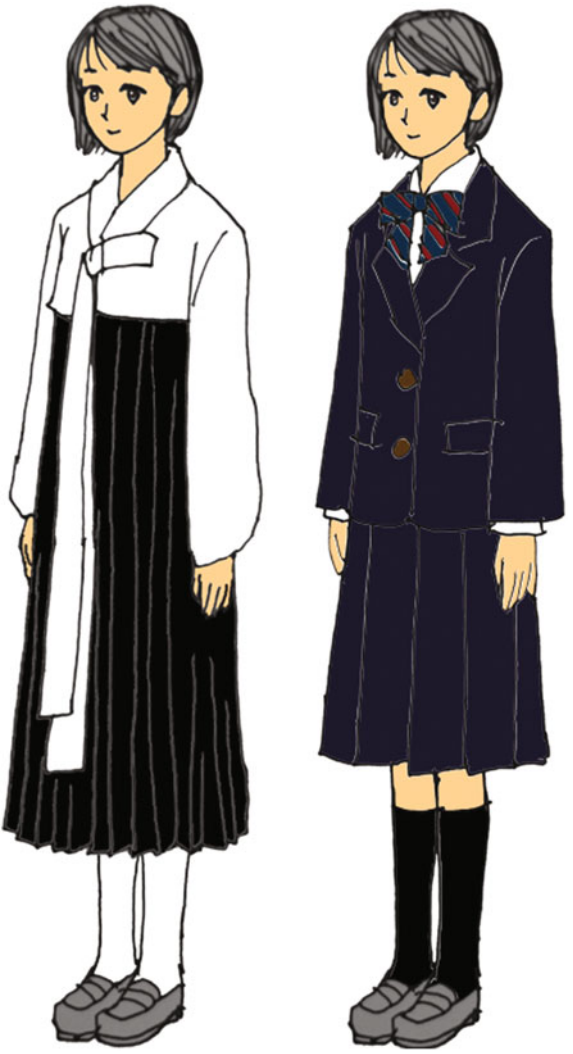

Fig. 4.1 *Left* Japanese Korean female school uniform; *Right* Japanese female school uniform, 2008, Original Adobe Photoshop image

and Japanese Korea young people often characterize their differences in terms of morality. The space outside the ethnic schools or inside the Japanese school is the place where the risk of encountering violence by Japanese students is high. These movies therefore convey the same image of school life and its student has the same message to both Japanese Koreans and Japanese. For the Japanese audience, they provide yet another reason for moral self-regulation and for Japanese Koreans, as well as legitimize the moral regulation of cultural differences in Japanese society on a larger scale. For example, the first scene of the famous movie *Pacchigi*! (2004) takes place in Kyoto during the 1960s with a large group of Japanese Korean

students punishing a small group of Japanese students for sexual harassment of female Japanese Korean students dressed in *chima-jeogori*.

Ethnic schools are the one place defined as pathologies are non-existent by the Japanese Korean diaspora. Japanese Korean schools in Kyoto actively promote the image of ethnic school as spaces without pathologies in public events under the slogans of "peaceful co-existence." Their emphasis upon peaceful co-existence is necessary to sharply contrast the absence of pathologies in ethnic schools with the world outside and to suggest that co-existence is largely the responsibility of Japanese society. Accordingly, Japanese Koreans are the people with less risk of pathological behavior and they are not a threat to Japanese society. To be more precise, pathology is less probable inside the school but more probable outside the school. The territory of school is territory of absolute happiness, loyalty, and solidarity. For instance, every year since 1993 the *Higashi Kujō* Madang Festival is organized by the Japanese Korean junior school of Kyoto (kyōto chōsen daiichi shokyū gakkō). The festival is decorated with colorful paintings made by children and on the wall of the school in front of the school yard where festival takes place and there is a huge picture that depicts parents and children picnic on the bank of the Kamogawa River.

Another example of displacing pathologies outside the ethnic boundaries is depiction of schools in movies. Kyoto Universities students' volunteer organizations actively promoted the movie *Our School* (*uri-hakkyo*) made by South Korean director Kim Myeong Joon as the most representative example of Japanese and South Korean society for understanding the "true" meaning of Japanese Korean School. This documentary movie, released on March 29, 2007 relates a tale about the daily lives of students in a *Chongryon*-run "Hokkaido Korean Primary Middle and High School" (*hokkaidō chōsen hatsu chūkōkyū gakkō*). At its screening in Kyoto, 7034 attended.[205]

The purpose of the South Korean movie director was to elicit moral compassion. The compassion he sought emerges from the contrast between the idealistic portrayal of life inside the Korean school and its "wrong" location in Japan. The movie represents the school as a community without internal contradictions and pathologies. Both students and teachers are loyal to school, Korean culture, language with a high degree of solidarity with each other. On the other hand, the Korean school is not in Korea where it should be but in Japan where it causes nothing but anxiety. According to the movie, every day life in the school is every day a war with Japanese society. The students and teachers have to make heroic efforts to preserve Korean culture in Japan. The slogan of the movie prevents audience from different interpretation: "This is Japanese Korean School. This is the beginning of brave walk to school!"

The absence of pathologies inside school is reproduced by its internal design. Usually inside the school there is a strong contrast between students' attention to North Korean symbolism and the current events of the school. Korean students use more inclusive pluralism of morality and ignore exclusive political demands of

[205]This information is provided by the official blog for the movie at http://urihakkyo.blog105.fc2.com/.

homogenous expectations and needs of future Korean revolution and loyalty to North Korean government. Yet within the context of Japanese society, North Korea represents a very risky connotation with threats to Japan in the form of "kidnapping accidents," nuclear weapon, totalitarian regime, and total poverty. For instance, the students of Higashi Osaka School tolerate all North Korean symbolism but such objects remain undecorated and "emotionless." On the other hand, they describe the daily life of the school with colorful posters to represent their happiness and ease over the absence of any threats.

However, the school does not fully ignore politics. For instance, the students of Higashi Osaka School are a typical example of how "North Korea" becomes "cute" in Japanese Korean educational institution. Students incorporate political ideologies in a form with low degree of risks of social criticism. They represent their loyalty to that nation in the most possible pacifist manner under the slogans of "love." They create an image of North Korea that can be easily incorporated into the young generation's worldview with high moral sensitivity to pathologies even though this alternative symbolism is not convincing for many Japanese people. They portray North Korea as a very attractive, peace-loving, and cute country that simply is not capable of pathological behavior. For instance, in the poster that decorates Higashi Osaka ethnic school the words "patriotism" is written in Korean and decorated with hearts just like Japanese youth decorates their small photo *purikura* with heart-shaped designs.

Idealization of North Korean continues in Japanese Korean textbooks. In 2003, *Chongryon* published new textbooks on Korean history. North Korea appears as a friendly country with good relations with all other counties. The textbooks simply show that the danger is not from North Korea but rather that North Korea is a possible victim like the Japanese Koreans. This is supposed to teach students to interpret any action by the Japanese government or the United States of Amerca against North Korea as act of discrimination, which they also anticipate. For instance, the dominant form of relations of North Korea with other countries is one of trade. Concerning, relations with Japan, the most important contribution by North Korea to Japanese society is in the sphere of culinary arts. Famous *Morioka-ramen* originated in Pyongyang and the Korean people later brought to Japan where it became famous.[206]

Moreover, there is no political leadership in North Korean society. In the new text books of the Modern History of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, North Korean society is portrayed as the end result of collective efforts by many individuals and not merely due to a single leader, suggesting that the Korean version of democracy is where a political leader plays secondary role. For instance, there are no images neither of Kim Il Sung alone because he always with other people and not necessarily in the center. In addition, there is an excuse for possible disappointments of North Korea because Kim Il Sung is not a human but a principle of social reproduction that lasts forever. As famous North Korean writer Soek Yun

[206] *Gugeo* [National Language] (Tokyo: Chongryon, 2003), 53–56.

Gi writes in his short story *Happiness*, published in the textbook of Korean language, happiness is not a result but constant never-ending process of work of everybody for the good of society.[207]

Even after graduation, Japanese Koreans continue cultivation of morally sensitive persons at the university level. In most large universities in Japan, they gather in special organizations called Ryukhaktong to further educate themselves about the history of discrimination Japanese Koreans faced in Japan even though the groups are ostensibly mere social clubs organize around a particular interest, hobby, or sport. The purpose of their activity, however, is different from "normal" Japanese clubs in that they maintain a moral sensitivity towards their own history. The members are mostly Japanese Korean students who organize lectures, conferences, and seminars inviting professors and even local Japanese politicians to discuss the historical legitimacy of Japanese Korean claims against Japanese society and government. For example, the Ryuhaktong in Kyoto University and Doshisha University gather once a week during which each member presents an hour-long report on specific instances of discrimination of Japanese Koreans. Their presentations are usually prepared and approved by local branches of Chongryon.

However, members' motivation for participation in such activities of the *Ryuhaktong* is not strong. They find it difficult to gather members interested in the topics presented on a regular basis and struggle to find a new leader for the club after graduation of previous one because few are willing to spend considerable personal time for organization of club activities. Their rationale is not too difficult to understand, given the fact that the image of Japanese Koreans as victims of Japanese society does not coincide with their own actual experiences as third- and fourth-generation Japanese Koreans who encounter little, if any discrimination from their Japanese peers. Hence, the average number of Kyoto University club members who regularly participate in weekly gathering ranged from only eight to ten individuals whereas at Doshisha University and Kansai University of Foreign Languages, numbered less than five, as this author has observed over a 2-year period from 2006 to 2007.

Yet student participation in these Japanese Korean college clubs may actually weaken ethnic solidarity. The members of the clubs demand from each other an emotional representation of what they hear during these presentations and those who appear insincere or incapable of becoming emotional about discrimination against Japanese Koreans—and that number is not small—are excluded. The club members find it necessary to demand such emotional displays in order to maintain a high level of moral sensitivity towards the issue discrimination against Japanese Koreans. However, their very actions to sentimentalize the issue also brings the unintended consequence of privatization and sentimentalization of the Japanese Korean diaspora, both of which weakens ethnic solidarity by placing primacy upon an emotional processing of information that is episodic and accidental when collectivity requires periodicity and discipline. Moreover, student participation in such

[207]Ibid., 15–24.

educational activities leaves the door open to greater skepticism over the continued existence of discrimination against Japanese Koreans in the light of their own experience. Their doubts are further reinforced when all presentations end with the same conclusion—discrimination is bad and the absence of discrimination is good.

The demographic crisis of ethnic schools is also a consequence of morally regulated ethnic solidarity. Today Japanese Korean schools face the problem of decreasing number of students. Parents now are less likely to send their children to ethnic schools. The protest-orientated education of the Korean ethnic schools is no longer relevant because they no longer can use the image of victim by Japanese society as it was until recent times. Most of the younger generation of Japanese Koreans has successfully integrated into Japanese society, which has substantially lowered the risk of discrimination. The image of Korea has improved especially because of popularity of Korean pop culture in Japan in 2000s. Most of the graduates from ethnic schools find jobs where the knowledge of Korean culture and language are not necessary, like medical workers or pharmacists. Even the students in school do not see application for their knowledge to the outside world. I once asked students at Higashi Osaka Korean School about how they are going to use Korean language skills that they learned in Korean school, but none could answer the question definitely.

However, *Chongryon*-run Korean schools still rely on moral motivation of the parents in search of legitimacy. The purpose of public representation of ethnic schools by *Chongryon* for the Japanese Korean diaspora is to elicit feelings of compassion from Japanese Korean families. The purpose here is to motivate Japanese Korean parents to send their children to the ethnic schools. According to content of the public events, it is the duty of parents to choose ethnic schools in the name of their ancestors who heroically fought against the Japanese state and society, and to preserve the Korean culture and language. For example, in celebration of forty-fifth anniversary of the ethnic schools in Kyoto, the central role belonged to a female student who said in her speech in the Korean language done in the North Korean style—passionately and nearly crying. These were the words of gratitude to parents who made the Korean school for them and sent them to study here. That is why they are the happiest people in the world.

Cultivation of moral sensitivity was not unique to the ethnic schools and the Japanese Korean public. Japanese Korean Theater *Talorum* (*gekidan taruorumu*) is example of the cultivation of moral sensitivity among Japanese people. This is an all-female theatrical group that consists of five members, four of them are third-generation Japanese Koreans and one, a Japanese. It is a bi-lingual theater with plays both in Japanese and Korean. The mission of theater is to remind young Japanese and Japanese Koreans that the tragic history of Korean residents in Japan is inseparable part of both Japanese and Japanese Korean culture. Their targeted audience is not limited to a particular social or age group but widened to include the general public interested in Japanese Korean and ethnic minorities' issues in Japan. For instance, in the four major plays that they frequently perform, they use morality to describe cultural differences, *The Wind of 4.24* (*Shigatsu nijyūyon no kaze*);

Dawn of the Lonely Island (*Kotō no reimei*); *Line* (*Rain*); *Osaka Loop Line* (*ōsaka kanjō-sen*).[208]

The participants of each play are divided according to two basic functions: one group plays the victims and another group plays the harassers. This strict functional division of participants is done with purpose to avoid risk of misinterpretation of who is good side and who is bad and who should be object of audience's compassion. One group of performers anticipates harassment and transmits this anticipation to the audience and another one realizes this anticipation in practice. Representation of misbalanced relations obtains extreme and provocative forms in their performances, for example policemen or a military man captures women (symbolic rape) in *Line* or the murder of children in *Dawn of the Lonely Island.*

Plays usually consist of three parts where each part represents some relationship to harassment. The play always begins with a scene of happiness that is interrupted by outsiders and that eventually mobilizes Japanese Koreans to resist these acts of discrimination. This structure puts harassment at the center of every act in the performance and tries to convince audience that they too are a central element of Japanese Korean culture. Introductory scenes that show the daily life of Japanese Koreans emphasize the absence of discrimination and any contradictions within the Japanese Korean community. Scenes of harassments draw boundary between Japanese Koreans as victims and Japanese as harassers. In addition, the distinction between the victim and the harasser elicits from the audience a compassionate attitude towards Japanese Koreans and a disdain towards Japanese society.

The first stage shows Japanese Koreans as "normal" people. Performance usually starts from a scene in the daily life of Japanese Koreans that exhibits no pathology. Performers expect that the audience would see that Japanese Korean society is without any internal contradictions and all deviations from norm can come only from outside. For example, in *Wind of 4.24* we see an idealistic picture of a Korean female gathering for a little party. They are happy with their few possessions. In the beginning of the *Osaka Loop Line* a Japanese Korean school girl goes to school and meets Korean female tourists and they become friends. In *Line* for instance, a group of young females are preparing for tour of Korea.

The second part introduces the harasser. The harasser draws a distinction between Koreans and Japanese in terms of "good" and "bad." Using physical violence he creates unbalanced relations when one side of interaction has full power over the destiny of another. Japanese Koreans on this stage are discriminated against and appear powerless against the harasser who is represented by state repressive mechanism like the police or a military man. Violence against the powerless deprives the harasser of ideological justification for his aggression. Absence of any resistance from victim demonstrates the harasser is at his purest form. This distinction prevents audience from misinterpreting who is good and who

[208]*Zainichi chōsenjin rekishi ningen shūkan* [Journal on History and Rights of Japanese Koreans] April 16–August 9, 2008. This issue is devoted to the Eighty-Fifth anniversary of the Tokyo Earthquake and the Sixtieth anniversary of the Hanshin Incident. This volume contains mostly artistic representations of those events in the form of manga with reference to the *Talorum* troop.

is bad as well as assist in bringing the audience to the side of the "good people." For example, in *Wind of 4.25* or *Line* Japanese policemen and South Korean and North Korean military men play this function against group of Japanese Korean women and children.

Moral construction of ethnic boundary narrows the possibilities of ethnic solidarity. In the third part, a switching of the roles in the unbalanced relations takes place. The harassment shown in the previous parts becomes a legitimate source for collective actions and solidarity with audience. In other words, according to *Talorum* the Japanese Korean diaspora is organized from outset to resist external violence and Japanese society can exist only as the experience of collective compassion towards victims. For instance, the final scene of *Wind of 4.24* shows a group of Japanese Korean women, children and men standing together to protect the ethnic schools against the approaching Japanese policemen. This creates solidarity between Japanese Koreans and the Japanese audience based on compassion with protesters.

Japanese Korean artists develops the logic of moralized ethnic boundaries further describing Japanese Korean Diaspora itself as source of moral pathology. Many of writers who write in Japanese about their experience in Japan look for moral authority in a way that would appeal to a larger public in Japanese society. The example of Japanese Korean literature in the post-World War II period until the 2000s and individual discourses on ethnic identity clearly demonstrate that they follow this pattern in the process of imagination and representation of moral authority. However, the conflict nature of morality precludes any opportunity for the establishment of equal relations of solidarity between ethnic community members. It also means that moral consensus is possible only when one side fully accepts the other as an absolute moral authority or when both sides avoid debates on moral norms by declaring dominance of private space over the public sphere. They describe social distinctions within ethnic boundaries as moral contradiction such as gender distinction between man and women or between collective and individual. According to them the moral consensus and thus ethnic solidarity emerges from description of one of the sides of the distinction as pathological. Simply speaking, the most popular variations obtain moral authority from the weaker side where minority is good because majority is bad; women are good because men are bad; the private life of an individual is good because collectivity is bad.

Yet, the de-valuation of the collective identity is a popular theme in Japanese Korean literature. The purpose of many of second-generation Japanese Korean writers that started their careers in the 1980s was to prove that the individual and not the collective is a moral authority. They try to undermine the authority of the community, promoting the idea that the collective cannot protect individual. The Japanese Korean community appears as hegemonic or totally indifferent towards individual lives. For many of them, assimilation into Japanese society is the way they can escape from dangers imposed by collective identity. For example, second-generation Japanese Korean writers like Gen Getsu and Yang Seok Il

describe different aspects of inhumane attitude of Japanese Korean diaspora towards the individual when discussing the example of the "father" figure.

Gen Getsu in his novel *Den of Darkness* (*Kage no sumika*, 1999) presents an example of indifference of the community towards the individual represented by the figure of a weak-willed father. The author received 122nd Akutagawa Award for this novel. It tells the story of a Japanese Korean old man named Soban who accepts life as it is without any attempt to resist, or change it, or to express any discontent. He even served in the Japanese Imperial Army. His son cannot forgive his father for collaboration and as a sign of protest or to expiate the sins of his father he joins the student demonstrations of the 1950s and eventually dies in an anti-Vietnam War protest march. His wife dies in an accident and Soban himself lives at the mercy of a rich Chinese Korean who uses him and other poor people in the community almost as if they were his slaves.

Yang Seok Il provides the opposite example of a hegemonic character in the Japanese Korean diaspora. In his famous novel *Blood and Bones* (*Chi to hone*, 1996) that received the Yamamoto Shugorojyo Award and was nominated to Naoki Award he goes further in description of pathology and puts at the center of Japanese Korean diaspora. Yang Seok Il uses the example of his personal life when his father left their family when he was young. The pathological element is represented by the figure of cruel and greedy farther Kim Shun Pei who relies only on violence in his dealings with other people. He is the owner of a seafood-processing factory who exploits and abuses other Japanese Korean employees and relatives. Eventually at the end of his life Kim Shun-Pei dies alone and is abandoned by everyone.

Popularity of Korean pop-culture demonstrated that gender differences are another source of moral authority beyond novels. "Korean Wave" that began in the 2000s after broadcast and several re-broadcast of Korean drama *Winter Sonata* (*Gyeoul Yeonga*) on NHK in 2003 and 2004 positively changed the image of "Korea" in Japan both commercially and morally. On the one hand it uncovered a new large consumer group in Japanese society represented by middle class Japanese women.[209] On the other hand, it became part of the larger trend in Japanese society that began in the 1990s when the image of femininity turned from submissive and obedient to one more actively resistant towards excessive male power and violent behavior that is traditionally associated with masculinity.

The crucial factor in the construction of female moral authority was the female imagination. The degree of morally good behavior depended on the freedom of women in Korean dramas or its audience and Japanese Korean writers like Yu Miri's ability to control the distance between men and women. The dramas and literature construct a particular image of men who cannot disturb the work of female

[209]For a detailed demographic analysis of the popularity of Korean dramas in Japan, see Hyan Chin Yi, *Kanryū no shakaigaku*: *fandamu, kazoku, ibunka kōryū* [Sociology of Korean Wave: Fandom, Family and Intercultural Communication], translated by Yukiko Shimizu (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2008), 15.

imagination. In other words, a perfect man is always a dead man.[210] For instance, South Korean drama constantly represents the relationship between men and women as distant while Japanese Korean female writers represent the relationship as overly close. The relational distance for women in Korean dramas are important in that they do not disrupt the work of imagination so that female audiences can keep on dreaming as they want. Yet, Yu Miri places men in too close a relationship with women, then punishes them, ending the female fantasy of closeness with men by returning the audience to the cruel reality of distance that she depicts in grotesque form in her works.

In South Korean dramas men's remoteness is necessary to reduce men to a state where they cannot harass women. For instance, a Korean man on screen is often contrasted with a Japanese man from real daily life and so the sexual act is constantly postponed or not shown so that female audience could imagine it as she wants. The proximity which is eventually ends up in love is frequently postponed or forcedly prevented. The man is often erased from memory or simply forgotten because of, for example, brain disease developed by the woman, as in *A Moment to Remember* (*Nae morisogui chiugae*, 2004). Or the man dies in accident, as in *Winter Sonata* (*Gyeoul yeonga*, 2002). Or the man lives in the past while the woman resides in the future, as in *Il Mare* (*Siwolae*, 2000). The man is mobilized and inducted into the South Korean Army, as in *Friends* (2002) or the man is killed by a South Korean mob, as in *Glass Slippers* (*Yuri gudu*, 2002). The entrance song of Winter Sonata *From the Beginning to End* (*Cheoeumbuteo jigeumkkaji*) performed by South Korean singer Ryu is one of the best examples that sums up the image of the remoteness of men:

You will never come back to me,
And you cannot do it.
Please stop doing it so,
You comfort me like this,
If I cannot see you again
Really want to forget
All about you that hold me
Whenever I wane laugh, you make me cry…
You keep me from doing even one thing as I want
Whenever I miss you, I break down like this.

Japanese Korean literature provides the opposite representation of female moral authority construction. In most cases, the modern Japanese Korean female writers who try to depict relations between Japanese Koreans and Japanese refer to gender differences where women act as an inhibitor to social pathologies originating from

[210]See the public lecture of Slavoj Zizek, *Fear Thy Neighbor as Thyself*, presented in Institute of Human Sciences of Boston University in 2007.

men. On the one hand, compassion places women in a position of moral authority because it is women who are the main objects of domination and the victims of male violence. On the other hand, the moral authority deduced from compassion justifies violence towards society and men for the purpose of domination. Their justification is especially clear in the example of the famous Japanese Korean writer, Yu Miri, a second-generation Japanese Korean and winner of several literature prizes and whose works were made into movies.[211]

In *On Air* (2009), Yu Miri deduces the female moral authority as different from corrupt society. Her novel is an attempt to provoke moral remorse both from men and women who support a sexist society where the female body is merely an object to be manipulated. Her novel tells the story about three women television announcers who all eventually have unsuccessful careers and are fired from their companies for various reasons like age because television needs attractive, young announcers or a promiscuous life because television is preoccupied with its moral image. After one of the heroines becomes involved in scandal when one reporter published a photo how she cheats on her husband with another man, she puts off the disguise from corrupt society who pretends to be "pure".

You think I am bad? Why do you think so? It is just a mistake. They used me for their purpose, they applauded my mistake. You believe that the reporter who exposed the scandal is an innocent man? You believe the hands that turn over the pages of the journal with my naked photos are clean?[212]

In *Life* (*Inochi*, 2000) is the opposite example of man's behavior controlled by a woman's expectations. Her story relates a tale about a woman who becomes pregnant from her lover, a married man. He throws her away but she meets another man who wants to take care of her son. However, he also departs from the scene because he is dying of cancer. The author permits the heroine to have only relationships that she can control. As a result, in Yu's novel, female identity remains morally pure, and any act of violence that removes the male or reduces him to the state where he cannot harass is not the female's responsibility but rather that of the one man or his destiny. The first man remains inside her in biological sense, as her little son and the second remains in emotional sense as a memory.

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[211]Description of the Japanese Korean female as moral authority is a part of a larger trend in the modern Japanese female literature. Two young female writers like Risa Wataya and Hitomi Kanehara who in 2004 together received the prestigious Akutagawa Award for their novels, *Keritai senaka* [The Back that I Want to Kick] (2003) and *Hebi ni piasu* [Snakes and Earrings] (2004) are two famous examples. Both writers describe the world of extremes proximity with man and at the same time try to regulate it. Risa Wataya takes up the analogy of a mother's womb and uses it to represent a little room where a young girl and boy spend almost all the time. The boy is pathologically obsessed with one female model. At the end of the novel she puts her foot on his back as simultaneously symbolic of his expulsion from paradise and incorporation back in her world under her control. The same mechanisms is at work in *Snakes and Earrings* by Hitomi Kanehara when a female makes two pathological males (after one kills another in violent sex play) into her lovers and then makes them a part of her body through tattoos and piercing. The slogan of the movie is "Let the pain become my body." …the impersonal physical pain that she controls.".

[212]Miri Yu, *On Ea* [On Air] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2009), vol. 2, 33.

Family Cinema (*Kazoku no shinema*, 1997) that won prestigious Akutagawa Prize in the year of 1997 depicts a society without any regulation. Yu Miri describes a family where all members are totally alienated from each other and there is no way to restore it. The reason for the alienation is the absence of authority that could hold people together. All attempts made by the father to bring all back together meet with resistance and even hatred by the other members. To diminish the role of male authority, the author depicts each male hero as totally dependent on a woman or openly disrespected by women. For instance, the dysfunctional father is a gambler, wife-beater who is not the real father but the stepfather. The son is not employed, is obsessed with tennis and with his mother. The lover of older daughter, an artist, is only obsessed with her butt that makes her think that she is something special.

Yu Miri's representation of dysfunctional Japanese Korean families illustrates her antagonism towards collective identity. She shows that family is only possible as collective act of hypocrisy. As a challenge to male authority, most of the female characters appearing in her novel use their sexuality for commercial or egoistic purposes in grotesque forms. Her provocative manner in expressing the sexuality exploitation is used as a sign of independence from social authorities. The mother works as hostess in the night club; the younger daughter is a porn actress; the older daughter eventually dumps her lover because she finds out that her butt is not the only thing her lover is obsessed with. Eventually, the younger sister gathers all members together in an attempt to reunite family members not in real but in the imagined world of cinema.

Yet females also can be the crucial requirement for authentic collective identities in Japanese Korean literature. In two highly evaluated Japanese Korean movies depicting the lives of Japanese Korean young people, *GO* (2001) and *Pacchigi* (2004) have female characters that help overcome hostility and alienation between people and resolve conflicts between Japanese Koreans and Japanese people. *GO* was written by Isao Yukisada and was based on a novel with the same title by Japanese Korean writer Kazuki Kaneshiro which won the Naoki Prize in 2000. The movie based on the book received the Best Film Award from the Twenty-Fifth Japanese Academy Awards and was chosen as the number one movie by the Twenty-Third Yokohama Film Festival. *Pacchigi* made by Kazuyuki Izutsu tells the story about the lives of Japanese Korean students in ethnic school in the city of Kyoto in 1968. This movie received many prestigious movie awards in Japan, such as Best Film at the Twenty-Seventh Yokohama Movie Festival in 2005 and was ranked as the number one movie by *Kinema Junpō* in 2006.

In both movies, female characters deal with pathological behavior of male participants. In *GO* (2001) the main hero is a Japanese Korean boy (Yōsuke Kubozuka) who lives an asocial and deviant life, being in conflict with himself and society over his identity. He was arrested by the police and had constant quarrels with his father and with Japanese students. Throughout the movie he has to fight against stereotypes imposed by society when eventually a Japanese girl (Shibasaki Kō) gives him a true, authentic identity based on love that authors of the movie describe as the ultimate reality. In the final scene, he gives an aggressive and hysterical speech before his girlfriend about how his identity is not his but imposed on him by others. However, this masculine pressure immediately disappears when she says that she loves his eyes.

Pacchigi is an example dealing with social pathologies on a collective level. The pathological character of man's identity is transferred from the main hero, a Japanese student (Shun Shioya) and equally distributed among the secondary male participants. Initially, both Japanese and Japanese Korean students physically assault Japanese students for sexually harassing Japanese Korean female students. Their actions spark a war between Japanese and Japanese Korean students who constantly assault each other. The displaced pathology makes two main heroes, a Japanese Korean girl (Sawajiri Erika) and Japanese boy (Shun Shioya) morally pure and this moral purity helps them to win the trust of the Japanese Korean diaspora and their permission to become a couple despite the conflict. The making of this couple, represented by their musical duet (he plays guitar and she plays flute), coincides with the larger consensus between conflicting Japanese and Japanese Korean students.

Beyond movies, individual anxiety is another important source of moral authority. The reference to one's anxiety is a popular form of description of ethnic identity for many of Japanese Koreans of third- and fourth-generation individuals. From a sociological perspective, anxiety is the manner in which individual consciousness reacts to an uncertain future. What makes anxiety so attractive is that it cannot be refuted or deconstructed.[213] This helps Japanese Korean individuals to overcome social coercion by saying that all possible observations on the diaspora are equally valuable. Third- and fourth-generation Japanese Koreans describe their individual anxiety using notions like "hybridity" or "double identity".[214]

[213]Niklas Luhmann, *Trust and Power*: Two Works (Chichester: Wiley, 1979), 81.

[214]For the history of *Hanhaktong*, see Yu Hwan Yi, *Nihon no nakano sanjū hachi do sen: mindan chōsōren rekishi to genjitsu* [38th Parallel in Japan: History and Reality] (Tokyo: Yoyosha, 1980), 38 and Yu Hwan Yi, *Nikkankokujin 60 man mindan chōren no bunretsu shi to dōkō* [6 million of Japanese Koreans and History of Split between Mindan and Chongryon] (Tokyo: Yoyosha, 1977), 151–155.

Chapter 5
Socialist and Capitalist Modernization of Nation of Origin and Formation of Diaspora Politics

Abstract North and South Korean diaspora politics developed as different reactions to inconsistency between ethnic and national boundaries. Each of them have to justify their political legitimacy as nation of Korean people in spite of the fact they do not include large number of Korean population who whether has their own nation or belong to other non-Korean nations as ethnic minority. Both North and South Korea apply different strategies of nation building formed within different patterns of modernization where diaspora politics plays crucial role. North Korea give example of socialist diaspora politics that search to exploit political potential of both North Korean society and overseas Koreans. It reproduces national unity of Korean people in terms of political contradictions that oscillates from inclusion of overseas Koreans into national boundaries to their exclusion depending on trend of political power in DPRK. Diaspora politics of the Republic of Korea on the contrary is largely aimed to exploit economic potential of both overseas Koreans and South Korean society. That is why it mostly focuses on reproduction of social inequalities between nation of origin and overseas Koreans to regulate inclusion or exclusion into/from national boundaries depending on their economic efficiency.

Keywords Diaspora politics · Nation of origin · Modernization · Capitalism · Socialism · North Korean · South Korea

North and South Korean diaspora politics developed as different reactions to inconsistency between ethnic and national boundaries. Each of them have to justify their political legitimacy as nation of Korean people in spite of the fact they do not include large number of Korean population who whether has their own nation or belong to other non-Korean nations as ethnic minority. Both North and South Korea apply different strategies of nation building formed within different patterns of modernization where diaspora politics plays crucial role. North Korea give example of socialist diaspora politics that search to exploit political potential of both North Korean society and overseas Koreans. It reproduces national unity of Korean people in terms of political contradictions that oscillates from inclusion of overseas Koreans into national boundaries to their exclusion depending on trend

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of political power in DPRK. Diaspora politics of the Republic of Korea on the contrary is largely aimed to exploit economic potential of both overseas Koreans and South Korean society. That is why it mostly focuses on reproduction of social inequalities between nation of origin and overseas Koreans to regulate inclusion or exclusion into/from national boundaries depending on their economic efficiency.

5.1 North Korea and Political (Dis) Loyalty of Korean Diaspora

North Korean nationalism refers to inconsistency between national and ethnic boundaries to exploit political potential of Korean society. Existence of another Korean nation on the Southern part of Korean peninsula and political membership of overseas Koreans in non-Korean nations forces DRPK to construct ideologies that permit to reintroduce inability to overcome this inconsistency as a source of motivation to exploit political potential of North Korean society. These policies reflect North Korean international politics and consist of two opposite trends that oscillate from political inclusion of overseas Koreans to their exclusion from North Korean national boundaries. On one hand, limited resources force North Korean authorities to rely on transnational resources to ensure development of unification process as independent Korean nation. On the other, reliance on external support poses danger to political legitimacy of DPRK because it is unclear who is more legitimate in implementation of negative and positive sanctions within national boundaries—Workers' Party of Korea (WKP) or its foreign allies. This forces North Korean authorities to take measures to decrease external influence to restore political legitimacy. On the other, it again leads to decrease of external support and thus forces DPRK to rely on transnational resources to provide conditions for further development as independent Korean nation.

Socialist ideology permits North Korea to exploit this inconsistency to mobilize foreign resources in the process of unification. DPRK exploits the way socialism describes distinctions in terms of political contradictions in order to legitimize itself as independent nation on the Northern Part of Korean peninsula while using external assistance through both ideological inclusion and exclusion of South Korea into future unified Korean nation. It describes political boundaries between two Koreas into national discourse as ongoing struggle of labor against capital where government on the North represent interests of labor while their Southern counterparts defend the interests of capital. Consequently, in order to complete nation-building process Korean labor under guidance of The Workers' Party of Korea (WPK) need to overthrow Korean capital thus eliminating both inconsistency between ethnic and national boundaries and all forms of social inequality.[1] This permitted Korean socialists to mobilize Soviet and Chinese resources to

[1]Ho Chongho, *Chuch'e sasang e kich'ohan namchosŏn hyŏkmyŏng kwa chokukt'ongililon* [South Korean Revolution and National Unification from Perspective of Juje Idea] (Pyongyang: Social Studies Press, 1975), 215.

overthrow their political opponents on the South backed by the United States into socialist Korean nation.[2] However, after failure in Korean War (1950–1953) used the same discourse to justify exclusion of South Korea from socialist Korean nation.[3]

It also permitted to mobilize transnational Korean ethnic socialist resources of Chinese and Soviet Koreans in the process of nation building. North Korean authorities at least since mid-1950s tried to motivate with assistance of Soviet and Chinese their ethnic counterparts from these countries to come to DPRK to play a role of political intermediary group between their host nations and nation of origin.[4] Korean socialists had to deal with the outcome of Korean War (1950–1953) that fixed political division of Korean peninsula into socialist and capitalist parts when they did not have enough resources to complete unification process. One of the alternative solutions to unification process was mobilization of overseas Korean from socialist nations to continue nation-building process and modernization on the Northern Part of peninsula as independent Korean nation. For example, during 1950s hundreds of overseas Soviet and Chinese Koreans came to DPRK to contribute and participate in different sphere of industrialization. Soviet Koreans mainly participated in educational, national ideology and internal police sphere[5] while Chinese Koreans mainly participated in military and Worker's Party construction.[6]

Ethnic boundary between Korean and non-Korean majority was important pull factor that motivated Chinese and Soviet Koreans to leave their host-nations for newly established socialist Korean nation. Socialist modernization of Korean ethnic culture first in Soviet Union and later in China inevitably created contradiction between ethnic minority and central government about distribution of political power. Socialism developed Korean ethnic culture in terms of class contradictions of labor against capital. The very logic of this struggle inevitably empowered local ethnic communities who needed more rights to implement negative or positive sanctions within their ethnic boundaries. As a result, this turned Soviet and Chinese Koreans into an alternative source of political power that central government perceived as threat to national unity. This eventually became one of the crucial reasons

[2]*Namchosŏn hyŏkmyŏng kwa chokuk t'ongil e kwanhan witaehan sulyŏng Kim Il Sŏng tongchi ŭi* sasang [The Great Leader Kim Il-sung ideas about South Korean Revolution and National Unification] (Pyongyang: Kuwŏlsŏpang, 1972), 129.

[3]*Nam Chosoň hyoňgmyoňg kwa choguk t'ongil e taehan uridang uĭ pangch'im* [Our Party's Politics towards South Korean Revolution and National Unification], (Pyongyang: National Unification Press, 1969), 37.

[4]Andrey Lankov, *Avgust 1956 god*: Krizis v Severnoi Koree [August 1956: Crisis in North Korea] (Moscow: Fund of the First Russian President Boris Yeltsin, 2009), 22–27.

[5]Ibid 29.

[6]Li Zhōng, *Zhuī xún Máo Zédōng de gé mìng guĭ jì*: yī gè hán guó rén yăn zhōng de Máo Zédōng [Revolutionary path of Mao Zedong: Through the Eyes of One Korean Activist], (Beijing: Rén mín chū băn shè, 2006), 57.

of negative sanctions to decrease political role of Korean minorities such as forced deportation of Soviet Koreans in 1937 and anti-Korean purges[7] during Civil War[8] (1927–1950) or during Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) in China.[9] One of ways to resolve this contradiction was emigration of Soviet and Chinese Koreans to DPRK where they could continue socialist modernization without facing the problem of being ethnic minority.[10] Besides, it gave many a chance for upward political mobility and thus better than in Soviet Union and China career opportunities where their careers were limited by boundaries of their ethnic institutions of both nations.

For instance, there were several patterns of Soviet Korean integration into North Korean society. Soviet Koreans worked as interpreters who played the role of mediators between Soviet Army, North Korean authorities and local population. Later this evolved into working at educational and propaganda institutions. Others worked as technical specialist who participated in restoration of North Korean industry and agriculture. The fourth one refers to the most successful and influential contribution of Soviet Koreans to Korean revolution is establishment and development of North Korean police and repression organs where Soviet Koreans played crucial role.[11]

Further reliance on foreign assistance to socialist modernization posed danger to political legitimacy of North Korean authorities. The first half of 1950s demonstrated growing misunderstanding between Kim Il-sung vision of socialist modernization and vision of Soviet Union and China, which raised more fundamental problem about degree of national sovereignty that DPRK could enjoy as a part of international socialist camp. On one hand, socialism demanded continuation of class struggle as independent Korean socialist nation but on the other, national formation of national boundaries demanded mobilization of international resources of other socialist nations.[12] This created conflict of over political subjectivity of North Korean government as it was unclear who was more legitimate in implementation of negative and positive sanctions inside DPRK whether it was Soviet

[7]Lee Win Yong, "1937nyŏn kolyŏin kangcheichuŭi wŏnin mich' kwachŏng" [The Factors and Process of 1937 year Forced Relocation of Korean People in Soviet Union], *European Society and Culture*, vol. 7 (12), 2011, 150–199.

[8]Jeong Yeong Cheol, *Chosŏn lotongtang ŭi yŏksahak*: chosŏn lotongtangsa pikyo yŏnku [History of The Workers' Party of Korea from Comparative Perspective] (Pyongyang: Sonin, 2008), 15–22.

[9]Kim Ik Ki and Lee Tong Hun, *Chungkuk ŭi hanminchok ch'ŏngsonyŏn hyŏnhwang mich' saenghwal silt'ae yŏngu* [A Study on Lives of Chinese Korean Youth] (Seoul: Hankuk Ch'ŏngsonyŏn chŏngch'aek yŏnkuwŏn, 2007), 18.

[10]Andrey Lankov, *KNDR vchera i segodnya*: neformalnaya istoria Severnoi Korei [DPRK Today and Yesterday: Informal History of North Korea] (Moscow: Vostok-Zapad, 2005), 86.

[11]Seo Chae Chin, *Chuch'e sasang ŭi ipan*: chipae iteolloki esŏ chŏhang iteolloki lo [Study on Juche: From Ideology of Domination to Ideology of Resistance] (Seou: Pakyŏngsa, 2006), 123–124.

[12]*Witaehan sulyŏng Kim Il Sŏng tongchi hyŏkmyŏng lyŏksa* [Revolutionary History of Great Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung] (Pyongyang: Chosŏn lotong tang ch'ulp'ansa, 1982), 487–488.

and Chinese Communist parties or The Workers' Party of Korea (WPK).[13] For example, Soviet leaders demanded that North Korea would not follow Stalinist pattern of modernizations of national economy with its stress on heavy industries and military complex and on mechanization of agriculture through formation of collective farms[14] while Kim Il-sung believed that construction of heavy industries as crucial condition of national sovereignty.[15]

Economic difficulties only strengthened crisis of political legitimacy. Accomplishment of Three-Year Plan (1954–1956) one year ahead of schedule in 1955 showed that the taken measures to modernize Korean economy produced strong disproportions and disinvestments. This meant that within politicized economy of DPRK economic disappointments could easily turn into political both within national boundaries as well as among socialist allies who provided massive amounts of aid.[16] According to North Korean officially published statistics, industrial investment in capital construction in 1955 three times exceeded the total investment amount in capital construction in the five pre-WWII years, and the total industrial output in 1955 was 56% higher than that in 1949. However, excessive investment in infrastructure caused large deficits and dislocation in industrial development, which led to shortages in consumer goods, while the rapid rate of agricultural collectivization produced strong populace resentment among peasants as well as resentment within the ruling WPK.[17]

North Korean authorities needed to find a solution that would combine decreasing political influence of other socialist nations but at the same time legitimize further reliance on resources of international socialist movement. On one hand, Kim Il-sung managed to remove his opponents from political stage including their physical elimination, which significantly decreased ability of China, and Soviet Union to influence on political process in North Korea.[18] However, on the other, his actions permitted to justify demands of political trust and support from socialist allies. Kim Il-sung described necessity of purges against Chinese and

[13]Kim Chang Won and Lee Bok Hui, *Chuch'esasang ŭi chitochŏkwŏnch'ik* [The Guiding Principles of Juche] (Pyongyang: Sahoekwahakch'ulp'ansa, 1985), 76–77.

[14]Se Ra Sin, «Politicheskaya borba v rukovodstve KNDR v 1953–1956 godah: prichini i dinamika» [Political Struggle in DPRK during 1953–1956: Origins and Dynamics] *Problemi Dalnego Vostoka,* Vol.3, 2009, 119–135.

[15]Kim Il Sung, *Kim Il-sŏng chŏchak chip* [Kim Il-sung Collection of Works] vol. 12 (Pyongyang: Chosŏn lotongtang ch'ulp'ansa, 1990), 190.

[16]Gennady Grayznov, *Stroitesltvo materialno-tehnicheskoi bazi socializma v KNDR* [Building of Material and Technical Infrastructure of Socialism in DPRK] (Moscow: Nauka, 1979), 208.

[17]Daniel Schwekendiek, *A Socioeconomic History of North Korea* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2011), 148–150.

[18]Anatoly Torkunov and others, *Koreiskii poluostrov:* metamorfozi poslevoennoi istorii [Korean Peninsula: Metamorphosis of Post-War History] (Moscow: Nauka, 2008), 111.

Soviet Koreans in DPRK as a part of revolutionary struggle and inevitable outcome of socialist building. In order to do that, Kim Il-sung framed his opponents into "political factions"[19] that supposedly contradicted the "the spirit of Marxism" and party discipline which he defined as authentic conditions of socialist building of Korean nation.[20] This significantly decreased the room for criticism of North Korean leader actions because otherwise Chinese or Soviet anti- Kim Il-sung arguments would appear as deviation from socialist ideals in the eyes of other socialist nations, which was sensitive issue after intensification of protest movement inside USSR and Eastern Europe in 1950s.[21]

The answer was found in development of new national ideology of self-reliance *Juche* that permitted to rely on foreign assistance and describe it as manifestation of national sovereignty. Juche ideology that officially appeared in mid-1950s helped Kim Il-sung to justify growing concentration of power and effectively pressure Soviet Union, China as well as other members of socialist camp to provide economic and political support to DPRK but with limited opportunities to their influence North Korean internal politics in exchange. North Korea still suffered from lack of resources to continue modernization in a way that permitted to compete with South Korea, which increased its dependence on foreign aid. However, unlike the first post-Korean War years this aid should not lead to formation of political groups inside WKP that could potentially be in opposition to Kim Il-sung and endanger legitimacy of existing political system. *Juche* described reliance on external support as free national choice of Korean people, which appeared as a proof of national sovereignty and self-sufficiency. North Korean leader admitted that idea of national self-reliance does not mean isolationism but on the contrary, it means openness to the international communist movement and cooperation with socialist allies.[22] However, the decision of how to use provided support is purely internal issue of Korean people because only Korean people are aware of how to complete Korean revolution and any attempt to interfere is counter-revolutionary.[23] For instance, Kim Il-sung claimed that while those who returned from the Soviet Union advocate the Soviet method, those who returned from China advocate the Chinese method. However, Korean Revolution is the *Juche* of party's ideological work that should serve the interests of the Korean

[19]James Person, "New Evidence on North Korea in 1956", *Cold War International History Project Bulletin*, ed.by Christian F. Osterman, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Issue 16, 2007–2008, 450.

[20]Seo Chae Chin, *Chuch'e sasang ŭi ipan*: chipae iteolloki esŏ chŏhang iteolloki lo [Study on Juche: From Ideology of Domination to Ideology of Resistance], 128–129.

[21]Vladislav Zubok, *Failed Empire*: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev, (University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 163–191.

[22]Kim Il Sung, *Kim Il-sŏng chŏchak chip* [Kim Il-sung Collection of Works] vol. 30 (Pyongyang: Chosŏn lotongtang ch'ulp'ansa, 1985), 418.

[23]Kim Chang Won and Lee Bok Hui, *Chuch'esasang ŭi chitochŏkwŏnch'ik* [The Guiding Principles of Juche], 71–72.

Revolution by Korean people. He also added that Chinese or Soviet comrades trust the The Workers' Party of Korea, not the few dissidents.[24]

Juche used similar mechanism within national boundaries claiming existence of solidarity among Korean people and simultaneously describing cases of dis-solidarity as pressure to demand more national unity. Official ideology reintroduced inability to reach consensus among different groups and individuals in WKP back into national discourse as necessity of presence of figure of Great Leader that would function as universal symbol that personifies and demands non-existent solidarity. This ideological mechanism operates as if there are no intermediate bodies between Great Leader and Korean people, which permitted to reintegrate disappointed expectations not as criticism of Leader but as motivation to support him as crucial condition of national solidarity. For example, one of the manifestations of this mechanism was North Korean version of "democratic centralism" when Kim Il-sung encouraged WKP members to criticize the cases of excessive concentration of power and at the same time described this criticism as lack of party discipline and thus as necessity to impose more control and concentration of political power within the party.[25]

Another important purpose of *Juche* was inclusion of overseas ethnic Koreans into North Korean national boundaries. Centralization of power in DPRK by the second half of 1950s did not solve the problem of resources possession for on-going socialist modernization while legitimacy of Kim Il-sung political system still depended on how successfully it developed on the Northern part of Korean peninsula.[26] Accordingly, *Juche* described Korean nation to become a self-reliant socialist nation and center of unification of Korean people into socialist Korean nation. The expected successes in modernization and nation building were supposed to represent DPRK as an opportunity of economic and political upward mobility for ethnic Koreans. Japanese Koreans who were in especially disadvantaged position in capitalist nation during 1950s–1960s perfectly fitted this purpose.[27] From early 1960s until early 1980s, North Korea with support of its socialist allies China, Soviet Union initiated immense massive repatriation movement of Japanese Koreans to DPRK. Simultaneously, *Juche* represented cooperation both with socialist allies like China and Soviet Union, with capitalist Japan and Red

[24]Zhihua Shen and Yafeng Xia, China and the Post-War Reconstruction of North Korea, 1953–1961, *Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*, vol. 4, 2012, 17.

[25]"I suggest we correct all of our defects, especially the non-Marxist way of the personality cult by engaging in self-criticism. We can correct our errors and defects only through sharp criticism and self-criticism." A quote from *Bulletin: Inside China's Cold War*, ed.by Christian F. Osterman, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Issue 16, Fall 2007–Winter 2008, 516.

[26]Kim Il Sung, *Kim Il-sŏng chŏchak chip* [Kim Il-sung Collection of Works] vol. 26 (Pyongyang: Chosŏn lotongtang ch'ulp'ansa, 1984), 285–186.

[27]Kim Il-sung, *Witaehansulyŏng Kim Il-sung tongchi ŭi hyŏkmyŏng chŏkmunp'ung* [Collection of Revolutionary Works of The Great Leader Comrade Kim Il-sung] (Pyongyang: Sahoekwahakch'ulp'ansa, 1976), 82.

Cross as a sign of freedom to choose partners that was crucial for independent nation.[28]

Repatriation of ethnic Koreans was a part of newly developed project of socialist modernization to construct independent national economy known as *Chollima* movement. According to Kim Il-sung one of the crucial factors of achieving national solidarity in North Korea was elimination of economic inequalities and solution of the problem of food shortages to satisfy the people's needs with help of centralized distribution of resources. State interventions promised political empowerment and independence to Koreans as nation not only to people in North Korea but also to overseas Korean counterparts who were particularly sensitive to these issues experiencing political and economic exclusion in their host nations. Absence of intermediate body between Kim Il-sung and Korean society proposed by *Juche* depicted concentration of wealth and power in the hands of Great Leader as demonstration of collective ownership over economic resources and political power over their lives if they remained loyalty. For this purpose, the First Five-Year Plan (1957–1961) and First Seven-Year Plan (1961–1967) that marked the beginning of *Chollima* movement focused on complete nationalization of industrial and agricultural sectors to bring expected national solidarity.

North Korean propaganda represented repatriation of *zainichi* Koreans from Japan to DPRK as a symbol of political and economic upward mobility. The economic and political exclusion of Koreans in post war Japan and anti-communist purges of South Korean government during *Jeju Uprising* (1948–1949) contrasted with promise of political empowerment and future economic prosperity in the North provided by official propaganda. In order to show political and economic superiority of socialist North Korea over capitalist Japan and South Korea, the program of repatriation appealed to the most impoverished and excluded groups of Koreans in Japan. As Kim Il Sung declared at the beginning of repatriation movement that the North Korean economy would soon surpass that of Japan.[29]

Repatriation also marked exclusion of ethnic Koreans from newly forming Japanese nation. Since very beginning, Japanese government did not try to prevent ethnic Koreans from leaving for North Korea but on the opposite directly or indirectly provided support to their repatriation.[30] It would be simplification to say that exodus of *zainichi* to DPRK gave government a chance to cut possible expenses on welfare and decrease the number of compensation claims. Japanese officials and political activists perceived movement large number of Japanese and Korean people during post-war years as a part of post-war Japanese and Korean

[28]Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Exodus to North Korea: shadows from Japan's Cold War*, (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007), 175.

[29]Kim Il Sung, "On Communist Education, Speech at a Short Course for Agitators of the City and Prefecture Party Committees of the Country, November 20, 1958", Selected Works, vol. 1, 406–408.

[30]Hidenori Sakanak, Han Sok Kyu and Yoshiaki Kikuchi, *Kitachōsen kikoku sha mondai no rekishi to kadai* [History of Repatriation Movement to North Korea] (Tokyo: Shinkansha, 2009), 198.

national building process. For instance, transnational movement of Japanese people from Manchuria, prisoners of war from Soviet Union or emigration to Latin America as well as movement of Korean people to both North and South Korea gave new meaning and purpose to idea of "nation" that appeared be a tool to overcome imperialist legacy. Welfare and compensation program initiated by government of Japan drew national boundaries in a way that included those who according to officials suffered most from Japanese Imperialism and thus had a right to become a member of national community excluding Japanese Koreans from this category.[31]

In response, DRPK authorities tried to legitimize membership of pro-North Korean *zainichi* within Japanese national boundaries. North Koran was willing to take advantage of Korean presence in Japan to get permanent access to resources of Japanese economy, which meant that repatriation movement was not only movement of Japanese Koreans to North Korea but also "movement" of North Korea to Japan. Establishment of General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (*Chōsen Sōren*) in 1955 pursued this goal. *Chōsen Sōren* was supposed to embody leadership of Japanese Koreans in their struggle for political inclusion for those who felt excluded both from South Korea (e.g. *Jeju Uprising* (1948–1949)[32] and from Japan (exclusion from post-war compensations). For instance, in 1952, Kim Il-Sung claimed that *zainichi* protest movement should develop in close coordination with North Korean government not just for the purpose of revolution but also for reunification of the Korean people as socialist nation. To this purpose, DPRK provided support to *Chōsen Sōren* ethnic Korean schools to implement at least two important functions. The first one was cultivation of loyalty to Kim Il-sung and to North Korean citizenship.[33] The second was cultivation of personalities for protest movement to demand compensations from Japanese government and thus political empowerment of Korean people within national boundaries of Japan.

Eventually, failure of socialist modernization forced North Korean authorities to exclude Japanese Koreans from national boundaries. At least since early 1970s North Korean authorities launched a number of anti-*zainichi* campaigns that lead to incarceration of many of returnees and contributed to decline of repatriation movement. Inability to build "paradise on earth" within planned period forced Kim Il-sung to reintegrate negative results of modernization back into national discourse in positive manner. The failure to eradicate poverty was not deviation from

[31]James Orr, *The Victim as Hero*: Ideologies of Peace and National Identity in Postwar Japan (University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 75–78.

[32]Kim Seok Bom and Kim Shi Jung, *Naze kakitsuzuke te ki ta ka naze chinmoku shi te ki ta ka*: saishū tō yon. san jiken no kioku to bungaku [Why did we keep writing, why did we stay silent? Memories and literature of the Jeju massacre] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2001), 247.

[33]*Kim Il-sŏng wŏnsu kkesŏnŭn uri inmin ŭl han p'um e anŭsimyŏ ttattŭsi k'iwŏjugo posalp'yŏ chusinŭn 4-ch'ŏnman Chosŏn inmin ŭi aboi suryŏng isida* [Our Great Leader Kim Il-sung who protects 40 muillion Korean Nation] (Tokyo: The General Association of Korean Residents in Japan Press, 1969), 183; See also Kim Deok Ryong, Chōsen gakkō no sengo shi [Post-war History of Korean Ethnic Schools in Japan 1945—170].

Chollima but on the contrary turned into an idea that poverty itself was important and necessary element of North Korean national identity. One of the crucial outcomes of this policy was growing stress on national security during 1970s against supposedly increasing military danger from capitalist nations that justified necessity to allocate resources to military complex and deficit of resources for consumption.[34] It meant that Korean people who resigned to poor life could prove loyalty to Kim Il-Sung and those who do not showed disloyalty. Exclusion of Japanese Koreans was important source legitimization of new North Korean nationalism because according to official propaganda they were "poisoned" by capitalist way of life and represented danger for society corrupting other North Korean citizens and thus had to be isolated.[35]

Exclusion of Japanese Koreans was a part of larger process of disappointed expectations processing within DPRK political discourse. By the late 1970s, it was obvious that socialist modernization in North Korea failed to reach the goals of not only construction of independent nation but also in keeping up with developed capitalist nations such as South Korea and Japan.[36] However, *Juche* permitted to equally exploit both successes and integrate disappointments of misbalances and disinvestments produced during *Chollima* movement back into political discourse to justify legitimacy of Korean socialist nation under personal guidance of Great Leader.[37] From the very beginning Movement was an attempt to expand the principles of power centralization that proved to be successful in WKP in 1950s on a larger scale to mobilize Korean people for construction of socialist nation. The management implemented during five/seven year plans stressed the idea of collective responsibility distributed among party officials, technical specialist and workers in industry and agriculture.[38] It was supposed to demonstrate solidarity and stress absence of intermediate body between state represented by WKP and society represented by peasants, workers and intelligentsia. National solidarity existed in form of collective self-criticism as a proof of truly democratic form of labor self-organization and explained failures of modernization. At the same time, it gave

[34]Lee Min Ryong, *Kim Chŏngil ch'eche ŭi pukhankun taehaepu* [On Anatomy of Kim Jong Il Regime] (Seoul: Hwangkŭmal, 2004), 31.

[35]Tessa Morris-Suzuki, "The Forgotten Japanese in North Korea: Beyond the Politics of Abduction", *The Asia-Pacific Journal*: *Japan Focus*, vo. 7 (43–2), October 2009, 1–19.

[36]Bak Gi Deok and Lee Jung Sik, *Nampukhan ch'eche pikyo wa t'onghap motel ŭi mosaek* [A Comparative Study on South and North Integration Models] (Seoul: Sechong yŏnguso, 1995), 334.

[37]Heo Chong Ho, *Chuch'e sasang e kich'ohan namchosŏn hyŏkmyŏng kwa chokukt'ongil ilon* [Juche, South Korean Revolution and Korean Unification] (Pyongyang: Sahoe kwahak ch'ulp'ansa, 1975), 183.

[38]Lee Myong So, Kim Yong Su and Kim Tae Hyon, *Witaehan sulyŏng Kim Il Sŏng tongchi ŭi kyŏngchelilon haesŏl*: Sahoechuŭi kyŏngche palchŏn ŭi kkŭnhim ŏpsnŭn nop'ŭn sokto ekwanhan lilon [Commentary on Economic Theory of the Great Leader Comrade Kim Il-sung: On Sustaining High Rates of Growth in Socialist Economy] (Pyongyang: Sahoe kwahak ch'ulp'ansa, 1975), 116.

authorities freedom to describe this criticism as inability to reach consensus by society and fix deviations from Juche without direct interventions of state.[39]

Simultaneously, disappointed expectations forced North Korea to develop new ideology of overseas Koreans inclusion that marked shift from socialist to capitalist paradigm of modernization. Since early 1970s Kim Il-Sung gradually started introducing a new idea into foreign policy rhetoric that cooperation with capitalist nations and thus with Korean residents in those nations is manifestation of sovereignty of DPRK. At the same time, North Korea unsuccessfully tried to attract more foreign support from socialist allies to compensate growing dis-proportions of national economy. This forced Kim Il-Sung to find alternative source of assistance from capitalist camp. This integration of DPRK into capitalist system of labor division was crucial to preserve political legitimacy of North Korean regime. According official propaganda, market economy is not unique to capitalism but also integral part of other economic systems such as feudalism or socialism. It meant that market economy had already existed in Korea since ancient times that permitted to justify its "creative adoption" into socialist paradigm as national tradition in form of socialist market economy. Opposite to capitalism, profit within socialist market do not presuppose exploitation but on the contrary contribute to individual or social development and also helps to implement national economic plan.[40]

For instance, one of the first attempts to develop new diaspora politics within capitalist paradigm was unification project of two Koreas into one *Koryo confederation* proclaimed by Kim Il-Sung in the year of 1973[41] that underlined possibility of co-existence of two systems and "cooperation on equal basis" or "mutual respect of national sovereignty". The project became important ideological justification for future attempts to attract South Korean investments in the form of joint ventures further eventually developed and fixed in Constitutions of 1992, 1998 and 2009.[42]

This transition reflected larger trend of growing integration of socialist camp into capitalist system of labor division. Soviet and Chinese authorities at least from early 1970s launched a number of large scale economic reforms that led to a stronger dependence on capitalist nations represented by the United States, Western Europe and Japan. The logic of socialist modernization demanded political evolution

[39]Kim Il-sung, *Minchok haepang inmin minchuchuŭi hyŏkmyŏng e kwanhan witaehan sulyŏng Kim Il Sŏng tongchi ŭi kyosi* [Teachings on National Liberation and People's Democratic Revolution of the Great Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung o] (Pyongyang: Inmunkwahaksa, 1972), 93.

[40]Chŏng Yong Hwa, *Pukhan ŭi sichang kyŏngche ihaeng* [North Korean Transition to Market Economy] (Seoul: Chipmuntang, 2007), 164–165.

[41]Chŏng Yong Chol, *Nampukhan t'ongilchŏngch'aek yŏksawa pikyo: ch'eche t'ongilesŏ kongchon ŭi t'ongil lo* [A Comparative Study on Unification Projects of South and North Korea: Towards a System of Coexistence within Unified Nation], *Nampuk kwankyesa: kaltŭng kwa hwahae ŭi 60nyŏn* [History of South-North Korean Relations: 60 years Conflict], (Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, 2009), 54–70.

[42]See for instance Article 17th on "Independence, peace and friendship are the basic ideals of the foreign policy and the principles of the external activities of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea" of Adopted on 27 December Juche 61 (1972), amended and supplemented at the 1st Session of the 12th Supreme People's Assembly on 9 April Juche 98 (2009).

towards stateless forms of labor self-organization or at least gradual decentralization of power. However, the failure of Great Leap Forward (1958–1961) and Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) in China, slowdown of economic development in Soviet Union and growing protest movement in socialist camp forced *nomenklatura* to move in opposite from socialism direction to compensate internal failures by integration into global capitalist economy and stronger state control within national boundaries.[43] This permitted to combine control over labor force developed within Stalinist pattern of modernization with profit-oriented capitalist mode of production in form of state capitalism. For example, large investments into gas and oil pipelines to Western Europe as well as monetary and economic reforms in early 1960s laid a basis of dependence of Soviet economy on a system of petrodollar in particular and on capitalist economies in general.[44] Starting from late 1970s the United States and Japan initiated outsourcing of national industries to China to take advantage of disciplined by Communist Party cheap labor force.[45]

Transnational ethnic ties play crucial role in integration of North Korea into capitalist system of global labor division. New interpretation of market economy by official ideology permitted to include symbolically overseas Koreans into national boundaries as legitimate ethnic source of capital accumulation. Above all, import of foreign capital through inter-Korean cooperation within the framework of joint ventures initially introduced by "Special Declaration for National Unification and Prosperity" by President Roh-Tae-woo on July 7, 1988. For instance, this cooperation largely consist two areas: one is tourism such as Mount Kumgang tourism or Kaesong tourism and the other is Kaesong Industrial Complex (KIC) launched in August 2003 with participation of large amount of South Korean companies that provide employment for tens of thousands of North Korean workers.[46] Second one is remittances from ethnic Koreans in China and Japan[47] or from contract workers residing in a number of countries varying from Russia, China to Kuwait, Qatar or the United Arab Emirates.[48]

However, attempts of North Korean authorities to build "state capitalism" reveals inability of state to control trans-national Korean capital. In order to keep

[43]Sakharov Andrey, *Za i protiv: 1973 god, dokumenti, fakti, sobitiya* [Pro et Contra: The year of 1973, Documents, Facts, Events] (Moscow, PIK, 1991), 135.

[44]Hannigah J.B. and McMillan C.H., "The Soviet Union and World Trade in Oil and Gas Soviet", *Impact on Commodity Markets*, ed. By M. M. Kostecki (London and Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1984), 78–79.

[45]Ming Xia, "Communist oligarchy and the oligarch transition in China", *China's Transition from Communism*: *New Perspectives* ed. Guoguang Wu and Helen Lansdowne (London: Routledge, 2015), 35–57.

[46]Mark E. Manyin and Dick K. Nanto, "The Kaesong North-South Korean Industrial Complex", *Congressional Research Service* (Washington DC, April 18, 2011), 1–25.

[47]Nishioka Tsutomu, *Yokoda Megumi san tachi o torimodosu no wa ima shika nai* [It is Time to Bring Yokoda Megumi and Hostages Back] (Tokyo: PHP Kenkyujo, 2015), 199–213.

[48]Stephan Haggard and Marcus Noland, "The Political Economy of North Korea's External Economic Relations", *Engagement with North Korea: A Viable Alternative*, ed. by Sung Chull Kim and David C Kang (NY: State University of New York Press 2010), 126.

economy afloat North Korean authorities try to rely on foreign investments as a source of currency. However, attempts to benefit from cooperation with global capital usually produce nothing but growing influence of foreign investors on Korean national economy and considerably weaken national economic security. In other words, North Korean state capitalism is caught in a paradox when dependence of state on capitalist economy produces opposite effect of growing independence of capitalist economy from state. As a result, North Korean authorities have to face the risk when whole industries can fall under influence of foreign companies, especially South Korean, in exchange for gaining control over North Korean natural resources and eventually political sovereignty.[49]

North Korean "state capitalism" also gives an example of inability of state to control Korean labor. Government tries to exploit economic potential of North Korean society in a way that would also preserve legitimacy of existing political order. However, numerous cases of North Korean defectors prove that involvement in market activities frequently produce the opposite effect that undermines political legitimacy. On one hand, North Korean state cultivates expectations of upward social mobility and on the other politically limits opportunities to realize them. Growing social inequalities inside North Korean society force people to participate in economic activities but authorities try to ensure that outcomes of market operations and distribution of wealth fit existing political hierarchy.[50] In order to justify state interventions official ideology relies on anti-imperialist ideology to regulate various aspects of these activities that reproduce social inequality. Political interventions produce disappointed expectations that cultivate anti-government sentiments among North Korean workers and entrepreneurs. Eventually, one of the possible resolutions to this contradiction is transnational movement beyond North Korean national boundaries encouraged by expectations of upward social mobility bound for destinations with higher level of living such as South Korea.[51]

North Korean state reintroduces inability to control economy back into national discourse as justification of further non-market political interventions. Official propaganda adopted idea that capital accumulation in cooperation with capitalist overseas Koreans in South Korea and Japan is in fact a part of inevitable transnational struggle of Korean people against imperialism.[52] This permits to describe all dangers and failures of state regulated market activities as outcome of

[49]Ralph Hassig and Kongdan Oh, *The Hidden People of North Korea*: Everyday Life in the Hermit Kingdom (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers), 2009, 49–60.

[50]Larisa Zabrovskaya, Migracionniy vector sotrudnichestva Rossii s KNDR [Migratory Vector of Cooperation between Russia and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea] *Customs Policy on Russian Far East*, vol. 4 (69), 2014, 65–71.

[51]Lee Sung Hun, *Pukhan ŭi sahoe kyŏngchechŏk pyŏnhwa: pikongsik pumun ŭi taetu wa kyech'ŭng kucho ŭi pyŏnhwa* [Social Economic Change in North Korea: The Rise of Informal Economy Sector and Its Impact on Political Hieararchy] (Seoul: Taehakkyo ch'ulp'anpu, 2007), 84–85.

[52]Chon Tok Song, *Sŏnkunchŏngch'I e taehanlihae* [Understanding of Songun's Politics] (Pyongyang: P'yŏngyangch'ulp'ansa, 2004), 13–14.

imperialist aggression. For example, military provocations against South Korea such as missile launches, nuclear tests or privileged right of government to intervene into activities of joint-ventures granted by exceptional laws is an attempt to stress supremacy of national sovereignty to exert political influence on economic decisions of South Korean government and investors.[53] Another example is government exploitation of monopoly on money printing that permits to regulate capital accumulation inside national boundaries by regulating the value of national currency. It permits to control potential danger of rising middle class who benefits from international trade independently from state.[54]

Similarly, North Korean nationalism reintegrates inability to control labor back into political discourse as moral obligation of loyalty to national community. Official ideology interprets numerous cases of inconsistency between individual entrepreneurial activities and political hierarchy in two opposite ways as reason of exclusion or inclusion from/into national boundaries. Criticism as well as amnesty towards ex-defectors puts additional moral obligations not only to them and their families but also to all North Koreans to preserve loyalty to KWP and thus cultivates stronger nationalist sentiments among citizens. It is supposed to demonstrate superiority of political over economic motivation. For example, official propaganda labels defectors who left "socialist paradise" for "imperialist" South Korea as national traitors[55] or as patriots kidnapped by South Korean intelligence[56] but managed to escape from capitalist South where Korean people experience nothing but discrimination and exclusion.[57]

Finally, this mechanism permits to exploit still existing inconsistency between ethnic and national boundaries to cultivate virtual unity of Korean people as socialist nation. Official propaganda may depict inability to unify Korean people into one nation as outcome of global imperialism activities against DPRK and thus exclude those ethnic Koreas who support anti-North Korean policies. It symbolically permits to regulate membership of overseas Koreans in national community depending on current state of relations between North Korean government and government of diaspora's host nations. If necessary North Korean nationalism can describe cases of disloyalty of overseas ethnic Koreans towards American, Japanese

[53]Kim Myong Pae, Pukhan chŏngse punsŏk [State of Affairs in North Korea] (Seoul: Susŏwŏn, 2005), 104–107.

[54]Andrey Lankov, *The Real North Korea*: Life and Politics in the Failed Stalinist Utopia (Oxford University Press, 2014), 128–133.

[55]T'alpukcha nŏnŭn nukunya [Defectors, Who Are They?] *North Korea's Central News Agency* "Uriminzokkiri", December 4, 2014 http://www.uriminzokkiri.com/ (Accessed on August 17, 2015).

[56]*Koeloep'aetangŭn uli kongmintŭlŭl chŭkkak songhwanhalte taehan uliŭi chŏngtanghan yokue muchokŏn ŭnghaenasŏya hanta* [Puppet Regime Must Obey to Our Demands of Immediate Repatriation of Our Citizens].

[57]*Weekly Report on North Korea*, (Ministry of Unification, The Republic of Korea, Vol. 1172, September 28–October 4, 2013), 5.

and South Korean governments[58] and loyalty to Chinese and Russian governments as sign of loyalty and solidarity with North Korea[59] and vice versa.

5.2 South Korea and Social (in) Equality of Korean Diaspora

South Korean nationalism refers to inconsistency between national and ethnic boundaries to exploit economic potential of Korean society. Emigration of Korean people from South Korea and attempts of South Korean government to develop relations with overseas Koreans usually centers on distinction between upward and downward social mobility. Capitalist modernization made South Korean nationalism dependent on reproduction of social inequalities as a crucial source of economic motivation. As a result, commercialization of transnational ethnic solidarity turns inequalities into dominant form relationships between South Korea and overseas Koreans. For example, during the first post-Korean War decades South Korea symbolized downward mobility in comparison with more economically advanced the United States and Japan while emigration to respected nations as economic upward mobility. However, activation of relations with Korean diaspora in China and Russia marked the opposite pattern where South Korea symbolized upward social mobility while respected host nations and North Korea symbolize downward mobility.

Economic oriented diaspora politics demands development of particular image of Korean ethnic solidarity constructed in mostly physiological terms. As German sociologist Niklas Luhmann noticed, capitalist economy became possible because of special vision of the human body as material supply of needs.[60] In other words, capitalism developed from a worldview that sees humans as animals who participate in economic cooperation when their avaricious nature mutually balanced by others in a self-regulating market.[61] Description of difference between human nature and ethnic culture as contradiction permits to introduce this body-centered worldview into South Korean diaspora politics. Korean identity appears whether as

[58]Lee Chin Kyu, *21 seki Kim Chŏng Il sitae* [Kim Jung-il Era in 21st Century] (Pyongyang: P'yŏngyangch'ulp'ansa, 1995), 336–348.

[59]Rŏsia 5manli. witaehan lyŏngtocha kimchŏngiltongchikkesŏ lŏsia it'alŭ-t'asŭt'ongsin chaka chekihan chilmune chusin taetap [Five Thousand Li Trip to Russia: Great Leader Comrade Kim Jung Il Answers the Questions of Russian News Agency TASS], *Ministry of Unification of DPRK Review,* vol. 40 (57), July 24, 2001.

[60]Niklas Luhmann, *Love as Passion,* translated by Doris L. Jones (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), 250.

[61]It was the artists of the European Renaissance who first imagined society based on physiological needs and Adam Smith was the first to offer the most complete theoretical description of the capitalist universe. See for instance, Marshall Sahlins, *The Western Illusion of Human Nature*. (Chicago, IL: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2008) 63–71.

an obstacle for the satisfaction or as a tool for satisfaction of individual needs that puts individual and collective identities together as antagonism. For instance, unlike North Korean nationalism where political loyalty is more important than biological ties, the notion of "Korean blood" plays crucial role in construction of both national and transnational ethnic boundaries. On one hand, it helps to physiologically justify unity of all Korean people as well as resist this unity, and on the other, organize internal space in form of hierarchy where Korean people occupy different positions according to degree of "Korean blood purity".

One of the crucial pull factors of Korean emigration was contradiction between cultivated expectations of upward social mobility and inability to implement them. Korean nationalism in different forms and periods of time attempts to exploit social inequalities that emerged in the course of capitalist modernization as important source of motivation to encourage individuals to participate in economic activities that, however, often face limited opportunities. Japanese colonial authorities implied discriminatory policies against Korean national capital formation to reduce economic chances for local industries to absorb excessive labor force[62] in favor of Imperial companies. Capitalist modernization during second half of 20th century developed a pyramid-like hierarchy of national economy centered on large corporations (*chaebols*) that also limited economic opportunities of upward mobility for those excluded from this pyramid.[63] For instance, each of three major waves of Korean emigration to the United States referred to different aspects of contradiction between economic expectations and economic reality. First wave during early 20th century referred to better employment opportunities of American agriculture for motivated Korean individuals.[64] Second wave of Korean emigration during and after Korean War (1950–1953) of war brides and adoptees marked difference between economic stability of American households in comparison with war struck Korean families.[65] Third wave of Korean emigration since the second half of 20th century was movement to the country with better opportunities for small and medium-size business activities.[66]

Massive Korean migration during colonial period to Japan was reaction to inability of local industries to absorb excessive labor force. On one hand, during early 1910s Japan faced slowdown of agricultural output and food shortages

[62]Kang Tae Min, *Hankuk kŭn, hyŏntae minchung untongsa:* 1894nyŏn kapo nongmin chŏnchaeng put'ŏ hankuk chŏnchaeng chŏn kkachi [History of Social Movements in Korea: Since The Gabo Peasant War in 1894 until Korean War] (Seoul: Pyŏnchŭngpŏp, 2008), 170.

[63]Hoe Tong Hyon and Pak Noja, *Uri yŏksa ch'oechŏnsŏn*: Pak Nocha and Hŏ Tonghyŏn kyosu ŭi hankuk kŭntae 100nyŏn nonchaeng [In the Front Line of Our History: Pak Noja and Hoe Tong Hyon Debate on 100 Years of Modern Korean History] (Seoul: P'ulŭn yŏksa, 2003), 92.

[64]Ronald T. Takaki, *Pau Hana*: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835–1920 (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), 47–48.

[65]Lee Im Ha, Yŏsŏng, chŏnchaeng ŭl nŏmŏilŏsŏta: hankukchŏnchaeng kwa chent [Women Walking Forward Over War: Korean War and Gender] (Seoul: Sŏhaemunchip, 2004), 229.

[66]In-Jin Yoon, *On My Own*: Korean Businesses and Race Relations in America, (Chicago. London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997) 100–131.

together with labor deficit because of mobilization of male population for military service.[67] This forced government to exploit its colonial periphery, especially Korea as a source of food supply.[68] During the same period, Governor General of Korea in cooperation with Oriental Development Company implemented agricultural reform that officially legalized exclusive rights to own land for Japanese companies that included mostly well-irrigated paddy fields in the southern part of Korean peninsula. Concentrated land ownership and modern technologies made it easier to increase agricultural production and extract more rice for the export to Japan.[69] As a result, large amount of Korean farmers went broke and lost their land that created the surplus of labor, which Korean industry could not absorb. Japanese government took advantage of this situation to voluntarily or forcedly recruit Koreans and thus compensate labor shortage suffered by industry in Japan.[70]

The first wave of emigration from Korea to the United States marked difference in income opportunities between two economies. Weak Korean agriculture during late Yi Dynasty was contrasted to dynamically expanding sugar cane industry in Hawaii that suffered from the deficit of labor force due to immigration restrictions imposed by American government after annexation completed by 1898 and frequent strikes of Japanese workers who represented majority of plantation laborers.[71] Hawaiian sugar industry was one of the important supplier of sugar for growing industrial centers of American West during golden rush and after the end of Civil war that increased demand of sugar.[72] Eventually from the year of 1903 when the first ship *SS Gaelic* with Korean migrants came to Honolulu until 1924 when American government introduced Oriental Exclusion Act more 7000 people including contract workers and picture brides came to Hawaii for plantation jobs.[73]

Korean Protestant churches too, ideologically contributed to cultivation of economic expectations. Church ministers were among those who actively participated in the establishment of Korean immigration to the United States in the early

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[67]Takao Matsumura, *Nippon teikoku shugi ka no shokumin chi rōdō shi* [History of Labor under Japanese Colonial Rule] (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 2007), 53–62.

[68]Kim Nok Nyon, *Nippon teikoku shugi ka no chōsen Keizai* [Korean Economy under Japanese Imperial Rule] (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 2002), 87–94.

[69]Yuji Kurose, *Tōyō takushoku kaisha: nippon teikoku shugi to ajia taiheiyō* [The Oriental Development Company: Japanese Imperialism and the Asia-Pacific Region] (Tokyo: Nippon keizai hyōron sha, 2003), 63–68, 287.

[70]Hideo Kobayashi, "*Dai tōa kyōei ken"no keisei to hōkai* [Formation and Collapse of "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere"] (Tokyo: Ochanomizushobo, 2006), 276–280.

[71]Hornaday W.D., *Labor Shortage Means Huge Loss to Hawaii*: Situation Seriously is Back of Movement for Admission of Alien Workers, *The Trans-Pacific: A Financial and Economic Magazine of International Service*, ed. By Benjamin Wilfried Fleisher, vol. 6, 1922, 60–61.

[72]Thomas Kemper Hitch, *Islands in Transition: The Past, Present, and Future of Hawaii's Economy* (Honolulu HI: First Hawaiian Bank, 1992), 91–93.

[73]Wayne Patterson, *The Ilse*: First-Generation Korean Immigrants in Hawaii, 1903–1973, (Honolulu HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 1–10.

20th century.[74] Christianity especially in its Protestant version stressed strong attention in different variations to the idea of original sin as a crucial source of motivation, justification of capitalist activities and at the same time as religious motivation. Specifically, "depravity" of human nature is one of the reasons of why God expelled people form paradise making them suffer.[75] However, protestant ministers in Korea transformed the idea of corrupt human nature into the positive argument of "how to make the best of our eternal insufficiencies" in economic activities. On one hand, capital accumulation and satisfaction individual needs helps to decrease sufferings making society more prosperous and thus bringing salvation closer. On the other hand, these activities is another manifestation of original sin thus making salvation more distant which in turn is supposed to motivate individual to make further efforts to obtain salvation.[76]

For instance, the first native Protestant minister, Sun Chu Kil (1869–1935), who played important role in the formation of Korean nationalism, promoted in his sermons the idea that domination of private space is crucial condition for economic decision making. He considered the individual "I" as starting point of any social action.[77] He reminded his faithful audience that "my destiny depends on me. I feed myself, clothe myself, make the decision whether to stand or lie down, to commit sin, to be moved by the Holy Spirit, and thus to be saved. It is up to me to accept the comfort, joy and hope of the Christian Gospel. I decide whether I shall be loved or disliked by others, to be rich or beggar, to be a winner or a failure."[78]

Second wave of Korean immigration to the United States was the direct result of the Korean War (1950–1953) that had devastating effect on Korean families. It included 13,000 Koreans adopted by American families and an additional 28,025 war brides who went to the United States after marrying American military servicemen.[79] This permitted Korean government to decrease its spending of scarce goods and money on economically dependent Korean women and children. For the adoptees and war brides, it meant moving from a society with less economic

[74]Okyun Kwon, *Buddhist and Protestant Korean Immigrants:* Religious Beliefs and Socioeconomic Aspects of Life New Americans (New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC, 2003), 27–28.

[75]Marshall Sahlins, *Apologies to Thucydides*: Understanding History as Culture and Vice Versa. (Chicago. London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 154–155.

[76]Marshall Sahlins, "Rationality of the Culture of Goods", *Advances in Consumer Research*, vol. 19, 1992, 78–80.

[77]Niklas Luhmann, *Law as a Social System*, translated by Klaus A. Ziegert (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 64; Also see on social imperatives on individuality in Niklas Luhmann, *Observations on Modernity*, translated by William Whobrey (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 7.

[78]In Su Kim, *Protestants and the Formation of Modern Korean Nationalism, 1885–1920: a Study of the Contributions of Horace G. Underwood and Sun Chu Kil* (Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan University, 1996), 114.

[79]Won Moo Hurh, *The Korean Americans,* 39.

security to a society with greater economic security.[80] But for the Korean government, the second wave meant a substantial influx of badly-needed American money in the "exchange," as Matthew Rothschild, editor of American monthly magazine *The Progressive*, observed regarding the effect of adoption on the Korean economy, "Korean adoptees bring in hard currency, which is roughly $US 15 million to $US 20 million a year. They relieve the government of the costs of caring for the children, which would otherwise be a drain on the [national] budget."[81]

Third wave of emigration to the United States marked distinction between entrepreneurial expectations and inability to implement them within national boundaries of South Korea. "Second economy" as official propaganda called cultural politics during presidency of Park Chung-hee (1963–1979) exploited economic inequalities among Korean people as well as inequalities between South Korea and other nations as important element of national ideology. Disparities between developed nations and the Republic of Korea was a source of justification to mobilize society to develop export-oriented economy within capitalist system of labor division. Disproportions between urban and rural areas were important source of motivation to mobilize Korean farmers for modernization of agriculture *Saemaul Undong* (New village movement) launched in April 22, 1970. This laid a basis for further development of pyramidal structure of national economy centered on large corporations (*chaebols*) and backed by government.[82] This significantly limited economic opportunity for those who could not become an element of this pyramid. Simultaneously, the process of outsourcing of American industries, suburbanization of American cities in post-World War II period[83] as well as liberalization of immigration laws in post-1965 period opened up chances for self-employed small businesses entrepreneurs. As a result, during a period of thirty-five years since

[80]Sgt. Johnnie Morgan returns to the U.S. with a Korean wife who once walked 200 miles to be with him/ …. By the time Korea was a word on the lips of every American, Johnnie and Blue were in love. But love in Korea in 1950 was precious and brief. In late June, with North Koreans coming in on Seoul, Johnnie's outfit withdrew 200 miles south to Pusan, and Blue was left behind. Three weeks later, her feet bare and bleeding, Blue reached Pusan and Johnnie Morgan. She had walked across country to Johnnie. "I knew then," says Johnnie, "how much I loved the kid," and he asked her to marry him. "War bride named BLUE comes home," *Life*, November 5, 1951, 41.

Matthew Rothschild, "Babies for Sale: 'South Koreans Make Them, Americans Buy Them," *The Progressive,* January 1988, 18–23.

[81]Matthew Rothschild, "Babies for Sale: 'South Koreans Make Them, Americans Buy Them," *The Progressive,* January 1988, 18–23.

[82]Jae Seung Shim and Moosung Lee, *The Korean Economic System:* Governments, Big Business and Financial Institutions, 54.

[83]Lloyd Rodwin, Hidehiko Sazanami, *Deindustrialization and Regional Economic Transformation:* The Experience of the United States (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 90–95; On postwar deindustrialization of American economy see for instance Barry Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison, *The Deindustrialization of America:* Plant Closings, Community Abandonment, and the Dismantling of Basic industry (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 140–192.

1965, close to 800,000 Koreans came to the United States to create ethnic enclaves in inner cities with large population in Los Angeles and New York.[84]

Since late 1980s and early 1990s, South Korean government proclaimed formation of the new era in diaspora politics that stressed importance of nearly 7 million Koreans living abroad that sought to exploit global ethnic Korean ties as a part of announced drive for globalization (*segyehwa*) to promote interests of South Korean capital. The variety of political campaigns, slogans or legal acts developed by South Korean governments during decades since late 1980s were different variations of adoption of social inequality as crucial principle of construction of transnational ethnic Korean identity.[85] This mechanism functions at least in three different dimensions: political, economic and physiological. Political dimension defines boundaries of global Korean community including all persons of Korean origin regardless of their nationality who reside in foreign countries.[86] Economic dimension includes different formal and informal strategies of integration of overseas Koreans that depends on their level of income as well as level economic development of respected host nations.[87] Third, one stresses physiological dimension of ethnic boundaries defining "blood" as the basis of Korean identity that permits to develop various narratives focused on particular image of "body" as a source of needs for economy.[88]

Commercialization of ethnic ties reflects larger changes in global capitalism. South Korean new diaspora politics was a part of government politics to adapt to emerging *New Economy* in the United States that marked growing importance of financial speculations and service-based economy as a driver of economic growth. It was reaction to declining rates of industrial capital during 1970s because that faced global crisis of overproduction and needed new sources of demand in order to

[84]See detailed analysis of demographics of third wave of Korean immigrants to the United States in Won Moo Hurh, *The Korean Americans*, 41–43.

[85]Lee Chin Yŏng, "Hankuk ŭi chaeoetongp'ochŏngch'aek" [Diaspora Politics towards Overseas Koreans], *IOM Migration Research and Training Centre Working Paper* November, 2011, 4–7.

[86]See for instance Second article of *Act on the Immigration and Legal Status of Overseas Koreans*, Adopted on January 22, 2015 No. 12593 or Second article of *Overseas Korean Foundation Law*, Adopted on June 22, 2015, No. 13348.

[87]Kwak Chae Seok, Chaeoe tongp'o ŭi ichu hyŏnhwang mich' hyanghu chŏngch'aek panghyang [Current Situation of Overseas Korean Immigration and Development of Future Policies], Ministry of Justice Annual Report, 2011, 8–12.

[88]In Jin Yun, *Chaeoe tongp'o sahoe ŭi yŏksachŏk koch'al kwa yŏnku pangpŏplon mosaek* [Historical Study and Research Methodology of Overseas Koreans] (Seoul: Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe, 2005), 103–104.

survive.[89] Global expansion of new economic system demanded stronger absorption of Korean manufacture-based export oriented national economy into international financial market centered on Federal Reserve System and American dollar. For instance, Asian Economic crisis in 1997 marked the beginning of wider expansion of foreign capital inside national economy in exchange for deeper integration of Korean corporations into international financial market.[90]

Overseas Koreans occupy different positions in hierarchy of transnational Korean entity. The proclaimed unity of Korean people based on common "blood" reveals that there are striking distinctions in a way how South Korean nationalism both formally through legislation and informally integrates ethnic Koreans from China, Russia, the United States and Japan. Particular place in hierarchy mostly depends on economic successes of Korean diaspora, on potential of markets of their host societies markets and degree of their economic and political influence. Integration of overseas Koreans into transnational entity permits to increase competition among Korean people and thus pressure to exploit economic motivation for both South Koreans and Korean diaspora. For example, on one hand, Chinese, CIS Koreans and North defectors who usually enter South Korean society as unskilled workers or self-employed small business entrepreneurs with limited economic opportunities symbolize risks of downward social mobility thus providing negative economic motivation for locals. On the other, Korean Americans who usually get employed in South Koreans big corporations as well as in mainstream Korean politics provide positive economic motivation symbolizing upward social mobility.

South Korean nationalism refers to Chinese, CIS Koreans and North Korean defectors as a source of negative economic motivation. Diaspora politics towards overseas Koreans in China, Russia, CIS nations and North Korea in different ways stresses difference in level of economic development and income level in comparison with South Korea as a crucial factor in defining their membership Korean community. This is supposed to intensify competition within this entity to encourage overseas Koreans to actively pursue upward mobility and motivate South Korean citizens to preserve their economic positions on labor market.[91] It also gives government additional mechanisms to promote further liberalization of labor

[89]Ronald W. Cox, "Corporate Finance and US Foreign Policy in Corporate Power and Globalization", *US Foreign Policy* ed by Ronald W. Cox (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), 11–30. Also see Bastiaan Van Apeldoorn and Nana de Graaff, *American Grand Strategy and Corporate Elite Networks*: The Open Door since the End of the Cold War (New York: Routledge, 2015), 34–61, 118–137.

[90]Kang-Kook Lee, "Neoliberalism, the Financial Crisis, and Economic Restructuring in Korea", *New Millennium South Korea: Neoliberal Capitalism and Transnational Movements*, ed by Jesook Song (New York: Routledge, 2011), 29–45.

[91]Dong Hoon Seol and Hae Chun Rhee, *Oekukkukchŏktongp'o koyongi kuknae notongsichange mich'inŭn sahoe*. Kyŏngchechŏk hyokwa punsŏk [Employment of Overseas Ethnic Koreans in Korea and Its Socio-economic Effects on Korean Labor Market] (Seoul: Ministry of Labor, The Republic of Korea, 2005), 90–93.

legislation and attempt to weaken influence of labor unions.[92] In order to put inequality as basis of ethnic solidarity diaspora politics underlines the relations of economic and moral dependence of overseas Koreans on South Korea. Specifically it refers to ethnic solidarity to provide different sorts of external assistance or welfare to overseas Koreans, special visa regimes to justify their access to South Korean labor market as if it is the only opportunity for upward economic mobility ("Korean dream") that their underdeveloped host nations cannot provide.[93] However, simultaneously diaspora politics refers to underdeveloped character of overseas Korean communities to justify their low starting positions in South Korean society.[94]

This also puts inequality between ethnic Korean females and their South Korean husbands at the center of their family life. Population decline, growing urbanization and decreasing rural population raised the problem of finding marriage partners for male population in rural areas.[95] Government through its open-door policy granted Korean-Chinese women status of 'cross-border' brides that since early 1990s permitted attraction of marriage partners from Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture. Poverty and lack of knowledge of South Korean culture complicated formation of equal relations between Korean husbands and overseas Korean brides from China, which is also true for ethnic Korean females from CIS countries, or North Korea. Eventually, it is difference between income level in South Korea and host societies that encourage overseas Koreans to seek marriage partner abroad and South Korean males to accept them into their own households as economically dependent and thus morally obliged members.[96]

South Korean diaspora politics describes Japanese and Korean Americans as a source of positive economic motivation to South Korean society. Both communities are crucial source of investments for many decades that contributed to development of South Korean economy and its integration into global capitalist system of labor division thus symbolizing upward social mobility. Korean diaspora in Japan and the

[92]Lee Chang Ik and Chong Suk Hui, *Oekukin notongcha ŭi nocho kaip yokku mich' sŏnghyang e kwanhan yŏngu* [A Study on Integration of Foreign Workers in Korean Labor Unions], (Seoul: Korea Labor & Society Institute, 2007), 97–122.

[93]Kim Chae Ki, *Segyehwa sitae kŭllopŏl k'olian net'ŭwŏk'ŭ wa kukka palchŏn* [Korean Global Network in the Era of Globalization and National Development] (Seoul: hankuk haksul chŏngpo, 2006), 23.

[94]Bang Ki Chung, *Sikminchi p'asichŭm ŭi yusan kwa kŭkpok ŭi kwacha* [On Necessity to Overcome Colonial Fascist Legacy] (Seoul: Hyean, 2006), 103–107.

[95]Kim Hyŏn Ki, *2018, inku pyŏnhwa ka taehan minkuk ŭl pakkunta, hansŭ mitiŏ* [Population Dynamics will Change Korean Society by the Year of 2018] (Seoul: Hansmedia, 2008), 261 and Chang Yun Su, K'orian tiasŭp'ola wa munhwa net'ŭwŏk'ŭ [Korean Diaspora and Cultural Ties] (Seoul: Puk k'olia, 2010, 326).

[96]Byon Hwa Sun and others, Kyŏlhon imincha yŏsŏngŭi kachŏngp'oklyŏk p'ihaehyŏnhwangkwa chiwŏnch'ekye kaesŏn pangan [Domestic Violence against Marriage Immigrants and Support Enhancements] (Seoul: Korean Women's Development Institute, 2008), 4, 31–32, 57–65.

United States provides numerous examples of extremely successful business and social activities in the nations that belong to the most developed economies in the world. In spite of discrimination many *zainichi* were successful in different spheres of Japanese economy during its active growth in post WWII whether it is small business or large transnational corporations like Lotte Group. Their activities range from entertainment, logistics, big retail to food production, chemical industry and finance that invested to South Korean economy at least since 1960s.[97] Korean Americans also became active investors to the economy of their motherland in late 1990s and early 2000s.[98]

South Korean diaspora politics describes Japanese and Korean Americans as a source of positive economic motivation to South Korean society. Both communities are crucial source of investments for many decades that contributed to development of South Korean economy and its integration into global capitalist system of labor division thus symbolizing upward social mobility. Korean diaspora in Japan and the United States provides numerous examples of extremely successful business and social activities in the nations that belong to the most developed economies in the world. In spite of discrimination many *zainichi* were successful in different spheres of Japanese economy during its active growth in post WWII whether it is small business or large transnational corporations like Lotte Group. Their activities range from entertainment, logistics, big retail to food production, chemical industry and finance that invested to South Korean economy at least since 1960s.[99] Korean Americans also became active investors to the economy of their motherland in late 1990s and early 2000s.[100]

Idea of social inequality is crucial element of South Korean unification projects. South Korean politicians and intellectuals beginning since at least from late 1990s promote the idea that unification of two Koreas could possibly begin outside Korean peninsula on the territory of the third nation with considerable overseas Korean population with long history of residence. Establishment ethnic autonomy could become a model and simultaneously a test site for unification strategies before their actual implementation on Korean peninsula. The main purpose of these projects is to organize unified Korean society in way that would permit most effectively exploit its economic potential and increase international competitiveness. To this purpose, unification projects represent different variation of society in

[97]Choe Sok Sin, *Chaeil k'orian sahoe ŭi kyŏngche hwankyŏng* [Economic Status Japanese Koreans] (Seoul: Chipmuntang, 2005), 108.

[98]William C. Hannas, The Writing on the Wall: How Asian Orthography Curbs Creativity, (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 70–73.

[99]Choe Sok Sin, *Chael k'orian sahoe ŭi kyŏngche hwankyŏng* [Economic Status Japanese Koreans], 108.

[100]William C. Hannas, The Writing on the Wall: How Asian Orthography Curbs Creativity, 70–73.

form of capitalist corporation with strict hierarchy where different social groups occupy strictly defined positions according to their specialization and economic efficiency. For instance, a long debated project of establishment of Korean ethnic autonomy in Primorsky Region on Russian Far East is expected to consist of at least three basic elements: territory granted by Russian government to Russian Koreans, South Korean capital and technologies and North Korean labor.[101]

[101]Lim Ch'ae Wan, rŏshia yŏnhaeju koryŏinŭi puk'an'gwa t'ongire kwanhan inshik chosa [Research on the Views of Russian-Korean Ethnics in Maritime Provinces about North Korea and the Unification of Korean Peninsula], Unification Studies, vol. 12–2, 2003, 241–270.

Chapter 6
Conclusion

Abstract This work was an attempt to develop a new approach towards formation of the ethnic boundary as complex interrelation between cognitive structures and ethnic/national boundaries formation process. Paraphrasing the basic idea of information theory that information is difference that makes difference, the process of ethnicity formation is the process of distinguishing from environment when the produced distinctions become the source of information for further distinctive operations. The process of ethnic/national units' formation reproduces distinction between system and environment as unity that creates asymmetry on both sides of distinction because the level of complexity in the system is always less than one of the environment. The unity of distinction means that this asymmetry (and thus instability) is always present in every single operation of ethnic process because unity of ethnic group is also unity of distinction between ethnic group and its environment. This asymmetry and instability return to ethnic system as pressure to select information for further reproduction and reduction of self-produced complexity.

Keywords Ethnic boundary · Cognition · Social complexity · Nationalism · Socialism · Capitalism · Modernization

This work was an attempt to develop a new approach towards formation of the ethnic boundary as complex interrelation between cognitive structures and ethnic/national boundaries formation process. Paraphrasing the basic idea of information theory that information is difference that makes difference, the process of ethnicity formation is the process of distinguishing from environment when the produced distinctions become the source of information for further distinctive operations. The process of ethnic/national units' formation reproduces distinction between system and environment as unity that creates asymmetry on both sides of distinction because the level of complexity in the system is always less than one of the environment. The unity of distinction means that this asymmetry (and thus instability) is always present in every single operation of ethnic process because unity of ethnic group is also unity of distinction between ethnic group and its

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environment. This asymmetry and instability return to ethnic system as pressure to select information for further reproduction and reduction of self-produced complexity.

The members of Korean Diaspora exist in the state of high levels of contingency. It is unclear what information they should choose and what information they should ignore to construct ethnic boundary to distinguish them from host society in way to obtain trust and avoid exclusion from host society. The Korean diaspora in Russia, China the United States, and Japan illustrate how this process can be different and similar at the same time. On one hand, there is a striking difference between the experiences of Korean immigrants in four countries and on the other hand, surprising similarities in form of how the members of Diaspora select information to distinguish them from host society. In each case, the success of integration demanded not only an understanding of the expectations of the host society but also using those expectations to construct ethnic boundary.

The only criterion available to select information for construction of ethnic boundary is distinction between Korean Diaspora and its environment whether it is host society or country of origin. Korean Diaspora does not simply distinguish itself from environment but reproduces this distinction as a source of information for further operations. It echoes with how closed self-referential systems function based on reentry mechanism that reproduces difference between system and environment inside the system. In practice, it means that members of the Korean Diaspora in Russia, China, the United States and Japan reintroduce the self-description of respective host societies as nations back into environment but as authentically Korean. On one hand, it permits to reduce the risk of social exclusion and obtain trust from host society because both sides select and ignore similar information to construct ethnic/national boundary and understand it in similar ways. On the other hand, the fact that both sides observe these operations as distinction between Korean Diaspora and environment also creates the situation of contingency about how to reproduce ethnic/national boundary and thus pressure to continue selective operations to reduce self-produced complexity.

Ethnic boundaries of Korean Diaspora evolve as a complex of reactions dynamics of Russian, Chinese, American, Japanese and North/South Korean nationalism. In all cases the behavior cycles of both government officials, majority public and Korean Diaspora function as paradox that first produces and then exploits the failures to construct national or ethnic community to motivate society to continue nation-building and Korean community building process. It permits to internalize disappointed social expectations that exploit self-criticism as driving force that motivates society to face new challenge and modify itself according to another ideological construct. Both majority of host society and members Korean Diaspora reintroduce their inability to construct nation-states within socialist or capitalist paradigms that motivate people to pursue “social harmony”, “national unity” or “American dream” that never existed but are supposed to motivate society to make further efforts to pursue the goals that previously ended up in disappointment. In this sense, the Korean diaspora in the each country provides an example of the domination of one pattern of this paradox. It does not mean that

society and ethnicity can be reduced only to one model of information processing, but there are different models that co-exist simultaneously in society with different degree of social trust.

(Post) socialist modernization in Russia and China developed two opposite patterns of Korean Diaspora ethnic boundaries formation. Socialist ideologies exploit economic inequality to justify the moral demand of social justice both for excluded social/ethnic groups and for those who benefit from inequalities, namely socialist parties whose political legitimacy rests on the belief that bureaucratic institutions' intervention can overcome social inequality. Socialist revolutions in Russia and China promised that taking power from the upper classes or the redistribution of wealth inside the national community would solve the problem of unequal distribution of wealth in society, which turned ethnic/national culture into a form of class struggle between labor and capital. Politicization of ethnicity demanded provision of Korean minority with its own national territory where they could enjoy a certain degree of autonomy, national schools, and national elites as a tool of dictatorship of the proletariat. Soviet/Russian government refused to provide territory to ethnic Koreans that defined further development of their culture and marked difference from China. Logic of politicized Soviet/Russian Korean ethnicity constantly pressures to establish autonomy and at the same time resist its establishment. It meant that ethnic boundaries of Chinese Korean diaspora were reaction to different trends of political power on a certain territory of Northeast China (Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture (YKAP)), Soviet/Russian Korean Diaspora developed in similar way but without politically guaranteed relation to certain territory that forced them to spread their activities in different regions all over the country.

Taken power and redistributed resources did not lead to formation of national unity in socialist states. Eventually socialism in Soviet Union and China faced the fact that all attempts to remove class distinctions did not only remove them but produced new equalities that cannot be reduced to traditional class differences. As a result, moral imperative of solidarity lost its legitimacy and so does the idea that national unity is possible under socialist slogans. Since the collapse of socialist system, Russia and China embarked on the transition to a market-oriented economy that also had strong impact on ethnic policies in both nations that were going through big change. Instead of trying to overcome social inequality, government on contrary constructed a version of nationalism that permitted to exploit those inequalities as a tool to exploit economic potential of ethnic Koreans and further modernization but within opposite paradigm of capitalism.

However, transition to capitalist did not de-politicize Korean diaspora but on the contrary created new forms of politicization. Russian and Chinese post-socialist period demonstrates that growing dependence of ethnicity/nation on economy produces growing independence of economy from ethnic/national boundaries. The purpose of ethnic policies in Russia is to make ethnic minorities, including Russian Koreans formally and informally dependent on state in order to make sure that their economic activities would fit and reproduce existing political order. In order to do that, federal/regional authorities integrate ethnic organizations or individuals into

bureaucratic hierarchy thus politicizing them. Ethnic distinctions become a source of parallel power with transnational ties and government cannot ensure that members of ethnic groups will preserve political loyalty. This contingency creates negative expectations, forces authorities to treat ethnic distinctions as a source of possible conflicts and demand stronger dependence of ethnic minorities on Russian state justified by ideologies of "national unity". The success of capitalist economy in China motivates ethnic Koreans as well as Han Chinese migrate not only within national boundaries from rural and less developed regions to big cities but also move transnationally seeking for better job opportunities in other countries. The contradiction between ethnic solidarity and economic efficiency reappears as contradiction between economic efficiency and national solidarity because Chinese national economy cannot satisfy growing economic expectations both of Han Chinese and of non-Han population. Besides, in order to prevent politicization of economic disappointments authorities constructs different ideologies that permit to reintroduce disappointed expectations back into political discourse as demand of national solidarity in spite of growing inequalities between Korean minority and Han-Chinese majority.

Korean Diaspora in the United States and Japan exemplify two opposite patterns of ethnic boundaries reproduction in capitalist societies. Korean Americans developed their ethnicity as reaction to successful upward social mobility while ethnicity of Japanese Koreans is reaction to downward social mobility. From the very beginning, integration of Korean immigrants in the United States depended on how well they were doing economically. The Korean American diaspora developed the means of concentrating economic resources. Their racial ideologies played crucial role in pursuit of economic security and helped them to exploit the economic potential of the Korean diaspora in competition or cooperation with other ethnic and racial groups in the United States. The importance of biological forms of economic mobilization represented by race grew from their particular image of the human body in a physiological sense as the material supply of needs for the market. Racial boundaries they set motivated members of the Korean American diaspora to adhere to constant sums of money (price of ethnic labor) which was necessary for cooperation, exchange, and competition with non-Koreans on a regular basis. Those racial boundaries they established also preserved their economic potential and maintained economic discipline among the members of the Korean American diaspora by including individuals who fit the biological criterion of membership while excluding everybody else.

The Korean American diaspora also developed the means to diversify their economic resources. Economic security for members of the Korean American diaspora depended increasingly upon the resources of the larger society and less upon the ethnic ties and the ethnic niche. Therefore, it became more difficult for them to describe the ethnic boundary in terms of economic relations. The logic of pursuit of the "American Dream" demanded construction of different boundaries like that of creditor/lender, owner/worker or producer/consumer and different sources for motivation from employment/unemployment instead of recitations of the alleged Korean ethic of hard work or "blood ties." Hence, Korean American

financial institutions increasingly shifted away from their co-ethnic clientele to the wider population of Los Angeles in provision of financial services while Korean American entrepreneurs increasingly relied on cheaper non-Korean labor and less on family labor to meet their labor requirements.

Redistribution of economic resources is another crucial aspect of Korean American ethnicity. The trust towards the Korean Americans in American society demands the presence of institutions that would compensate for the negative consequences of economic operations on a regular basis. Los Angeles Riots in 1992 demonstrated that it is impossible to ignore the persistent problems of American society such as racism, class disparities or inefficient government. It also showed that Korean American diaspora needed to new forms of wider and more active political participation instead of informal connections between ethnic elite of the small business associations and American government. Further presence of Korean Americans in American society demanded construction of their version of a mechanism that would permit to preserve these contradictions and at the same time reintroduce produced social disappointments as important source of motivation for further pursue of "American dream". The constructed mechanism includes two forms of reintegration of class and racial contradiction through Korean American protest movement and participation of Korean American politicians in American political mainstream.

Simultaneously integration of Korean Americans involved them into contradictions of American society. The inevitable outcome of their economic activities (successful or not) was increase of racial/class tensions and conflicts that they could not ignore. Every economic activity represents temporal balance between scarcity and abundance and ethnic boundaries of Korean American Diaspora guarantee that scarcity of money and goods is once again present in American society, even for another ethnic group that motivates latter to pursue their own American dream. In other words, social inequality is crucial for capitalism because it most effectively permit to exploit economic potential of society. It means that Korean American political activists had to refer to inability to remove racial discrimination, class disparities or government inefficiency in a way that preserves them as an ideological constructs that motivates both members of Korean American diaspora and of American society to furtherly exploit their economic potential and integrate social disappointments.

Japanese Koreans on the contrary developed moralized ethnic boundaries in response to social exclusion. The Japanese Korean diaspora describes itself as a deterrent to possible "pathological" behavior in Japanese society. As "representatives" of the Japanese Korean diaspora, artists and human rights activists deliberately cultivate a delicate sensitivity towards Japanese Korean history and culture among the Japanese public at large regarding possible violations of norms in Japanese society. This cultivation of sensitivity has two objectives in mind. The first is to maintain ethnic solidarity among Japanese Koreans, a sense of "us" verses "them" for those in Japanese society in general, on the other. Another rationale for this cultivation of moral sensitivity is to justify compensation claims against the Japanese government. For instance, Japanese Korean artists represent pathologies

of Japanese and Japanese Korean society to create solidarity based on compassion and remorse. Ethnic educators cultivate students for participation in protest movements demanding reform of Japanese laws and monetary compensations for past acts of discrimination.

Reliance on moral communication does not mean that members of the Japanese Korean diaspora and Japanese society live in harmony. Morality does not possess socially integrating properties because of its polemic side it is laden with conflict. The cases of social and economic exclusion motivate Japanese Koreans to mobilize its members for protest movements legitimized by the moralized image of Koreans in Japan as victims of discrimination. This does not always produce compassion among Japanese public but very often produces social irritations and eventually counter-protest movements that are also legitimized by moralized image of Japanese society as victim of Japanese Korean demands of compensations. Furthermore, the concept of morality does not presuppose consensus or equal relations but requires one to fully obey the moral requirements of the other. And finally, morality leads to fixation of positions, to intolerance, and to conflict because once engaging in moral discourse, one cannot but identify oneself with the positive side and other, with the negative side. Eventually this gives opportunity to Japanese Koreans to refer to unsuccessful attempts to obtain compensations and the cases of counter protest movement as a new proof of ongoing discrimination against their community. It means that they can use these cases to construct new moralized image of Japanese Koreans as victim of Japanese discrimination to motivate people for further protest movement, and start this cycle of moral discontent once again.

North and South Korean diaspora politics developed as different reactions to inconsistency between ethnic and national boundaries. They have to construct ideologies that helps to justify their political legitimacy as nation of Korean people in spite of the fact they do not include large number of Korean population who whether has their own nation or belong to other non-Korean nations as ethnic minority. Both North and South Korea adopt different patterns of ideology construction formed within different patterns of modernization where diaspora politics plays crucial role. For instance, North Korea gives example of socialist diaspora politics that search to exploit political potential of both North Korean society and overseas Koreans. It reproduces national unity of Korean people in terms of political contradictions that oscillates from inclusion of overseas Koreans into national boundaries to their exclusion depending on trend of political power in DPRK. Diaspora politics of the Republic of Korea on the contrary is largely aimed to exploit economic potential of both overseas Koreans and South Korean society. That is why it mostly focuses on reproduction of social inequalities between nation of origin and overseas Koreans to regulate inclusion or exclusion into/from national boundaries depending on their economic efficiency.

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