entrepreneurship leads to upward social mobility; or whether cultural adaptation might have an adverse impact on social and economic progress, resulting in 'segmented assimilation'. Despite the rise of multiculturalism and the more positive evaluation of the maintenance of distinct cultural identity, the importance of socioeconomic advancement in the mainstream of society continues to inform the discussion of race and ethnic relations.

In Japan, in contrast, the questions such as above are rarely asked. The weak emphasis on socioeconomic assimilation may be due to the conversely strong sense that structural assimilation can only be achieved *at the expense of* ethnic identity. It is feared that the more zainichi Koreans are integrated into Japanese society, the greater the danger of losing the viability as a community. The problem is all the more serious because ethnic Koreans have largely been invisible in Japanese society. This leads us to the second major issue concerning assimilation: passing and ethnic identity.

Previous perspectives on assimilation lack an adequate analysis of 'passing', or zainichi Koreans passing as 'Japanese'. The phenomenon has been understood as the prime example of Japanese assimilationist treatment toward zainichi Koreans, who are obliged to hide their ethnic background by assuming Japanese names. Those who try to pass are regarded as victims of social pressure, while those who use their Korean names are applauded for having successfully resisted assimilationist pressure. However, judgement alone is not particularly helpful for the understanding of the mechanism of passing. To view passing solely as a *passive* phenomenon leaves us little room for further analysis. My point is not to dismiss the power of social pressure and to reduce it to a matter of individual choice. Rather, I would argue that we need to consider when and why individuals seek to repress their ethnic identity or, conversely, to express it. For instance, it would be useful to introduce the concept of opportunity structure and to explore complex interrelations between different facets of assimilation, on the one hand, and the Japanese government policies and the broader social conditions, on the other. Such framework could rescue human agency while duly recognizing structural constraints.

Assimilation and passing are closely related with the construction of ethnic identity and the viability of zainichi Koreans as a minority group. A number of symposiums, roundtable discussions, or special journal volumes have taken up these issues in recent years. A major concern is the fear of progressive assimilation into Japanese society. Zainichi activists attach special importance to the use of one's Korean name precisely because it serves as the 'ethnic marker' by which they can assert their ethnic identity. The same goes with legal nationality. The declining population of permanent resident Koreans is often cited as a piece of evidence that zainichi is in danger of "extinction." This might sound rather odd because there are a huge number of Japanese nationality holders of Korean descent. However, the possession of Japanese nationality is here interpreted as the loss of a crucial 'ethnic marker'.

In fact, what *could be* a social marker of ethnic identity for zainichi Koreans is now rather limited: nationality and name. Language could not be a marker, though quite a few zainichi Koreans do learn the language; neither would 'culture' do, though some cultural elements including family rituals such as *chaesa* do serve to foster ethnic identity to some extent. At the same time, a negative ethnic social marker operates in the form of ethnic/social discrimination, generating an incentive to pass as 'Japanese' rather than to emphasize Korean ethnic markers. Given that the vast majority of zainichi Koreans have for a long time lived with their Japanese names, the chance is low that they shift to using Korean names *en masse*. Meanwhile, the number of Korean nationals is decreasing as mentioned above. What is yet to be discovered, perhaps, are forms of ethnic identity that do not necessarily rely on conventional markers such as nationality and Korean names, and yet enable zainichi Koreans to express their difference without much hesitation.

'Ethnic markers' vary according to social contexts. In the United States, racial markers operate in a way quite different from the Japanese context. In both China and former USSR, the official recognition of national minority status serves as a basis of group boundaries. The dominant group in a given society usually has the power to reinforce its position using those markers. At the same time, minority groups can

actively employ ethnic markers to strengthen group solidarity and advance their own interests, as Olivier (2001) demonstrates in his analysis of Koreans in China. In comparing those different contexts, it would be useful to consider what *could be* viable ethnic markers for the Korean communities, and how that possibility shapes their strategies for survival and development.

4. Conclusion

Based on the previous examination of the diasporic experience of zainichi Koreans in theoretical and comparative perspective, we can draw a couple of tentative conclusions. The first point has to do with the prevailing understanding of zainichi experience -- prevailing in that it is produced by the influential sections of the minority community and/or the majority society, and widely accepted as legitimate. The established mode of interpretation has had an impact not only on ethnic/national identity formation but on the trend in research as well. This is because it tends to emphasize some aspects of zainichi experiences while downplaying others. Researchers may stop probing some questions further when there already exists a standard answer. A conscious effort is needed to enlarge the scope and direction of research, and the introduction of comparative perspective can be quite helpful for that purpose.

Second, comparative studies are naturally full of pitfalls. However, as long as we pay due attention to the ideological thrust in the act of comparisons, I believe they could yield valuable results. I would propose that we explore the possibility of theoretical generalizations that do not necessarily undermine the appreciation of differences and diversity between, as well as within, overseas Korean communities. As far as the Japanese context is concerned, the increasing appreciation of the diversity among zainichi Koreans and the emerging plurality of perspectives seem to be conducive to the development in comparative studies.

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The Social Assimilation and Ethnic Attachment of Korean Australians

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I. Introduction

Van den Berghe has underlined that assimilation[1] refers to "... the extent to which a group that was originally distinct has lost its subjective identity and has become absorbed in the social structure of another group" (1981: 216). Assimilation, as Yinger (1985: 154) noted, is also "a multidimensional process, the various aspects of which, although highly interactive, can vary independently at different rates and in sequences." Social assimilation, as Keefe and Padilla (1987: 18; see also Gordon 1964: 71) pointed out, involves the entrance of ethnic minorities into primary and secondary relations with members of the mainstream society. Primary relations include intimate and informal interactions, such as family members (through intermarriage), friends and neighbours, and private leisure with them (Keefe and Padilla 1987: 18). On the other hand, secondary relations

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[1] Numerous scholars have, however, understood acculturation and assimilation as a similar phenomenon or have used them as inter-exchangeable terms (e.g., Berry and Annis 1974; Wessen et al. 1992; Bun and Kiong 1993; Glazer 1993; Porter and Washington 1993; Portes and Schauffler 1994; Weinfeld 1994; Min 1995; Portes 1995; Rumbaut 1997a; 1997b; Zhou 1997). For the comparison and contrast of salient characteristics of the concepts of acculturation and assimilation, see Teske (1974: 351-367).

include the less intimate and more formal interactions which take place at work, in school, in the political arena, in places of mass entertainment, and at other social agencies (ibid.: 18).

In the present paper, social assimilation is defined as 'a multidimensional process by which Korean Australians are absorbed into primary and secondary relations of the dominant society.' Additionally, it is supposed that social assimilation is a more difficult process than acculturation because it may require acceptance of the dominant society.

Most Korean Australians showed strong ethnic attachment in the process of acculturation because of their earlier socialization and the influence of the ethnic community which is dominated by the first generation, although there were differences between individuals, between generations, and between sexes (Seol 2001: 164-216).

Hence, it is hypothesized that Korean Australians will show low social assimilation because of their internal and external conditions of existence. Korean ethnicity would have greatly affected their social assimilation. Their common ethnicity might have played an important role as a reference point, which facilitates diverse social relations between co-ethnic members, and between them and the dominant society. Though nobody has undertaken research on the social assimilation of Korean Australians, there has been a body of literature related to that of Korean Americans.

This article aims to examine the social assimilation and ethnic attachment of Korean Australians in the following two aspects, after reviewing the experience of Koreans in America: (1) friendship-neighbor network; and (2) participation in voluntary associations.

The primary data used for this study were gathered from fieldwork, which I carried out between December of 1996 and June of 2000 in Sydney and Melbourne. I was heavily dependent on qualitative methodology to accomplish the purpose of the present study. This was because the subjective feelings, experiences and judgement of Korean Australians might not be effectively investigated by quantitative methodology (cf. Facio 1993; Miller 1997; Silverman 1997). Hence, semi-structured interviewing and participant observation were used as the main data collection techniques. In this research, the quantitative data were reconstructed from the qualitative data in order to explore behaviour or norm patterns of the informants (cf. Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998).

Throughout my research, snowball sampling was used to select key-informants and respondents. Before interviews, interviewees were informed of the purpose of the research. They were also told that data obtained from the interview would only be used for this research and would not be released for other purposes. The length of interviews varied from around one hour to more than four hours. Sometimes, group interviews were also conducted.

II. Description of the Sample

Seventy-eight interviews were carried out in Sydney, and eighty-two interviews were conducted in Melbourne. A detailed description of the general characteristics of the 160 informants is presented in this section. They are examined according to the following aspects: (1) sex and age; (2) length of residence in Australia; (3) highest educational attainment; (4) economic participation; and (5) religious affiliation.

Among respondents, the male proportion (72.5%) was almost triple

that of the female number(27.5%). This gender imbalance results from the researcher's gender. That is, a male researcher would in general have difficulty in accessing female respondents in the Korean cultural context. The sex ratio of the Sydney informants (73.1% to 26.9%) is very similar to that of their Melbourne counterparts (72.0% to 28.0%). While the highest proportion (17.5%) in the age category was between the ages of 35 and 39, the lowest proportion (4.4%) was 60 years and over. The age group between 40 and 44 also represents a comparatively higher proportion. Among total interviewees, 2.5% did not report their ages because of personal reasons. Overall, respondents were evenly distributed in all age groups.

Table 1. Sex and age of informants

Age	Sydney		Melbourne		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Up to 24	1	2	7	4	14 (8.8%)
25-29	6	4	4	3	17 (10.6%)
30-34	4	6	3	2	15 (9.4%)
35-39	9	3	12	4	28 (17.5%)
40-44	8	2	11	3	24 (15.0%)
45-49	8	1	7	2	18 (11.3%)
50-54	7	-	9	3	19 (11.9%)
55-59	9	1	3	1	14 (8.8%)
60 and over	3	1	3	-	7 (4.4%)
Not stated	2	1	-	1	4 (2.5%)
Total (No.)	57	21	59	23	160

Percentage may not add up to 100.0 due to rounding.

While the majority (71.3%) of respondents had been in Australia for more than ten years, a considerable minority (28.7%) of informants had lived in Australia for less than 10 years. The residential period for informants in Sydney was longer than that of their Melbourne counterparts. Around 44% of respondents in Sydney came to this country more than 15 years ago, while this was the case for about 26% in Melbourne. Those interviewees who had resided in Australia for 10 to 14 years occupy the highest proportion(32.1% in Sydney and 41.5% in Melbourne).

Table 2. Length of residence in Australia of informants

Years	Sydney	Melbourne	Total
4 years and less	5 (6.4%)	4 (4.9%)	9 (5.6%)
5 to 9 years	14 (17.9%)	23 (28.0%)	37 (23.1%)
10 to 14 years	25 (32.1%)	34 (41.5%)	59 (36.9%)
15 to 19 years	21 (26.9%)	12 (14.6%)	33 (20.6%)
20 years and over	13 (16.7%)	9 (11.0%)	22 (13.8%)
Total (No.)	78	82	160

Percentage may not add up to 100.0 due to rounding

Respondents, in general, had a high level of formal education. Approximately 66% of the sample had a tertiary degree, mostly achieved in Korea. If those whose university studies were incomplete were taken into account, around 70% of informants received tertiary education. Interviewees in Melbourne were more highly educated than those in Sydney. This partly reflects the fact that these two ethnic communities had different population formations in earlier days. That is, the real history of the Sydney Korean community was started by those Koreans, the majority of whom were not highly educated, who came from Vietnam in the 1970s. The Melbourne Korean community, on the other hand, was established arguably by more educated and skilled Koreans from the homeland in the 1970s. Overall, my informants were highly educated in Korea or Australia.

Table 3. Highest education attainment of informants

Educational level	Sydney	Melbourne	Total
Postgraduate	6 (8.3%)	14 (20.0%)	20 (14.1%)
Bachelor's degree of 4 years	34 (47.2%)	40 (57.1%)	74 (52.1%)
Incomplete degree	3 (4.2%)	2 (2.9%)	5 (3.5%)
College degree of 2 years	6 (8.3%)	4 (5.7%)	10 (7.0%)
High school	14 (19.4%)	7 (10.0%)	21 (14.8%)
Middle and lower	6 (8.3%)	2 (2.9%)	8 (5.6%)
Not stated	3 (4.2%)	1 (1.4%)	4 (2.8%)
Total (No.)	* 72	** 70	142

Percentage may not add up to 100.0 due to rounding.

* Among the Sydney respondents. 6 university students were excluded from the data.

** Among the Melbourne informants. 12 university students were excluded from the data.

While the vast majority(83.2%) of respondents were employed, the rest were composed of students(11.3%), housewives(3.8%) or unemployed(1.9%). The main occupation reported by respondents was business proprietors(41.9%), with a higher proportion in the Sydney sample(44.9%) than in the Melbourne sample(39.0%). Other significant occupations were professionals(20.6%) and service workers(11.9%). Those professionals who were working as independent practitioners were included as business proprietors.

Table 4. Economic participation of informants

Occupation	Sydney	Melbourne	Total
Business proprietors	35 (44.9%)	32 (39.0%)	67 (41.9%)
Professionals	13 (16.7%)	20 (24.4%)	33 (20.6%)
Service workers	10 (12.8%)	9 (11.0%)	19 (11.9%)
Physical laborers	10 (12.8%)	4 (4.9%)	14 (8.8%)
Housewives	3 (3.8%)	3 (3.7%)	6 (3.8%)
*Student	6 (7.7%)	12 (14.6%)	18 (11.3%)
Unemployed	1 (1.3%)	2 (2.4%)	3 (1.9%)
Total (No.)	78	82	160

Percentage may not add up to 100.0 due to rounding.

* All were university students.

The vast majority of informants were Christian. In particular, Protestants represented nearly three quarters of total respondents. The second largest group was Catholic(11.9%). However, Buddhism and Confucianism were practised by a small number of respondents. This phenomenon has a relation to the fact that almost all initial key informants were Protestants, and they greatly affected selection of the subsequent informants. This was especially true for the research into the Melbourne Korean community. Overall, almost all respondents were affiliated to religious organizations.

Table 5. Religious affiliation of informants

Religion	Sydney	Melbourne	Total
Protestant	54 (69.2%)	62 (75.6%)	116 (72.5%)
Catholic	9 (11.5%)	10 (12.2%)	19 (11.9%)
Buddhist	7 (9.0%)	3 (3.7%)	10 (6.3%)
Confucianism	2 (2.6%)	2 (2.4%)	4 (2.5%)
No religion	5 (6.4%)	4 (4.9%)	9 (5.6%)
Not stated	1 (1.3%)	1 (1.2%)	2 (1.3%)
Total (No.)	78	82	160

Percentage may not add up to 100.0 due to rounding.

III. Friendship-Neighbor Network

Hurh and Kim's (1984a: 90-99; 1984b) research in the Los Angeles area and Hurh et al.'s (1978) study in the Chicago area indicate that most Korean immigrants show a very limited intimate relationship with whites in terms of friends or neighbors because of their strong ethnic attachment. Hurh and Kim (1984a: 90) also noted that those respondents who had close co-ethnic neighbors have taken an advantage of geographical propinquity.[2] In a study of 67 Korean

American college students, Jun (1984) also found that, in comparing the average number of intimate Korean friends to the average number of intimate American friends, they have more friendships with Koreans than with Americans. Hurh et al. (1980: 297), in their study of Korean immigrants in the Chicago area, observed that more than half the respondents do not have any American friends. This study also showed that approximately one-third of them have never been invited anywhere by Americans, whereas almost half of them have never invited Americans (ibid.: 297).

Kim and Hurh (1985: 89), in their research on 100 Korean small business owners, reported that three-fourths of respondents have Korean friends in the Chicago area, while only one-fourth of them have white friends. K. Kim et al. (1993) also identified that, though there are differences among young respondents(39.3%) and elderly respondents(20.5%) in terms of frequent contact with American friends, overall the majority of them have close Korean friends. In addition, while forty-three percent of young respondents and some fifty-eight percent of elderly respondents reported having close Korean neighbors, only around nineteen percent of young respondents and six percent of elderly respondents stated having close American neighbors. Hong and Min (1999), in a survey of 485 second generation Korean children in New York, confirmed the majority(57.0%) of respondents had co-ethnics as their best friend, whereas more than one-fifth(22.3%) of them had Americans as their best friend.

With reference to the friendship-neighbor network, it is supposed

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2) However, Korean immigrants, unlike such minority groups as blacks, have not formed a single-block ethnic residential enclave (see I. Kim 1981: 184; Hurh and Kim 1984a: 61-72; Park 1997: 156).

that Korean immigrants and their children in Sydney and Melbourne will show a similar pattern with those in America because of their strong ethnic attachments and experiences in the host society. This section investigates diverse opinions and experiences of Korean Australians related to the close friendship-neighbor network in the following aspects: (1) limited friendship-neighbor network with Australians; and (2) co-ethnic dominant friendship-neighbor network.

1. LIMITED FRIENDSHIP-NEIGHBOR NETWORK WITH AUSTRALIANS AND ITS REASONS

Table 6 presents the close friendship-neighbor network pattern of respondents. While the overwhelming majority(92.3%) of informants reported having close Korean friends, only around twenty percent of them stated having close Australian friends.

Table 6. Close friendship-neighbor network of informants

Pattern	Sydney		Melbourne		Total
	Age		Age		
	Up to 39 (N = 35)	40 and over (N = 40)	Up to 39 (N = 39)	40 and over (N = 42)	156
Korean friends	33 (94.3%)	37 (92.5%)	36 (92.3%)	38 (90.5%)	144 (92.3%)
Korean neighbors	20 (57.1%)	25 (62.5%)	16 (41.0%)	17 (40.5%)	78 (50.0%)
Australian friends	7 (20.0%)	6 (15.0%)	10 (25.6%)	8 (19.0%)	31 (19.9%)
Australian neighbors	5 (14.3%)	6 (15.0%)	8 (20.5%)	7 (16.7%)	26 (16.7%)

Because the question was multiple choice, the total number does not add up to 156. Nor do the percentages total to 100.0.

Besides, fifty percent of total respondents had close neighbor relationships with co-ethnics, whereas only about seventeen percent

had close contacts with Australian neighbors. Additionally, young respondents were more assimilated than old respondents in terms of their friendship-neighbor network. Finally, a regional difference was also identified in Table 6. Compared with their Melbourne counterparts, the Sydney respondents represented a higher proportion of co-ethnic members in their neighbor network. This means that the Sydney Korean community shows a higher residential concentration than its Melbourne counterpart. The largest number (2,797 in 1996) of Korea-born persons were found in Canterbury where many of my Sydney informants were living. That is, residential concentration has affected social assimilation of respondents. Overall, my informants retained strong ethnic attachments in a friendship-neighbor network.

On the other hand, although the literature in America did not explore why the majority of Korean respondents have built the friendship-neighbor network with co-ethnic members, for many Korean Australians in Sydney and Melbourne the following three factors appear to be very important in establishing the network: (1) different cultural background; (2) language barriers; and (3) Australian racism.

Table 7. Main barriers in establishing the friendship-neighbor network with Australians

Barrier Age	Up to 29	30-39	40-49	50 and over	Total
Different culture	23 (71.0%)	21 (44.2%)	17 (40.5%)	10 (25.0%)	71 (45.5%)
Language problem	2 (6.5%)	14 (32.6%)	18 (42.9%)	25 (62.5%)	59 (37.8%)
Australian racism	5 (19.4%)	6 (18.6%)	5 (11.9%)	4 (10.0%)	20 (12.8%)
Others	1 (3.2%)	2 (4.7%)	2 (4.8%)	1 (2.5%)	6 (3.8%)
Total (No.)	31	43	42	40	156

Percentage may not add up to 100.0 due to rounding.

Table 7 indicates the main factors hindering their close friendship-neighbor network with Australians. While many old Koreans have experienced language barriers in establishing the close friendship-neighbor network with Australians, a large number of young Koreans have found different cultural backgrounds to be important in shaping their social network. Young respondents were more sensitive to racial prejudice than old respondents. Overall, different cultural backgrounds and language problems, rather than Australian racism, were more important factors negatively affecting their close friendship-neighbor network with Australians.

1) Different Cultural Background

Approximately forty-six percent of total informants pointed out that they have confronted certain difficulties in making a friend or neighbor with Australians because of different cultural backgrounds. Mr Kim, a businessperson, came to Australia in 1978. Because he has a good command of English, he has been able to operate an export-related business. In the process of doing business, he has contacted a lot of Australians. But, it has not been easy for him to keep a more intimate relationship with them due to different cultural backgrounds. He is still not familiar with Australian customs and emotions: "In my experience, to invite Australians or to be invited by them often brings about certain uneasiness and tension. I mean ... to understand their emotions, and further to overcome a cultural difference is very difficult for me."

Mr Lee, in his late fifties, also argued that to overcome cultural differences is not easy. He has worked for an Australian company as an engineer for more than 20 years. He has had many Australian friends from different ethnic groups. He has kept good relationships

with some of them. Sometimes, they drink together after work. But, he has found some differences between Korean culture and their cultures, which lead to difficulties in establishing a more intimate relationship. Mr Lee stated that there is no doubt that a shared feeling and emotion is very important for building a close friendship and neighbor relation.

Dr Kang, a businessperson, also insisted that Koreans and white people have a difference in establishing an interpersonal relationship. He tells his own experience as follows:

I came to Australia in 1979. Since then, I've got many Australian friends. I had paid more attention to some of them materially as well as emotionally. But, their attitudes were different from mine. I mean ... they didn't know the reciprocity, which is widespread among Koreans. For example, when my wife and I invited an Australian couple, we did our best in entertaining them, providing plentiful food. But, when they invited us, they entertained us with a quite different manner. They provided us with just some biscuits and breads. We were very disappointed with their attitude. We even felt a sense of betrayal. After that, I encountered several similar experiences from other Australians. I couldn't but feel cultural differences in shaping interpersonal relationships, including the entertainment of a guest. Hence, I haven't found any real Australian friend of mine. Though some Korean immigrants insist that they have some intimate Australian friends, I don't believe their argument because the meaning of friendship varies from people to people. In my view, it is nearly impossible for Korean immigrants to find a real Australian friend who can share feelings and emotion.

Unlike their parents, those young Korean Australians who were born or raised here have established wider friendship networks with other ethnic members. However, with the passage of time - especially when they enter university, many of them tend to find a difference between Korean friends and Australian friends resulting from different cultural backgrounds. Such an awareness of cultural differences leads to weakening of the friendship network with Australians, on the one

hand, and the new establishment or reinforcement of the friendship network with co-ethnic members, on the other hand.

Hyun-Soo, in his mid-twenties, came to Melbourne with his parents when he was a child. Because he was educated at Australian schools, he had many Australian friends. But, as time passed, he experienced a difference between Korean culture and Australian culture in establishing and keeping close friendships.

In my view, while Australian friendship seems to be based on rationality, Korean friendship tends to be based on emotion and feeling. The former seems to be smart, but often cold, whereas the latter often seems to be irrational, but warm. Becoming a university student, I've found such a cultural difference more deeply. Now, I prefer Korean friends to Australian friends. I feel uncomfortable whenever I am invited to parties or other meetings held by Australian friends, unlike my primary and secondary school days.

Julia Song, a university student, arrived in Sydney with her parents when she was eight years of age. She naturally mixed with other ethnic friends in her primary and secondary schools. However, with the elapse of time, she came to find some limitations in keeping an intimate friendship with them because of cultural differences. Becoming a university student, she became to reconsider the friendship network with them. She stated: "Entering university, I found that it was getting more and more difficult to keep close relationships with other-ethnic friends. In fact, after graduating from secondary school, I have nearly never contacted these friends. This is because we have different cultural backgrounds."

2) Language Barriers

English ability has affected their friendship-neighbor relationships

with Australians. For around thirty-eighty percent of my informants, the language barrier has led to difficulties in establishing their social networks with Australians. Mr Oh, a businessperson in Sydney, in his mid-fifties, stated:

> While most old Korean immigrants have a command of simple English, only some have a good command of the language. So, it is not easy for the former to keep a close relationship with white Australians or other ethnic members. Of course, they can establish certain relationships with Australian friends or families temporarily. But, to build a more intimate relationship with each other is often not easy because of the language barrier. I am not an exception, either.

Another example is given by Mr Jeong. Before arriving in Sydney, he thought that, because his English was good, he might have no problems with his life in Australia. However, after settling here, he found that his English was not enough to live as an ordinary Australian. He encountered a major language barrier. He said that to have a close Australian friend has always been difficult for him.

Mr Song, a professional in Sydney in his mid-forties, also pointed out the importance of English ability in establishing a close relationship with Australians:

> As you know ... an intimate relationship between people basically starts from smooth communication. Many old Korean immigrants cannot help keeping superficial friendships and neighbor relations with Australians due to their poor English. They often can not express their feelings or opinions exactly. Hence, they have been frustrated in the company of other-ethnic members. As a result, they tend to give up social intercourse with them. ... In my view, understanding Australian culture is one of the essential prerequisites for learning English.

3) Australian Racism

The egalitarian and libertarian ideas of the Enlightenment spread by the American and French Revolutions were contradictory to racism, but they also paradoxically promoted its development in order to deny humanity to the oppressed groups, such as slaves and colonial people (van den Berghe 1967: 16-17). Racist ideas in Europe began to systematize from around the 1850s (Markus 1994: 1).

Racism refers to a belief in the inherent superiority of a particular race and its right to domination over others, based upon the assumption that traits and capacities of races are biologically determined, and that races differ decisively from one another (Banton 1997: 42). That is, racism has been used for maintaining existing borders and resisting usurpation by subordinate groups or for trying to dominate these groups (Anthias 1995: 293; see also Varghese 1995). Racists' attitudes and behaviors range from "vicious abuse or physical violence to sharing widespread stereotypes about 'others' which are inaccurate or derogatory and avoiding or treating people on the basis of these stereotypes" (Pettman 1992: 55). In Australian society, as in European countries, the old racism initiated from the nineteenth century was based on biological characteristics, whereas the new racism since the 1970s has emphasized respect for the identity and culture of the majority and the exclusion of those who fail to meet the new criteria of belonging and identity, rather than biological differences (Cole 1997; Jayasuriya 1998).

While some have argued that there is no real evidence that racist attitudes are increasing in Australia (e.g., Goot 1988), many have insisted that racism has been widespread in contemporary Australian society (e.g., Castles et al. 1992; Collins and Henry 1994; Markus 1994; Varghese 1995; Jones 1997; Hollinsworth 1998; Jakubowicz

1998). Of non-English-speaking background (NESB) immigrants, Asians have been victimised by Australian racism most badly (Viviani 1984; 1996; DILGEA 1990; HREOC 1991; DIMA 1997; Sheehan 1998; Jayasuriya and Pookong 1999). The Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) Report of 1991, after reviewing the evidence of racial violence on the basis of ethnic identity (which excluded Aboriginal people) concluded that: "the victims of racist intimidation, harassment and violence on the basis of ethnic identity are most likely to be Asian or Arab Australians" (HREOC 1991: 175). Needless to say, the following several occasions have provoked Australian racism, as well as anti-Asian sentiments: Geoffrey Blainey's argument in 1984, the FitzGerald Report and John Howard's comment in 1988,[3] and Pauline Hanson's maiden speech to Parliament in 1996. It is also believed that, until recently, even Southern European immigrants, such as Greeks and Italians, have experienced racism in Australian society (Castles et al. 1991; Collins 1991; HREOC 1991), although the problem is less significant than that experienced by the Asian and Arabic communities.

Table 8. Have you ever experienced racism in Australian society?

Frequency	Sydney	Melbourne	Total
Very often	23 (29.5%)	26 (31.7%)	49 (30.6%)
Often	35 (44.9%)	38 (46.3%)	73 (45.6%)
Sometimes	14 (17.9%)	12 (14.6%)	26 (16.3%)
Not at all	4 (5.1%)	4 (4.9%)	8 (5.0%)
Not stated	2 (2.6%)	2 (2.4%)	4 (2.5%)
Total	78	82	160

Percentage may not add up to 100.0 due to rounding.

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3) For the 1988 debate, see Markus (1988).

Table 8 indicates that many Koreans in Sydney and Melbourne have also suffered from racism inherent to Australian society. The overwhelming majority(92.5%) of respondents have experienced Australian racism in a biological sense, whereas only a few(5.0%) of them have not experienced it.

A questionnaire survey of 149 Korean youth in Melbourne also shows that, while more than eighty-eight percent of the total respondents experienced Australian racism 'very often' or 'sometimes', only about seven percent of them did not experience it (*Hoju Viktoria-ju Hanin Haksaeng Hyoebo* 1996: 21). Derived from the above data, it is not difficult to assume that Australian racism would have negatively affected social relationships between Koreans and white Australians.

For around thirteen percent of my informants, Australian racism was the most important factor hindering the intimate friendship-neighbor network with white Australians. Mr Kwon, in his mid-forties, has experienced Australian racism very often. He has found it everywhere: stores, streets, companies, schools and other public institutions. Sometimes, he confronted coarse lingual expressions and body language. He stated: "Those employees who are working at shops or public institutions tend to be more hospitable to white customers than those of other races. Hence, such a tendency negatively affects Korean Australians' friendship-neighbor relations with white Australians."

Mrs Ahn, a housewife, also maintained that many Korean immigrants have found that it is not easy for them to have an intimate white friend or neighbor due to racism. She stated: "Of course, many white people are friendly. But, to build a close

relationship with them is not always easy for Korean immigrants and their children. I mean ... because of Australian racism, many Korean Australians have hesitated to establish a close friendship or neighbor network."

For many Korean immigrants and their posterity, Australian racism has often become an object of anger and panic. Further, they claimed that Anglo-Saxons are not the real hosts of this country and are also no more than the most early immigrants. Mr Roh, a professional in Sydney in his late thirties, stated:

> As you know ... racism is widespread in Australian society. Despite the historical fact that white people (Anglo-Saxons) built this country by killing so many aborigines, they've always pretended to be the real hosts of this country. They also have very strong racism. I've experienced certain bewilderment and panic from their angry voices and menacing attitudes, which are usually expressed with the following words: *Go back to your country. Fuck, yellow people.* If we yellow people, including Korean Australians, should go back to our countries, Anglo-Saxons should also return to their country because the real hosts of this country are the aborigines who have lived here for many many centuries. Their exorbitant racism negatively affects Korean Australians' friendship and neighbor relationships with white Australians.

Australian racism is also found from non-Anglo-Saxons, such as Greeks and Italians, and this also inhibits the establishment of Koreans' friend-neighbor networks with them. Mr Cha, a white-collar worker, argued with an angry voice:

> Many Koreans in Melbourne have suffered from Anglo-Saxon racism. Besides, a worse thing is that other white ethnic groups, such as Greeks and Italians, also show racism. They tend to look down upon Asians because of the different skin colour. Their racism has often led many Koreans to certain hesitation in establishing a close friendship or neighbor relationship with them.

Many children of Korean immigrants have experienced Australian racism in their primary and secondary schools. Racial discrimination seems to be harsher to Korean children than adult Korean immigrants. This is because many of the former have no ideological or logical armaments against racism. Young-Gil, a university student, came to Melbourne with his family in 1987. While attending primary and secondary schools, he was often an object of ridicule from white friends — especially, Anglo-Saxons — due to his yellow skin colour. After entering university, he began to believe that racism was inherent to Australian society. He came to know the fact that there were certain insuperable barriers among racial groups.

Jason Park, in his mid-twenties, also told of his own horrible experiences in Australian schools, which have strongly affected his friendship network.

> They [Anglo-Saxons friends] often made a fool of me. Even some of them tended to ignore my parents due to their different skin colour. You know ... my endurance had a limitation. After suffering in this way so many times, I began to beat them. Consequently, to be friends with them became nearly impossible for me. Comparatively close school mates of mine were other Asian immigrants' children, such as Chinese and Taiwanese. Becoming a university student, I've made several white friends, but I still feel a racial distance from them.

2. CO-ETHNIC DOMINANT FRIENDSHIP-NEIGHBOR NETWORK

As indicated, only a minority of respondents established friendship-neighbor networks with Australians because of different cultural backgrounds, communication problems or Australian racism. The co-ethnic dominant friendship-neighbor network is a direct result

of these barriers and it also reveals their ethnic attachment.

Korean Australians frequently meet co-ethnic friends or visit co-ethnic neighbors whom they rely on for mutual aid. They often exchange goods and services with each other. Non-kin ties also play a great role in such events as birth(days), weddings and funerals. This role is especially important for those Korean immigrants who have no parents, siblings or relatives within the local community. In this sense, co-ethnic friends and neighbors play a role of pseudo-kinship, although they, of course, do not have the same rights and obligations as real kinship. Their shared cultural elements, including feelings, emotion and language, facilitate and reinforce the co-ethnic friendship-neighbor network.

Mr Lee is working for an Australian company as an engineer and is in his early thirties. He telephones or meets Korean friends nearly every day. He also visits their families very often. He chats and drinks with them. He feels warmth from, and an easiness with, them which cannot be found from non-Korean friends or families. When his father passed away in 1998, some friends of his and their families did not spare their time and energy in helping with the funeral. He really appreciated their efforts. He said that the close friendship-neighbor network with co-ethnic members has been very important in his life.

Another informant, Mrs Joh, a housewife, tells her own experience related to the birth of her son. She worried very much before delivering her son. This was because she and her husband had no kin in Sydney, and any relatives in Korea were not able to come to Sydney to help her during the postpartum care. Fortunately, a Korean family living nearby her house helped her family when she was taking house-bound rest during postpartum care, as well as at the hospital. The family provided diverse services, including pick-ups and catering with seaweed soup. Mrs Joh stated: "In my view, such affection and kindness is never expected from non-Koreans. My family will never forget their help forever. Needless to say, after that, the relation between us became much closer."

The warm interpersonal relationship between co-ethnics has also been emphasized by many other Koreans. Mr Kang, in his late fifties, stated:

> Without the warm and deep affection among Koreans, I can't imagine the ethnic community. We've adapted to the new society more easily due to such human relationships. In many cases, old arrivals help new arrivals without any material compensation. Many Korean immigrants tend not to calculate monetary interests in interpersonal relations. They are still not familiar with such Western customs as *Dutch Pay* and *Bring Your Own Food*. They think that such customs are very inhuman. When they invite a fellow countryman to their home, they usually do their best to entertain the guest.

The shared ethnic and cultural background is also important for those young Koreans who have built a close friendship network within the local community. Robert Song is working as a computer programmer in Sydney and is in his mid-thirties. He came to Australia at 14 years of age with his parents. He has several nice Australian schoolmates and co-workers. However, there has always been something different between Korean friends and Australian friends. The former has always felt more comfortable and trustworthy than the latter. More importantly, co-ethnic friends have a better understanding of his personal problems than Australian friends because of a shared cultural background and similar experiences in the new society. He said that whenever he confronts a difficult personal problem, he discusses it with Korean friends rather than

Australian friends.

As we have seen above, with respect to the friendship-neighbor network, the majority of Korean Australians in Sydney and Melbourne showed strong ethnic attachment, although there were individual and generational variations. In addition to their ethnic attachment, cultural differences, language barriers or Australian racism have resulted in a limited friendship-neighbor network with white Australians. It is also correct to say that when reaching puberty or entering university, many young Korean Australians were more likely to increase their awareness of their ethnic and racial background. This often led to reconsideration of established friendship networks with non-Koreans, and newly established or reinforced friendship networks with co-ethnic members.

IV. Participation in Voluntary Associations

Several studies on participation in voluntary associations of Korean immigrants in the United States have shed light on my study of Korean immigrants and their offspring in Australia. Hurh et al. (1980: 297), in a study of Koreans in the Chicago area, showed that a large number of respondents were involved in Korean ethnic organizations, especially churches. Through their survey of Korean immigrants in Los Angeles, Hurh and Kim (1984a: 87-100) found that a very small proportion(10.6%) of respondents participated in American voluntary associations, such as social clubs, churches and religious groups, which consist of non-Koreans and which use English. Hurh and Kim also noted that a great majority(76.1%) of them participated in Korean voluntary associations - especially, churches - because of their strong ethnic attachment. Kim and Hurh's (1985: 89) study of 100

Korean small business owners with businesses in the south side of Chicago reported that almost all respondents were affiliated with Korean churches(69.1%) or other associations(27.1%), while only two respondents participated in American voluntary associations. Derived from the above studies, it is believed that a large majority(86.2%) of Koreans in America have participated in their ethnic voluntary associations, whereas only a small proportion(6.3%) have been involved in American voluntary associations.

In reference to participation in voluntary associations, it was expected that Koreans in Sydney and Melbourne will show a similarity with those in United States. However, it also seems that, compared with their counterparts in America, Koreans in Sydney and Melbourne will show a higher rate of participation in their ethnic voluntary associations because of more widespread involvement in the ethnic churches.

This section will delve into Korean Australians' participation in voluntary associations in two different, but correlated contexts: (1) limited participation in Australian voluntary associations; and (2) dominant participation in ethnic voluntary associations.

Table 9. Participation in voluntary associations by informants

Type of association	Sydney (N = 78)	Melbourne (N = 82)	Total (N = 160)
Korean associations	75 (96.2%)	78 (95.1%)	153 (95.6%)
Australian associations	7 (9.0%)	8 (9.8%)	15 (9.4%)
Not stated	2 (2.6%)	1 (1.2%)	3 (1.9%)

Because the question was multiple choice, the total number does not add up to 160. Nor does percentage total to 100.0.

1. Limited Participation in Australian Voluntary Associations

The limited participation in non-ethnic voluntary associations is widely observed in respondents in Sydney and Melbourne, as shown in Table 9. No more than ten percent of respondents were involved in Australian voluntary associations. Many Korean immigrants pointed out that their poor English led to difficulties in participating in Australian voluntary associations. Mr Kim, a former staff member of the Korean Society of Victoria, said: "Of course, some Korean immigrants have participated in Australian voluntary associations related to their jobs or other purposes. But, for many Korean immigrants, such involvement is very difficult because of their poor English proficiency. Although some join such kinds of organizations, they tend to participate very passively."

In practice, due to their poor English, a good number of the first Korean immigrants have been unable to participate in Australian associations. An example is given by Mrs Song, a restaurant owner. She has two children who are attending primary schools. After realizing that Australian public schools in general are of lower quality than private schools, she transferred her children to a private school, despite the fact that they are not rich. But, she has never ever participated in parent and teacher meetings at the school. Although seven years have passed since she immigrated to Sydney, her English has improved little because she has mainly catered to co-ethnics. Whenever she receives a letter related to the parent and teacher meeting, she experiences certain hesitation and frustration due to her poor English. She feels very sorry for her children.

In addition to poor English, some Korean immigrants who participated in Australian associations experienced a cultural gap. Mrs Shim emigrated from Korea with her husband because they were sick of the stressful Korean social environment. Hence, they did not contact any Koreans for a while and attended an Australian Catholic church in order to improve their English, and further to establish a new social network with its members. But, despite that, one year passed, their English had improved little, and their anticipated social network had not developed. Mrs Shim said: "Frankly speaking, we couldn't participate in its religious activities more actively due to our poor English. Furthermore, we were not able to overcome a serious cultural gap with the Australian congregation."

Mrs Jeong, a housewife, pointed out the exclusiveness of Australian voluntary associations. She married a white Australian. Hence, she has joined several white Australian dominant associations in order to become better acquainted with this society. However, she has felt a social distance from Australians because of her racial background. As a result, she has hesitated to participate in these Australian associations.

On the other hand, though young Koreans have been involved in white Australian dominant university clubs, many of them have felt a social distance within the clubs because of their ethnic and racial background. Seong-Gyu, a university student, stated: "It is not easy for many Korean students to be a real member in white student dominant university clubs. In fact, many of those Korean students who joined such associations tend to participate very passively because of different cultural and racial backgrounds."

2. Dominant Participation in Korean Voluntary Associations

As with the case of close friendship-neighbor networks, the prevalent involvement of Korean Australians in ethnic associations is a result of both their ethnic attachment and language barrier, cultural differences or exclusiveness experienced in Australian voluntary associations. The Korean community in Sydney and Melbourne has witnessed the emergence of numerous ethnic voluntary associations. These associations have predominantly served Korean Australians.

Between late 1997 and mid-1999, the total number of Korean voluntary associations in Sydney and Melbourne increased noticeably, growing from 228 to 264 and from 22 to 25, respectively. The existence of the largest number of Korean voluntary associations has been one of the main factors, which has promoted a concentration of Koreans in Sydney. It is also of interest that religious institutions were the most prevalent of all new Korean voluntary associations. While 30 of 36 new Korean associations in Sydney were Protestant churches, two out of their three Melbourne counterparts were a Protestant church and a Buddhist temple.

It is also worth noting that, except for formal associations, including churches, many other organizations with small memberships have also existed in the ethnic community. Almost all Korean immigrants and their children have multiple relationships with their co-ethnics through these diverse ethnic voluntary associations. Hence, many Koreans often mention *different activities and places, but the same faces*.

Churches are most important among Korean voluntary associations in terms of their number and roles. By July of 1999, there were 136 Korean churches in Sydney and eight in Melbourne. Except for one Catholic church in each of Sydney and Melbourne, the others were Protestant churches.

Table 10. Main church attended by informants

Type of church	Sydney	Melbourne	Total
Korean church	51 (81.0%)	61 (84.7%)	112 (83.0%)
Australian church	2 (3.2%)	3 (4.2%)	5 (3.7%)
No church attendance	9 (14.3%)	8 (11.1%)	17 (12.6%)
Not stated	1 (1.6%)	-	1 (0.7%)
Total (No.)	63	72	135

Percentage may not add up to 100.0 due to rounding.

As mentioned in chapter 2, around seventy-three percent (or 116 persons) of my informants were Protestants and some twelve percent (or 19 persons) were Catholics. They showed strong ethnic attachment in terms of their participation in church. As shown in Table 10, eighty-three percent of respondents attended Korean ethnic churches, whereas only about four percent attended Australian churches.

In addition to strong ethnic attachments in choice of church, a great majority of respondents participated in church activities very enthusiastically (see Table 11). Approximately eighty-two percent of respondents were involved in Korean church activities more than once a week, whereas only around fourteen percent of informants participated in activities either once or twice a month.

Table 11. Frequency of participation in Korean church activity by informants

Frequency	Sydney	Melbourne	Total
More than once a week	41 (80.4%)	51 (83.6%)	92 (82.1%)
Twice a month	6 (11.8%)	5 (8.2%)	11 (9.8%)
Once a month	3 (5.9%)	2 (3.3%)	5 (4.5%)
Others	1 (2.0%)	3 (4.9%)	4 (3.6%)
Total	51	61	112

Percentage may not add up to 100.0 due to rounding.

Respondents attended several regular religious activities, such as Sunday service, Wednesday service, dawn prayer meetings, and services held in each district. Other religious activities, including revival meetings, nights for praising God, and membership training for strengthening belief, are also very important for enhancing their faith and accomplishing their secular purposes. Mr Baik, a deacon, said that most Korean churchgoers attend religious activities more than twice per week, and some of them have been involved in religious meetings nearly everyday. Korean churchgoers exchange a shared feeling and practical help through the ethnic church. In other words, the ethnic church as a whole has contributed to evoking ethnic awareness by emphasizing the fact that Korean Australians have a common fate in the new land.

The Korean Society of Sydney and the Korean Society of Victoria, where a large number of Koreans are involved, have also tried to preserve and enhance their ethnic identity through a variety of activities. Mr Lee, a former staff member of the Korean Society of Victoria, stated that "we need a lot of mutual help in order to take root in new soil as soon as possible as an honourable ethnic group of this society."

A significant number of Koreans have also been involved in Korean community associations related to sports and recreation, alumni and economic activities. There can be little doubt that these ethnic associations have contributed to the enhancement of Korean ethnicity, as well as the accomplishment of common purposes amongst their members. Mr Jung, a member of the Korean Golf Club of Victoria, said: "Our club consists of around 50 members. Through regular and irregular meetings we enhance the amity among its members. We can't expect such fraternisation from other ethnic golf clubs."

Korean clubs in Australian universities are very important for young Koreans. They enhance their ethnic identity, and further exchange practical help among their members. Before joining the Korean club at the university, Ji-Young thought of herself as Australian rather than Korean. She even used to hold the opinion that Korean immigrants' children should discard traditional Korean culture brought by their parents from the homeland. She believed that the old norms and values would be an obstacle in the young Koreans adaptation to the new society. However, the Korean club has provided her with many benefits.

In a word, I was born again by participating in the club. I became conscious of my ethnic identity, and furthermore have received diverse practical help from the association's members. Since joining the club, in addition to acquisition of information about the motherland, I've used Korean more frequently. Now I have a command of and understand the mother tongue nearly perfectly. In fact, other Korean students of the association are very surprised at my improvement in the Korean language and better understanding about the homeland. My parents are also pleased at such changes.

As we have seen, there was a similarity between Korean

Australians' friendship-neighbor networks and their participation in voluntary associations. An absolute majority of them were widely involved in Korean community associations - especially, in churches. Additionally, it is important to note that several kinds of Korean voluntary associations, such as the Korean Society of Sydney, the Korean Society of Victoria, Korean immigrant churches, and the Korean clubs in Australian universities, have significantly affected ethnic awareness and its enhancement. Finally, it would appear that, for many Korean Australians, social assimilation was a more difficult process than acculturation because the former requires acceptance by the dominant society.

V. Summary

This paper has been concerned with how their common ethnicity has acted as a reference point in the social assimilation of Korean Australians. They have developed a limited level of social assimilation in their close friendship-neighbor network, though individual and generational variations were found. The following three factors have crucially hindered their intimate friendship-neighbor network with other Australians - especially, white people: different cultural background, language barriers, and Australian racism.

For many Korean immigrants and their children, different cultural backgrounds and language problems, rather than racism, have been more serious obstacles in establishing the social network. These three major factors have also led many Korean Australians to limited participation in Australian voluntary associations. As a result of limited primary and secondary relations with other Australians, Korean Australians have predominantly built their close friendship-neighbor network with co-ethnics and have enthusiastically participated in Korean voluntary associations - in particular, in churches.

In short, a limited degree of social assimilation of Korean Australians was a complex product of both their internal conditions of existence and their experiences in the new society. In other words, their ethnic attachment was amalgamated with cultural differences, language barriers or Australian racism experienced in the larger society at both individual and institutional levels.

It goes without saying that their common ethnicity has provided Korean Australians with a basis for social survival by mediating individual actors and generations. That is, Korean ethnicity has been a reference point which enables them to interpret the dominant society and to establish social relations with compatriots.

There can be little doubt that Koran Australians will experience a higher degree of social assimilation with the elapse of time. Nevertheless, their shared ethnicity will keep playing a role as a reference point which affects the social assimilation of Korean immigrants and their children.

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A Theoretical Study Approach
to the Korean-Chinese Community

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1. Problem Statement

As known, the current Korean-Chinese society is a special national community created by the Korean immigrants who emigrated from the Korean Peninsula to China under certain historical environments and conditions. The immigration started from the late 19th century[1], and the main resources of the immigrants were the bankrupted peasants. The current Korean-Chinese community is composed of the late generation of the immigrants, who have currently been changed to the Chinese citizens. In other words, the Korean-Chinese is a branch of the Korean race, who immigrated into China and made or making their life in China. During their life in China, with the change of their citizenships and corresponding change of their folk psychology and national and local consciousness, the Korean nationality has officially been changed into one of the Chinese minorities possessing new symbolical meaning and national characteristics different from the Korean who are living in the Korean Peninsula.

The immigration of the Korean was originated by the primitive thinking of survival. Their immigration resulted in concentrated settlements from the beginning instead of dispersed ones, even though it appeared as individual movements. The immigrants lived together based on their hometown and blood relations, and the introduction of production methods, such as the development of paddy fields, made their concentrated life possible. As a result, individually immigrated Koreans grew up to a social

colony and developed a Korean community in China by their consanguinity and the agriculture of paddy rice.[1]

Since the foundation of People's Republic of China, the Korean in China has officially been changed into a member of the country. A unique Korean Autonomous Region was established in China with the assistance of Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese government. Consequently, the Korean in China were able to enjoy their rights of self-government, and the Korean society could be stabilized. In addition, as one of the Chinese minorities, the Korean in China actively participated in the Chinese socialism revolution and construction, and contributed significantly to the Chinese social and economic development. In particular, since the implementation of Chinese reform and opening, the Korean-Chinese have significantly promoted economic and cultural exchange with neighboring countries. As a result, their own living quality has apparently been improved, and the Korean-Chinese ranked 1st among 56 nations of China from the evaluation of comprehensive cultural level.

However, the movements of the Korean-Chinese to outside of their community has been increasing incredibly due to the introduction of reform and opening and market economy, opening of the labor markets, and the adjustment of industrial structures in China since the 1980s. These rapid movements resulted in disintegration of original Korean-Chinese community and corresponding shrink of national education as well as the decrease in the applicable space of Korean language, which brought chain-impacts to the survivals of Korean community and exerted significant influences on the development of the Korean-Chinese society. Nevertheless, these problems may be the common phenomena a minority society needs to experience in order to develop from an agricultural society to an industrial society and to improve their living quality. The most important and serious problems that threaten the survival and development of the Korean-Chinese society are the increasing vagueness of national identity and subjectivity and the lack of national consciousness among the Korean, because a

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[1] Although the beginning of the Korean nationality society is considered as the late 19th century, some insist that it began in Kokury, Yuan Dynasty, or between the end of Ming Dynasty and the beginning of Qing Dynasty [1]

national consciousness is the most important concept to maintain a minority community in a multi-national country. These problems are caused by domestic and international opening and the corresponding contacts of the Koreans with the other nation-oriented people during their advancement to cities and overseas. The national community consciousness is essentially originated by the impacts that stimulate the end of a nation's historical, social, cultural, and ethic identities. This consciousness can also become a power to combine the function and culture of a fatal national community. This power can sufficiently work as the driving force for the rapidly developing Korean-Chinese society in solving current problems and in maintaining its own national community.

As can be seen, it was the operation of the community living style that made it possible for the Korean-Chinese society to keep its language, letters, education, and living custom in a multi-national country like China. It is also clear that the problems the Korean-Chinese society is facing currently are also directly related to the disintegration of their community living style.

This paper summarizes the investigation on the reasons for the foundation of the Korean community at the age of the immigration from the standpoints of national consciousness, national education, and community living style. The support from the Chinese national policies and systems, as well as the popularization of national education in the Korean-Chinese society are also discussed to examine the reasons that made the survival of the Korean-Chinese society possible. In addition, this paper also discusses the problems current Korean-Chinese society is facing, and analyzes the necessity and the feasibility of the survival of national community at the age of globalization. A "community of culture" is a community formed by national cultural identity that has been functioned as the essential element of the origins of national problems. Therefore, finally this paper is aimed to discuss the community of culture as the resolution to the current Korean-Chinese society problems.

2. Formation of the Korean Community at the Time of Immigration

From a cultural-anthropological point of view, a nation appeared in history when consanguinity-based community produced certain political pivotal point and doctrine and when it further became a unified organization based upon its cultural relations such as race, language, religion, and custom as well as common purposes. However, it is more applicable to think that the Korean community appeared as a community of livelihood focusing on each member's survival, rather than as a politically unified organization.

At the age of immigration, the Korean immigrants crossed over TuMen River and YaLu River into the Manchuria field and started their life in this barren land. They built up their national community and pursued the community living style from the very beginning. The main reasons for the formation of the Korean community can be summarized as following:

The first reason is the subjective national self-consciousness. National consciousness is a very important factor in the formation of a national community, and it played a major role in the formation of the Korean community in its early stage. As you know, human beings form national units based on the geographical environment and historical traditions that they created and transmitted, which can in turn be used to distinguish different national units. And its own language, letters, education, custom, and attitude shape unique national culture and plant unique national consciousness. From the standpoint of cultural structure, national consciousness is emphasized by the identities of consanguinity, language, history, and culture. The identity of consanguinity provides the awareness of kith and kin and plays as the most important tie among the members of community.

Language is the most fundamental means to exchanges ideas; therefore, language identity is the most important in improving community member's communication and attachments. The member's national consciousness can be strengthened just by the fact that they are sharing the same language and that they communicate each other by this same language.

Then it comes to the possession of the same history. The historical experiences the community members accumulated together through their life make them feel the predestined identity. In addition, national traditions and customs produced through their history plant the feeling of the national possession.

These criteria described above make the members of the community feel the existence of "we group". These are most important factors that can originate the formation of national consciousness.

The Korean immigrants originally belonged to a unitary nation in the Korean Peninsula and had independent national characteristics as well as national cultures and history. The possession of common culture and living purpose made the administration of the Korean community relatively easy in China.

The second reason is the formation of compact community. From the early stage of immigration, the immigrated Korean lived in compact community in YaLu River and TuMen River catchments as well as in rural areas of northeast China, rather than making dispersed living in vast area of China. And their national identity was kept by these community life. The main reason by which the Korean immigrants could make the community living owes to the successful development of paddy field.

From the beginning of immigration, the immigrated Korean made their living depending mainly on their already familiar ways. They did experiments on the paddy cultivation in northeast China where the frost-free period is very short, and succeeded in it at Tonghua region in 1875 for the first time. This success gave the Korean immigrants the hope of living and made their life in China possible. From then on, their life was depended on the paddy raising, and they widened the living areas by looking for the regions where the paddy raising were possible. The paddy fields were developed in the areas around gathering grounds, and it allowed for the concentrated community life. In addition, the irrigation work needed for the paddy raising provided certain number of labors; therefore, the paddy raising made the community life much easier compared to the glebe raising.

Furthermore, mutual aid relationship developed through the operation of traditional community life became another important factor in forming

initial compact community and maintaining the community life. The initial traditional culture of the Korean set high values on the regional affinity, territory and blood relations, as well as on the mutual aid consciousness. This kind of initial traditional culture also contributed significantly on the early stage of community life. Although the Korean immigrants were making poor life, "the people who just emigrated from the Korean Peninsula could get their meals from families of the village without paying a penny through the whole winter" [2]. In addition, "when new immigrants came from the Korean Peninsula, already settled Korean immigrants collected corn, potatoes, and so on to the new comers [3]; even "when some immigrants came to the village without a penny, the neighbors set up homes for them" [4].

Although they lived in different areas of Korea and didn't know each other before immigration, they made very peaceful living helping each other once they immigrated into the foreign country. Therefore, it can be seen that the traditional mutual-aid merits and community consciousness played very important roles in the formation of the Korean community in China.

The third reason is the operation of national education. The Korean people's respect to education had never been changed even when they immigrated into a foreign country because of poor life. In some way, it can be said that the history of Korean immigration is that of the Korean education in China. The Korean immigrants had special awareness on education compared to other nations, and paid special attention on their children's education. From the very beginning of immigration, the Korean immigrants formed national community and set up schools to start children's education. The early stage of their education inherited the education concepts of Lee Dynasty, i.e. the acquirement of personal position and improvement of personal status. These kinds of value concepts served as the motivation to improve their destiny, and then as the basis to set up initial Korean education.

Even under difficult living conditions, the Korean immigrants' enthusiasm for learning had never been ceased. They kept in mind that in order to improve their living conditions, they should have their children educated even risking their own lives. And the immigrants always liked to move into the areas that had schools [5]. Consequently, the areas having schools became the most popular places where the immigrants were willing to settle down, which in turn assisted with the formation of community.

Especially, in the early 20th century, Korean education was developed into a modern patriotic and educative activity through the combination of modern education and patriotic and national activities, which absorbed the thought of national consciousness under the influences of patriots and nationalists. In addition, the Korean education was changed into the base to raise the talented to recover national rights, and into the ideological and political mechanism to propagandize national pride and self-confidence, as well as the anti-Japanese thought[2].

The other important reason by which the Korean immigrants could maintain national community life even under difficult social conditions is their affection to the national culture resulted from the repulsion to the policy towards national culture liquidation under the rule of Japanese imperialism. For the Korean who lost their own country due to the invasion of Japanese imperialist and lead their living in foreign country, the affection to the own nation was much deeper than ever. The operation of policies towards national culture liquidation and national assimilation by Japanese imperialist stimulated the awareness about the national survival crisis and deeply incited instinctive national consciousness and the affection to the national culture; thereby prompted their burning desire to keep national identity and definitely strengthen the solidarity of national community.

It should be pointed out here that this kind of national consciousness prompted by the repulsion to the policies towards Japanese colony and cultural spoliation had some characteristics of political campaign. Under the Japanese colonial control, the special social and historical situation of that time, national sovereignty and independence became the first and most important objectives of the Korean community. The efforts to win such

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[2] At that time, the escape from the Chinese feudal power and the fight with the national assimilation polity, to recover national independence and rights lead the thoughts of the Korean education, and school education was operated under such thoughts, which played positive roles in maintaining the Korean national identity [6].

national sovereignty and independence were accompanied by that to establish the cultural identity.

In addition, the areas where the Korean immigrants lead their living were culturally unproductive remote regions with sparse population and households, which is another important variable in the formation of national community.[3]

In conclusion, the Korean community established by the previously stated reasons was formed and maintained by the Korean immigrants who set up their living base in foreign country and led economically stable life. Because their life were getting more and more stable, almost no more active Korean group movements happened; neither did the compulsory Korean emigration by government, which ceased large-scale emigration of the Korean to outside of community. Therefore, community living style that was simply aimed at keeping living site could be stabilized.

As can be seen from the previous statements, the formation of the Korean community in the early stage of immigration was grounded on closed rural community. The Korean immigrants who immigrated into China under special historical situation led their own rural community life as well as the self-supporting and self-sufficient cultural and economic life. The development and success of paddy cultivation needed gathering ground and many of labors that made the formation of both village and their separated life from other nations possible.

The initial Korean community created at such situation served as the basic living unit and spiritual pillar of living by which the Korean immigrants could comfort their homesickness and lead their living through mutual aid, and it also served as a fortress to protect their own culture from the culture of other nationalities. Just depending on the power of existence of national community, the Korean immigrants were able to conquer the

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[3] Actually, northeast China was the forbidden area by Qing Dynasty government; therefore, the population density was very low and the Chinese people's movement from other areas to this area was almost preceded at the same time with the Korean immigrants' movement into China. Consequently, in the early stage of the Korean immigration, spread of modern culture has not reached to northeast China, especially in the rural areas; therefore, the Korean culture was not inferior in strength to other cultures [7].

difficulties they met during their life in foreign country, keep the national identity and national culture through the fight with the policies towards national culture liquidation and national assimilation by Japanese imperialist, and develop initial social cultural base to establish and develop national economy. In some ways, it can be said that the Korean realized their settlement in China by the establishment of national community.

However, it should be kept in mind that the Korean community of that time was a kind of abstammungseinheit aimed at the maintenance of the identity through the cultural affinity prompted by the blood and location relations, rather than a kind of political community aimed at political and economical independence under new social and historical environments.

3. Maintenance of the Korean-Chinese Community in the Early Stage

of P. R. China Foundation

The Korean immigrants, who had already set up their basic living site in China, participated in the foundation of Chinese people's democratic government and the land reform campaign. After obtaining their own share of lands, they were getting to take China as their homeland. However, their consciousness of Chinese citizenship was not completely built up. At that time, the Korean community was still a kind of abstammungseinheit due to the Chinese domestic situation of those days and instability of the Korean Peninsula. Their national consciousness and psychology also possessed the Korean original characteristics that were based upon their original blood relations and cultures. This kind of abstammungseinheit was able to make the Korean a member of Chinese family as well as Chinese citizens. The Korean was changed into an active subject of this country rather than a passive object, and was able to behave for the country's common interest by their own self-determination. In other words, the Korean possessed the political status as Chinese citizens, and their name was also changed into "Korean-Chinese (the Korean nationality in China)". As a result, the

national community was also changed from abstammungseinheit to willenseinheit.

After the foundation of P. R. China, the Korean-Chinese community entered a new historical era with new identity. They appeared as the "Korean-Chinese", not simply as the Korean immigrants any more. Although they still made their efforts to maintain, develop, and protect their traditional culture under the guarantee of Chinese government policy and legal protection of Chinese Communist Party, as one of the Chinese minorities, they participated more actively in the adaptation to the Chinese socialism system and in the acceptance of the socialism doctrine. Consequently, the Korean national consciousness and culture, important factors in maintaining national community, changed qualitatively and began to form special Korean-Chinese culture when they united with the main stream of socialism culture and adapted to the socialism culture construction. It is to say that the Korean-Chinese cultural value started to absorb the characteristics of Chinese socialism culture. In particular, with the shift of the centers of homeland and national standpoint from the Korean Peninsula to China, they started to take China as their homeland and native place and to relate their own destinies to the country's destiny [8] [9]. As a result, the Korean-Chinese showed big changes, though they still kept the national identity and continued their community life. In other words, after the foundation of P.R.China, the community the Korean-Chinese society should keep and maintain was a community of Korean nationality in China rather than a simple Korean community, due to the change of its subjective national characteristics. Besides the changes of the Korean-Chinese identity and the community characteristics, the reasons that the Korean-Chinese could stably maintain their own national community owe to the subjective efforts to continue national education propagation and traditional culture transmission. However, it can be seen that the Chinese government policies and system of those days also played important roles.

It should be pointed out that the enforcement of policies towards minorities, financial support, and legal protection of minorities' economy and cultures, by the Chinese government who permitted the maintenance of minorities' cultures and traditions and the self-government of national community, played important roles at that time. After the foundation of P.R.China, Chinese Communist Party took the Marxist national theory as a guiding principle, which takes a nation as an objectively existing entity and a human's community formed by certain history, language, geography, economic life, culture, and psychological identity. Correspondingly, the Chinese government adopted national policies that suited to the Chinese special situation and attached importance to the minorities' political, economical, and cultural rights and interests, as well as to their letters, customs, religions, and the common regions where they had been developed for long time. These policies included the policy on the minority autonomous region development and many other polices that were aimed at respecting the minorities' autonomy, languages, letters, traditions, customs, and religions. As a result, the Korean-Chinese were able to make community life in certain regions and keep their national identities and cultural properties. These measures adopted by the government became important reasons for maintaining the Korean-Chinese community.

From the subjective point of view, the reason for maintaining the Korean-Chinese community owes to the national education propagation and national culture enhancement. As stated previously, national consciousness and culture are the power to unite a national community. They are usually injected by national education that played an important role in maintaining the Korean-Chinese community. It should be focused on the fact that in the early stage of P.R.China foundation, i.e. in the 1950s, the cultural supports from North Korea made the Korean-Chinese take the lead in the education among many of nationalities in China. North Korea educated many talented people for the Korean-Chinese society and didn't hesitate to support the development of the Korean-Chinese education and culture. For example, at that time, the department of Korean language and culture at YeonBeon University used many of textbooks from the Kim IlSeong University in North Korea. Also, many elemental and middle schools used geography and history textbooks published in North Korea, and literature textbooks were the books permitted by the Department of Education of North Korea[10]. It was a time when the intellectuals educated by the Korean-Chinese community itself did not grow up. Therefore, without the textbooks from

North Korea, it was possible for the Korean national education to die at its early stage.

As can be seen, the Korean-Chinese community owed the rapid development of national education and the maintenance of identities of their own language and letters to the cultural supports from North Korea, which were also very useful to the maintenance and development of the Korean-Chinese community.

In addition, the government's systematic measures, such as family registration system and personnel system operated under the closed independent Chinese economic system, also assisted in maintaining the Korean-Chinese community. The operation of family registration system and personnel system eliminated almost fundamentally the possibility of social population movements. The traditional social production structure kept relatively closed and fixed in their living regions. Such a closed Chinese society became the background based on which the Korean-Chinese could form national living community and maintain the national identity and cultural relations in northeast China.

Under the complicated roles of these political, systematic, and subjective elements, the Korean-Chinese was able to maintain national community and protect national identity. Depending on such a national community, the Korean-Chinese society united its original traditional culture with Chinese socialism culture and adapted itself to the Chinese human culture environments, so that gradually formed special Korean nationality culture. In some aspects, their culture differed from the Korean cultures existing in the Korean Peninsula or other countries. Nevertheless, due to the influences of Chinese domestic political climate and some wrong decisions made afterwards, the Korean-Chinese society could not finish its job of confirming its own identity, and had to face another historical era of China - reform and opening, with new job - the harmony of immigrant history with Chinese citizen reality.

4. The Korean-Chinese Community Path Forward at the Time of Reform and Opening

When a race comes to interchange and frequent contact with another race, people of the race can usually feel both the difference and similarity between their own race and another race and want to confirm the identity of their own race, i.e. only after the contacts with other nationalities, can people think of the identity their own nationality.

From the 1980s, China adopted "reform and opening" policy. In order to improve their living quality, the Korean-Chinese moved from rural to urban and from domestic to oversea. These movements provided an opportunity for the Korean-Chinese to confirm their own identity. Through the interchange with other nationalities, the Korean–Chinese people urgently needed the examination into their national characteristics. Furthermore, through their contact and cultural exchange with the Korean in the Korean Peninsula and other countries, their national consciousness existed deeply in their mind expanded extremely. However, such an expansion was shrunk quickly by the unhappy experiences and incomplete personal wish through the contacts with the Korean from the Korean Peninsula. Accordingly, the Korean-Chinese were suffered from the initial origin-related problems, such as the question like "who am I?" and felt the mental conflict between the homeland and nationality cultural consciousness, and such a consciousness gave direct impact on the maintenance of the Korean-Chinese community identity.

In addition, the changes of the world also have people confused. Since entering the 21st century, the concepts of national boundary and sovereignty have been getting ambiguous, and the revolution of information and communication and the development of transportation means have been promoting the globalization of the world. Accordingly, the world is getting to post ideology and post modernity age, as well as to an information age. S. Huntington pointed out that the community adapted to these global change with new spheres of life and culture as the central would be the fundamental structure of future world, i.e. today the national and state competitions become more keen than ever, and the world is entering an endless

competition age, where only the strongest one can survive by the law of the survival of the fittest. In spite of such a situation, some people doubt the necessity of keeping national identity when the unification and globalization of the world are happening. These doubts are spreading rapidly and accelerating the disintegration of national community.

As stated above, the rapidly expanding utilitarianism attitude due to the operation of market economic system, cultural and psychological impacts come from the reality, and the thoughts of culture universalism at the time of globalization bring some difficulties to the maintenance of the Korean-Chinese community identity and have some destructive power to the survival of national community.

Furthermore, from the analyses of the internal factors within the Korean-Chinese society itself, it can be seen that the disintegration of concentrated living areas and the shrink of national education due to the population movements can also be counted as the disadvantageous factors in the maintenance of the community. As stated previously, until now the Korean-Chinese community was formed with the rural communities as the central. However, these rural communities are disintegrating due to the movements of the Korean-Chinese to the urban and oversea environments since the operation of reform and opening in China. The pursuits of the Korean-Chinese are also changing significantly due to the change of their values. These changes resulted in the shrink of national education. The disintegration of rural community, shrink of national education, and ambiguity of ideology raised new investigation topics on the developing path of the Korean-Chinese community.

Therefore, facing such a situation, it is necessary to approach the Korean-Chinese community from a new angle. The Korean-Chinese were aware of their national identity from the blood relations in the past; while at present time when the highly developed means of information, communication, and transportation are forcing new concepts of time and space, the Korean-Chinese should make their efforts to the formation of the community of culture based on their national culture and consciousness and to the transformation of national community from abstammungseinheit to

the community of culture that should transcend certain local and living space.

Through their life in China for more than a century, the Korean-Chinese formed special culture characterized with the Korean-Chinese properties. They initially set up national identity through the absorption and combination of several local community cultures such as the Chinese culture and the Korean culture and finished the recreation of their own culture. It is possible to form new community of culture if they set up national consciousness with national identity as the central, because not only was the national consciousness the mental center of the formation of the Korean community, but also it is the essential power to detect a national competitiveness in a stark time of internationalism. The Korean-Chinese should establish a national community that can work well in the opened Chinese society. The Korean-Chinese society can survive only if it takes the globalization into account and collects all of its national energy and power. These are the inevitability as well as the purpose of the Korean-Chinese, in order to maintain their national community.

As well known, human beings recognize special and apparent national identities and consciousness by learning the same living styles and thoughts through a long history. National consciousness refers to a kind of consciousness tells that a nation is a community of destiny formed by a group of people who have blood relations and the same ancestor and share the same cultural inheritance and live in the same area [11].

However, since it is impossible to form a community of destiny in current society, national consciousness only possesses the symbolic meaning of a nation. The thought of taking a nation as a kind of psychological phenomenon also owes to this reason. Thus, a nation is considered as a kind of cultural and psychological phenomenon, while national consciousness is based on an imaginary community that has the symbolical meaning of a nation. Therefore, the roles of education and media are highly expected as the means of systematic measures. In the past, the Korean-Chinese gained these roles by the ways of rural community or school education. However, nowadays as the traditional Korean-Chinese community is disintegrating and the national education is shrinking, the

intensification of family-based community consciousness and joint consciousness are still possible. In particular, the construction of new community of culture and the inspiration of national consciousness in cyber space rely on modern information and communication methods.

The Korean-Chinese are currently experiencing agricultural and industrial cultures as well as the information cultures at the same time, and their cultural acquirements vary more or less in different localities. National elite groups, who grasp the advanced national culture, and the center of national politics, economy, and culture, are needed to realize the community unity and cultural cohesion. From the current situation of China, the formation of the community of culture is possible with Beijing and YeonBeon as the centrals. Beijing is located in the sphere of urban culture; therefore, it can easily grasp the change of Chinese society and visualize a plan for the development of the Korean-Chinese society. On the other hand, YeonBeon is located in a remote and less developed region of China, but it is located in a geographically very important position from the point of international vision. YeonBeon, located in golden delta of northeast Asia, is in the forward position to open abroad and advance into the world. In other words, the Korean-Chinese can build up their national community centered on Beijing and YeonBeon, which are the center of China and the future center of the world with the arrival of Asian-Pacific age, respectively.

5. Future Task

Today human beings are living in an information- and cyber-oriented society that is totally different from the agricultural society. Cyber culture transcends the existing concepts of time and space and brings about another revolution in the ways of human thinking and living. Living in a society with such rapid changes, the Korean-Chinese should first figure out these changes and then find out the way of national community development. The efforts to maintain the national community by escaping from the challenges of new culture and by keeping the existing thinking pattern, will finally make the Korean-Chinese another American Indian. Not only did the

emergence of network highway from the intellectual revolution give them new challenge, but also it provided them invaluable opportunity. They should focus on the future by changing their consciousness and concepts, and concentrate on the formation of the community of culture based on the national consciousness and culture instead of on the regional concepts.

When a nation shares the same blood relation and territory, it has the characteristics of a "community of fate"; while when it shares the same language, history, religion, tradition, and custom, it has the characteristics of a "community of culture". A community of culture can be defined as the community formed by a group of people who live in certain area and share the same language, living style, value system, and fatal history. The identities shared by the nation within the community of culture are embodied to the national consciousness that then become the power to set up and further promote the national objectives.

Because the subject of a national community is a nation and a nation is united by the national consciousness that has universal and fatal characteristics such as blood relation, territory, language, history and religion, a national community can be easily considered as an extremely closed community from the outside world. However, at present time with highly developed transportation and communication, the concern of national destiny is essentially reflection of the wish for peaceful, continuous, and independent development and free prosperity of a culture. At the age of globalization, the dominant role is the mutual effects of different regions and nations, not the culture assimilation or a control of a kind of culture over the other cultures. In other words, at the age of globalization, the cultures affect each other and the interactive relationships are appearing. Especially today, as China is facing the second phase of opening by joining the World Trade Organization (WTO), the Korean-Chinese should plan the maintenance and development of their national identity and culture from the more advanced international point of view.

Therefore, the Korean-Chinese should correct their living attitude and national value, build up subjective consciousness of their nation, examine the journey of their cultural history, and grasp the change of international cultures. On this basis, they should deepen their knowledge as well as

change their angle of view on the operation of national education, the maintenance of national community, the transmission of national culture, and on the cultural cooperation with the Korean Peninsula, so that they can concentrate on the formation of the community of culture and on the planning of new vision of the Korean-Chinese society.

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A Comparison of the South and North Korean Policy of Overseas Koreans

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1. Introduction

According to the most recent statistics from the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, as of July, 2001, 5.7 million Koreans are estimated to live in 160 different countries around the world. This number accounts for 8 percent of the total combined population of South and North Korea. Regionally, they are concentrated in four super-powers of the world: the United States (2.06 million), China (2.04 million), Japan (66 thousands), and the CIS (48 thousands). The Korean diaspora was an unintended consequence of the unfortunate history of modern Korea. In consequence of the diaspora, however, Korea now has invaluable pool of manpower worldwide. In order to mobilize and utilize capacity of overseas Koreans for the development of Korea, overseas Koreans first of all must identify themselves as Koreans and have close and cooperative relationships with their homeland. To this end, we need to build the global Korean community that links overseas Koreans and the homeland together and facilitate interchange and cooperation between the two. Also, the Korean government should establish and carry out its policy of overseas Koreans in the direction of strengthening national identification of overseas Koreans, increasing their interchange and interaction with the homeland, and improving their legal, political, and socioeconomic status and rights in the host countries.

The policy of overseas Koreans refers to goals, decisions, and activities of the Korean government to establish and improve relationships between overseas Koreans and their homeland. Through its policy, the government can set the definition and rights and duties of overseas Koreans, protect the rights and interests of overseas Koreans in their host countries, strengthen ties and interrelationships between overseas Koreans and the homeland, and utilize overseas Koreans for the development of the homeland. For this reason, researchers and policy makers need to take the policy of overseas Koreans very seriously.

In the past, South and North Korean governments regarded overseas Koreans as advocates of their policies of national reunification and foreign relations, dividing the overseas Korean communities into pro-South and pro-North Korea camps. They also demanded overseas Koreans to contribute to and sacrifice for the development of the homeland but made less efforts to protect and advance their rights and interests in the host countries. This kind of unilateral and homeland-centered policy of overseas Koreans was not well-received by ordinary overseas Koreans. And the leaders of the overseas Korean community had shown greater interests in getting recognition and preferential treatment from the homeland instead of working hard to solve pending issues of their communities, widening the divide between elite and ordinary overses Koreans.

In this paper I have three goals. First, I survey the development of the South and North Korean policy of overseas Koreans. Second, I compare and analyze goals, characteristics, and problems of each country's policy of overseas Koreans. Third, I propose directions and areas of improvement that would make current policy of overseas Koreans more accountable and relevant for overseas Koreans.

To achieve those goals, I review and analyze literature and government publications of South and North Korea that deal with nationality issue and overseas Koreans policy. Especially, I carefully analyze the contents of a North Korean publication entitled *Volume 18 of Immortal Revolutionary Achievement of Great Leader Kim Il Sung: Brilliant Solutions to Overseas Koreans Problems*, which illustrates clearly

and systematically the logic and theory of North Korean policy of overseas Koreans.

2. The North Korean Policy of Overseas Koreans

1. ITS COURSE OF DEVELOPMENT

North Korea took note of overseas Koreans early and showed its interest and willingness to protect them as overseas nationals of North Korea even when South Korea paid little attention to them. North Korea has given overseas Koreans the rights and duties as its nationals according to the Socialist Constitutional Law and the North Korean Nationality Act. By declaring overseas Koreans as its nationals as well as important subjects of national unification, North Korea has tried to gain upper hands over South Korea with respect to national legitimacy. Even during its serious economic difficulties, North Korea provided Koreans in Japan with financial assistance and manpower to offer Korean language and national education for young generations of Koreans. Many Koreans in Japan who originally came from South Korean regions were impressed by North Korea's compatriotic love for overseas Koreans and became pro-North Korea in their political stance.

North Korea uses the term "overseas Koreans movement" (*Hoeoi kyopo undong*) instead of "overseas Koreans policy." This illustrates that North Korea views overseas Koreans not merely as compatriots abroad but more as supporters and advocates of its policies of national reunification and foreign relations. The overseas Koreans movement has developed in following stages.

The overseas Koreans movement began when a North Korea-affiliated organization named Chongryun, the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan, was established on May 25, 1995 in Japan. Before the establishment of Chongryun, North Korean Minister of Foreign Affairs Nam Il proclaimed on August 30, 1954 that it is North Korea's policy to protect Koreans in Japan as its overseas nationals. Since Chongryun was established, North Korea used it as a bridgehead to Japan when it had maintained a hostile relationship with Japan (You, 1993). It also used Chongryun as the basis for unifying overseas Koreans and launching pro-North Korea and anti-South Korea rallies and campaigns, ideological education and unification movement among Koreans, repatriation of Koreans to North Korea, and a drive to raise donations and investments for the development of the North Korean economy.

In the 1960-70 period, North Korea tried to strengthen the capacity of Chongryun and expand similar organizations in North America and Europe. It proclaimed the Nationality Act on October 9, 1963 and granted unilaterally overseas Koreans privileges and duties as nationals of North Korea. The 1960s were the period when South and North Korea started competing with each other to prove supremacy of one system to the other. One issue over which South and North Korea opposed each other was the legal status of Korean nationals in Japan. South Korea concluded a treaty with Japan in 1965 that granted permanent residence to Koreans who had been resident continuously in Japan since August 15, 1945 and those who were born in Japan after August 16, 1945. Applicants for this permanent residence were required to present certificates proving they were South Korean nationals and most Chongryun Koreans thus did not qualify. In 1982 another type of permanent residence, "exceptional permanent residence," was made available for the rest of the Koreans in Japan, who were not required to establish their South Korean nationality. However, North Korea denounced the treaty as the "selling-off of the nation" and objected to the idea of permanent residence because Koreans in Japan are overseas nationals of North Korea, and insisted that Koreans maintain North Korean nationality. To demonstrate its strong ties to overseas Koreans, North Korea elected seven Chongryun members as representatives to its National Assembly on November 7, 1967 (Sohn, 2001). At this time, North Korea stepped up public relations with overseas Koreans of social influence, who were critical of military regimes of South Korea, and tried to win their support for its unification and foreign policies.

In the 1980-90 period, North Korea sought to expand its overseas Koreans movement throughout the world. In the 6th Party Convention in 1980, North Korea proposed a confederation plan of national unification and scaled up the scope of the overseas Koreans movement to that of the pan-Korean movement for reunification. Branches of the pan-Korean Alliance for Reunification were established in North America, Japan, China, CIS, Australia, Europe, Canada, and South Korea. Meetings of the pan-Korean Alliance are held annually in Pyongyang since 1990. North Korea supports the pan-Korean Alliance and its annual meetings to mobilize overseas Koreans around North Korea and to support and propagate its plan of reunification.

In the aftermath of the collapse of the former Soviet Union and communist bloc in Eastern Europe, however, North Korea became internationally more isolated and felt more strongly a need to unite overseas Koreans around it. In the past, North Korea claimed that national problems do not exist in socialist countries like China and the former Soviet Union. Thus, it did not put in much efforts and resources to mobilize Koreans in those countries around North Korea. However, after threatened by increasing influence of South Korea in those countries, it departed from hitherto laissez-faire policy toward Koreans in China and the CIS and established pro-North Korea organizations such as the Alliance of Korean Residents in China (*Jaejung Chongryun*) and the Association of Koreans (ASOK) in the CIS. It also established a Chongryun-like organization in North America (*Chaemidongpo Chongukyonhaphoe*) to establish a bridgehead to North America and a channel of communication with the outside world.

Such changes in policy toward overseas Koreans in China and the CIS came as a result of a series of events in the late 1980s and early 1990s that changed significantly relationships between overseas Koreans and South and North Korea. The Seoul Olympic Games in 1988 and the normalization of diplomatic relations between South Korea and the former Soviet Union in 1990 and between South Korea and China in 1992 put South Korea in direct contact with its overseas compatriots in those socialist countries. To prevent overseas Koreans in China and the CIS from converting to pro-South Korea, North Korea established pro-North Korea organizations like ASOK and kept sponsoring free visits of overseas Koreans to North Korea.

From the mid-1990s and on, the overseas Koreans movement felt to the stage of stagnation. Because of its own serious economic problems, North Korea has little resources to spare for overseas Koreans. The number of its overseas embassies and consulates decreased gradually and the amount of its assistance to national education for overseas Koreans dropped to a negligible level. Under these conditions, North Korea has shifted its priority from reinforcing revolutionary capacity of overseas Koreans to raising donations and investments from overseas Koreans businessmen to overcome North Korea's economic difficulties. In this context, North Korea shows greater interests in improving relations with the United States and Canada to attract foreign investment from Korean as well as non-Korean businessmen.

As seen above, the overseas Koreans movement adopts a top-down approach to overseas Koreans. It first selects core members loyal and sympathetic to North Korea and empower them to recruit and train ordinary overseas Koreans. To foster favorable attitudes toward North Korea, North Korea frequently invites overseas Koreans of social influence to meetings and events held in North Korea. That kind of government-led vertical and elitist policy and programs are difficult to reach ordinary overseas Koreans and win their support. Moreover, given the closed and authoritarian structure of North Korea, it is difficult to expect free and voluntary participation of overseas Koreans in the overseas Koreans movement. As mentioned earlier, North Korea has already lost is capacity to carry out its overseas Koreans movement in a meaningful sense. Under this condition, it is South Korea's responsibility to unite overseas Koreans hitherto divided by ideological and political lines and put forth a policy that would advance common interests and welfare of overseas Koreans.

2. Overseas Koreans Problems and Juche Ideology

North Korea claims that Kim Il Sung, on the basis of his Juche (self-reliance) ideology, theorized scientifically and creatively the essence of overseas Koreans problems and found the solutions to the problems for the first time in history. The aforementioned publication entitled *Volume 18 of Immortal Revolutionary Achievement of Great Leader Kim Il Sung: Brilliant Solutions to Overseas Koreans Problems* illustrates clearly how North Korea views overseas Koreans and what it wants to do with them.

The Juche theory of overseas Koreans problems has three goals: (1) to clarify historical origin and nature of overseas Koreans problems, (2) to define the nature and tasks of the overseas Koreans movement, and (3) to elucidate subjects (or agents) and fundamental goals of the overseas Koreans movement. Regarding the origin and nature of overseas Koreans problems, the theory regards the problems as "the product of the colonial policy of subordination of a nation state by imperialists."

Overseas Koreans problems are special part of national problems, created out of international migration of numerous people, victimized by imperialists who took forcefully national sovereignty and committed barbarian political oppression and coercive economic pillage against a weak and small nation state (Choson Nodongdang Ch'ulp'ansa, 1996: 16).

The theory views migration prior to the liberation of Korea from Japanese colonial rule as "survival immigration" to escape political oppression and economic pillage by Japanese imperialists. Post-liberation immigration to western capitalist countries such as the United States, Canada, and European countries is interpreted as "forced immigration" where people of a colony are forced to migrate by U.S. imperialists to realize their political, economic, and military goals.

Although there may be various motivations and reasons for international migration among all sorts and conditions of people in colonized countries, they all boil down to two reasons. First, people, who lost national autonomy by barbarian political oppression and rights of existence by coercive economic pillage of imperialists, left their homeland to seek a way to make a living abroad. Second, imperialists drove people out to realize their political, economic, and military goals (ibid. : 16-17).

In short, the origin of overseas Koreans problems is seen as selling-out by South Korean governments of its people, who lost means of living by the subordination policy of imperialists, to foreign countries under the guise of relief of unemployment, acquisition of foreign currency, and acquirement of technology.

Overseas Koreans problems are said to emerge when overseas Koreans are subject to discrimination as members of a national minority group, forced assimilation to society and culture of the dominant group, and subordination and inequality in host countries. Discrimination and oppression against overseas Koreans are alleged to be particularly strong in capitalist countries because Koreans are noticeably different and distinguished from natives of those countries with respects to nationality, language, and customs and life styles. After all, overseas Koreans problems are in essence part of national problems characterized by domination and subordination and inequality among different national groups. The solution to these problems is to defend and attain autonomy of a national group.

The Juche theory claims that national autonomy is a divine right of members of a national group and it is a basic human right that needs to be protected by international norms and practices and international laws. By claiming that national autonomy of overseas Koreans can be achieved only after autonomy of the homeland is secured, the theory emphasizes that overseas Koreans and their homeland form a natural community with a common destiny. In other words, overseas Koreans can attain genuine national autonomy only when their homeland gets liberated from colonial rule and becomes a completely independent nation. For this reason, overseas Koreans have responsibility to participate in a struggle to secure independence of the homeland. In this way, the overseas Koreans movement becomes not only a movement to protect rights of overseas Koreans in host countries but also a struggle against imperialism for the

liberation of the homeland. Following this line of reasoning, North Korea demands overseas Koreans to put their own interests and agenda behind those of the homeland and to contribute to the liberation and development of the homeland.

The Juche theory views the overseas Koreans movement as a systematic sociopolitical movement to solve overseas Koreans problems. The overseas Koreans movement is defined as "the national patriotic movement" overseas Koreans carry out to protect democratic national rights and promote independent development of the homeland. Thus, the overseas Koreans movement has such two aspects as national movement and patriotic movement, and it is important to keep harmonious balance between the two. If the national aspect were too emphasized, it would degrade to a minority movement. On the contrary, if the patriotic aspect were too emphasized, it neglects national rights and demands of everyday life of overseas Koreans. It appears, however, that North Korea gives more weight on the patriotic aspect than the national one, because it claims that the most important thing for overseas Koreans to secure their national autonomy is to acquire its nationality. Overseas Koreans who lost nationality are viewed as orphans and they need to be under the legal protection of their homeland to escape such a stateless status.

One important issue in the overseas Koreans movement is who are subjects of this movement. Here the Juche theory states that overseas Koreans are the subjects of the movement because this movement is for themselves. However, the theory adds that everyone cannot be the subject of the movement. Only those who have strong consciousness of national autonomy, patriotism and nationalism, and national pride can be the subjects of the movement. Among those people, a selective group of people, who are highly trusted and influential in their community and equipped with organizational skills and leadership, should become core members of the movement, regardless of their class and status. Those core members should take the lead to recruit remaining members of the overseas Korean community and encourage them to participate in the overseas Koreans movement, regardless of ideology, political views, occupation and wealth, and organizational affiliation.

Thus, it is a very important task for the overseas Koreans movement to construct and strengthen overseas Koreans organizations. Bringing up and strengthening core members of ability is a prerequisite to the development of overseas Koreans organizations. To this end, ideological consciousness of core members needs to be raised and national education becomes an inevitable tool for awakening people's consciousness. North Korea's assistance to national education of Chongryun Koreans is part of its efforts to cultivate core members of Koreans loyal to North Korea.

Yet, the Juche theory contradicts its earlier position that overseas Koreans are the subjects of the overseas Koreans movement by saying that overseas organizations should be based ideologically and organizationally on Kim Il Sung in order to be united with each other and have power and influence. That is, Chongryun in Japan is viewed as the ideal model of overseas Koreans organizations under the direct guidance of North Korea. North Korea has attempted to expand Chongryun-like organizations in North America, Europe, and other places with sizable population of overseas Koreans.

3. PROBLEMS

The Juche theory of overseas Koreans problems has some elements of truth and logic, but careful scrutiny reveals several problems such as inaccurate concepts, simplicity of theory, jump of logic, and heavy emphasis on the homeland.

First, the Juche theory takes a very simple and narrow perspective to the historical origin and nature of of overseas Koreans problems. Korean immigration to China, czarist Russia, Japan, and Hawaii in the late 19th and early 20th century is, as the theory claims, the outcome of the colonial rule by imperialists. However, the post-1960s immigration to North America, Europe, South America, and Southeast Asia is essentially a voluntary migration, far from forced immigration caused by U.S. imperialists. Some Marxist sociologists like Edna Bonacich claim that post-1965 immigration to the United States was a movement of proletariats displaced in their