

LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES OF CONTEMPORARY-GENERATION OF
KOREAN DIASPORAS IN JAPAN

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บทคัดย่อและแฟ้มข้อมูลฉบับเต็มของวิทยานิพนธ์ตั้งแต่ปีการศึกษา 2554 ที่ให้บริการในคลังปัญญาจุฬาฯ (CUIR)

เป็นแฟ้มข้อมูลของนิสิตเจ้าของวิทยานิพนธ์ที่ส่งผ่านทางบัณฑิตวิทยาลัย

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ยุทธศาสตร์การดำรงชีพของชาวเกาหลีพลัดถิ่นร่วมสมัยในสังคมญี่ปุ่น

นางสาวสโรชา สิริวิชัยกุล

วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต

สาขาวิชาเกาหลีศึกษา (สหสาขาวิชา)

บัณฑิตวิทยาลัย จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

ปีการศึกษา 2555

ลิขสิทธิ์ของจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

สรโรชา สิริวิชัยกุล : ยุทธศาสตร์การดำรงชีพของชาวเกาหลีพลัดถิ่นรุ่นร่วมสมัยในสังคมญี่ปุ่น.
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ชาวเกาหลีที่อาศัยในญี่ปุ่นปัจจุบันมีประมาณ 6 แสนคนซึ่งนับว่าเป็นชนกลุ่มน้อยที่มีสถานะเป็นชาวต่างชาติกลุ่มที่ใหญ่ที่สุดในญี่ปุ่น ซึ่งต้องตกอยู่ในสภาวะการกีดกันจากสังคมในหลายๆ รูปแบบรวมทั้งยังถูกปฏิบัติในฐานะพลเมืองชั้นสอง หรือแม้แต่ถูกบังคับให้เปลี่ยนแปลงความคิด ค่านิยม และวัฒนธรรมให้เป็นหนึ่งเดียวกับญี่ปุ่น สภาวะที่กล่าวมานี้ทำให้ชาวเกาหลีในญี่ปุ่นไม่สามารถดำเนินชีวิตในสังคมญี่ปุ่นได้อย่างเต็มที่ อย่างไรก็ตาม เพื่อที่จะแก้ปัญหาสภาวะที่เกิดขึ้น ชาวเกาหลีในญี่ปุ่นได้พยายามที่จะเรียนรู้และเข้าใจรูปแบบและการดำรงชีพในสังคมญี่ปุ่นในรูปแบบต่างๆ เพื่อที่จะดิ้นรนให้เกิดความอยู่รอด

งานวิจัยเรื่องนี้ มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษา ยุทธศาสตร์การดำรงชีพของชาวเกาหลีในญี่ปุ่นรุ่นร่วมสมัยที่เกิดขึ้นตั้งแต่ปีค.ศ. 1980 ในการเผชิญหน้ากับอุปสรรคปัญหาต่างๆ ที่เกิดขึ้นภายในสังคมญี่ปุ่น โดยเน้นไปที่การนำแง่มุมที่มีความหลากหลายของยุทธศาสตร์การดำรงชีพซึ่งถูกคิดโดยกรมองค์การพัฒนาระหว่างประเทศ (Department for International Development , DFID)

ผลจากการศึกษาพบว่า ชาวเกาหลีในญี่ปุ่นรุ่นร่วมสมัยใช้รูปแบบที่มีความหลากหลายในการดำรงชีพเพื่อที่จะอาศัยอยู่ในสังคมญี่ปุ่นได้อย่างสงบสุข และดำรงความเป็นอัตลักษณ์เกาหลีไว้ ตัวอย่างเช่น การเลือกโอนสัญชาติ การเข้าศึกษาในโรงเรียนเกาหลี การเข้าร่วมกับองค์กรที่เคลื่อนไหวเพื่อชาวเกาหลีในญี่ปุ่น และการนับถือศาสนาพุทธเพื่อเผยแพร่วัฒนธรรมเกาหลี เป็นต้น เพื่อมาใช้ในการดำรงชีพภายในสังคมญี่ปุ่นอย่างสันติสุข แต่อย่างไรก็ตาม ยุทธศาสตร์การดำรงชีพที่ชาวเกาหลีในญี่ปุ่นรุ่นร่วมสมัยได้นำมาใช้เพื่อการดำรงชีพในปัจจุบันนั้นอาจมีความแตกต่างกันในแต่ละบุคคล เนื่องจากอัตลักษณ์และทิศทางที่มีความหลากหลายของชาวเกาหลีในญี่ปุ่นรุ่นร่วมสมัย ในภายภาคหน้าพวกเขาอาจเลือกใช้ยุทธศาสตร์การดำรงชีพในฐานะ “แผนที่ซับซ้อน” เพื่อให้สัมพันธ์กับอัตลักษณ์และทิศทางที่พวกเขาแต่ละคนเลือกเป็นอยู่ด้วย

สาขาวิชาเกาหลีศึกษา.....ลายมือชื่อนิสิต

ปีการศึกษา.....2555.....ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก.....

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KEYWORDS: KOREAN DIASPORA / LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

SAROCHA SIRAWITCHAYAKUL: LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES OF CONTEMPORARY-GENERATION OF KOREAN DIASPORAS IN JAPAN. ADVISOR: PROFESSOR CHAIWAT KHAMCHOO, Ph.D., 100 pp.

There are around 600,000 the contemporary-generation of Korean diasporas currently living in Japan, the largest foreign minority group. These Korean people have encountered various forms of discrimination and have been treated as second class citizens. They have even been forced to change their outlook, values, and culture in order to be assimilated with Japanese society, making their daily live difficult. To cope with these predicaments, many contemporary Koreans in Japan have to come up with certain livelihood strategies.

This research thus aims to examine the livelihood strategies of the contemporary Koreans living in Japan born since 1980 as they have experienced all sort of discrimination and received unfair treatment by the Japanese society by looking at their adoption of various aspects of livelihood strategies under the Department of International Development's sustainable livelihood framework.

This research found that contemporary-generation of Koreans in Japan have many forms of livelihood strategies— changing nationality to Japanese, attending ethnic Korean school, attending the movement of ethnic Koreans in Japan and holding Buddhist ceremony and participating in movement of ethnic Koreans in Japan—in order to fight for their own space in Japanese society and to live in Japanese society harmoniously while maintaining Korean identity. However, contemporary Korean residents of Japan tend to have complex identities and cultural orientations compared to other minorities in Japan and adopt various strategies to sustain their lives. They adjust, cope, create and re-create their livelihoods in relation to circumstances of Japanese immigration policy and institutional changes. Their livelihood strategies have been used differently by each person within the various groups of Koreans in Japan. They are therefore likely to increasingly adopt these strategies as 'complex plans' for using shared resources and supporting each other.

Field of Study: Korean Studies.....Student's Signature

Academic Year: 2012.....Advisor's Signature

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

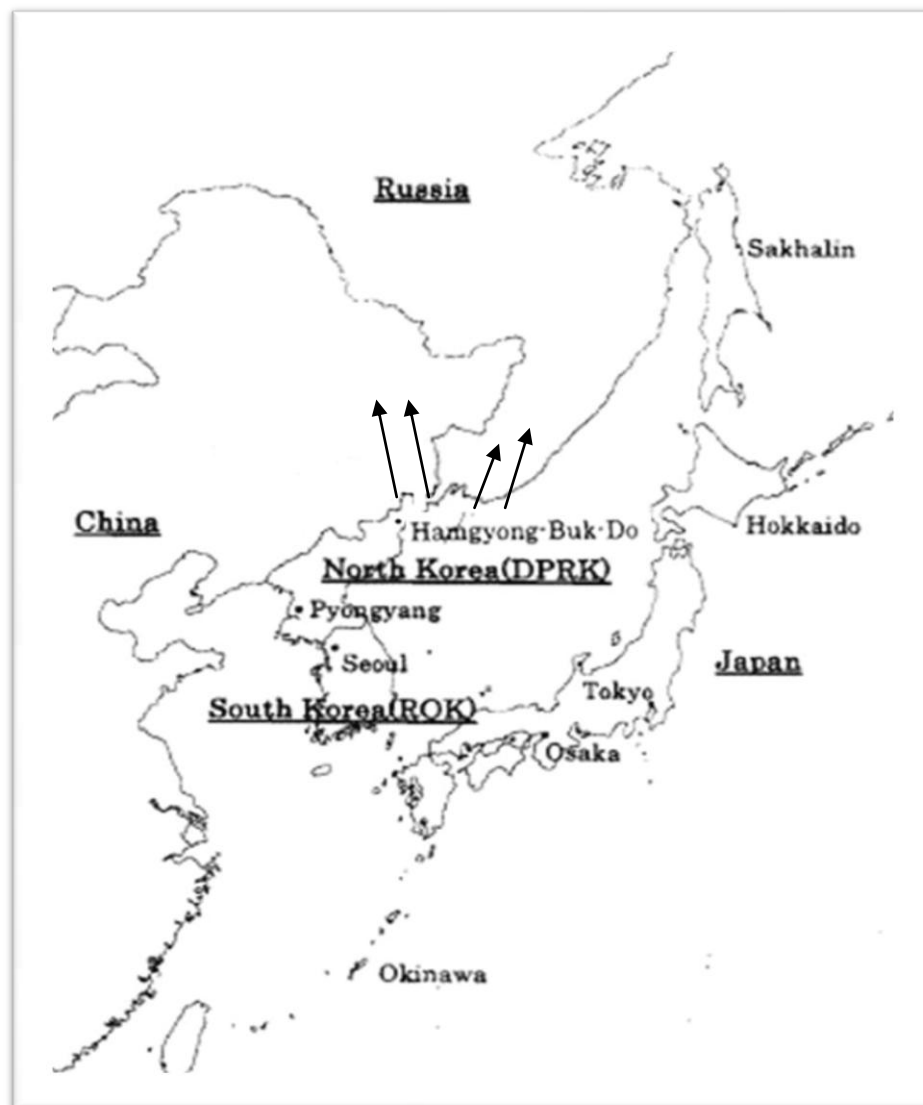
Displaced Koreans living in Japan are the second largest minority group in that country after the Burakumin¹ (who account for around 1% of the total population or about 2 million people). According to the census of 2005, there were about 600,000 displaced Koreans in Japan² including those who had permanently changed their nationality to Japanese as well as those who maintained their Korean nationality.

Displaced Koreans have played an important role in Japan since the end of the 19th century when a group of landless farmers from Ham Kyoung Province (in present day North Korea) fled to escape poverty. They immigrated throughout the north of Asia to explore abundant land in Manchuria and Eastern Russia. About 300,000 immigrants were estimated to have settled in Japan before it officially took possession of the Korean Peninsula as a colony in 1910.

¹ Alan Campbell (ed), David S. Noble (ed), Suzuki Hitoshi (Art Director), et al. Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia. Tokyo, Kodansha Ltd. 1995.

² UNITED NATIONS (CERD). Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and All Forms of Discrimination: Report of the special Rapporteur on Contemporary Forms of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, Doudou Diene – Mission to Japan, Economic and Social Council, E/CN.4/2006/16/ Add.2, 24 January (Online). 2006. Available from: <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G06/103/96/PDF/G0610396.pdf>. (2012, June 29).

Figure 1.1: THE IMMIGRATION ROUTE OF KOREAN DIASPORAS IN C.19

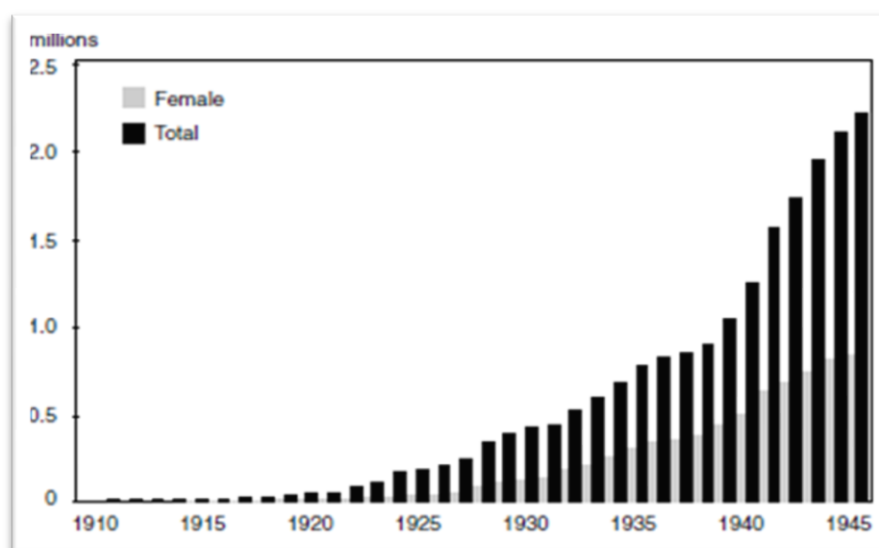


Source: Yasunori, 2000: 2

For the 35 years during which Japan occupied Korea (1910-1945), the Japanese mercilessly exploited the native people by, for example, forcing them to work their own land as tenant farmers. The Japanese also forced Koreans to resettle in Japan to work as laborers in mines and forced them to be soldiers to fight wars. Korean women were forced into prostitution to serve the Japanese soldiers. Those

forced to migrate to Japan would be subject to the National General Mobilization Law enacted by the Japanese parliament in 1938. The numbers of Korean people forced to migrate to Japan during the colonization period gradually increased over time, and by 1938, there were estimated to be about 700,000 Koreans living there. During World War II, the population of Koreans in Japan further increased by three times to about 2.1 million people.

FIGURE 1.2: POPULATION OF ETHNIC KOREANS IN JAPAN, ACCORDING TO CENSUS 1919-1945



Source: Hicks, 1997: 50

TABLE 1.1: THE MIGRATION OF KOREANS TO JAPAN

Year	Korean Population in Japan	Conscripted laborers or military draftees
1909	790	-
1910	-	-
1915	3,989	-
1916	5,638	-
1917	14,501	-
1918	22,262	-
1919	28,272	-
1920	30,175	-
1921	35,876	-
1922	59,865	-
1923	80,617	-
1924	120,238	-
1925	133,710	-
1926	148,502	-
1927	175,911	-
1928	243,328	-
1929	276,031	-
1930	298,091	-
1931	318,212	-
1932	390,543	-
1933	466,217	-
1934	537,576	-
1935	635,679	-
1936	690,501	-
1937	735,689	-
1938	799,865	-
1939	961,591	38,700
1940	1,190,441	54,944
1941	1,469,230	43,493
1942	1,625,054	112,007
1943	1,882,456	122,237
1944	1,936,843	280,303
1945	<u>Unknow</u>	160,427

Source: Changsoo and George, 2003: 37

Korean Minority in Japan and their Livelihood during the Colonial Period

Korean people forced to relocate to Japan during the colonization of their country are considered first generation Korean immigrants. Their descendants would have to learn to adapt to Japanese society and they had the distinctive feature of becoming Japanese citizens directly governed by their colonizer. Although these Koreans obtained Japanese nationality, it did not mean they would be treated as equals by the Japanese. They were exploited in several ways. Socially, they were treated as second class citizens, earning lower wages, relegated to risky and hazardous work, and afforded little health care or security. Moreover, they did not have any permanent residency. Most of them lived in slums where they were largely ignored by the Japanese government, and were not permitted to study in Japanese schools. The attitude of the Japanese towards the Korean minority is reflected in the opinion expressed in the 12th October 1910 issue of the Osaka Asahi Shimbun newspaper:

“The purpose for which a country has a colony is not for the interests or the habitants of the colony but for the interest of the mother country. Seeing this, it is natural that the rights of the inhabitants of the colony should not be equal to those of the mother country.”³

The displaced Koreans were exploited under the assimilation policy of Japanese government at that time. The policy demanded all minorities in Japan such as Ainu, Burakumin, displaced Koreans, etc. to be unified with the Japanese people

³ Cited in Conroy Hilary. The Japanese Seizure of Korea 1868-1910: A Study of Realism and Idealism in International Relations. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1960. p. 392

in the aspects of culture, values, and traditions. The assimilation policy was described as follows:

“A policy that demands the minority group to abandon its distinctive culture, language, and customs and merge with the dominant group. Aims to remove the problem of how to deal with the minority by absorbing it.”⁴

The enforcement of the assimilation policy on all minorities in Japan, especially for the displaced Koreans, took several forms. For example, minorities were forced to use Japanese as the official language in speaking, to adopt Japanese names, and to worship at Shinto shrines instead of following Confucianism or Christianity. It can be seen that the assimilation policy had the specific intention of altering the lives of Korean people in Japan in all aspects related to politics, religion, society, and culture.

Unfair treatment by the Japanese spurred many Korean settlers to rise up against the Japanese government. Koreans pent up anger during the colonial period developed into nationalism. They formed labor groups and communist groups in Japan to fight against the unfair treatment. One such group was the First March Movement (1919) which consisted of Koreans both in Korea and in Japan. Koreans in Japan tried to retain their Korean culture and values such as the cooking of traditional Korean food and dining rituals, resisting the efforts of the Japanese to assimilate them.

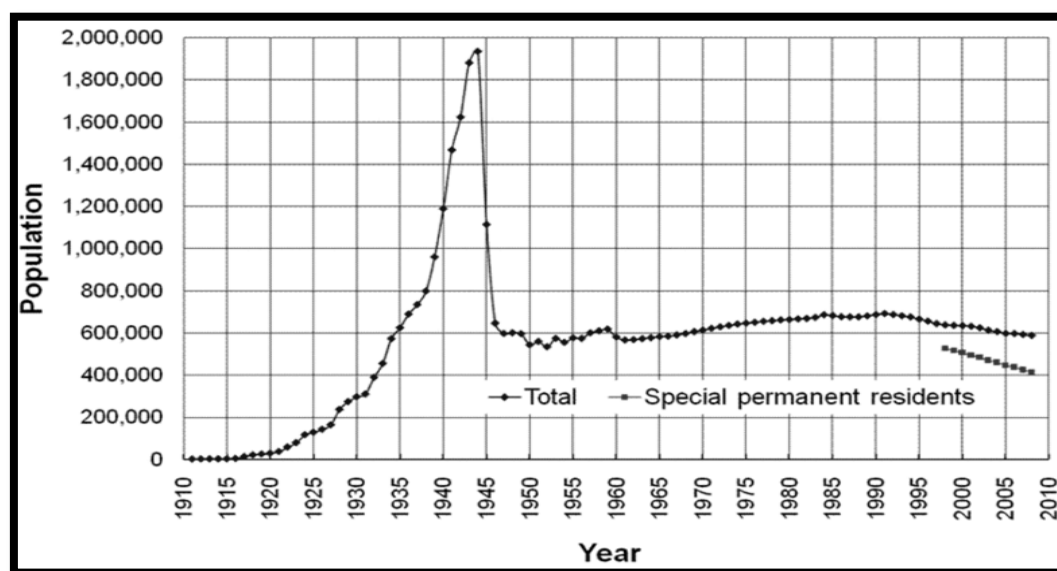
⁴ G. Simpson, J. Yinger. Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination. 1985. pp.17-24; Quoted in Fukuoka Yasunori, Lives of Young Korean in Japan. p. 13

Japan's World War II Defeat and its Repercussions for Koreans in Japan

The surrender of Japan to the Allies in World War II on 15th August 1945 can be seen as the beginning of significant changes affecting the Korean people in Japan. Post-World War II was a time of uncertainty for Korean people as they were divided into those who chose to return their home country and those who chose to continue to live in Japan.

The government of North Korea and local communist organizations in Japan persuaded Koreans to return to their home country, present day North Korea. Many did take up the offer. According to the 1950 census, the number of Koreans living in Japan in 1950 was around only 508,905 people, one-fifth of the population of 1945 of around 2.5 million people.⁵

FIGURE 1.3: REGISTERED KOREAN RESIDENTS IN JAPAN 1919-2010



Source: UNITED NATIONS (CERD), 2000: 9-12.

⁵ Morita, Y. A numerical History of Koreans in Japan (IN Japanese). Tokyo: Akashi Shoben. 1996. pp.31

Assessment of Status Change of the Korean Minority in Japan in the Post-Colonial Era

Those Koreans who chose to stay in Japan would maintain their families in Japanese society and give rise to a second generation of Koreans in Japan. This group encountered many obstacles due to post-World War II changes and the Korean War.

One significant change relates to nationality. During the colonization period, Japan gave Japanese nationality to Koreans living in Japan (in order to bring them under Japanese law). However, after World War II, the status of Koreans in Japan was changed to “aliens with residency in Japan”. In 1950, the Nationality Law required that all alien nationals have their fingerprints taken every five years as well as acquire a certificate for alien registration. This formally differentiated the Japanese from the so called ‘aliens’. Korean people in Japan protested this law as it was similar to the law for criminals who were also required to give their fingerprints. The details of the Act are as follows:

“The purpose of this Act is to establish fair control over aliens residing in Japan by clarifying matters pertaining to their residency and status and through the enforcement of the registration of such aliens.

The notice would declare that (1).Koreans and Taiwanese, inclusive of those residing in Japan, were deprived of their Japanese nationality, and (2).They had to go through the same formalities as foreigners in general if they were to be naturalized in Japan.”⁶

⁶ Toshiyuki Tamura. C. Fred Bergsten (Ed), Inbom Choe (Ed). The status and role of ethnic Koreans in the Japanese economy. The Korean Diaspora in the world economy. Institute for international economic. USA: Washigton D.C. 2003. pp.84-87

Moreover, the San Francisco Treaty between Japan and the Allies went into force on 28th April 1952 giving citizens of former Japanese colonies the right to choose their nationality when the territory changed hands. However, Japan did not allow Koreans in Japan to have this right directly. After the Treaty was signed, the Japanese nationality and the citizen's rights which Korean residents in Japan had received previously were abruptly revoked and their status became merely that of aliens living in Japan.

This change brought greater difficulties for Koreans living in Japan, especially for those who were born after the colonial era. Post-colonial Japanese society became a more homogeneous society in living, attitude, culture, race, religion, and language and those who refused to be integrated into it would be rejected and discriminated against. This was especially harsh for Koreans living in Japan. For example, they had no freedom of expression or rights to participate in politics, own property or receive social welfare such as pensions, no right to be hired by a Japanese company, and they were not allowed to study in Japanese schools. Additionally, as Japan had no diplomatic relations with North Korea or South Korea, Koreans in Japan became "stateless people".

Japan and South Korea and Identity of the Korean Minority in Japan, 1965-1980

In 1965, the Republic of Korea and Japan signed a "Normalization Treaty", effective 18th December 1965. This agreement was a major turning point for the Koreans in Japan as it granted them "permanent residency". The agreement has three main aspects covering the treatment of Koreans in Japan which are: 1) the right to permanent residency; 2) Grounds for deportation; and 3) Subsequent legal

treatment. Permanent residency for Koreans in Japan was limited to those who met the qualifications detailed below:

1. Those who had been residents continuously in Japan since 15th August, 1945 up to the time of their application for permanent residency;
2. Those who were born in Japan after 16th August, 1945 as lineal descendants of persons in category 1 and who applied for permanent residency within five years of the effective date of the agreement;
3. Children born after 16th January, 1971 of parents who received permanent residency status under categories 1 and 2, provided that application for the children's permanent residency was filed within sixty days from their birth.⁷

The agreement gave legal status to Koreans in Japan, including the benefits of social welfare and other protections, however, it led to serious conflicts among the different groups of Koreans.⁸ Koreans in the Mindan Organization who supported the South Korean government benefited from this agreement whereas those in the Chongryon Organization, who supported the North Korean government, were denied any rights under it. Later from 1960-1970, the Chongryon Organization allied with the Mindan group in order to gain the benefits of the San Francisco Treaty as Japan had no diplomatic relations with North Korea.

⁷ Lee, Changsoo and George de Vos . Koreans in Japan: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2003. p.147

⁸ Michael Weiner. Japan's Minorities: the illusion of Homogeneity. 2nd edition. Newyork , USA : Routledge. 2009. pp.173

Growing Up as a member of the Contemporary-Generation of Korean Diaspora in Japan and their Livelihood Strategies

A fourth generation of Koreans is now living in Japanese society with their identity becoming increasingly complex and diverse, especially since the 1980s. During the 1980s, changes took place in Japan's immigration, nationality/citizenship, and family policies which impacted foreign residents in Japan in general and Korean residents in particular.⁹ Under Japan's Nationality Law, citizenship became based on "blood," not birth-place. In 1984, the Nationality Law was revised to permit children to acquire Japanese nationality through either parent, not just through the father.¹⁰

The category of "contemporary Korean resident in Japan" is socio-historical. Since the beginning of 1980s, this category has increasingly come to include not only Koreans in Japan, whose historical roots lay in Japanese colonialism, but also "newcomers" from South Korea. In-Jin Yoon has categorized Korean residents into four distinct periods as follows:

The first period (1910-1938), when bankrupt peasants and laborers migrated to Japan in search of employment opportunities;

the second period (1939-1945), when Korean young men and women were conscripted to work in war industries and serve on the battlefield;

the third period (1945- 1980), when significant numbers of Koreans decided to remain in Japan after Korea became independent;

⁹ Yoshiko Nozaki, Hiromitsu Inokuchi and Kim Tae-Young. Legal categories, Demographic change and Japan's Korean Residents in the Long Twentieth Century. (Online). Available from <http://japanfocus.org/-yoshiko-nozaki/2220>. (April 8, 2013).

¹⁰ Yasunori Fukuoka and Yukiko Tsujiyama. J. Broadbent (ed) and V. Brockman (ed). Young Koreans Against Ethnic Discrimination in Japan: A case study of a Grassroots and Networking-Style Movement (Mintoren). (Online). 2011. Available from : http://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007%2F978-0-387-09626-1_6. (2013, January 12).

and the fourth period (1980- present), when new waves of Koreans (so called ‘new comers’) entered Japan freely after South Korea liberalized overseas travel.¹¹

The contemporary generation is important for studying the lifestyle, thoughts and attitudes of Koreans living in Japan, as well as for understanding the pressures of living in Japanese society, gained either from their direct experience or the experience of their families, relatives or friends. These people can express their opinion, develop, and maintain their nationality while working towards greater acceptance by society in cultural, political, and economic matters.

This research aims to study the lifestyle of the contemporary Koreans in Japan born since 1980. These people are still faced with social obstruction and treated as second class citizens. They have even been forced to change their way of thought, values, culture, etc, which makes daily life difficult. However, Koreans in Japan who have encountered these conditions try to respect the differences in order to live harmoniously with Japanese, to overcome bias and to participate in Japanese society while maintaining their own unique identity.

¹¹ In-Jin Yoon. Understanding the Korean Diaspora from Comparative perspectives. Asia Culture Forum 2006: Transformation & Prospect toward Multiethnic, Multiracial & Muticultural Society : Enhancing Intercultural Communication. Session 2 “Diaspora 1”. (online). Available from: http://www.cct.go.kr/data/ acf_2006. (April 8, 2013).

1.2. Research Questions

1. In what ways do the contemporary-generation of Koreans in Japan experience discrimination in their daily lives?

2. Within the homogenous Japanese society, how do the contemporary-generation of Koreans improve their own living standards while maintaining their Korean identity?

3. How has the contemporary-generation of Koreans in Japan been motivated to fight ethnic discrimination while maintaining their identity as Koreans?

1.3. Research Objectives

This research aims to study the livelihood strategies of the contemporary-generation of Koreans in Japan born since 1980 as they encounter social obstruction in society. The aims of this research are as follows:

1. To examine the issue of discrimination against contemporary Koreans in Japan born since 1980.

2. To study the livelihood strategies of the contemporary-generation of Koreans in Japan born since 1980 who have encountered racism and discrimination and their attempts to deal with it.

3. To investigate the motivation of the contemporary-generation of Koreans in Japan for maintaining their ethnic identity despite the racism and the discrimination they face in Japan society.

1.4. Scope of the study

The study concentrates on how livelihood strategies of the contemporary-generation of Koreans in Japan are being affected by governmental policy as well as

social, cultural and ideological aspects. The study is limited to Koreans in Japan born since 1980, so the conclusions and results cannot be applied to a wider range of Koreans in Japan.

1.5. Hypothesis

There have been and still are various forms of discrimination against the Korean minority in Japan, making daily life difficult. To cope with this predicament, many of these people have to come up with certain strategies such as getting Japanese citizenship, attempting to understand and adapt to conditions in Japanese society, and respecting the cultural differences between themselves and the Japanese in order to live harmoniously with them - all the while maintaining their Korean identity.

1.6. Research Methodology

The research has the purpose of examining the various aspects of livelihood strategies of Koreans in Japan born since 1980, the challenges they face in a 'homogeneous' society, and the government's role in decreasing such challenges. The study mainly uses the descriptive explanatory method based on analysis of the research. Therefore, the research includes information from books, previous studies, journals, special reports, the Internet and statistical data.

In this research, secondary data will be collected from a combination of relevant accessible Japanese and Korean government records, the Mindan Organization's reports, documents and policies relating to livelihood management as well as theories and concepts relating to the livelihood management/framework of

Koreans in Japan. This research will also focus on various forms of discrimination experienced in Japanese society and ideas for improvement.

1.7. Organization of the study

This research details the experiences of the contemporary-generation of Koreans in Japan regarding their struggle against discrimination by the Japanese and how that shapes their livelihood strategies. This research also offers historical characteristics and attitudes of contemporary Koreans in Japan in relation to how they maintain their strength as an ethnic minority in the face of racism in Japanese society today. In addition, the research uses secondary data and interviews to analyze how the contemporary-generation of Koreans in Japan survive and maintain their ethnic groups in Japanese society through livelihood strategies. Therefore, the associated chapters of this research and their content will be as follows:

The first chapter provides a background, research problem statement, research objective, research question, scope of the study, hypothesis, research methodology, as well as the organization of the study.

The second chapter presents the theoretical framework for the study, which consists of the two conceptual approaches; the Diaspora Concept and the Livelihood Strategies Concept. These concepts have been presented as a way to understand in depth the challenges to the livelihood of contemporary Koreans in Japan. In addition, this chapter also provides information about the relevant previous studies regarding contemporary Koreans in Japan.

The third chapter provides an historical overview of contemporary Koreans in Japan, focusing on those born since 1980. It also provides a variety of examples of

the unequal treatment of ethnic Koreans and policy towards the contemporary-generation of Koreans in Japan.

The fourth chapter presents the findings of the study and discusses the livelihood strategies of the contemporary Koreans in Japan. This chapter will also provide an outlook on reconciling the stereotypes of Japanese society towards ethnic Koreans and developments in contemporary Korean communities. This chapter includes in the discussion:

1. Various strategies and Livelihood inspirations of the contemporary-generation of Koreans in Japan which are important lifestyle factors.
2. The various influential actors that affect the contemporary-generation of Koreans in Japan.
 - The role of the Korean Resident's Union in Japan or Mindan Organization.
 - The role of Coordinated Conference for Fighting Against Racial Discrimination or Mintoren Organization.
3. The context of ethnic Korean schools in Japan that facilitate education as a way to escape discrimination in Japanese society and maintain Korean identity.

The fifth chapter will be the conclusion of this thesis. The discussion will be advantageous for future work on the lifestyle processes of contemporary Koreans in Japan which look at the issue from the perspective of livelihood strategies. Therefore, I hope to provide direction on how contemporary Koreans in Japan can prosper while maintaining their ethnic identity in modern Japanese society.

CHAPTER II

RELATED THEORIES AND LITERATURE REVIEWS

This chapter is divided into two important parts which are first the reviews of related theories and the related researches.

2.1. The Related theories.

In this part, the study represents the two important theories which are served as the essential objectives of the study: theories of Diasporas concept, and theories of livelihood strategies concept.

1.1. Diaspora Concept

1.2. Livelihood strategies concept

2.1.1. Who is Diaspora? : Diaspora Concept and Definition

“**Diaspora Concept**”, in this globalization era, has been reconceptualized to wider concepts than the classical Diaspora pattern. The term “Diaspora” first originated in the Septuagint (the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible). The details in the Hebrew Bible were expressed visions of incidents that divided the Jewish people between those in the homeland and those in exile. The population of Jews expelled from Israel in 607 BC by the Babylonians. In the *Concept of Diaspora in Biblical Literature* published in 2009, the word ‘Diaspora’ presents as a very exact cause of the Jews who were expelled from the Holy Land and their spreading right

through several parts of the world. The Diaspora word implied uprooting, legal disabilities, repression, and painful alteration to the host land. In the meantime, the people encompassing this Diaspora increased organizations, social patterns, including language, religion, and maintained hope of returning to the homeland. In this context, the Jewish Diasporas forced to leave their homeland were differentiated as an example of 'classical Diaspora paradigm'.¹² This kind of definition was perceived as the repatriation and the deportation.

However, in the contemporary society today, the occurrences of increasingly transforming population allowed to run free by globalization, for example, enlarged immigration to the superpower countries, the technology revolution, and the development of multinational culture. Increased attention to the occurrence of Diasporas and minorities who have experiences the classical Diaspora paradigm only in part started to be called Diasporas. Thus there might have been blurring the lines among ethnic minorities, refugees, migrations, and Diasporas.¹³ In a result, Diasporas is too blurred a concept and some intellectuals prefer to focus on transnational relations. To make clear understanding of Diasporas concept is indispensable for studying Korean Diasporas too.

Safran's research (2005) defined what he believes to be the common features of Diasporas. This research listed the several Diaspora characteristics which

¹² C. Evans. M. Ehrlich (Ed). The Concept of Diaspora in Biblical Literature. Encyclopedia of the Jewish Diaspora: Origins, Experiences, and Culture. Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC. 2009. pp. 1-3.

¹³ G. Popescu. B. Warf (Ed). Diaspora: Encyclopedia of Human Geography. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE .Reference Publication. 2006. pp. 106-107.

based on Jewish Diaspora as a model one or the Jewish model. These principles are Diaspora characteristics in general sense as the following:¹⁴

1. They, or their ancestors, have been separated from an explicit original 'center' to two or more marginal or foreign regions.
2. They hold on to a communal memory, vision, or legend about their original homeland; its physical location, history, accomplishments, and, sufferings.
3. Their relationship with the central element of society in the host land is complex and often troubled. They believe that they are not fully accepted by their host society and consequently feel partly estranged and protect from it.
4. They consider their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) ultimately return, if and when conditions are suitable.
5. They keep on relating, individually or vicariously, to the homeland in one way or another, and their ethno-communal perception and cohesion, which reach across political boundaries, are outstandingly distinct in terms of the existence of such a relationship. That relationship may contain a cooperative commitment to the preservation or re-establishment of their original homeland and to its independence, safety, and the wealth. The absence of such a relationship makes it difficult to speak of transnationalism.

¹⁴ W. Safran. The Jewish Diaspora in a Comparative and Theoretical Perspective. Israel Studies. 10 (1) .2005 : pp. 36-60.

6. They wish to survive as a different community, in most instances as a minority by maintain and transmitting a cultural and/or religious heritage resulted from their ancestral home and the symbols based on it. In so doing, they adapt to host land conditions and experiences to become themselves centers of cultural creation and elaboration.
7. Their cultural, religious, economic, and/or political relationships with the homeland are reflected in an important way in their communal organizations.

However, some scholars' opinion discussed that Safran's list of Diaspora principles are too narrow. They may have still gone too far, blur and too unclear concept. Also, the Jewish experience was carrying on control Safran's view of the crucial significance of homeland in defining one of important characteristics of Diaspora. Although the original ideology of Diaspora is repatriation, it might have not meant that All Diasporas would have the same exact ideology in repatriation.

Cohen (1997) classified as the current definition of Diaspora in five groups as following:¹⁵

1. Victim Diasporic Community: the same definition as classical Diaspora means people who were forced to leave their homeland, maintained a shared memory of their original homeland. They idealize their ancestral home which were placed to the reinstallation of the original homeland and continued in various ways to relate to the homeland.
2. Labor Diasporic Community: the other migration patterns conforming to the use of the word to describe trading and commercial network to those

¹⁵ Cohen, Robin. Global Diaspora: An Introduction. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1997. pp.21-25.

who looking for work abroad and to imperial or colonial settlers. Diaspora who willingly left their homeland for working as indentured labor.

3. Trade Diasporic Community: the famous trade Diasporas is Chinese Diasporas which are the older communities that were scattered from their homeland many generations ago to several host countries, where they have satisfied economic mediatory roles. Many traders as reunion labors had begun to drop outside the Chinese mainland to the rest of Southeast Asia. In addition, the merchant's long-term power was far greater.
4. Imperial Diasporic Community: the settlement of people from colonial community for colonial expansion, religious missions, trade and had intermarriage with local people. Other synonymous expressions are settler or colonial Diasporas.
5. Cultural Diasporic Community: the expression mixture, cultural and post-colonial also is linked to the idea of deterritorialization.

While Brubaker (2009) talked about 'diasporas' definition, which being extended in diverse directions, made Diaspora as a spreading of the definitions of the term in conceptual and punitive space. The spreading in conceptual space can classify three center fundamentals; 1. Dispersion/spreading in space 2. Orientation to 'homeland' and 3. Boundary-maintenance.¹⁶

1. **Dispersion:** This criterion is nowadays generally accepted. It can be understood firmly as compulsory or else upsetting dispersion/spreading. More general understanding as any kind of dispersion/spreading in space presented as the spreading crosses state borders. Some replaced division for

¹⁶ Brubaker, Roger. The 'Diaspora' Diaspora. In ethnic and Racial studies. Vol 28, No.1, January 2005. pp.1-19.

spreading was defining Diasporas as *'ethnic communities divided by state borders'* or as *'that part of a people living outside the homeland'*. This permits even efficiently established populations to regard as Diasporas when a group of the population lives as minorities outside their homeland.

2. Homeland Orientation: This is the orientation criterion to a real or imagined homeland as an authoritative basis of value and loyalty. These consist of sustaining a shared memory or myth about the homeland; considering the ancestral homeland as the true, ideal home and the place where whoever would finally return to; devoting to the protection of the homeland and to its security and wealth; keeping on relating, individually or vicariously, to the homeland, in a way that considerably forms one's identity and commonality.

3. Boundary-Maintenance: The conservation of a distinguish identity and host country. Concentrate on the significance of the margins for collectivities that do not have their own territorial polity. Margins can be sustained by premeditated resistance to assimilation through self-enforced endogamy or other forms of self-separation or as an accidental result of social segregation. A Diaspora as a distinguishing community, holding together by a distinguishing, active commonality, as well as moderately intense social relationship that divide state borders and bond members of the Diaspora in different states into a single *'transnational community'*.

In summary, Diaspora refers to the historical exile of the Jews from Palestine and their being separated radically through the world. However, in this contemporary era, the meaning and concept of Diaspora have been reproduced. The words

‘Diaspora’ is explained as a new way of modern experiences of migration in a wider sense. This improvement becomes problematic since this word may have overlapped to the other new words occurred in this contemporary period, for example, immigrant, refugee, expatriate, guest worker, ethnic minority, exile community, oversea community and transnational community.¹⁷

Most discussions of Diaspora were definitely ingrained a conceptual ‘homeland’. The discussions of Diasporas started to expand to include other cases. From the perceptions of the homeland, emigrant groups have been conceptualized as Diasporas, also when they have been mainly assimilated. The problem of Diasporas group becomes extended to the point of ineffectiveness; if everyone is diasporic then no one is individually, so the term loses its discriminating power. Consequently, many scholars try to set principles for ‘strictness of definition’ (i.e. Safran, Cohen, Brubaker etc.). However, to apply concepts and theories about Diasporas to experience need to relinquish from abstract ideas to exist experience and clear understanding the term ‘Diaspora’ for example Korean Diaspora too.

Korean Diasporas in Japan society

Korean Diasporas in Japan can be classified as ‘Victim Diasporic Community’ based on description of Brubaker (2005) that some replacing separation for dispersal was describing Diasporas as ‘*ethnic communities divided by state borders*’ or as ‘*that part of a people living outside the homeland*’. This allows even resided populations to count as Diasporas when part of the populations live as minorities outside their

¹⁷ Thirawuth Senakham. “Diaspora Concept and Ethnicity Studies”. Ethnicity Study Approaches. Academic Document Series 36. Bangkok: Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre. 2004.

homeland. At the same time, on Safran's and Cohen's analysis also mentioned that this Korean Diasporas was the same conditions as a classical Diaspora pattern, which refers to the movement of population sharing common ethnic identity and memory that were forced to leave their homeland. However, Korean Diasporas residing in Japan have not been approved the Japanese citizenship and thus have not achieved any citizen's rights. Their status has still existed 'Korean Diasporas' and 'Alien' in Japan society today.

Another argument to the Korean Diasporas definition, it was thought as the telling stories of Korean Diaspora residing in Japan longer four decades. For example, Korean Diasporas in Kanto and Kansai region, Japan, keep their collective memory about their livelihoods (both happiness and suffering life) in their host country as this following interview;

“...I was born here, Japanese is my first language, and I don't know anything about Korea, and I am legally (South) Korean? Don't you think that's very strange? My sole experience with Koreans in Japan empowerment education was compulsory participation in a series of seminars and lectures sponsored by a politically neutral Korean organization so he could receive college and graduate school stipends. When I naturalized, I chose my Korean last name, pronounced *Cho* in Japanese — *Chang* in Korean —and my Japanese-pronounced given name over the Korean-pronounced *Myeong-Nam*.”¹⁸

¹⁸ Sonia Ryang and John Lie. *Diaspora without Homeland: Being Korean in Japan*. University of California Press, Ltd.London, England. 2009. pp.86-87

2.1.2. What's Livelihoods? : Livelihood Strategies Conceptual Framework.

The term “livelihood” has been broadly discussed among various intellectuals. It's such a simple understanding that livelihood is related to the ways to make a living which relies on the assets accessible and how people use them to maintain their survivals. From the website Livelihood, (2006) mentioned that livelihood is about the ways and means of ‘making a living’.¹⁹ This website also offered some academics who concentrated on livelihood studies offering the explanations such as:

- Livelihood is not only an issue of discovery or creating shelter, transmitting money, getting food to put on the family table or to exchange on the market place, it is also regularly an issue of possession and exchange of information, the management of proficiency and interactions and the confirmation of individual importance... and group identity.²⁰
- Best expression the thought of personal and collective determining to make a living, trying to meet their variety of consumption and economic necessities, dealing with suspicions, taking action to new opportunities, and choosing among dissimilar value positions.²¹

Nevertheless, the term ‘livelihood’ can be applied in various ways. From Dehaan and Zoomers’s studies, they went over the main points that the most generally acknowledged and cite explanation of livelihood is provided by Carney

¹⁹ Livelihood Strategies. (online). Available from <http://www.livelihood.wur.nl/index.php?id=24>. (2012, October25)

²⁰ Wallman S. Eight London households. London: Routledge. 1984. pp.81-83

²¹ Long, N. Agency and Constraint, perceptions and practices. A theoretical position. In: H. de Haan and N.Long (eds), Images and Realities of Rural Life. pp.1-20. Assen: van Gorcum. 1997.

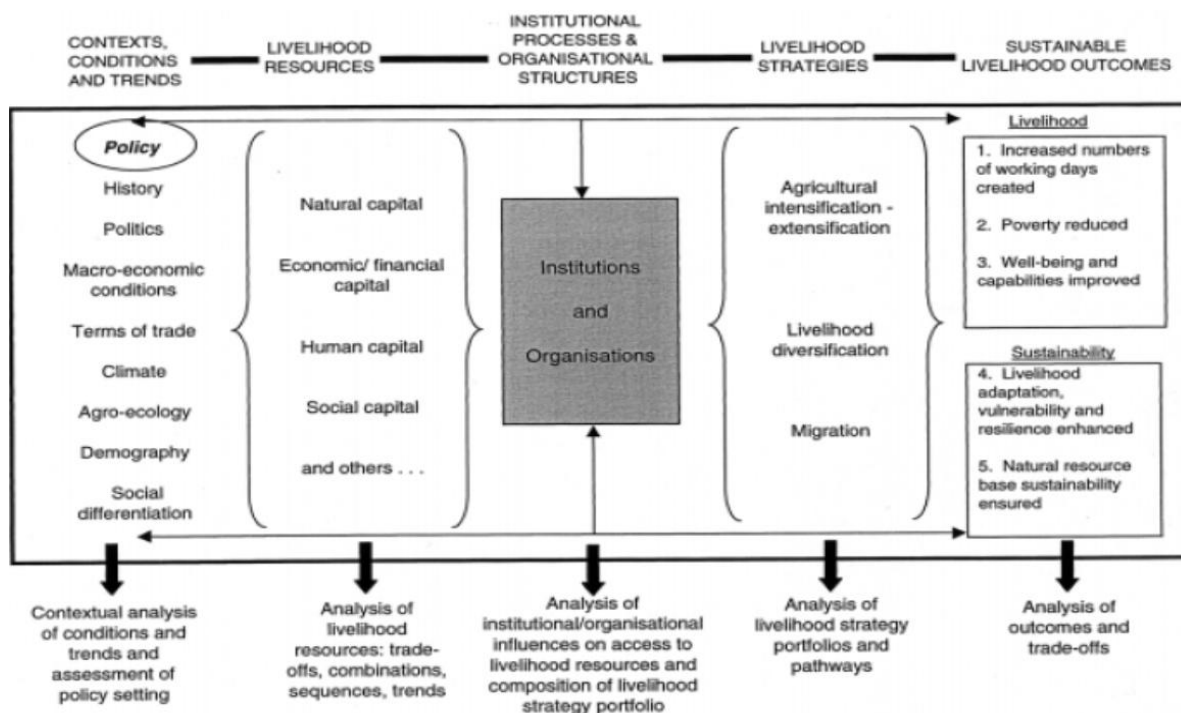
(1998), which derived from Chambers and Conway (1992); the following explanation captures the wide conception of livelihood recognition here:

“Livelihoods consist of the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities are necessary for a means of living. Livelihoods related to survival and future security. Livelihood strategies are the useful means through which people access food or income to buy food, while deal with strategies is momentary reactions to food timidity. Livelihoods are maintainable when it can deal with a development from stress and shocks and sustain or improve its potential and resources both now and in the future, while not depression the natural resource base”²²

The Department for International Development (DFID), the main representative of livelihood approach, has developed analytical frameworks that permit the livelihood condition of a target group to be captured and the following formulation of sufficient policy involvement.

²² De Haan, Leo J and Zoomers Annelies. “Development Geography at the Crossroads of Livelihood and Globalization”. In: G. Nijenhuis, A. Broekhuis and G. van Westen. Space and Place in Development Geography: Geographical perspectives on development in the 21st century. Amsterdam: Dutch University Press. 2005.pp.49-63

Figure 2.1: SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS FRAMEWORK: A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS



Source: Development for international Development, 1999: online

The framework can be adapted at a sort of different scales – from individual to household group, to village, region or even nation, with sustainable livelihood outcomes assessed at different levels. The condition of the scale of analysis is thus significant, since it is an analysis of the interactions between levels in terms of livelihood effects, both positive and negative.

The DFID has represented the most famous debate on coping with the sustainable livelihood analytical framework. This Sustainable livelihood framework is a way to develop the idea of livelihoods. The framework concentrated on people. Its goal is to facilitate stakeholders with diverse perspectives to join in constructed and logical debate about many factors that influence livelihoods, their virtual significance

and the way where they relate to. This framework shows the key things influencing people's livelihoods, and characteristic associations between these. It may be used in setting up new development activities and judging the donation to livelihood sustainability made by accessible activities. The main factors that affect people's livelihoods as listed below:²³

1. Vulnerability Context (Shocks, Trends and Seasonality): this context was framed by the external environment where people live. Thus, the survival and resources of people are basically inclined by important encompassing;

Shocks such as illnesses, disasters, conflict, floods, droughts, storms, and crop and livestock pests and diseases

Trends such as long-term trends that undermine livelihood potential: population, declining natural resource base, climate change, economic downturns, inflation, currency devaluation, structural unemployment, and poor governance

Seasonality such as changing prices and shifting employment opportunities²⁴

²³ DFID. Sustainable Livelihoods Guideline Sheets, Development for international Development. (Online). 1999. Available from : http://www.livelihoods.org /info/guidance_sheets_pdfs/section2.pdf. (2012, October 2)

¹³ Olivier Serrat. Agriculture, Environment and Natural Resources Division, Department Southeast Asia. Asian Development Bank. The Livelihoods Framework. (Online).2002. Available from www.adb.org/projects/tonle_sap. (2012,October 25)

These three important factors creating the Vulnerability Context are crucial since they have an effect directly on Diaspora's resource status and the choices which are open to them in exploit the beneficial livelihood outcomes.

2. Livelihood Resources: people are the center that the livelihood gives the most important to. It is consequently needed to make an understanding on people's strengths (the abilities of resources and capital). The livelihood framework classifies five resource groups which can build livelihood strategies can be considered under the following categories:

- 1.) Human capital (health, education, knowledge and skills)
- 2.) Social capital (community relationships)
- 3.) Natural capital (land, forest, rivers, air, wildlife)
- 4.) Financial capital (income, remittances, resources to financial services) and
- 5.) Physical capital (basic infrastructure and producer goods – tools, other productive resource such as appropriate technology and livestock)²⁵

3. Institution Process and Organizational Structure: there are four important structures within the livelihood framework which can form livelihood consisting of 1).Institutions, 2).Organizations, 3).Policies, and 4).Legislation. From the diverse types of structure and process, we can divide into two important parts: "Structures" are concentrated on the public sector, private sector and civil society and "Process" are concentrated on policy, legislation, institutions, and culture and power relations.

4. Livelihood Strategies: This is one of the main factors that affect people's livelihoods which illustrated in Sustainable Livelihoods Framework created by DFID,

²⁵ Concern. Concern's Worldwides: Livelihood Security Policy. Approve by Council June 2003. Dublin: Concern Worldwide. 2004.

1999. The livelihood process seeks to promote choice, opportunity and diversity. This is nowhere more obvious than in its treatment of livelihood strategies- the overarching term used to signify the combination of activities and choices that people undertake in order to achieve their livelihood goals (including productive activities, investment strategies, reproductive choices, etc.), ‘Livelihood Strategies’, the aim of the analysis is to understand the typical levels of human, social, economic and natural capital that are held by different types of households, and the nature of production, income and exchange activities to which these give rise.²⁶

In view of on Sustainable Livelihood Framework ‘livelihood strategies’ were identified as ‘sets of activities’ and ‘diverse options’ which were mixed for using to achieve their livelihood goal. These strategies are made from processes that included multi-approaches to response the contrasted ‘needs’ depended on the contexts of times, geographies and economic levels. Sustainable Livelihood Framework may not be included ‘power and rights’ as capital asset of people on ‘making of a living’.²⁷

Livelihood Strategies should be a particular consideration and subject that can create clearer perception on the livelihoods strategies of Korean Diasporas; for instance how they deal and survive with limited access to livelihood assets and citizenship rights, recovering, negotiate, and originate livelihoods strategies, and judge the impact of the strategies on their lives.

5. Livelihood Outcomes: the attainment of Livelihood Strategies which make an understanding to the “attainment” of the present pattern of factors within

²⁶ Monchai Phongsiri. Thai Diasporas and Livelihood Strategies in Thai Society. Conference on “Economic Transition and Social Changes of Countries in Asian Sub-region” Grand Millennium Sukhumvit Hotel, Asoke, Bangkok on 28th-30th May, 2009. p. 22

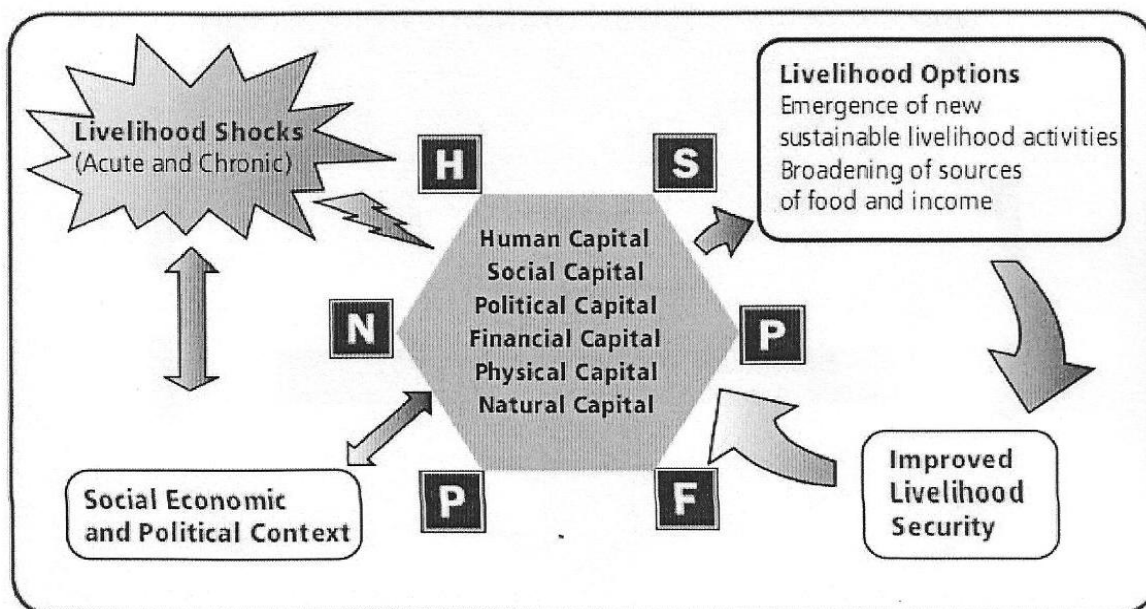
²⁷ Ibid. p.22

livelihood framework, what encourages people to perform as they do, what is first important thing they should do, how they should respond to new opportunities and which presenting indicators should be used to judge support activity.

Apply concept to Phenomena: Korean Diasporas and Livelihood Frameworks

However, here, I would concentrate mainly on the approach of Livelihood frameworks as I expected that it would well describe the contemporary generation of Korean diasporas in Japan's daily lives. The livelihood frameworks concentrate on 'the rest of activities' and 'various options' that contemporary-generation of Korean diasporas in Japan have selected their livelihood strategies based on their restricted access to capital resources and citizenship rights are as follows:²⁸

Figure 2.2: LIVELIHOODS FRAMEWORK



Source: Concern, 2003: 16

²⁸ Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches (SLAs). Available from: <http://www.livelihoods.org/SLdefn.html>. (2012, October 2)

- **Human Capitals:** In the old generation of Korean Diaspora in Japan, Korean family members may not be diverse from other families. Unlike the young generation of Korean Diasporas, they tend to marry with Japanese citizens for obtaining citizenship to their offspring and finding who can possess livelihood resources etc. 'Employment' of Korean diasporas are a similar pattern. Korean Diasporas are not allowed to cross over provincial borders neither for working nor studying. Therefore, most of them work as the merchants at small business in service sectors such as local (black) market, Pachinko or gambling.

- **Natural Capitals:** Korean Diasporas have no right to hold the legal land where production grows. As a result, they can manufacture some agricultural products in small plans which rented from land owners. Natural resources which Korean Diasporas receive from nature, they specify the resources from sea are major natural capital.

- **Social Capitals:** This capital is understood as the important factor which Korean Diasporas represent in searching of their livelihood objectives. These embrace networks of connecting which raise people's ability to work together and linkage to other capitals assets which can help in increasing security. These included association in both nation and local networks such as Mindan Organization, Mintoren Organization, ethnic Korean Schools in Japan, Korean Buddhist temple in Japan etc.

- **Financial Capitals:** Korean Diasporas point out the important role played by social capital in accessing financial capital. They organized saving system by themselves, because they cannot gain benefit from bank service without

Japanese citizen status. Korean Diasporas thus created the center activity that encourages collaboration and connection of Korean Diasporas communities.

- **Physical Capital:** Korean diasporas has no right to possess their livelihood resources which need certificate such as house, car, etc. 'Social capital' is again the important factor for dealing with their limitation. They therefore recommend and let their relatives, or even neighbor who is approved citizenship to be the owner of these resources. Therefore, they may be able to employ these 'physical capital' for creating a living.

In conclusion, many reasons motivate people to transfer their resource, incomes and activities. Doing and completing more than one task at the same time are cited as a way to remunerate for momentary crisis situations. It is a strategy to deal with insecurity or to reduce risk and might relate to a sense of well-being. In view of on Sustainable Livelihood Framework 'livelihood strategies' were identified as 'sets of activities' and 'diverse options or choices' which were blended for using to achieve their livelihoods goal. These strategies are made from processes that included multi-approaches to response the contrasted 'needs' depended on the contexts of times, geographies and economic levels. Sustainable Livelihood Framework may not be included 'power and rights' as capital asset of people on 'making of a living'.

2.2. The related previous researches

This part represents some of the previous study that strongly has an effect on this study. In addition, the purposes of related researches were regarded as the original source of studying this study.

‘Koreans in Japan Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation’ written by Changsoo Lee and George de Vos, (2008)

This research demonstrated that Forcing Korean migration to Japan during colonial period was the most important migration one in the East Asian continent. There are Korean populations in Japan nowadays approximately 600,000 people have not transform permanently to Japanese nationality yet and have been kept Alien Status (Korean Residents in Japan). Although contemporary-Korean Residents has realized how hard they have to survive in this Japan homogenous society, for example, the prejudicing, the discrimination, the exclusion, the assimilation etc., It is strongly hard to get in touch with these people since they are not brave enough to reveal their own nationality because it may have been affected on their livelihoods in Japan society. This result causes a lack of inspiration in encouraging representing their rights to against excessive treatment in Japanese society.

Changsoo Lee and George de Vos represent many essential facts about Koreans in Japan, especially their original history, their present social status, and their economic role in Japanese society. This research has four main points as following:

1. The legal status of Koreans in Japan is still the same that it should get higher than now.
2. The unofficial social status of Koreans in Japan experiences from much undetectable discrimination in Japanese society.

3. Service business, small business possessor, and marketing businesses are the major working areas of Koreans in Japan.

4. The joblessness rate of Koreans in Japan is much more increasing than that any other ethnic minorities in Japan

Changsoo Lee and George de Vos provide an investigation of the above findings from in-depth interviews and the long experiences in Japan. They also have other observations that Koreans in Japan have faced to such an unequal status, in addition to historical aggression.

First, some observations describe Koreans in Japan are too violent, harsh, and they attempt to make a trouble. For example the case of comfort women, the fake history textbooks, and the movement against the Yaskuni Shinsha etc. These events are sufficient to let Koreans in Japan leaving normal Japanese with powerfully negative perceptions of Koreans in Japan.

Second, most of Koreans in Japan workplaces in Japan have generally focus on hazardous service business for example Pachinko- a combination of slot machine and pinball-, gambling etc.

Third, the continuous clash between the Mindan and the Chongryon often has volatility an effect on anxiety in Japanese society.

Fourth, the Japanese's perception through the Republic of South Korea and Koreans in Japan are different entities. To say that, the Japanese sights South Korean as reputable and highly acknowledged partner as both of two countries mentioned on effectively co- hosting the World Cup. South Korea has a rapid growth in information technology industries and Korea's hosting of the Asian Games. However

the Japanese is liable to view Koreans in Japan as a group of people who left Korea for a number of different and complex reasons.

Although the stories mentioned may seem to be dark, the business relationship between South Korea and Koreans in Japan has been rather remarkable during the past four decades. For example, there are a few Japanese businesses organized by Koreans in Japan which invest seriously in Korea, and many of them have been quite booming like Lotte, Kolon, Shindorico, and Shinhan Bank.

Changsoo Lee and George de Vos concluded that Koreans in Japan' today may still be sight as violent, harsh, selfish, etc. Nevertheless, as the Japanese economy becomes increasing and obvious looking. Koreans in Japan might have worked for Japan firstly, and for South Korea later, to make the economy more competitive and dynamic.

'Zainichi (Koreans in Japan): Diasporic Nationalism and Postcolonial Identity'

written by John Lie (2008).

This study concentrated on a fact about the unsteadiness and complication of a postcolonial, diasporic identity in Japan called *Zainichi*, the literal translation of which would be "residing in Japan," with a predictable variation on its impermanence. Koreans in Japan matter have never been reminded in Japanese history discourse. They are being pushed to the boundaries until now. In fact, they have been trying to struggle against unequal treatment for decades so that they can call for their own identity—their movement, their network organization etc--.. This study has two important points as following:

1. Identity Approach: The essential factors; economic, social, political, education, and the way of routine life of Korean Diasporas, and the pushing to boundaries, strongly encourage them to call for their own rights to liberally survive in their own space within Japanese homogenous society.

2. The ethnic Korean identity transformed to Japanese identity may have provided them 'new ethnic identity', which happened during trans-bordering between Japan and South Korea. This kind of Korean identity might have not been both ethnic Korean and ethnic Japan. They in fact created the new ethnic identity called "Zainichi Korean" as John Lie mentioned that

"The exploration for conviction in something as confused, and changing as personal identity seems mislaid. The attempt, which perhaps belongs more correctly in the realm of the aesthetic or the spiritual, social scientists out of their depth, seduced as they might be by the goal and deluded as they might be about their success."²⁹

John Lie illustrated that some of ethnic Koreans has been still kept maintaining their cultural, value and traditions although they are being unequally treated—the discrimination, the assimilation—in their routine lives, which affect to the changing of ethnic Japanese and ethnic Korean.

²⁹ John Lie. 2008. 'Zainichi (Koreans in Japan): Diasporic Nationalism and Postcolonial Identity'. Berkeley: University of California. p.206.

‘Diaspora without Homeland: Being Korean in Japan.’ written by Sonia Ryang and John Lie (2009)

This study has concentrated on the matters of the origins of the Korean Diaspora in Japan during the colonial era and the post-colonial era in various aspects. It was founded that Japan-based Koreans population who have not naturalized yet approximately 600,000 people and around 200,000 people have transformed to Japanese nationality. Korean Diasporas population nowadays consists of both North and South Koreans existing in Japan. Those who started a first step and yet incomplete journey after post-colonial era in Japan shared same notion of the disagreement between the visible and the invisible- with unequal situation to the Korean Diaspora in Japan.

The injustice prejudice incidents to Korean Diaspora in Japan until now are important factors effecting on both physical and mental matter. Korean Diaspora is the ethnic minorities still being experience to the all discrimination, prejudicing and stereotypes as well the exclusion. However the endeavor to participation of Korean Diasporas communities and their offspring in Japan has been struggling against all unequal treatment of Japan.

In conclusion, there are a number of scholars who have studied this part of the Korean diaspora as their thesis in both domestic and international universities as well as research conducted by various institutes/organizations. There are several key areas that have been addressed in previous related studies such as the following:

- Diasporic nationalism and postcolonial identity of Koreans in Japan.
- Forced Korean labor in Japan during the colonial era.

- The perceptions and attitudes of the Japan government / private sector / communities regarding the Korean community.
- Discrimination and prejudice in Japanese society against Koreans.
- The political, economic and socio-cultural consequences of Korean immigration during the colonial period.
- The official actions of the Japanese government / communities towards Korean communities in Japan.

All previous studies have concentrated on historical treatment regarding ethnicity, identity, discrimination and human rights etc. They have not covered the topic of Korean people's daily lives in modern Japanese society. Therefore, this research has attempted to include more recent perceptions related to the strategies of contemporary Korean residents in Japan for adapting in Japanese society while maintaining their own ethnic identity. It is hoped that this can be a successful attempt to overcome the limitations of the previous studies. This research should further our understanding the situation of ethnic Koreans living in Japan, for example, how they cope when faced with unfair treatment, how they plan and carry out livelihood strategies, how they achieve their desired livelihood outcomes with limited access and assets, and the overall impact of these strategies on their lives and communities.

CHAPTER III

VARIOUS IDENTITIES OF THE CONTEMPORARY-GENERATION OF KOREANS IN JAPAN: ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION AND PREJUDICE IN JAPAN SOCIETY

“I think that I’ll never talk about Korean characteristic anymore. Although I’m Korean, I know nothing about its culture, food, history, or anything about Korea. On the other hand, I’d rather consider myself as Japanese people. I’m more fluent in Japanese than Korean. I think that my identity nowadays causes troubles to me everywhere I go. No matter I feel it or not, or no matter I want it or not, my identity will definitely affects my daily life.”

(Keiko Fikscher, born in 1981, female)³⁰

“I always think that keeping Korean identity is nonsense. My friend’s family has already transferred their nationality to Japanese and I think it is the right thing. Since we were born and grew up in Japan, we have no idea of going back to Korea. So why don’t we become Japanese? However, I cannot change my nationality to Japanese because I won’t become real Japanese by doing that. Moreover, I’ll be very regretful, if I do so. It is ungrateful to our ancestry who

³⁰ Interview Keiko Fikscher, 12 January 2013.

gave birth to us. Until now, I still have a question in my mind about what actually we are.” (Yong Gu Chon, born in 1986, male)³¹

From the interview given by the contemporary-generation of Koreans in Japan, we can see the confliction about attitude towards maintaining Korean identity in Japanese society. The first interviewee, Keiko Fikscher, prefers transferring nationality to Japan and does not want to maintain Korean identity. However, the second interviewee, Yong Gu Chon, said that although he wants to become Japanese, he cannot transfer his nationality because from the bottom of his heart he respects his Korean ancestors both the deceased and the living. Therefore, we can see that their ideas are totally different and the main reason that makes their attitudes different is the differences of environment they live in when they were young, their education, and their experience in racial discrimination. These factors make their attitude and their way of life in Japanese society different.

The Contemporary Koreans in Japan (third and fourth generation that were born in Japan and currently reside in Japan today.) have encountered problems and ethnic discrimination while living in Japan. They are the group that can overcome the hardship and aim to maintain their own identity. However, the ideas to cope with the predicaments in Japanese society and to obtain the freedom are not the only unique idea any more. The Contemporary-generation of Koreans in Japan have different views to cope with these predicament and maintain Korean identity in Japanese society such as some groups of Koreans prefer compromising with Japan by building a relationship with Japan through the blending of social and cultural area, while some group of Koreans choose to strictly maintain their own identity through

³¹ Interview Yong Gu Chon, 18 January 2013.

studying in Korean school in Japan since early childhood etc. Therefore, the Contemporary-generation of Koreans in Japan has various attitudes towards Japanese society. The lifestyle of the contemporary-generation of Koreans in Japan will be subject to experience that they have encountered with racial discrimination from Japanese society.

3.1. The common circumstances of the contemporary-generation of Korean Diasporas in Japan since 1980.

Information from Institute of Population Research and Training, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications states that in 1996 there were 657,159 Korean expatriates, both South and North Korean, living in Japan, in other words 46.4% of total 1,415,136³² expatriates in Japan. Most of the Korean living in Japan nowadays is in third or fourth generation. They were born and grew up in Japan. They have a Japanese way of life e.g. studying in Japanese school and speaking Japanese. They also consider a Japanese lifestyle as their first principle. However, Japanese Nationality Law has clearly gone against the expatriates. The Law stated that Japanese citizenship is not subject to the birthplace but the lineage of the person. Therefore, anyone who was born in Japan but the parents do not have Japanese nationality cannot obtain Japanese citizenship automatically.³³ This is why Korean residents nowadays are not granted the full right and status that a citizen should

³² Japan Statistical Yearbook. Statistics Research and Training Institute. Ministry of International Affairs and Communications. 2005.

³³ The Japanese Nationality Law (Law No.147 of 1950, as amended by Law No.268 of 1952, Law No.45 of 1984, Law No.89 of 1993 and Law.No.147 of 2004, Law No.88 of 2008). (Online). The ministry of Justice. Available from <http://www.moj.go.jp/ENGLISH/information/tnl-01.html.pdf>. (2012, December 24)

have. Apart from that, the discrimination issues still remain with Korean expatriates in Japan so far.

TABLE 3.1: REGISTERED FOREIGN RESIDENT IN JAPAN BY NATIONALITY

Year	N & S Korea	China	Philippines	U.S.A.	Brazil	Peru	Other	Total
1947	598,507	32,889	240	2,249			5,483	639,368
1950	544,903	40,481	367	4,962	169		7,814	598,696
1955	577,682	43,865	435	8,566	361		10,573	641,482
1960	581,257	45,535	390	11,594	240	40	11,510	650,566
1965	583,537	49,418	539	15,915	366	88	16,126	665,989
1970	614,202	51,481	932	19,045	891	134	21,773	708,458
1975	647,156	48,728	3,035	21,976	1,418	308	29,221	751,842
1980	664,536	52,896	5,547	22,401	1,492	348	35,690	782,910
1985	683,940	74,924	12,261	29,044	1,955	480	48,635	850,612
1990	687,940	150,339	49,092	38,364	56,429	10,279	82,874	1,075,317
1995	666,376	222,991	74,297	43,198	176,440	36,269	142,800	1,362,317
2000	635,269	335,575	144,871	44,856	254,394	46,171	225,308	1,686,444
2001	632,405	381,225	156,667	46,244	265,962	50,052	245,907	1,778,462
2002	625,422	424,282	169,359	47,970	268,332	51,772	264,621	1,851,758
2003	613,791	462,396	185,237	47,836	274,700	53,649	277,421	1,915,030

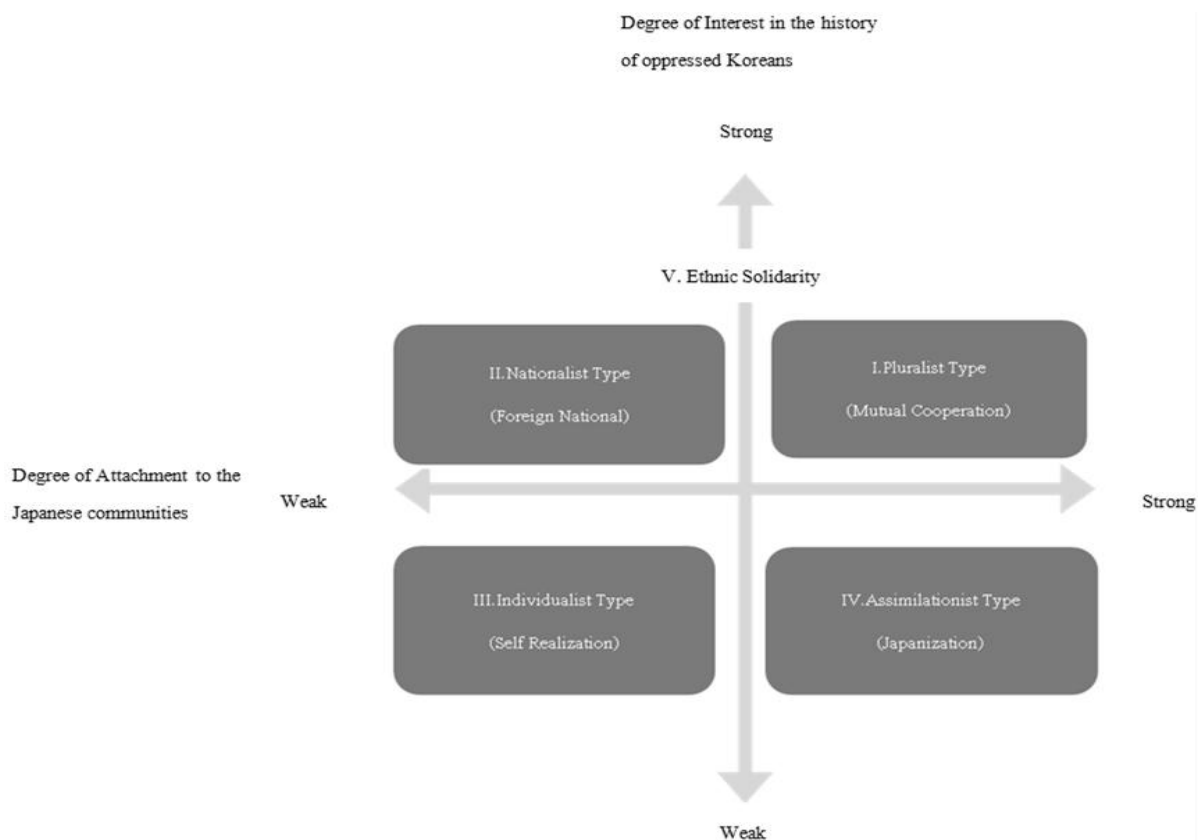
Source: Statistics Research and Training Institute, 2005

The table 3.1 indicates number of foreign resident in Japan who registering the status by nationalist. As you can see, the number of Koreans in Japan since the end of World War II up to now has continuously increased and it is greatest as compared to other groups of minorities in Japan. Many Koreans who were born and grew up in Japanese society after World War II have to face various obstacles in the society and they can struggle against the problems. Actually, contemporary-generation of Koreans in Japan who are young people is the group that is trying to appreciate and be conscious of Korean identity, while being in the situation that they

are surrounded by the blending of Japanese culture in Korean society in Japan. Their consciousness is originated from the unfair experiences they have encountered, such as being discriminated from Japanese society, facing and accepting the truth that they are differentiated from the Japanese. As compared to the first generation of Korean diaporas in Japan who has close relation to their motherland, those in second generation and so on were born and grew up in Japan. They study in Japanese school and they are not familiar to Korean culture. However, from the past up to the present day most of the Korean residents in Japan have encountered discrimination directly and indirectly in their daily life.

However, when Koreans in Japan have to face with nationality dispute, they start to seek for the way to overcome the dispute and create new way of life making them continue living in Japan society. They have tried to create various characteristics as the steady directions and identities. The directions of contemporary-generation of Korean diasporas in Japan can be described according to the writing of Fukuoka and Tsujiyama, (1991), in which the differences between characteristics of contemporary-generation of Korean residents in Japan and the former generations are described. The different characteristics in terms of identities of contemporary-generation of Korean residents in Japan can be categorized into one of the four main groups which contain each major characteristic based on their attitudes towards the discrimination from Japanese society. Two main points which are “Degree of Attachment to the Japanese community” and “Degree of Interest in the history of oppressed Koreans” are the factors of characteristics and identities of contemporary-generation of Korean diasporas in Japan which can be defined into 4 types as figure 3.1:

FIGURE 3.1: CLASSIFICATORY FRAMEWORK FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY BY YOUNG ZAINICHI KOREANS



Source: Fukuoka and Tsujiyama, 1991: 128

1. Pluralist: The major characteristic of contemporary-generation of Korean expatriates in Japan is “living together and respect each other’s difference,” and they can be described as “the group that adapts themselves to Japanese culture.” Most of them do not have strict pattern or idea about living in Japan. They do not clearly identify themselves as Korean originated from Korea or Korean living in Japan. In contrary, they choose to create new status and existence as Zainichi Koreans or Korean residents in Japan.

2. Nationalist: These contemporary-generation of Korean residents in Japan live as a “foreign population” and they can be described as “the group that emphasizes on their own motherland.” This group of Koreans in Japan isolates themselves out of Japanese society because they thought that no matter what they do, they are still discriminated and treated unfairly. Therefore, among the other group, this is the only one group that is likely to encounter the least discrimination.

3. Individualist: Characteristic of this group can be found mainly in Korean residents in Japan who study abroad or graduate from leading universities in Japan and those who are employed by foreign or leading companies in Japan. These contemporary Korean residents in Japan do not care about their identity or nationality. They would rather pay attention to personal liberty and rights. Therefore, they can be described as “the group that has their own target or personal aim.”

4. Assimilationist: This group of contemporary-generation of Korean expatriates in Japan aims to become Japanese. They try to obtain Japanese culture in every way. They also try to hide their own identity and express their bad attitude towards the Koreans in order to conceal their origin as people of Korean descents. The only reason of their action is to prevent any discrimination and unfair treatment in Japanese society they living in. Therefore, they can be described as “the group that is blended by Japanese culture and thought.”

However, after considering the figure 3.1, there will be a group of Koreans who cannot be put under any one of the categories, which is the Ethnic solidarity. Most people in this group are Korean who join Mindan Organization or The Korean Resident’s Union in Japan (Japan: Seinenkai). The characteristic of this group

emphasized on protecting rights of Korean expatriates in Japan and developing cooperation between Korean expatriates in Japan to become stronger, including trying to fight for Korean expatriates in Japan to receive the rights to legally live in Japan without changing nationality. Apart from that, they also develop Korean language, support recognition of Korean culture and support using Korean language etc.

3.2. The type of racial discrimination encountered by contemporary-generation of Koreans in Japan

3.2.1. The racial discrimination in land and property

The contemporary Koreans in Japan have faced the issues on ownership of land and accommodation for a long time. Up to now the real estate agents refuse to sell land and accommodation to them. In 1989, Korean residents in Osaka filed a petition to the provincial court against a real estate agent and relevant government section that discriminate them by preventing them to possess the land on their own. Later the Koreans in other provinces who still encounter the same issue have gathered together in order to fight against the racial discrimination in land and accommodation ownership for the Koreans.

This research provides interview of Yong Gu Chon that mentioned about the racial discrimination in land and accommodation ownership for the Koreans in Japan at the present time. This story is about his oldest sister Young Tae-Won who also married Korean residents in Japan and wants to have their own house.

“Before getting married, they consulted the real estate agent about buying new house after they got married. When they met

the real estate agency, they got brochures showing the details about many patterns of houses that have just built. The real estate agent even offered special price for them because they are newlywed. They started to take a look at the information of each house but when the real estate agent knew that they are Korean, he took back the brochures and told them that, 'you're not allow to own any property.' They went to other real estate agents but they got the same answer that they are prevented to own land or house.”³⁴

3.2.2. The racial discrimination in employment

After the end of World War II, Koreans in Japan have been obstructed to work for both Japanese government and private section. The issue of preventing Korean people from working in Japanese companies that happened and well known is “Mr.Park Chong Sok (1974)” when he filed a petition to court after he got fired by Hitachi Company because the company found out the truth that he is a person of Korean descent which is not comply with the application form that he used a Japanese name to apply for a job. Later in 1974 the court has announced that Hitachi Company was guilty Mr.Park Chong Sok's firing order was canceled and he was back to work in the company. From the case of Mr.Park Chong Sok, most of the employers both in government and private section in Japan start paying attention to this issue. Subsequently, the companies prepare a tougher policy on filling application form in order to prevent the Koreans from illegally apply for a job. As a result, employment discrimination towards the Koreans in Japan becomes stronger.

³⁴ Interview Yong Gu Chon, 18 January 2013.

Current circumstances of employment discrimination still prevent the Korean residents in Japan from getting their dream job to the fullest extent. They still have to face the discrimination issues in Japanese society both for the issues that occur in reality and the issues that occur according to the law. Most importantly, this issue had led to the suicide of many Koreans in Japan because they are discriminated from doing the job by Japanese society and become hopeless in their employment. Therefore, Koreans' employment in Japan society is still limited, although the employment discrimination has been decreased due to the movement of the Korean population in Japan against the unfair treatment of Japanese society. The employment of most Koreans are still limited to lower class job such as day labor and personal service business e.g. business owner, Pachinko-- gambling, barbeque shop owner, steel dealer, and retail constructor.

Kwon Young Ah gave an interview about the employment discrimination that she has experienced when she applied for a job at a Japanese Company recently that

“Actually I don't want to do the job that I don't like. In that case, the performance will be even worse. When we enjoy our job, we'll happy to do it. I don't like the job that has to sit at a desk in the office, just passed the time. I feel that it's boring. I want something more excited, something that will improve my ability and lead me to international level. So the only job is my mind is flight attendance at an airline company in Japan. For Asian, flight attendance is a job you can be proud of and it is always interesting. I can remember that there is an employment consultant

center at the Japanese school that I studied in high school.

So I went there for consultant and filled in the application form to apply for the position of flight attendance at an airline company in Japan, without knowing about Korean discrimination in Japan.

I specified in the application form that I am Korean. After that,

I went back to the job application place and found out that there is no way I can get this job because this airline has never hired a Korean before. I was refused by a travel agency in Japan as well.

Finally a Korean airline hired me and I have an extra job as a teacher and translator.”³⁵

3.2.3. The racial discrimination in voting rights.

Generally, the issue on the right to vote in election is the last chapter of the equal right for citizen in Korean residents in Japan. Although the expectation in right to vote in local level is higher, they still encounter with many complicated situations. As mentioned earlier, attitudes and characteristic of Koreans in Japan can be categorized in many directions.

Yong Gu Chon, a contemporary-generation of Koreans in Japan who has not transferred to Japanese nationality and still lives in Japan at the present time, gave us an interview about his feeling towards the issue on the right to vote that

“When the election date is approaching, there are many competitors run campaigns and the posters will be attached everywhere. It makes

³⁵ Interview Kwon Young-Ah, 2 January 2013.

me hurt because I am not permitted to be Japanese citizen, so I have no right to vote in election. I feel that I don't have any power as the election came. I can't even express my political opinion. I don't understand why I don't have a right to vote in election just like Japanese people, even though I pay taxes to the government and complete my tasks as assigned.”³⁶

3.2.4. The racial discrimination in Marriage.

Marriage between Japanese and contemporary Korean residents in Japan is still complicated and debatable. Attitude of the Koreans in Japan and the Japanese in contemporary society have more tendency to get married each other. In contrast, attitude of Koreans in Japan and the Japanese in older generation or in the parents' generation tend to object the interracial marriage. The older generation of Korean or the parents' generation does not agree with interracial marriage because if they were treated unfairly and discriminated to be a part of society or to have an equal right as compared to the Japanese. Apart from that, they raise the issue of keeping Korean descent as another reason to prevent interracial marriage between Japanese and Korean in Japan.

In contrary, there were many cases that the Japanese also object the interracial marriage between Japanese and Korean in Japan after knowing that the person is Korean born in Japan. However, marriage between Japanese and Korean in Japan tends to increase. In 1995, out of 8,953 Koreans in Japan who got married,

³⁶ Interview Yong Gu Chon, 18 January 2013.

only 1,485 or about 16.6% married the Koreans, while there were 7,363 or about 82.2% of Koreans in Japan married Japanese people. This statistic includes Koreans that were transferred and not transferred to Japanese nationality and also the Korean couples that were born in Japan.³⁷

TABLE 3.2: MARRIAGES INVOLVING KOREANS IN JAPAN

<i>Year</i>	<i>A</i> <i>Husband: K*</i> <i>Wife: J**</i>	<i>B</i> <i>Wife: K</i> <i>Husband: J</i>	<i>C</i> <i>K-J marriages</i> <i>(A+B)</i>	<i>D</i> <i>All-K</i> <i>marriages</i>	<i>Total</i> <i>(C+D+others)</i> <i>Cases (%)</i>
1960	862 (24.5)	310 (8.8)	1,172 (33.3)	2,315 (65.7)	3,524 (100.0)
1965	1,128 (19.8)	843 (14.8)	1,971 (34.6)	3,681 (64.7)	5,693 (100.0)
1970	1,386 (20.1)	1,536 (22.3)	2,922 (42.4)	3,879 (56.3)	6,892 (100.0)
1975	1,554 (21.4)	1,994 (27.5)	3,584 (48.9)	3,618 (49.9)	7,249 (100.0)
1980	1,651 (22.8)	2,458 (33.9)	4,109 (56.6)	3,061 (42.2)	7,255 (100.0)
1985	2,525 (29.3)	3,622 (42.0)	6,147 (71.3)	2,404 (27.9)	8,627 (100.0)
1990	2,721 (19.5)	8,940 (64.2)	11,661 (83.7)	2,195 (15.8)	13,934 (100.0)
1991	2,666 (22.8)	6,969 (59.7)	9,635 (82.5)	1,961 (16.8)	11,677 (100.0)
1992	2,804 (27.4)	5,537 (54.1)	8,341 (81.4)	1,805 (17.6)	10,242 (100.0)
1993	2,762 (28.5)	5,068 (52.2)	7,830 (80.7)	1,781 (18.4)	9,700 (100.0)
1994	2,686 (29.1)	4,851 (52.6)	7,537 (81.7)	1,616 (17.5)	9,228 (100.0)
1995	2,842 (31.7)	4,521 (50.5)	7,363 (82.2)	1,485 (16.6)	8,953 (100.0)

* K is an abbreviation of Korean.

** J is an abbreviation of Japanese.

Source: Ministry of Health and Welfare (ed.), 2005

The table 3.2 shows the tendency of marriage between Korean and Japanese since 1960-1990 done by Japanese Government. In 1990, number of Koreans in Japan who married Japanese people has increased to about 13,934 persons from 8,627 in 1985. We can see that the number of Koreans in Japan who married Japanese people has increased for about 5,307 persons within only five years. Among the increasing number, the Koreans in Japan who married Japanese people are more likely to be Japanese men and Korean women.

³⁷ Fukuoka Yasunori and Tsujiyama Yukiko. Young Koreans Against ethnic discrimination in Japan: A case study of grassroots and networking-style movement (Mintoren). Tokyo: Shinkansha. 1991. p.119.

It can be concluded that marriage between Koreans and Japanese will increase every year. Apart from that, there is another interesting conclusion that the number of marriage between Korean women and Japanese men is higher than the Korean men and Japanese women. The major reason is because the attitude of the parents' generation of the Koreans in Japan still considers the JESA an important rite for paying respect to ancestor. The rite can be performed only by the father and son of the family. The wife, daughter and daughter-in-law have to wait outside because they are not allowed to attend the rite. Therefore, most of the Korean family does not want their sons to marry Japanese women because they have to change nationality to Japanese right away and there will be no one to inherit the rite, while the daughters of Korean family in Japan are more likely to be allowed to get married with the Japanese.

Kwon Young-Ah, a Korean who was born and grew up in Japan and hasn't transferred the nationality to Japanese gave us an interview about the issue on marriage that

“I feel that the issue on interracial marriage between Japanese people and Korean residents in Japan is a new problem we encounter nowadays. There is high possibility that Koreans who was born and grew up in Japanese society and Japanese people will fall in love to each other because they thought that the other person is Japanese people, and Koreans normally use Japanese alias in order to disclose their nationality from their boy/girlfriend in the initial stage of their relationship. After they decided to be serious with their relationship, they would start to discuss on this.

Generally, Korean parents will be responsible for finding husband for their daughter and they choose only Korean people because they think that the Japanese son-in-law may cause racial discrimination or prejudice from Japanese society. Not only Korean parents in Japanese society, Korean parents in the motherland still consider finding husband for their daughter as an important custom. They believe that finding the husband for their daughter by themselves is better than allowing their daughter to hire the matchmaker company, in which there is no guarantee whether the man presented by the company is good or not.

Interracial marriage between Korean expatriates and Japanese people will be objected by the family of both sides with various reasons. In my opinion, Korean expatriates in Japan may think that getting married with Japanese people may not be so good, while Japanese parents do not want their child to marry to Korean people. In the case that they really get married, some bridegroom's family, both the Korean and the Japanese, do not allow the bride to wear their national costume in the wedding ceremony. For Korean brides, they aren't allowed to wear Hanbok, and for Japanese bride,

they are absolutely not allowed to wear Shiromuka in wedding ceremony.”³⁸

3.2.5. The racial discrimination in Assimilation.

We can say that contemporary-generation of Korean expatriates who lives in Japan until now do not have any differences from Japanese people. The general tendency of the life and recognition of young Korean people in Japan focuses on blending with Japanese culture and society. The characteristic of the cultural blending of the Korean in contemporary Japan is different from the older generations that are forced to accept cultural blending. In this generation cultural blend is absorbed through nurture and growing up in Japanese society. In this research, the two major issues that young Korean people in Japan has on cultural blend are presented;

1.) Education Assimilation

With regard to education, most of the Koreans who are in school age and using Japanese name instead of their Korean name chose to study in Japanese public and private school. In 1986, from the total number of North Korean and South Korean children in Japan who attend primary and secondary school of about 150,000 people, 130,000 people or 86% attended Japanese schools, while 20,000 people or 14% chose to study in Korean schools, 13% of the Korean schools managed by

³⁸ Interview Kwon Young-Ah, 2 January 2013.

Chongryun and 1% managed by Mindan. However, the number of Korean people who attend Korean schools seems to constantly lower.³⁹

Therefore, Korean people who attend Japanese schools will get the education not as a Korean but as a Japanese person. They will not be taught any Korean language or culture. Their classmates in school and society also have prejudice against them. For example, Most of Japanese schools develop the negative image of the Koreans. Teachers also teach the students to discriminate and object Korean people, leading the Koreans to change their name into Japanese in order to prevent themselves from racial discrimination from their classmates and teachers.

At the same time, some Korean students choose to study in Korean schools which are managed by the support of Chongryun organization (Pro-North Korea). From the survey in 1993, there are 81 primary schools of Korean, 57 secondary schools, 12 high schools, and 1 university. However, there are only 4 schools that are supported by the group that support South Korea.⁴⁰ Although after the end of World War II onwards the Korean schools in Japan were objected and forced by Japanese government, these schools are still able to survive by financial support from Korean people in Japan.

Although the financial support can make the schools survive, the Ministry of Education did not formally accept Korean schools in Japan. For example, in 2004 the Korean students in Japan who graduated a high school level did not allow to attend

³⁹ Fukuoka Yasunori and Tsujiyama Yukiko. 1991. Young Koreans Against ethnic discrimination in Japan: A case study of grassroots and networking-style movement (Mintoren). Tokyo: Shinkansha. p.118

⁴⁰ Ibid., p.118.

the national examination to enter National University or in case of private university or local university, Korean people in Japan are not allow to study without the permission from Central University.

The interview below is about education discrimination of Inogawa Oki translated by Kawashima Megumi, the main point of which is as follows:

“I was on my way to school and I heard someone shout at me
‘Go back to your hometown (Korea)’.

On the street, I heard

‘Go back to your hometown (Korea)’.

When I took a train, I heard

‘Go back to your hometown (Korea)

or else go to hell’.

I continued hearing this but we don’t pay attention to those words.

That’s why Japanese people are frustrated, so sometimes they choose to hurt the Korean student, especially the girls. Some tears their Hanbok school uniform. Japanese government in that period just said ‘I didn’t hurt them. I sit on the chair here. Fifty years have passed after the end of Korean colony. The history of invasion has rooted down into the darkness. After the invasion, there is more racial discrimination in Japanese society.’ After the Prime Minister’s words (Priminister Kaifu), there is no apology. They only said that the harassment is the general problem that normally occurs in Japanese school. However, we still hear the same scolding voice telling us to ‘Go back to your hometown (Korea)’ as usual.”

2.) Using Japanese name Assimilation.

Basically, the use of alias by Korean people in Japan is different from the use of alias in general, such as pen name for writing purpose, pseudonym for acting purpose etc. The alias by Korean people in Japan will be chosen by personal reason without any rules. The use of alias is semiformal, meaning that this Japanese alias will be used in official documents.

Normally Korean people in Japan will use surname that is inherited from their ancestors, while the parents will be the one who give them the first name. The alias would be typed in the alien registration card by putting in parentheses next to their legally name, such as Kimura Mayumi (Ryo Mayumi) --Ryo. In this case the surname is in Korea but pronounced as Japanese word. However, there are some Koreans who want to protect their pride in their own identity. They would omit the Japanese alias from the official documents. From the survey of population census of foreigner living in Kanagawa in 1984, it was found that more than 90% of Korean living there added the alias after their Korean name and more than 80% of them use Japanese name to apply for a job at Japanese Company.⁴¹

The major reason that Korean people in Japan use the alias is because they believe that it can prevent the objection and unfair discrimination in Japan society, such as the event that the first and second generation Korean residents in Japan have encountered, in which they cannot apply for a job in Japanese Company because they use Korean name to apply for a job. No matter which level they have

⁴¹ Yasunori Fukuoka. Lives of Young Koreans in Japan. Translated by Tom Gill. Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press. 2000. p.28

graduated, the possibility to get a job at Japanese company is very low. Therefore, Korean people in Japan have less choice for choosing the job. Most of them decided to run their own small family business such as Yakiniku Restaurant, or casino etc.

In conclusion, the cultural blending by using Japanese name can be summarized that the first generation of Korean people lived in the Japan colony period were forced by the government to use Japanese name under the cultural blending policy. The second generation of Korean people who live in Japan after the end of World War II did not forced to use Japanese name any longer. In contrary, they prefer using Japanese name in order to prevent the unfair discrimination from Japanese society. Later in the third and fourth generation, Korean people in contemporary Japan are more familiar to using Japanese name than using Korean name.

CHAPTER IV

WORLD OF KOREAN DIASPORAS: STRATEGIES FOR LIVING IN CONTEMPORARY JAPANESE SOCIETY

The research in this chapter shows Korean diasporas' life in contemporary Japan. In the research, instead of presenting the study on individual, I would rather focus on overall Korean diasporas in Japan. Although the Korean diasporas in Japan can be categorized into many groups as mentioned in Chapter 3, the overall image of Korean diasporas in contemporary Japan in terms of their living helps us to understand the minority group of Korean diasporas in Japan even better.

Contemporary Korean diasporas in Japan have encountered not only "alienation" status, but prejudice and other ways of discrimination also. Japanese people generalized them as the troublemakers, selfish and dishonest person, and criminal etc. In other words, the discourse of alienation towards Korean expatriates in Japan make the displaced Koreans stuck in the situation that they are not allow to negotiate with contemporary Japanese society in terms of relationship.

Korean diasporas have sought the way to express the existence of Korean residents in Japan and change the relation in terms of power in alienation status by focusing on providing new meaning to the areas of life that is suitable for the situation and people that they encounter. It is found that for Korean residents in Japan, apart from doing the work that is mostly related to Japanese people such as service providers e.g. hotel, casino, etc. or private business e.g. market, restaurant,

etc., they also related to the other areas of life e.g. religious, traditional, and cultural area. Therefore the Korean residents in Japan have opportunities to define themselves as “Koreans people in Japan.” The opportunities are significant to express their existence and power to determine their own lives away from the pressure and discrimination from Japanese society at present time.

4.1. Definition of Korean diasporas and Experience of Displacement in Contemporary Japanese Society: Complexity of Koreans’ Living Strategies

Life in Japan of the Koreans is to live as aliens discriminated by the society and facing negative attitude, such as Korean residents in Japan are unreliable, Korean residents in Japan are the forever enemy of Japanese people, etc. Therefore, negative attitude or discrimination caused by Japanese society can be seen as the limitation of right and freedom of Korean residents in Japan to express their true identity. Therefore, the identity of Korean residents in Japan in view of Japanese people is fulfilled with racial discrimination. However Koreans in Japan never give up to these predicaments. On the other hand they seek for many optional ways for adjustment in order to create the area for Korean identity in Japanese society.

This research shows that contemporary-generation of Korean Diasporas in Japan uses the experience of their ancestors who suffered from Japan’s unequal treatment to apply as the strategies for daily life in Japanese society. Moreover contemporary Koreans in Japan have also adopted some of Livelihood Strategies The strategies are negotiation by sacrificing nationality from Korean to Japanese, negotiation through the movement of representative organization acting as the major mouthpiece to maintain Korean identity in Japan, and creation of mutual identity

among the race which can be sorted into the 3 areas that the Korean diasporas is related to, consisted of religious area, cultural and traditional area, and educational area.

4.1.1. Strategies for freedom from discrimination and rejection by Japanese society through naturalization

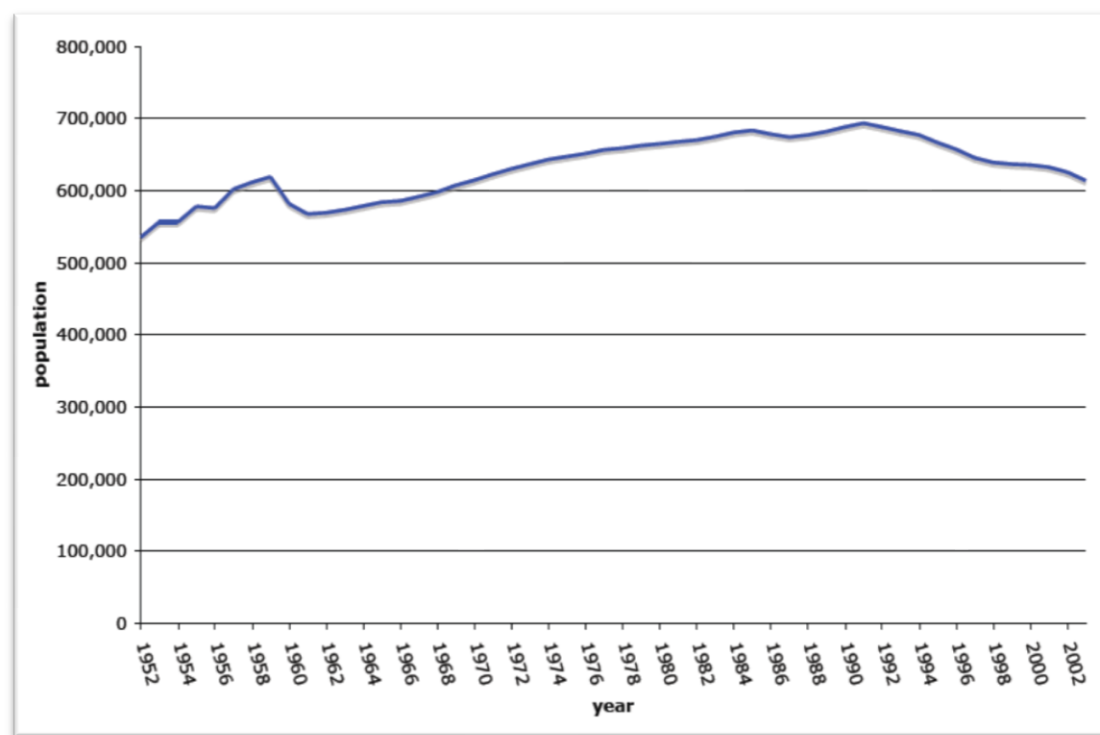
According to the population survey on Korean residents in Japan in late 1996, it is found that number of Korean expatriates in Japan was 657,159 in total. Out of this number, 548,968 Korean residents in Japan have obtained the special status for resident. This group of Koreans has settled down in Japan for a long time since their ancestors' age under the conditions and situations that they have encountered and suffered. The other Koreans of about 100,000 persons are the new immigrants who came directly from Korean Peninsula. They do not have any relation with the existing Koreans who settled down in Japan a while ago. The new groups are called the "newcomer" who entered Japan for various reasons such as for jobs, marriage, temporary education, training, etc.⁴²

Although in the view of people in general number of Korean populations in Japan is not much as compared to the entire Japanese populations, in order to prevent the Korean minority from having too much authority to make a demand or play an important role in politics and society, Japanese government set a policy called nationality transfer to prevent the excess of Koreans in Japan. This policy is likely to receive good responses because the statistic from the survey on number of populations done by Ministry of Justice shows that during 1952-1996, more than 200,000 Koreans had changed their nationality to Japanese. Apart from that, the

⁴²Michael Strausz. Minorities and Protest in Japan: The Politics of the Fingerprinting Refusal Movement. Pacific Affairs: Volume 79, No.4 Winter 2006-2007. 2006. p.647

survey on Korean residents in Japan from the statistic of Japan's Immigration Bureau shows that in 2005 out of 901,284 Koreans in Japan in total, there were 284,840 Koreans change their nationality to Japanese. The rest of Korean residents in Japan which are more than 3 of 4 people are in the group that were born and grew up Japan and hold the alien status.⁴³ The figure 4.1 shows the number of Korean Population residing in Japan after the end of World War II

FIGURE 4.1: POST-WAR ETHNIC KOREAN RESIDENTS IN JAPAN,
(1952-2003)



Source: HIROMITSU, 2006.

⁴³ Toshiyuki Tamura. The Status and Role of Ethnic Koreans in the Japanese Economy. Institute for International Economics. 2000. p.85

The main reason that some groups of Korean residents in Japan tend to transfer their nationality to Japanese is to subsistence and to live in Japan without racial discrimination and objection from Japanese society. Koreans in Japan who have transferred their nationality to Japanese will be called “The New Japanese”. An example of the interview by Korean expatriates in Japan in the writing of Yasunori Fukuoka called *Lives of Young Koreans in Japan* which is mentioned in this research present the attitudes and reasons of some Koreans in Japan who would like to transfer their nationality to Japanese.

“We live in Japanese society all the time. We’ve never known or realized about the Korean identity at all. Therefore, we thought that we’d rather become Japanese if possible. Perhaps being Japanese may be better than being Korean because everything in Japanese society will be more convenient and easier.”

(Tokumizu Mitsuo, born in 1981, male)

“I’ve decided that there’s no reason for me to be Korean citizens any longer. In fact, I think that my culture is more like Japanese than Korean. I’ve live in Japanese society for all my life, so do my parents. I don’t say that I’m not Korean but I think that race and citizenship are different things altogether. Transferring nationality to Japanese is normal, especially now when government make it easier to transfer nationality.”

(Shimasu Horo, born in 1985, male)⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Stephen Murphy Shigematsu. *Ethnic Diversity, Identity and Citizenship in Japan.* Harvard Asia Quarterly, Winter 2004, VIII (I):51-57. 2004. p.3

In fact, the process of nationality transfer is too complicate and too hard to explain in a definite and normal pattern. Ministry of Justice is responsible for most of the process of nationality transfer. Ministry of Justice has specified the qualification of expatriates who wants to transfer their nationality to Japanese as follows:

- 1.) The person must continuously live in Japan for more than 5 years onwards
- 2.) The person must be 20 years old and must not be disabled or infirmity
- 3.) The person must be well-behave
- 4.) The person must make a fortune or have ability to support one's self
- 5.) The person must not hold any nationality before or has just left one's nationality to be Japanese citizen; and
- 6.) The person must not be recorded as Japanese government protestor.⁴⁵

Apart from the reason that Koreans in Japan choose to transfer their nationality in order to prevent discrimination and unfair treatment, they also see that transferring nationality to Japanese will help their descendant to live smoothly in Japan. They think that although their descendants are Korean citizens, they do not have any knowledge or relation to Korea at all. Apart from that, living as Korean residents in Japan do not lead to any progress in life, on the other hand, it will make them fall behind due to internal conflict among Korean residents in Japan, for example the ideological dispute in Soren and Mindan groups who are the major supporters of North Korea and South Korea respectively. Therefore, transferring

⁴⁵ George Hicks. Japan's Hidden Apartheid: The Korean Minority and the Japanese. Vermont, USA: Asgate co.Ltd. 1998. p.87

nationality to make their children become Japanese citizens should be a way for better opportunities in education and society.

For the Korean, a change of nationality to Japanese is a solution (or the last solution) when they cannot negotiate with Japanese government and cannot live in Japanese society like Japanese people. Similarly, there is an issue on compensation for the World War II. In that period Korea is Japan's colony and Korean population were forced to join Japan's army, promising that there will be rewards for people who join the troops as honor of family. But in fact, contemporary Korean residents in Japan who used to be soldiers for Japan in World War II or those who are the descendant of the soldiers were refused to pay war compensation, even though Japanese law called the Civil Claims on Japan Application Law of 1971 and the Compensation Law state that war compensation shall be equally paid to expatriate soldiers who join Japanese army.⁴⁶ In 1987, Japan paid war compensation after World War II for about 2 million yen to families of Taiwanese soldiers who died in the war, while families of Korean residents in Japan have never received any compensation. The interview below is from the writing of George Hicks called Japan's Hidden Apartheid: The Korean Minority and the Japanese. It is an interview given by Choung Sang-In, Korean soldier who was forced to join Japanese army and had never receive any support from Japanese government.

“These days I'm still angry because Japanese government in the war period tried to unite Japan and Korea together but when the war ended, Japan ignored us and announced that Koreans living in Japan are just

⁴² Ibid., p.89

aliens who don't have any right in Japan. I took part in Japanese army in World War II and my left arm was injured until now. I've never been supported from Japanese government at all. Japanese government only suggested me that if I want to be fully compensated, I should transfer my nationality to become Japanese citizen because Japanese people who are soldiers in the war receive full compensation and benefits from the government.”

However, according to the act called The Special Relief Act that mentions about war compensation states that people who are not Japanese citizens i.e. Korean and Taiwanese will not get war compensation. But if Korean and Taiwanese transfer their nationality to Japanese, they will directly receive war compensation just like the Japanese. Subsequently, there were Korean residents in Japan who used to be soldiers in the war, including family of the soldiers who were killed or injured in the war, gather together in order to protest Japanese government and make a demand. The main objective of this protest is to be granted apology from Japanese government for hurting Korean people and to receive war compensation for both North and South Korean people in Japan and also to refuse the Domicile Register articles from the Protection Law. The protest resulted in 140 million yen war compensation from Japanese government paid to Korean soldiers who join the war and their families.

Although a change of nationality to Japanese can minimize the dispute between Japanese and Korean, the dispute among Korean residents in Japan increase. They divide into two groups which are the group that support transferring nationality to Japanese or (Pro-Japan Naturalization) and those who support Korean

nationality (Pro-Korea). The two groups seek for many reasons to justify themselves. For example, a Korean resident in Japan gave an interview in writing of Soo Im Lee that “I’ve never cared about transferring nationality to Japanese because transferring nationality is to sell Korean spirit for the Japanese to disparage.”⁴⁷ In the research of Asakawa Akihiro about Resident Koreans in Japan and the Naturalization Policy, the perspective of Korean residents in Japan who has already transferred their nationality to Japanese is presented as follows “I just wish that Japanese society would accept and listen to the opinion of Koreans and other expatriates more and should live together without discrimination and negative attitudes. Although I have transferred my nationality to Japan, I think there is nothing in me change. My Korean identity still remains the same up to now.”⁴⁸

It can be said that after transferring nationality to Japanese, there was an emergence of new identity which is the mixture of Korea and Japan. The new identity that emerged under a limited set of ideas was defined by some Koreans who transferred to Japanese as an identity of Zainichi Koreans. The issued on Korean-ness in new identity has been discussed among many academics until now. The academics agreed that after changed nationality, the identity of Korean citizens become even stronger because they used to face the same discrimination in Japanese society and were forced to change their name from Korean to Japanese etc.

Therefore, contemporary Koreans create a new law called “Judical Appeal for the Recovery of Ethnic Names” together in order to propose to keep using

⁴⁷ Soo Im Lee. Diversity of Zainichi Koreans and their ties to Japan and Korea. Afrasian Research Centre, Ryukoku University. Japan: Shiga. 2011. p.8

⁴⁸ Asakawa Akihiro. Resident Koreans in Japan and the Naturalization Policy (Zainichi gaikoku-jin kikaseido). Tokyo:Shinkansha. 2003. p.31-32

Korean name after nationality transfer. This law indicates the challenge from Koreans who transferred their nationality to Japanese to the Japanese society, in which single nationality is an ideal. It also indicates that Korean society must keep both Korean nationality and the new identity as Zainichi Korean.

4.1.2 The MINDAN organization and MINTOREN organization: Movements to negotiate to create a space in society for the Koreans.

During the time that Korean residents in Japan were discriminated and unfairly treated by the Japanese, there were three major movements who act as mouthpiece to help and support Korean residents in Japan until now. After Korean War ended in 1953, there was a major change in history which is the disagreement in ideology that lead to Korean secession into two countries which are North Korea under communist government and South Korea under capitalist system. In view of that, Korean residents in Japan are divided into two groups as well. Although there is a concept of One Korea, it does not ease the disharmony inside the community of Korean residents in Japan to become united at all. On the other hand, it makes the disagreement in Korean community become even more obvious by separated into Korean community in Japan who supports North Korea and Korean community in Japan who supports South Korea. In this Research, we will mainly focus on Korean community in Japan who supports South Korea. So the background and objective of Korean community in Japan who supports North Korea will be summarized in short for better understanding in the context of Korean communities in Japan.

The General Association of Korean Residents (Chongryon) which is called **Zai-Nippon Chosenjin Sorengokai (Soren)** in Japanese is an organization that consists of Korean residents in Japan who support North Korea. Nowadays this group of Korean residents in Japan defines themselves as “North Korean citizens who live outside the country” The important role of the organization is mostly to spread propaganda telling the Koreans in Japan to return to their motherland which is North Korea. However, the image in the propaganda is not true. What the Korean residents in Japan encounter in North Korea is poverty, deficiency, bad economy, and communist government etc. The lie told by North Korean government make the Korean residents in Japan do not trust and hesitate to return to North Korea. In early 1960, government of Japan and South Korea has cooperate to sign a contract called Normalization Treaty which is a contract that allow Korean residents in Japan who supports South Korea and hold alien status to be able to transfer their nationality to Japan. When Korean residents in Japan who supports North Korea is lacking of protection, most of them change their mind to support South Korea for more security in life, and also to be able to transfer their nationality at once.

This research pays attention to two main organizations of Korean communities in Japan that support South Korea. They make movement to fight to protest the racial discrimination in Japan and support Korean expatriates in Japan to maintain Korean ethnic in Japanese society and facilitate living in Japan in many ways.

The first organization is **The Korean Resident's Union in Japan (Mindan)** which is an organization supported by Korean expatriates in Japan who support South Korean. Nowadays, this organization plays an important role in developing Korean people. Apart from that, Mindan organization has cooperate with Korean

Teenager Union for movement and negotiation for a fair living for Koreans in Japanese society. For example, Mindan organization has negotiated to lessen the regulation on taking fingerprints of Korean residents in Japan to show alien status in Japanese society, to issue passport for Korean residents in Japan to go abroad by specifying the nationality in the passport as South Korean etc. However, the movement of Mindan organization still does not reach and response to the need of the grassroots because the leaders of the organization are mainly the middle class people who concern about business benefits with South Korea more than the benefits and future of the Koreans' community in Japan.

Another organization that is as important as Mindan organization is **The National Council for Combating Discrimination Against Ethnic Peoples in Japan (Mintoren)** which is a movement with a concept of being neutral between Korean residents' society in Japan and Japanese society. Members in this group mainly consist of the contemporary-generation of Korean residents in Japan because they were born and grew up in Japanese society. They were nurtured in Japan and live in Japan, so they do not improve so much relation with their motherland. That is why they use the concept of compromising between two sides rather than support only one of them. Apart from the members who are Korean expatriates in Japan, there are also some young-blood Japanese who join this group to negotiate with Japanese government together and also try to develop Korean society in Japan to be able to relate with other groups at international level.

During 1970's decade, the realization of the view on human rights had increased, as well as the movement of the minority called Burakumin in order to protest the discrimination and unfair treatment by Japanese society and the feminist

movement to demand for an equal right to Japanese men, especially the main movement that play a key role in Japanese society called Mintoren group. This group consists of modern generation of Koreans who go against the unfair treatment, discrimination, and racial abuse in the society they are living in. The characteristic of the movement of Mintoren group is different from the two groups mentioned earlier. The leaders of Mintoren group come from the grassroots who are poor and mainly support human rights for Korean expatriates in Japan. They started from a small group gathering to fight racial discrimination in local area before spreading across the country. The Mintoren group uses the power distribution method in the movement by separated into small groups in local areas and creates a harmony network. Leaders of the Mintoren group are the grassroots who are poor and mainly support human rights for Korean expatriates in Japan.

There are three main groups in the movement. The background and objective of each group are the significant factors for creating identity of Mintoren group. The three main groups are as follows:⁴⁹

1. The Mukuge Society from Takatsuki, Osaka – The objective of this group mainly focus on the movement to help Korean children in Japan to be freed from the hatred in Japanese school that they are studying in, including support them to go against the racial discrimination towards the Koreans and create devotion and dignity towards their own race.

⁴⁹ Yasunori Fukuoka and YukikoTsujiyama. J. Broadbent (ed) and V. Brockman (ed). Young Koreans Against Ethnic Discrimination in Japan: A case study of a Grassroots and Networking-Style Movement (Mintoren). Available from http://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007%2F978-0-387-09626-1_6. Accessed data on 12/01/2013. 2011. p.119

2. The Tokebi Children's Club from Yao, Osaka – The name Tokebi was brought from an respectful hero in Korean fable. The objective of the group focuses on creating new society that Koreans and Japanese can live together peacefully without racial discrimination and also focuses on creating devotion towards their own race. Apart from that, this group support using Korean name in workplace too. They go against the discrimination from Japanese society that will not allow them to work in Japanese company if they do not change their name into Japanese.

3. The Blue Hill Association (Chong-gu) from Kawasaki, Kanagawa – The name of Chong-gu means Evergreen Mountain and beautiful rivers. The objective of this group is to support and stimulate Korean children to use Korean name, learn Korean culture, and go against racial discrimination.

In contemporary Japanese society, there is a realization of unity in society focusing on single race by considering that the minority living in Japan must be blended by Japanese culture to become one. Many communities agree with the idea but some in modern generation of Korean residents in Japan who were born and grow up in Japanese society do not want to be blended with the Japanese. They choose to recognize the existence of Korean race in Japan and choose to go against the discrimination in Japan. Generally, people who play the important role in choosing to maintain Korean existence and go against discrimination in Japan are Korean teenagers who were born and grow up in Japan and the Mintoren movement in which the members are Korean teenagers who grew up in Japan and realize their own race and background of their ancestors who have to suffer the bitterness of the unfair treatment and discrimination towards the Koreans in Japanese society both before and after the colony period.

In conclusion, the Mintoren has shown common characteristic that is important for demanding for rights of Koreans in Japan nowadays. They understand that the problems did not occur because they are Korean, but because they are Koreans living in Japan and discriminated by Japanese society. Apart from that the movement they make does not focus on the idea that South Korea is their mother land but focus more on the Korean community in Japanese society that they are living in, in order to maintain the Korean race in Japan. In addition, the most important point is to live peacefully in the society with Japanese people. The ideology of the Mintoren states that “Living Together In Harmony” shows compromise between two communities in order to live together rather than living in only one of the communities.⁵⁰

4.2 Maintaining Korean Identity in Contemporary Japanese Society

4.2.1 Buddhist and Christian Koreans in Japan: Expression of cultural heritage through religion

To tell the truth, there was only a little discussion on the impact of religion to Korean residents in Japan because after the end of World War II, the role of religion was separated from the tension in political and social issue in Japan. However, the religious issues still play the key role for Korean residents in Japan as the main element to spread cultural heritage of Korean residents in Japan for acknowledgement and maintenance.

Although the role of Korean residents in Japan who are Christian are not so remarkable as compared to those who are Buddhist, Christianity is considered as an

⁵⁰ Ibid., p.134

important factor to maintain Koreans in Japan up to now. Christianity has an impact to Korean residents in Japan since before colony period and it was very flourish for people who want options and do not want to worship Japan's original doctrine which is Shinto. Christianity can response to and fulfill the needs that local belief and Japanese doctrine cannot because Christianity came with liberalism and offered three religious denominations for people to choose i.e. Catholicism, Protestantism, and American Fundamentalists which Korean residents in Japan gave good response to the latest denomination and create relation and network directly with the U.S. and establishes a network named The United Family of the Reverend Sun Myung Moon or called Moonies⁵¹. A Number of Korean residents in Japan who join Christianity are about one of three of total Korean expatriates in Japan. The Christian Koreans in Japan are different from the Christian Koreans in Korea, in terms of the binding or spiritual anchor that keeps them together. Christian Koreans in Korea have the ancestors' grave as the symbol to express Korean identity by paying respect to their ancestors, while Christian Koreans in Japan do not even have ancestors' grave. That is why the expression of Korean culture in Japan is not so strong.

As compared to the Buddhist Koreans in Japan, they can express Korean culture better and clearer than Christian Koreans in Japan. Since the period that Buddhism started to flourish in Japan, the work of art, culture, tradition, and belief that are related to Buddhism were spread to Japanese people and also the minority living in Japan, especially Korean expatriates in Japan who respect and join Buddhism instead of Japan's Shinto. They use Buddhist ceremony, belief, cultures, and

⁵¹ George Hicks. Japan's Hidden Apartheid: The Korean Minority and the Japanese. Vermont, USA: Asgate co.Ltd.. 1998. p.148

traditions as the element to express their cultural identity, and religious belief of the Koreans who currently live in Japan.

One of the examples of the leader in Buddhism who play an important role in creating spiritual anchor for Buddhist Korean expatriates in Japan is Yun Family, consisted of Yun Il San, Yul Il Yun, father and uncle of Yun Pyo-Gam who held a position of monk dean just like his father and uncle. After the end of World War II, Koreans who chose to live in Japan kept the bone ash of the deceased at many temples, waiting to send them back to their motherland which is Korea. In 1965, about 1,500 cinerary urns in Manjuji were moved to Kodaira where the temple that Yun Pyo-Gam and his uncle founded locates. The temple called Kokuheiji. (In Korean, it is called Kukp'yongsa, means the peaceful day of the nation.) The objective to build this temple is to build a temple that plays the same role as the temples in South Korea in the east and north parts of Japan. At the same time, Yun Pyo-Gam's father was taking care of the temples in Kyoto.⁵²

The cinerary urns and the bone ash of the deceased in World War II and people who died without any relatives to arrange religious ceremony for them would be kept at Kokuheji temple, waiting to send back to their motherland after North Korea and South Korea merged back. However, there was no sign indicated that their wish is going to be fulfill because the tension between North Korea and South Korea become even more violent. Time passed until contemporary period and Korean residents in Japan gave up sending their ancestors back to Korea. Eventually, they decides to use Kokuheji temple as the first temple of Korean residents in Japan for

⁵² Ibid.,pp.148-149

keeping bone ash of their ancestors and using as the grave yard for Buddhist Korean to pay respect to their ancestors.

The appearance of Korean temple in Japan does not differ from Korean temple in Korea at present time. In terms of the structure of the temple, the decoration of the temple is like the temple in general. There is Buddha image altar to pray and pay respect. There is a large Buddha image inside the hall of a temple, and also other important images. In terms of religious ceremony, Korean temple in Japan performs the same rite as Korean temple in Korea. For example, Korea follows Chinese calendar for holiday, while Japan follows western calendar, etc. The special thing in Korean temple in Japan is the mixture between the belief in shaman and Buddhism belief together in terms of ceremony and holiday.

In overall, the religion (regardless Christianity or Buddhism) for Korean residents in Japan is an important factors and spiritual anchor that keeps them together in the society. The gathering of them through religion area is an important factor that expresses culture and tradition that have been passed on in form of ceremony and belief which maintain the original Korean identity. Therefore, religion is one of the cultural heritages that Korean residents in Japan use to clearly express their Korean identity.

4.2.2 Educational institutions founded by Korean people in Japan are a major mouthpiece for maintaining Korean identity

After the colony period, many Korean residents in Japan chose to settle in Japan and give birth to their descendant in Japan. The closer they are to the contemporary period, the less they can maintain their Korean identity. It is because there are many important intervention factors such as Japanese culture. This can be

easily noticed in the group of Korean residents in contemporary Japan who can speak better Japanese than Korean or can understand and related to Japanese culture more than Korean culture. Therefore, if there is no important mouthpiece like educational institutions that are founded by Korean residents in Japan, the recognition of the existence of the Korean minority in Japan may not survive. The Korean will not be able to even know their nationality.

Due to the discrimination that they must encountered in Japanese society, the Korean residents in Japan cannot fully express their cultural heritage. Among all discrimination issue that Korean residents in contemporary Japan have to face, the most important issue is educational discrimination. After World War II, the Koreans have established a school with an objective to maintain their history and culture. Later Japanese government objected the establishment of Korean school in Japan because it did not comply with the policy to blend the minority with Japanese culture, forcing Korean residents in Japan to obtain Japanese culture as much as they can, for example, using Japanese name, speaking Japanese, becoming a Shinto adherent, etc. Therefore, Korean school in Japan became a major target that Japanese society cruelly destroyed.

Japanese government announced the policy to force Korean residents in Japan after the colony period not only to limit the rights of Korean residents in Japan but also to create negative image of Korean school in view of the Japanese. Korean residents in Japan are very self-confident so they chose to rely on their enemy, North Korean, rather than asking for help from Japanese government. Most of the Korean schools in Japan were mainly supported by North Korean government both in terms of finances and personnel and teachers in the school. Therefore, this is the

main reason that Japanese government prevented the school establishment and created a policy for stability of the country and also suppressed Koreans in Japan even harder.

Korean School in Japan: Background, Main Characteristic, Expression of Korean Identity in Japanese Society

The main reason to establish Korean school in Japan is to restore Korean social culture after their right and power were lessened and they were discriminated in Japanese society. For example, Korean residents in Japan are not allowed to express anything about Korean culture. They were forced to change their name to Japanese, and also prevented from teaching Korean culture such as language or history. Therefore, Korean residents in Japan in modern period have founded many Korean schools in Japan. Therefore, Koreans in Japan built a lot of ethnic schools in Japan society. From the research of Taeyoung in 2002, there are 81 primary schools of Korean, 57 secondary schools, 12 high schools, and 1 university. However, there are only 4 schools that are supported by the group that support South Korea. The research also explored number of Korean population attending ethnic Korean school in Osaka. It shows that there are 9,738 people attend primary schools, 6,299 secondary schools, and 3,468 high schools. The table 4.1 shows number of Korean students who attend ethnic Korean schools in Osaka. Apart from that there are two Korean universities locate in Osaka and Kodaira, Tokyo which are Osaka Foreign Language University and Korea University (Japan) respectively.

TABLE 4.1: SCHOOL ATTENDANCE: KOREAN CHILDREN IN OSAKA (1997)

	Element.	Middle	High	Total
Public Schools	8,239	5,425	2,595	16,259
Choson Hakkyo (NK)	1,190	650	652	2,492
Paegdu Hagwon (SK)	186	165	169	520
Kumgang Hagwon (SK)	123	59	52	234
Total	9,738	6,299	3,468	19,505

Notes: “NK” for “North Korean” and “SK” for “South Korea.”

Source: Taeyoung, 2002: 58

While Korean residents in Japan founded schools in many major cities in Japan, Japanese government was trying to suppress the Koreans and prevented them from founding the school because they were afraid that if the Korean can establish school, they would be able to easily spread Korean culture through educational system. Then the Koreans would be more devoted to their nation and this may affect Japan’s stability. Japanese government has tried to issue many policies to prevent the establishment of Korean school in Japan. For example, they made an announcement to close many schools in Yamaguchi, Okayama, Hyogo, Osaka, and Tokyo and refused to approve Korean school to pass Japanese educational standard. Therefore, the students who graduated from these schools will not be able to take the national examination arranged by Japanese government for every high school students to attend Public University.

The characteristic of Korean schools in Japan.

Although Japanese government has announced these policies to prevent Korean school establishment in Japan, more than 10,000 schools in Japan are Korean schools. There are three noticeable characteristics of Korean schools in Japan. The first characteristic is Korean schools in Japan will offer courses about Korean, such as

language, history ideology, geography, and culture. According to the table 4.2, courses about Korea in Korean schools are about 26.6%, while there is no course about Korea in Japanese school. Therefore, Korean residents in Japan will not be able to learn anything about Korean culture in Japanese schools. The only place they can learn Korean language and culture openly without any discrimination is Korean school in Japan.

TABLE 4.2: COMPARISON OF THE CURRICULUM OF KOREAN ETHNIC SCHOOLS AND JAPANESE SCHOOLS IN ELEMENTARY AND LOWER SECONDARY SCHOOLS

	Korean Ethnic Schools	Japanese Schools
Korean	26.6	-
Japanese	15.6	22.2
Social Studies/Moral Education	8.8	14.1
Mathematics	16.5	15.6
English	4.6	3.9
Natural Science	9.2	10.2
Physical Education/Music/Art	18.8	12.8
Other	-	10.2

Source: Motani, 2002: 225-237.

The table 4.3 is the table about class schedule for the course related to Korea in Korean schools in Japan. We can see the attempt of Korean schools in Japan to pass on Korean culture and identity to young people to make them more conscious of their ethic.

TABLE 4.3: OBJECTION AND CLASS ACTIVITIES OF KOREAN ETHNIC CLASSES(MORIGUCHI NUMBER TWO MIDDLE SCHOOL, OSAKA)

Monthly Theme	Targets of Education	Hours
May Opening ceremony Ethnic names	Understand the importance of coming to ethnic classes. Write one's name in <i>Hangul</i> Korean writing system. (Produce name-tags) Know friends' Korean names. Learn about historical background, especially Japanese prewar policy of conversion from Korean to Japanese names. Learn the importance of calling each other by proper Korean names.	3
June Urimal [Our language] Ryori [Cooking] Norae [Songs]	Learn about greeting idioms in Korean. Using such idioms, introduce oneself to others in class. Learn about the history and structure of <i>Hangul</i> . Produce a <i>kagya-pyo</i> (a table of consonant-vowel combinations). Identify the Korean words that children already know. Learn how to cook simple Korean dishes. Have opportunity of exposure to the culinary culture of Koreans.	5
July Ethnic Culture Summer School	Using traditional musical instruments, get familiar with a few typically Korean rhythmic patterns.	3
September Ethnic culture (Prepare for a concert)	Get familiar with <i>nong-ag</i> (a typical Korean folk art). Practice in rhythmic patterns. Develop skills. Develop love of ethnic culture. Develop solidarity with friends.	4
October Concert	Develop ethnic self-awareness and pride.	4
November Ryori (<i>Kimchi</i> -making) Eating kimchi	Get familiar with Korean food by making <i>kimchi</i> . Deepen understanding of the Korean food culture and table manners by eating Korean food together with others. Promote interaction between children.	3
December Geography	Learn about the provinces, mountains, rivers of the Korean peninsula. Identify the places of family origin.	2
January History	Cultural heritage, individuals of historic significance, etc.	3
February History	The modern history of the Korean nation. Cultural heritage via audio-visual media. Understand the excellence of Korean culture.	4
March Anthology	Write essays about the year activities. Produce anthology of such essays. Reflect on the past year and look forward to the upcoming year.	2

Source: Taeyoung, 2002: 58

The second characteristic of Korean schools in Japan is the school use Korean language in class. Since most of the students are familiar with using Japanese language to communicate in their daily life, an important role in Korean schools in

Japan is to make every student capable of speaking Korean in their daily life. Apart from that, some students who live far away from the school can choose to live in school dormitory. When the students live together in the dormitory, speak Korean, and eat together, they will be able to absorb and be familiar with Korean culture.

The last characteristic of Korean schools is every female student must wear Korean costume called “Hanbok” as school uniform. Apart from that, there is another special feature in which the student who attended Korean schools for the second year will have a chance to travel in North Korea or South Korea in order to absorb and learn about Korean identity better and to create relation between students when living in Japan to be united and stronger. The writing of Motani about Korean in Japan which supports the importance of education to the existence of nationality and culture is as follows:

“We should not ignore the truth that education can help to keep culture and language of the minority because culture and language are 2 major factors to maintain one’s cultural identity among the majority in the country.”⁵³

Therefore, education in Korean schools can be considered as an important way to firmly maintain Korean identity in Japan. The Koreans who attend Korean school can express Korean identity and pass on the positive image to their descendant confidently. They dare to reveal their Korean identity to the public and they are proud to be Korean and have good relations with one another.

⁵³ Ibid., p.18

4.3 Conclusion

The contemporary Koreans in Japan have to live as alien populations and their descendants were born and grew up in Japan as the “foreigners” who are not accepted by Japanese society. They cannot express themselves clearly in Japanese society, leading to the concealing of displaced Koreans’ identity. However, the contemporary Koreans in Japan do not always accept expulsion by Japanese society. On the other hand, they fight and negotiate for their own space in the society.

The contemporary Koreans in Japan have tried to negotiate to keep Korean nationality through the expression of cultural and social heritage in terms of education, religion, and organization that Korean residents in Japan communicate to in daily life. They offer stories, contents of the courses in Korean schools in Japan that are specially prepared such as Korean history, Korean Language, and geography, etc. and also use special teaching methods that make the students feel as a part of Korean by taking students who study in the second year to Korea. The contents of courses and teaching method that is equipment for creating mutual conscious as a Korean together with the Korean way of life that is close to religion, ceremony, and belief make Kokuheiji temple that was founded by Korean residents in Japan become a religious area for the Korean at present time. Apart from the definition as the religious area, Kokuheiji is also considered as an area for South Korean culture restoration and expression. Therefore the contemporary Koreans in Japan are gathered through ceremony and tradition that the Koreans practise together. This is not only protecting Korean culture, but also creating relation with the Japanese society out there.

However, the Koreans have strategies to adapt themselves to live in Japanese society under many conditions through the definition of Koreans in Japan and the experience as a diaspora. It is found that the Koreans show that they are good inhabitants and create various identities in order to create relationship with Japanese people. In addition, the Koreans use Korean identity to request for religion, such as trying to make Korean culture to become a standard culture or trying to ask for social area as the good Buddhists.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

Since the 1980s, the contemporary-generation of Koreans in Japan have become more activist. That is to say, Korean residents in Japan since 1980 have increasingly fought against their unequal treatment. They have worked for expanded civil rights, both legally and institutionally. However, receiving equal treatment in a homogeneous country where strong ethnic nationalism dominates is not that easy. Thus, contemporary-generation of Koreans in Japan have attempted to adopt various livelihood strategies, such as those illustrated in the Sustainable Livelihood Framework of the UK's Department for International Development or DFID, in order to achieve a harmonious daily life while maintaining their ethnicity.

I therefore have raised three questions: in which areas do the contemporary-generation of Koreans in Japan experience discrimination in their daily lives; second, within Japanese society, suffering from the all sorts of discrimination, how can contemporary-generation of Koreans in Japan improve their own lives in order to survive and maintain their ethnic identity; and lastly, how can contemporary-generation of Koreans in Japan stay motivated to fight ethnic discrimination and maintain their ethnicity while faced with unfair treatment by the Japanese.

This study is based on the fact that contemporary Koreans in Japan have encountered various forms of prejudice and ethnic discrimination. They have even been forced to change their way of thought, values, and culture to be assimilated

into Japanese society, making their daily lives difficult. Therefore, many of these Koreans have to come up with various strategies in order to live harmoniously with the Japanese, overcome bias and participate in Japanese society while maintaining their Korean identity.

To justify the hypothesis, I studied the various types of ethnic discrimination these people encounter within Japanese society, Koreans internal conflict in terms of orientation and attitude, as well as the livelihood strategies that they employ daily life. The Livelihood Strategies Framework created by DFID shows those Korean residents in Japan can apply various livelihood strategies in their daily life. The purpose of livelihood strategies is to understand the distinctive levels of human, social, economic and natural capital that are acquired by different types of household, and the nature of production, income and exchange activities to which these give rise.

Due to unequal treatment and discrimination within contemporary Japanese society, Koreans in Japan have attempted to adopt various strategies in order to live and maintain their ethnic identity peacefully. They have worked for freedom from discrimination in Japanese society by adopting Japanese nationality, while ethnic and religious organizations as well as educational institutions play an important role in maintaining Korean culture, tradition and nationality.

Koreans have many forms of livelihood strategies to negotiate for their own space in Japanese society which can be summarized as follows:

Strategies for freedom from discrimination and rejection by Japanese society through naturalization – As mentioned earlier in Chapter 3, the

characteristics and direction of contemporary Koreans in Japan have become more varied because of differences in their backgrounds and childhood experiences.

Koreans who chose a lifestyle that blends well with Japanese society are those who were born and grew up in Japan, studied in Japan, speak Japanese, and practice Japanese culture, religion, and beliefs. Most importantly, they have no thought of going back to Korea. Although their lifestyle can be considered part Japanese, they are still discriminated against by Japanese society because of their Korean status. Therefore, the only thing that can help them to escape from the unfair treatment and help them and their families to make a living in Japanese society is nationality transfer. This method involves changing their name, surname, nationality, vision, values, ideas, social life, culture, and everything from Korean to Japanese.

However, the decision to change their nationality to Japanese is criticized by many Koreans in Japan who hold the opposite opinion and object to nationality transfer. This remains a controversial issue and splits Koreans into two groups – supporters and objectors. The supporters feel that nationality transfer helps them to live comfortably and receive rights equal to those of Japanese citizens. On the other hand, the objectors consider nationality transfer as betraying their lineage and ancestors who have tried to maintain their Korean identity. They feel that Korean identity should be maintained and other measures should be taken to make Japanese society open up and accept the Koreans as Korean, not as Japanese.

The Koreans in Japan who object to nationality transfer choose to live in Japanese society openly as Koreans and find their own ways to get along in society

while maintaining their Korean identity as if they were in a western country where ethnic diversity is more welcome.

It can be assumed that the Koreans who object to naturalization do so because their background and origin is different from other groups. Most of the Koreans in this group were born and raised in Korean-only society, i.e. attended Korean schools, speak Korean, practice Korean culture, religion, values, and beliefs. In other words, they are totally Korean. That is why their characteristics and outlook are very pro Korea (In this context South Korea only). Therefore, their lifestyle focuses on supporting and maintaining Korean identity while living peacefully in Japanese society. As mentioned earlier in Chapter 4, contemporary Koreans in Japan pay attention to three main areas to maintain Korean identity as follows:

Educational institutions founded by Korean people in Japan are a major mouthpiece for maintaining Korean identity – Many Korean schools (both North and South Korean) in Japan have been established since the end of World War II. There are also a large number of students who have attended Korean schools as mentioned earlier. The main reason why Koreans choose to attend these schools is the same for those who choose to transfer nationality to Japanese; they were born and raised in Japanese society however they have never been accepted in it. On the contrary, they have been racially discriminated against and looked down upon by the Japanese. Their experience in childhood makes them suffer and want to escape these problems. Therefore, they try to find a way that they can live peacefully and express their national identity at the same time. So they choose to attend Korean

school where they are free from the problems encountered in Japanese society and are also able to clearly express their identity.

The schools founded by Koreans in Japan are not only a place to pass on knowledge to Korean children but also a place to support “Korean-ness” and encourage Koreans to be more conscious of maintaining their identity (for both North and South Koreans) through a set of clear policies of the education system. The system, structure, policies, and courses of the schools presented in the previous chapter shows performance based on consistent courses, teaching methods and context. The these three mechanisms continuously link the idea of maintaining nationality in order to emphasize Korean-ness in terms of language, culture and traditions, including the history of the long suffering of the Korean people.

The teaching methods also help maintaining Korean identity. This occurs under the management of the Koreans themselves (both North Korea and South). Although they disagree in politics, the two of groups have the same goal. Courses are designed to provide both the knowledge and ideology of Korean nationality in Japan to the students. The parents also support this, as does the dormitory system that creates mutual consciousness for the students. Students can speak Korean and share the experiences that they and their ancestors’ have encountered about discrimination in Japanese society.

The MINDAN organization and MINTOREN organization: Movements to negotiate to create a space in society for the Koreans. Korean organizations in Japan are considered one popular lifestyle choice because joining an organization or movement demonstrates the power of the Koreans who gather in order to demand

their rights. The two organizations mentioned are considered the major players in demanding benefits for Koreans' and encouraging Koreans demand equal rights.

The ideology and leadership of the two organizations are quite different. The Mindan organization supports the present South Korean government and their leaders are middle class people, merchants and investors who work for the mutual benefit of themselves and South Korea as a whole, while Mintoren supports only the South Korean people living in Japan. Their leaders come from the grassroots and choose to compromise with Japanese society more than the Mindan supporters. However, the two organizations have the same main goal which is protecting and representing the Korean people in Japan.

Buddhist and Christian Koreans in Japan: Expression of cultural heritage through religion – Religious expression is considered a way to maintain the Korean identity in Japan. The Koreans in Japan, both those who have transferred their nationality and those who have not, choose to be Buddhist or Christian as a part of expressing Korean identity more clearly. This is especially true for Buddhists who have built many Korean style temples in major cities in Japan.

Building temples can be regarded as cultural expression because temples are regarded as a spiritual anchor for the Buddhists. Traditional customs and ceremonies take place in the temple area and Koreans will gather together there in order to express their culture. This can also serve as bridge with Japanese Buddhists as it can create a common relationship with them.

In summary, contemporary Korean residents of Japan tend to have complex identities and cultural orientations compared to other minorities in Japan and adopt various strategies to sustain their lives. They adjust, cope, create and re-create their

livelihoods in relation to the circumstances of Japanese immigration policy and institutional changes. The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework defines “livelihood Strategies” as ‘sets of activities’ and ‘diverse options’ which can be used to achieve livelihood goals. Their livelihood strategies have been used differently by each person within the various groups of Koreans in Japan. They are therefore likely to increasingly adopt these strategies as ‘complex plans’ for using shared resources and supporting each other.

5.2 Recommendations

This research focuses on contemporary Koreans in Japan who were born and grew up in Japan since 1980 to see how they live and maintain their Korean identity in the homogenous Japanese society. These Koreans are discriminated against and cannot express themselves in many ways. This research explores these issues to better understand their lives and the problems they face.

This era of globalization which began in the late 1980s has been for Japan and Korea a time of change, following the period of nationalization of the 1950s. By the end of the 1990s, Japanese society was rapidly becoming more pluralistic. This is reflected in the Japanese’s view of foreigners and even the “Emigration/Immigration Policy (2000)” specifies the goal of “creation of a society where Japanese and foreigners may coexist smoothly”. This opening up can be seen in contemporary Korean residents in Japan as well.

According to a change of Japanese society in this globalization era, I therefore make up some question; what will be the direction and context of Koreans in Japan in the following generation? Will their situation be the same as the previous generation or different? And will they still be discriminated against and rejected by

Japanese society or they will be able to live freely and harmoniously? Also, will they be able to continue to maintain their Korean identity which is increasingly becoming more socially and culturally diverse and complex?

The issue of racial discrimination can be seen as one of the major concerns for Korean society in Japan. Therefore, it is very important for the Japanese to avoid dominating cultural expression and try to understand diversity among cultures because the modern world consists of various ethnicities which each have their own identity in terms of society, culture and history which should be respected. Therefore, it is hoped that there will be others who are concerned about this issue and are able to succeed in finding the answers to the questions mentioned above as they are critical to changing attitudes in homogeneous countries so that they become more open to those who are different such as the Koreans living in Japan as well as to other nations.

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