

**DIASPORA POLITICS ON THE WAY OF GLOBALIZATION:
KOREAN CASE**

By

Son Yulia

THESIS

Submitted to
KDI School of Public Policy and Management
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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MASTER OF PUBLIC POLICY

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ABSTRACT

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Korean's have been taken captive and held hostage throughout such historic invasions as the Mongol horde, the 13th century Japanese and the 17th century Manchu. Modern Korean emigration started between 1860 and 1869 when the Choson dynasty began to crumble as a result of intruding Western imperial powers. The first wave of emigrants found their way to the Russian Far East territory, which borders present day North Korea. During the same time frame Koreans started to migrate to Chinese Manchuria in a mass emigration. During the 1870s and 1880s emigration to Japan and the U.S began in earnest. The primary exodus of Koreans took place during the Japanese colonial years from 1910 until 1945. At the end of World War II 180,000 individuals lived in Soviet Central Asia after having been relocated in 1937. The Korean population in China grew to be 2.2 million, with another 2 million in Japan and approximately 10,000 in the U.S. The emigration continued during the authoritarian regimes dating from 1948 until 1987, creating a diaspora, which today numbers almost 6 million people.

Koreans have gone through five genocidal-like moments and mass displacements during barely a century. Koreans, scattered across the world, are returning home to a problematic welcome. Globalization has led to an unspoken reintegration across or beyond previous ideological borders. While globalization is a worldwide phenomenon, a unique aspect of Korean globalization involves North Korea as well as the Korean diaspora¹. Yet, Diaspora faces certain problems of ethnic identity and feelings of alienation from the Korean nation. The combination of Confucianism and a strict hierarchical Korean society with the political struggle for rights and citizenship for all returning Korean expatriates creates a complex environment in which to develop a new nation. Korean descendants experience conflicted feelings of “mutual attraction” and “accusation and humiliation”.

This paper examines the structure of Korean society with an emphasis on its set of beliefs and values influencing the diaspora politics from the perspective of the people and governmental policies. It’s main objective is to report on the causes resulted in negative feelings of peninsula Koreans about diaspora, digging into Confucianism values, historical trends and ethnic prejudice.

Following this abstract the paper is organized as follows:

Chapter 1 defines the problem and briefly describes the situation of Korean diaspora. It also provides a broad overview of the history of Korean immigration and gives some theoretical insides of Diaspora in general.

Chapter 2 is concerned with the economic benefits that the host and home countries can gain from its numerous diaspora in the era of globalization. There are three basic ways: first, it could affect the trade and investment flows of the home country’s economy, as can easily be seen with many trade or commerce diasporas.

¹ For more information on Globalization and Korean nationalism see Hyun Ok Park (2002)

Second, it could affect the balance of payments of the home country through fund transfers between overseas Koreans settlers and their remaining families and relatives in the home country. Third, it could affect the home country's human resources, labor market and cultural exchange, fostering Korean economic development. Yet, despite those facts, there is still a negativity in the welcoming attitudes in regards to returning tendencies of Korean descendants to the Korean society.

Therefore, Chapter 3 is designed to discuss the main part of the thesis and its research question; in particular the causes of the Korean society's resistance to the return tendencies of overseas Koreans. Four elements of Korean society are given as an explanation; Confucianism, Nationalism, Density and age structure of Korean population and the Korean War. This chapter is trying to answer the question: why are the domestic Koreans resisting?

Lastly, Chapter 4 investigates the policy measures needed for the solution of the problem. Whether there was anything done by Korean government to solve the problem and if there are any other moments to consider for better understanding the situation and thus approaching the effective solution.

The analysis is built on the works of a number of Journals of Korean studies, research papers of Korean, American, Russian and Diaspora Korean scholars, internet sources, some reports of the Embassy of the Republic of Korea in Tashkent, newspapers, and personal observations.

Dedicated to my family

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Historical overview of Korean immigration.....	3
1.3 Diaspora: theoretical framework.....	7
Chapter 2.....	9
2.1 Importance of Korean Diaspora for Korean economic development.....	9
Chapter 3.....	12
3.1 Reasons for exclusion of overseas Koreans from the social structure of Korean nation.....	12
3.1.1 Confucianism.....	12
3.1.2 Nationalism.....	17
3.1.3 Density and age structure of Korean population.....	19
3.1.4 The Korean War and Han Feeling.....	23
Chapter 4.....	26
4.1 Policy measures and conclusion.....	26
REMARKS.....	33
BLIOGRAPHY:.....	34
I. Books and articles in English.....	34
II. Books and articles in Russian.....	36
III. Internet sources.....	37

CHAPTER 1

1.1 INTRODUCTION:

Although some countries have had substantial Diasporas for an extended time, in the contemporary globalizing world environment more countries have significant numbers of their current and former citizens living outside their borders. Therefore, it is impossible to come to a comprehensive understanding of their contemporary society without consideration of their Diaspora.

The causes of mass emigration from Korea can be intimately linked to the country's semi-colonial status from the second half of the 19th century. In 1945, 180,000 individuals lived in Soviet Central Asia after having been relocated in 1937, 2.2 million in China, 2 million in Japan and approximately 10,000 in the U.S. The emigration continued during the authoritarian regimes, especially to the U.S., creating a Diaspora which today numbers almost 6 million people. Today, according to the data of 2004 from the State Department for Statistical Analysis only in Uzbekistan there are roughly 170,000 Koreans (74,206 people were settled in Uzbekistan in 1938). There is an estimation that if the migrationⁱ continues to take place with the same intensity the number of Korean people overseas will be equal to the population of South or North Korea.

As long as adaptation and assimilation with an alien ethnic environment take place, Koreans from different countries acquire more and more traits that distinguish them from each other and transform their initial ethnic characteristics. As Koreans settle throughout the world and as they assimilate in various countries, Korean identity begins to take various forms and already cannot be reduced to ethnic

characteristics that exist on the Korean Peninsula. Therefore, there are many doubts about considering Korean Diaspora as a part of Korean nation.

Korean Diaspora is making a positive impact on both the Korean and foreign economies that play host to the overseas Koreans. A doubling of the number of overseas Koreans appears to increase South Korea's exports by 16% and imports by 14%; overseas Koreans, especially ethnic Koreans from China are providing a low-wage labor resource for the homeland. Koreans living in the United States have generated an increase of about 15 to 20 percent in trade between the US and Korea and lastly a doubling of the Korean immigrant population in the United States would increase US per capita income growth by 0.1 to 0.2 percentage points per year². Although as the above mentioned figures say, Korean Diaspora makes a significant contribution into development of economic cooperation between Korea and the Diaspora's host countries promotes bilateral cultural exchange and political partnership, there is still negative public opinion about Korean expatriates on their parents' homeland.

This study is mainly focused on problems of contemporary Korean Society concentrating on its long-suffering Diaspora, which due to some historical circumstances had to migrate to other countries throughout the whole planet. The particular issue raised by this paper refers to certain negative behavioral pattern or set of beliefs and opinions of Peninsula Koreans regarding Korean expatriates. The primary objective of this research is to pin down main reasons and try to find relevant solutions of the problem.

² For more figures on contribution of Korean diaspora into the World economy see Findings from major Seoul Conference released (2003)

1.2 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF KOREAN IMMIGRATION

At the turn of the new century it is estimated that about 6 millions of the ethnic Koreans are living in Asia, Europe and the American continent. The population of the Republic of Korea has migrated out of the state boundaries in spite of strict regulations of the King for 500-years isolation of the country.

In late 19th Century Japan forced Korea to open its ports to the outside world. Korean economy traditionally based on agriculture gradually started a structural change through the founding of manufacturing, banking and other services industries.

This process was later accelerated after the country's annexation to Japan in 1910. It was under these circumstances that the first Koreans went to Siberia and the Russian Maritime Zone and later to Hawaii and Mexico (Romero-Castilla, 2001: 102-103)³.

As it was stated above, massive continental emigration of Korean people started at the end of XIX century, when many Korean families deprived of any financial resources had to move and settle down on free territories of Russian Far East and South East part of China. Unfortunately, any authorities in Korea, Russia or Manchuria did not make registration of Korean immigrants and available data of the number of Korean immigrants is controversial.

Korean immigration to Russia and Manchuria⁴ has a long history, until the 1920s it was the only channel for massive migration of Korean people, a majority of which originated from North and North East provinces of Korea, i.e. bordering territories.

³ For detailed overview of Korean migration in Latin America see Romero-Castilla Alfredo (2001)

⁴ Refer to table 1.

During the Japanese protectorate and especially during the first decade after annexation thousands of patriotically inspired Koreans left the country to promote military anti Japanese national liberation movement. There were dozens of partisan detachments struggling from Russian Far East and later from territories of Manchuria, raiding against Japanese military and army quartered in Korea.

TABLE 1. DYNAMICS OF KOREAN IMMIGRATION TO MANCHURIA:

Year	Number	Growth in %
1870	2000	-
1871	10000	500
1872	37000	370
1873	65000	175
1874	78000	120
1910	100000	130 ⁵

In the mid 1930s there were about 200,000 Koreans living in the Russian Far East. Neither the Tsar Government nor the Soviet Authorities trusted those people, because basically they didn't make any differentiation between Japan and Korea. In the autumn of 1937 Stalin's regime executed coercive total deportation of Koreans from the Far East and other Russian regions from Kazakhstan and Central Asia. Therefore, depuration, difficult conditions for adaptation, mobilization of Korean male population into labor army and labor camps during the war have damaged the natural development of demographic processes.

At the beginning of 20th century, several thousands of young Koreans (mainly people from Southern provinces) moved to the United States in search of a job. Unlike Russia and Manchuria, intercontinental Korean immigrants in Hawaiiⁱⁱ, California, Mexico, and Cuba were strictly controlled and registered by the immigration authority.

⁵ For more figures on Korean migration see German Kim (1999)

Emigration to Japan started later and was one of the consequences of Japanese occupational policy towards Korea. The number of Korean immigrants drastically increased in the 1920s, when broke peasants of the Southern provinces of the country turned to Japan.

Along with Korean migration to Japan, Korean flow out to China decreased. But migration to Manchuria resumed in the 1930s due to the deterioration of the agricultural sector and strict restrictions regarding entry of Koreans into Japan.

However, one of the main differences between migration to Japan and Manchuria was that more than one third of Koreans returned from Japan back home unlike Koreans who settled down in Manchuria and never came back.

During the whole period of Japanese colonization, Korean migration continued to take place regardless the migration destinations. Serious change happened in 1935 – 1940, when about 900 000 people, or 4% of total Korean population migrated from the country. The main part of people went to Manchuria, which later became the region of Japanese expansion in China.

Massive immigration of Korean people decreased at the beginning of World War II, only 630 000 people or 2,5% left the country during 1940-1945⁶. Table 2 demonstrates the expansion of Korean Diaspora over 10 years.

TABLE 2. EXPANSION OF KOREAN DIASPORA, 1991 – 2001

Year	Number of overseas Koreans
1991	4 832 414
1995	5 228 573
1999	5 644 229
2001	5 653 909

Today, roughly 6 million overseas Koreans are scattered across 151 countries. There are 24 countries with more than 2000 ethnic Koreans, and 15 countries with

⁶ For more information on the History of Korean immigration: XIX – 1945 see Kim German (1999)

more than 10,000. But overseas Koreans are concentrated in 5 countries or commonwealths, each with more than 100 000 ethnic Koreans; there are the US, China, Japan, the CIS and Canada, which together account for more than 5.3 million or 93% of all overseas Koreans.⁷

TABLE 3. KOREAN DIASPORA BY COUNTRY AND REGION OF RESIDENCE, 2001

Country or region	Number	Percentage/share
Major country or group		
United States	2 123 167	38
China	1 887 558	33
Japan	640 244	11
CIS	521 694	9
Canada	140 896	2
Region		
Asia	2 670 723	47
North America	2 264 063	40
Europe (including CIS)	595 073	11
Latin America	111 462	2
Middle East	7 200	-
Africa	5 280	-
Total	5 653 909	100

The United States has the largest Korean community as compared to any other country in the world; there are more than 2 million ethnic Koreans residing in the US, which is 38% of all overseas Koreans.

Closer to home, there are about 2 million in China, followed by 0.6 million in Japan and 0.5 million in CIS countries.

The latest spot for Korean emigrants is New Zealand. The number of ethnic Koreans there was only about 3,000 in 1992, but it grew very fast to about 18,000 in 2001 (Choi, 2003: 18-19).

⁷ Refer to table 3

1.3 DIASPORA: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The word “Diaspora” originates from the Greek verb *speiro*, meaning “to sow”, and the preposition *dia*, meaning “over”. The ancient Greeks used this word to denote migration and colonization. For the Greeks, Diaspora essentially had a positive connotation. Expansion through military conquest, colonization, and migration were the predominant features of the Greek Diaspora.ⁱⁱⁱ

Eventually, however, the meaning of a Diaspora changed to become quite negative, to describe a forced dispersion of people out of their homeland to the countries of exile. The most famous of such trauma, of course, is that of Jews.^{iv} This is a very narrow definition of a Diaspora. A little bit broader meaning is the dispersion of Christians isolated from their own communion and scattered across the Roman Empire before it adopted Christianity as the state religion. These definitions associated with Jews and early Christians form the classical concept of a Diaspora. One of the famous American scientists on identity problems Walker Connor argues that Diaspora is “Segment of the population living outside the boundaries of motherland”^v

The contemporary concept of a Diaspora is a way of understanding migration, cultural differences, identity politics, and so on. Thus, this broader definition of “Diaspora” refers to a dispersion of people of a common national origin or of a common beliefs living in exile. An even broader definition would simply refer to people of one country dispersed into other countries. These contemporary definitions of Diaspora especially refer to one particular phenomenon: cross-border migration.

However, social scientists studying the issue of Diaspora have tried to tighten its definition, which today often is used as a synonym for *overseas*, *ethnic*, *exile*, *minority*, *refugee*, *expatriate*, *migrant* and so on. In general, however, they seem to be focusing on five key criteria for the existence of a Diaspora:

- Dispersal of a large number of individuals from an original homeland to two or more foreign countries;
- An involuntary and compelling element in the motivation for people to leave their home country due to severe political, economic, or other constraints;
- A group's conscious and active efforts to maintain its collective identity, cultural beliefs and practices, language, or religion
- People's sense of empathy and solidarity with members of the same ethnic group in other countries of settlement, leading to efforts to institutionalize transnational networks of exchange and communication; and
- People's collective commitment to preserve and maintain a variety of explicit and implicit ties with their original home country, provided that it is still in existence (Choi, 2003: 11-13).

V.A. Tishkov in his article "The historical phenomenon of Diaspora" argues that the ideology of diaspora assumes that its members do not believe that they are an integral part of it and probably will never be accepted by the society of host country therefore they feel alienated. This argument makes sense, but the peculiarity of Korean case is that the feeling of alienation is stronger in the country of origin rather than in the country-playing host to Korean diaspora.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 IMPORTANCE OF KOREAN DIASPORA FOR KOREAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

This part is mainly focused on the possible role of the Diaspora in fostering economic development in the origin nation. While some traditional emigration countries, such as Italy, have had long policies and programs for expatriates living overseas, it is only in relatively recent years that there has been major consideration given to the possibility that these activities could be more than the maintenance of culture and a significant part of the economic development strategy of the origin country. In the contemporary world of globalization, when the borders between countries become blurred there is an emerging appreciation that “highly skilled Diaspora may play several important roles in promoting development at home” (Lucas, 2001: i). According to the report of International Organization for Migration “Migration and Development: perspective from Asia” Diaspora can act as a middleman, enhancing information flows, lowering reputation barriers and enforcing contractual arrangements, resulting in an expansion of capital inflows from foreigners as well as from the Diaspora and of trade links too. Diaspora is a bridgehead to the expansion of economic linkages for the home nation. For example, Korean Americans were the bridgeheads for the successful penetration of Korean cars, electronics and white goods manufacturers to the US market. Overseas Koreans, especially ethnic Koreans from China are providing a low wage labor resource. Nowadays, there is a tendency when ethnic Koreans from former USSR republics emerge as a new source of cheap labor as well. They are mainly employed in

agriculture, service sector, labor-intensive manufacturing, the KEDO (Korean Energy Development Organization) project, construction, shuttle trading and etc. I would argue that Korean expatriates agree to perform not prestige labor for modest compensation contributing to the economic development of the country thus making a positive impact on both the Korean and foreign economies that play host to the overseas Koreans.

Let's take one example from the number of empirical studies that have been implemented in order to assess the impact of the Korean Diaspora on South Korea's trade through a gravity model. The estimation uses Korea's bilateral trade with its 171 trading partner countries and the number of ethnic Koreans in those countries from 1999 and 2001. The results show that the estimated coefficient on the number of overseas Koreans is positive (+0.18) and highly significant (99 percent confidence level) in the total trade volume equation, which confirms the findings of the earlier studies. These figures mean that South Korea trades more with a country where more ethnic Koreans reside than with the country with a smaller number of ethnic Koreans. When the export equation is estimated separately, the estimated coefficient of the number of overseas Korean is again positive (+0.16) and highly significant (99 percent confidence level), which means that Korea exports more to a country where more ethnic Koreans reside than to a country with fewer ethnic Koreans. Import estimations had the same result, +0.14 with 99 percent confidence level (Choi, 2003: 21-22). The results of this experiment are reflected in the following example, if we take two CIS countries, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. Korean Diaspora in Uzbekistan is the largest one among CIS countries and comprises more than 170,000 ethnic Koreans while Kyrgyzstan has less than 20,000 ethnic Koreans. Given those numbers of Korean diaspora, in 1999 Uzbekistan trade turnover with South Korea was a little

less than 1 billion USD, while Korean trade turnover with Kyrgyzstan was just about 28 million USD^{vi}.

Reverting back to American Koreans, Korean population in US is a small share of the US economy, but the impact is definitely substantial. The Koreans in the United States have a saving rate double that of the average American, they graduate from college at a rate double of the average American^{vii}, providing a highly skilled and highly educated addition to US labor force. Besides the cheap labor and relevant savings Korean economy might have, there is the other side of the coin: by having strong, intellectual, prosperous, and skilled Diaspora Korea gains international prestige and respect on global scale. In addition, the contemporary era of globalization requires Korean Diaspora networks to facilitate transmission of information both formally and informally, promote technology transfers, accelerate trade turnover, and provide strong linkages so that ideas flow freely. Apart from economic reasons, the great importance should be paid to the role of Diaspora in promotion and popularization of Korean culture in their host countries. For example, these days in Uzbekistan (the host country for the largest Korean Diaspora on post Soviet territory – 170 000 people) there is a phenomenon called “Korean wave” or booming of Korean culture. Yet it is cultural phenomenon, it fosters Korean economic development. Great interest of domestic population increases sales of Korean DVDs, CDs in domestic market, attracts Korean investments into entertainment industry of the country, increases trade volume, and for sure strengthens bilateral political relations on international arena.

Hence, there are a number of ways in which the Diaspora can have an impact on Korean economic development. As figures say, a doubling of the number of overseas Koreans appears to increase South Korea’s exports by 16% and imports by

14%; Koreans living in the United States have generated an increase of about 15 to 20 percent in trade between US and Korea; and lastly a doubling of the Korean immigrant population in the United State would raise US per capita income growth by 0.1 to 0.2 percentage points per year.⁸

However, there is a certain degree of resentment among the Diaspora who may have the feeling of being forgotten or overlooked part of the nation. Yet, overseas Koreans are trying their best in order not to lose their Korean identity; they establish all possible organizations and unions like Association of Korean cultural centers, Centers for Korean studies, language courses and etc. However, Korea is the case when there is a certain degree of resentment from the country of origin in accepting the Diaspora as a part of the nation itself. Although, in contemporary globalized world Korea is open towards outside world, the problem is still there and it might be interesting to search for the reasons.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 REASONS FOR EXCLUSION OF OVERSEAS KOREANS FROM THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF KOREAN NATION

3.1.1 CONFUCIANISM

Religious and ideological beliefs are the part of the adaptive culture that evolves over time. The ethics and values espoused by one religion during a particular period and in a specific culture may differ from those of another imposing a unique

⁸ For more information on Contribution of Korean Diaspora to the World Economy see Findings from major Seoul Conference released (2003)

set of principles and rules upon human activities. Those principles and rules regulate the behavior of individuals, the family and the community. East Asia, namely China, Korea and Japan, with more than one quarter of the world's population, over long historical period has constituted a cultural sphere characterized by the use of Chinese and Confucianism. The term Confucianism is used here to refer to the popular value system of China, Korea, and Japan, which is derived from the synthesis of the traditional cultural values espoused by Confucius and his followers and subsequently influenced by the elements of Taoism^{viii}, Legalism^{ix}, Mohism^x, Buddhism and Shamanism^{xi} in the case of Korea and Japan (Cho Lee-Jay, 1995).

Confucianism has been the main cultural influence of China for centuries. The teachings of Confucius were never intended to be a religion. It has no revelatory sacred writings, no priesthood, no doctrine of an afterlife and frowned on asceticism and monasticism^{xii}.

It is generally believed that at present Korea is the most Confucian country in all of East Asia, more so even than Taiwan, or mainland China, not to mention Hong Kong or Japan. Missionaries and travelers to Korea in the nineteenth century expressed surprise to find that the most rigid Confucian systems and values permeated almost all facets of Korean life. Many modern sociologists and economists also believe that Koreans retain unmistakably Confucian behavioral traits and ways of thinking. These two sets of ideals and value systems of Confucianism have been manipulated both by the state and by the counterforce of the society in national and local politics throughout Korean history (Tu Wei-ming, 191-192). In South Korea, the continuing influence of Confucianism can be attributed not only to the "people don't like to change their basic values", but to the inherent magnificence of the Confucian philosophical system and deep roots it established in the Korean

consciousness. There has been renewed recent attention to the positive elements of the Confucian traditions along with growing nationalist sentiment.

Thus, these Confucian values generate strong resistance of Peninsula Koreans to be influenced by the culture of overseas Koreans, which definitely brings the change of social order in Korean society and thus hinders the process of successful assimilation of Korean Diaspora in their country of origin.

For example, in the friend-friend relation, where exhorting each other to be moral is a crucial responsibility, if one friend refuses to be moral and good, the other can abandon the friendship (Ranjoo Seodu, 2003). Thus, even though values of overseas Koreans could preserve the basic Korean norms of behavior and set of values, the influence of the host country is still significant. From that perspective, overseas “friend” cannot be “moral” and “good” and thus could be abandoned.

Korea is widely considered to be the most Confucian society and probably the greatest role for Confucianism is as a part of national identity. The resistance of Korean Confucianism to overseas Koreans might be caused by some survival motives in preservation of individual and family values different from those of Diaspora host countries.

Korea is the country of relatively little cultural diversity. In Korea, there is only one language and one ethnicity. All schools, whether parochial or public, urban or rural, have almost the same curriculum. And Koreans are reluctant to marry people of other cultures. It is a country that values unity and oneness and where people see that as enabling Korea to survive as a small country between China and Japan, so Koreans consider themselves to be similar, and value similarity, which was also embedded by Confucianism. Not only are Koreans expected to conform in many situations; they are drawn by other Koreans into blaming those who deviate.

Also, there are several features in Confucianism that tend to generate an intolerant attitude toward behavior and toward expressions it regards as wrong or immoral⁹. First, Confucianism puts emphasis on shared moral vocabularies, beliefs, and principles, and regards them as essential to the stability and flourishing of society. Second, for Confucianism moral agents should take morality as the supreme imperative in the lives – the other goods should give way to morality if they are in conflict¹⁰ with it. Third, Confucianism is a perfectionist political theory, which holds that one of the most important tasks of the state is to promote morality and virtue (Joseph Chan, 2002).

According to Francis Fukuyama's analysis, low trust societies such as China and Korea are limited because individuals cannot be open to the outside and are likely not only to choose people on the basis of who they are, but also to be corrupt, whereas high trust societies such as Japan have accepted more impersonal mechanisms of trust. All these three societies must overcome limitations on trust associated with their reliance on Confucianism. This close-mindedness of Korean people, reasoned by Confucianist values embedded deep into mentality of people, slows down the progress in the Diaspora issue.

The other example refers to the Confucian concept of pollution and purity, which are of considerable importance in Korea. Let's take the example of old traditional Korean village, which to some extent can represent sort of social unit, which has to be protected against dangerous pollution from outside. It is not surprising therefore, that those villagers who spend much of their time outside the village are not considered sufficiently pure to take part in village rituals. In traditional

⁹ Confucianism views everything coming from outside or everything different from Confucianism values as wrong or immoral

¹⁰ Diaspora issue is still conflicting sentiment for the Korean Confucian society.

villages, protection from evil influences from the outside was provided by the *changsung*, the wooden poles carved in the likeness of fearsome male and female spirit generals, which were placed at the entrance to the village (Walraven, 1988). Continuing this logic, overseas Koreans have been living outside the “village” too long to be allowed to take part in “rituals” therefore we can observe a certain degree of resistance.

The other argument is based on the concept of shame and poverty for Koreans. For example, middle class American may brag about how they or their parents or grandparents came up from poor family, but middle class Koreans would rather not talk about it. Koreans value upward mobility, but what maybe even more important to them is that if their family past includes a low status or poverty (Rosenblatt, 2001). Therefore, my argument is that influenced by Confucianism culture and cultivating certain values, past of Korean society associated with Korean emigration in late XIX century could generate feelings of shame in Korean contemporary society.

Therefore, Kim Kyong-il, the Professor of Chinese literature at Sangmyun University in Korea wrote that Confucian legacies have resulted in a number of social values that have been crippling national development¹¹. Instead of praising Confucianism as a great school of thought, the critic compares Confucianism to “a virus that poses a serious threat to Korea becoming a more modern, rational society, implying its virtues are nothing but a sham”.

¹¹ For more information on Confucian legacies and Professor Kim Kyong Il perception see Korea Times (6/13/1999)

3.1.2 NATIONALISM

Korean people grow up hearing over and over again that the Korean nation (Hanminjok) has a five-thousand-year history. Koreans believe to be the descendents of Dangun, the mythical founder of Korea, defining their identity as 'immutable' or 'primordial' through an imagined conception of "Korean blood", regarding themselves as belonging to a 'unitary nation', an ethnically homogeneous and racially distinctive collectivity (Yang, 2004). This kind of nationalism or nationally identity is still popular in today's Korean society.

The importance of blood relations is above all other forms of relationship in Korean society. As Yi Taehui said in his article "The Koreas", a nation is a human community based on ties of blood and culture (Yi Taehui, 2001). Blood relations in Korea are the most crucial connection among people therefore considering this argument I would assume that just being Korean regardless the country of residence the person can be the part of the nation. This is paradoxical fact but in contemporary Korea, this problem of alienation and exclusion of Diasporal Koreans from the main group by Korean society is still relevant. Therefore, the answer to the question of whether the same blood can secure the Diasporal Koreans a membership in Korean Society is - not necessarily.

Is there anything to do with nationalism? The answer is: yes, among others. Nationalism and national identity as descendents of Dangun were formulated mainly as a discourse against the official nationalism of Japanese imperialists. From the other side it was the tool to fight the authoritarian regime from the late 1970s. Koreans criticized the Government, because the economic development and

modernization policy depended too much on foreign capital and only benefited ruling class.

As it was mentioned above, Japanese colonial policy intensified Korean national sentiment with the consequence of further “racialising” the Korean notion of nation, the assertion of the ethnic distinctiveness and purity of Korean nation became more important that time. Nationalism sentiment in the issue of Korean diaspora is justified by the will of Korean society to purify the Korean community – cleansing foreign ideas and thoughts that are seen to contaminate or betray the community.¹²

I would argue that probably Korean nationalism to some extent prevents Korea and its Diaspora from going into serious conflict with each other. If we view ethnicity and nationality as forms of social identification, after full integration of Korean diaspora into Korean society there is a threat of “black sheep” effect or the process of extremely negative in-group judgments. Shared sense of ethnic unity is likely to produce a strong pressure for conformity to standards of in-group homogeneity. This will increase expectations for all members to conform to certain shared norms or customs. It is less likely, that if integrated overseas Koreans would be able to conform to certain norms and customs of Korean society and thus it is less likely that this integration is possible. Probably, it is better for the whole Korean community to leave it like this thus not going into certain conflict of values.

Still, since we live in era of globalization, when the whole world becomes closer one’s family affairs cannot be considered separately from society or nation, and events in one country can affect the whole world since the world is fully interconnected in multifarious ways (Choung Haechang, 2002). Even though, the tool of nationalism can promote the preservation of the country’s culture, national and

¹² The Politics of Ethnic Nationalism in divided Korea by Gi-Wook Shin, James Freda and Gihong Yi, University of California, Los Angeles, CA 90095-1551

ethnic identity, traditional values, norms and beliefs, it could not be justified when it affects the relationship between the country and its diaspora.

3.1.3 DENSITY AND AGE STRUCTURE OF KOREAN POPULATION

The Republic of Korea has undergone demographic changes at a pace that has dazzled many population scientists. Fertility has declined to a level far below the replacement level within a short span of two and half decades. The total fertility rate in Korea rapidly decreased from 6.0 in 1960 to 1.6 in 1987. Thereafter, the total fertility rate fluctuated between 1.7 and 1.8, but had drastically decreased to 1.48 in 1998. It is estimated that if the current fertility continues, the population in Korea will stabilize at around 52.8 million people by year 2028, and will begin to decrease thereafter¹³. In 2000, the number of people living in Korea was amounted in 45,985,289; in 2003, the population in Korea was 47.9 million people¹⁴. South Korea alone occupies about 99,000 square kilometers, which is about the size of Hungary (93,000 square kilometers) and Jordan (97,700 square kilometers). At the same time, it is worth to mention that the population of Hungary in 2004 was about 10,032 375 people and Jordan population in 2004 was 5,611,202 people. Thus given the same size of the territories Korea has the population 5 times as of Hungary and almost 10 times as of Jordan. As we see the density¹⁵ of Korean population is extremely high, so the struggle for the life chances is cruel and tough.

¹³ Policy Responses to Population aging and population decline in Korea by Namhoon Cho, Korean Institute for Health and Social Affairs

¹⁴ For more information on population trends and relevant statistics see Korean National Statistical Office web site

¹⁵ Refer to the table 4

TABLE 4. 18 MOST DENSELY POPULATED COUNTRIES (OVER 5,000 SQ. KM.)

Rank	Country	Area sq. km	Population 2004	Humans per sq. km
1.	Bangladesh	144,000	141,340,476	982
2.	Taiwan	35,980	22,749,838	632
3.	Occupied Palestinian Territory	6,220	3,636,195	585
4.	Korea, South	98,480	48,598,175	493
5.	Puerto Rico	9,104	3,897,960	428
6.	Netherlands	41,526	16,318,199	393
7.	Lebanon	10,400	3,777,218	363
8.	Belgium	30,510	10,348,276	339
9.	Japan	377,835	127,333,002	337
10.	India	3,287,590	1,065,070,607	324
11.	El Salvador	21,040	6,587,541	313
12.	Sri Lanka	65,610	19,905,165	303
13.	Rwanda	26,338	7,954,013	302
14.	Israel	20,770	6,199,008	298
15.	Philippines	300,000	86,241,697	287
16.	Haiti	27,750	7,656,166	276
17.	Vietnam	329,560	82,689,518	251
18.	Jamaica	10,991	2,713,130	247

Therefore, South Korean Government's policy is to promote emigration, especially to South America, as a mean of dealing with very high density of population at home. (Until the present, emigration to the United States has not needed encouragement.) Diplomatic and consular officials of the Republic of Korea keep in touch with the affairs of the Korean communities abroad. Through information and contact, Korean officials endeavour to blunt the criticism of the South Korean Government, which has long prevailed among overseas Koreans.

This gives us clear picture that apart from the Confucianism and Nationalism characteristics of contemporary Korean society, which may be considered as something outdated these days, something that is changing and getting more flexible, the problem of competition for life chances in Korea is actual and very interesting.

Korean society becomes very tough, the chance to acquire certain status^{xiii} is extremely low due to very high density of population and since Korea takes one of the leading positions in the world in terms of education level one can only imagine how tough the competition is for better life chances in this country. Given above-mentioned logic, the problem of overseas Koreans might worsen the situation in Korea. Return tendencies of Korean emigrants and their descendants practically do not expand the territory of Korea, but increase the number of population in the country and thus the life chances of Peninsular Koreans are getting smaller. Therefore, it is quite logical and reasonable to meet certain degree of resistance about this issue.

For example, the case of Korean unification has different logic: here, there will be the expansion of Korean territories, leading to economic benefits in terms of transport corridor to the continent, increase of employment due to the urgent necessity to rehabilitate devastated North Korean territories and at the same time North Koreans will not represent any threat in terms of being competitors for South Korean people.

The other issue in this part is related to the age structure of Korean society. The population of the Republic of Korea is aging, in 2000, the percentage of the people over 65 was about 7.1%, but in 2022, this figure will represent 14.3%¹⁶. This factor might indirectly cause a certain degree of resistance of Korean society about Korean diaspora. Many people of this age stratum of Korean population were participants of Korean War or even Japanese Colonization. Many of them experienced penetration of US culture into Korean society, when there was “a huge surge of mass culture in the form of “GI” culture, popular culture, or vulgar culture via the newly introduced mass communications media gravely contributed to the vulgarisation and degeneration of Korean culture in general”(Kim, 2003: 116-117). Therefore, this part

¹⁶ Refer to table 1 and diagram 5

of Korean population might have made indirect influence on overall attitudes of the whole Korean population. Given the peculiarities of Korean society, when they always relate themselves with others locating one's position in a hierarchical order, either by age, kinship status, occupation or even gender, the respect to elder people has been especially stressed in this culture. Therefore, the negative memory of Korean War and Japanese colonization experience of old people in Korea associated with everything foreign^{xiv} might be still relevant and influential in people's minds and mentality^{xv}.

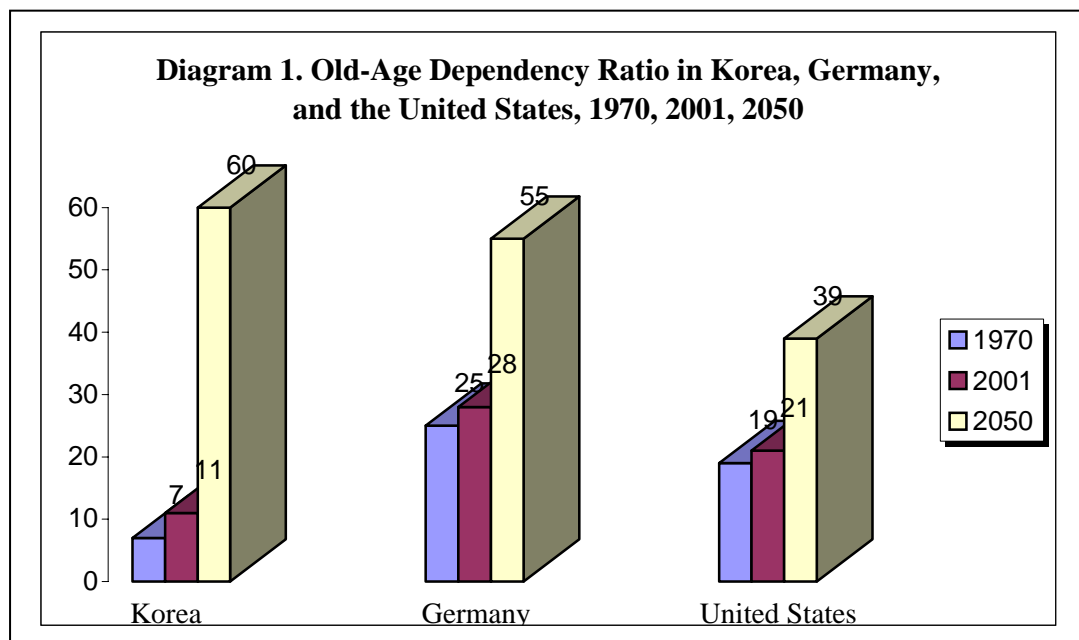


TABLE 5. NATIONAL POPULATION ESTIMATE IN KOREA, 2000-2050

Year	Total Pop.		0 ~ 14		15 ~ 64		65 or over		Ratio
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
2000	47,275	100.0	10,233	21.7	33,671	71.2	3,371	7.1	10.01
2005	49,123	100.0	10,421	21.2	34,450	70.1	4,253	8.7	8.10
2010	50,618	100.0	10,080	19.9	35,506	70.1	5,032	10.0	7.06
2015	51,677	100.0	9,515	18.4	36,616	70.3	5,846	11.3	6.21
2020	52,358	100.0	9,013	17.1	36,446	69.7	6,899	13.2	5.29
2025	52,712	100.0	8,633	16.4	35,465	67.3	8,613	16.3	4.12
2035	52,896	100.0	8,338	15.8	32,877	62.2	11,681	22.1	2.81
2040	52,810	100.0	8,175	15.5	31,584	59.8	13,051	24.7	2.42
2045	52,327	100.0	7,922	15.1	30,764	58.8	13,641	26.1	2.26
2050	51,546	100.0	7,867	14.9	29,935	58.1	13,924	27.0	2.15

3.1.4 THE KOREAN WAR AND HAN FEELING

War is a tragic part of history. When the path of world history is traced, wars are encountered at almost every time and every place in the world. What is more important than the actual outbreak of war is how the scars from it are overcome.

When we take a closer look at the Korean War, it is much more complex and subtle than it might have appeared first. The Korean War involves the biggest controversies, both for its causes and for who is responsible. Nevertheless, this study is to cover the social aspect of the consequences of military confrontation, the confusion of values of Korean society, the emotional and moral desires of people, and the way the relatively close-minded society was coping with penetration of foreign culture and morality.

The loss of life and physical destruction during Korean War were enormous. In 1953, the South was literally in ruins. The war had destroyed a quarter of the real wealth of South Korea and killed over 5% of the civilian population. The situation was further exacerbated by an influx of 3 million refugees from the North. Life was grim with most Koreans living at or below the subsistence. Economic recovery was slow; the average growth per capita GNP was merely 1% per year¹⁷. Given this terrible situation, one should add the penetration of foreign culture^{xvi} leading to confusion of values and degeneration of the society.

The Korean War was the major war where foreign military forces of US and UN armies fought on Korean land. Those days Korean society was greatly influenced by GI culture legacy that includes prostitution, international marriage, and children of

¹⁷ For more figures on Social Development in Korea see Irma Adelman

mixed blood. In a relatively closed-minded society like Korea, this generated serious problems of adjustment for both sides involved (Kim, 2003: 116-117). In this perspective, Diaspora Koreans are perceived as being influenced by foreign culture for a long period claiming that traditional values and morality of overseas Koreans have been significantly changed. Therefore, historical memory of Korean War attaches bad image to foreign culture through lenses of war experience, something that devastates the country, destroys and degenerates traditional culture, and brings down morality and values of Korean people.

The other side of that problem lies in the notion of *Han* or motivating psychic force among Koreans. Looking back, Korea has a long history of external threats and invasions, occupations, and colonization by neighbouring countries. Here, the memories of Korean War, Japanese colonization and other reasons have put a great strain on the minds of people. Although, the word written in a Chinese character exists in all three East Asian countries, it is used most frequently in Korea. It is a complex of feelings of regret, remorse, frustrated desires and revenge, related to some past wrongs done to one by others. The feeling is so strong that its inward accumulation without outward expression may cause disorder in the body and mind of an individual. Once released it may cause one to take a positive action to overcome it or negative action in revenge (Kim, 2003: 64-66). Therefore, my argument is that memories of Japanese colonization and Korean War associated with violence and vulgar values brought by foreign culture in combination with *Han* feeling of Korean people might have caused the overall tendencies in contemporary Korean society about its diaspora as something that differs from the norms of Korean community and thus is considered to be not acceptable. Very Korean bittersweet collective way of

suffering and mourning might be a source of such negative set of attitudes about Korean descendants in their parents' homeland.

Feeling of *Han* might reinforce in Korean people the feeling of shame and betrayal during the period of pain and sufferings, i.e. Japanese colonization. As it was stated above, the massive migration of Koreans started in late 19th century during the period of Japanese occupation. That was the time, when Korean society was mostly destroyed; Japanese colonizers seriously suppressed social values and morality. Korean migration might have been considered as an insult or offence and these days due to the notion of Han feeling, Korean society still may consider all Korean descendants as betrayers. Yet, there is the other positive side of the *Han* feeling. If well utilized it can transform the feeling of deep offence, insult, grief, and sufferings into something positive, like in Korean case, when this feeling mobilized Korean society and fostered it to overcome the financial crisis.

Although, being very superstitious, the concept of *Han* feeling may give the clearest explanation of the behaviour of Korean society towards everything that have any slight shadow of offence and disorder.

CHAPTER 4

4.1 POLICY MEASURES AND CONCLUSION

The Korean pride as a homogeneous race sometimes tends to betray an attitude of superiority in dealing with outsiders and the unfamiliar, causing needless misunderstandings and resentments. Parallel to Korea's economic development and enhancement of prestige there should be attempts to develop "sensitivity" to those who are different. Primary the solution of this problem lies in the physiological aspect of the society. Yet, the state should play the role of certain tool or remedy, through which the society can reach the maximum degree of understanding of this problem.

On an individual level South Koreans have to come to the understanding of their shared fate with millions of ethnic Koreans in North Korea and around the world as being a collectively dispersed family, *isan kajok*^{xvii}, after a century of brutal uprooting in the forms of colonialism, division war, militarism, emigration and adoption. Overseas Koreans should be seen as a tragic symbol of the nation's historical suffering and a guarantee for a bright future for a global Korean community seen as a huge extended family.

Therefore, historically the Republic of Korea has been recently a country of emigration. The medium variant of the United Nations 1998 Revision assumes a net total of 450,000 emigrants from the country between 1995 and 2020 and none thereafter. Thus this is projected that the population of the country would increase from 44.9 million in 1995 to 53.0 million in 2035 and then decline to 51.3 million 2050. The working-age population of the country is projected to increase from 31.9

million in 1995 to 36.3 million in 2020, and then decrease to 30.4 million by 2050. The population aged over 65 or older would continue to increase rapidly between 1995 and 2050, from 2.5 million to 12.7 million. As a result of these changes, the potential support ratio in the country would drop extremely rapidly, passing from 12.6 in 1995 to 5.7 in 2020 and 2.4 in 2050. Taking into account this analysis, the policy makers in Korea should develop certain program to promote immigration of ethnic Koreans, provide all possible incentives for their better integration into Korean society. The demographic situation in Korea is very serious, yet there is much to be revised in social attitudes since economic incentives might be significant but not efficient. Considering that significant part of Korean descendants reside in the United States, Canada or Europe people there would not be motivated by economic incentives to come back to the country.

The legacy of Confucian ideology, blind reverence of authority and elders and dependence on collective values that suppress individual creativity should be seriously revised, in order to allow people to lead the kind of life they choose, and provide them with the tools and opportunities to make those choices. Cultural diversity that ethnic Koreans might bring to Korea can play a positive role of its own; they can bring benefits to others through the variety of experiences that they are as a consequence in a position to enjoy. If appointed to the government structure and by being diverse, ethnic Koreans might generate better understanding of external policy making and developing social programs for Korean expatriates at home.

Korea should seek an open cultural policy. Korean people should be freely exposed to any foreign culture and enjoy them. As in the case of language, a culture is enriched by constant contact with other cultures. If culture remains isolated, it will decay as water enclosed in a ditch. We should remember that the Athenians rejoiced

in a cosmopolitan civilization because they absorbed the languages and customs of the entire Hellenic and non-Hellenic worlds.

The Koreans need not fear losing their cultural identity. Rather, they should fear losing the chance of enjoying other cultures (Korea Times, 1999).

The issue is also complicated by the *identity* definition as it is. Identity is not a matter of choice but actually the matter of one's understanding¹⁸. At the same time, one should think and decide on what relative priorities to give to one's various affiliations. For example, yet claiming Korean identity, Korean diaspora is not eager to live in Korean society as it is. According to the survey made in 1998 in Uzbekistan among ethnic Koreans, 86.5% of respondents said that they identified themselves as Koreans. However the survey also revealed the existence of a stratum of people who either did not feel themselves as Koreans (6.2%), or found difficulty in defining who they were – Koreans or not (7.3%). But at the same time, 81.7% of Koreans would prefer to live in poly-ethnic environment and just 17.7% would prefer the Korean one. 55.8% of Koreans named Korean language as their mother tongue, 43.8% - Russian, 0.3% - Uzbek, 0,6% - other languages This is a controversial fact, but these figures tell us that although identifying themselves with Koreans and considering Korean language as their mother tongue they would prefer to live in poly-ethnic environment rather than Korean. In other words, they prefer the atmosphere of interaction of various cultures rather than the monopoly of one, since they themselves are the product of a poly-ethnic environment and the synthesis of different cultures.

Therefore, one of the enduring features of any diaspora is the wish to return to the homeland, although its incidence varies greatly. There can be significant dividends to the home country if expatriates return, especially when they are highly

¹⁸ For more information on the concept of identity see Human development report 2004

skilled in areas in demand in the local labor market and have expanded their knowledge and experience while being overseas, and return with a network of overseas contacts that can benefit their work at home.

Still there were some measures taken by Korean Government, in 1995 president Kim Young Sam launched his globalization drive, *segzehwa*^{xviii}, with the words: “Globalization must be underpinned by Koreanization”. The way to achieve this is to reconnect with 4,5 million^{xix} overseas Koreans, who are officially defined as assets in globalization drive. The end of the Cold War resulted in full access to Koreans in China and in the newly independent Central Asian states. The Chinese Koreans started to arrive in Korea as immigrant workers and as brides filling the shortage of women created by sex-biased abortion, while the Korean minority in Central Asia played an important intermediary role for Korean investment in the region.

In 1997, Overseas Korean Foundation was inaugurated as the central authority responsible for overseas Koreans or *chaeoe tongp’o*^{xx} in the quest for globalization. The foundation has adopted the number of programs providing financial support to ethnic Korean scholars, students, teachers and independent researchers, thus creating a solid basis for fostering integration of overseas Koreans with their historical homeland.

The Korean way of globalization by embracing overseas Koreans through diaspora politics has reached new heights during the presidency of Kim Dae Jung as well.¹⁹

There would seem to be scope for the introduction of programs that facilitate and encourage the return migration of Korean expatriates with skills and experience

¹⁹ “The Adopted Koreans: Diaspora politics and the construction of an ethnic identity in a post-colonial and global setting” – presented at the Third Space Seminar at Lung University, Malmo, Sweden, 2002

deemed to be of national importance. However, it would seem, that here the role of government, in addition to encouraging the diaspora to be more involved in development efforts in the home country, is also facilitating and removing obstacles to return, rather than in undertaking major interventions. It can build on the wish of many to return to their home country. Certainly there may be scope for a government program to provide some assistance to institutions and businesses that can make a strong case for bringing absolutely outstanding expatriate scientists, innovators, business people, etc. back home. This should not amount to subsidizing normal headhunting activities, but should rather be reserved for truly outstanding individuals who will make a major contribution to the local economy and society. There is a need to investigate in some detail the transaction costs of returning to the home country so that returnees are not excessively taxed on their accumulated wealth. Such programs must ensure that returnees are able to accede to jobs that are fully commensurate with their talents; in other words, there must be suitable jobs for them to come back to. A crucial question here relates to how such potential returnees might be identified. Increasingly, it could be argued that countries are considering maintaining registers of skilled workers overseas to facilitate programs targeted at bringing back people with particular skills and expertise. Indeed, many Asian countries have kept such registers of their graduates working overseas and worked through their embassies to maintain contact with them. This involves newsletters and the organizing of social events. With current levels of information technology available, however, a number of possibilities suggest themselves. One offering a great deal of potential are alumni lists maintained by tertiary institutions. While in the past many such lists were poorly organized and maintained, this has changed as universities realized that alumni could be a source of future students and funds. Accordingly, most universities now maintain well-

constructed electronic databases on their alumni. These could be used to set up networks, perhaps even via the Internet. The development of attractive and informative websites, regular networking among expatriates, in particular in overseas cities, etc. are all possibilities worth investigating.

REMARKS:

ⁱ Migration: movement or relocation of the population within the country as well as internationally. Outbound migration is called emigration, while inbound migration is determined as immigration.

ⁱⁱ In 1930s Korean population in Hawaii was the smallest one totalled in just 1,8% from the whole Hawaiian population; Japanese represented the largest ethnic group of 40%

ⁱⁱⁱ This original concept of Diaspora, signifying expansion and settler colonization can loosely be applied to the late European (especially British, Portuguese, and Spanish) expansionist settlements of the merchandise and colonial periods

^{iv} Diaspora is the settling of scattered colonies of Jews outside Palestine after the Babylonian exile, or Jews living outside Palestine or modern Israel (*Oxford English Dictionary*)

^v However, this definition is too broad and the concept of motherland does not necessarily include ethnic homogeneity of this group to the ethnic structure of the host country. For example, although being born in Uzbekistan and spending the whole life there I would argue that this country is my motherland. I do not belong to the ethnic structure of the society and by living in Korea I would rather belong to Korean Diaspora, not Uzbek Diaspora in Korea.

^{vi} Yet this logic is not always justified, for example, Korean diaspora in Azerbaijani Republic constitutes from only 20-30 people, yet trade turnover is roughly 30 million USD. This trend is explained by the great amount of oil deposits and access to the Caspian sea, which makes easier access to trade and investments

^{vii} Currently as regards the number of students in Harvard University, Koreans rank the 3rd after Chinese and Indians. In 2003, Korean citizens made up the second-largest group of foreign students in the United States. The Department of Homeland Security 2003 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics shows that of the 624,917 people who came to the United States as foreign students in 2003, 74,115 (nearly 12 percent) were Korean nationals, second only behind Japanese nationals (81,558)

^{viii} Often considered as the counterpart of mainstream Confucianism, Taoism emphasizes freedom, nature, cosmology, self-cultivation, retirement from social life and even the search for immortality

^{ix} Legalism in philosophy refers to one of the four chief philosophic schools during the Warring States Period of Chinese history. Legalists believed that a ruler should govern his subjects by the following three ideas: the law, the method and control, the legitimacy, power and charisma

^x In Mohism, morality is not defined by tradition, but rather by a constant moral guide that parallels utilitarianism. Traditionalism is inconsistent and man-kind need an

extra-traditional guide to identify which traditions are acceptable. The moral guide must then promote and encourage social behaviors that maximize general utility.

^{xi} Shamanism is a range of traditional beliefs and practices that involve the ability to diagnose, cure and sometimes cause human suffering because of a special relationship with or, control over spirits. This tradition has existed all over the world since prehistoric times.

^{xii} The religious practice of renouncing all worldly pursuits in order to fully devote one's life to spiritual work. Many religions have monastic elements, including Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, and Islam, Jainism though the expressions differ considerably.

^{xiii} In various institutions, one is expected to attain some high status, otherwise one is not going to be treated as somebody of importance in the organization and in society at large. So, in the university, for example, a professor is not given due respect unless he/she becomes a dean or president, or better yet a cabinet minister or national assemblyman in the government. Everybody who would like to be reckoned as somebody carries a name card in this country. If you don't have one you are virtually nobody

^{xiv} Overseas Koreans are more likely associated and equalized with foreigners.

^{xv} We should take into account that apart those factors there are many other factors, which if combined give us that effect of resistance.

^{xvi} It is important to emphasize that foreign culture brought only its immoral aspects like prostitution, drugs, bad habits and etc, therefore society was experiencing the confusion of values and morality

^{xvii} *Isan Kajok* or divided family, but this definition should be applied not only to the people in North Korea, but to all Koreans living all over the world.

^{xviii} *Segyehwa* is the official term for "globalization," which in the U.S. denotes internationalization of economic relations, this phrase in Korea evokes strong nationalist sentiment, calling for national unity in order to survive and gain leadership in the international community.

^{xix} In 1995 the number of Korean diaspora was limited to 4,5 million people, these days this figure is approaching 6 million people

^{xx} Overseas Koreans – translation from Korean

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The Overseas Korean Foundation: www.okf.or.ok