Beyond Ethnicity and Nationality Korean Schools in Japan:
Cultural Discourses of “Homeland” and “Host”

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Abstract
This paper aims at shedding light on the current status of culture in Korean schools in Japan and the transmission of this culture, or cultures, to their students. Korean ethnic schools have survived in the midst of severe discrimination and prejudice from the surrounding Japanese society during the post-war era, an impressive statement of the power of culture. However, the status of these schools gradually changed after 2002, when the North Korean government admitted to a series of abduction cases of Japanese citizens and a new multicultural Korean society began to emerge. This paper will illuminate the roles of culture and diversity among Korean schools and their strenuous efforts dealing with discriminatory cultural policies of the Japanese government and society.

Key words: ethnic education, Koreans in Japan, nationality and citizenship, citizenship education, minority groups

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Introduction

This paper aims at shedding light on the current status and relations of cultural discourses of "homeland" and "host" in Korean ethnic schools in Japan. The Zainichi (Koreans living in Japan) who are supporters and sponsors of these schools face increasingly complex questions about the place of Korean, Japanese, and mixed ethnicities in their lives. For the Zainichi and other Koreans in Japan, what do "homeland" and "host," Japan and Korea, mean? How do the teachers, administrators, and parents of what have been until now Zainichi school communities explore and maintain the transmission of culture/cultures for their students and children in a globalizing age when even the definition of Koreans in Japan is changing? In many ways, as we shall see, this new era has shifted the landscape of issues for Zainichi communities beyond ethnicity and nationality to more complicated formulations of culture (Kashiwazaki 2000, 2002; Kim 1990; Lee 2001; Sakanaka 1999; Sasaki 2003, 2006; Lee, Murphy-shigematsu, & Befu 2007; Willis, & Murphy-Sigematsu 2008).

We situate our research and perspectives in those of education and anthropology, particularly of those theoretical approaches concerned with globalization. Following the pioneering work of Ryang (1997, 2000), Weiner (1997a, 1997b, 2004), and Lie (2000, 2001), we are interested in exploring how Zainichi and other Koreans in Japan negotiate the social construction of their identities around schooling. As perhaps the most critically important nexus sites for the cultural transmission of values, along with families, schools tell us much about multicultural changes, and, in the process, bring new meanings to the discussion of society in Japan, to paraphrase Appadurai (1990). Like Gates and Appiah (1992), we explore how multiplying identities disrupt the cliché-ridden discourse of identity in Japanese society by exploring what it is like to be Zainichi and Koreans in a society in which you are largely invisible and how you construct your cultural identity around schools and schooling. As we will show in what follows, there is reason to believe that there are now moves beyond ethnicity and nationality as the sole defining parameters for cultural construction, as Kang (2006) has noted.

This paper concerns the changing definitions of certain supposedly stable concepts in the Korean-Japanese context. All of us routinely have categories in mind when dealing with difference. How do we analyze the categories, reflect upon them, and report on the changes? The answers depend to a large extent on how we talk about societies like those of the Zainichi and other Koreans in Japan. These people live in what can be seen as the borderlands of Japan—Korea—Asia, that are increasingly the "norm" for many people in North east Asia. Those complex, overlapping, and disjunctive cultural crossroads.

The images of this cultural dynamic are transnational and transcultural. Flow, uncertainty, and disjuncture characterize them, replacing older visions of stability, order, and systems. The landscapes or ethnoscapes which we will describe below are creative constructions of new "imagined worlds" in Japan's borderlands. This is where the border experiences of real people in real time reflect institutional, societal, and cultural changes. And, although issues of education
and schooling have been addressed in lofty rhetorical terms by many commentators, we see a realist position, neither essentialist nor post-modernist, and recognize in the day-to-day lives of these school communities the variable, dynamic, and negotiated character of these new identities.

We agree with Morris-Suzuki (1998, 2002), who argues that culture and identity are something created in the present moment by weaving multiple strands of experiences together. This turns the spotlight on processes and multiple identities that exist, reflecting “radical hybridity” and “polyvocality” (Benhabib, 2002; Bhabha, 1997). Cultures are not solid pieces of a mosaic, but historically fluid and always contested, as increasingly decentered, fractured, and multi-channeled.

**Diversity among Koreans**

Koreans in Japan are the ethnic Korean residents of Japan, whatever their passports might be (indeed, some have no passport at all). Once Japanese nationals, during the period when the Japanese imperial government colonized Korea (1911 to 1945), these residents lost their Japanese citizenship in 1952. They have been living in Japan as foreign residents since then, but the plight of their lives is better explained by their unstable and marginalized status than that of simply being foreign residents today, even 60 years after the World War II (See the details in Tanaka, 1995).

Koreans remain the largest ethnic minority group in Japan, although Chinese residents replaced Koreans as the largest number of foreign passport-holders in Japan in 2007. According to these 2007 statistics, the number of Koreans residents was 593,489, and they accounted for 27.5% of the foreign residents and 37% of the Asian residents. There were 606,889 Chinese residing in Japan in 2007 and they are expected to continuously increase while Koreans, particularly, the *tokubetsu eijusha* (special permanent residents who have been living in Japan since before or right after World War II) are expected to decrease, with some predicting they will eventually disappear within 50 years. These comments and thoughts deny, however, the complexity of being Korean in Japan. For many Korean Japanese, for example, their cultural loyalties continue to lie at least partly with Korea.

Even though the Ministry of Justice categorizes all Koreans under two loyalty groups, (passport or otherwise, this is reality of their portrayal), these people are complex and can be categorized into at least three or four different types. The first group is those who have South Korean nationality and the second type consists of those who are supporters of North Korea. The latter tend to belong to the General Federation of Korean Residents (*Sōren*, GFKR), while many of the former belong to a similar organization for South Koreans, Korean Residents Union in Japan (*Mindan*). Correctly defined, the pro-North Koreans do not possess North Korean citizenship, and their legal status could be more appropriately described as “stateless.” The reality is that citizenship, residency, and passport holding for those with Korean culture are complex and variegated. Many who consider themselves culturally South Korean, for example, possess Korean passports but pass by Japanese names in their daily lives.
I ideological differences divided the Korean community into two groups for almost sixty years. On May 25th, 2006, however, Mindan approached Sören and suggested a "future-oriented relationship based on reconciliation." to be united beyond the ideological differences. Mindan, however, had to take this proposal back one month later, though, and the efforts to reconcile fell apart because some members of Mindan strongly disagreed with the proposal (Tōitsunippo, 2006).

The third group consists of newcomer Koreans who recently came to Japan on business or for studying. This group has been seen building a new culture in various parts of Japan, with their presence noticeable in the Kanto area, especially the Shin-Okubo district of Shinjuku ward in Tokyo, now famous as a "Little Seoul." A fourth group could be said to be those who born from so-called "international marriages" between Zainichi Koreans and Japanese or others. They are culturally or genetically mixed, having at least part Korean "blood." There is also a fifth group now, newcomers from China of Korean descents. These new groups are expected to swell in size in the future. In addition, there are about 300,000 naturalized Japanese of Korean descents using Japanese names who live more or less invisibly in the society (Kim, 2008).

Even though their legal status in Japan has not changed much, Korean voices asking for more civil rights are actively heard today, their demands being different according to their political positions. Mindan has been active asking for voting rights in local elections for these people, who show their willingness to participate in the Japanese society as foreign residents. On the other hand, Sören is asking for legitimate status for their own ethnic schools which are vital in transmitting their cultural heritage. The members of Sören, however, are not interested in acquiring voting rights, one of the primary goals of Mindan.

There were about 430,000 special permanent residents among those with alien registration at the end of 2007, with the number falling lower than those of general permanent residents. The number of foreign residents increased by 68,054 (62,220 Asians) from the previous year. The total number of foreign residents was 2,152,973 people (1.7% of the total population) in 2007, according to the Ministry of Justice Immigration Bureau, an increase of over 1.5 times compared with 1997.

The Zainichi community is rapidly aging, in a manner similar to that of the host society. Moreover, about 9,000 Koreans apply for Japanese citizenship through naturalization annually, with the ratio increasing (Table1). Marriages between Koreans and Japanese have increased as well, with more than 80% of Korean youth recently marrying Japanese. Under the current nationality law, their children are granted Japanese citizenship automatically (Asakawa 2003; Chung 2003; Lee, & Tanaka 2007).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table1</th>
<th>Demographic Data of Resident Koreans (1990-2006)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>year</td>
<td>new born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>5,253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>5,121</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

88 多文化関係学
Beyond Ethnicity and Nationality Korean Schools in Japan: Cultural Discourses of "Homeland" and "Host"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Schools</th>
<th>Number of Teachers</th>
<th>Number of Students</th>
<th>Teachers' Salaries</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>4,624</td>
<td>4,360</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>7,244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>4,233</td>
<td>4,268</td>
<td>-35</td>
<td>7,697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>4,183</td>
<td>4,291</td>
<td>-108</td>
<td>8,244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>3,650</td>
<td>4,577</td>
<td>-927</td>
<td>10,327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>3,587</td>
<td>4,397</td>
<td>-810</td>
<td>9,898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>3,234</td>
<td>4,466</td>
<td>-1,232</td>
<td>9,678</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>3,102</td>
<td>4,422</td>
<td>-1,320</td>
<td>9,561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>2,798</td>
<td>4,621</td>
<td>-1,823</td>
<td>10,059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2,681</td>
<td>4,483</td>
<td>-1,802</td>
<td>9,842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>2,390</td>
<td>4,513</td>
<td>-2,123</td>
<td>10,295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>2,468</td>
<td>4,491</td>
<td>-2,023</td>
<td>9,188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>2,206</td>
<td>4,526</td>
<td>-2,320</td>
<td>11,778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>2,103</td>
<td>4,446</td>
<td>-2,343</td>
<td>11,031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>1,876</td>
<td>4,660</td>
<td>-2,784</td>
<td>9,689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>1,792</td>
<td>4,588</td>
<td>-2,796</td>
<td>8,531</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. From Homepage of Korean residents union in Japan (Mindan) http://www.mindan.org/toukei.php#10

Minzoku kyoiku: Attempts at eradication, struggles to survive

The history of Korean ethnic schools and minzoku kyoiku (ethnic education) date back to the era of Japanese imperialism (1910-1945) (Kim 2004; Lee, & De Vos, 1981). Korea was officially annexed by Japan in 1910. Under a series of assimilation policies, educational opportunities for Koreans to study using their own language were more or less eliminated. The Korean language and culture were then mercilessly eradicated by the colonial authorities and replaced by Japanese language and culture, suppressed under the political slogan of Japanese and Koreans being the same, one body, naisen ittai. Recovering their mother tongue and culture thus became key goals for Koreans in both Korea and Japan when the power paradigm shifted at the end of World War II.

Despite the defeat of Japan and their liberation from Japanese imperialism, the two million Koreans living in Japan in 1945 were treated ironically as both liberated people and as enemies (Tanaka, 2006). The Korean zest for the revival of their ethnic identity and pride appeared in the form of the founding of Korean language schools within Japan. The number of Korean ethnic schools grew like mushrooms throughout Japan. Table 2 shows the growth of these schools from 1945 to 1949. "The Ministry of Education did not approve of these Korean ethnic schools, however, and embarked on a policy of either shutting down the schools or incorporating them into Japanese schools" (Tanaka, 2006, p.153).

When their home country was divided into two Koreas five years later, the Koreans in Japan were forced to take either side according to their ideological belief. Due to various reasons,
such as financial difficulties and the shrinking in size of the Korean community, those schools supporting the South (and by extension Japan and the United States) focused on a policy of assimilation. They became so-called Ichijōkō, or Article 1 schools, with a similar curriculum as Japanese schools. This meant that their language of instruction was Japanese and that they teach the Korean language, culture and history in extracurricular classes. Two originally Korean ethnic schools in the Kansai region of western Japan illustrate this shift in their names. Neither Kenkoku nor Kyoto Kokusai Gakuen have "Korea" in their school names any longer.

Initially, the main concern for the Korean schools at that time was their language and cultural heritage. Democracy, language, and cultural recovery were emphasized rather than ideology. The following were goals stated in Korean ethnic schools early on (Ozawa, 1973):

1. To teach true democracy under which all people can live a better life.
2. To foster love of our own country (Korea) with a consideration of world history.
3. To develop a unique sense of admiration for the arts and creative activities based on everyday life experience.
4. To develop a respect for work through everyday experience and learning.
5. To stimulate active minds for research in technology and science.
6. To facilitate the investigation of social relations between science, labor, and economic activities.

The new hegemonic power of the Japanese government which replaced the US occupation army labeled these schools agents of transmitting communist ideology and ordered policeman to close the schools by force. One high school student died soon after in the clash between the police force. Those Koreans who decided not to repatriate to Korea were united politically under their organization of the Zainippon Chosen Renmei (Resident Koreans League). The nature of the Korean schools was far from being ideological and political in the first phase of their history. As seen in their educational goals, they gave priority to language and cultural heritage, their views being progressive in the sense of nurturing students as good local and global citizens.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2  The number of Korean ethnic schools from 1946-1949</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1946.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Elementary school</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Junior high school</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>High school</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When their homeland was officially divided into two nations in 1953, the ideological disparity and its influence on ethnic education became significant. As Ryang (1997) noted, Sōren functioned as a Pyongyang Lobby and their views were sharply reflected in the educational system. The ethnic schools also began to develop towards two polarized directions. The Mindan related schools such as Kenkoku decided to accept the requirement to be Ichijōkō or Article 1 schools, by following the Japanese curriculum, and then being qualified to receive financial aid from the Japanese government in 1950s. The Mindan related schools chose realistic decisions to have their schools survive in a severely discriminatory society. On the contrary, the schools run by Sōren did not alter their beliefs and consequently got into serious financial troubles. The North Korean government offered these schools financial help, while the South Korean government had not even thought the schools had asked for their help.

Pro-North Koreans have of course maintained their own curriculum, refusing to follow the Japanese school curriculum. They were initially supported by North Korea financially, and the schools have seemingly worshipped the two leaders Kim Il-Sung, the founder of North Korea and Kim Jong Il, the present leader of the country. These pro-North Korean ethnic schools emphasize loyalty and allegiance to these two leaders, and the photos of the two were hung in classrooms until recently.

The characteristics of the pro-North Korean schools can be summarized as follows:

1. Maintenance of a strong pro-North Korean ideology and worship of the two leaders of North Korea.
2. Discouraging students from being assimilated into the mainstream of the Japanese society, such as applying for Japanese citizenship through naturalization, and discouraging its members from marrying Japanese.
3. The use of their own history textbook, published by the “General Association of Korean Residents in Japan.”
4. Teaching Korean history and Korea’s relationship with Japan.
5. The language used in the classroom is Korean and Japanese use is prohibited at the schools.
6. They are classified as “miscellaneous schools” alongside driving schools (Article 83). No

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**Table:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vocational schools</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>724</td>
<td>537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2,148</td>
<td>575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1,726</td>
<td>605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>952</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42,906</td>
<td>50,232</td>
<td>53,072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>1,076</td>
<td>1,458</td>
<td>1,423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40,520</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,287</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

financial aid from the Ministry of Education.
7. No discount of monthly pass of trains or subways.
8. Since they are not recognized as Article 1 schools, they are not eligible to take entrance examinations of the Japanese national universities. They can, however, take a preliminary examination to determine eligibility to take the entrance examination of national universities.

Korean schools, as mentioned above, are defined as private kakushu (meaning other category) schools. They are legally entitled to state and local government subsidies. In fact, a number of local governments provide subsidies, albeit a small amount, to Korean schools. The national government does not offer any subsidies. As Arita (2003) has noted,

*For half a century, Japan has permitted ethnic minorities, notably Koreans, to run their own schools while refusing to recognize these schools graduates by denying their students the right to sit for entrance examinations at national universities. The controversy has centered above all on the rights of graduates of pro-North Korean schools. The issues came to a boil recently when the Ministry of Education extended this right to three international schools while continuing to require that graduates of ethnic schools take a preliminary examination to determine eligibility to sit for the regular examination. The issue has long been central to the movement for the rights of ethnic minorities in Japan.* (abstract section)

**Are our children the tools of politics?**

In Japan, the post-war education of ethnic Koreans has been largely an ethnic and state ideologically based education derived from the state authority of either the North or South Korean states. Even the Korean language taught at Korean schools has had little impact in facilitating language between the two Koreas, but has instead become a tool used to increase the divide between these two political and cultural entities. The teaching of history at Korean schools in Japan, for example, presented two quite separate views of historical events involving Korea and resulted in the development of two distinct Korean cultural identities.

On the other hand, approximately 80% of ethnic Koreans of school age attended Japanese schools and these students were never given the opportunity to learn the historical facts regarding their country of origin and nothing in regard to their unique cultural heritage. They were treated as "normal" Japanese children, and their assimilation into Japanese society has never been questioned.

In 2002, the abduction case of Japanese citizens was revealed, with Kim Jong II admitting the fact that North Korea was responsible to the Japanese government. Hostility against the ethnic schools from the Japanese public accelerated, and the parents and students also began to be skeptical about the quality of the education being offered in front of the photos of the two leaders in the classroom. A number of parents continued to voice their worry about the quality of the schools and demand an updating of the curriculum.

Korean schools, which are defined as private kakushu (miscellaneous) schools, are legally entitled
to state and local government subsidies. In fact, a number of local governments provide subsidies, albeit in small amounts, to Korean schools. But the national government does not offer subsidies of any kind. The facilities of these schools are very poor, the school buildings in great need of repair, the children’s safety hardly being guaranteed in the event of an earthquake. Moreover, no health check or service is provided by the local government for the sake of the children.

These facts mean that parents are concerned about the future of their children, the worry over future job opportunities looming even higher than possible safety issues or natural disasters as jobs are increasingly tied to the university from which one graduates. In the case of these graduates, many of whom go to the North Korean-affiliated university, their future is not at all assured. Korea has been supported by Mindan financially so that many of prestigious universities in Korea accept a certain number of overseas Koreans. Zainichi have been an especially advantageous slot in this admission system. However, those who graduate from pro-Pyongyang schools have greater difficulty in going to university. Those who wish to go to South Korean universities may be able to change their residence status to South Korean, but many in fact try to pass the Japanese universities qualifying examination, and then challenge Japanese universities’ entrance examination.

The students at these schools are not provided well-rounded information about higher education opportunities and the society, so parents become concerned about the future of their children. Job opportunities of graduates from the ethnic schools are limited so that most of them choose occupational paths that have been traditionally open to Koreans in marginalized businesses run by other Koreans (Willis, & Lee, 2007).

The emergence of the Korea International School

In 2006, those who were dissatisfied with the pro-Pyongyang schools and who did not want to follow the Japanese curriculum opened a new Korean school in Ibaraki City of Osaka prefecture, the Korea International School (Kyodo News, 2007). The Korean International School of Osaka developed from the roots of struggle with a deeply felt colonial past and a continuing legacy of discrimination by the “host” country, giving it a distinctive identity and mission compared to other Korean International Schools found throughout the world today.

The pedagogical aim of the school is to nurture students to be global citizens rather than placing an emphasis on a narrow sense of Korean ethnicity alone. The founders of the school are varied and include naturalized citizens of Korean descent, Japanese educators, and human rights activists. The educational principles and objectives of the school are as follows:

1. Co-existence with Other Cultures: involving the creation of people with ethnic identity and personal self-esteem, and at the same time the intelligence, technical know how and attitude to create a multi-cultural society

2. Human Rights and Peace: respect for human rights, and democracy, create an unending value for world peace; at the same time a global perspective and the development of
individuals who can contribute to the building of a sustainable society

3. Freedom and Creativity: the education of people who understand the value of true freedom, based on a rich individualism and varied respect and full of creativity

This new school tries to erase the invisible boundaries surrounding Koreans in Japan. For example ethnic Koreans living in Japan now have a diversity of nationalities, including Kankoku seki (South Korean nationality), Chosen seki (North Korean supporters), Nihon Seki (Japanese nationality), Koreans with dual-citizenship, and, more recently, Chinese-Koreans, ethnic Koreans with Chinese nationality. The result is that it is no longer necessary to have a single relationship to any particular Korean state. Rather the necessity of a broader Northern and Eastern cultural perspective is now a reality for Koreans living in Japan.

The melting pot of culture and bloodlines of Koreans living in Japan, as well as the Koreans living scattered throughout the world, has created a situation which transends a North South dichotomy and has made Japan into an anchor point. Now ethnic Koreans are a living connection to Japan and it is important to build a living bridge that stretches between North and East Asia. This new Korean school tries to teach the students the meaning of the Northern and East Asian perspectives, historically, culturally and politically, which did not happen in either the traditional Korean ethnic schools or Mindan supported schools. The meanings of "host" and "homeland" thus become increasingly complex.

Accordingly, the purpose of the international school is to nurture young people to become global citizens with transnational qualities. The schools welcomes prospective students for admission in an admissions process not bound by the ideology of the nation state, but rather open to all. The youth should still possess their roots in local areas. In fact, because of the uncertainty of the future, being "transnational" and "transcultural" have replaced the words, long-held of "being ethnic Koreans."

The competitive market to increase enrollments

In the Multi-Ethnic Education Forum 2008 held in Osaka, one Korean school, two Korean ethnic schools, and the newly built Korea International School distributed their school pamphlets. Such public recruitment demonstrates that all of these schools are more open than they were previously in recruiting prospective students beyond their own immediate community. All of the schools appealed to students by emphasizing that their school curriculum is open and innovative.

Korean ethnic schools, for example, maintain that it is, "Inherent that our ethnicity learn our history, culture and language." These schools are proud of having a long history of seeking ethnic identity, intimacy, and international feelings. The Korea International School, on the other hand, emphasizes multiculturalism, human rights, peace, freedom and creativity. These may sound very different, yet the two schools each promote: (1) A high ratio for passing into prestigious universities in both countries, and (2) Trilingual education (English, Korean and Japanese). Such
an academic drive is similar to those Japanese schools focused on university entrances, but what really stands out for these schools is their trilingual education, something still rare in Japan.

In a questionnaire distributed at this meeting by a Korean ethnic school board member, two sections stood out: 1. Why are Zainichi Korean parents reluctant to send their children to Korean ethnic schools?: and 2. Why did you decide to send your children to Korean ethnic schools? Asking such questions openly had never been done before, apparently indicating a desperate situation concerning giving assurances on the number of prospective students in the school as well as an effort to be open to the surrounding Japanese society. The questions for the first section contained the following points:

1. Since we live in Japan, it is natural for us to send our children to Japanese schools
2. Economic burden
3. Skeptical feelings toward ethnic education
4. Skeptical feelings toward ideological education
5. Anxiety about the future of the children if being sent to Korean ethnic schools
6. Poor facilities
7. Distance from home
8. Too political
9. Little knowledge of Korean ethnic schools
10. Unstable relationship between Japan and North Korea
11. Decrease of the number of enrollment
12. Strong disbelief against the Korean ethnic schools that were blindly supporting North Korea

The main points for the second section included:

1. It is natural for us to send our children to Korean ethnic schools because they are Koreans
2. We should belong to the Korean community even after the children graduate from the schools
3. The schools are necessary to establish Korean ethnic identity
4. To be able to master Korean language
5. I would like to support Soren
6. I like the school atmosphere
7. The students can go to good universities or get good jobs
8. I think the ideological belief is important
9. It's important to inherit the first and second generation's accomplishment
10. I was asked earnestly to send our children by the affiliated school

What can now be observed is a transition from a state-based education reflecting an "imagined nation" and its national priorities, one in this case now very distant from Japan and Japanese society. For the Korean Japanese or Koreans in Japan, depending on which nuance or gloss of identity one accepts, these are not only academic questions, but also fundamental explorations of
Globalization and Koreans in Japan

What is different today is that transnational networks have created new lives and communities. Territoriality is fast becoming an outdated boundary marker of social functions and cultural identities, too (Benhabib, 2002; Vertovec, 2001). The transnationalization of societies and cultures, the easy movements of people across borders, and the ubiquitous spread of the world media all have in common that they are an alternate source of cultural power (Nederveen Pieterse 2004). The institutionalization of public policy leading to citizenship rights such as residential status, medical and other benefits, even, in some areas to voting, have been responses to these changes.

As Tsing (2001) notes, “Diasporas circulate, bringing the wealth of their cultural heritage to new locations… Circulation is thus tapped for the endorsement of multicultural enrichment, freedom, mobility, communication, and creative hybridity” (p.462). Dense with imagined interconnections of support and community, these new groups affect the circulations of shifting, contested and constantly renewed channels of communication and exchange. They are what Ong (1999) calls “flexible citizens.” Moving beyond essentialisms of either Japan or its ethnic minorities reveals fantastic, multiple, and heterogeneous complexities. It is now time to begin the study of this complexity in these new borderlands.

Korean ethnic schools today face the same serious problems as those of the Japanese host society. The decrease of their population has ironically become a driving factor in altering the educational goals of these schools. Although they did not yield to severe discriminatory treatment by the Japanese government or society for over 60 years, the downsizing of their own community has had a serious negative impact, diminishing their presence and raising the very question of where is the “homeland.” In order to survive, these Korean ethnic schools now have to expand their definition of “ethnic Korean” and who belongs in these schools. Nationality and citizenship will now likely be taken up at a much deeper, more nuanced level (Lee, Befu, & Murphy-Shigematsu, 2006; Willis, & Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008). Finally, the participatory and reconciliatory gestures these schools make towards Japanese society will be a key factor in helping them to survive and prosper in this new age of globalization and diversity.
Beyond Ethnicity and Nationality: Korean Schools in Japan - Cultural Discourses of “Homeland” and “Host”

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