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¹Yem N., ²Tomomura Masaru¹Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, e-mail: Yem.Natalya@kaznu.kz²The University of Tokyo, e-mail: tonomura@ask.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp

VISUALIZATION OF KOREAN ETHNICITY FORMATION IN JAPAN AS A GUARANTEE OF THE ETHNIC IDENTITY

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Ethno cultural education permits to preserve the ethnic identity of the representatives of the ethnic minorities by the way of inclusion to the native language and culture with simultaneous acquisition to the native language and culture with simultaneous acquisition of the values of the domineering culture. The acceptance of the idea of the ethnocultural formation of the ethnic minorities means creation of the polyculture system of the education. By that, basic tasks of the ethno cultural education of the ethno cultural formation is one as preservation of the ethnical identity and deepening of knowledge about own culture. Therefore, there is regulation that condition of the ethnical formation leads to one of the fundamental basics of the ethnic identity of the ethnos in this case in relation of Koreans to Japanese. Thus, the presence of the ethnic education the status of Korean schools and possibility of the employment upon the ending of the ethnic schools potentially are the guarantee of the preservation of the ethnic identity and pride for them. The last role-plays the diplomatic relations between Japan and two Koreas. The ethnic education serves to be the ‘visual noticeable and significant’ and not only on the level of the ethnos and ethnical relationship but on the level of social and governmental organizations of the accepted society.

Key words: Koreans of Japan, education, ethnic schools, discrimination, ethnic identity.

Этномәдени білім беру, этникалық азшылықтың өз ана тілімен және мәдениетімен таныстыру арқылы үстемді мәдениет құндылықтарын игерумен бір мезгілде бейімдеу этникалық сәйкестікті сақтауға мүмкіндік береді. Этномәдени білім беру идеясын қабылдау көп мәдениетті білім беру мен оқыту жүйесін құруды білдіреді. Сонымен бірге этникалық азшылықтардың этномәдени білім беру негізгі міндеттері этникалық сәйкестікті сақтау, олардың мәдениеті туралы білімді тереңдету болып табылады. Осылайша, этникалық білім берудің маңыздылығының бірі этникалық топтың этникалық сәйкестігін сақтау болып табылады, бұл жағдай Жапониядағы кәрістерге қатысты. Осылайша, этникалық білімнің болуы, корейлік мектептердің мәртебесі және этникалық мектептердің соңында жұмысқа орналасу мүмкіндігі этникалық сәйкестікті сақтаудың кепілі мен мақтаншы болып табылады. Жапония мен екі Корея арасындағы дипломатиялық қарым-қатынастардың рөлі аз емес. Этникалық білім беру этнос және этникалық ұйымдар деңгейінде ғана емес, сондай-ақ қабылдаушы қоғамның мемлекеттік және үкіметтік ұйымдары деңгейінде де «көрнекі және маңызды» болуы керек.

Түйін сөздер: Жапониядағы корейлер, білім беру, этникалық мектептер, кемсітушілік, этникалық сәйкестік.

Этнокультурное образование позволяет сохранить этническую идентичность представителей этнических меньшинств путем приобщения к их родному языку и культуре с одновременным освоением ценностей доминирующей культуры. Принятие идеи этнокультурного образования означает создание поликультурной системы обучения и воспитания. При этом основными задачами этнокультурного образования этнических меньшинств являются сохранение этнической идентичности, углубление знания о своей культуре. Таким образом, выдвигается положение, что состояние этнического образования выступает одной из фундаментальных основ сохранения этнической идентичности этноса, в данном случае в отношении корейцев в Японии. Таким образом, наличие этнического образования, статус корейских школ и возможности трудоустройства по окончании этнических школ потенциально являются гарантом сохранения этнической идентичности, и тем более, гордости за нее. Не последнюю роль играют дипломатические отношения между Японией и двумя Кореями. Этническое образование заслуживает быть «визуально заметным и значимым», причем не только на уровне этноса и этнических организаций, но и на уровне общественных и правительственных организаций принимающего общества.

Ключевые слова: корейцы в Японии, образование, этнические школы, дискриминация, этническая идентичность.

Introduction

As a rule language, social customs and traditions are expressed in the modern social science based on the formation of the ethnic identity. Realization of the adherence to the historical memory of the ethnos defined the ethnical identity of the personality. According modern theories of the social theories of the social science, every person should inherit the necessity to the belonging of something completely finding the support in the tradition.

“Identical” is translated from Latin as “homologous” and “identification” is establishment of the identity between subjects, processes and the other. The word “identification” was actualized in the connection with work of Turner, Erikson by the theory of the identity that gave new breath to the research on national self-consciousness and problems of the ethnicity [1]. The subject of consideration of the article is the system of the ethnical school and its connection with ethnical identity of Koreans who live in Japan and cultural integration at the last time.

Ethnical identity is studied not sufficiently, though it attracts the vast attention from the researchers. This, significantly, is conditioned by the specifics of the concept of the “ethnical”, “ethnical group”, “ethnicity”, in different schools and different countries. There are different tendencies in approaches to the problem. In USA, the problems of the intercultural interaction were the subjects of the close attention of the researchers, during XX century the approaches have been changed. First researches in the area were done with the position of the assimilationism, such as Americanization of new coming groups of the immigrants. The full assimilation, full loss by the ethnic minorities of new Motherland were considered as positive phenomena. The idea was supported later in the concept of the “melting pot” (melting pot).

In conditions of the gradually changing society concept of the melting pot have not justified itself, for a change of them came the theory of the cultural pluralism or “cultural Mosaic” such as preservation of the peculiarities of the cultures of different ethnic groups in condition of the democratic society. This theory was added later in the end of 1980 in the beginning of the 1990 when many researcher supposed that different groups of the white population in USA submerge in one ethnic group as the group of Americans. However, in present time many scholars conclude that the picture, in deed, is more complicated – “Americans” are counted

not only as white groups of nationalities. At the same time among different strata’s of American society especially recent immigrants the concept of “American” is not always given the reference in comparison with the belonging to different “own” ethnic group or faith group. George Barry suggested to distinguish four types of the ethnic identity for the descendants of mixed marriages in dependence of the situation: 1) monoethnic identity (high level of the identity with “own” ethnic group’ with the absence or low level of the identity with “alien”; 2) monoethnic identity with the “alien” ethnic group; 3) bioethnic identity (high level of the identity between both groups); 4) marginal ethnic identity (low level of the identity with both groups and their absence).

The subject of the study are Koreans in Japan, including the third generation.

Methods

Speaking about the process of the ethnic identity one of the apparent attributes of the existence of the ethnic commonality is ethnonym. The output of the ethnonym apparently shows the identification of the ethnic group from the numbers. The output of ethnonym is implied and defined of other factors, which are distinct in ethnic group: territory, commonality of the descendance, culture and economics and so on. The individual identifies himself or herself not only by ethnic attributes that is why ethnicity can be situated on the circumference of the personal motivation.

Many factors influence on ethnic identity such as objective social reality and other subjective factors such as level of education of the individual and, for instance, politics of the government in relation to the ethnic minorities that dominate the position of the ethnos and monoethnicity of the society.

Thus, on the level of the individual the ethnic identity clamors as the realization to the belonging of the definite ethnic group. Therefore, the individual can be counted as the member of the definite ethnos on condition of that in several years he has to socialize in the ethnic environment and therefore in the definite level knows the culture and accepts its style of life. Besides he has to by his own actions affirm own belonging to this ethnos. To be able to do that he has to be a native of his or her language or culture. In this sense, ethnic identity is not only original given to individual quality but quality that is obtained, used, discovered, and sometimes disclosed consciously. That is why the basic role in ethnodifferentiation plays the language. It plays

an important role among factors as depot of the ethnos and the following development. That is why ethnic education is very important. Ethnic education creates the possibility to discover close belonging to language, history and cultural traditions of its ethos.

Ethno cultural education permits to preserve the ethnic identity of the representatives of the ethnic minorities by the way of inclusion to the native language and culture with simultaneous acquisition to the native language and culture with simultaneous acquisition of the values of the domineering culture.

The acceptance of the idea of the ethnocultural formation of the ethnic minorities means creation of the polyculture system of the education. By that, basic tasks of the ethno cultural education of the ethno cultural formation is one as preservation of the ethnical identity and deepening of knowledge about own culture. Therefore, there is regulation that condition of the ethnical formation leads to as one of the fundamental basics of the ethnic identity of the ethnos in this case in relation of Koreans to Japanese.

Mainbody

Ethnical education in Japan

Nowadays there is more than two million of the registered foreign people in Japan, which consist one, 71% from the common density of population. About every thirtieth Japanese citizen have a "foreign parent" [2]. Foreign citizens in Japan are divided to two basic categories in accordance with historical and political belongings. More than 420000 people basically in Japan and Taiwan are falling into category "old-timers", who came as "new-comers" as ethnic Japanese from Asia and South America (Nikkei). According data for 2010 year the biggest group of foreign residents are Chinese (680518) and then Koreans (578495), Brazilians basically of Japanese origin (267456) and Phillipinoes (211716).

Ethnic minorities in Japan have to pass the ethnic inheritance with following generation by the meaning of sending children in ethnic schools – minzokugakkou.

Chinese schools

First Chinese school in Japan was created in Ikogama in 1898 with the purpose of teaching of Chinese children who grew up in Japan to preserve own Chinese identity. In 1952, the school collided to two fractions because of the political tension between mainland Chinese and Taiwan. The supporters of communist China formed Chinese school Yokohama Yamate at the same time supporters of Taiwan preserved Yokohama Overseas Chinese School.

One of the main difference between two types of the schools is a system of writing. Promainland school in China teach in simplified Chinese Language and the system of the Romanization which is used for the standard Chinese; at the same time they are oriented to Taiwanese school which teaches writing with the use of the phonetic symbols. One of the five Chinese schools in country is Chinese school Yokohama Yamate and Chinese school Kobe are oriented to the mainland. Chinese schools are directed to the preparation of the students for the Japanese society by the way of teaching in Chinese and Japanese languages in comparison with other international schools in Japan which as a rule are concentrated on the preparation of the students for Japanese society by the way of teaching students out of the borders of Japan. Nowadays 413 students of the Yamate School 30% are Chinese citizens and the rest have Japanese citizenship [3]. The existence of Chinese schools demonstrates the stability in promotion of the ethnic language and culture of Chinese citizens in Japan.

Brazilian schools

In Japan Brazilian, society grows up to 1.5 million of people. Almost 320000 are registered in the quality of citizens of Japan what make Brazilians the third largest foreign society after Chinese and Koreans.

The majority of Japanese Brazilians went to Japan in the quality of timely workers that are called *dekasegi*, which are, literally are translated as working "far away from home". Their number grew after reconsideration of the Immigration Law about the acknowledgement of the status of the refugees in 1990 which permitted the representatives of second and third generation of Japanese Brazilians accept long-term working visas in Japan. In the period when economics in Brazil remained stagnant, economy in Japan was on a rise. Thousands of Japanese – Brazilians families went to Japan to work for the industry of 3: *kitsui* (difficult), *kitanai* (dirty) and *Kiken* (dangerous). In spite of expectation of Japanese authorities after many of them "had to come back home when earned money" they remained in Japan.

In 1998, the law of acknowledgement of the refugees and immigration was reconsidered. In result, for Japanese Brazilians were issued working visas of different continuance, which are dependent because of their suggested "japaneseness". From 35000 Brazilian children in Japan 10200 in age of 5 and 14 years, are studying in governmental schools and 10000 study in Brazil schools. It means that about 10000 are not receiving education. That

is why the president of Association of Brazilian schools Julieta Yoshimura in Japan is worried by the issue.

She indicated that the number of Brazilian schools in Japan were raised to 110 in 2008 from 45 in 2001. Many Brazilian children who passed to Japanese schools had not been able to demonstrate equal academic success with Japanese students because of the absence of achievements in Japanese language because of the “hazing”. But Brazilian schools are not “safe refuge” because the government does not accredit majority of them. Therefore, their students have no access to the same privileges as the people taught in Japanese schools.

In result, not accredited schools are under discrimination for the same reason as the regular medical checkups, accesses to the ticket pass according to student tariff and other rights. Thus, in acceptance to the Japanese school according to the data of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan by the 2004 about 15000 Brazilian students were not enrolled in school. About 700 children among them returned in Brazil and only 160 children were accepted in Japanese governmental schools [4]. The presence of big quantity of Brazilian children outside causes anxiety in relation to illegal working force and the growth of criminality. Nevertheless, the government continues the politics of the limitation of the not accredited school, as they are the schools, which are not for Japanese citizens and in consequence are not obliged to provide education.

For today according to the data of the embassy of Brazil in Tokyo, 50 among 86 Brazilian schools in Japan were accredited by the government of Brazil [5]. Nevertheless one of them did not accept official status of the school in Japan and only two Brazilian schools in Aichi prefecture Gifu – have the status of “different schools”. Under the category goes the international schools, which accept tax deduction, and discounts for the students. Simultaneously it is counted that graduates have no duly Japanese education. Actually, Brazilian schools should apply for governmental accreditation because of their demands for that were weakened. For now only four accredited Brazilian schools exist.

“Brazilian children, who attend governmental schools, have no sufficient support to be accustomed in the foreign environment,” said the late Kenji Mizui, the head of the Council of Education in Suzuka, prefecture of Mie where foreign citizens comprise 5 per cent of the population of the city. Among the last reformation of the support of Brazilian children in governmental schools. Among the last reformations of the support of Brazilian children in governmental

schools is called engagement of Portuguese language teachers and implementation of the new educational materials in Japanese language [4].

Brazilians as foreigners of Japanese origin became in dominating quantity in Japan after the law of 1990 to engagement of the cheap working force. The fact of business of them in the sphere of unqualified labor such as the building and manufacturing and also intention to live in Japan for longer periods of time sets the tasks of the immigration politics on ‘the development of the new talents introducing higher social supplement in accordance with unstable conditions of the business’.

Brazilian advocate Etsuo Ishiawa who presents the legal consulting for Brazilian society in Hamamatsu, prefecture Shizuoka that has the biggest population of Brazilians in Japan said that the basic cause of the problems of the immigrants is the absence of the social security in accordance with the not stable conditions of employment [4].

Thus the right to education and stable social security and engagement of the right of the voice of the not Japanese citizen in local elections and also necessity of the change of the “Japanese way of the thinking to the relation to the foreigners” demands the farther consideration by the Japanese government.

Now 12 Korean middle schools exist in Japan where there are 1800 students who are also citizens of South Korea and Japan but two of them are practically closed.

The status of Korean schools depends on rise and falls of the relations between Japan and Democrat’s people Republic of Korea. 20 of February of 2013 the Ministry of Education, culture, sports, science and technology (MEXT) introduced changes in the teaching program introduced in 2010 in the purpose of exception of the “pro-Korean” middle school. Review reflects hard position of the premier – minister Shinzo Abe against nuclear tests of North Korea 2002 when Pyongyang officially acknowledged that North – Korean agents abducted Japanese in 1970 and 1980 to be able to teach them as own spies. In result, the government demonstrated discriminational decision in relation to the international schools and schools, which are connected, to China and South Korea. Besides the review prohibits the principle of the equality before the law as considered by the article 14 of the Constitution of Japan. This contradicts to the purposes of the program, which was set up for students of the Middle schools in Japan who have the possibility to receive education independently from financial condition of the family.

Korean schools in Japan teach Korean children the Korean language and culture with the purpose of preservation of ‘the pride of the own identity’. After Korean War, pro-North schools of Chosen had institutional connections with DPRK. In connection with that and the growth of the phobia to North Korea in Japanese society, Chosen schools lived through political attacks and cutbacks of the financial support which local organs of the government present in local schools. In spite of that the students in Chosen schools stay ‘‘optimistic’’. Their parents want that their children grow as Koreans and support their Chosen schools [6].

The presence on the territory of Japan of the ethnic schools forms a vision that minority are presented all possibilities for the preservation of their culture, language and support of the ethnic identity. However, conditions of the existence of the ethnic system of the education demonstrates many problems and demands thorough consideration from these researchers’ viewpoint.

Koreans in Japan: condition of the ethnic identity

The history of the appearance of Koreans in Japanese islands comes to first centuries of the XX century. After the World War II, the number of Koreans in Japan was equal to 2 million. The majority of them were brought to Japan by force in terms of labor resources and were repatriated in the end of the war. That people who stayed in 1948 were evaluated as 590.000 people. Their hope to the return was destroyed as the Motherland was divided between Soviet North and American South. The following Korean War (1950-1953) united Japanese Koreans who remained in Japan.

Korean residents of Japan as past colonial nationals and their descendants had two statuses of the existence: naturalized Koreans who accepted Japanese identification and, Korean citizens (zainichi status) who preserved ethnic identity. The choice of zainichi status is the way to express their resistance to the system of naturalization in Japan, which they saw as the inheritance of the assimilatory colonial politics. In the beginning of 1990, significantly the number of Koreans became to find naturalization. This witnessed the difference about their relation to ethnical and national belonging. They counted that after naturalization they could reserve their ethnical identity. In result, by continuous growth of multiculturalism in Japan the third variant was known as ‘‘Korean Japanese’’ or Japanese citizens with Korean ethnic identity. Researchers show that the new variant of identity accords with the earlier

known as famous colonial discourse of the ethnic hierarchy in assimilation and pays attention to the potential of the activation of the political presence of the residence of Koreans in Japan [7].

Though the life for zainichi of the Korean population of Japan was under influence of many factors, the development of the discourse of the internal; politics to the relation to the zainichi at the beginning of 1970 reflects big changes in perspective of the identity of the zainichi. In the article of one of the researchers was analyzed zainichi of the intellectuals in social commentators at the beginning of 1970 till the beginning of 2000 years. The situation is characterized as timely and special shift in politics from the old generation to younger. In result, there is somewhat hybrid identity, which is different from the idea of the political organizations of the zainichi and anti-Japanese nationalism [8].

The division of Korean peninsula exacerbated the row of the complexities to the question about citizenship of Koreans in Japan. Though almost all happened in the south of the peninsula the significant part of Koreans in Japan politically identified themselves as the representatives of the North of the peninsula as the other preferred to determine themselves as representatives of Chosen (Korea) independently from the political division. At the same time the Japanese government determined all representatives of the colonial countries as ‘‘foreign’’, the South Korean regime prevented the choice of nationality declaring all Zainichi Koreans as citizens of the Republic of Korea. The result of this system became the system of the registration of foreigners which separated people from the chosen registration (Choseseiki) from that of Kankoku (Republic of Korea, Hangeul) by the registration of the Kankokuseki. In result during many decades chosen registration was equal to ideological loyalty towards North Korea. At 18 of April 1952 year, the next day when the treaty Peace treaty San-Francisco entered into force, Japanese government declared about one-sided decision about withdrawal of the Japanese citizenship of previous colonial nationals including Koreans who live in Japan [9].

Besides such a position declared that Koreans had to pass the process of naturalization as foreigners if they wished to obtain Japanese nationality. Japanese governmental sanction did not follow modern international legal rules such as the people who have not obtained new nationality actually had no citizenship. One-sided regulation of the problem of nationality was justified in accordance of the assumption that Peaceful Treaty San-Francisco to

which not one of the government of Korea has not connected, implied an agreement about change of the nation. The logic concluded in as the agreement guaranteed the end of Japanese control on Korean territory; Koreans were independent and therefore were Japanese nationals. In 1961, the division within Supreme Court supported the official presentation. The period between 1945 and 1952 had some parallel with colonial period that in the relation between Japanese government and Koreans in both periods, the problems of social security formed Japanese governmental politics.

In relation between nationality and citizenship were made changes. Because of the loss of the Japanese nationality, Korean veterans had no right for the pension and other social protection. Korean civil servants in Japan should ask for naturalization otherwise there would be a risk of the unemployment. The Ministry of Justice of Japan after 1952 regulated the nationality by the principle of the blood and by strict rules of the naturalization. The law prevented free access to Japanese nationality. The applicants for naturalization had to be controlled by the administration. The criteria for the naturalization were issued in 1958.

For example, there were considered the political orientation of the applicants to the Members of the Communist Party and members of the North "Chongrun" was not considered to be naturalized. In criteria, there was acceptance of the Japanese culture. It was considered "to not present the naturalization to the person who cannot be assimilated into Japanese society relatively the way of life and other aspects" and "to the person who lives in special living places by the type of Korean neighborhood".

The applicants on naturalization must accept names that are similar with the Japanese. This was a part of the conditions for the naturalization. The naturalization is closely connected with the registration of the place of the residence. Whoever would not receive Japanese registration is the Japanese compatriot. In result, Japanese nationality passed to the next generation through the registration. To prevent undesired elements to become Japanese the civil servants had to choose criteria to prevent fraud with documentation for registration of the place of the residence.

Next postulates impose peculiarities on the conditions of the preservation of the ethnic identity of Koreans in Japan. Koreans in Japan who has experience of the forceful recruitment of the war period brightly identified own future with Korea, however all comprised not domineering minority.

Because the family fulfilled strict function of the psychological support of Koreans in Japan who lived in condition of harassment and discrimination. The internal solidarity Korean family preserved in condition of the support of the language, traditions and Korean traditional food. The second and third generation in Japan grew in houses where members of the family spoke only in Japanese. At the age of ten yearold, children recognized the fact that, he or she is Korean as they heard the talk in foreign language from the moment coming of other people at home. At moment, they felt badly themselves but never complained about their tribulation [10, 69] Korean patriarchal family invited filial piety and had big cementing force in Korean families in Japan than in the families of Koreans in Korea. Taking into account the language situation of Koreans in Japan beginning from the second generation the fact of the cultural assimilation is de facto

Fourth is that they have two different names: Japanese name, which they use, and real – Korean traditional name. For business, Koreans in Japan need Japanese traditional name. Usually they use two different names. Besides new generation who are the students of the elementary, middle and high school – declare own Korean names as their own and as the names for school. In this situation Korean students declared Korean names as identified themselves Koreans. The movement of Korean youth indirectly support proclamation of Korean names in class.

Korean teenagers in Japan organized the group of the students for the studying of Korean language and Korean history at evening time, Young leaders of this teenagers groups brought the flowers to the seashore at the holiday time for special "training for soul and body" [10, 68]. By that the majority of representatives of the second and third generations of Koreans have no functional skills of Korean language. They use own Korean names in everyday life. More than 90 percent of Korean long-term residents have a knowledge of Japan language in addition to own names and 80% use Japanese names in everyday life.

Until the recent time it was popular to think that zainichi – Koreans accepted Japanese names to escape discrimination from the domineering Japanese society. In research, 1993 there was a thought that they use Japanese name for different causes. They think that Japanese names are better because the more acknowledged with them and think that Japanese names express the same thing as they call. In spite of that, many Koreans continue to

practice “Korean way of life” they exhibit traits of Korean rituals for the family members and support Korean cuisine [1].

Korean of ethnically homogenous Japan tried to find the ways to support own ethnic identity which is different from the Japanese majority. The existing aspect of the process – is that Korean citizens in Japan limit expression of the Korean ethnicity. Korean organizations in Japan helped Koreans and supported ethnicity. However, their culture was national, civil than ethnical. Naturalized people had a tendency to live as Japanese/the community of Japanese nationals grows because of the increasing of the number of naturalized citizens and entering of them in the marriage. Beginning from 1980 some Koreans – Japanese nationals became more expressive in the matter of Korean identity. At the same time, the number of Koreans of Japanese nationality quickly grew because of the number of the naturalization mixed marriages.

Ethnic identity of Koreans as Japanese nationals makes Korean national organizations and Japanese society to reconsider the connection between cultural identity and legal nationality. From the other side the continuous dominion of the national status (citizen’s status) as a symbol of Korean identity in Japan continues to prevent Koreans with Japanese citizenship to express Korean identity.

Examples of the Korean diaspora in the other parts of the world for the first plan of understanding of the problem, which stands before Korean in Japan. Korean immigrants in USA can write own identification, as “Korean American” at that, time as the understanding and realization of “Korean – Japanese” seems difficult Korean in China and USSR are acknowledged officially as the ethnic minority. However, their Japanese compatriots received a little social support of their cultural and educational programs; however, they were controlled by immigration agencies as foreigners. The ethnic aspect of the Korean identity closely connected with the significance of the legal nationality. Many Koreans remained Japanese nationals also in the third generation.

The main factor-rules about the acceptance of the Japanese citizen, which were assigned through the inheritance (principle of blood) and were attained only through naturalization. The nature of the Japanese law about citizenship is not sufficient to explain that Koreans remained residential foreigners by themselves. Koreans did not demand of Japanese nationality. It symbolized for them their experience of the forceful assimilation

during colonial period when they were deprived own language and name. The refusal from Japanese nationality was the basis to support Korean identity in Japanese society.

The movement of two main Korean organization – “Chongrun” and “Mindan” illustrates national character of the belonging to Korean identity. First of all the membership was based to the belonging to Korean ethnos. Both organizations defined Koreans in Japan as foreign nationals and not as future citizens of the country.

Official ideology of Chongrun rejects the concept of the ‘ethnic minority; as the Mindan emphasizes their patriotic orientation to contrast it to the members of Koreans in USA who became American citizens. From the other side Korean ethnic education, which is sponsored by the ethnic organizations, were important element of the reproduction of the Korean national culture. “Chongrun” managed the net of the school. “Education in schools of Chongrun is oriented to the rise of the national conscientiousness of the educational national culture. Students study Korean language, culture and art. This helps to give a pride for the “Motherland”. School system “Mindan” was limited by the fourth schools “Mindan” which are actively organized different programs for Korean schools who attends different programs for Korean students who attend Japanese schools and they included Saturday schools, summer sessions and trips to the Motherland.

From the 1970, Korean groups out of the main two associations actively fought against social discrimination and demanded legal rights as the residents of the Japanese society. The big accent to this problem was made with the appearance understanding of the perception of the “zainichi” (place of the residence in Japan). This period is the place of the residence in Japan, which challenged the last perception of Koreans to belongings to Korean Motherland. Korean identity of the younger generation had an ethnic and not national quality. In 1980, Koreans in Japan characterized high level of the cultural assimilation with the low level of the structural assimilation. During colonial period Koreans were dutiful to learn Japanese language and to accept Japanese names, names staying structural differentiated as colonized people [12, 69].

Majority of Koreans in modern Japan were born here and strongly assimilated in Japanese culture. Many of them did not speak in Korean language and during that, they do not follow Korean traditions. With the change of their legal status as the constant foreign residents from 1980, the level of the structural

assimilation have grown. The marriages between Japanese and Koreans have grown as in 1960 more than 30% of Koreans participated in marriages with the Japanese partners and only in 1973, only 506% from the main quantity of the marriages of Koreans were the marriages “Korean-Korean”. In 1994 only 17.5 consists Korean marriages, the remain were the marriages between Koreans and Japanese-81.7% and between Koreans and other nationals -0.8%. In 1995, this index comprised 82.2%. The growth of the mixed marriages brings the appearance of the big quantity of Japanese citizens of Korean ethnic identity in Japan. How much the factor of the presence of the ethnic formation and its quality, conditions of the existence could support the ethnic identity [11]. Right in those conditions, the question of ethnic identity of Koreans in Japan is being solved. How much is the factor of the presence of the ethnic formation and its quantity of the content and condition of the existence could support the ethnic identity.

Historical stages of Korean ethnical education

Korean in Japan speak exclusively in Japanese. Korean language is taught only in schools of politicized character which belongs to pro-North organization Chongryun and only on the level of the everyday speech. There is Korean dialect, which was formed by Koreans who come until 1980. The regional difference of the language marked among women of Osaka – which influenced the living here immigrants from the island near Jeju. In everyday life of Japanese Koreans the native tongue do not play the own role especially for the representatives of the second, third and fourth generation.

The policy of the discrimination in relation to Koreans in Japan, which was executed by the Ministry of education, is called Monbukagakusho. The harassment of the ethnic Korean schools originally were done through the politics Kominka Seisaku – “the submission of people to Emperor” Korean language and culture systematically subdued and Korean names forcefully were changed to the Japanese from the beginning of the Japanese colonial management in Korea. In schools it was prohibited teaching of history, geography, culture and language of Korea.

After the liberation of Korea in 1945, Korean diaspora in Japan reached to the renaissance and support of own, culture and resist the policy of the assimilation of the Japanese government started to care about creating of Koreans ethnic schools. This formational movement spread to Japan. During the year after the end of the war, Koreans made the basis

of big quantity minzokugakko-ethnic schools: 525 of the beginning, 4 middle and 12 school of the higher education.

However, in January of 1948 in accordance with the law about school education from 1947 the demand to the opening of the school considered the presence of the accreditation and the use of Japanese language in the process of the studying. In connection with that, the teaching of Korean language became optional. The act of the government about closing of not accredited Korean schools followed the mass of the demonstrations in different parts of Japan famous as the Kobe protests. In result, the number of Korean schools was smaller in 1954 to 154. The closing of Korean schools was executed with the passing of Korean children in Japanese governmental schools.

After 1965 (the ratification of the treaty of San Francisco) government of Korea and Japan officially agreed with what that Korean children visited governmental schools together with Japanese children [13]. Besides from the 1952 Japanese government demanded from Koreans as not Japanese citizens “to receive education assigned to Japanese children” that included using Japanese names by Korean children. In prefectures of Yamaguti, Okayama, Chiogo, Osaka and Tokyo Koreans tried to resist the demand of closing of the ethnic schools

In the end of the 1950 at the beginning of 1960 years, Korean ethnic schools became to appear in result of the activity of the Chongryun. They were financed by the North Korea. As to the beginning of 1970 was created 180 schools of the different level with cohort in 35000 students [14,168]. Created by the political motives of the school Chongrun bring up children in the constant loyalty to the North Korea. Those ethnic schools do not receive financial support from the Ministry of education in Japan and their graduates have no certificates that are acknowledged by the Ministry. The graduates of the schools could not enter to Japanese governmental Universities. However, some private Universities accept in the basis of the result of the passing of them exams. The possibilities of the farthest education of their graduates are very limited. The special ethnic schools in their turn submit to the government of North Korea. Nevertheless, those schools have broader influence on the formation of the ethnic self-identification of Japanese Koreans [15].

However not many parents sent their children. First the cost of the studying was relatively high; second they were not widespread; third in the rest

of the normalization of the relations of the South Korea and Japan in 1965 was acknowledged as the rights of Koreans in Japan to receive education in Japanese governmental schools [16,9]. The status of governmental Japanese school was higher than Korean ethnical. Besides even ethnic classes in governmental schools are especially vulnerable because the studying in Japanese not in Japanese language contradicted the basic education in governmental schools [17].

In 1965 when it was clear that majority of the representatives of Korean diaspora prefers to justify their children in governmental schools in Osaka was created the scientific Council in the problems of the education of foreign children. However, this Council was under public critique in 1971 when there was discriminational relationship to Koreans. They described Koreans as the selfish, aggressive and dirty and the reason the council found the presence of the ethnic self-consciousness among Korean children. After that the Club Thinking about Education for Korean Children (The center of care about education of Korean children). This organization leads to enlightenment among Koreans and plays the important role in their educationallife [16, 11].

In the 1960-1970 the level of the education of Korean significantly grew in spite of that the level remained lower than middle in the country in whole. In 1984 in Japan Minsokkyowas formed in Japan – the organization of the achievement of the ethnic education. The purpose of its activity was the supplement of the financial support of the ethnic education from the side of the local administration. In 1991 after signing two-sided treaty with the local administration. In 1991 after signing of two-sided agreement between South Korea and Japan, the Japanese ministry of education creates the prefecture of the Council on education for the support of the continuous work of the ethnic classes in schools. This helped in 1992 to find financial means to open official ethnic lases in Osaka. There were opened new ethnic classes to renovate the interest to Korean ethnic education after Olympic Games in Seoul in 1988 in Osaka.

At the beginning in 1990 existed more than 100 ethnic Korean schools in Japan. One of the peculiarities of the Korean ethnic schools were two-language education. The quality of the education and school programs, which presents their ethnic schools, did not yield tousual Japanese schools. The school were focused in teaching Korean language, history and geography not in the damage to Japanese language of education. Many graduates

of the Korean ethnic schools successfully passed ethnic schools in Universities and colleges that witnesses about that the quality of education in this school does not differ from analogous indexes of the Japanese schools [13].

However, in 1990 the situation have changed. On the example of the city of Osaka, we can see that happens the significant constriction of number of the Korean population. This is result of the higher level of naturalization among Koreans and also increasing number of the marriages of Koreans with Japanese. In 2000 years, Korean teachers marked the fast growth of the number of children of the Japanese nationality, parents of which can be of different ethic belonging, Japanese –Korean.

The process of the internalization of the higher education in Japan from the 1995 was directed from one side for the improvement of the quality and effectiveness of the higher education and from the other to the “increasing of the openness for the students of other nationality” The governmental initiatives that are directed to the increase of the quantity of foreign students who supports cardinally by new in significance financial and human resources on national and institutional levels. The researchers marked that separate institutions actively used the process of the internalization as the way to enrich own University. The equal possibilities for the entrance in University was not always supported for ethnic minorities who live in Japan [19].

In result, Koreans as the biggest group of the ethnic minority in Japan felt the changes in connection with the policy of the government at the last time. The programs of the school education ion is more oriented to Korean children. Studying academic achievements of Korean students the researches marked their more positive results in comparison with the generation of their parents”. The politics of government emphasized the fundamental transformation of the system of the school education [11].

Korean language practically had no chances to preserve Koreans for Japan. The ethnic education is not in demand and not attractive. The population decline of Koreans in Japan during growth of naturalized citizens of Japan from the number of the ethic Koreans with the higher part of the probability suggests the loss of the ethnic education of Korean diaspora in Japan. Korean Japanese comparing with the Koreans of China for example lost the biggest part of their cultural inheritance and tried the process of their ethnic identity [20]. The living in monoethnic country in many cases made the process forced and naturally determined of the assimilation of Koreans in Japanese society.

The presence of Koreans of student age is presented to Koreans of third and fourth generation of Koreans. Their parents considered three variants of their own children: ethnic schools in introduction of the Organization of North Korea (Chongryun), schools and supporting by the Organization of South Korea (Mindan) and Japanese schools.

Under governance of North Korean organizations the newspapers, banks and other enterprises work which are meant for the satisfaction of the demand of their members. In 1993 there were 81 elementary, 57 middle and 12 middle schools and one university. The teaching is led to completely in Korean language excluding the lessons of Japanese language.

Students must speak Korean language on the territory of the campus. The study program is supported this regime of Pyongyang until the recent time was based on the supposition of the fact that the students in the end return in the unified Korea and they do not consider Japan as the place of the permanent residence. Schools have no the similar rights as Japanese schools what means the graduates of the schools of North Korea had no chances to become the students of Universities of Japan. At the time as more than half among the private, local, and governmental Universities are open for the graduates of the middle schools in North Korea, did not exist national Universities, which accepted the graduates in 1997. In comparison to South Korea, the schools teach lessons in Japanese language and study Korean only few hours a week. There are only four schools in South Korea.

Beginning from the end of the 1970, more than 80% Koreans of the student age were enrolled in Japanese schools. In 1986 86% of Korean citizens of the student age (as the smaller amount of children of South Korea's expatriates. Became the students in Japanese schools, 135 schools of South and North Korea- 1% enrollment into schools of North Korea was on decline and that attracts less than 9% of Koreans of the students age [11].

Ethnic education and identity

The conditions of the existence and support of the activity, official status of Korean schools and content of the educational part and its political direction forms the basics of the necessity of the ethnic education for Koreans in Japan. There is some "hybrid identity" when the adherence to belonging of the ethnos characterized as the identity by blood and identity on the place of the residence. In result, the young generation is in situation of the "personal conflict" in self-determination and self-identification.

Thus based on the interview among of the Korean students in Japanese and Korean schools ChoKyongho made the attempt to understand the peculiarity of the ethnic identity of the growing generation of Koreans in Japan concentrated the attention in the difference of the experience of the school. The ethnic identity of the young generation of Koreans in Japan is so various and to embrace its full aspect is complicated. In research, the author emphasizes the peculiarities of the every ethnical identity among Korean students in Japanese and Korean schools. The ethnic belonging becomes the factor, which brings to the conflict for Koreans students in Japanese schools. In addition, conflict gave the big influence to formation of the ethnic distinctiveness. From the other viewpoint the students in Korean schools and the ethnic distinctiveness of Koreans in Japan is well known. Korean schools can be valued as the factor who have a positive influence on the preservation of the ethnic identity without strict proof.

Other researchers consider the politics of the schools for foreigners in the after-war of Japan in conditions of the schools for Zainichi – Koreans. Especially with the force to the students of Zainichi – Koreans the authors consider the different problem that are caused by the legal status and institutional discrimination of the schools for foreigners. In this document the authors call "Zainichi – Koreans as people and their descendants of Korean peninsula who live in Japan in result of colonial politics (so called special constant residents) [22].

The legal system of 1984, which presents Japanese citizenship to children who have at least one Japanese parent who makes faster the process of growth of the population of Japanese citizens of the Korean citizenship. The increase of the share of Japanese citizens of Korean ethnic citizenship in the framework of common Korean population demands more whole definition of zainichi-Koreans. Old Koreans long time ago were defined as Koreans who has no Japanese citizenship. Naturalized Koreans often counted as defectors who lost the feeling of the national pride. Among the young Koreans in the age of 18-30 years old this viewpoint does not dominate. This shift happened gradually. In 1990, the researchers studied Korean parents who sent their children to usual schools of Japan to realize that parents were more worried that children preserved their ethnic identity ahead of Korean nationality and their relation was spread out of the territory where the Zainichi-Koreans concentrated [11].

It is known that Koreans have difficulties on labor market though their scale is difficult

to evaluate. Koreans are refused to work on governmental service in the force of absence of Japanese citizenship. In spite of that such limitations were refused in some cities and villages in whole the governmental organizations reluctantly were abolished in some cities and villages in whole, governmental organizations reluctantly followed to this example.

The employers in the private sector also employ Koreans. The research shown that 38.6% of Koreans felt some kind of the discrimination during the search of work. Among Koreans, the biggest share of that people who had some kind of the discrimination during the search of the work. Among Koreans, there were more of people who work on somebody else or through the family social network but not through the school and open proposal in spite of the areas in comparison with the last generation.

Because of that Koreans continue to be discriminated in the market of labor they have ambivalent relationships to Japanese school. Koreans formed the persuasion that they can work using their educational qualifications in the labor market; and the significance of the school proxy remains the question for them. Such presentation for them influenced on their decision to the educational career of own children and beyond the borders [11].

Conclusion

Thus, the presence of the ethnic education the status of Korean schools and possibility of the employment upon the ending of the ethnic schools potentially are the guarantee of the preservation of the ethnic identity and pride for them. The last role-plays the diplomatic relations between Japan and two Koreas. The ethnic education serves to be the “visual noticeable and significant” and not only on the level of the ethnos and ethical relationship but on the level of social and governmental organizations of the accepted society. To my view, the more detailed consideration the question of learning of the reached level of the education of Koreans in Japan and their social status. In the impending research, it is necessary to think about the hypothesis:

“The more is the component of the educational and social status of the ethnic minority the “higher and equal the love to “father and mother “as to “identity of Korean ethnos and ethos of the accepted society”.

The history of Koreans in Japan was described in many research reports by many authors. At the beginning of the Japanese annexing in Korea in 1919 many Koreans migrated to Japan in search

of the work in Japanese mines and plants [23]. In modern conditions social-economic position and level of life of Koreans in Japan got better. The social discrimination, isolation of Koreans from the basic spheres of economics, support on individual social net became the causes of formation of Koreans in Japan of own economic niche in which Japanese were not active [24,882]. In 1989-1990 in Japan the row of reforms was made which permitted Koreans to work in the role of postman, professional nurses in governmental hospitals and also teachers in governmental schools [25, 66-67].

The data of research witnesses about that among Koreans there happens “polarization” in economic niche [26]. In connection with brisk growth of the number of the foreign residents from the beginning changed a little. Such policy of the “multiculturalism” gradually created new conditions for Koreans on the background of all foreign population of Japan [27]. At the same time the position of Koreans accords with the status of category of the social- economic position of Koreans in Japan and the situation had no perspective in change with the nearest future.

It is necessary to acknowledge the fact that the ratification of the Japanese government of intergovernmental agreement on humanitarian rules on legal status of political emigrants and refugees of Koreans in Japan that received additional rights: such as allowance for children, the living conditions and credits. With the time the number of Koreans who want to be naturalized increased [28,54].

“New Japanese” was not given a rule to be called as Japanese. The status of “new Japanese” disappeared only after three generations [29,5]. Here there have been worked the elements of long residence and the way of the cultural adaptation of the representatives of the second generation of Koreans in Japan. They spoke in native Japanese language, visited Japanese schools and watched Japanese movies and films and in many cases worked in Japanese firms. In result the primary cultural identity for many became the identity of Japanese. In this situation the policy of first generation was not dominated which was oriented to the Motherland.

In connection with that, it is planned to study social and demographic indexes of Korean people in Japan and to learn the peculiarities of the status. It is interesting to learn the existing system of the ethnic education in the accepted society. The statistics about the social-economic status of Koreans in

Japan permit to understand which positions are taken by the representatives of the Korean ethnics in society. It is suggested to show that in quality of the alternatives of the naturalization of Koreans in Japan the interethnic marriages are nominated with the titled ethos. The testing of the theory of the ethnic identity and assimilation of the ethnic Koreans in the accepting country permits the row of the recommendations for the realization of the

national politics and governmental programs of Japan in the modern conditions of the globalization and multiculturalism.

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