

Comparing Korean Identities in Diaspora: An Overview of the KOCIS Information System

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Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the history, nature, and use of Korean Cultural Information System for Korean Diaspora (KOCIS-KD) from the perspective of a scholar/researcher. I will demonstrate how I have used this system at its preliminary stage of development toward the comparison of ethnic identity of four major Korean Diaspora communities. This is not a paper on the comparison of the Ethnic Identity of the Korean Diaspora per se, a subject which would require much more in-depth additional analysis. But the purpose is to introduce the current and future use of KOCIS-KD for comparative diaspora study, and to invite you to cooperate in developing an “Academy in Diaspora” through the network of decentralized interoperable information portals, possibly using some of the existing KOCIS-KD ontology, methodology, and data. Without an international information exchange network, theory building in the field of diaspora studies will be most challenging and extremely time-consuming.

The technical aspects of KOCIS-KD and the meaning of interoperable information portals will be discussed by Douglas A. Black, in a separate paper to follow.

As the developer of KOCIS for the past forty years, I believe that interoperability already exists to some degree among several major information systems, perhaps including that of your own institution, because of its past ties to HACIS/KOCIS development, directly or

indirectly. I wish to first review the history of KOCIS development, especially its relationship with various institutions in Japan and Korea as well as in the United States. I hope that a familiarity with the story of KOCIS and how it ties to your own institution can help in reestablishing or developing new ties for mutual benefit.

(See Illus. 1. Comparative Table of KOCIS Development)

I. Development of KOCIS

A. HRAF and KOCIS

In 1966, the *Korean Social Science Bibliography Computerization Project* was launched at the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) at Yale University with a major grant from the National Science Foundation, under the direction of Hesung Chun Koh. The mission of this project, with the strong support of the then-President of HRAF, Dr. Cleland S. Ford, Professor of Anthropology at Yale, was to develop a pilot model to computerize HRAF files. HRAF is a cross-cultural dataset of files of over 300 cultures of the world, incorporated in 1948 as a consortium of five universities to organize ethnographic data using its own special cultural and topical classification systems, called the *Outline of World Cultures* (OWC) and the *Outline of Cultural Materials* (OCM).

The HRAF Korea project (as it was called then) quickly demonstrated that it was not only useful for the cross-cultural studies but also for area studies, particularly Asian studies. New multidimensional classification approaches including data quality control indexes such as “key terms specific” indexes for particular cultures and “key terms generic” indexes applying to all cultures; and especially its data quality control indexes assessing the relative trustworthiness of data, were important in a rapidly growing pool of complex data, including multimedia.

Because there are four thousand years of history behind Korean data and also due to Korea’s special relationship with its neighboring countries such as Mongolia, China and Japan, a time span and depth and complexity of culture unit definition problem more complex and

considerable than for other ethnographies usually handled by HRAF files. Additional indexing for time, place, and other key terms became necessary to refine the culture unit index beyond the terms of the OWC.

Since literatures on Korean cultures are written largely in Korean, Japanese, and English, the Korea project had to expand to include language written beyond Roman characters. Non-roman character control and linguistic symbols that computer at that time could not handle became another major challenges.

In short, to meet the research needs of complex non-Western cultures with historical depth, complex social class systems, and sub-cultural differences, additional indexes were necessary to retrieve comparable data. Hesung Koh's experience at the Library of Congress and two different Harvard Libraries as a cataloguer and reference assistant to Asian studies materials became invaluable, and her social science perspective provided a much-needed user orientation to the information system design.

Since computers were generally used to handle numerical data in the 1960's, it was considered revolutionary to begin computerizing social and human science data using Roman letters and text and not only numerical data. The Korea Project immediately received considerable attention from scholars and librarians. Hesung Koh, its project director, was invited to the member of the US National Academy of Science-National Research Council, and also represented the U.S. at the World Information System at UNESCO. Hesung Koh retired from HRAF in 1985. Eight years later in 1993, eHRAF (electronic HRAF files) became a reality. Marlene Martin, (Mrs. Douglas Black) who is also here, is the head of eHRAF today.

See Illus. 1. a. and 1. b. KOCIS Development and its Institutional Affiliations (1961- 2004)

B. HACIS (HRAF Cultural Information System) and KOCIS

In response to the request of the HRAF Board of Directors and its president, C. S. Ford, to develop a model for computerization of HRAF,

Hesung Koh developed the HACIS (HRAF Cultural Information System), using primarily information on Korea and other selected cultures.

HACIS differentiated ethnographic data into three levels of information subsystems: (1) Bibliographies (HABS), (2) Text Files (Files), and (3) Theory and tested propositions (THINCS). A computerized bibliographic system called HABS (HRAF Automated Bibliographic System) was first established as important subsystem for HRAF computerization. This project was supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation for three years. (Koh, 1966, 1967, 1968a, 1968b, 1969a, 1971, 1972a, 1973, 1980, 1981, and 1982.) In view of the costly analysis process of each source, it was essential to develop an improved way of selecting relevant, comparable, and above all trustworthy data. Selecting only sources critical to the HRAF files was considered the most important first step. The HABS system was used in publishing nine different cultural bibliographies by HRAF, including Korean, Asian, North and South American bibliographies, and *Sources Processed for the Files. A Guide to Social Theory: World Wide Cross-Cultural Tests*, published by David Levinson, et al. (1977) used a modified version of THINCS. Since 1985, when Hesung Koh took early retirement from HRAF and became Chair and President of East Rock Institute, the HACIS ontology continued development under the name of KOCIS (Korean Cultural Information System) at East Rock Institute.

See Illus. 2. a. Korean Cultural Information System: KOCIS/HACIS
Diagram
and Illus. 2.b.1, 2.b.2. and 2.b.3. Information System for Teaching
and Research on Korea (INSTROK)

C. Yale Bibliographic System, Library of Congress (MARC Machine Readable Cataloguing) Project) and KOCIS.

The technical side of KOCIS was made possible initially with the support and assistance of Mr. Fred Kilgour Jr., then librarian of the Yale Medical School, a pioneer in computerized library cataloging.

During the early to mid-1960s, the computerized use of the Roman alphabet beyond numerical data was unheard of. Harvard University Linguistics Professor Kuno Susumu and Frederick Kilgour Jr., director of a collaborative Columbia, Harvard and Yale library cataloging computerization project, were two trailblazers in this movement. Kilgour, later the founder of the Ohio College Library System (OCLC), initiated the first cooperative cataloging network in the world. HRAF Korean Social Science Bibliography Computerization began using Kilgour's library catalog input and processing method, resorting to keypunch cards and the 1401 IBM Computer complex at the Yale Computer Center, using FORTRAN programs. The library cataloging program of Kilgour at the time had citation information only, with no additional sorting mechanism. Fred Kilgour, Jr. was intrigued by the ambitious scheme of analysis presented by Hesung Koh. He incorporated some of the KOCIS classification approaches such as the language of the document, material types, and other index terms of KOCIS, into the Yale Bibliographic System. When he later became the subcontractor to the Library of Congress MARC development, through the United Technology subcontractor, Kilgour said, "I now can help incorporate some of your bibliography sorting variables into the Library of Congress MARC project, to the extent that I can justify them." Such modification to library input worksheet designs and the computerization method of YBS helped the initial launching of computerization of the HRAF Korea Project. In this way, Fred Kilgour, Jr., then-Librarian of Yale Medical School, and a history of science scholar, is one of the most important people involved in the launching of KOCIS.

D. Association for Asian Studies (AAS) (Bibliography of Asian Studies, BAS Project)

The Association for Asian Studies, the largest among 12 area studies associations, invited Hesung Koh as their Director of Information Systems to computerize their annual *Bibliography of Asian Studies* on a half-time basis for three years. In this way, Koh directed another three year project supported by the National Science Foundation at AAS, which gave her the opportunity to test KOCIS method against additional Asian cultural

bibliographies. (Koh, 1972a, 1972b, 1972c and 1972d.)

While Koh worked at AAS, Paul Reimer, chief MARC system specialist at the Library of Congress, David Weisbrod, chief programmer of the Yale Bibliographic System, William Skinner, professor specializing in Chinese anthropology at Stanford University, and Warren Tsuneishi, Head of the East Asian Collection at Yale University Library, as well as Koh were members of this AAS ARMS (Automation of Research Materials Committee) established by Koh, and actively explored the computerization of non-roman characters such as Chinese, Korean and Japanese (Koh, 1969.)

E. National Museum of Ethnology (NME), Osaka, Japan (NME Information System Development through JACIS (Japanese Cultural Information System Project))

In 1975, the National Museum of Ethnology of Osaka, Japan invited Hesung Koh as consultant to the development of their NME information system. This was followed by Dr. Umesao Tadao's visit to HRAF. Dr. Umesao was attending a conference organized by Koh on the Japanese Cultural Information System, called JACIS. This conference, held at HRAF, was attended by leading scholars of Japanese studies from Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and the University of California at Berkeley.

The newly established National Museum of Ethnology (NME) was in urgent need of an integrated control system of multimedia material, which would also be compatible for their inventories of artifacts and books. Dr. Umesao was particularly attracted by the HACIS/ KOCIS ontology. In 1979, NME and its pilot project JACIS were initiated as a first step to apply some of the HACIS/KOCIS principles and method to their information system development. HRAF subsequently produced the Okayama Files as its first file ever on Japan besides the Ainu file, while NME computerized Okayama bibliography by the HABS method. This was because Okayama was where the most English language scholarly data had been produced by an interdisciplinary team of scholars on Japan in the United States based on their field and documentary research. At this time

NME joined HRAF as a sponsoring member and began to translate the OCM, HRAF's topical classification system, including its subdivisions, which was initiated as the HABS bibliographies (Koh, 1983). The Japanese version of Bunka Komoku, Cultural Classification system of the OCM with subdivisions and extensive indexing was published subsequently by NME.

The JACIS adopting the HACIS (HRAF cultural information system) ontology and method was the pilot project for NME information system development. In 1979, while the JACIS project was in process, Koh was invited to the NME as a Visiting Professor (Koh, 1983).

During this period, NME also funded international joint project between HRAF, Academy of Korean Studies and NME in computerizing the Academy's biographical directory of Korean studies. The Academy provided its unique dataset, HRAF its methodology and NME the funding to encode for the first time over 80,000 Chinese characters and test the computer processing of all language materials, including those in Chinese, Japanese and Korean scripts. Sugita Shigeharu of NME, Rhi Kiyong of AKS and Hesung Koh of HRAF directed this project. During 1996 to 1999, NME also funded the East Asian Law and Culture project.

This project was to computerize 18th century criminal cases of China, Japan, Korea and Vietnam using analysis method developed by Hesung Koh, Visiting Professor at NME. Koh of ERI was the research director and Sugita Shigeharu, NME Deputy Director was the project representative.

F. International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken)

In 1997, when the East Asian Law and Culture project grant was renewed by Japanese Ministry of Education for two more years, Hesung Koh was invited to International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken) as a Visiting Professor to continue to direct the computerization of 18th century criminal laws of China, Japan, Korea and Vietnam. Prof. Kasaya, one of the project team members at Nichibunken,

was Koh's sponsor. Both NME and ERI now have all Chinese characters digitized and analyzed data of East Asian criminal law cases. These unique pools of data await comparative analysis of these materials by scholars.

G. Seoul National University

In Korea, although Seoul National University's effort to develop KOCIS did not materialize due to a funding shortage, SNU became the first sponsoring member of HRAF from Korea and this membership continues to this day. Professor Lee Man Gap of Sociology, the then-Librarian of the University and the Dean of Sociology in Korea was the main forces at the SNU supporting HABS/HACIS development.

H. Academy of Korean Studies

In 1979, Hesung Koh was invited by the Academy of Korean Studies to the First International Conference of Korean Studies organized by the Academy of Korean Studies (AKS). Prof. Sofue Takao, the JACIS project director, also attended this conference. Professor Rhi Ki-Young, AKS's Director of International Cooperation and the organizer of the conference, sought help from Koh to computerize their newly compiled *International Directory of Researchers on Korea*, which had been compiled just in time for the conference in 1979. No sooner had the first edition of this Directory been published, than Rhi Kiyong, a renowned Buddhist scholar and project director, realized the need for regular updating and computerization. AKS also wanted the database to serve as the basis for their Encyclopedia of Korean Studies which they began to develop. The Academy of Korean Studies not only computerized a multi-lingual directory of Scholars on Korean Studies (1984) adopting KOCIS methods, but also published and computerized the Encyclopedia of Korean Studies, reflecting the classification approaches of KOCIS as well. This was the international joint project of AKS, NME and HRAF.

I.. NME-AKS and HRAF Joint Project

You will be interested to learn about how this first international

collaborative project of KOCIS between the NME, AKS and HRAF during 1980-1983 came to realization. The Japanese Ministry of Education through the NME funded this three-year project (Koh, 1982). Why this project? The AKS data was an ideal natural sample for testing digitization of kanji, hangul and kana together with all western languages. AKS wanted above all to computerize the Korean culture database, while HRAF was interested in testing the usefulness of KOCIS for international biographical data, which is the core data quality control component of HACIS/KOCIS system, while NME were keenly interested in enhancing computerization of non-roman characters. Multilingual bio-bibliographical data provided an important opportunity for furthering KOCIS development. During this project, over 80,000 Chinese characters were digitized and codes were established for the first time in Japan and Korea. One IBM 5550 computer, developed after the NME-AKS-HRAF joint project in 1984, was donated to ERI by IBM Korea in collaboration with IBM Japan. It was a way to recognize Hesung Koh's contribution toward non-roman character control in the first microcomputer they had produced through the above project.

Behind this project there is a remarkable story. Dr. Umehara Takeshi, then-President of Osaka City Art College, later founded the International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken), where we are holding this conference today. Dr. Umehara attended AKS's First International Conference and became aware of Koh's proposal for an international network for Korean studies, called INSTROK (Information System for Teaching and Research in Korea), and delivered the keynote at the concluding session of the International Conference of Korean Studies. Upon his return to Japan, Dr. Umehara strongly recommended that Dr. Umesao Tadao, his senior colleague and senpai sponsor, this worthwhile international joint project. Dr. Umehara's own keynote speech, if I remember correctly, was emphasizing the close ties between the Japanese and Korean culture. He stated that without the proper development of Korean cultural studies, the origin of Japanese culture could not be properly understood. Hesung Koh's proposed international information exchange of Korean studies seems to have made an impression on him (Koh, 1980). Within three weeks, the Japanese Ministry of Education, through the NME, funded the collaborative project between Korea, Japan,

and the U.S. Dr. Umesao was predisposed to Dr. Umehara's recommendation because it was Dr. Umesao who had the vision to computerize the NME and who invited Hesung Koh to give two weeks of intensive lectures on HACIS to the entire NME faculty and staff members in 1975. This was in the midst of building the NME building at the temporary headquarters. In 1979, Koh was again invited to the NME as a Visiting Professor while JACIS (Japanese Cultural Information System) project was underway (Koh, 1983.)

In this way the HACIS/KOCIS system continued to develop over the course of collaboration with NME and Nichibunken in Japan, AKS and SNU in Korea, the Yale University Library, HRAF and the Association for Asian Studies in the U.S. in different and valuable ways.

J. KOCIS at East Rock Institute (ERI)

In 1985, Hesung Koh became the Chair and President of East Rock Institute after 24 years at Yale and HRAF. ERI, originally the Korea Institute, was co-founded in 1952 in Cambridge, Massachusetts by Hesung Koh and the late Prof. Kwang Lim Koh. It is the oldest non-profit organization of its kind related to research, teaching on Korea, Korean Americans and Korean Diaspora. Its mission is to bridge cultural understanding between East and West. At ERI it was possible to integrate most, if not all, data on Asia including Korea produced by KOCIS and its collaborative projects. It was also the time when Chinese, Japanese, and Korean language processing became available on the microcomputer such as the IBM 5550. The conversion of an enormous amount of legacy data to a new technological environment was an all-consuming task. At ERI it was possible to focus on Korean and Asian data and use the KOCIS ontology to meet the need for Asian studies scholars.

At East Rock Institute, with the emergence of new internet technology in 1993, some of the teaching materials Hesung Koh had developed in the course of teaching Korean culture and history at Yale University from 1963 were converted into a website. In 1999, with a Korean Foundation grant, ERI developed an award-winning teaching

website on Korean culture and history called INSTROK, or Information System for Teaching and Research on Korea (www.instrok.org). For this project the research website component was also developed using the KOCIS system with selected articles and bibliographies on traditional Korea, adopting new internet technology. This is when Doug Black joined the KOCIS project as its chief technical consultant. Thus, KOCIS, which began with a mainframe computer in the 1960's, finally adopted internet technology in the 2000's. INSTROK is now disseminated worldwide to over 160 members of the International Cyber University administered by Ewha Woman's University .

II. Development of KOCIS-KD (Korean Cultural Information System for Korean Diaspora)

For the past four years, ERI, with a partial grant from the Overseas Koreans Foundation, began to develop KOCIS-KD.

See Illus. 3. KOCIS-KD Database: Four Major Korean Diasporas

See Illus. 4. Korean Diaspora Population Distribution

See Illus. 5. Korean Diaspora Map

As Illus. 4 & 5 show, over 7 million Koreans are now living in 175 countries. Korea's diaspora is the fourth largest diaspora in the world, following the Chinese, Jewish, and Italian diasporas. Koreans in the United States constitute the largest community among all Korean diaspora communities. The study of the Korean Diaspora promises to contribute to the understanding of globalization and of cultures of the homeland, as well as of host societies, in new and important ways. I have long been seeking those aspects of Korean culture that seem to endure over time and to transcend national and geographical boundaries. I thought that by pursuing studies in this direction, we might be able to identify the essence of Korean culture.

A. Data Nature

This is an adaptation of the KOCIS ontology to comparative diaspora

research needs by compiling and publishing new data on Koreans in China, the former USSR, Japan, and the United States. Besides these newly compiled and published articles by East Rock Institute, the articles on homeland Korea and additional data on Koreans in America are drawn from articles that have been published in ERI's bi-annual journal, KKASB, which has been in circulation for the past twenty years. In this way, about 60 articles on Koreans and about 65 articles on Korean Americans have created a depth in several areas for this database. This database enabled us to develop a preliminary Diaspora thesaurus using a computer program known as TCS. This system is comprised largely of text and bibliographic data with some visual and graphic images retrievable by author, title, and various indexes with broader and specific categories such as culture unit, time, place, person, and organization, subjects and key terms.

As far as we are aware, this is the first English-language digitized library on the Korean Diaspora of this size and scope. The four Diaspora cultures selected for this KOCIS-KD database are not only the four largest among over 175 Korean Diaspora cultures, but are also from both democratic and socialist countries and Asian and Western societies. Thus, this database lends itself to different types of comparison. There are all together 143 articles on the four major Korean Diaspora groups around the world. Thus within a short time period and limited funds, we were able to gather a large pool of relevant and reliable diaspora data with efficiency and economy.

B. In what ways was KOCIS helpful for a comparative study?

1. Conceptual Clarification and Definition (Ethnic Identity)

One of the most impressive uses of KOCIS is in providing a list of wide varieties of concepts related to a given research topic on Diaspora, such as identity. The alphabetical index produced the list of concepts presented in Illus. 7. The page numbers of the proper corresponding text in the database are obtainable through a subsequent search. Normally the identity is defined as the inner consistency between the one's past, present,

and future. In other words, this allows one to find a meaningful connection to one's cultural heritage, to identify current demands placed on a diaspora community, and to project what the expected future role of a person may be.

See Illus. 6. Identity: A Framework

See Illus. 7. Identity: Alphabetical Bibliographic Index

Related concepts to ethnic identity in our database are as follows: national identity, ethnic identity, ethno-nationality identity, cultural identity, dual cultural identity, hybrid identity, collective identity, categorical identity; as well as identity formation, identity and self esteem, expression of identity, and identity politics. Over five pages of definitions for each of these concepts from the KOCIS database will be available through the KOCIS indexes, in addition to Google and other commercial websites directly linked to KOCIS.

Through this list, one can immediately observe how complex the identity issues are among Koreans in Japan, and note that the study of identity issues of Korean residents in Japan requires far more dimensions for analysis than the case of Koreans in the United States, for example. Thus, it helps us to sharpen our comparative inquiry on diaspora identities in the future.

See Illus. 8. a. and b. Comparing Korean Diaspora by Identity Types

From this table one can note that the nomenclature of Korean residents in Japan reflects the divided identity among *Mindan* and *Chongryun* supporters and the phenomena after 1993 when some just call themselves *Zainichi* (literal meaning, 'living in Japan') without further qualifying Korean as *chosenjin* or *kankoku jin*, revealing their identity to one of the two divided homelands. This is an indicator of challenges faced by some Koreans residents in Japan as to their ethnic identity. Kashiwazaki gives further variations introducing cases of identity politics of such organizations as *Torimodosu Kai* and *Paramu no Kai* (Kashiwazaki, 2000: J61), by which nationality and name influenced their different

identity.

Triangular Principle of Diaspora:
Relationship between Diaspora culture with that of the homeland and
host society

See Illus. 9. Diaspora Identity: Triangular Relations Theory

One of the common external factors which affect the identity of diaspora people seems to be the dynamic and triangular relationship between the diaspora society with that of homeland and host societies.

For example, in 2002, South Korea and Japan jointly sponsored the FIFA World Cup soccer games. And the subsequent positive images of South Korea among the Japanese people that had a favorable impact on *zainichi* Koreans are a good example of this principle. These World Cup soccer games not only enhanced the self-image of Koreans in Japan, but also stimulated Japanese diplomatic efforts in North Korea. On September 17, 2002, Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro made a historic day trip to Pyongyang and held a summit meeting with North Korean leader Kim Jong IL. However, North Korean abductions of Japanese citizens and North Korean harassment of *zainichi* Koreans and some of the organizations after the launching of the *Tepodon* rocket by North Korea in 1998, are examples of this changing three-part relationship between *zainichi* Koreans, their homeland and host country. This in turn has affected the identity of Korean residents in Japan.

Another example is cases of identities of Koreans in the United States. After the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack in New York, Washington D.C. and Pennsylvania, Moslems and North Koreans were declared as "Axis of Evil" by the American President. This affected the self-image of many Koreans in America, especially those who came to America from North Korea or had family there. At the same time, in Korea, anti-American sentiment soared around the death of a young girl in an accident with an American military truck. Christian leaders began public denouncement of President Bush, and anti-American sentiments, especially among the younger generation, ran strong. Koreans in the U.S.

lost their sense of security. The subsequent tightening of immigration law affected some Korean students' opportunity to study in the United States.

Among Koreans in China, *Chosonjok*, there were those who favored North Korea during 1962-1970 but shifted their favor to South Korea as China's rapprochement with South Korea in the 1980's occurred. This in turn changed the self-image of *Chosonjok* toward a strong dual ethnic identity after the 1990's. In this way, everything from the division of the homeland into North and South Korea, the diplomatic relationship between the host country and homeland, economic prosperity in South Korea, firsthand knowledge about homeland life by repatriation and subsequent return to diaspora cultures, and favoring life in China over life in South Korea, all are important in understanding the changing nature of the ethnic identity of diaspora communities. I personally feel that this triangular relationship between the homeland and host society with diaspora culture is the core theory of diaspora.

2. Culture Unit Definition (Sub cultural differences)

In delineating comparability of Diaspora communities, we have to identify the internal diversity and heterogeneity of each Diaspora community and identify comparable cultural unit in comparative research.

One of the important tasks in comparative study is to make sure that the subjects we are comparing are from comparable culture units to each other. This is because each Diaspora is diverse, and we have to be able to determine the sub cultural unit before we try to compare specifics. I wish to look into the cases of *Chosonjok*, Koreans in China and also *Koryo saram*, Koreans in the former USSR.

See Illus. 10. Case 1.

Subcultures of *Chosonjok* (Koreans in China) 1910-2004

As you will note from the table above, *Chosonjok* is a diverse culture. The ethnic identity of the people is affected by changing nature of political

system of homeland (from a single Korea to a divided Korea, into socialist North Korea on the one hand and democratic and capitalist South Korea on the other), as well the minority policy and nationality laws that significantly affect their identity.

In case of *Koryo saram*, the host countries change from Imperial Russia, to Soviet Union, to independent republics after the cold war-era; these all affected the subculture significantly. The economy changed from wetland agriculture to a market economy. The languages used by the diaspora also are dominantly *kyop'omal* (meaning diaspora language) in Central Asia. The languages used ranged largely from the Hamgyong province dialect to Russian and their *kyop'o mal* of *hamgyong*, a provincial dialect of Northeast Korea, then to a combination of the use of Russian, and the Kazakhstani language, in addition to their *Koryo mal*, meaning the language of *Koryo saram*. These language use patterns all affected changes of their identity.

Nationality law legalized them as their citizens, and even accepted and legalized the semi-capitalistic production and marketing system (*kobonjil*) of *Koryo saram* under a socialistic political climate.

See Illus. 10. Case 2. Subcultures of *Koryo saram*

In determining the subcultural differences the following factors seem important:

- The change of nationality law of the host countries (1962 in China, and Japan (at the time of normalization of Korea and Japan relations in 1968 and again after the 1990's)
- And the very different principle of citizenship such as *jus sanguine* (citizenship based on blood) and *jus soli*, (based on soil)
- The changes of political system of the host countries

For example, among Koreans in China, such changes in political system as moving from imperial China (pre-1910), to a military government during the period of Japanese occupation (1931-1945), to the Communist Soviet Union, (1945-1990's) and to the collapse of

communism and socialist economy during the post-cold war period of the 1990's, no doubt stimulated sub-cultural differences within *Choson jok*.

In the case of Koreans in Kazakhstan, the defining moment of its history was 1937, when there was a forced relocation of Koreans to Central Asia, to countries like Kazakhstan, a desert region, from the fertile agricultural northeast. Such a drastic change of culture needs to be accounted for through the time index.

Thus, there were changes not only of political environment but of actual topography, and geography, and accompanying economy (from wetland rice farming to truck farming and market economy). Language and culture were important factors in differentiating major sub cultural units. Thus, for *Koryo saram*, time, place, topography, language, nationality, and identity were the determining factors of its sub-cultures.

See Illus. 10. Case 3. Subcultures of Korean Americans

The sub-cultural differences in Korean American are primarily related to generational difference and the age at immigration (such as first, 1.5, second and third generation of immigrants), ethnicity of spouses (Korean, non-Korean, or American military servicemen), or Koreans Americans through adoption. Thus, not only birth, but also marriage and adoption are determining factors of sub cultural differences and their identity.

For example, first-generation men are depressed by their lack of ability to speak the language fluently or by an inability to find a job commensurate to one's training or experiences, whereas first-generation women are affected by isolation from their family and kin. The 1.5 generation and second generations are frustrated from conflict with their parents and other adults, and so forth. Thus, factors leading to identity crisis seem different in each of these sub cultural groups.

Challenges of comparative study, either micro- or macro-comparisons, will require different combinations of indexes to be used, and KOCIS-KD indexes offer such flexibility.

3. Identifying Unique Social Institution within Korean diaspora (Key terms Specific Search)

See Illus. 11 a. Key Terms Specific Index : Kobonjil

See also Illus. 11 b. Text Search: Kobonjil

To study the adaptive strategy of diaspora communities, we need to go beyond a conventional information classification system of accounting for key terms general, as applied to all cultures, such as ‘agriculture’ or ‘cooperative production system’ but look into the special features of each diaspora, such as *kobonjil* among the *Koryo saram*. What do we mean by *Kobonjil*? (*Kobonjir, kobonjil hada* of KOCIS-KD can be used to find the following definition. Kobonjil (also noted as Kobon, Kobondzhi, Kobonjir and, Kobonjil hada) means “A semi-legal capitalist version of mobile lease farming, practiced among the *Koryo saram* despite the presence of the Soviet socialist communal economy and collectivized agriculture.”

Actual text of the articles on *kobonjil* can be retrieved. (See Illus. 11.b.Text search: *Kobonjil*)

In the case of Japan, the concepts of *Mindan* and *Chungryun* can be searched to know that political affiliation or identification with the divided homeland, either North or South Korea, is the major sub cultural difference until the recent post-cold war era. In addition, there are regional differences, such as Koreans living in Osaka from Tokyo or from Sakhalin, or Koreans from Cheju island living in Osaka, for example. *Paramu no kai*, the collective identity politics of Koreans in Japan using Korean or Japanese names, or accepting or rejecting Japanese citizenship in terms of nationality, or gender, are unique aspects of KOCIS-KD and are a way to meet important challenges difficult to meet in comparative studies.

See Illus.12. a. and b. Subcultures of Koreans in Japan: Cheju Islanders,
and See Illus. 13. Subcultures of Koreans in Japan: Sakhalin Koreans

Together with various type of bibliographical and text retrieval

through KOCIS one can readily find on Koreans in Japanese from Cheju Island or Sakhalin.

KOCIS can be also searched by such commercial search engines like Google, Yahoo, MSN, etc.

The KOCIS principle of separating time, place, person (author information), organization, and citation information combined with semi-automatic indexing has been rewarding.

KOCIS-KD generated these key term specific indexes (Illus. 11. a. & b) semi-automatically, bypassing labor-intensive human indexing. This is another of the functions of the KOCIS ontology and analysis approach implanted by proper computer programming and digitizing of data. Human indexing of cultural data has been most costly. We are very pleased to have this rather crude, yet useful way to access data without much human indexing.

4. Trustworthiness of data (data quality control)

As the volume of data rapidly increases, the need for selecting trustworthy information becomes much more urgent and critical than ever. The ontology of KOCIS, which was considered novel in 1966, still is very useful, yet not common in other information system retrieval system. Although this aspect of KOCIS ontology has not been systematically implemented yet into KOCIS-KD application, the names of the authors or persons can be linked to such indexes in the future.

It may be useful for you to know the model of DQC of KOCIS (Koh, 1969) has three separate data quality control table form indexes: an Author Profile, a Research Design and Methodology Table, and a General Quality Index. The Author Profile, arranged alphabetically by name, has columns of information on sex, birth and death, ethnicity or nationality, role and discipline of the author, and a document ID number (see Illus. 14. Author Profile); with this list you can determine that Akiba Takashi, for example, wrote the most on a given subject, and obtain the ethnic identity (Japanese), role (scholar with non-Korean background), discipline

(literature and ethnography), and age (born in 1888) of the author. You can choose your own combination of data quality control factors in selecting sources. So, a foreign colonial officer's report can be readily distinguished from a native scholar's account (e.g. Choi Chaesok), who is a sociologist, and from a male's viewpoint if you are researching on gender roles from such a DQC author table.

See Illus. 14. Author Profile
Data Quality Control Factors (1)

The second type of quality control table is the methodological profile of documents. This table can be further grouped according to different types of research design, such as fieldwork, documentary research, and writings based on non-systematic observation and experiences. From the field research method table you can tell whether or not the author used any systematic techniques and, if so, which specific ones. Such an analysis need not be implemented systematically, but the methodology is established to make systematic accumulation possible when such information is readily available.

See Illus. 15. Identities of Korean Diaspora: A Comparison:

As Illus. 15 shows, one can have an overview of the comparative identity of Koreans in Japan, USA, Kazakhstan and China in terms of national, ethnic, Diaspora, cultural and gender identity as well as the nomenclatures used by each Diaspora communities.

Academy in Diaspora: International Information Exchange Network Proposal

Because theorizing diaspora issues based on comprehensive and trustworthy data will require much more resources and skills than any one institution can achieve in their lifetime, interdisciplinary collaboration is needed. The constant communication between the user and the managers of the information system and its database, and above all, the multicultural

involvement to account for triangular relationship between the diaspora, homeland and host countries are necessary. We seek this kind of international collaboration in order to develop an “Academy in diaspora” through a decentralized interoperable information portal.

Through the use of KOCIS-KD, even at this preliminary stage of development, one can find *relevant, reliable* data which are *comparable to each other* and above all *trustworthy*. In addition, this system enabled a researcher to find the *triangular relations between the diaspora culture with that of the homeland and the host culture*. *This is an essential requirement for diaspora studies*. What is most encouraging is that semi-automatic indexing, now possible through KOCIS-KD, can provide easy access to relevant information without intensive human indexing.

1. In a rapidly globalizing world, the diaspora will be an increasingly important field of study, which promises to bring new insights for the stability and change as well as area of conflict and tension of various types of cultural communities...
2. Studies of the Korean diaspora with KOCIS-KD can enhance diaspora studies in general as well as cultural studies of the homeland, Korea and of host cultures--Japan, China, the U.S., and Kazakhstan, in particular.
3. A substantial amount of work has already been undertaken at such institutions as HRAF, Nichibunken, AKS, and ERI, and linking our resource to benefit the wider society will be very meaningful.
4. Many participants at this conference are from organizations interested in bridging cultural understanding in different ways. Many organizations have extensive resources on the diasporas, or its homeland, or of many host cultures. Since many of them have already cooperated in the past toward KOCIS development, it is plausible to seek networks again in the future, including some, if not all, of them.
5. If you wish, you can participate in this project. First you must identify your interest, the type of contributions you can make to this joint endeavor, and the special benefits you wish to draw from it, without committing more time than you can afford.

6. Never before have we had such advanced internet technology to reach people globally with efficiency and economy.
7. Foundations are more likely to support such a coalition when international institutions are involved and benefits are global.

We need visionary and passionate leaders who are not afraid to take risks for the advancement of scholarship and those who are internationally minded, like Drs. Umesao, Umehara, Rhi Kiyoung, and Fred Kilgour, Jr., among our new generation of scholars. Please join us on this timely and exciting project so that we can move forward to a new era of cultural studies. If we wish to use this international information exchange network within our lifetime, we must act now! Thank you.

Acknowledgment

Soo Kyong Oh assisted me in making illustrations in Powerpoint form, and Douglas Black in preparing KOCIS-KD demo from which some of the illustrations are excerpted. I owe special thanks to Charles Riley who also worked on the manuscript to make sure the entire paper is readable, and who revised and reformatted illustrations included in this paper. I thank you to all those at Nichibunken who are in charge of the publication of this book for your patience and cooperation.

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Information Systems Developed

- THINCS (Theoretical Information Control System)

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- HABS (HRAF Automated Bibliographic System)
- HACIS (HRAF Cultural Information System)
- KOCIS (Korean Cultural Information System)
- INSTROK (Information System for Teaching and Research on Korea)
- KOCIS-KD (Korean Diaspora Information System) (In Process)

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the history of the development, nature, and use of KOCIS-KD (Korean Cultural Information System for the Korean Diaspora) of East Rock Institute and to demonstrate how comparative research on ethnic identity of Korean diaspora has benefited from the use of this unique information system. KOCIS-KD was developed in relation to several major institutions in Korea, Japan and the United States. This paper proposes that we discuss ways to link back to these institutions and invite others to join us in working toward an "Academy in

Diaspora,” an international decentralized information portal. This may be one of the best ways to help expedite the development of diaspora studies.

KOCIS-KD, even at this preliminary stage of development, has assisted in the following five areas: (1) conceptual *definition and refinement*, in a much broader scope, including new dimensions of identity; (2) a *hypothesis of triangular principles of diaspora*, between the homeland, host society and diaspora community; (3) *sub-cultural differences in diverse diaspora communities*; (4) retrieving data unique to each diaspora cultures such as: *kobonjil* of the *Koryo saram* (Koreans in Kazakhstan), their unique adaptive strategy or *Mindanao, Chongryun* or other sub-cultural differences of Koreans in Japan; and (5), *data quality control (DQC)*--assessing relative reliability of data

Considering that the KOCIS ontology and database on Korean diaspora are unique, and that the development of KOCIS received support from major foundations in the United States, Japan and Korea since late 1960, one can imagine the possibilities of this system when it is integrated with the latest Internet technology and can move toward an international network of interoperable systems.

Fortunately, many of you who are participating at this conference are from institutions related to KOCIS development over the last four decades. These include Yale University Library, Human Relations Area Files, Japanese National Museum of Ethnology, the Academy of Korean Studies, and the International Research Center for Japanese Studies and East Rock Institute. To make this vision a reality in our lifetime, we must act now to work toward an “Academy in Diaspora” development.

**Comparing Korean Identities in Diaspora :
An Overview of the KOCIS Information System**

*Third International Conference on the Korean Diaspora and Strategies for
International Networking, September 11, 2004, Nichibunken, Kyoto, Japan*

**Hesung Chun Koh © 2004
East Rock Institute & Yale University**

Illus. 1. Comparative Table of KOCIS Development

		Time	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	
Hardware		Mainframe	IBM 1401-3 complex at Yale Center				Began use of Micro-Computer, IBM 5550			
Character Set		Romanized data only	Linguistic symbols		Non-Roman characters CKJ		Internet/web technology			
Language / Software		Fortran, PL-1, Fortran 4				WWW, XML, TEI, TCS-8				
KOCIS		Bibliographic		HABS Biographies		INSTROK				
Ontology		Citation: HACIS, HABS, THICS		EALC(criminal law)		KOCIS-KD				
KOCIS Data		Korean Culture and History:Bib and Text (KKASB)				18th Century CJKV Law(EALC)				
		Text Data (Manual Files)		Korean Family and Kinship Studies Guide						
United States	Cross-Cultural Research	HRAF Computerization		H.C. Koh joins HRAF		Korean and Japanese Women:Analytical Bib				
		NSF GN492& 712,		Social Sciencer Resrouces on Korea						
	HRAF Korea Project/HABS Korea Bibliography		eHRAF (1993-)							
	East Rock Institute		H.C. Koh to ERI		PNC INSTROK KOCIS Ontology, method and Data (See above)					
	Asian Studi		Association for Asian Studies (AAS)		BAS computerization NSF GN 821,892					
Libraries	Yale University Library (Yale)		CHY (Columbia, Harvard, Yale) Joint Catalog System							
	Library of Congress (LC), OCLC		Yale Bibliographic System (Fred Kilgour, Jr.)							
			MARC Project							
Japan	Museum	National Museum of Ethnology (NME)		JACIS		Japanese National Museum of Ethnology Information System (JACIS)				
Korea	Institutes	Academy of KoreanStudies (AKS)				Directory of Researchers in Korean Studies				
		Seoul National University		18th Century CJKV Law						

Comparing Korean Identities in Diaspora

Illus. 1. a. KOCIS Development and Its Institutional Affiliations (1 of 2)

Ties/Time	1961-1966	1966-1985 (1962-1985)	1971-1973	1975, 1979- 1983	1981-1983	1985- 1999	2000- To date
Institutions(1)	Yale Library	HRAF.	AAS	NME	AKS.	ERI	ERI
Institutions (2/3)	Library of Congress		& HRAF	HRAF	NME and HRAF Int. Joint Project	NME (1997-99) Nichibunken (1998-99)	
Projects	Columbia, Harvard & Yale Cataloging Project (CHY)	Korea Project	Bibliography of Asian Studies, AAS	NME Information System, Japan	Directory of Researchers on Korea	East Asian Law and Culture Project	INSTROK Information system for teaching and research on Korea!
	Yale Bib. System	HACIS/HABS	ABC/ ARMS Com.	JACIS/ East Asian Law and Culture	Encyclopedia Of Korean Studies	Computerization of 18 th century criminal laws Of East Asia	KOCIS-KD
Grants	NA	NSF/NEH NIE	NSF	Jpn Ministry of Education /NME	Jpn Ministry of Education/ NME	Jpn Ministry Of Education/NME	KF; OKF
Project Director	Fred Kilgour	Hesung Koh	Hesung Koh	Umesao Tadao & Hesung Koh as consultant	Rhi Ki-Young & Hesung Koh	Hesung Koh	Koh, Hesung

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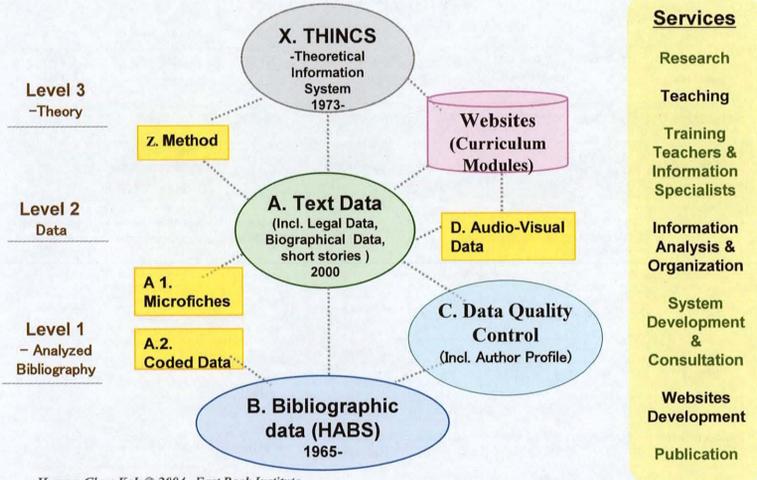
Illus. 1. b. KOCIS Development and its Institutional Affiliations (2/2)

Ties/Time	1961-1966	1966-1985	1971-1973	1975, 1979- 1983	1981-1983	1985- 1999	2000- To date
Institutions(1)	HRAF	HRAF	AAS	NME	AKS	ERI	ERI
Project Director	Koh	Koh	Koh	Koh/Sofue/ Sugita	Koh, Sugita, Rhi	Koh	Koh
KOCIS Ontology	Bib Citation (worked with Fred Kilgour & YBS)	HACIS/KOCIS THINCS	Korea, Thailand, Ceylon bib	HACIS	Bio-bibliographic DQC system	Curriculum modules on Korean Culture/ Korean Literature in English bib	Educational Website Korean Diaspora Dbase & website
KOCIS Data Base And publication of books	Korean social science bibliographies (book)	Korean Analytical Bibliographies on Family, Korean and Japanese women; Korean Bib of Bib (books)	Asian Bib (book)	JACIS Japanese Cultural Information System	International bibliography and publications by scholars on Korea. (All languages) (book)	Korean and Korean American (Text data) Als as ERI) journal For 20 yrs) EAL & Culture (criminal cases of East Asia)	Diaspora data on Koreans In China, Japan, Kazakhstan & US (books)

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Illus. 2.a. Korean Cultural Information System:
KOCIS/HACIS Diagram



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Illus. 2. b. 1. INSTROK: Part 1. Teaching Website (www.instrok.org)

The screenshot shows the Instrok website interface. The main content area displays "Lesson 1: Cultural Values of the Choson Dynasty" with a sub-section "1. Introduction".

Farmer

Korean farmers were the backbone of the Choson dynasty. They represented the majority of the Korean citizens, and were the confident base leaders relied upon to carry their rule. As part of the chumin class, they were well respected by their rulers.

VIEW ALL CHARACTERS

CHOSŬN FARMER FARMER

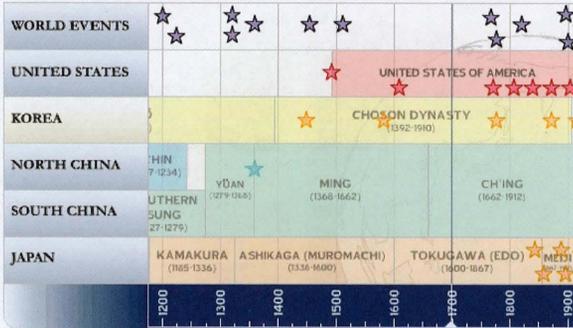
Just as the Korean dancers of today celebrate the cyclical nature of time and history, so too, did Korean artisans of the Choson Dynasty (1392-1910), Korea's longest uninterrupted royal rule. Many of the art forms, traditions, and cultural values of modern Korea trace their beginnings to the Choson period. Neo-Confucianism was the overall ideology for state and society right from the beginning of the dynasty. However, recent studies of 18th century household registry and criminal punishment records report the persistence of the following Korean indigenous norms: relative equality of women for the household headship and punishment of paternal and maternal or wife's and husband's kins. (See KOCIS for more information.)

In this module, you will be randomly assigned a character that represents one of the many social positions typical of the Choson Dynasty. Your profile will supply you with a picture of what a person in your position might look like in the Choson period, as well as a short biography of your character. Other characters' profiles will be available.

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Illus. 2.b.2. INSTROK: Part 1. Teaching Website (Comparative Chronological table)



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Illus. 2.b.3. INSTROK: Research Website

KOCIS Information Archive

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Illus. 3. KOCIS-KD Database: Four Major Korean Diasporas (Publication, Database and Website Development)

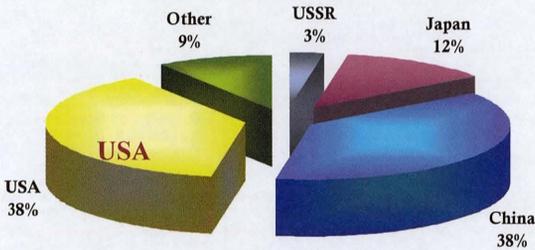


< The Korean Diaspora: A Comparison >

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Illus. 4. Korean Diaspora Population Distribution



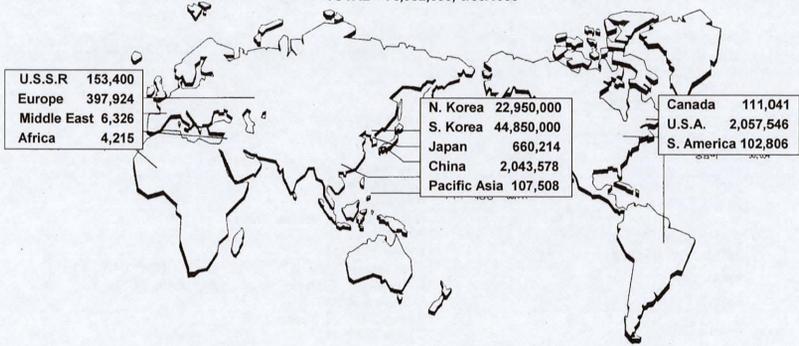
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Comparing Korean Identities in Diaspora

Illus 5. Korean Diaspora Map

TOTAL = 70,302,000, 6/30/1999

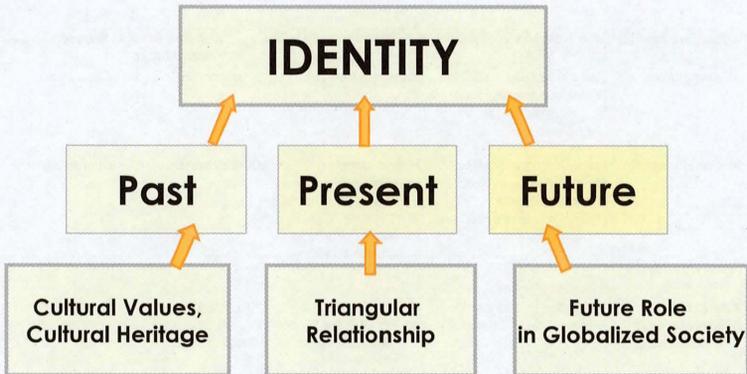


Sources: Oegyo T'ongsangbu Chaeoe Kungnin Ijukwa [ROK] June 30, 1999 in *Chaeoe Tongp'o Hy'ohng*
 World Population Prospects: The 1998 Revision Vol 1: Comprehensive Tables (United Nations Publication, Sales No. E99.XIII 9)

Hesung t

Comparing Korean Identities in Diaspora

Illus 6. Identity: A Framework



Illus 7. Identity : Alphabetical Bibliographic Index

	Koreans in Japan	Koreans in US
Identity		eri0041 Chang 1999: E18
Identity and Self-Esteem		eri0087-54
Identity Formation	Kashiwazaki 2000: J54, J60	
Identity in Adolescence. 1980.		eri0084-42
Identity Politics	Lie 2000: J15	
Identity, Categorical	Kashiwazaki 2000: J63	
Identity, Collective	Kashiwazaki 2000: J62	
Identity, Cultural	Kashiwazaki 2000: J49	
Identity, Diasporic	Ryang 2000: J5, J6; Lie 2000: J21, J22	
Identity, Dual Cultural	Ryang 2000: J7	
Identity, Ethnic	Kashiwazaki 2000: J57; Kashiwazaki 2000: J57, J63	Danico 1999: E42, E43, E44, E46, E47
Identity, Expression of	Kashiwazaki 2000: J60	
Identity, Hybrid	Ryang 2000: J6; Ryang 2000: J6; Lie 2000: J12	
Identity, (Japanese) Ethnonational	Kashiwazaki 2000: J57	
Identity, (Resident Korean)	Wender 2000: J28	
Identity; Community, Culture, Difference. 1990.		

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Illus. 8. a.

Comparing Korean Diaspora by Identity Types (1 of 2)

Diaspora Identity	Koreans in Japan	Koreans in the United States	Koreans in Kazakhstan	Koreans in China
Nomenclature	Zainichi Korean (Zainichi Kankokujin, or Zainichi Chosenjin, or Zainichi)	Korean American	Koryo saram	Chosonjok
National Identity	Largely Korean but has divided identity to North and South Korea (Nationality Law based on blood)	Hybrid identity (nationality principle by soil) (Citizenship, is attainable for people of different national origin)	Dual citizenship	Dual citizenship
Ethnic Identity Primordial vs. Situational	Precluded hybrid identity. "Foreign" and "Sojourner"	Ethnic identity strong after the LA riot and civil rights movement	Kazakhstan and Koryosaram Dual Identity	Chosonjok Dual identity
Ethnic Nationality Identity	Names and nationality are the two key symbols of identity in Japan.	Hybrid Identity	Dual identity	Dual Identity

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Comparing Korean Identities in Diaspora

Illus. 8. b.

**Comparing Korean Diaspora Identity by Identity types
(2 of 2)**

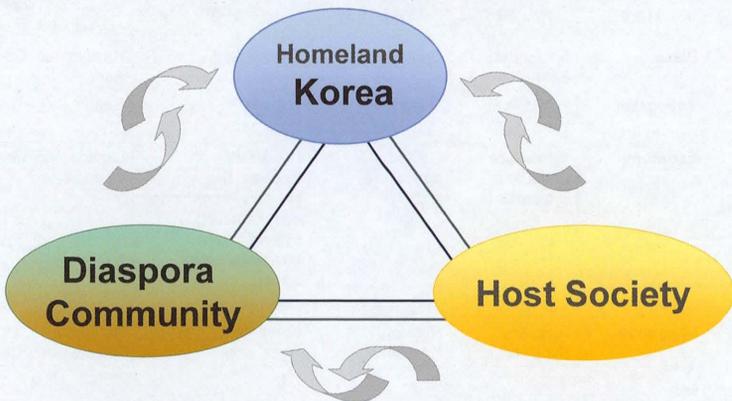
Diaspora Identity	Koreans in Japan	Koreans in the United States	Koreans in Kazakhstan	Koreans in China
Cultural Identity	Identification with North, South, or total Korea	Sub cultural diversity	Development of <i>Kobonjil</i> , an semi-capitalistic agricultural cooperative system gave Koreans identity of its own.	Varied in different historical time
Diaspora Identity	Diversity; Categorical identity; & Fluctuating identity	Hybrid identity	Dual identity	Dual identity
Collective Identity	Flexible and multiplicity of Korea/Japanese identity <i>Paramu no Kai</i> .	Regional Korean American Association, Alumni Association, Professional Associations, Korean American Churches; Adoptive families,	No information	No information
Categorical Identity	Legal nationality and Korean identity by using Korean name, e.g. <i>Paramu no Kai</i> .			
Generational Identity		First generation Second generation 1.5 generation		
Gender Identity	Significant among some Korean women in Japan	With race, gender and religious identity	No information	No information

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Comparing Korean Identities in Diaspora

Illus. 9. **Diaspora Identity: Triangular Relations Theory**



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Comparing Korean Identities in Diaspora

Illus.10, case 1

Subcultures of Choson Jok (Koreans in China) 1910-2004

Time	Pre 1910	1910-1945	1945-1960	1962-1970	1970-1980	1980	1990 On
Political Situation	Imperial China	Japanese occupation (Military government)	Communism	N.Korea accepted Koreans in China (Communism)	Communism	Rapprochement with South Korea	Democracy Communist
Economy	Wet rice farming	Wet rice farming	Wet rice farming	Wet rice farming	Market economy	Market economy	Market economy
Language	Korean	Korean	Chinese & Korean	Chinese & Korean	Chinese & Korean	Chinese & Korean	Chinese & Korean
Nationality	Korean	Korean	Chinese	Legalized Chinese	Chinese	Chinese	Chinese
Relation to Homeland			In '62 N. Korea accepted Koreans in China. Some repatriation to N.Korea			Favoring South Korea	
Identity	Korean	Korean	<i>Chosonjok</i>	<i>Chosonjok</i> Dual identity	<i>Chosonjok</i>	Korean-Chinese,	<i>Chosonjok</i>

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Comparing Korean Identities in Diaspora

Illus. 10, case 2.

Subcultures of Koryo saram, 1860-2004 (1 of 2)

Time	Pre 1937	Post 1937	1980	Post 1993 (cold war era)
Place	Soviet Far East	Central Asia	Central Asia	Kazakhstan, Central Asia
Topography	Fertile land	Desert	Dessert	Desert
Economy	Agriculture Irrigation system	Limited agriculture <i>Kobonjil</i>	Legalization of Kobonjil, Semi-capitalistic production and marketing system under socialistic hosto society <i>Kobonjil</i>	Limited Agriculture <i>Kobonjil</i>
Language	Russian/ Kyop'omal	Russian/ Kyop'omal	Koryomal	Koryomal/ Kazakhstani/Russian

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Comparing Korean Identities in Diaspora

Illus. 10, **case 2.**

Subcultures of **Koryo Saram** , 1860-2004. (2 of 2)

Time	Pre 1937	Post 1937	1980	Post 1993 (cold war era)
Nationality	Soviets	Soviets	Soviets	Kazakhstani,
Relation to Homeland				
Identity	Korean in CA	Soviet Koreans	Koryo saram gained specific ethnic and cultural identity	Koryo saram
Legal			Legalization of Kobonjil semi-capitalistic production and marketing system under socialistic host society	

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Comparing Korean Identities in Diaspora

Illus. 10 case 3. Subcultures of **Korean Americans**

Time	1 ST Generation	1.5 Generation	2 ND and 3 RD Generation
Age of Immigration	>20 YRS	4-19 YRS	< 4 YRS OR BORN IN USA
Language	Korean	Bilingual	English
Identity	Korea	Dual (Kor/American)	US
Type of Business	Self-employed small business	Wide range	Wide range
Attends Korean Church	70%	Most	Few
Assimilation	Low	Medium	High

- Korean immigrant women married to American military
- Korean adoptee
- Korean Americans in interethnic/ interracial marriages

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Comparing Korean Identities in Diaspora

Illus. 11 a.
Key Terms Specific Index : Kobonjil

The screenshot shows a Microsoft Internet Explorer browser window displaying the KOCIS Thesaurus search results. The search site is set to Google. The search results list various terms related to 'Kobonjil', with 'kobonjil' highlighted by a red star and a red circle. A yellow box highlights the terms 'kobon', 'kobondzhi', 'kobonjil', 'kobonjir', and 'kobonjir handa'.

Search the Web for the Current Main Term

Search site:

Include Synonyms Include Related Terms

404. [kobon](#)

405. [kobondzhi](#)

406. [kobonjil](#) ★

407. [kobonjil](#)

408. [kobonjir](#)

409. [kobonjir handa](#)

410. [Kokchetav](#)

411. [kolkhoz](#)

412. [kolkhozes](#)

413. [Komitet Narodnogo Kontrola](#)

414. [Kontsept](#)

415. [Kore man](#)

416. [KOREAN AMERICAN](#)

417. [Korean Americans](#)

418. [Korean anti Japanese](#)

Comparing Korean Identities in Diaspora

Illus. 11.b. Text

The screenshot shows a Microsoft Internet Explorer browser window displaying the KOCIS Thesaurus search results for the term 'Kobonjil'. The search results list various terms related to 'Kobonjil', with 'kobonjil' highlighted by a red star and a red circle. A yellow box highlights the terms 'kobon', 'kobondzhi', 'kobonjil', 'kobonjir', and 'kobonjir handa'.

Topic: **kobonjil** in

Back, Tae Hyeon. The Social Reality Faced by Ethnic Koreans in Central Asia. Koryo Saram: Koreans in the Former USSR, ...

Since independence, all aspects of life in the Central Asian societies are controlled by the principles of the capitalist market economy. The responses of the Koryo saram have differed somewhat from those of other Central Asian minorities, but on the whole, the traits that have characterized the Koryo saram since the 1930s are coming into full play in the current post-independence environment. These traits include diligence in agricultural production, active enterprise in individual farming, kobonjil farming as a means of overcoming the difficult realities of agribusiness, investment in various commercial activities that can be adapted readily during the changeover to a market economy, and social mobility typified by urbanization and emigration abroad.

This paper is an examination of the socioeconomic changes affecting the post-independence Central Asian Koryo saram. It will elucidate the various adjustments of the Koryo saram in a context of limited economic means and opportunities.

Comparing Korean Identities in Diaspora

Microsoft Internet Explorer window showing the KOCIS Thesaurus interface. The browser title is "KOCIS-KD - Microsoft Internet Explorer". The page title is "Illus. 12. a. Subcultures of Koreans in Japan: Cheju Islanders". The main content area displays the "KOREAN DIASPORA ONLINE INFORMATION SYSTEM" search results for the term "Cheju Islanders".

Search Results:

- Broader Term: [ALL KEY TERMS](#)
- Main Term: **Cheju Islanders**
- Document Links (+/-)
- Additional Broader Terms (+/-)
- Narrower Terms (+/-)

- [Cheju Islanders in Ikaio](#)
- [Cheju Islanders in Japan](#)
- [Cheju Women in Japan](#)

The interface includes a search bar with "Google" selected, checkboxes for "Include Synonyms" and "Include Related Terms", and a left-hand navigation menu with categories like CITATION DATA, CULTURES, KEY TERMS, ORGANIZATIONS, PERSONS, PLACES, SUBJECTS, and TIME PERIODS.

Comparing Korean Identities in Diaspora

Microsoft Internet Explorer window showing the KOCIS Thesaurus interface. The browser title is "KOCIS-KD - Microsoft Internet Explorer". The page title is "Illus. 12. b. KOREAN DIASPORA ONLINE INFORMATION SYSTEM". The main content area displays the detailed entry for the term "Cheju Islanders".

Topic: [Cheju Islanders](#) in

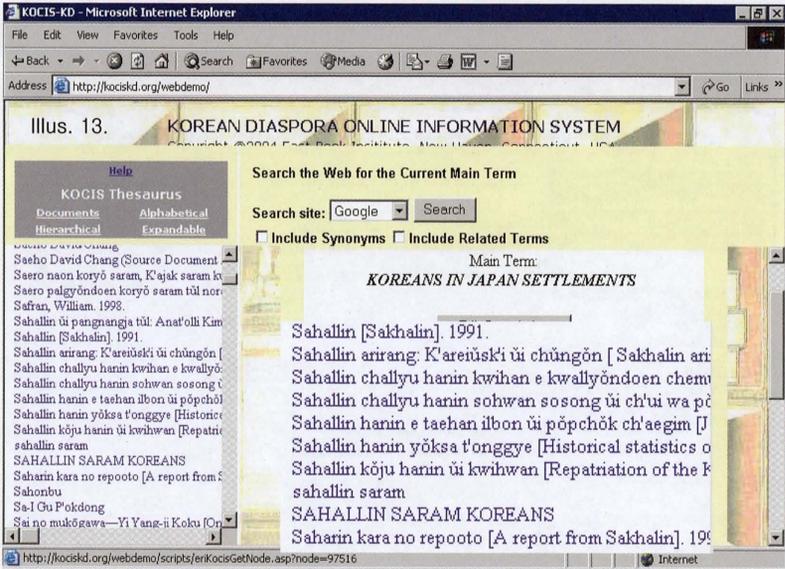
Ryang, Sonya. Osaka's Transitional Town: An Ethnography.
Koreans in Japan New Dimensions of Hybrid and Diverse

412,748 (Kim Ch'an-jong 1985:54). The Korean population of [Ikaio](#) grew accordingly. It is noteworthy that a ferry started to operate in 1922 between [Osaka](#) and [Cheju Island](#) off the southwestern coast of the Korean peninsula. The ferry became a major factor in encouraging [Cheju Islanders](#) to move to [Osaka](#). Life on the island was very hard, and the opening of the [Osaka](#) ferry was regarded as the opportunity of a lifetime. Already by 1924, 60% of the Korean population of [Osaka](#) came from [Cheju Island](#). By 1934, 25% of the island's entire population had come to [Japan](#) seeking better jobs, although this figure does not mean that all of them settled in [Japan](#) (Kim Ch'an-jong 1985:101). For example, out of the total of 30,822 Koreans who came to [Japan](#) in 1931, 28,342 came from [Cheju Island](#), of which 22,847 landed in [Osaka](#) from the ferry (Morita 1996:73).

The mainlanders from the Korean peninsula who had settled in [Osaka](#) had a deep-seated bias against the [Cheju Islanders](#) due to their very different customs. These included ancestral memorial rituals, dietary traditions, relationships between men and women,

The browser address bar shows "http://kociskd.org/webdemo/". The left-hand navigation menu is identical to the previous screenshot.

Comparing Korean Identities in Diaspora



Comparing Korean Identities in Diaspora

Illus. 14. Author Profile

Author Profile
Data Quality Control Factors (1)

Author	Sex	Born	Died	Ethn/Res	Role	Discipline	Document ID
Abe, Yoshio	M	1905		Jpn Jpn	Scholar (For)	Philosophy	4402
Akiba, Takashi	M	1888	1954	Jpn Jpn	Scholar (For)	Literature Ethnology	388, 4434, 4452, 6046, 6174,
							6302, 6306, 6393, 6299, 7156, 6444
Bernatzki, William E.	M	1931		USA USA	Scholar (For)	Anthropology	7134,
							12034
Ch'oe, Chae-sok	M	1926		Koa KoaS	Scholar (Nat)	Sociology	7147, 4354, 4355,

Illus. 15.

Identities of Korean Diaspora: A Comparison

Diaspora Identity	Koreans in Japan	Koreans in USA*	Koreans in Kazakhstan	Koreans in China
Nomenclature	Zainichi Korean Zainichi Chosenjin, Zainichi Kankokujin or Zainichi	Korean American	Koryo saram	Chosonjok
National Identity	Strong But divided identity to North and South Korea	weak Hybrid Identity	Dual citizenship	Dual citizenship
Ethnic Identity	Precluded hybrid identity "Foreign" and "Sojourner"	Ethnic identity strong (post LA riot)	Dual identity strong	Dual identity strong
Diaspora Identity	Diversity; Categorical Identity; Fluctuating identity	Hybrid identity	Dual Identity	Dual identity
Cultural Identity	Ideological difference of north or south Korean precluded hybrid identity	Sub cultural differences	Development of Kobonjil	Varied in different historical time
Gender Identity <i>Hesung Chun Koh</i> ©	Significant for women	With race, gender and religious identity	N/A	N/A