

# Korean Research on the History of Koreans in Japan

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## Introduction

The independence movement against the occupation by Japan continued unabated in Korea, throughout the thirty-five years of occupation, and involved various activist groups. A brutal colonial regime pushed especially members of Chosŏn's working class, farmers and students to fight the Japanese whenever and wherever they could, and this was also a mode of class struggle for these people who were often victims of social and economic injustices even under their own government. The history of the Korean independence movement against Japanese rule is an integral chapter of Korean history, whose scope is not limited to the Korean peninsula, but extends to any and every place Koreans lived during this period. Just as the history of the Korean independence movement in China, the Maritime province of Russia and North America is a legitimate part of Korea's national history, the history of Korean independence activism in Japan is also an undeniable part of this history. Unfortunately, however, the history of Koreans in Japan has long been neglected in Korea and denied the attention it deserves.

Most school history textbooks currently used in Korean middle schools<sup>1</sup> and high school student<sup>2</sup> make only glancing references to Koreans in Japan and their history. Events like the February 11th Declaration of Independence and Yi Pong-ch'ang's failed attempt to assassinate Hirohito, and the circumstances of Korean settlement in Japan (forceful draft and immigration) are the only topics covered in these books. The interest in the history of Koreans in Japanese remains also selective at best even in the modern and contemporary Korean history textbooks for high school students approved by the government textbook screening program. The "comfort women" issue, the February 8th Declaration of Independence, Yi Pong-ch'ang's assassination attempt of Hirohito, Korean immigration to Japan and the Massacre of Koreans during the 1923 Great Kantō Earthquake are among the topics chiefly covered in these books. The circumstances of the arrival of socialist-Marxist influence,

documented facts about the Tokyo branch of the independence organization “Shin’ganhoe,” living condition of Korean laborers in Japan, population statistics and Kim Chi-söp’s assassination of Japanese senior officials are also given separate treatment.<sup>3</sup>

In what follows, I will review the state of research on the history of Koreans in Japan in the hope of drawing attention to the unfortunate exclusion of this part of the national past, which took place in the Japanese archipelago, from Korean history, and of kindling new interest in this field. The recent creation of an academic society dedicated to the history of Koreans in Japan<sup>4</sup> is a truly welcome development, and now is high time to tackle this neglected portion of Korean history. Once the Korean historical community is awakened to the urgency of researching the history of Koreans in Japan, the next important question is how to make concrete and meaningful progress in this field. The highest priority, in my mind, is restoring historical truth. Although re-establishing historical facts cannot be as such the ultimate goal, it is, nevertheless, essential as a basis for a responsible criticism of biased historical interpretations concerning the history of Koreans in Japan. There are several publications dealing with the history of research in this field, both in Korea and Japan, covering earlier periods.<sup>5</sup> Hence, in this essay, the discussion will focus on Korean research from more recent dates. It should be also noted that a number of related documentary sources have been re-issued or re-edited and re-published in recent years,<sup>6</sup> a modest yet real addition to the research infrastructure in this field.

In this paper, I will begin by examining the current state of Japanese research on Koreans in Japan and provide an overview of research within Korea’s own historical community since the 1970s. Whilst there has been research on this subject from the standpoint of other disciplines such as literature, sociology and political science, I chose to focus on historical research dating from the 1990s and afterwards for the reason that history is the discipline with the most prolific in research in this field.

## **1. Status of Existing Research**

### **(1) Japanese Research**

Japanese research on Koreans in Japan (Korean movement) concerning

periods prior to the end of World War II has tended to be directly and indirectly related to actual issues touching life in the Korean community. During the Japanese occupation of Korea, there was also some research on subjects related to Koreans in Japan. But, Japanese interest in the Korean community was, then, limited to issues related to public safety, low-income segments of population, labor and labor supply. During the post-war period, there was a shift in both who researched subjects related to Koreans and the nature of research. In the years immediately following the end of the war in 1945, studies comprehensively examining issues of Koreans in Japan were exceedingly rare. This changed after the statement by North-Korean foreign minister Nam Il in May 1955, which caused a major shift in the direction of the political movement of the Korean community in Japan. The statement, which had far-reaching repercussions for Korean activism in Japan, also sparked research in the history of the Korean immigrant movement. The first fruit of this new wave of interest is "Zainichi Chōsenjin mondai" [The Issue of Koreans in Japan], a 1953 article by Im Kwang-ch'öl, published in *Rekishigaku kenkyū* (special issue on the history of Chosŏn).

Starting from the 1950s, issues related to the Korean community in Japan and Korean activism were researched more extensively with varying focuses, including everyday history (history of Korean living conditions in Japan), the history of Korean activism in Japan and that of forcible draft of Koreans during the Japanese occupation. These academic investigations were chiefly conducted by ethnic Korean researchers in Japan and researchers from Korea, and a number of Japanese researchers of social movements. Research results, in finished form, were published by people like Im Kwang-ch'öl, Kang Chae-ŏn, Pak Chae-il and Pak Kyōng-shik. Works by these scholars, concerned principally with the circumstances of Korean immigration to Japan and living conditions of Koreans, provided solid foundations for future inquiry in this field. *Chōsenjin undō* [The Ethnic Korean Movement in Japan] by Kang Chae-ŏn and *Nippon teikoku shugika ni okeru zainichi Chōsen undō* [The Ethnic Korean Movement under Imperialist Japan] by Pak Kyōng-shik, published in 1957, are the first-ever systematic studies on Korean activism in Japan.

Once into the 1960s, there was a notable progress made in Korean research in the history of Japan, and many new historical materials were

uncovered. Kang Tök-sang and Kūm Chung-dong, eds., *Gendai shiryō* (6): *Kantō daishinsai to Chōsenjin* [Contemporary History Sources (6): The Great Kantō Earthquake and the Korean Community in Japan], Misuzu Shobō, 1963, and Pak Kyōng-shik, *Chōsenjin kyōsei renkō no kiroku* [The Official Records of Forcible War-time Drafts of Koreans], Miraisha, 1965, are two of the most outstanding achievements from this decade. The work by Pak Kyōng-shik, in particular, has made a seminal contribution to the research on the war-time mobilization of Koreans by laying the groundwork for future scrutiny.

The 1970s saw a substantial diversification of research subjects, periods and researchers themselves. The proliferation of research subjects in the history of Japan, occurred during this decade, led some Japanese historians to develop an interest in the issue of Koreans in Japan. From this point on, the range of subjects, previously limited to forcible mobilization of Koreans and living conditions in the Korean community, was broadened to include the history of Korean resistance. Some of the most prominent works on the history of the ethnic Korean movement in Japan were produced during this period. The books by Pak Kyōng-shik and Iwamura Toshio,<sup>7</sup> both collections of papers, greatly helped reshape the research landscape in this field. Thanks to these two publications, the ethnic Korean movement became a comprehensive and mapped-out body of knowledge.

Historical source collections became available in earnest from this period on. *Zainichi Chōsenjin kankei shiryō shūsei* [Koreans in Japan: a Compendium of Historical Sources] (5), San-ichi Shobō, 1975–76 stands out among others. *Kindai minshū no kiroku* (10): *Zainichi Chōsenjin* [Modern Archives of the People (10): Koreans in Japan] edited by Ozawa Yūsaku (Shin-Jinbutsuōraisha, 1978) was also published around this time. The acceleration of research related to Koreans in Japan during the 1970s was not unrelated to the internal split within the Korean community seen in this decade. In 1976, the first historical society dedicated to the Korean community, named “Society for the History of Ethnic Korean Movement in Japan,” was established.

Another notable development which took place during this period was a surge in empirical research on individual regions, periods and organizations. Books devoted to specific regions like Hyōgo Prefecture, Nara Prefecture and the Sea of Japan region appeared at this time.<sup>8</sup> There was also an



accumulation of regional research findings related to labor movements, concerning places like Kanagawa, Wakayama, Yamanashi, Nagoya, Kyoto, Osaka and Niigata. The body of research on the forcible war-time mobilization of Koreans, the foremost topic related to the Korean community in Japan, was further broadened and improved during the 1970s, thanks to a host of new findings.<sup>9</sup>

In the 1980s and thereafter, as social history gained importance in the Japanese historical community, social history approaches were also attempted with regard to the history of ethnic Koreans. However, these new attempts were mostly made by Japanese researchers. Higuchi Yūichi's *Kyōwakai—Senjika zainichi Chōsenjin tōsei soshiki no kenkyū* [*Kyōwakai: the War-time Control of Korean Residents in Japan*] (Shakaihyōronsha, 1989), for instance, extends the horizon of social history to deal with the Japanese control and surveillance policy for the Korean community in war-time Japan. The book helped establish a comprehensive body of facts concerning *Kyōwakai*, the chief control structure for Koreans in Japan. Higuchi has continued his research on *Kyōwakai* since then. Regional case studies and studies of prominent figures are currently in need to take *Kyōwakai*-related research to the next level.

In the 1990s, there was a great diversification of research focus, and studies from various new perspectives were added to works on classical subjects like “comfort women,” forcible war-time mobilization of Koreans and the Kantō Earthquake. *Chōsenjin jūgun ianfu* [*Korean Comfort Women*] by Suzuki Yūko and *Ariran no uta* [*Arirang*] edited by Pak Sun-am (Aoki Shoten, 1991) were published during this period. The early 1990s saw the publication of a remarkable study by Tonomura Masaru.<sup>10</sup> In an overview of fifty years of post-war ethnic Korean research, Tonomura pointed out the following issues in existing body of related literature: (1) absence of a comprehensive perspective; (2) absence of inquiries related to the formation of the Korean community as a social group and its relationship to the mainstream Japanese society; and (3) fragmented body of research, composed of studies on specific periods of time, unrelated to each other.

Meanwhile, primary source collections, memoirs and autobiographies, indexed and published during the 1980–1990s, have substantially facilitated research in this field. *Chōsen mondai shiryō sōsho*

[Compendium of Historical Sources Related to the Chosŏn Issue] (1–15) and *Tokkō kankei shiryō shūsei* [Compendium of Historical Sources Related to *Tokkō*, the Special Police Force] (1–5), two primary source books by Pak Kyōng-shik, in particular, cast important light on war-time Korean organizations in Japan, providing comprehensive information on newsletters and periodicals published by them and other documentary resources related to them. *Senji gaikokujin kyōsei renkō kankei shiryōshū* [Historical Sources Related to Forcible War-time Mobilization of People of Occupied Territories] (4), Akashi Shoten, 1991, compiled and edited by Hayashi Eidai, and *Senjika Chōsenjin Chūgokujin rengōgun furyo kyōsei renkō shiryōshū* [Historical Sources on War-time Abduction and Coerced Military Conscription of Koreans and Chinese] (Ryokuin Shobō, 1991) edited by Nagasawa Shigeru appeared during this period. Primary source collections concerning *Kyōwakai*, published in this period, include *Kyōwakai kankei shiryōshū* [Compendium of Historical Sources on *Kyōwakai*] (5) (Ryokuin Shobō, 1992, 1993), edited by Higuchi Yūichi. Meanwhile, among source books related to the Kantō Earthquake is the multi-volume compendium *Kantō daishinsai Chōsenjin gyakusatsu mondai kankei shiryō* [Historical Sources on the Massacre of Koreans during the Great Kantō Earthquake] (I. “Chōsenjin gyakusatsu kanren jidō shōgen shiryō” [Testimonies of Child Witnesses to the Massacre of Koreans]; II. “Chōsenjin gyakusatsu kanren kanchō shiryō” [Official Government Records on the Massacre of Koreans]; III. “Chōsenjin gyakusatsu ni kansuru chishikijin no hannō” [Japanese Intelligentsia’s Reaction to the Massacre of Koreans] (1) (2) (Ryokuin Shobō, 1989, 1991, 1996) by Kūm Pyōng-dong. Noteworthy personal memoirs which appeared during this period include memoirs by Chang Tu-shik, Ko Chun-sōk, Kim Tal-su, Pak Kyōng-shik and Kim Chong-jae.

## 2) Recent Research Trends in Japan (since 1998)

The most notable changes in the recent ten years are the sharp increase in the volume of publications related to the history of Koreans in Japan and the broad research participation of Korean graduate students in academic stay in Japan. A new historical association, distinct from the Society for the History of Ethnic Korean Movement in Japan in temperament and orientation, was created upon the initiative of young researchers as well.

The following are some of the related books published in recent years, in Japan:

Kawa Meisei. *Kanjin Nihon imin shakai keizaishi senzen-hen* [The Social and Economic History of the Korean Immigrant Community: Pre-war Period], Akashi Shoten, 1997.

Nishinarita Yutaka. *Zainichi Chōsenjin no “sekai” to “teikoku” kokka* [The “World” and the “Empire” Nation of Koreans in Japan], University of Tokyo Press, 1997.

Kim Ch’an-jōng. *Zainichi Korian hyakunenshi* [100 Years of Korean Settlement in Japan], Sangokan, 1997.

Sugihara Tōru. *Ekkyo suru tami—Kindai Osaka no Chōsenjinshi kenkyū* [The People Who Crossed the Border: A History of Korean Immigrants in Osaka], Shinkansha, 1998.

Im Ch’ōl et al., eds. *20 seiki o ikita Chōsenjin* [The 20th Century and Koreans], Daiwa Shobō, 1998.

Horiuchi Minoru. *Hyōgo Chōsenjin rōdō undōshi 8.15 kaihō mae* [Korean Labor Movement in Hyōgo: Before the End of World War II], Mukuge-no-kai, 1998.

Miyazaki Manabu. *Futeisha* [Lawless People], Kadokawa Haruki Corporation, 1998.

Kimura Kenji, et al. *“Kankoku heigō” Chokugo no zainichi Chōsenjin Chūgokujin* [Koreans and Chinese in Japan during the Immediate Aftermath of Annexation of Korea], Akashi Shoten, 1998.

Higuchi Yūichi. *Senjika Chōsen no nōmin seikatsushi 1939–1945* [Life in War-time Rural Korea: 1939–1945], Shakaihyōronsha, 1998.

In Kawa Meisei’s *Kanjin Nihon imin shakai keizaishi senzen-hen* [The Social and Economic History of the Korean Immigrant Community: Pre-war Period], Koreans in Japan are referred to as “Korean immigrants in Japan,” instead of “Chosŏn laborers,” the traditional expression used to designate Korean people in Japan. Kawa explains how Korean immigrants’ willingness to work for low wages helped them adapt to the Japanese society.

In his discussion of the circumstances of the exodus of rural Korean populations toward Japan, Kawa attributes it to the decline of employment

opportunities in Chosŏn, caused by the entry of Chinese workers into the local labor market. Concerning Korean access to jobs, early immigrants, employed usually in small factories, helped those who arrived subsequently find work, according to the Japanese historian. Job opportunities for Korean immigrants increased significantly, still according to Kawa, later when social movements penetrated villages and hamlets across Japan. All the same, the author does not forget to give credit to the competitiveness of Chosŏn workers in the Japanese labor market. By analyzing the structure of labor demand in the Osaka region, he cites the inner garment, bicycle, glass and celluloid industries as the chief source of demand for Korean workers. However, contrary to what the title of the book leads us to expect, the investigation is limited to factory workers. Also regrettable is the fact that Kawa has the tendency to generalize the patterns observed in Osaka's Korean community, which he clearly considers typical of the Korean community in Japan.

*Zainichi Chōsenjin no "sekai" to "teikoku" kokka* [The "World" and the "Empire" Nation of Koreans in Japan] by Nishinarita Yutaka is one of the most noted recently-published Japanese books dealing with the history of Koreans in Japan. The book has been extensively reviewed by Japanese or Japan-based ethnic Korean historians specialized in Koreans in Japan.

He says his experience visiting the Hitachi Mine as a youngster and encounter with Korean students awakened his interest in the affairs of Koreans in Japan. His perception of Koreans in Japan was decisively shaped, he explains, during a subsequent research stay in England. Nishinarita appears also to have been influenced by the work by Weiner, which I shall discuss later in this paper. Focusing on the period from the 1910 to post-war years, Nishinarita attempts to develop a broad understanding of the Korean community in Japan, using both existing sources and sources he personally collected. Concretely, he tries to understand the issue of Korean immigration to Japan in the larger context of the intraregional movement of labor in East Asia.

Nishinarita's work, however, fails to add anything new to existing research, and simply transposes existing views on the subject under a new framework of Japanese imperialism. Also, his attempt to treat several large subjects simultaneously, in one book, is something of a foolhardy wager.

*"Kankoku heigō" Chokugo no zainichi Chōsenjin Chūgokujin*

[Koreans and Chinese in Japan during the Immediate Aftermath of Annexation of Korea], a sister book to "*Kankoku heigō*" *mae no zainichi Chōsenjin* [Koreans in Japan before the Annexation of Korea], provides demographic information on Koreans in Japan during the 1910s, including age distribution and employment, and draws comparisons with corresponding information from the 1920s. The work is considerably weakened by a tendency to generalize the findings from two regions, Kyūshū and Yamaguchi, and by its failure to address fundamental questions related to Japanese colonial rule.

Sugihara Tōru's *Ekkyo suru tami—Kindai Osaka no Chōsenjinshi kenkyū* [The People Who Crossed the Border: A History of Korean Immigrants in Osaka] is a collection of papers written by the author over the years. Kim Ch'an-jōng's *Zainichi Korian hyakunenshi* [100 Years of Korean Settlement in Japan] is an introductory publication providing a sweeping overview of the entire history of the Korean community in Japan. Horiuchi Minoru's *Hyōgo Chōsenjin rōdō undōshi 8.15 kaihō mae* [Korean Labor Movement in Hyōgo: Before the End of World War II] has received much scholarly attention for the light it sheds on the history of regional Korean labor movement in Hyōgo. As for *20 seiki o ikita Chōsenjin* [The 20th Century and Koreans] and *Futeisha* [Lawless People], both books deal with Kim Ch'ōn-hae, a Korean socialist activist who was a member of the Japanese communist party. The article by Pak Hyang-gu in *20 seiki o ikita Chōsenjin* [The 20th Century and Koreans] follows Kim Ch'ōn-hae during the period when he was closely involved in the activities of the Federation of Koreans in Japan. Meanwhile, *Senjika Chōsen no nōmin seikatsushi 1939–1945* [Life in War-time Rural Korea: 1939–1945] is concerned with the living conditions of Chosŏn peasants in periods prior to the decade marked by massive waves of immigration toward the Japanese archipelago. Higuchi Yūichi's account of life in Chosŏn during this period is largely based on field research conducted in Korea.

Among unpublished doctoral dissertations, worthy of mention, are "Senkanki Nihon ni okeru teijū Chōsenjin no keisei katei" [The Formation and Development of the Korean Community in War-time Japan] (Hitotsubashi University Ph.D. dissertation, 1997) by Kim Kwang-yŏl, and "Kindai Nihon bunka kōryūshi kenkyū" [The History of Modern-period Japanese Cultural Exchange: Korean Academic Immigration] (Osaka University

Ph.D. dissertation, 1998) by Pak Ki-hwan.

Kim Kwang-yöl, drawing from findings of existing studies, attempts to determine the causes of Korean immigration to Japan, by distinguishing three different phases: Inducement period (1910–1919), Inhibition period (1920–1938), and Forcible Labor Mobilization period (1939–1945). Kim concludes that insufficient employment opportunities within Chosŏn were the principal cause of the Korean peasantry's exodus toward Japan. The dissertation discusses restrictive immigration regulations that were in place during this period and social and economic conditions of Koreans in Japan. In addition to relating known facts about immigration regulations of that time such as the stiffening of rules since the end of the First World War and approval of immigration conditioned on financial resources, employment guarantee or verifiable personal identity, the author also mentions that related regulations became progressively more rigid with several amendments introduced over the years, and that starting from the mid-1930s, suppressing immigration became the official policy of the Japanese government.

Also, the most resourceless job immigrants were denied permission to enter Japan, the author reports,<sup>11</sup> and those with relatives and acquaintances in the country were given preference. Common occupations among Korean immigrants were construction work, day labor, factory work and mining. Once into the 1930s, small merchants and other miscellaneous laborers were added to this list. The work and living conditions of Korean immigrants, he says, were generally substandard, and most had to rely on the help of relatives or the community to find housing and a job and make ends meet.

Pak Ki-hwan comprehensively portrays life among Koreans sojourning in Japan for academic reasons during the period between 1881 and 1919. According to the author, Korean academic stays in Japan were mostly funded by the government between 1881 and 1903, and popular fields of study were military and technical or related to regulatory systems and institutions. Starting from 1904, the majority of Korean students paid their own stay in Japan, and Tokyo was the destination of 85 percent of all students. They received an elite education, pursuing degrees in political science, law and economics, or enrolled in industrial studies. One notable fact about Korean academic stay in Japan during this period, according to

the same author, is that most students were strongly imbued with a nationalistic spirit, to such a degree that Japanese authorities referred to this pool of young Koreans as the “reservoir of the independence movement.”

From the year 2000 and afterwards, there have been more regional case studies as well as studies of individual cases of activist movement. Hur Kwang-moo tackled the issue of Pangmyŏn wiwŏnhoe, the social service agency in place during the Japanese occupation, in his doctoral dissertation.<sup>12</sup> Yun Myŏng-suk investigated the mobilization of female labor during the period of forcible drafts, and Kim T’ae-gi the post-war policy concerning Koreans in Japan.<sup>13</sup> Nam Ki-jŏng and Kim Ki-wang earned their Ph.D. with a dissertation, respectively on Koreans in Japan during the Korean War<sup>14</sup> and Korean students in Japan during the 1920s.<sup>15</sup>

Meanwhile, there have been several publications from the English-speaking world, on Koreans in Japan. In addition to books by Wagner and Mitchel, Michael Weiner recently published two books on the history of Koreans in Japan.<sup>16</sup> Subscribing to *seikan ron*, the so-called Korean conquest doctrine, Weiner relates the history of Koreans in Chosŏn in a rather general fashion. Some of the problems in his works, espousing a heavily Japan-centered view, are as follows: (1) claim that Japanese labor activists were involved in the unionization or association of Korean workers, (2) arguments related to the fact that no support could be provided by mainstream Japanese labor activists for the creation of the Coalition of Korean Laborers in Japan; and (3) the view that the high frequency of relocation among Korean immigrants was the cause of their weak bonding with the Japanese.<sup>17</sup>

### 3) The Status of Korean Research (the 1970s to the early 1990s)

The first Korean studies on subjects related to the Korean community in Japan were published during the 1970s. They were either histories of Korean immigration to Japan or dealt with living conditions within the Korean community.<sup>18</sup> Researchers like Kim Tae-sang, Yi Kwang-gyu, Ko Sŭng-je and Hyŏn Kyu-hwan used approaches that were dominantly of economic history or social history, and made little to no mention of Korean activism during the period of occupation. Meanwhile, works by Kim Sang-hyŏn and Min Kwan-shik, growing out of a concern for practical issues



faced by the Korean community in Japan, reached independently meaningful results. Chŏn Chun's study on Choch'ongnyŏn is a favorably-biased account on the pro-P'yŏng'yang Korean organization, written in an enumerative style, citing extensively from official police records.

Kim Sang-hyŏn. *Chaeil Han'gugin* [Koreans in Japan], Seoul: Tan'gok Academic Society, 1969.

Chŏn Chun. *Choch'ongnyŏn yŏn'gu* [Study of the General Association of Korean Residents], Korea University Asian Studies Institute, 1972.

Kim Tae-sang. *Ilcheha kangje illyŏk sut'alsa* [Labor Exploitation during the Japanese Occupation], Seoul: Chŏng'ŭmsa, 1975.

Yi Kwang-gyu. *Chaeil Han'gugin* [Koreans in Japan], Seoul: Ilchogak, 1983.

Ko Sŭng-je, "Chaeil Han'guk nodongja iminŭi sahoesajŏk punsŏk" [Korean Laborer Immigration to Japan: A Social History Perspective], *Haksurwŏn nonmunjip immun sahoe kwahak* [National Academy of Sciences Papers: Humanities and Social Sciences], 1973.

In the 1980s, the changing international political landscape coincided with a widening of the horizon of historical research on the Japanese occupation period. Subjects of research became substantially more diversified than during the 1970s. Two major trends of research were the history of immigration, continuing the dominant theme of the 1970s, and social and economic conditions of the Korean community in Japan. There were also studies investigating social and economic conditions specifically of the working-class segment of the immigrant community. Research on the history of Koreans studying in Japan also began in earnest at this time, and the book by Kim Ki-ju exemplifies results from this area of historical investigation. Papers on topics related to the history of Korean activism in Japan, by authors including Yŏ Hwan-yŏn and Chŏng Chin-sŏng, among others, published during this period are as follows:

Pak Yŏng-sŏk. "Inbon chegukchuŭi haŭi Han'gugin Ilbon idong'e taehayŏ" [Human Movement from Korea to Japan under Japanese Colonial Rule], *Kŏn'guktae immun kwahak nonch'ong* [Konkuk

- University Collected Humanities Papers] (14), 1982.
- Pak Ch'ong-ŭi. "Ilbon shingminji shidaeŭi chaeil Han'gugin yŏgong" [Korean Women Factory Workers in Japan during the Occupation Period], *Wŏn'gwangdae nonmunjip* [Wonkwang University Collected Papers] (17), 1983.
- Yi Kwang-gyu. "Chaeil kyop'o ijusa" [History of Korean Immigration to Japan], *Kim Ch'ŏl-jun paksa hoegap kinyŏm nonch'ong* [Special Collected Papers on the Occasion of Dr. Kim Ch'ŏl-jun's 60th Birthday], 1982.
- Shin Chae-hŭng. "Kwandong taejijin'gwa Han'gugin taehaksal" [The Kantō Earthquake and Massacre of Koreans], *Sahak yŏn'gu* [Journal of History] (38), 1984.
- Hŏ Su-yŏl. "Chosŏn'in nodongnyŏgŭi kangje tong'wŏn'ŭi shilt'ae" [Forcible Mobilization of Korean Labor during the Japanese Occupation] in *Ilcheŭi Han'guk shingmin t'ongch'i* [The Japanese Colonial rule of Korea], Seoul: Chŏng'ŭmsa, 1985.
- Chŏng Chin-sŏng. "Kye-gŭbŭrosŏŭi minjok kongdongch'e—Ilche shigiŭi chaeil Chosŏn'in sahoerŭl chungshimŭro" [Ethnic Community as a Socio-economic Class: The Case of the Korean Community in Japan during Japanese Occupation of Korea] in Seoul National University Sociology Society, ed., *Hyŏndae chabonjuŭiwa kongdongch'e iron* [Modern Capitalism and Community Theories], Seoul: Han'gilsa, 1989.
- Kim Ŭi-hwan. "Ilcheha chaeil tongp'o sahoeŭi punsŏk yŏn'gu" [The Korean Community in Japan during the Colonial Rule], *Kuksagwan nonch'ong* [Journal of National Institute of Korean History] (2), 1989.
- Chŏng Chin-sŏng. "1920 nyŏndaeŭi Chosŏn'in kwangbu sayong sanghwang mit sayong kyŏngbi—Ilbon Chik'uhŏ chibang'ŭi Mitchŭbi t'an'gwang'ŭl chungshimŭro" [The Employment Situation and Wages of Korean Miners during the 1920s: The Case of the Mitsubishi Mine in Chikuhŏ] in Society for Publication of Commemorative Collected Papers for 60th Birthday of Chu Chong-hwan, ed., *Han'guk chabonjuŭiron* [Korean Capitalism], Seoul: Hanul, 1989.
- Kim Yun-shik. "Ilchinhoeŭi p'ail yuhaksaeng" [Korean Scholars Sent to Japan by Ilchinhoe], *Munhak Sasang* [Idea of Literature], 1981.

Ch'oe Tök-su. "Hanmal yuhaksaeng tanch'e yŏn'gu" [Korean Students Associations in Japan during Last Years of Taehan Empire] (1), *Kongju sadae nonmunjip* [Kongju University College of Education Collected Papers], 1983.

Ch'oe Tök-su. "Hanmal yuhaksaeng'ui taeoe inshik yŏn'gu 1905–1910" [International Politics Perception among Koreans Studying Overseas during the Late Taehan Empire Period (1905–1910)], *Kongju sadae nonmunjip* [Kongju University College of Education Collected Papers], 1984.

Kang Tae-min. "Hanmal yuhaksaengdŭrui aeguk kyemong sasang" [The Patriotism and Enlightenment Ideology of Koreans Studying Overseas during the Late Taehan Empire Period], *Pusan sanŏptae nonmunjip* [Pusan University of Technology Collected Papers], 1986.

Han Shi-jun. "Kukkwŏn hoebok undonggi Ilbon yuhaksaeng'ui minjok undong" [The Independence Movement of Korean Students in Japan during the Sovereignty Restoration Period], *Han'guk tongnip undongsa yŏn'gu* [Journal for the History of Korean Independence Movement] (2), 1988.

Kim Ki-ju. "Kuhanmal chaeil yuhaksaeng'ui sahoe kyemong sasang" [The Social Enlightenment Ideology of Late Taehan Empire-period Koreans Studying Overseas], *Honamdae sahoe kyoyuk* [Honam University Social Education], 1990.

Kim Ki-ju. *Hanmal chaeil Han'guk yuhaksaeng'ui minjok undong* [The Independence Movement of Korean Students in Japan during the Late Taehan Empire Period], Seoul: Nŭt'inamu, 1993.

Yŏ Hwan-yŏn. "1920 nyŏndae chaeil han'in'ui minjok undong—Hyŏptong Chŏnsŏnŭl chungshimŭro" [The Independence Movement of Koreans in Japan during 1920s: The Case of Hyŏptong Chŏnsŏn], M.A. thesis, Ewha Womans University, 1982.

Chŏng Chin-sŏng. "Ilcheha chaeil Chosŏn'in nodongjadŭrui chojik undong" [The Organized Labor Movement of Korean Workers in Japan during Japanese Colonial Rule of Korea], *Han'guk sahoehak yŏn'gu* [Journal of the Seoul National University Sociology Society], no. 8, Seoul National University Sociology Society, 1986.

In the 1990s, research on the history of Koreans in Japan and Korean activism there gained sharply both in breadth and depth. This phenomenon, having to do with the growing social demand for research diversity, was facilitated by the stock of research on the Japanese occupation period accumulated during the 1980s. Three major currents can be discerned in research conducted during this decade: (A) research on living conditions of Korean laborers from an everyday history perspective; (B) full-fledged social and political activism research; and (C) research on the period of forcible mobilization of Korean laborers.

(A)

Sŏ Hyŏn-ju. "1920 nyŏndae toil Chosŏn'in nodongja kyegŭbŭi hyŏngsŏng" [The Formation of Korean Working Class in Japan during 1920s], *Han'guk hakpo* [Journal of Korean Studies] (63), 1990.

Kim Min-yŏng. "Ilcheŭi Chosŏn'in nodongnyŏk sut'are kwanhan yŏn'gu" [Japanese War-time Exploitation of Korean Labor Force], Ph.D. dissertation, Chonnam University, Dept. of Economics, 1991. (Kim Min-yŏng. *Ilcheŭi Chosŏn'in nodongnyŏk sut'al yŏn'gu* [Japanese War-time Exploitation of Korean Labor Force], Seoul: Hanwoul Academy, 1995.)

Chŏng Hye-gyŏng. "1920 nyŏndae Osak'a Han'in nodongjaŭi saenghwalsang" [Social and Economic Conditions of Korean Laborers in Osaka during the 1920s], *Ch'ŏnggye Sahak* [Ch'ŏnggye History] (8), 1991.

Kim Sŏng-rye and Kang Chŏng-suk. "Ilcheŭi nodongnyŏk sut'ar'e kwanhan yŏn'gu" [Japanese Wartime Exploitation of Korean Labor Force] in *Ch'ŏngsanhaji mothan ilche shigiŭi munje* [Unresolved Issues from the Japanese Occupation Period] (Paper presented at the 50th Anniversary of Korean Liberation Symposium), 1995.

(B)

Chŏng Hye-gyŏng. "Shingminji shidae Aso Han'in t'angwang nodong chaeng'ŭi" [Labor Disputes by Korean Miners at Asō Mine during the Occupation Period], *Han'guk chŏngshin munhwa yŏn'guwŏn*

- Han'gukhak taehagwön nonmunjip* [Academy of Korean Studies Graduate School of Korean Studies Collected Papers] (7), 1992.
- Chöng Hye-gyöng. "1910–1920 nyöndaetonggyöng Han'in nodong tanch'e" [Korean Labor Organizations in Tokyo during 1910–1920], *Han'guk künhyöndaesa yön'gu* [Journal of the Association for Korean Modern and Contemporary History] (1), Seoul: Hanul, 1994.
- Kim In-dök. "1920 nyöndaemal chaeil Chosön'in minjok haebang undong'ui haech'e nonüie taehan kömt'o" [Discussions on the Dissolution of the Korean Independence Movement in Japan in the Late 1920s] in *Puch'on Shin Yön-chöl kyosu chöngnyön t'oeim kinyöm sahak nonch'ong* [Collected Papers in Commemoration of the Retirement of Professor Shin Yön-chöl], Seoul: Irwölsögak, 1995.
- Kim In-dök. "Haguhoeüi chojikkwa hwaltong" [Korean Student Organizations in Japan and Their Activities], *Kuksagwan nonch'ong* [Collected Korean History Papers] (66), 1995.
- Chöng Hye-gyöng. "Osak'a Han'in tanch'eüi sönggyök (1914–1922)" [The Nature and Characteristics of Osaka-based Korean Associations (1914–1922)], *Hanil kwan'gyesa yön'gu* [Journal of the History of Korea-Japan Relations] (4), 1995.

(C)

- Pang Sön-ju. "Miguk charyoe nat'anan Han'in chonggun wianbuüi koch'al" Korean "Comfort Women" according to U.S. Records], *Kuksagwan nonch'ong* [Collected Korean History Papers] (37), 1992.
- Yi Hyo-jae. "Han'il kwan'gye chöngsanghwawa chöngshindae munje" [Comfort Women and the Normalization of Korea-Japan Relations], *Kidokkyo sasang* [Christianity], Aug. 1992.
- Yun Chöng-ok. "Ilbon'gun wianbuüi shilt'ae" [The Truth about "Comfort Women"], *Han'il haptong yön'guhoe palp'yomun* (Paper Presented at the Korea-Japan Joint Research Society), 1993.
- Yi Sang-hwa. "Kun wianbu kyönghöme kwanhan yön'gu" [Comfort Women Survivors], M.A. thesis, Ewha Womans University, Dept. of Women's Studies, 1993.
- Chöng Chin-söng. "Ilbon'gun 'wianbu' chöngch'aegüi hyöngsönggwa pyönhwa" [The Birth, Development and Evolution of the Japanese

Imperial Army's Comfort Women Policy], *Han'il haptong yŏn'guhoe palp'yomun* (Paper Presented at the Korea-Japan Joint Research Society), 1993.

Yŏ Sun-ju. "Ilche malgi Chosŏn'in yŏja kŭllo chŏngshindaee kwanhan shilt'ae yŏn'gu" [Korean Women Conscripted to the Women's Labor Corps in the Late Japanese Occupation Period], M.A. thesis, Ewha Womans University, Dept of Women's Studies, 1994.

Chŏng Chin-sŏng. "Ilbon'gun 'wianbu' chŏngch'aegŭi ponjil" [The Real Face of the Japanese Imperial Army's Comfort Women Program] in *Hanmal ilchehaŭi sahoe sasanggwa sahoe undong* [Korean Social Ideologies and Movements in the Late Taehan Empire Period] (Society for Korean Social History Collected Papers (42)), Munhakkwa Chisŏngsa, 1994.

Shin Yŏng-suk. "Kun wianbuŭi shilt'ae mit tŭksŏng'e kwanhan yŏn'gu" [The Living Conditions and Characteristics of "Comfort Women"] in *Ch'ŏngsanhaji mothan ilche shigiŭi munje* [Unresolved Issues from the Japanese Occupation Period] (Paper presented at the 50th Anniversary of Korean Liberation Symposium), 1995.

Chŏng Chin-sŏng and Yŏ Sun-ju. "Yŏja kŭllo chŏngshindaegŭi shilsang" [The Reality of Women's Labor Corps] in *Ch'ŏngsanhaji mothan ilche shigiŭi munje* [Unresolved Issues from the Japanese Occupation Period] (Paper presented at the 50th Anniversary of Korean Liberation Symposium), 1995.

Sŏ Hyŏn-ju's investigation of life among Korean laborers from a political economy perspective exhibits the influence of the economic history-oriented school of research that dominated Korean scholarship during the 1980s. As for research on the period of forcible mobilization of Koreans, the 'comfort women' issue remains the salient topic, and studies on more diverse subjects related to this period would be a welcome change. The report on the remains of Koreans found overseas, published in 1995–1996 by the Academy of Korean Studies, holds significant symbolical importance, as it is the first-ever Korean field investigation report related to Koreans forcibly taken to Japan.<sup>19</sup> Also, Ch'oe Yŏng-ho's Ph.D. dissertation for the University of Tokyo investigating the post-war history

of Koreans in Japan made a major contribution to broadening the knowledge of the Korean community of the post-war period when it was subsequently published as a book, both among specialists of this period and general historians researching related subjects.<sup>20</sup>

Korean research in the history of colonial-period Korean activism in Japan dating from the 1980s and thereafter is still too scarce and episodic to allow general assessment. One thing, however, is clear. Shattering historical views shaped by Japan-centered research works remains one of the most urgent tasks, along with uncovering new and more varied primary sources.

## **2. Recent Korean Research (Since 1996)**

### **1) By Subject**

The history of political and labor activism and policy history make up the mainstream of Korean research of this period, in the area of the Korean community in Japan, while there are now and then a few publications dealing in immigration history, social history and everyday history. In more recent times, literary, sociological and art history researchers have been turning to subjects related to Koreans in Japan. In this essay, the review will primarily focus on works from the discipline of history, on Korean activism in Japan.

Research on the Chosŏn Communist Party, various ideological groups that existed in Korea of the early 20th century and the Community Party Restoration Movement began with scholars like Kim Chun-yŏp, Kim Ch'ang-sun, Yi Ki-ha, Sŏ Tae-suk, Ko Chun-sŏk, Pak Kyŏng-shik and Chŏn Chun, who contributed to the creation of a comprehensive body of knowledge concerning the history of the Korean Communist movement. The work of Pak Kyŏng-shik, in particular, offers rich insights into the subject. Others have been content with reproducing and commenting on Japanese police records, considering the political and labor activism of the Korean community in Japan as a mere extension of this ultimately failed revolution. In one of my papers, I tackled the issue of the Communist movement of Koreans in Japan. To my knowledge, there has been no noteworthy work exclusively devoted to this subject, since then.



A number of historians have investigated the history of Korean anarchism, including Kim Myŏng-sŏp, Kim Kwang-yŏl, Yi Ho-ryong and O Chang-hwan.

As for the labor movement in the Korean community in Japan, for a long time only glancingly mentioned in labor-related history primers, the subject is now being researched by historians like Chŏng Chin-sŏng, Chŏng Hye-gyŏng and Kim In-dŏk, with varying focuses. More recently, my own book detailing the lives and works of prominent Korean labor activists in Japan has been released as well.<sup>21</sup>

The youth/student movement is discussed in historical primers on Korean activism in Japan, in addition to a number of studies exclusively devoted to the subject. Chŏng Se-hyŏn and Kim Sŏng-shik relate the role and activities of Korean students during the February 8th Declaration of Independence and the March First Movement, in the context of the history of the Korean student movement. These authors also recently presented papers covering specific subjects related to the Korean youth/student movement in Japan. Academic inquiries on the political activism of Korean students in Japan were made by Kim Ki-ju, Ch'oe Tŏk-su, Han Shi-jun, P'yo Yŏng-ju and Pak Ch'an-sŭng who provided an overview of related activities since the late years of the Taehan Empire. Works by Kim T'ae-gi, Kim In-dŏk and Chŏng Hye-gyŏng offer broad outlines of Korean student organizations and their activities, stimulating research on the Korean youth/student movement in Japan.<sup>22</sup>

Nationalist movements are also given a place in the historiography of Korean activism in Japan. However, for the moment, available research results in this area are quite few. On the other hand, there have been a number of studies documenting the activities of Christian and Buddhist students and students of Ch'ŏndo faith.

The most controversial topic in the history of Korean political activism in Japan is arguably the discussions on the dissolution of the Korean movement. In my own essay, "1920 nyŏn dae mal chaeil Chosŏnin minjok haebang undong ŭi haech'e nonŭi e taehan komt'o" [Discussions on the Dissolution of the Independence Movement by Koreans in Japan in the Late 1920s], I pointed out several problematic aspects of these discussions and the declaration of dissolution which ensued, as follows: (1) The Comintern (Communist International) which was the highest authority

in the international Communist movement was then heavily pro-Stalinist and made the unfortunate decision of opting for the one state, one party policy. Not abiding by this policy was unthinkable for Communist movement groups of Chosŏn and Japan, blindly obedient followers of the Comintern; (2) the discussions of dissolution did not take place in a democratic fashion, but through a unilateral and top-down approach, with little regard for regional movements; (3) the discussions were profoundly unscientific and anti-activist. Ideological and organizational affiliations dominated the discussions, and the final consent to dissolution came about without rational or critical thinking. This is one reason why there was no radical dissent throughout the entire process; (4) the unilateral decision to dissolve regional Communist movements, led by the national federation on the instructions of the Profintern, was not accompanied by any post-dissolution *modus operandi* for Korean Communist activists, which ultimately led to a shrinkage of the activist base.

Studies published very lately in Korea deal with topics never or seldom addressed previously, such as the independence memorial day protests, everyday life, regional movements and activism by natives of Cheju. Much, in my opinion, is still left to be done especially in terms of research on Korean protests on independence movement memorial days.

Another area that sorely needs more attention from the historical community is pro-Japanese factions within the Korean community in Japan. While several Japanese studies have already dealt with this subject,<sup>23</sup> in Korea, Kim Tu-yong's related discussion is the sole example of scholarly inquiry in this area. Pro-Japanese Koreans occupied various positions in Korean and Japanese societies during the period from 1876 to 1945 and actively assisted the Japanese attempt of cultural genocide.<sup>24</sup> Just as there were anti-Japanese struggles wherever Koreans lived, these people served imperialist Japan as its loyal handmaidens, both at home in Korea and from overseas. In Japan, they formed organizations like Sang'achoe, Hyŏphwahoe, Hŭngsaenghoe and Ilshimhoe, instruments to better serve the Japanese empire. Their organization and activities were disclosed to the wider public after the end of the war, through the work of Kim Tu-yong.

Research on the forcible war-time mobilization of Koreans owes its basic foundations to the work by Pak Kyŏng-shik, as has been mentioned earlier in this paper. Many other historians have followed suit since then,

and Kim Min-yŏng is currently the leading specialist in this field. His inquiries, largely based on field research conducted in Japan, are particularly concerned with labor mobilization.<sup>25</sup> More recently, researchers have been progressively tackling subjects like the Japanese policy for the control of Korean population in Japan, the conditions of Koreans in Japan and regional cases. Also, quite a few researchers specialized in this field are closely involved in the legislative activities of the Korean National Assembly related to victims of forcible mobilization by the war-time Japanese government.

Regarding the post-war period, the repatriation of Koreans in Japan, Choch'ongnyŏn and deportation to North Korea are among the most researched topics. More current concerns of the Korean community in Japan are also being occasionally addressed by works from the fields of literature, sociology, political science and anthropology. Works by Yi Chong-hun, Kwŏn Suk-in and Han Kyŏng-gu stand out.

## 2) By Researchers

The first doctoral dissertations on topics related to Koreans in Japan were produced in the 1990s. The following list provides the most noteworthy of them:

Chŏng In-sŏp. "Oegugin'ŭi kukchebŏpsang chiwie kwanhan yŏn'gu—Chŏngju oeguginŭi kyŏng'urŭl chungshimŭro" [The Legal Status of Foreigners under International Law: The Case of Permanent Foreign Residents], Ph.D. dissertation, Seoul National University, 1992.

Yi Yun-hwan. "Hŏnbŏpsang oeguginŭi sŏn'gŏgwŏne kwanhan yŏn'gu—Ilbon'guk hŏnbŏpsang chaeil Han'gugin munjerŭl chungshimŭro" [Voting Rights of Foreigners according to the Constitution: The Case of Korean Residents in Japan], Ph.D. dissertation, Chungnam National University, 1993.

Yu Sam-yŏl. "Bukhanŭi chaeil kyop'o chŏngch'aekkwa choch'ongnyŏn" [The Ethnic Korean Policy of North Korea and Choch'ongnyŏn], Ph.D. dissertation, Sogang University, 1993.

Kim In-dŏk. "Chaeil Chosŏn'in minjok haebang undong yŏn'gu: 1925–31 nyŏn shigi sahoejuŭi undong'ul chungshimŭro" [The

- Independence Movement in the Korean Community in Japan: the Socialist Movement of 1925–31], Ph.D. dissertation, Sungkyunkwan University, 1996.
- Kim Tae-söng. “Chaeil Han’gugin’üi minjok kyoyuge kwanhan yön’gu” [Transmission of Korean Language and Culture among Koreans in Japan], Ph.D. dissertation, Dankook University, 1996.
- Yi Han-ch’ang. “Chaeil kyop’o munhagüi chakp’um söngnyang yön’gu” [Literary Production of Ethnic Koreans in Japan: Trends and Characteristics], Ph.D. dissertation, Chung-Ang University, 1997.
- Yu Suk-ja. “1945 nyön ihu chaeil Han’gugin sosöre nat’anan minjokchök chöngch’esöng yön’gu” [The Identity of Koreans in Japan Manifested through Novels by Ethnic Korean Writers Published Since 1945], Ph.D. dissertation, Korea University, 1998.
- Chöng Hye-gyöng. “Ilcheha chaeil Han’gugin minjok undong’üi yön’gu—Osak’a chibang’ül chungshimüro” [The Colonial-period Independence Movement of Koreans in Japan: The Case of the Korean Community in Osaka], Ph.D. dissertation, Academy of Korean Studies Graduate School of Korean Studies, 1999.
- T’ae Hüi-gwan. “Choch’ongnyön yön’gu: Yöksawa sönggyögül chungshimüro” [Choch’ongnyön: History, Activities and Characteristics], Ph.D. dissertation, Dongguk University, 1999.
- Kim Myöng-söp. “Chaeil Han’in anak’ijüm undong yön’gu” [The Korean Anarchist Movement in Japan], Ph.D. dissertation, Dankook University, 2001.
- Kim Chöng-ja. “Chaeil Han’gugin ilseüi Han’gugö, Ilbonö honyong shilt’ae yön’gu: Osak’a chiyögül chungshimüro” [The Use of the Korean Language among First-generation Korean Immigrants in Japan: The Osaka Region], Ph.D. dissertation, Soongsil University, 2001.

Meanwhile, amongst collective research works, the collected papers published in memory of Professor Pak Kyöng-shik is the best of its kind to date.<sup>26</sup> This joint project by Korean and Japanese historians is widely acknowledged as the most outstanding research accomplishment in the history of Koreans in Japan. The creation of the Association of Korean-Japanese National Studies, on the initiative of Korean researchers, which

ensued shortly after the publication of this work, was in part prompted and inspired by it.

Korean research on the independence movement by Koreans in Japan has been led, as has been already said, by scholars such as Kim Sang-hyŏn, Min Kwan-shik and Chŏn Chun.<sup>27</sup> Chŏn's treatment of the subject, espousing an anti-communist perspective, consists largely of straight and unmodified quotations from existing Japanese police records, classified by period and theme. The works by Kim Chun-yŏp and Kim Ch'ang-sun, and Sŏ Tae-suk, paying particular attention to internal conflict among contending factions of Korean political activists, also amount to nothing more than simple reproductions of investigation reports of the Japanese police and interviews with witnesses. All in all, the independence movement by Koreans in Japan has thus far been reductively characterized as a movement fraught with internecine struggle, a dispersed or fragmented movement, or a movement of regional scope.

"Chaeil Chosŏn'in minjok haebang undong yŏn'gu—1925–31 nyŏn shigi sahoejuŭi undong'ŭl chungshimŭro" [The Independence Movement in the Korean Community in Japan: The Socialist Movement of 1925–31], Ph.D. dissertation of my own (Sungkyunkwan University, 1996), deals with the independence movement in the period 1925–1931, with a focus on socialist organizations. Due to the narrow period covered and the exclusive focus on the socialist movement, this work fails to offer a comprehensive portrait of Korean activism in Japan.

Chŏng Hye-gyŏng earned her Ph.D. degree with a dissertation on the Korean independence movement in the Osaka region.<sup>28</sup> This work, intended as a comprehensive overview of Korean political activism based in the Osaka region, provides a background to the creation of the local Korean community and insights into everyday life in the community, and details the independence movement which took place in the 1920s and the 1930s. In her discussion of the independence movement in the 1920s, Chŏng explores the anarchist movement, with special attention to its relation to other Korean activist groups. Meanwhile, the discussion of the movement in the 1930s is centered on small-size regional organizations, labor unions and consumer organizations. The dissertation was recently published, and one of its limitations is that it does not clearly stand out from previous studies.

Kim Myöng-söp's Ph.D. dissertation on the Korean anarchist movement in Japan is principally concerned with the 1920s. How anarchism was perceived and understood by the Korean community and what form the anarchist movement took are discussed, along with its influence. The author, notably, attempts to depict the anarchist movement as a variant of the independence movement. The dissertation, akin to a review of existing literature, is not generally concerned with the overall Korean political movement in Japan.

Researchers who returned home to Korea after earning their Ph.D. from a Japanese institution, such as Kim Kwang-yöl, Kim Ki-wang, Nam Ki-jöng, Hong In-suk and Hur Kwang-moo, have also been continuously publishing papers on related topics.<sup>29</sup>

Meanwhile, the most noteworthy published books on subjects related to Koreans in Japan are as follows:

### 1. Books

Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. *Chaeil Han'in pöpchöck chiwi munje* [The Legal Status of Koreans in Japan], 1958.

Kim Sang-hyön. *Chaeil Han'gugin: Kyop'o 80 nyönsa* [Koreans in Japan: 80 Years of the Ethnic Korean Community], Seoul: Ömun'gak, 1969.

Korean National Commission for UNESCO. *Chaeil Han'gugin kyoyugüi munjewa chönmang: Samina pogosö* [The Education of Koreans in Japan: Issues and Outlook, Seminar Report], Korean National Commission for UNESCO, 1981.

Yi Kwang-gyu. *Chaeil Han'gugin: Saenghwal shilt'aerül chungshimüro* [Koreans in Japan: Social and Economic Conditions], Seoul: Ilchogak, 1983.

Kim Sang-hyön. *Chaeil Han'gugin: Chaeil tongp'o 100 nyönsa* [Koreans in Japan: 100 Years of the Ethnic Korean Community], Seoul: Hanminjok, 1988.

Min Kwan-shik. *Chaeilbon Han'gugin: Wae Ilbon irüml ssügo saraya hana* [Koreans in Japan: Why Should They Have Japanese Names?], Seoul: Chungsangyugyönghoe Asian Institute of Policy, 1990.

Mun Pyöng-wön. *Han'il kidokkyo kwallyönsa* [The Christian History of Korea and Japan], Seoul: Sungkwang Publishing, 1993.

- Ch'oe Yŏng-ho. *Chaeil Han'gugin'gwa choguk kwangbok: Haebang chikhuŭi pon'guk kwihwan'gwa minjok tanche hwaltong* [Koreans in Japan and the Liberation of Korea: Post-war Repatriation and the Activities of Korean Organizations], Seoul: Kŭlmoin, 1995.
- Kim Min-yŏng. *Ilcheŭi Chosŏn'in nodongnyŏk sut'al yŏn'gu* [Japanese War-time Exploitation of Korean Labor Force], Seoul: Hanwoul Academy, 1995.
- Kim In-dŏk. *Shinminji shidae chaeil Chosŏn'in undong yŏn'gu* [Korean Independence Movement during the Japanese Occupation Period], Seoul: Kookhak Community Co., 1996.
- Kang Tŏk-sang et al. *Kŭnhyŏndae Han'il kwan'gyewa chaeil tongp'o* [Korea-Japan Relations in Modern and Contemporary Times and Ethnic Koreans in Japan], Seoul National University Press, 1999.
- Chŏng Hye-gyŏng. *Ilche shidae chaeil Chosŏn'in minjok undong yŏn'gu: Osak'arŭl chungshimŭro* [The Colonial-period Independence Movement of Koreans in Japan: The Case of the Korean Community in Osaka], Seoul: Kookhak Community Co., 2001.
- Cho Maeng-su. *Han'gugŭn choguk Ilbonŭn moguk* [Korea the Fatherland and Japan the Motherland], Seoul: Nop'ŭnorŭm, 1995.
- Yang Wang-yong et al. *Ilche kangjŏmgi chaeil Han'guginŭi munhak hwaltonggwa munhak ūishik yŏn'gu* [Literary Consciousness and Activities of Koreans in Japan during the Occupation Period], Pusan National University Press, 1998.
- Min Pyŏng-uk. *Ilche kangjŏmgi chaeil Han'guginŭi yŏn'gŭk undong* [Korean Theater Movement in Japan during the Japanese Occupation Period], Seoul: Yŏn'gŭkkwa in'gan, 2000.
- Yu Suk-ja. *Chaeil Han'gugin munhak yŏn'gu* [Literature of Ethnic Koreans in Japan], Seoul: Wŏrin, 2000.
- Hong Ki-sam ed. *Chaeil Han'gugin munhak* [Ethnic Korean Literature in Japan], Seoul: Sol Ch'ulp'ansa, 2001.

## 2. Translations

- Han Myŏng-sŏk, translated by Kim Kyŏng-rae. *Han'gugini Ilboninege: Pundan minjogŭi piwon* [From Koreans to Japanese: The Prayer of a Divided People], Seoul: Tongbang tosŏ, 1978.
- Kim Sang-su. *Chugŭmŭi 12 kuedan* [The Twelve-step Staircase to



- Death: Koreans in Japan], Seoul: Hanjin ch'ulp'ansa, 1980.
- Kwak Cho-myo, translated by Kim Ki-sil. *Aböji K'oria* [Korea the Fatherland], Seoul: Yöllin ch'aektül, 1987.
- Korean Christian Church in Japan Anti-fingerprinting Action Committee ed., translated by Yi Chong-wön. *Chaeil Han'gugin chimun köbu undong: Pöpchöng chinsul moüm* [The Korean Anti-fingerprinting Movement in Japan: Collected Court Statements], Seoul: Chöng'amsa, 1987.
- Kang Shin-ja, translated by Song Il-jun. *Tugaeüi irüm: Kyo Nobukowa Kang Shin-ja* [A Woman with Two Names: Kyo Nobuko and Kang Shin-ja], Seoul: Kyeyang Ch'ulp'ansa, 1991.
- Önuma Yasuaki, Pak Ch'un-ho and Korea University Institute of Asian Studies, eds., translated by Kim Hyön-gu and No Chae-hwa. *Tanil minjok sahoeüi shinhwarül nömösö* [Beyond the Myth of the One-blood Society: Immigration Control Rules on Koreans in Japan], Seoul: Korea University Press, 1993.
- Kajimura Hideki, translated by Kim In-dök. *Chaeil Chosön'in undong: 1945-1965* [The Ethnic Korean Movement in Japan: 1945-1965], Seoul: Hyönümsa, 1994.
- Tsuruoka Masao ed., translated by U Sugün. *Sönggongghan chaeil Han'gugin 100 in* [The 100 Most Successful Ethnic Koreans in Japan: Inspirational Lives for the Next Generation], Seoul: Ihoe munhwasa, 1997.
- Ozawa Yüsaku, translated by Yi Ch'ung-ho. *Chaeil Chosön'in kyoyugüi yöksa* [The Educational History of Koreans in Japan], Seoul: Hyeon, 1999.
- Kang Chae-ön and Kim Tong-hun, translated by Ha U-bong and Hong Söng-dök. *Chaeil Han'guk Chosön'in: Yöksawa chönmang* [Chösenjin or Koreans in Japan: History and Outlook], Seoul: Sohwa, 2000.
- Nakamura Fukuji. *Hwasando ikki: Cheju 4.3 hangjaenggwa chaeil Han'gugin munhak* [Reading Hwasando: The Cheju April 3rd Protest and Ethnic Korean Literature in Japan], Seoul: Samin, 2001.
- Hyön Ki-t'aek. *Minjokchök chuch'esöng: Chaeil Chosön'in ilseüi kwijunghan chüng'önjip* [National Identity: First-generation Korean Immigrants in Japan Bear Witness], Seoul: Minjung Ch'ulp'ansa, 2001.

As the above list makes clear, most books on ethnic Koreans in Japan deal with current and practical concerns in the community, literature, drama and the independence movement. Books translated from Japanese, in particular, are mostly on literature.<sup>30</sup> *Chaeil Hangugin munhak* [Ethnic Korean Literature in Japan] (Japanese Studies Compendium 2, Dongguk University Institute of Japanese Studies) presents works by ethnic Korean writers of different generations, including first-generation writers such as Kim Tal-su, Kim Shi-jong, Chang Hyök-ju and Kim Sa-ryang; second-generation writers such as Kim Hak-yöng and Yi Hoe-söng, and third-generation writers such as Yi Yang-ji, Yu Mi-ri and Hyön Wöl. One of the researchers who made major contributions to the understanding of ethnic Korean literature is Yi Han-ch'ang. Drawing from existing studies, Yi distinguished five periods in ethnic Korean literature in Japan: (1) Early period (from 1881 to the early 1920s); (2) Resistance and conversion period (from the 1920s to 1945); (3) Period of realism (from 1945 to the mid-1960s); (4) Period of social criticism (from the late 1960s to the late 1970s); and (5) Period of self-search (from the 1980s to date).<sup>31</sup>

Chöñ Ki-ho explored the conditions of Korean workers and the organized labor movement,<sup>32</sup> and Kim Yöng-sun principally investigated the policies of the Japanese government in post-war periods.<sup>33</sup> Rare subjects like folk faiths,<sup>34</sup> poetical works by Koreans in Japan,<sup>35</sup> and ethnic Korean issues related to Chejudo Island<sup>36</sup> have been also addressed. Ethnic Korean issues related to Chejudo, a topic still very much current, have been receiving growing attention from the island's regional community as well. There is even a study on athletic competitions among early Korean students in Japan.<sup>37</sup>

## Conclusion—Challenges and Outlook

This essay has been a review of past and current trends in Korean research on Koreans in Japan. The review was chiefly concerned with works on colonial-period political activism and social history. Notwithstanding, literature, art<sup>38</sup> and music are also fields that deserve attention from Korean scholarship, as well as issues faced by the Korean community in Japan in post-war periods.

Korean research on the history of Koreans in Japan began relatively

late and is, for this reason, largely borrowed from the body of Japanese research. Korean scholarship is some ways behind its Japanese counterpart, at least for the moment, both in terms of the quantity of available primary sources and capacities of research manpower. However, unlike in Japan, where interest in this field is slowly fading away, as it is gradually being integrated into the social history of Japan, in Korea, the mood is more upbeat. Korean researchers are continuously coming up with new approaches to related historical issues and attempting to give a legitimate place to this chapter of Korean history within the modern and contemporary history of Korea. Also encouraging for the prospects of this field is the growing body of low-level data. Nevertheless, the road ahead is still likely to be bumpy.

To turn to concrete research trends, the interest in the history of Koreans in Japan, initially politically-oriented, became progressively shared by experts in fields such as sociology, economics, history, literature and international relations, as the public awareness of the issues grew over time. In the 1960s–1980s, researchers were primarily interested in the legal and political aspects of the status of Koreans in Japan, and in the 1980s–1990s, academic inquiries were made concerning more diversified aspects of the Korean community, including literature, political activism and social history. More recently, current issues faced by the Korean community in Japan, such as voting rights and rights of political participation, are being widely researched.

Based on these larger trends, one can distinguish two generations of researchers: Min Kwan-shik, Chŏn Chun, Yi Kwang-gyu, Kim Chun-ryŏp, Kim Ch'ang-sun, Chŏng Chin-sŏng, Yi Han-ch'ang and Chŏn Ki-ho would belong to the first generation, whereas Ch'oe Yŏng-ho, Kim Kwang-yŏl, Hong In-suk, Chŏng Hye-gyŏng, Kim Myŏng-sŏp, Kim Min-yŏng, Hur Kwang-moo, Kim T'ae-gi, Chŏng Tae-sŏng, Yu Suk-ja and Kim In-dök make up the second generation. In recent years, a growing number of researchers specialized in this field studied in Japan, at some time, most often earning their doctoral degree from a Japanese graduate institution.

Also noteworthy is the high level of involvement in issues touching Koreans in Japan by organizations like the Ethnic Korean Foundation of Japan, Institute for Overseas Korean Affairs, Korean Academic Society of Japan and the Association of Korean-Japanese National Studies.

Periodicals like *Haeoe tongp'o* [Koreans Overseas], *Kyop'o chŏngchaek charyo* [Overseas Korean Policy Updates], *Chaeoe Han'in yŏn'gu* [Journal of Overseas Korean Research] and *Han'il minjok munje yŏn'gu* [Journal of the Association of Korean-Japanese National Studies] are issued by these organizations.

In my discussion of the existing literature, I pointed out several issues in the research of the history of Koreans in Japan.<sup>39</sup> I would now like to conclude this essay by presenting a number of caveats and pointers for future research:

(1) A close multi-disciplinary cooperation and collaboration among researchers are needed in order to stimulate domestic research in this area. Given the insufficiency of the absolute number of researchers specialized in this field, cooperation and exchange among them are all the more necessary. One good way of going about it is selecting a common research theme. Collaborative research should be comprehensive and tend toward a global understanding of a historical phenomenon. A genuinely cross-disciplinary approach is especially important for subjects like the history of forcible mobilization of Koreans by the war-time Japanese government.

(2) Greater diversity is needed in research themes. Ideological approaches to the history of Koreans in Japan and attempts to integrate it into the general history of the Japanese occupation period, for instance, are sorely lacking. Also, considering the special characteristics of Korean research in related fields, it may be necessary to pay close attention to works dealing with domestic political movements.

(3) Korean research results should be integrated with Japanese findings. In other words, related Japanese studies must be critically read and evaluated.

(4) It is urgent to organize and compile interviews and other sources related to forcible mobilization. Organizing domestic records is a duty that primarily befalls Korean researchers, not others.

## NOTES

- 1) In *Chunghkkyo kuksa* [Korean History for Middle School], published on March 1, 2002, for example, we find the following passages related to Koreans in Japan: "Japan forcibly mobilized Koreans for dangerous and

grueling labor in mines and factories, and many young Koreans were taken to the front through various draft programs, including the volunteer program and the student trooper program, in addition to the main draft program. Women were not spared from these abuses, and thousands of them were taken away from their hometown and family to serve the Japanese imperial army in the context of the so-called 'Patriotic Labor Corps' or 'Women's Labor Corps.' Countless Korean women were also drafted to serve as sexual slaves to the Japanese army, known as 'comfort women,' in various places across Asia, and were subjected to inhumane and abject living conditions. <Further Study> Comfort Women: 'Comfort women' refer to women of Korean, Chinese and Philippine origin who were forcibly taken by the Japanese army to Japan-occupied territories during World War II, to provide sex to the troops. This abominable practice, begun sometime during the 1930s, continued through to 1945 when Japan was defeated and surrendered to Allied forces" (p. 262).

"This changing international political landscape galvanized Korean students in Japan, who formed a Korean youth independence organization in Tokyo and issued a declaration of independence and resolutions, which was later baptized the February 8th Declaration of Independence (Feb. 8, 1919)" (pp. 265-266).

"In Tokyo, in 1932, Yi Pong-ch'ang, a member of the Korean patriotic organization led by Kim Ku, threw a hand grenade at the carriage where Emperor Hirohito was riding in a failed attempt to assassinate the ultimate instigator of the Japanese aggression" (p. 277).

- 2) Passages in the high school text book (2002 edition), related to Koreans in Japan, are as follows:

"Japan forcibly mobilized Korean laborers and put legions of Korean youth in harm's way by shipping them out to battlefields. Meanwhile, young women were rounded up for the so-called 'Labor Corps' and were forced to work at war supply factories under harsh conditions. Some of these women were taken to the front to work in 'comfort stations' as sexual slaves to Japanese soldiers. Shortly after the defeat of Japan, there were mass massacres of Koreans in places like the Ryukyu Islands and the Chinese Island of Hainan" (p. 343).

"After Korea lost its sovereignty to Japan, the leaders of the

independence movement were inspired by the doctrine of self-determination and energized by the February 8th Declaration of Independence ..." (p. 344).

"February 8th Declaration of Independence: Korean students in Japan formed a youth independence movement group and on February 8, its members issued a declaration of independence and marched in the streets of Tokyo protesting the Japanese occupation of Korea" (p. 344).

"Many of the Korean independence fighters and activists exiled to China, the Maritime Province of Russia, US and Japan and, starting from the 1910s, actively fought for the liberation of their homeland from overseas" (p. 377).

"In Japan, the Chosŏn Youth Independence Group, led by Ch'oe P'al-yong, issued the February 8th Declaration of Independence, which served as the main catalyst for the March First Movement" (p. 372).

- 3) 1996 *nyŏn kodŭng hakkyo kuksa (Ha)* [The 1996 edition of Korean History for High School] (Part II) discusses the February 8th Declaration of Independence, March First Movement in Japan, Korean immigrants in Japan and the Massacre of Koreans after the Kantō Earthquake.
- 4) Association of Korean-Japanese National Studies. For more information about the association, visit its website at <http://www.kjnation.org>.
- 5) Kim In-dŏk, "Ilbon chiyŏk tongnip undong'e kwanhan yŏn'guŭi hoegowa chŏnmang" [The Korean Independence Movement in Japan: a Retrospective and Outlook], *Han'guksaron* [Journal of Korean History] no. 26, 1996; Tonomura Masaru, "Zainichi Chōsenjinshi kenkyū no genjō to kadai ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu—Senzenki o taishō to suru kenkyū o chūshin ni" [The State of Research in the History of Koreans in Japan and Future Directions I: the Pre-war Period], *Zainichi Chōsenjinshi kenkyū* [Journal of the Historical Society for Koreans in Japan], no. 25, 1995.
- 6) Some of the writings by Korean independence activists residing in Japan and publications related to the Korean independence movement, which appeared in major Japanese periodicals have been released in Kim In-dŏk, *Shingminji shidae minjok undongsa charyojip—Ilbon chiyŏk p'yŏn* [A Source Book for the History of the Korean Independence Movement during the Japanese Occupation: Japan] (1–7), Seoul: Kookhak Community Co., 1997.

- 7) Pak Kyōng-shik, *Zainichi Chōsenjin undōshi*—8.15 kaihō mae [Ethnic Korean Movement: Before the End of the War], San-ichi Shobō, 1979; Iwamura Toshio, *Zainichi Chōsenjin to Nippon rōdōsha kaikyū* [Koreans in Japan and Working-class Japanese], Azekura Shobō, 1972.
- 8) Hyōgo Society for Chosōn Research, *Hyōgo to Chōsenjin* [Hyōgo and Korean People], Tokyo: Tsutsuji Publishing, 1985; *Zainichi Chōsenjin 90 nen no kiseki*—*Zoku Hyōgo to Chōsenjin* [90 Years of Korean Settlement in Japan: Hyōgo and Korean People II], Kōbe Student and Youth Center Press, 1993; Kawase Shunji, *Nara, zainichi Chōsenjinshi* [History of the Korean Community in Nara], Educational Association for the Korean Community in Nara, 1985; Naito Seichū, *Nihonkai chiiki no zainichi Chōsenjin*—*Zainichi Chōsenjin no chiiki kenkyū* [Koreans in the Sea of Japan Region: A Regional Study of the Korean Community in Japan], Tokyo: Taga Shuppan, 1989.
- 9) Hida Yūichi and Kim Yōng-dal eds., *1994 Chōsenjin Chūgokujin kyōsei renkō kyōsei rōdō shiryōshū* [1994 Sourcebook on the Forcible Draft of Korean and Chinese Laborers], 1995.
- 10) Tonomura Masaru, op. cit.
- 11) In this respect, Kim's view is similar to that of Kajimura Hideki and Higuchi Yūichi.
- 12) Hur Kwang-moo, "Senzen Nippon no hinkonsha kyūsai to zainichi Chōsenjin—Hōmen iin seido o chūshin ni" [Poor Relief in Pre-war Japan and the Korean Immigrant Community: The Case of Pangmyōn Wiwōnhoe], Ph.D. dissertation, Hitotsubashi University, 2001.
- 13) Kim T'ae-gi, "Zengo zainichi Chōsenjin mondai no kigen" [The Origins of the Korean Problem in Post-war Japan], Ph.D. dissertation, Hitotsubashi University, 1996.
- 14) Nam Ki-jōng, "Chōsen sensō to Nippon—Kichi kokka ni okeru sensō to heiwa" [Korean War and Japan: the War and Peace in the Outpost State], Ph.D. dissertation, University of Tokyo, 2000.
- 15) Kim Ki-wang, "Zainichi ryūgakusei no minzoku kaihō undō ni kansuru no kenkyū" [Independence Movement of Korean Students in Japan], Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kobe, 1999.
- 16) Michael Weiner, *The Origins of the Korean Community in Japan 1910–1923*, Manchester University, 1989; *Race and Migration in Imperial Japan*, London:Routledge, 1994.



- 17) The author frequently misunderstands terms and misreads names of people, and proposes redundant explanations on organizations and events that were already discussed. The two books were reviewed by Matsuda Toshihiko.
- 18) Papers cited in this section are limited to those published before 1995. Studies dating from after 1996 are mentioned under their respective authors.
- 19) *Haeoe hūisaengja yuhae hyōnhwang chosa saōp pogosō—Ilche shigi haeoe Han'in hūisaengja yōn'gu* [Report on the Investigation of the Remains of Koreans Found Overseas: Korean Victims of Colonial-Period Japanese Atrocities], Academy of Korean Studies, 1995–96.
- 20) Ch'oe Yōng-ho, *Chaeil Han'gugin'gwa choguk kwangbok* [The Liberation of Korea and Koreans in Japan], Seoul: Kūlmoin, 1995.
- 21) Kim In-dōk, *Ilche shidae minjok haebang undongga yōn'gu* [The Korean Independence Movement during the Japanese Occupation period], Seoul: Kookhak Community Co., 2002. In this book, I recount activities of leading figures like Kim Ch'ōn-hae, Kim Tu-yong, Chōng Nam-guk, Kim Yong-gyu, Kim Pok-jin and Ch'a Kūm-bong.
- 22) Kim In-dōk, “Haguhoeūi chojikkwa hwaltong” [War-time Korean Student Associations in Japan: Organization and Activities], *Kuksagwan nonch'ong*, no. 66, National Institute for Korean History, 1995.
- 23) Kim Tu-yong, *Nippon ni okeru han Chōsen minzoku undōshi* [The History of the Anti-Chosōn Movement in Japan], Tokyo: Kyōdo Shobō, 1947; Manfred Ringhofer, “Sōaikai—Chōsenjin dōka dantai no ayumi” [Sang'aehoe: On the Trail of Korean Pro-Assimilation Organizations], *Zainichi Chōsenjinshi kenkyū* [Journal of the History of Koreans in Japan], no. 9, Dec. 1981; Higuchi Yūichi, *Kyōwakai—Senjika Chōsenjin tōsei soshiki no kenkyū* [Kyōwakai: The War-time Control of Korean Residents in Japan, Shakaihyōronsha, 1986; Matsuda Toshihiko, “Pak Ch'un-gūm ron—Sono senkyo undō to gikai katsudō o chūshin to shite” [Pak Ch'un-gūm: His Electoral Campaign and Parliamentary Activities], *Zainichi Chōsenjinshi kenkyū* [Journal of the History of Koreans in Japan], no. 18, Oct. 1988; Muneda Chie, “Kanagawaken ni okeru kyōwa jigyō to zainichi Chōsenjin seikatsushi” [Kyōwakai Activities and Everyday Life in the Korean Community in Kanakawa Prefecture], *Kaikyō*, nos. 15–17, Dec. 1990–Feb. 1995.

- 24) Kim Pon-gu, “Ch’inilp’aüi pömjuwa hyöngt’ae” [Colonial-period, Pro-Japanese Korean Factions: Definition and Types] in *Kwang bok 50 chunhyön kinyöim ilchechanjae wa ch’inilp’a munje e kwanhan haksul hoeüi* [Collected Papers of the 50th Anniversary of Korean Liberation Symposium on the Unrelinquished Legacies of Japanese Colonial Rule and Past Crime of Pro-Japanese Factions], 1995, p. 96.
- 25) Kim Min-yöng, *Ilcheüi Chosön’in nodongnyöök sut’al yön’gu* [Japanese War-time Exploitation of Korean Labor Force], Seoul: Hanwoul Academy, 1995. About the forcible mobilization of Koreans, see my own “Ilbon chiyök kangje yonhaeng yön’gu—Yön’gusae taehan pip’anjök kömt’o” [Koreans Forcibly Drafted to Japan: A Critical Review of Research], *Han’guk minjok undongsa yön’gu* [Journal of Korean Independence Movement Research], no. 17, 1997.
- 26) Kang Tök-sang et al., *Künhyöndae han’il kwan’gyewa chaeil tongp’o* [Korea-Japan Relations in Modern and Contemporary Times and Ethnic Koreans in Japan], Seoul National University Press, 1999.
- 27) Kim Sang-hyön, *Chaeil Han’gugin* [Koreans in Japan], Tan’gok Haksurwön, 1969; Min Kwan-shik, *Chaeil Chosön’inüi hyönsanggwä mirae* [The Present and Future of Koreans in Japan], Korea University Asian Studies Institute.
- 28) Chöng Hye-gyöng, “Icheha chaeil Han’gugin minjok undong yön’gu—Osak’a chibang’ül chungshimüro” [The Colonial-period Independence Movement of Koreans in Japan: The Case of the Korean Community in Osaka], Ph.D. dissertation, Academy of Korean Studies Graduate School of Korean Studies, 1998.
- 29) Kim Kwang-yöl, “Taishogi Ilbonüi sahoe sasanggwa chaeil Han’in” [Social Ideologies in Taisho-period Japan and Koreans in Japan], *Ilbon hakpo* [Journal of the Korean Association of Japanology], June 1999; “Chönjön’gi Ilbon chaeryu Chosön’inüi chöngjuhwa yangsang’e kwanhan köshijök koch’al” [The Settlement Pattern among Koreans in Japan during Pre-war Period: A Macroscopic Study], *Ilbon yöksa yön’gu* [Journal of Japanese History], Feb. 2000; “1920–30 nyöndae Chosön’in toirüi yoin—Ch’wiöp hwan’gyöng’ül chungshimüro” [Causes of Korean Immigration during the 1920s–1930s: An Analysis of Employment Environment], *Hanil minjok munje yön’gu* [Journal of the Association of Korean-Japanese National Studies], Feb. 2001; Nam Ki-jöng, “Han’guk

- chŏnjaenggwa chaeil Han'guk—Chosŏn'in minjok undong" [Korean War and Ethnic Koreans in Japan: The Independence Movement], *Minjok yŏn'gu* [Journal of Korean Studies], Sep. 2000; Hong In-suk, "Che 2 ch'a segye taejŏn chikhu, GHQŭi chaeil Chosŏn chŏngch'aek" [GHQ's Ethnic Korean Policy during the Post-war Years], *Hanil minjok munje yŏn'gu* [Journal of the Association of Korean-Japanese National Studies], inaugural issue, 2001; Hur Kwang-moo, "1920–30 nyŏndae Ilbonŭi sahoe chŏngch'aek—Ilbon kŏju Chosŏn'ine taehan sahoe chŏngch'aegŭl chungshimŭro" [The Japanese Government's Social Policy during the 1920s–1930s: The Position toward the Korean Community], *Hanil minjok munje yŏn'gu* [Journal of the Association of Korean-Japanese National Studies], no. 2, 2002.
- 30) See relevant reference materials for other research publications and books translated from Japanese.
- 31) See Yi Han-ch'ang, "Chaeil kyop'o munhak yŏn'gu" [Ethnic Korean Literature in Japan], *Oeguk munhak*, Winter, 1994.
- 32) Chŏn Ki-ho, "Chaeil Chosŏn'in kongjang nodongjaŭi nodong chaeng'ŭi sarye punsŏk: 1930 nyŏndae chŏnban'girŭl chungshimŭro" [A Case Study in Labor Disputes Involving Korean Factory Workers in Japan: The Early 1930s], *Kyunghee University sanyŏnnonch'ong* [Collected Industry and Research Papers], no. 23, Dec. 1998, and "1930 nyŏndae chaeil Chosŏn'in nodongjaŭi nodong chaeng'ui" [Labor Protests by Korean Workers in Japan in the 1930s], *Kyŏngghi dae kyonje yŏ'ngu* [Kyunghee University Journal of Economic Research], no. 14, Dec. 1998.
- 33) Kim Yŏng-sun, "Chaeil Chosŏn'inŭi oegugin tŭngnongnyŏng chŏgyonggwa kangje songhwan: 1946–1947 nyŏndo Ilbon chŏngbuŭi chaeil Chosŏn'in chŏngch'aegŭl chungshimŭro" [The Alien Registration Decree for Koreans in Japan and Forcible Repatriation: The Ethnic Korean Policy of the Japanese Government in 1946–1947], *Kŏnyangdae immun nonch'ong* [Konyang University Humanities Paper Series], no. 2, Dec. 1997.
- 34) Hŏ Chŏm-suk, "Chaeil Han'gugin'ŭi musok shinang: Musokkwa pulgyoŭi sŭphabŭl chungshimŭro" [Shamanistic Faith in the Korean Community in Japan: The Integration of Native Shamanism in Buddhism], *Irŏilmunhak yŏn'gu* [Journal of Japanese Language and

- Literature Studies] (vol. 40: Literature/Japanese Studies), Feb. 2002.
- 35) Pak Kyöng-su, “Ilche kangjömggi chaeil Han’guginnūi iröshie nat’anan minjokchöök chöngch’esöng” [National and Ethnic Identity in the Colonial-period Japanese Poems by Ethnic Koreans], *Urimalgöl hakhoe, urimalgöl* [Korean Language and Literature], vol. 21, Aug. 2001; Pak Kyöng-su, “1930 nyöndae chaeil Han’gugin’üi iröshi yön’gu” [Japanese Poems by Ethnic Koreans in Japan from the 1930s], *Pusan Oedae Ömun Nonjip* [Pusan University of Foreign Studies Collected Papers], no. 16, Feb. 2001.
- 36) Yu Ch’öl-in, “Chaeil Chejuin’gwa Chejudo” [Cheju Natives in Japan and Chejudo], *Chejudae tong’ashia yön’gu nonch’ong* [Cheju National University East Asian Studies Paper Series], no. 9, Dec. 1998. Chejudo-related issues have been also treated by quite a few other studies predating this study.
- 37) Son Hwan and Kim Söng-jae, “Kuhanmalgie issösö chaeil Han’gugin yuhaksaeng tanch’eüi pon’gugeüi wönjöng shihabe kwanhan yön’gu: Taehan Hünghakhoerül chungshimüro” [Korean Student Organizations in Japan and Sporting Competitions in Korea during the Late Years of Taehan Empire: The Case of Taehan Hünghakhoe], *Kang’wöndae ch’eyuk kwahak yön’guso nonmunjip* [Kangwon University Sports Science Institute Collected Papers], no. 21, July 1997.
- 38) About ethnic Korean proletariat art, see the very interesting paper by Kita Emiko, “Han Il p’ürolret’aria misul undong üi kyoryu e kwanhesö” [Korea-Japan Exchanges Related to the Proletariat Art Movement], *Misulsa nondan* [Art History Forum], no. 12, 1st half, 2001.
- 39) (1) Very few works dealing with the Korean immigration to Japan in the early part of the 20th century provide a comprehensive picture of the phenomenon; (2) The elucidation of affiliations between Korean associations, groups and organizations remains less than satisfactory; (3) Continuity and communication are lacking between social history-oriented research and political movement research; (4) Diversity is lacking in political movement research, both in terms of movements investigated and approaches adopted; (5) Correlations between established facts need to be more actively investigated; and (6) A continuous effort to discover new primary sources is urgently needed. With regard to the last point, the effort should combine field research in

Japan with searching through records held in Korean and U.S. university libraries and archives. (Kim In-dök, “Ilbon chiyök tongnip undong’e kwanhan yön’gu ŭi hoegowa chönmang” [The Korean Independence Movement in Japan: A Retrospective and Outlook], *Han’guksaron* [Journal of Korean History], no. 26, 1996, and “Ilbon chiyök minjok undong’e taehan yöksajök pyöngga” [A Historical Assessment of the Korean Independence Movement in Japan], *Han’guk minjok undongsa yön’gu* [Journal of Korean Independence Movement Research], no. 23, 1999.)

## Summary

### Korean Research on the History of Koreans in Japan

In Korea, the study of the history of Korean residents living in Japan is proceeding under extremely difficult circumstances. Looking at concrete research, it can be seen that the problems of Korean residents living in Japan came from the political interests of the initial stages. The issues were gradually popularized, and eventually came to be observed from the perspectives of sociology, economics, history, literature, and international relations. Recently, second-generation researchers have delivered many results, and have entered the preparatory stages for qualitative action. However, mainly history studies and cultural research have become a mainstream, so there are limits to an overall approach.

Going forward, research will likely need to be focused on the following points:

1. Multidisciplinary research for the development of research in Korea.
2. Setting up a variety of research themes.
3. Organic coupling of research results from Korean and Japanese researchers.
4. Systemization of documentation.