

IMMIGRATION AND EDUCATION: THE STUDY ON THE FORM OF KOREAN PEOPLE'S LIFE

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Under the Japanese colonial occupation, so many Korean people emigrated to the foreign country for their economic and political survival. They selected China, Russia, and Japan etc. near Korea for their emigration. But, nowadays middle class in Korea emigrated to the USA, Canada, Australia, England etc. for their children's English education. Almost 1,920,000 Korean persons live in China, 450,000 in Russia, 710,000 in Japan, 1,530,000 in USA etc. Almost 4,940,000 Korean persons live in foreign 129 country. It is 8% of Korean people containing North Korean people.

I found two cases that the change of life's form happened under the Japanese colonial occupation. Case A was concerned with Gando in China. Case B was related with the Maritime Province of Siberia in Russia. Two cases showed the shaky identity of Korean people who moved to foreign country under the Japanese colonial occupation, and came back to Korea by ways of international marriage, visiting relatives, and illegal employment.

Through these cases, I would like to say that the real identity is an activity with a historical perspective. The question of identity have been always existed in any society and times. It did not arise only under multicultural ages. All the people should understand the world by his own eyes and become a driver of his life. At that time,

people can communicate with each other, understand various perspectives in the world, and search for some activity for new identity. The question of identity should give pride, right, and self-respect to the people. The role of education is to establish a cultural worker as a new identity of multicultural age.

Making a model person in public schools

When Japan colonized Korea in 1910, many Korean people resisted the Japanese public school system because they disliked a Japanese language, teachers' uniform, and a world view of Japanese imperialism etc. So, Japanese Imperialism compelled Korean people to send their children to the public elementary school using political, administrative agency.

But, gradually since 1920s, Korean people sent their children to the public elementary school for a good job even though the good jobs just meant administrative officials, police officials, and teachers etc., which they were not well paid and lower in social hierarchy. But, unfortunately as numerous Korean parents wanted their children to enter the public elementary school, Japanese imperialism demanded Korean pupils to pass the entrance examination. The entrance examination was consisted of an oral test and a certificate of tax payment by their parents. Moreover, the public elementary school introduced the score ranking educational system and the record system for dividing them into obedient students and disorderly students. Generally, some students who showed high scholastic achievement could get good reputations in the record system(Lee, Kyung-Sook, 2007, p. 61). These students were classified as model people in school. When they graduated from the public elementary school, they could get so many social, economic advantages than disorderly students. The examination and record system was a control mechanism to produce model person who would not resist to the colonial system in the public elementary schools.

The percentage of the public elementary school attendance indicates Korean people's desire for getting political, economical

power on one side, and liberating from ignorance on the other side. I think that Korean parents' desire for getting power was expressed falsely in the public school. Maybe that original form of the desire will be humanistic for liberating from ignorance. In 1912 the percentage of elementary school attendance was 2.1%(44,638 persons), but in 1942 it was 47.7%(1,752,590 persons). If we look into the percentage by sex, in case of female elementary students, the percentage of elementary school attendance rose from 0.4% to 29.1% during the same period. In case of male elementary students, the percentage of school attendance rose from 3.7% to 66.1% during the same period(Oh, Seong-Cheol, 2000, p. 133).

In the 1930s, only model students could get a good job. In 1931, some 72% among graduates took care of household affairs, some 22% of them went on to secondary education, and some 4% of them got a good job like teachers, officials, bank employees(ibid., p. 372). Even though the students graduated from the public elementary school, the percentage of their employment was so low. But, Korean parents did not abandon the hope that their children could get a job through high scholastic achievement in elementary school.

Anyway, the public education under Japanese colonial occupation was itself the control mechanism for selecting 'loyal subjects for imperialist Japan'. In addition, a relative rating system that was institutionalized in school stirred up score ranking competition among Korean students. And Japanese imperialism created the myth that the score ranking system through examination was extremely fair and objective(Son, Jong-Hyun, 2007, p. 44). From then, test was not one of the many evaluations but the only evaluation in school.

As soon as World War II ended in 1945, Korea was liberated from Japan. But, because of the political interests of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, Korea was divided into two parts, North Korea and South Korea. The Soviet union assisted

North Korea, and the United States of America assisted South Korea.

When Korean War happened in June 25, 1950, South Korea and North Korea became a more hateful enemy to each other. As Korean War was ended in an armistice at July 1953, South Korean government demanded schools to teach the students that communism was an axis of evil, and capitalism was a good virtue. Of course, North Korea may teach to the students that South Korea is a dummy government controlled by the USA.

In addition, as President Park Jeong-Hee took the reins of government by coup d'état in 1961, he created another myth that economic growth could be achieved by industrial laborers. The industrial laborers took the place of model person instead of 'loyal subjects for imperialist Japan'. The ideology to produce industrial laborers to bring about economic growth swallowed the aims and contents of education in South Korea. In the event, there was some indirect relationship between education and economic growth in Korea (McGinn, N. F. etc., 1980). The percentage of middle school attendance of Kyungpook region in 1955 was 32.5%, but went up 96.8% in 1980. The percentage of high school attendance of Kyungpook in 1955 was 18.6%, but went up 68.1% in 1980.

Cultural workers as narrative story tellers

Even though a model person was made systematically by the Japanese imperialism, many intellectuals in Korean village doubted that a model person could be an identity for the future generation. So, the village by itself became to establish the school of Yahak. They acknowledged that a cultural worker could be a real Korean identity.

The students of Yahak were mainly adult farmers who were poor and illiterate. But, not only some students who were not rich to pay tuition, but also some students who got good score and reputation in examination and school record system participated in Yahak because the elementary school would not teach freedom, liberation, and resistance to the students.

In the ordinary times, Yahak taught a Korean language, a Korean geography, and a Korean history etc. that the public school did not teach to the students. Usually, teachers and students did not use textbooks. They said stories about their lives. They shared their experiences about the field of life with each other. They expanded their experiences in Yahak. The village was full of so many stories accumulated for many years after the village was established. The villages in Korea were established about 300~500 years ago. The traditional village had all the humanistic, cultural resources sufficient to teach their children. There were leaders, intellectuals, teachers, insane ladies, runaway ladies, rich persons who put on airs, hills at the back etc.

There is a Korean proverb that man can be a real person only after they are educated. I would call this atmosphere as a humanistic environment of the village. It compelled Yahak teachers to be a narrative story teller.

Yahak did not aim at the outcomes like wealth, job, and glory etc. as the public school did. Yahak taught farmers that human lives should be full of pride, self esteem, love, service, sacrifice, and if their life were damaged by external forces, they had to resist them by solidarity. Of course, Japanese imperialism did not approve the educational career of Yahak. But many people gathered to Yahak to talk with each other and recognize the truth of the world.

The village, not the teachers, was responsible for the education of Yahak. All the people in the village were economic supporters, participants, and protectors of Yahak. So, if the Yahak was placed on crisis by many reasons, they came out to rescue the Yahak on crisis. When the Japanese police censored the illegal Yahak, the villagers watched out the coming of policemen. Yahak had many method to deceive the severe watch of policemen. Sometimes, they used a literate book cover that Japanese government permitted for the elementary school. Of course, the inner contents of the textbook were different from public school's textbooks. Sometimes, they applied for getting an approval of establishment to the colonial

government by the ordinary person's name. When the students were busy farming, Yahak were closed temporarily for a few months.

Yahak practiced the education for all the people in the village. All the people in the village paid all the cost for the education of Yahak. The village recommended the best teachers in the village to Yahak. Everybody could enter Yahak by free. Yahak did not receive any tuition from the students. The village took over the costs of managing Yahak. Yahak did not test the students. Students were not discriminated by their results and grades. There was only talking with each other in Yahak. Yahak was generated from the field of their lives.

The landowners distributed the tenancy land and then got more than 60% of the farm rent. Moreover, after Pacific War happened in 1941, so much rice was delivered to the Japanese government. The farmer's life was so miserable to survive. At least in Yahak, teachers taught the farmer students not to compete with each other to secure more tenant farming from the landowner. Instead of fierce competition, cooperation and mutual understanding were requested among the tenant farmers in Yahak. The tenant farmers in the village that Yahak was established, shared a tenant land with each other by their own rules. If the landowner alienated the tenant farmers to compete with each other for the tenant, the teachers in Yahak taught the farmer students to fight against the landowner. Yahak taught their farmer students to organize the farmer's union. Sometimes, the tenant farmers provoked a tenancy dispute under the leadership of Yahak teachers.

In some times, the number of Yahak students was more than that of public schools. But, under police's surveillance, Yahak was diminished gradually. Since the latter half of the 1920s, especially after World War II happened, Yahak was severely exposed to the political oppression. As many teachers in Yahak were arrested by the police and prosecuted by the court under 'the name of the maintenance of the Public Order Act'. As the political oppression

grew severely, the character of Yahak was changed in qualitative aspects. At least, they ought to pretend Yahak to be submissive to produce 'loyal subjects for imperialist Japan'.

Two cases to leave Korea searching for survival

In the whirlpool of Japanese colonial domination, some intellectuals acted in foreign countries for liberation. They moved to China(Gando, Munchuria, and Shanghai), and the Maritime Province of Siberia in Russia etc. Some farmers also moved to Gando in China to survive the starvation or not to be supervised by the Japanese police. The farmers who moved abroad experienced the change of their lives' form as the social, political environment changed. Especially, after Manchukuo was erected in Munchuria in 1932, so many farmers were forcefully sent to the Munchuria by the Japanese government to produce rice for Japanese soldiers(Gwandonggun).

Our question will be focused on how the life's form changed, as their living sites were changed, Korean people responded to the new environments by educating themselves and their children. They gathered in Yahak, communicated with each other, and made a knowledge. Especially, in Gando, China, there was a military engagement between Yahak and a corps. Of course, even though the corps needed to recruit civil soldiers from Yahak, it was not an intended aim of Yahak from the jump.

Case A: Gando in China

Before and after Japan annexed Korea in 1910, many Korean people crossed a border line between China and Korea, and settled down in Gando. Before the annexation, there were a little problems between two countries. But, generally Chinese people got along with Korean people. After the annexation, there were some important problems between China and Korea. It was a problem of national identity. Even though Korean people fought against Japan for their liberation, Chinese people saw Korean people as Japanese people. Chinese people worried about that Korean people in Gando would work for Japanese national interest against China.

Most of the Korean people who got across the border were farmers who could not live in Korea because of economic or political reasons. When they could not survive in Korea, they got across the border. Some intellectuals also got across the border to continue the resistant activity to Japan. The number of Korean people who crossed the border was 431,198 in 1919, 630,782 in 1931, and 1,511,570 in 1942(Lee Hyung-Chan, p. 6). When Japan invaded Manchuria and erected Manchukuo(Man Zhou Guo) in 1932, Chinese anxiety losing their nation to Japan went up. Actually, most of the Korean civil soldiers who had a political insight were executed as Japanese spy by Chinese communist party after Manchukuo was erected in Gando. The young soldiers had a hope that Korea would be liberated from Japan after China first succeed in the revolution. So, they helped Chinese Communist Party fight against Chinese Nationalist Party. But unfortunately, they were killed innocently in China.

As Japan was defeated in World War II, August 15, 1945, some policemen, teachers, government officials, bank employee etc. returned to Korea with their family. But most of the farmers did not come back to Korea because they could not abandon rice and their agricultural land. In Korea, they didn't have any farming land. So, they wanted to remain in Gando, and continue to do farming work.

Between 1945 and 1949, a civil war happened again in China among the Communist Party and the Nationalist Party. Most Korean youth participated in the civil war for Chinese Communist Party because they were poor, and had a hostile feeling against landowners. It was true that as Chinese Communist Party took control of some regions in Gando, they distributed the agricultural lands to the poor farmers regardless of their nationality. Korean farmers said that "Our mother country is not Korea, but China."

There were some differences in the character of Yahak after Japan withdrew from China. Yahak in Gando under Japanese imperialism, taught that "We are not Japanese but Korean. We have to fight against Japanese colonial occupation for our liberation."

But, during the civil war in China, Yahak did not resist the foreign country's control. On the contrary, they assisted China and wanted to be the people of China.

As South Korea were gradually more rich than China especially after 1990s, many young Korean-Chinese people(Chosun people) in Gando who took Chinese nationality came back to Korea for illegal employment. Their income in Korea was 10 times as much as that in China. Some of them sent money to their family. On the other side, the others cut off connection with their spouses and remarried with South Korean spouses.

I met one old man(Mr. H) who came from one village in Jilin, China. He was born in one village in Kyungpook, Korea at 1926. His father was a poor tenant farmer. He pulled up his stake to Gando following his father in 1934. He was admitted again through examination into the third year class in one elementary school of Jilin.

He took standby order for draft in Pacific War as a Japanese soldier in 1945. After World War II ended, he participated in the civil war in China during 1945-1949 for Chinese Communist Party and also participated in Korean War during 1950-1953. He came across the border line between North Korea and South Korea. He would come into South Korea deeply. Maybe he could shoot toward South Korean Soldiers. As a compensation to this devotion in the war, the Chinese government conferred him some privilege in the drugstore and hospital. As a result, he became a respected old man from young men in China. He is taking 1,810 Yuan as an annuity every month. After 70 years passed, at 2007, he came back to South Korea to recover his Korean nationality. The Korean civil law permitted for Korean-Chinese people to recover their nationality if they were born in Korea before 1949.10.1(National Founding Year and Day of China). So, he could get back his Korean nationality again legally. By the way, his daughter was living in one city of Kyonggi-do and a illegal employee. She divorced from her husband in China and was living alone in the

city. She wanted her father to get Korean nationality again. She wished to get Korean nationality after her father got the Korean nationality. Nowadays, his father recovered Korean nationality and took 315,000 won(about 330 dollars) every month as a resettlement fund from the South Korean government. But, he said to me that "I don't know anything about communism or capitalism. Only I followed the respectable Mao Zedong's command. ... But, I am very sorry to the South Korean people. I feel a guilty conscience seriously." He experienced three types of nationality. He became 'loyal subjects for imperialist Japan', and then Chinese people for Mao, finally Korean people for this daughter.

Case B: The Maritime Province of Siberia

In September 11, 1937, Stalin commanded Korean people who live in the Maritime Province of Siberia to migrate Central Asia because he thought as Korean people were similar with Japanese people in the outward appearance, they could be spies for Japan, and there was some need to supply agricultural laborers to the Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan etc. The train taking in about 200,000 Korean people ran for some strange place without stopping for more than one month(Cho Jeong-Lae, 1995, pp. 277~278). In fact, the train had been used to carry animals. So, there were no drinking water and restroom in the train. Especially females felt shamed when they passed water in front of males. Some of them died because of communicative diseases. Some people who resisted the management were thrown down from the train to the wilds. When the train arrived on the desert of Tashkent, Korean people had to get off the train. There was nothing in sight except reeds. But, they had rice seeds in their hands. They dug out caves with their bare hands to keep away from cold winds for their babies to sleep without frostbite.

In spring in the next year, Korean farmers worked hard to survive in the desert. They sowed rice seed on the desert, grew it, and harvested it. They succeeded in transforming desert to fertile land. Korean farmers were competent in making a paddy field.

They always used water to do it. In this aspect, they were geniuses in the world.

They also succeeded in another field of life. It was an education of their children. By the power of education, they did not give up a hope that they would survive and their children would grow well. Like Gando in China, as soon as they made a village, they also established Yahak in the village. They did not stop an teaching and learning activity in front of any difficulties.

After Korea was liberated from Japan in 1945. They could not come back to Korea because of the same reason in Gando. They were farmers who needed an agricultural land. They rooted in the central Asia. Later, their children got good jobs like teachers, professors, public officials, businessmen by virtue of education. They learned the Russian language in public schools. They could speak and write it very well. They thought they were people of the Soviet Union having Korean blood.

But, as the Soviet Union was collapsed in 1991, Uzbekistan became independent of the Soviet Union. Therefore, the republic did not use Russian as a formal language. They used the Uzbek language as a official language in schools, hospitals, and government offices etc. The second generations are already old to move to the other regions. They are living there to take care of their parents' tomb. But, the third generation(30~50 years old) moved to Moscow or the maritime Province of Siberia with their children. So, a dispersed family was generated in Uzbekistan and Russia.

One old woman(Choi Ni-Na) who is a second generation of deportation said in television interview(PM 8 September 23 2007, KBS I TV) that she had not met her son for 17 years because her son were in Russia. Of course, Some of them came back to Korea after they held an international marriage with South Korean spouses. So, their national identities were changed from Japanese to the persons of Soviet Union, and again to the persons of Uzbekistan or Korean.

An identity of multicultural ages and education

As you know, while South Korea took liberalism, North Korea took socialism. North Korea's political, economic systems are so different from those of South Korea. But, in 1998, South Korea and North Korea opened a sea-lane and a land route that had been closed for more than 50 years. A dispersed family met with each other in Mt. Geumgang after they were isolated in Korean War. In addition, Many South Korean people are coming and going into North Korea to see Mt. Geumgang or Kaesong Industrial Complex by bus. Nowadays, South Koreans can talk with North Korean tour guides about many political, economic, cultural, educational problems. Now, we know many things about North Korea directly. The times that newspapers and broadcasts monopolized the informations about North Korea have passed. The times that socialism is evil as far as liberalism is good, have passed.

After 1990s, our universities have been exposed by so many foreign students. For example, Kyungpook National University permitted the entrance of 136 foreign students in 2008(www.knu.ac.kr 12.11, 2007). Most of them came from China. Not only universities but also primary and second schools are exposed by half Korean. Now, S. Korea became a multicultural society. 720,000 foreigners(1.5% of the Korean people) have lived in South Korea(The Korea Economic Daily, 8.22, 2007). The percentage of international marriage was 13.6%(43,121 cases) in 2005. They are living mainly in an agricultural district. 90% of them came from South-East Asia. They also can get Korean nationality two years later after they marry with Korean spouses. Their children are attending the elementary schools. So, the classroom is mixed with multicultural experiences.

Not only the real world but also the appearance of the cyber space advanced the period of multiculture. As you know, South Korea is the most powerful nation in the world that everybody can internet anywhere. Every family except a few poor families has a

recent computer in the house. PC rooms are set up on the streets in any city. We can touch on the computer in the PC room in 5 minutes wherever we are located. This kind of electronic environments is making our society multicultural.

Increasing foreign travel, inflow of foreign workers from South-East Asia, increasing international marriage in rural region, the reconciliation of South and North Korea, Cyber space changed the tradition of a racially homogeneous nation. Single people and single culture can not survive in the multicultural age. A new form of life is requested in the new ages.

Kim Min-Nam & Son Jong Hyun(2006) summarized that a new form of Korean education of multicultural ages as follows.

First of all, education for all should be settled in the region that people live. The school has to make all the children geniuses on various parts of subjects. They have to feel pride themselves on their lives in the region by virtue of school education.

Second, any rural region should be a center at least in school. Any rural region should have its unique way of life, unique school curriculum and unique humanistic resources to teach and learn. School has to help students have their own points of view to see the world and find meaning from the life based on their regions. They should not speak about the world in the same way as if they live in Seoul, the capital city of Korea.

Third, any concern of the students, even though it is a paper folding or welding, should be an important subject to the students who are interest in it. When the school do not discriminate students' interests for the importance in the test, all the students could be geniuses by their activities of 'question and answer'

Fourth, teachers should evaluate the students not by tests that are purchased in the market or made by the Ministry of Education, but by their own criteria coming from their aims of education. Teachers have to consider the aims of education in their schools.

Fifth, uniformed textbooks and tests should not control the field of education in school. The process of education should be changed from 'searching for a correct answer', 'advancing the rate of progress', and 'ranking' to 'asking question', 'doing inquiry', and 'holding a perspective'.

To do these jobs possibly, each student will be respected by their interests and experiences. The school have to accept individuals' various experiences from many region and country. So many experiences of the students should be mixed in the classroom, and students have to share their experiences by dialogue. In the end, the school will take excellence in education, and will make all the students geniuses in many fields.

I think that having a relationship with various students will be an education of the multicultural age. Students in the classroom may have many different social, economic, and cultural circumstances. If they have educational opportunities to talk with each other, and communicate with each other, they can learn so many thing from students' various experiences themselves. We should not omit these valuable human resources to teach the contents of textbooks. The excellence in education comes from not the classroom that is consisted of good heads and textbooks, but the classroom that so many cultural backgrounds are mixed.

So, the identity of multicultural age should be focused on the question of how he can be a cultural worker living his own life through education. A cultural worker is a narrative story teller. A narrative story teller will not be blinded by the logic of newspapers. He will understand the world by his own eyes and talk with his own tongue.

Once more I would like to say that an identity of the multicultural age is an activity with a historical perspective for a new way of life. Yahak teachers practiced a lives for freedom in a village fighting against model persons who were reinforced in public schools. As Yahak teachers resisted making model persons,

so we have to try to be not a market person but a cultural worker. He could be an aim of education for all under the multicultural age.

Conclusion

Under the multicultural age, the role of education grows bigger than any other period. Here, I do not mention only school education, but lifelong education. As the world changes toward multicultural age so fast, education should correspond to the changes relevantly.

The problem of identity in Korea has a direct relationship with the change of a life's form. I compared the identity of standardized culture with that of multicultural age in Korea. The standardized culture has been formed under the Japanese colonial occupation. The South Korean government after the military coup d'état also did not permit various opinions about Korean culture, education, arts etc. The model person was an identity of standardized society. On the other hand, the cultural worker who lives his own life will be an identity of multicultural age.

The point of my paper was focused on who will be cultural worker, and how he could be a story-teller. My conclusion is that everybody should be educated as a genius in various fields of life if he can be a great story teller. Through some cases that the change of life's form happened, I would like to say that the real identity comes from a realistic activity with a historical perspective. The identity is not related to who we were in the past, but who we is in the present.

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