ASIA-JAPAN
RESEARCH INSTITUTE
RITSUMEIKAN UNIVERSITY

Asian Diaspora in the Era of Globalization: Lived Experiences among Different Cultures

Editor Jinhye Lee

Asia-Japan Research Institute
Ritsumeikan University

AJI BOOKS

Asian Diaspora in the Era of Globalization: Lived Experiences among Different Cultures

Editor
Jinhye Lee

Asia-Japan Research Institute
Ritsumeikan University

ISBN 978-4-9911356-6-8 (Online)
ISBN 978-4-9911356-7-5 (Print)

Asian Diaspora in the Era of Globalization: Lived Experiences among Different Cultures

AJI Editorial Office
OIC Research Office,
Ritsumeikan University Osaka Ibaraki Campus (OIC)
2-150 Iwakura-cho, Ibaraki,
Osaka 567-8570 JAPAN
Email: aji-eb@st.ritsumei.ac.jp

Note:
Authors' names in this publication are ordered according to their preference and their surnames are capitalized.

Contents

Preface

It is my great pleasure to have this volume published in the AJI Books series and I really appreciate the Asia-Japan Institute giving me this opportunity.

The contents are based on an international workshop held in July 2021. I am very grateful to our guest speakers, Dr. Ya-Han Chuang, Dr. Helen Kim, and Dr. Tri Murniati, both for their participation in the workshop and their contribution to this volume. Due to the difficulties caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, we had to switch from convening an onsite workshop to an online workshop. Usually, it is difficult to build intimacy and trust through digital online communications. However, my encounters with our dear invitees turned out to be an exception to this rule. Sharing our common goals of seeking a deeper understanding of Asian diasporas and trying to improve their actual lives through our research brought us closer, and I was able to develop a warm and fruitful friendship with them.

It is truly wonderful to have academic friendships where we can exchange our field experiences, views on our research topics and methodological perspectives. I really hope to develop our friendship further in the path of pursuing cross-border academic collaborations in years to come.

In the process of editing the manuscripts, the contributors were extremely helpful in making their chapters fit to the whole scheme of the volume. I am very grateful to them.

At the end of our workshop, we had a very productive discussion with many interesting questions and valuable answers. Rather than transcribing this discussion verbatim, I decided to write a concluding chapter to present the issues and topics in a way that will, I hope, make them more accessible and constructive for our readers. Although it has not been possible to cover all the aspects and issues related to the Asian Diaspora in such a small volume, I believe that we have touched on some

vital issues including ethnicity, international migration, and cultural diversity with Asian perspectives.

I owe a great deal to Professor Yasushi Kosugi, Director of Asia-Japan Research Institute at Ritsumeikan University, who acts as my supervisor in the Institute. After I graduated with a Ph.D. from the Graduate School of Asian and African Studies, Kyoto University, I had the good fortune to attain a fellowship at the JSPS (Japan Society of Promotion of Science) as a special foreign researcher, dispatched to Ritsumeikan University. Prof. Kosugi's guidance and support have been so precious and indispensable for my academic life as an early career researcher.

Dr. Ayaka Kuroda has been extremely supportive and helpful in organizing the workshop. She also acted as co-chair with me. Dr. Ammar Khashan also helped me with his accomplished techniques in using ICT tools. My sincere gratitude goes to both of them.

I have no words to express my sincere thanks to Prof. Anthony Brewer for his guidance as the special advisor to the organizing committee and for his dedicated editorial support in making this volume.

I hope that this humble work sheds some light on the important issues in the research we are seriously engaged with, and contributes in a small way to making the global, yet diverse, society a better place to live in for us all.

Jinhye Lee

Presenters

Ya-Han Chuang

Presentation 1. Constructing Pan-Asian Identities in France: Second Generation Asian Youth's Mobilization

Dr. Ya-han Chuang is a Postdoc researcher at the French Institute for demographic studies. She has published a book entitled "The Emergence of Asian Identities in France". Her articles include: "Asiaphobie: a Blind Spot of the Anti-Racist Movement in France", "'Security is a Right': Legitimizing the Communitarian Mobilisation under the French Republican Model", "Coronavirus and 'Stop Asian Hate': Assuming Double Belongingness". She also published a book "A Model Minority? Chinese in France and Anti-Asian Racism" (Une minorité modèle? Chinois de France et racisme anti-Asiatiques. Editions La Découverte, 2021)

Helen Kim

Presentation 2. "Journeying 'Elsewhere': Diaspora and Korean Guest Workers"

Dr. Helen Kim is a Lecturer in the School of Media and Communication at the University of Leeds. Her research focuses on diaspora, urban migration and 'race' in the UK, the US and Germany. She wrote "Making Diaspora in a Global City: South Asian Youth Cultures in London" in 2015. She is currently writing her second book on diasporic and postcolonial memory and twice migration based on the oral histories of the Korean 'guestworker' diaspora who have settled in Germany and the US.

Tri Murniati

Presentation 3. "Border Struggles and the Production of Political Subjectivity of the Indonesian Domestic Workers (as Manifested in Their Narratives)"

Dr. Tri Murniati is a lecturer at Universitas Jenderal Soedirman, Purwokerto, Indonesia. She received her PhD in Comparative Literature and Cultural Studies from the University of Arkansas. Her research focuses on narratives written by Indonesian domestic workers (IDWs). Her dissertation, in particular, examines IDWs' migratory experiences such as their everyday border struggles in the host countries. Her current research explores Indonesian migrant narratives in relation to the issue of citizenship.

Jinhye Lee

Presentation 4. "Preserving the Life and Culture of the Korean Diaspora among the Majority: Ethnic Minority Rights in Kazakhstan in the Post-Soviet Era"

Dr. Lee received a PhD in Area Studies, from Kyoto University in 2019. She is a foreign postdoctoral fellow of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science and is presently engaged in Korean Diaspora research at the Asia-Japan Research Institute, Ritsumeikan University, Japan.

Dr. Lee specializes in research on the Korean Diaspora *(Koryo Saram)* in Contemporary Kazakhstan. Her dissertation "Social Transformation of the Korean Diaspora (Koryo Saram) in Contemporary

Kazakhstan" explored the acculturation of Koryo Saram in the post-Soviet Union as a minority in Kazakhstan and a part of the Korean Diaspora. Her current study analyzes the social integration and transformation of the Koryo Saram, the Korean Diaspora in Kazakhstan from the Perestroika period, just before the dissolution of the Soviet Union, to today's Kazakhstan, after its independence.

Presentation 1

Constructing Pan-Asian Identities in France: Second Generation Asian Youth's Mobilization

Ya-han Chuang

1. Introduction

My presentation today is taken from a chapter of my book drawing on the emergence of Asian Identities in France. The book's title is "A model minority? Chinese migrants and anti-Asian racism", and it's based on interviews with Chinese migrants under the current tide of racism against Asians in France, as we can see in Picture 1 from one of my informants, one of the young activists in France.

Picture 1. "I am not a virus"

Source: Author

The question about racism against Asians and the group identity of being Asians in France is rather new, both in the Media but also among the activists. I will discuss how these identities have been constructed and have evolved through different waves of mobilization over the last ten years, and how this consciousness about being Asian began with a small number of migrants of Chinese descent, but has grown to include youths whose parents came from different parts of Asia, and still continues to evolve and to change in France.

I would like to highlight two contexts to understand this phenomenon in France. The first is the ambivalent category of being Asians that has been observed all over the world since the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic. Since last year, in numerous countries in the West and worldwide, we have been observing Asian phobia, racism against Asians, or Asian hate. These sentiments against people perceived as Chinese, Asian or East Asian have been observed and discussed by the Media, but they do not show how such hostility has been ignored and complicated. It also raises the question of being Asian because COVID-19 was a phenomenon firstly discovered in mainland China. All the recent Media attention has raised some significant questions: 'What does it mean to be Asian today'? Does Asia only refer to East Asians from China, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan, or is it actually the whole of Asia in the geographic concept?

In the French context, there has been a fear about the emergence of China over the past 10 years. As a superpower, its hegemonic culture has been revealed in political circles, and since the COVID-19 pandemic has occurred, the fear behind the seeming admiration for China's image has been projected on all the people in France who are perceived as being Chinese. This is the first context about such a phenomenon and its effect. The literature on global "Asian-phobia" catalyzed by the COVID-19 pandemic (Strabucchi and Chan 2021; Li and Nicholson 2021) points out the paradoxical consequences of China's global rise.

The second field of literature that I want to discuss focuses on the identity formation of second-generation immigrants. How can immigrant

children use their culture as an element of their collective action? Regarding this, I will refer to the idea of Peggy Levitt, who talks about the transnational social field as a cultural repertoire for the second generation immigrant (Levitt 2002), as a new tool of cultural activism to help them to construct their identity. Another writer on this topic is the Canadian cultural sociologist, Michelle Lamont, who has been talking about the emergent desire of enticed imitation in anti-racism (Lamont and Flemming, 2005).

In this initiative it seems that the cultural element, cultural repertory, is much more important than the traditional form of militancy against racism, and there has been a transfer of focus from the question of redistribution to the question of recognition.

My research examines how the second-generation Asian youth in France constructs its cultural repertoire within the assimilationist paradigm of the French "Republican Model" and asks how their own Asian identity and experience of travelling in Asia affect their repertoire of action.

My case study focusses on second-generation Asian youth in France, with whom I have been conducting interviews from 2012 to the present. I have interviewed some of the people whom I mention in my presentation several times since 2012. In fact, we have become more or less friends and acquaintances through the evolution of the mobilization. Others I have contacted during the past two years since the movement against racism after COVID-19 began. Altogether there are more than thirty-two different youths of different origins whom I have quoted in this study, and most of their parents come from the East Asian countries like China, Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia, and I will explain why later. In addition, I conducted observation in the immigrant association's meetings and demonstrations. Finally, there will also be an analysis of media coverage and social media posts to highlight a different phenomenon and stigma.

2. Asia-Phobia: a Blind Spot in the French Anti-Racist Movement

Although France has a long history of anti-racism the phenomenon of targeting Asians has been a blind spot which has been rarely discussed until recently. There are two reasons why this has occurred. The first is because of the republican model in France that has been a *doxa* in the execution of political policy. French policy has been guided by an assimilationist paradigm so there has been a long-term negation of the existence of any racial categories or racism.

The consequence has been that in practice among the administration, the teachers, and even the scholars, there has been a resistance to looking at the ethnic statistic, which means that unlike many countries, it is impossible to record our ethnic or racial belonging on an administrative form. In France, such statistic does not exist formally, although when you discuss with a social worker or with a teacher, people will not hesitate to mention the proportion of their students with immigrant origins. Officially, this is a phenomenon that has never been recognized by the state, but a resistance has been growing since 2010, since the rise of Islamophobia in France. Scholars and activists argue for the necessity to have ethnic statistics in order to prove and highlight the reality of racial discrimination, and several colleagues have conducted such survey in this regard.

So it is a huge debate, but at the same time it is taboo to imagine or consider France in the lens of multiculturalism. In such a context, it is already difficult to talk about ethnic minorities. So it is even more complicated for the Asian minorities, whose presence in France has been less important, to highlight their self-identity. This is the second reason why anti-Asian racism has been a phenomenon that is hardly known in the French context, because unlike minorities from North Africa or the African continent, who come from France's historical colonies, the demographic presence of the Asian minority in France is less important,

and mostly today they are especially concentrated in the in Paris and its suburbs.

The most significant immigration began before WWII with the influx of students and elites from France's former colonies in Southeast Asian and economic immigrants from mainland China. Then in 1979 an estimated 120,000 war refugees arrived from Vietnam. Then from 1980, there was an increasing number of economic immigrants from China and Sri Lanka, some of whom entered as refugees and acquired legal status immediately. Others, as economic immigrants often had to spend a long time as illegal migrants before acquiring legal status. This illegal status also contributed to a form of avoidance regarding the administration, the public space, which further explains why they tend to be rather discreet in regard to the society and to the public administration.

Although there is a lack of accurate statistics, because of the obvious difficulties in collecting ethnic statistics, there have been various population studies, or studies done by local administrations, which all show that actually Asian migrants, especially Chinese and Southeast Asian migrants, are increasing rapidly in the Paris region in terms of demographics, and are also increasingly visible in terms of commerce. In some neighborhoods we also see a growing numbers of communities coming from South Asia and India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. However, until now we do not have exact statistics on how many immigrants or descendants from these countries are living in France. So since they do not have the statistics and also because of their reluctance to talk about race and racism until very recently, the phenomenon of the rise of racism against Asians has hardly been discussed in France.

However, for years there have been different movements and mobilizations, and one of the activists has pointed out that while growing up in France, Asians have been experiencing various forms of being otherized. To illustrate this narrative a high school student of Chinese origin told me that her classmates would often say that she was good at math because they think all Chinese are good at math, and she would always protest, 'but I was born here [in France]!'. Like this example, the

form of racism experienced by Asian youth, usually seems to be less violent compared to that experienced by the minority youth of African descent. This also explains why this form of soft racism is often taken less seriously. Another example is a sketch that was broadcast on TV in 2016. Two of the most distinguished comedians in France made fun of Asian people by putting on yellow face and imitating the way that they imagined Asian or Chinese talk when they talk in French. Many people thought this was very funny, but actually, it was just a way to depreciate Asian people. This kind of behavior sparked a debate about where the limit of humor is: "Can we really laugh at this kind of racialized form of humor?"

Thus we can say that there have been different forms of racism or racialization targeting the Asian people, but since it has been more soft or indirect it is taken less seriously by the organizations of anti-racist movements, and also by the Asian minority themselves.

3. Security is a Right: Articulating Difference and Inclusion

The situation has gradually evolved, because since 2010, there have been different forms of mobilization in France, especially in the Paris region, launched by the Asian Youth who went onto the streets to demonstrate and to claim the existence of criminal attacks and aggression, targeting the Asian people. This was a catalyst for huge street demonstrations and frequent and violent physical attacks against Asians, and this has been recognized by many residents, especially the people living in precarious situations, and as Asians, we might have more chance of being the target of an attack in some particular neighborhoods in Paris.

Through these different demonstrations various slogans have also been evolved (Table 1). The first demonstration in 2010, in the Belleville neighborhood, an ethnic center, was initiated to ask for more police

protection. Since 2011, the slogan was changed to 'security is a right' and the demonstrators also demanded, 'Liberty, Equality and Security'. So we see that in this slogan the second generation youths are they trying to articulate the French slogan, the first doxa of the Republican model of Liberty, Equality, and Solidarity, to articulate their demand for security.

Table 1. An Evolution of Slogans

Year	Slogans	Protagonists
2010 Street Demonstration at the Belleville neighborhood	« Against the violence » « Security for all »	6 associations of first – generation Chinese entrepreneurs
2011 Demonstration in Paris city center (République-Nation)	« Security is a right » « Liberty, equality, and security»	A network mixed with local entrepreneurs in Belleville and second-generation Chinese
2016 Demonstration in Aubervilliers and Paris	« Prejudice kills !» « Security for All »	63 associations of mainland Chinese, diasporas and South-East Asians
2017 Protests against police violence causing death of a Chinese man	« Police = murderers »	Young Chinese adults and teenagers
2017 Launching the local commitee « Security for all »	« Security for all »	30-40 Asian adults

Source: Author

These demonstrations have evolved and, in 2016, a new slogan 'Prejudice kills' appeared because one Chinese man actually died from a racial attack after spending several days in a coma in the hospital. Since the growth of aggression, attacking the Asians has been becoming a public problem. Young Asians actually used the slogan 'Prejudice kills' to highlight that any kinds of racial stereotype can become a motivation for a violent attack, and it might have serious consequences. They demanded security for everyone, that all people despite different ethnic belonging and the color of their skin should be able to be protected.

Then in 2017, we saw two different initiatives. First there were riots after a Chinese man was shot by police in his apartment, and in the same year those youngsters who had been active in the mobilization decided to launch a committee called 'Security for all" which was organized in different suburbs and neighborhoods around Paris. The idea was to better organize the victims to be able to file their claims when if they were attacked. They will accompany the victim to the police station to file their claim because since many people don't speak French well enough, they do not know how to file a claim. They also offer legal assistance for people who need it.

If you look at this evolution, one thing that's important to note is that although they began in 2010 with the initiative of some associations of first generation Chinese merchants, through the years, these initiatives have been extended to all the people of Asian origin. Now not only Chinese, but also other communities coming from Southeast Asian countries, as well as an increasing number of youths of the second generation are participating in such a demonstrations. Another important point is that these demonstrations on the street arouse the attention Media, and that over time the target has changed from a quest for security to equal rights.

We can also look at this from another direction and highlight the roots of aggression. So, behind the street demonstration that I mentioned, there are also other initiatives made by the second generation youth, and the most important actor here is the Association of Young Chinese in France (AJCF) which was created in 2009. In 2011, they participated in the second demonstration in Bellville, which focused on the reason for such criminal attacks. They chose to create a new slogan 'Security is a Right', and then to articulate the question about aggression and criminal attacks to the question about being equal an equal citizen in France. This is a very intelligent way to talk about their rights because they diplomatically avoided the question of race or racism in a political context as it would have been perceived as very hostile to evoke such a question. Instead they used France's own Republican rhetoric to say that

the right of not being attacked, the right of not being the victim of criminal attacks should be equal for every citizen despite their origin.

In fact, they were very successful because they could legitimize their mobilization and convince the public sector, with the police and City Hall as their partners. In 2012 they succeeded in suing a French weekly magazine that had published an article accusing Chinese entrepreneurs of being illegal merchants who behaved like criminals, a case which they won in 2014.

Picture 2. Some Racialized Characterizations

Source: Author

This was the first court case of its kind and in Picture 2 we can see the kinds of racists comments that these young Asians were subjected to in public spaces every day. For example, people will say that you are yellow face, and other racist insults, or that you are Jackie Chan, which

is a racialized image that Jackie Chan represents all Asian people, and 'spring roll', which is people say a lot in the public space on the street.

They found a way to articulate the everyday racist remarks in a media report that accused the whole community, and this was also a way to show the people how much they underestimated these racist remarks that Asians have to experience every day. Actually, they raise the question of whether expressing these remarks was a crime. So we should consider 2012 as another milestone in their mobilization to highlight the existence of racism in the everyday context in these cultural manifestations.

Finally in 2016 when the mugging and murder of a Chinese man happened in Aubervilliers in the suburbs of Paris, the youngsters decided to use their slogan 'Prejudice kills' to show that although this racial prejudice experienced by the Asians was considered funny or not serious, the fact was that as long as this prejudice existed, it could become the motivation for violence. What is interesting is that through all this mobilization, the young generation were becoming more and more questioning of the Republican model. Rather than showing their level of assimilation, they were tending to highlight their multiple belongingness.

1) Double Disqualification: when the personal experiences collide with French universalist narratives

As the following two narratives to show, there is a kind of double disqualification when one's personal experiences collide with French universalist narratives:

"At 18 years old, I chose to become French, which is a really *Republican* initiative. However, later **when I entered the university, I realized that I am not so French**. On the street, people do not hesitate to assign me as 'Chinese'. There as a mixture of frustration that pushed me to ask, 'Who are you indeed? Are you Chinese or French?' Later on, I realized that **I am neither Chinese nor French. I am simply a Chinese of France (Chinois de France), and there are many children like me.**"

(R.W., born in 1987 in China and arriving in Paris at the age of 7.)

"The question of identity comes often from others. I never asked myself this question before, but from the moment when the others me labeled as Chinese, I understood that even though I was born here and go to the same university as them, people still consider me as Chinese and not French. However, when I visit China with my family, I don't really feel like it's a return to my origins either. **In China, people do not consider me as really Chinese; whereas in France, people do not consider me as really French.** "

(M. Z., born in 1988 in France. Law student.)

These youngsters participated in the mobilization, so through their personal experience, they tend to question the validity, or the meaning of the French Republican model, because they realize that as Chinese, or with Chinese descent, they are never in fact considered as fully French. There is also a mechanism of labeling them as different because of their origin, their appearance, or the way they were brought up in an ethnic entrepreneur's family. By questioning such a Republican model, they also tend to assume a kind of double-belonging as the second narrative says. So finally, after some experience traveling in China, they realize that there are neither really Chinese nor really French, but that they have to create for themselves a third category as both Chinese and French.

2) Cosmopolitan China as a source of pride

"Since my childhood, I have been to China every year to see my family, but I didn't find it especially interesting. In 2008, after professional high school, I did an internship in China for 3 months, and I was extremely fascinated. This has totally changed me. It made me always desire going abroad so as to discover new things. Later, I went to Qinghua University (a prestigious university in Beijing) for a one month

exchange. When I was there, I met many people. **I love meeting new people and speaking foreign languages. I love going to KTV (karaoke) and buying street food next to university. Many, many things ….** I also traveled a lot**. I've met many Chinese people like me,** who are from Sweden, from Netherlands, from Bolivia, and from Africa…. **and we all have a common spirit as Chinese. I mean, although we were born in different countries. We can feel that we are similar."** (A.L., Born in 1988 in Paris.)

"In fact, I felt good in China. Everyone was friendly, especially those who work in the cinema. **The fact that I am both Chinese and French is very easy.**"

(C.L., born in 1984 in China and arriving at Paris at the age of 5. Employee of a cinema production company.)

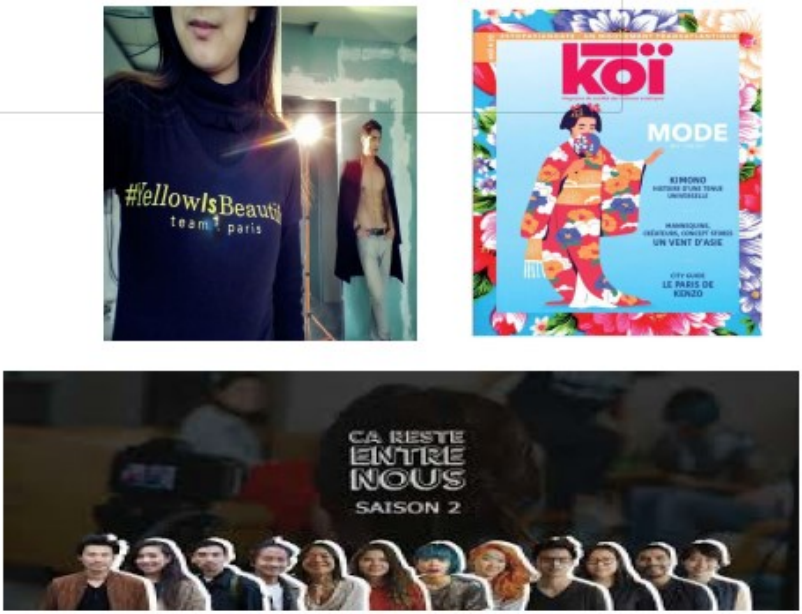
Finally, this feeling of having double identity, of being both Chinese and French, has become the raw material of their cultural activism. So here another activist says; "Finally, although in France we feel that we are probably perceived as inferior and different from others, the experience of traveling to China or to Asia, finally becomes a plus by giving us a kind of pride to have double-belonging and double heritage". By traveling to China and Asia and meeting other Asian youth who also shared this rich version of being multicultural, they tend to be able to gradually assume their status about having a double identity. They also tend to have a more positive attitude regarding their background, considering it has given them some rich courage to confront everyday situations and everyday aggression.

3) Criticizing everyday racism and norms of beauty based on euro-centric criteria

The identity of having a double belonging finally contributed to a form of cultural activism that pushed them to challenge the stigmatism,

to criticize the cliches and stereotypes, and to assume the fact that being Asian or Chinese can still be rich and beautiful. I'll mention here three different initiatives that have emerged since 2016. The first is a Facebook page created by the Asian minorities in France called 'Yellow is Beautiful' (Picture 3). They have been making an exposition and photo exposition by showing portraits of different Asian youth, and the slogan 'Yellow is Beautiful', which is clearly based on the slogan, 'Black is Beautiful'.

Picture 3. "Yellow is Beautiful"



Source: Author

So we see that there is a tendency to be proud of being Asian, and even a tendency to play with the description and reverse the stigma. 'Yellow' used to be a very stigmatizing term, but here they try to say that being Asian can be positive. The magazine 'Koii' shown in the illustration above, is also the first magazine created to introduce Asian

culture to the community, to all the readers in France who can be interested in this term. So they use the word *Koi,* the name of a beautiful ornamental fish in Japan, to symbolize the spirit of being Asian.

Finally, there is also an internet site, '*Ca reste entre nous*', meaning, "This is just between you and me" where they bring young Asians together to talk about their experiences about sexuality, looking for a job, discrimination, SQ and so on. So the idea is just to talk openly about the experience of being a minority as Asians in France. This mini-sitcom is very popular on YouTube. Furthermore, it's popularity is not only limited to Asian audiences, and other minorities like North African or African descendants also love this and then remark that it is actually rare in France to be able to talk about the experiences of being a minority.

4. Coronavirus and Asian-Phobia: Denouncing Systemic Racism

Next, I would like to talk about the new the new development since 2019. As we have seen so far, the French Asian youth were able to construct a rhetoric that could confront racism. However, when the COVID-19 corona virus outbreak occurred in France it actually infected all the people who were perceived as Chinese and Asian, so such an situation caused this consciousness that already existed among the Chinese youth to spread to other Asian Youth who had not been exposed to the Chinese environment, who didn't necessarily have a Chinese identity, but who had been searching for an identity as being Asian in France.

The first important mobilization happened in January 2021 in France, when we started seeing anti-Asian attacks happening in the public space. One Asian woman who has Korean origin but who was adopted by French couple made a post on Twitter highlighting the ignorance of anti-Asian racism and its banality. In her post she claimed that people tend to confuse being Chinese and Asian, confronting all the

Asian people as being Chinese. Secondly, here in France, people are already panicking about the spread of COVID-19, while it's still happening in China, although it's so far away. Then she denounced the violent attacks against all Asians, Asian shops and restaurants, perceived as being Chinese and thus perceived as being responsible for the spread of Covid in France, as pathetic behavior.

Picture 4: " I am not a virus"

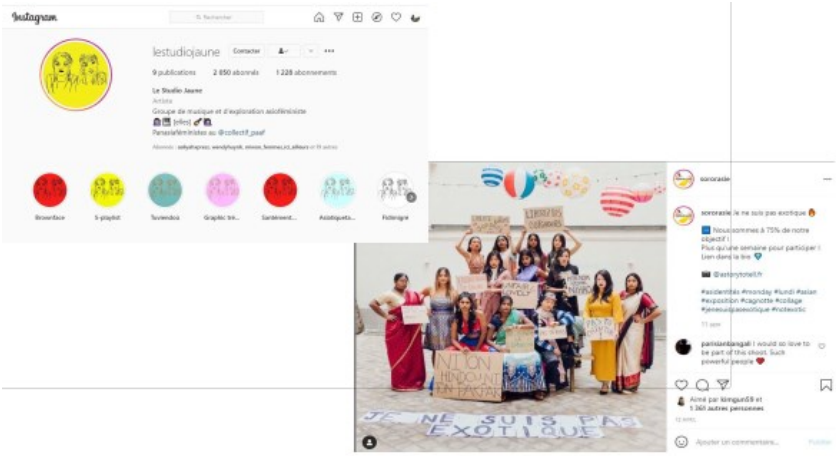
Source: Author

She posted a photo of herself (Picture 4) with a poster saying, "*Je ne suis pas un virus*" or "I am not a virus" and asked everyone to do the same. This initiative was very successful because she got more than 30,000 photos in two days. But what's interesting here is that she is the first one who talked about being labeled as Asian, which means that by doing so she also questioned the power relationships within the Asian minorities. We think of the category of an Asian minority, so what does it really mean to be considered Asian? What is the impact of China's global image to the growth of Empire and anti-Asian racism? She has raised a lot of questions that at the same time helped to bring together the categories of agency. By talking about this she raised the power relationship among people from different Asian countries and called for

a kind of joint action between those of Chinese origin who were already active in the anti-racist movement and other people who widely consider themselves as Asians.

So COVID-19 actually pushed the movement in France in a new direction, and also gave rise to more debate. That was in January, and then in April, in France we began a three-month lockdown and a growing number of people stayed at home and the Internet became the only public space where we could share our experiences. It was also during this time that all these young Asians who were participating in the mobilization before started to share their experiences about being otherized, about being attacked, about their panic, their fear, their identity problems and their troubles. Some of them were already activists who had experience in the traditional activism scene, especially in the radical left party or LGBTQIA movement. Others were just youngsters who were very concerned with the discourse about anti-racism. Whatever their previous experiences, the internet became a platform that allowed them to exchange their ideas, to share their theoretical resources and reflections, and to create a discourse on a larger identity about being Asian in a politicized way which is radically critical of all the prejudices and colonization heritage.

Picture 5. The Yellow Studio



Picture 5 shows an Instagram account set called "*Lestudiojaune*', or 'The Yellow Studio". Basically, it's two young girls who like singing and creating music, with Asian origin, and they try to share the music but also their reflection about being Asian and creative. On the right is another account that is trying to bring together all the young women from different Asian countries, and they are showing some slogans that are really politicized because they don't just talk about the situation about being Asian here. They also highlight the political situation in China. The main slogan in front of them says, "I don't want to be exotic". So this is also a way to show the rich individuality among the Asian nations, but attacks the opinion of the majority society that always tries to rank them as being Asian, where everyone looks similar so everyone is the same, whereas actually, the contemporary Asian diaspora is extremely rich in cultural diversity and heterogeneous identities among those people. I should also mention that many of them are associated with the LGBT struggle, which means they are already open to the intersectional approach, and they tend to be more active in the convergence of mobilization with other sectors such as the black and north African minorities.

This year (2021) since there was a shooting in Atlanta in March, in Asian youth in France also joined the movement about 'Stop Asian Hate'. In the end of March, one week after the Atlanta shooting, there was also a trial related to several internet platforms who were encouraging racial attacks against Chinese people. When the trial began, the Association of Young Chinese in France posted an online video on YouTube, with the slogan, 'We belong here!'

So finally, after more than seven years of mobilization against racism, this year the discourse has been transformed to focus on the question about belonging, about the fact of being Asian and being French simultaneously, and trying to resist the tendency to articulate Asian with the image of an aggressive China that can be a source of fear for the French society.

To conclude, if we look at look at what's happening in France, it is clear that the Asian minority, when we compare it with North African minority, has followed a very different path both in building their identity and in their struggle for recognition. Although the French Republican model has contributed to a long-time ignorance or negation of racism, the cosmopolitan experiences of young second generation Asians and the image of a globalized China have become the raw material of their collective identity and even anti-discrimination actions (in the French case). So the way that they construct their discourse is transgressive to the rhetoric of the French Republican model, in that they construct such a model by attacking the form of the doxa of assimilation, and trying to assume the potential of the multicultural society that French society really is.

Ideally, I think that the next step might be the construction of a global Asian identity, despite all the internal debate and despite heterogeneous identities within such a category.

Picture 6. Love our people like you love our food

Presentation 2

Journeying 'Elsewhere': Diaspora and Korean Guest Workers

Helen Kim

1. Introduction

In this presentation I will describe my latest research on Korean guest workers who twice-migrated to the US, meaning that they first migrated to Germany and then migrated to the US. Hence the term twice migrants is being used here to describe them. This research was drawn from a chapter in my book on Korean guest workers, which is currently being written and the working title to that monograph is "Journeying Toward the Red, White and Blue: Aging Korean Guest Workers and Dice-Board Belonging in the US".

The first wave of Korean of nurse migration or guest worker migration occurred in South Korea from 1963 to 1980 when about 10,000, Korean nurses went to then West Germany as a response to Germany's massive labor shortage, particularly in certain industries such as healthcare, in particular nursing, and this was through a government led agreement. This was considered at the time the largest voluntary migration from South Korea in the country's migration history. This wave of migration is sometimes referred to as *padok* or translated as 'dispatched', and so these nurses were sometimes referred to as '*padok* nurses'.

In today's presentation, I offer up some accounts and perspectives that explain why these women first went to Germany, and some of the ways that they had to negotiate being 'other' while there. Then I'll move on to the experiences that they had when they moved to the US, and given that these women are now in their late 70s, and some in their early 80s, I'll talk later about how contemplate or navigate the possibility of return.

Up to now, there's been very little work done on guest worker experiences overall, and on their reasons for migrating. Some work has been done, mainly in Germany, and some work has also been done in South Korea, but there's been no work done on these twice migrants, those who moved from Germany to the US and to Canada, although again, my work is focusing mainly on the US.

Based on oral history interviews with former nurses in New York City and Seattle, this presentation will focus on why they left, and on some of the memories that they had. What it reveals is that these women did not go to Germany and then to the US purely for economic reasons. These women told me some very surprising stories of themselves, and their memories of their time in Germany, that then complicate the existing narratives of Korean migration to these places. It brings up very complex entanglements, of gender of relationships, of family, as well as the citizenship laws and migration policies in both countries.

While I only focus on Korean nurses in this presentation Korean nurse migration to Germany was just one half of the Korean guest worker wave story, as it is with most cases, that when we're talking about migration, gender plays a huge role in determining how, when and where. In the case of Germany and the Korean guest workers, there were also about eight thousand Korean miners, who were male, who were recruited to come and work in Germany from 1963 to about 1977, and as I pointed out earlier about 10,000 nurses who were also recruited to work in Germany, again from 1963 to 1980. Nurses who were recruited were automatically assigned to different parts of Germany, and many went to larger cities and this is why there are still long standing and significant Korean communities in these larger cities, such as Frankfurt and Berlin.

Meanwhile, male miners were recruited to work in the industrial region of Germany only, so very few of these miners went to other places, particularly major cities. In some cases they migrated or moved to cities after they had stopped working as miners, so you will find Korean men who moved on to other cities but initially, Korean miners were recruited to work only in the industrial region.

In my book, I include interviews with some of these miners and their experiences, which were altogether quite different to the nurses for some reasons that I'll mention later. What has often been mentioned in relation to the guest worker experiences in Korea is regarding their remittances, the money that they sent back to Korea, which actually totaled over 100 million US dollars according to some estimates.

In Germany, initial media coverage of the Korean nurses tended to focus on their exoticness as well as their hard work. They were often referred to as "dark haired angels".

Now, in the US, these guest workers have just been considered as part of the Korean diaspora who migrated directly from South Korea after 1965. The US had basically reformed their migration laws, so that post 1965 they had a very large wave of Asian immigrants. However, by only focusing only on their remittances in South Korea's case, or on their physical appearance in Germany's case, or as part of the overall wave of post 1965 Korean migration in the US case, this kind of coverage obscures and flattens their specific experiences, and erases the moments, the stories and memories of the joys as well as the difficulties that came with the choices that these women and their families had to make in migrating.

The Korean guestworker diaspora, in my opinion, is an exemplary case that grounds conceptualizations of diaspora that work to highlight the present. So within certain disciplines like political science, and even anthropology, and particularly from the perspective of US and UK scholarship, scholars tended to conceptualize diaspora in more traditional ways, and often there was a tendency to focus on classical definitions of diaspora as forced migration and exile. Examples of this would be certain topologies that would include the Jewish diaspora or the Armenian diaspora and their experiences, one of the defining characteristics that is often associated with forced migration and exile is this desire for a homeland, for return to this home. Then we have a widening of who or what counts as diasporic, but this association with a homeland, and this doubleness of loss and desire often remained in these accounts of

diaspora. The double relationship or dual loyalty they have to these places where they were displaced from, as well as connections to the places that they have made their new homes. That is what I call the classical definition, and we might disagree with this classical definition in the light of this category of newer definitions of Diaspora. A lot of this work was prevalent in the nineties, but for lack of a better word, I'll call them 'newer' here. There was a kind of intervention in diaspora studies by many cultural studies scholars, again from an Anglo perspective, and so I want to highlight the very important work here of Stuart Hall, of Paul Gilroy, of Jacqueline Nassey Brown, and Nadia Ellis, whose work on I'll talk more about later, and how important their work is to what I call this intervention.

Their theorizations of diaspora and diaspora consciousness have not just centered on what Nadia Ellis calls the experiences of "difficulty and loss", but they also talk about the possibilities, the practices of identity and culture that can emerge from these difficulties and the loss and the "necessary heterogeneity and diversity" of diaspora and diasporic belonging, that Hall pointed out so eloquently in his essays on diaspora identity and culture. Moreover, scholars like Jacqueline Nassey Brown and Paul Gilroy conceptualized diaspora not just as a state of being, but they see it as something that one does, as an active and conscious stance that one cultivates. When Dr. Chuang was talking about the cultural repertoire, this tends to affect ways of thinking about diaspora, and it is something that is material. This is what Jacqueline Nassey Brown talks about when she takes Paul Gilroy's conceptions of words, of the raw materials of diaspora, and calls it a set of diasporic resources that people gather and use, and where culture and cultural practices are integral to these practices.

2. Nurses' Journeys to Germany: The Elsewhere

I am going to focus on the stories of three Korean women who were nurses in Germany. They migrated from South Korea to then West

Germany in the 1960s as guest workers and then eventually migrated to the US. The interviews with these three women Young Ae who is 72, Yong Ki, 83, and Midet also 83, took place in Flushing, Queens, during a really typical blisteringly hot and humid New York City summer, in 2018. These three women are longtime friends who had come to know each other once they moved to New York City from Germany.

Young Ae was the youngest out of six siblings, and by the time she came of age her family, having struggled to live through a war, were now in post-colonial Korea and had run out of money for university education. Now, while university education was out of reach financially for most families nursing school or teaching school, which according to Young Ae were both less expensive, were therefore seemingly more within reach for some families financially. Young Ae said:

> "Of course, because that was a very difficult era for people and especially for young women who wanted to make something of themselves and get jobs. I too really wanted to get out there rather than just be at home, and I wanted to make my own money and get a good job. Growing up at the time we didn't have a lot of money, we didn't get much of an allowance, so I always wanted to make my own money independently, and that's why I ended up going to nursing school…. I was really excited and happy for the opportunity. I mean, at the time, it was really hard to leave Korea to go abroad, unless you were rich. The plane fare was so much as it was, so it would have been really hard. So I thought it was so great to be given the opportunity to go to Germany…."

So nursing was a profession that was available to young women at the time, and what many of these women including Young Ae said time and again, was that they had this desire to be independent and self-sufficient. This meant not only the desire to be economically independent, but very often this was tied to the larger issue of wanting to be free from their parents and be able to make their own decisions about their lives. The independence and the freedom to make their own choices within

their lives proved difficult for most young women in such a patriarchal and conservative society, but despite all their individual circumstances, all the women pointed out the dire conditions of the Korean economy at the time, and the lack of opportunities available to young people.

What was also really notable was that these women often defied their parents' wishes and expectations by insisting on leaving, which would have been considered unusual at the time. These women were often the first members of their families to migrate, and it meant that there was opposition not only from their parents, but also other members of their family, including their grandparents and siblings.

Nadia Ellis says, "The urgent sensation of a pull from elsewhere…is paradigmatic of diasporic culture". In her book, she uses it to make an argument about an imagined elsewhere, that is always just out of reach; something that is elusive and vague, but that this desire for elsewhere is what connects examples, according to Ellis of diasporic culture. She mainly does this by looking at diasporic texts, but I think where it relates here is to use it to describe that sense of a pull towards elsewhere. It articulates emerging from the very real circumstances of war, of poverty and lack of opportunities, but where one isn't necessarily reduced to these conditions. So these women dreamed of going elsewhere, going abroad to be able to fulfill these dreams of opportunities. So in other words, Ellis's conceptualization serves here as a reminder, the reason these women left cannot just be reduced to the instrumental or the practical, but that there were other reasons for going abroad.

Moreover, when I asked Young Ae what she knew about Germany before leaving, she laughed, and said, "Nothing". They knew of America, but they knew nothing about Germany, except that it was not Western Europe. What they did see though was this opportunity to just go somewhere else; to leave Korea.

3. The Model Minority Myth and Gender

Now I would like to introduce a quote from Myung Hee (83), who talks about what it was like once they got to Germany. I asked her about her everyday experiences of going to work as a nurse in Germany. She said:

> "Yes, it was very busy. We worked in the surgery. We just had to go wherever they needed us. If we saw people running towards someone, we did the same. We didn't even know German at first. We just saw people and followed. We worked really hard and I remember that they really liked the Korean nurses because we worked so hard. But then we started to learn German and could communicate better, and if we thought differently, we learned how to communicate our different opinions. Sometimes there were even disagreements. So they simply liked us better when we couldn't speak German. That was so funny for me."

The early days were a blur of language learning, working shifts, and acclimating to a brand new place where they had to learn how to do things differently. All the women talked about how difficult the work was, especially because of the sense that they were often recruited from a poor background. They felt that they needed to impress the German head nurses with their hard work and good work ethic. Most felt that they were there to represent Korea and Koreans and certainly couldn't do something without somehow affecting the image of Koreans. The seemingly funny comment about how they were more likeable when they could not speak German, served as a reminder of their somewhat subordinate position in Germany as guest workers, but it also of course hinted at how Young He and other Korean women did not play into the stereotypes of the submissive Asian woman, and both spoke up and spoke back. When the Korean nurses worked in Germany, they already understood that they were positioned not only as guest workers, but as non-white non-European *auslanders* or foreigners. But in contrast to the US's system of racialized hierarchies, with which these women were

very familiar, having grown up in a militarized Korea that was divided by war, and militarized by the US, Germany did not have such a well-defined racial order.

Another participant, Mirae, recalled that she was shocked when more than once people asked if she was from Africa. The shock came not only from being misidentified, but also from the Germans' inability to see and identify her as someone distinct from a person who was African. This is particularly egregious because Koreans would have learned from those already established US racial hierarchies that African Americans, including Africans would be on the bottom of the US racial hierarchy. This inability to distinguish between someone who is being typically Asian from someone who is phenotypically African would have indicated that in Germany, anyone who was not seen as being typically white, would be considered or perceived to be 'other' regardless of where those people were from. Obviously, some of that has changed over time, but this was taken from a memory that Mirae had had.

Now in Germany, the term *auslander*, foreigner, or similarly someone with a migration background has become the term that is used to group all those who are visibly and audibly different from white Germans. The German way of measuring those minorities was to then categorize them as good and bad migrants. Now in Germany, public and political debates on multiculturalism and the politics of difference in this period often got framed around debates on integration, where Germans blamed immigrants for refusing to integrate culturally and linguistically into the wider German society. These cultural markers could include practices such as speaking German fluently without an accent, but it also included cultural and religious beliefs such as being Muslim or Christian. Korean guest workers were seen as being closer culturally to Germans and therefore were seen as the deserving and good migrants who had the potential to integrate well, in contrast other groups. Thus the Turkish, also a more significant guest workers diaspora in Germany, were often labeled as bad and undeserving migrants who were irreconcilably different, and were incapable of or refused to integrate into German

society. It seems that this was often a way of masking anti-Muslim racism against the Turkish. In contrast, Koreans became the model minority in Germany.

Moreover, this model minority myth that was salient in Germany and of course salient in the US and other places, had a very gender specific dimension to it. These nurses were admired for their willingness to work hard and their dedication, and they were praised for doing so without complaining or getting angry about how much work they had to do. So in other words, as long as they were grateful, quiet and willing, they would continue to be praised. As I stated earlier, German newspapers often refer to these Korean nurses as these 'soft, dark haired angels'.

However, praising Korean guest workers work was also, as I said, highly gender specific. In comparison, after the first few years, Korean miners were not as positively represented in mainstream German media, and were accused of being sometimes lazy or at least less hardworking, and not as compliant. The climate towards guestworkers and particularly miners grew increasingly hostile in Germany by the end of the 1960s, and there were increasingly demanding calls to end guestworker migration. Eventually, in 1973, there was a temporary ban on guestworker migration, including mining. This ban prohibited the hiring of workers from outside the EEC region on jobs lasting for more than 90 days.

However, the German government was surprised when these very same grateful and quiet Korean nurses went on strike over the possible end of visa renewals in 1973. When these Korean nurses took to the streets and protested over the potential ending of their visas, they showed the Korean government, coworkers, friends and colleagues, that they were not these passive angels whose labor could so easily be discarded as the German government had possibly hoped. These women explained that they participated in these marches and protests to express to the German government that they were real people with real lives, hopes and

dreams that matter, and that they would be adversely affected if their visas were not to be renewed.

It is interesting to note that in these demonstrations it was not just the Korean women who came out to march, but also their coworkers, their white German colleagues, who came out to march with them. This shows us shows there were certain kinds of spaces of solidarity as well, but that I can't elaborate on this in this presentation.

4. Migration and Marriage: Gendered 'Geographies of Power'

Now let us move on to thinking about the ways in which marriage and migration worked together to create these gender geographies of power. Here Mirae, who is 83, who talks about how she was able to bring her children over to the US eventually. Mirae says:

> "My children were under 10. One was 5 and one was 6. They didn't want to leave the house because they were scared. I was single and was just trying to raise my children alone, because my husband, didn't want to emigrate to a foreign country to follow his wife! He said he wanted to try and come to Germany on his own. In what way would that happen? My son, he was only three when I left, and so when he saw me next, he was six, and he had grown so close to his dad at the time, but he had become a stranger to me. When he first got to Germany, he hated it and just kept saying that he wanted to go home to Korea. He'd keep on packing a suitcase and trying to leave. He was so little. How would even get on a plane by himself? So because of this, my husband came to Germany." [Shakes her head]

So marriage within a transnational context reflects how migration has impacted women positively and negatively. A lot of literature on marriage and migration has reinforced the view that it was the men who migrated and the women who simply followed the men. In contrast to

this view, these Korean nurses were the first ones to migrate and it was their husbands who followed them. Mirae's husband, for example, had stayed behind in Korea was working part time as an English translator for the US Army. He took over childcare duties while Mirae was overseas. Then, as Mirae explained, after waiting three years, eventually her husband joined her as well.

Mirae's story points to the difficult position that these women were facing at the time between work, migration, and family and the way that migration and labor laws both hindered and helped families by introducing new opportunities, as well as tensions and ruptures. These women were navigating difficult and contradictory terrain and having to work and earn money. But at the same time, they were resented for having a role that empowered them, and were simultaneously expected to take on the intensive maternal role, typical of Korean mothers and wives. Mirae' s husband refused to migrate to Germany because he didn't want to be her dependent, even though it did offer an opportunity to be reunited, and a means to leave Korea, because it could also mean that he would no longer be head of the family unit. Mirae's apparent frustration even to this day, suggests that this ran deep, and was not something easily forgotten. She felt guilty and sad for having to leave her young children in Korea, and having her departure precipitate a sense of loss in her children. This created an additional burden and complexity to their story in Germany, as these memories bring with them a complex swirl of emotions of guilt, of pride, and of sadness.

Mirae's story itself points to the wave of gender migration and state sponsored migration, and how becoming guests workers had reordered and disrupted the existing patriarchal structures in the Korean family. Again, many women recruited as nurses became the sole or main breadwinners for their families. This is because the guest worker program also allowed for dependents to be sponsored, and this is how Mirae's husband came, but it was also the case that dependents were not allowed to work in Germany, to discourage these dependents from arriving and staying.

5. Double Migration to the USA: Becoming Diasporic

Now we will jump to the US where these women discuss the early years of their lives in the United States. When I interviewed Young Ae about the USA she told me:

Ae: "… and we bought our first business in Rego Park, Queens."
Helen: "What kind of shop was it?"
Ae: "It was a deli where you could get sandwiches and other stuff."
Helen: "Why Rego Park?"
Ae: "Well, there was a woman that we knew from Germany and she wanted us to do business together, so that's why we got the place in Rego Park. We got to know her in NYC. When you first arrive from Germany you form these relationships, and of course you meet lots of Koreans, but there were special relationships between people who were in Germany and you get to know people from there and help people from there. And I got to meet Mrs. Kim and Roy's mom too."

Helen: "So where did you live in NYC when you first arrived?"
Mirae: "We lived on Austin St. in forest Hills . We all settled there and lived there together. We got together all the time and knew lots of people there. We went around to places together and even on holidays like Thanksgiving, and we would celebrate these together, and we would celebrate these events together (When she said we she meant other Korean guest workers who had also migrated to the US.). They didn't all necessarily come together on the same plane, but often, we would kind of follow each other months, sometimes, of course, years after. So we spent all of our free time and weekends being at each other's houses to eat together. Those were some really fun times and we were all quite close. These were some of the best people I've ever befriended. And I felt blessed."

Diaspora belonging is often practiced, and again, this is what I mean about this kind of exemplary case with Korean guest workers. It's practiced and it's felt at the local level rooted in these strong social networks that were forged in Germany and fostered in the US.

These have turned into informal associations and sometimes form lines that connect friendship circles from across the US and Canada, with larger nodes in cities such as LA, New York, Chicago and Toronto, where of course, there are substantive Korean diaspora communities. They have organized lots of local small scale gatherings on a monthly or biannual basis, and they reinforce a sense of a kind of Diasporic Korean-ness. At the same time, they support these local connections that are grounded in physical places and spaces. As Mirae pointed out these special relationships that are forged go above and beyond the ethnic affinities that others have studied.

Strikingly, all of the women told me that these friendships were the closest and longest friendships they had had, even if of course, over time, they did grow apart, and developed friendships outside of those networks. All these women still maintained at least one or two close friendships with a former guest worker from Germany. So this suggests that the specific migrant trajectory reinforced these close affinities amongst this specific group of Korean immigrants that were forged again through the shared experiences and outlooks shaped by their years living in Germany and the US.

Within these small circles, they can reminisce and bond over their shared memories. The significance here is that these affinities were again, not just based on ethnicity. Once these women were settled in New York City, which has a very well established Korean community, they made many other Korean friends or acquaintances. However, their affinities with other Korean guest workers was much stronger, as Mirae tried to explain. It was the affinity between these women born of their suffering, and for those who had been in Germany, so many years ago, the suffering was not easily expressed in the stories they shared with each other, but was nonetheless present in their hearts and their actions towards each

other. With each meal they shared, with every weekend spent together, with every act of solidarity, they work together to create new homes and lives in the US.

6. This is My Home! The Myth of Diasporic Return

Let us look at their stories to highlight how these women contemplate ideas of return at their age and at this particular stage in their lives, where they are now all very much retired, and where their children and grandchildren are involved, and have grown and settled in the US. So we have Myung Heei, who says:

> "Oh no, I would never leave the US, this is my home. I've always felt that this was my home, and I would never go back. I mean, we go back a lot. And we're always connected to Korea…my husband, my kids and me. But Korea is not a place to live."

And Mirae who says:

> "I don't know this Korea nowadays, it's completely changed, and I don't recognize it anymore. Every time I go back, it's like I'm going to a foreign country. Of course, I know the language. And I know people there. But that's it."

Now Mirae was talking to me on the street as she was saying this, and to prove her point, she stopped in the middle of the street and gestured to me as she's saying this last line throwing her hands up in front of her face. She's saying this as if to signal that this unrecognized ability is not about being able to see, but about not being able to see what is in front of your face.

This feeling of bewilderment about her birthplace is something that is shared by many of her peers and those who left Korea so very long ago. But it is also said without necessarily a kind of sense of loss or sadness. Now, in the earlier years of studying return migration, it was

often understood as something that could be final, and would end in a kind of resettlement in the country of birth and origin. However, more recent research on rich return migration has argued that there's more of a transnational back and forth rather than a kind of final settlement in one place. This is also reflected in the literature on return migration that defines return as, 'real, virtual, imagined, desired, forced, or denied' (King and Steele, 2011). Moreover, return can be permanent or temporary, and isn't necessarily determined by a set amount of time. As Myung Hee noted, she goes back to Korea regularly, and while she chooses to live in the US, she can also maintain her transnational ties and connections, and sustain them through repeated visits, as well as other points of contact with Korea. But saying there is no recognition also suggests this about Diasporic longing and belonging. It's not so much that it's about a longing for return, and I think that Mirae's statements make this clear, but there's a longing for a sense of belonging, and perhaps a desire for there to still be something that can connect these people back to a particular place that does exist. So when looking at the sense of return, perhaps a better way of thinking about diaspora is that it is not related so much to the sense of exile or loss, but that it is about inhabiting and identifying with that 'elsewhere' that Ellis elucidates in her book. So the return is not necessarily about physically holding onto a tangible place or geographical location, although there is that too, but more often it is through the people, culture, and practices of diaspora belonging that are created and sustained in the here and the now, right in these present places that they call their homes. So the sense of elsewhere is significant and central to the creation and continuation of a diasporic imaginary one where it's possible to feel a sense of rootedness somewhere, and yet feel a connection and affinity elsewhere, without necessarily feeling that there was only a sense of loss in this.

So it's not that these women have no affinities or ties to Korea, because they do, but that it doesn't have to be that they feel a sense of loss or nostalgic about returning. They don't want to return there

necessarily because and I quote, “Perhaps there is no going home again. There is maybe a detour, but there is no return”.

Presentation 3

Border Struggles and the Production of Political Subjectivity of the Indonesian Domestic Workers (as Manifested in their Narratives)

Tri Murniati

1. Introduction

The transitory lives of Indonesian domestic workers (IDWs) portray the challenging nature of borders. It is true that this challenge is not only embodied as the physical 'international border,' but also the metaphorical - cultural, political, and social - 'local borders' which draw a line between Indonesian domestic workers and their employers. This talk extensively explores the creative writing of Indonesian domestic workers - in the form of short stories and memoirs - in relation to the challenges they face in crossing abstract borders and how these borders often situate Indonesian domestic workers in such compromised situations. It also examines and analyzes Indonesian domestic workers' responses and views toward the challenges faced, as well as their strategies to solve the problems caused by the various abstract borders. The linguistic barrier, for example, seems to be the standard border problem for all migrants. In the case of Indonesian domestic workers, the linguistic barrier often inhibits coherent communication between employers and employees.

This lecture portrays Indonesian domestic workers migratory experiences, as written by themselves. All the stories discussed here were written in Indonesian, and therefore all the English translations in the discussion are my own. In addition, the material used in my talk today is an amalgamation of the first chapter of my dissertation and also several published and unpublished papers.

In this introduction, I would like to talk about Indonesian domestic workers and the emergence of their creative writing. Then in the second

part I'm going to talk about migration, some thoughts on borders, and also political subjectivity, and the last part will be the discussion and concluding remarks.

The term 'domestic workers narrative', simply refers to any writing written by Indonesian migrant workers who work as domestic workers. So in Indonesia itself, domestic writing as a genre began in 2002, when one of the domestic workers in Hong Kong named Denok Kanthi Rokhmatika published her anthology of short stories in 2002. This publication marks the birth of the genre of Indonesian migrant workers' literature.

Picture 1. Selection of Migrant Authors Works
Source: Author

In the aftermath of Rahmatika's publication, there were a significant number of works published in the category of migrants' domestic writing, which also includes some articles of nonfiction writing in periodicals and

newspapers, both in the home country and the host countries, such as Hong Kong.

In the writings, the most popular theme taken is the Indonesian worker's migratory experiences, their everyday lives in the host country, and "illustrating these women's everyday challenges and experiences, including the navigation of various socioeconomic and cultural differences, mothering from afar and also ill treatment by their employers". Their writing for the most part underlines migrants' vulnerability as a marginalized group and the transitory lives of these Indonesian migrant workers indeed portray the challenging nature of borders. These challenges are not only embodied as the physical 'international border', the concrete border, but also other lines of social, cultural, political, and economic demarcation as stated by Mezzadra and Nelson, and their experiences are well recorded in the narratives.

Here, I would like to explore Indonesian domestic workers' narratives in relation to the challenges in crossing these abstract borders to examine and also analyze their responses to the challenges as well as some of the strategies taken to solve the problems. I will also discuss how their everyday life experiences become the avenue for the cultivation of their political subjectivity.

I would argue that through the process of crossing abstract borders, these Indonesian domestic workers have gained a deeper understanding of the effect of borders, and also in a way it has developed their critical thinking. In crossing these borders Indonesian domestic worker protagonists gain or experience a renewed sense of confidence which allows these women - as well as the readers of their narratives - to see themselves beyond the reductive label of 'maids'. Their gained perspective, in my opinion, transforms their role as maids into that of 'doers' who are capable of intellectual thinking.

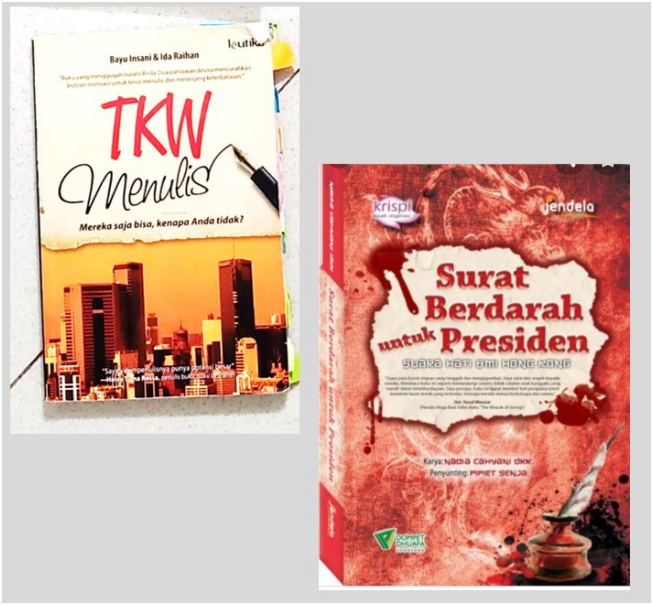
So, these women, in my opinion, have the innate capacity to evaluate their position and also their environment, even in the host country. In their writing, they critically evaluate their lives, and also, when they write about their difficulties in assimilating to their new lives

in the host country, and also coping with the challenges of their own situation, it exposes the harsh realities of the Indonesian migrant workers' migratory experiences, and this is a perspective which as yet remains unknown to the public.

In examining their border struggles, I use two books. The first one is a memoir written by two Indonesian migrant workers, Bayu Insani and Ida Raihan, called "*TKW Menulis"* (which can be loosely translated as 'Indonesian Domestic Workers Write') published in 2011. Their memoir talks about the journey of pre migration of these two women, and then their migratory experiences in Hong Kong as well as the process coping and overcoming the obstacles to assimilation.

Picture 2. "Blood Stained Letters for the President "
Source: Author

The second book is an anthology entitled "Blood Stained Letters for the President", published in 2010. I will take two stories from this anthology. The first is "A Lesson Learned in the Land of Concrete" by



Kine Risty, and then "Ramadan in Willingness" by Juwana Aza.

To contextualize the border struggles depicted in the aforementioned titles, I would like to give an overview about the theoretical view on migration from a border studies perspective, to provide a background on border struggle, and how this struggle leads to the development of border awareness, and also border thinking. Then I'm going to elaborate the impact the awareness has on shaping the political subjectivity.

2. Migration and Border

When we talk about migration, I think it's already clear that migration is dynamic in nature. Migration enables people to move from one place to another place geographically and then this can be permanent or temporary. Also, according to Moslund (2010), migration causes especially traditional identity markers, such as nationality, origin, settlement, dwelling, roots, and bloodlines, not to solely be used to identify human condition changes. In a way migration involves a constant process of reinvention and also self-redefinition because, when people move according to Houtum and Naerssen (2016), they not only move physically, but also their personal and social boundaries shift, and then this migration can pose a significant human experience, since it is a process of social change, and it also changes people mentality because all of the elements involved in migration are transformed.

Sabina Hussain also argues that the migrant experience is always related to the intermingling of divergent cultures, it always signifies possibilities of different personalities and with this opens up possibilities of transformation. People carry their cultural baggage when they migrate and then as they work on settling down in a new culture their cultural identity is likely to change and that encourages a degree of belonging and they also attempt to settle down either by assimilation or biculturalism. Bhugra (2004) adds that the process of acculturation requires two cultures to come in contact and both cultures may experience some change.

In reality, however, one cultural group will often dominate the other group and in the case of Indonesian domestic workers, their employer's culture is the dominant culture. So, as migration allows people to cross physical and abstract border, this brings us to the many definitions of borders. Borders can be real, like the physical international border which requires people to provide themselves with certain documents needed to validate them as a legal border crosser. However, documents alone cannot facilitate the crossing of the abstract border because crossing this abstract border requires something else, for example, cultural fluency, language competence, and also any other traits that the migrants may not possess, at least at the initial stages of their migration. In his article, Victor Konrad explained the complexity of the definition of 'border' which ranges from real to imagined and also the concrete and abstract or symbolic meanings of borders which separate people, because they compartmentalize people within areas, regions and continents. However, when we talk about border, we can also see opportunities, as when people migrate, when they cross a physical border as Dr. Kim explained in her previous presentation, the people in Korea moved to Germany to get work. So, crossing the border line provides opportunities and in the case of Indonesia, as a poorer country, people moved to Hong Kong or Singapore to have a better job opportunity than in their homeland.

3. Border Thinking and Political Subjectivity

In discussing borders, Mignolo and Tlostanova (2006), contend that borders are not only geographic, but also political, subjective, and epistemic, which includes the division of people through religion, knowledge and language. So, here we can see that differences and opposition exist naturally on both sides of the border and this indicates the potential of the asymmetrical relationship. In the case of domestic employment, Momsen argued that domestic employment is an area that reflects the asymmetrical relationship between the employer and the employee and then the marginalization of domestic workers, particularly

migrant domestic workers is tied to the historical colonial relationship shaping the master and servant relationship.

We can say that domestic employment already situates migrant domestic workers to face multiple abstract borders; for example, racial, economic, social and religious borders and in discussing border thinking, Mignolo and Tlostanova further state that it develops as people's responses toward the colonial differences. Border thinking occurs because they become aware of the colonial differences, and this particular awareness helps individuals to be able to map out their subjective position and it will enable them to execute strategies especially in crossing the border. So, migrants everyday border struggles situate them to become a political subject and simultaneously, exercise their political subjectivity. This means that everyday practices should not be dismissed as banal, but rather considered highly significant and therefore, as Hakli and Kallio(2018) contended, political subjectivity can be located in the manner that people take up issues that stand out as important to them. They have something at stake and this brings political moments and in applying what Hakli and Kallio have suggested to Indonesian domestic workers, in their narrative, it does provide many examples of day to day experiences, which also involve subject positioning. That is to say Indonesian domestic workers are not only involved in conflict with their employers, but also in conflict with other members of the employers' household.

1) Cultural Borders

As previously mentioned, when people migrate, they bring along their cultural baggage, so exposures to the new values and new beliefs and customs of the host country have the potential to change migrants' belief and perception. Therefore, in this discussion, I will specifically talk about the cultural borders and the religious borders.

In Bayu Insani's memoirs of Indonesian domestic workers' lives she gives her impressions of these cultural challenges, these cultural differences during her employment in Hong Kong. She has worked for

several years and the experience of working for different employers in a way helps her to prepare herself to adjust more easily to her new surroundings. However, this is not to say that she can easily accept all the cultural differences in the host country.

For example, let us take a look at Hong Kong people's attitudes to when people cry for a for instance. This was a hard adjustment for her as we see in her story:

> "They also told me that they didn't like to see me sad and crying. For people in Hong Kong, crying would bring bad luck to the house and the family. Therefore, they were against crying. Nonetheless, crying could ease the burden of being a migrant like myself who lived 1000 miles away from family."
>
> (Insani and Raihan, "*Indonesian Domestic Workers Write*" p.19)

People in Hong Kong believe that crying will bring you bad luck and Insani was aware of this because the employer told her, yet for her, as migrant far away from her family, crying had a different meaning. From this story, we can see how different attitudes toward crying are presented and this means that another cultural border needs to be crossed. In Insani's opinion, crying could ease the burden of being a migrant. This in my opinion, emphasizes a bitter fact that as domestic workers, the challenge is not only the burden of doing physical work, which is domestic chores in the employer's residence, but also the psychological pressure of living away from one's family. Perhaps people would say that crying will not solve the problem, but it still eases the psychological burden. So, in the case of foreign migrant workers, crying can be considered as a great tool for releasing the emotion.

In her memoir, Insani does not mention about how she negotiated this cultural difference. However, in a different part of the memoir, Raihan, the coauthor of this memoir, had a response to this cultural difference. She said that she would go to her room and lock herself in and cry. This allowed her to take care of her need without necessarily

breaking the local cultural codes. Here we can say that she could bridge this border or she could cross this border.

2) Language Border

Another standard border in any migratory experiment is the linguistic barrier, or the language difference. So, in her memoir Insani admits that she has trouble adjusting to the language. However, surprisingly, she is able to overcome this problem by learning with the children. She said, 'I realized that learning a language with children was a lot better and faster than learning with adults who often got frustrated easily. Insani explained her success in crossing the language border. So this particular experience reveals that the language border is one of the absolute borders that play a significant role in the in the world of domestic employment, because mastering the host country's language is imperative as this kind of employment relies heavily on effective communication between the employers and the employees and therefore only by having sufficient language competency can IDWs perform their work well.

3) Religious Border

Religious borders emerge due to religious differences. As they come from Indonesia, the largest Muslim country, most IDWs are Muslims, and they have moved to a country where Islam is not the main religion. This brings challenges for example in terms of food, and it might be difficult for them to get halal food. If they are observant Muslims, they also have to observe their religious rituals, such as praying five times a day, and also fasting during the month of Ramadan. Most of the employers who are not Muslim may not accommodate the observance of Muslim religious practices such as allowing them to do the five times prayer or separating pork from the daily meals. Thus Muslim IDWs often face challenges in maintaining their religious practices. Insani does not talk about this but in the memoirs, but in the anthology, in one of the stories, "Lessons Learnt in the Land of Concrete" Risty's story

exemplifies a protagonist who is forced to give up their religious practices, even the principle, in the name of employment. The main character in the story named Eny is forced to consume pork which Muslims they are forbidden to consume. So Eny refuses and this results in a conflict as told in this exchange.

> "One day, Ma'am talked seriously to me: "Eny! I don't like you not eating pork". Her voice sounded like thunder in my ears. Dear God! She even tried to threaten me that she would send me back to Indonesia just because I refused to eat pork. I could not hold my tears and cried in front of her. I told her that as a Muslim I was not supposed to eat pork. She was terribly angry with me. "Oh, Indonesia is Indonesia! But here is Hong Kong and you have to eat pork!" she snarled shutting the door so hard. Bhlaaarrr! After refusing to eat pork, my Ma'am started to change her attitude toward me. She often got irritated so easily. One day, she told my agency staff about my refusal. Of course, the easily irritated agency staff was so mad at me. The staff babbled like a lunatic and told me that he had successfully made so many IDWs eat pork. Some agency staff even asked the employers to terminate their maids if they refuse to eat pork"
>
> (Risty, "Lessons Learnt in the Land of Concrete", p. 112)

In this excerpt, Eny's experience underscores another challenge of being a Muslim in Hong Kong. To justify her own requirement the employer put emphasis on Eny's foreignness and demanded that while in Hong Kong, she should follow the law of the land. In other words, the employer strengthened her own position by strengthening the association between different binaries; Indonesia versus Hong Kong, Muslim versus non-Muslim, as well as pork versus no pork. The agency staff sided with the employer and this emphasizes the structural power imbalance that disadvantages IDWs, and this illustrates the tendency that the more powerful parties do not consider IDW's human rights when making decisions or when fulfilling their religious practices. Moreover, this story in particular demonstrates that IDWs are sometimes deliberately

prevented from implementing a reactive solution to their problem when they try to cross this particular border.

5) Production of Political Subjectivity

Cases where IDWs are forced to abandon their religious practices are an example of a political moment. I would like to continue my previous discussion about Eny, who refuses to eat pork. Eny, the main character in this particular story experiences a political moment when her employer tries to force her to consume pork. Her refusal to comply is considered the emergence of Eny's political agency, and Eny's employer cannot accept her refusal and tries to evoke the notion of space and belonging to justify her demand by constructing Hong Kong as the space in which the consumption of pork, instead of being prohibited is mandatory. Then the employer attempts to position Eny as a passive subject, and assimilate her into the mainstream culture of Hong Kong, at the expense of her Indonesian Muslim identity, yet Eny remains fully aware of her agency and she chooses to conflict with her employer's demand that she give up her religious principles.

This shows the forming of Eny's political subjectivity and demonstrates her strong will in defending her belief. Because her belief is at stake, she has something at risk. So she has to execute an act to overcome the problem. So she says:

> "'Dear God, is this the devil in the form of human?' my heart screamed. 'I've got to be tough. I must hold on to my principles strongly. Who is afraid to go back to Indonesia? I still have my parents who would give me a warm welcome.' I did not want to submit myself to the human-faced devil."
>
> (Risty, "Lessons learnt in the Land of Concrete," pp. 112-113)

So, by calling the employer a human-faced devil, we can see how this protagonist rejects the employer's framing of the conflict as one constructed by spaces, identities and border, Hong Kong versus

Indonesia, non-Muslim versus Muslim, and instead frames it as a battle between good and evil, with Eny representing the forces of good. So Eny thus resists her employer's attempt to dominate her internally as well as externally and establishes not only political agency, but also political subjectivity and also consciousness.

So IDWs border struggles as illustrated in the narrative by all the protagonists, have enabled these women to constantly search for spaces where they can develop themselves and also empower themselves, despite the strong grip of the colonial relation existing within domestic employment. Furthermore, these women, who have to cope with the difficulties of migratory life, heighten their awareness of different borders, and then their everyday border struggles catalyze the cultivation of their political subjectivity by making meaning of seemingly mundane experiences. So every strategy, negotiation and creatively executed act of resistance to oppression brings IDWs a greater confidence to stand up for themselves, as illustrated in these stories. Some of them do resign, because they don't want to give up what they believe in.

The confidence to stand up for themselves has the potential to subvert, dismantle, and disempower colonial differences in the relation between employers and employees.

IDWs' migratory experiences as manifested in their narratives can function as a means to raise awareness by appreciating these women better and see them beyond their contribution of sending a remittance back to their country.

Presentation 4

Preserving the Life and Culture of the Korean Diaspora among the Majority: Ethnic Minority Rights in Kazakhstan in the Post-Soviet Era

Jinhye Lee

1. Introduction

I have divided this presentation into six parts. Firstly, I'm going to give a brief Introduction and discuss the existing research on this topic. Secondly, I will describe the Korean Diaspora, or Koryo Saram (KS) in Kazakhstan. Next, I'll move on to examine the formation of the Koryo Saram Community in Kazakhstan, and how they have established their role as an ethnic minority there. Lastly, I will explain my findings.

Table 1 shows the population and distribution in recent years of Korean Diaspora in the world. According to the statistics by the Korean

Table 1. Korean Diaspora in the World

		2013	2015	2017	2019	Portion (%)
Total		7,012,917	7,184,872	7,430,688	7,493,587	100
Northeast Asia	Japan	893,129	855,725	818,626	824,977	11.01
	China	2,573,928	2,858,993	2,548,030	2,461,386	32.85
	Subtotal	3,467,057	3,441,718	3,366,656	3,286,363	43.86
South Asia Pacific		485,836	510,633	557,791	592,441	7.91
North America	USA	2,091,432	2,238,989	2,492,252	2,546,982	33.99
	Canada	205,993	224,054	240,942	241,750	3.23
	Subtotal	2,297,425	2,463,043	2,733,194	2,788,732	37.21
Latin America		111,156	105,243	106,794	103,617	1.38
Europe		615,847	627,089	630,693	687,059	9.17
Africa		10,548	11,583	10,853	10,877	0.15
Middle East		25,048	25,563	24,707	24,498	0.33

Source: Recreated using (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Korea 2019:14)

government in 2019, there are about 7.5 million Korean diaspora who are spread all over the world. Most of them are concentrated in China, Japan, the USA, and the post-Soviet Region which includes the five Central Asian countries. Europe includes the former Soviet Union, and about 500,000 live in the area.

Table 2. Korean Diaspora in the Post-Soviet

	1989	1999	2009	2011	2013
Total	439,000	466,000	476,000	476,542	479,310
Russia RU	107,051	125,000	222,027	218,956	171,411
Uzbekistan UZ	183,140	198,000	175,939	173,600	171,300
Kazakhstan KZ	103,315	105,000	103,952	107,130	107,613
Kyrgyzstan KG	18,355	19,000	18,810	18,230	17,228
Ukraine UA	8,669	9,000	13,001	13,053	13,083
Turkmenistan TM	2,848	3,000	483	884	1,329
Tajikistan TJ	13,431	6,000	1,762	1,632	634

Source: Recreated using (Kim 2013: 432)

Table 2 shows the Korean diaspora population of each state in the post-Soviet area. Russia is the state where the largest number of Korean diaspora live, followed by Uzbekistan, and then Kazakhstan.

The Koryo Saram first lived in the former Soviet Union, and it is their self-identification. Map 1 shows the routes of their migration. Koryo Saram migrated to Primorsky Krai from the Joseon Peninsula in 1863 during the Joseon era, and in 1937, they were forced to migrate to Central Asia under the oppressive regime of Stalin, and then they also migrated to other areas such as Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan.

After the Soviet Union collapsed and the former Soviet Union states gained independence, they were forced to adapt and assimilate into the new political and social systems as minorities in a multi-ethnic society.

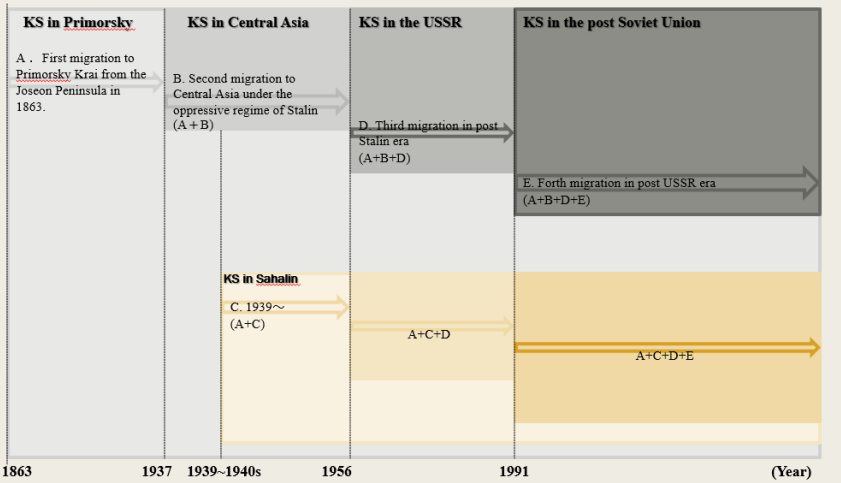
Currently, in Kazakhstan's KS community has many sub-categories including those who settled there under forced migration by Stalin, those

Source: map: https://www.toandfromtheairport.com/cis.php
photo: Kim Byunghwa's kolkhoz in Tashkent, UZ (Dec. 11, 2016), Monument to the first settlement after the forced migration in Ushtobe, Kz (Sep. 24, 2015), Farm in Primorsky (Ким 2013: 6) (from the left)[5]

Map 1. Migration Routes of KS

who started living in Kazakhstan and led relatively stable lives, and KS who immigrated from the Far East of Russia or the post-Soviet states for economic activities after the dissolution of the Soviet Union (Table 3).

Table 3. Koryo Saram's Sub-Identity



Sorce: Recreated using (Lee 2021:104-117)

They are recognized as different entities and each group has its own title. In other words, they have different identities. The emergence of different titles depending on the area of residence or origin of the KS is closely related to the history of migration they have experienced, so far. It can be described as a concept that survives throughout the Soviet period and as a newly formed concept after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, both of which coexist in their community nowadays.

2. Research on KS

To date, there has been minimal research on the ethnic minorities in Kazakhstan such as Germans, Uighurs and KS. A number of minorities have different and complex factors depending on their relations with their historical homeland and international situations in terms of maintaining their respective ethnic cultures and forming their identities.

However, few attempts have been made to compare the changes of various ethnic minorities from that perspective. Instead, they stopped short of revealing the individual and specific characteristics of the ethnic minorities. Meanwhile, most attention has been paid to the question of the KS's history of migrations, especially, the forced migration to Central Asia in 1937. To fill in the missing pieces in the study of the KS, some researchers have been trying to approach the topic from other angles, such as through literature analysis, engaging in anthropological and sociological research, and area studies.

However, there are only a few studies on other aspects of their lives, for instance, the social effects of becoming independent of their community, including the ethnocentric approach to integration after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and attempts to conduct an empirical study on the social dynamism of the KS community.

There are only a few brief studies on topics such as the formation and maintenance of their life as a ethnic minority, and in order to gain more access into that part of their history, more research needs to be carried out.

I will focus on the discourse of how the Korean diaspora of the former Soviet Union, the KS, have been preserving their lives surrounded by the pressures of integration into the multiethnic post-Soviet states after the collapse of the Soviet Union, through a case study analysis of the KS in contemporary Kazakhstan.

3. Who are the KS in Kazakhstan?

Picture 1. A poster of the People's Unity Day on May 1

Source: https://www.parlam.kz/ru/blogs/unzhakova/Details/6/59037

In 1991, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the five Central Asian countries achieved the status of independent republics. Among them, independent Kazakhstan simultaneously pursuing two goals: ethnocentrism and the integration of its multi-ethnic citizens. Namely, the integration in Kazakhstan is largely proceeding in two directions. The first, it is to secure a public domain led by the government based on the Kazakhification by Kazakh people, Kazakh language, and Kazakh history and culture.

At the same time, it presupposes this as a common value of the citizenship of Kazakhstan. Second, based on that, it is to guarantee the autonomy of each cultural identity.

Table 4. Perception of their mother tongue of the ethnic groups in Kazakhstan.

		What's your mother tongue?	
		The language of one's historical motherland	It is different from the language of the motherland
Total 👥 %	16,009,597 (100)	14,965,571 (93.5)	1,044,026 (6.5)
Kazakh	100,969,763 (100)	9,982,276 (98.8)	114,487 (1.1)
Russian	3,793,764 (100)	3,748,325 (98.8)	45,439 (1.2)
Uzbek	456,997 (100)	435,833 (95.4)	21,164 (4.6)
Ukrainian	333,031 (100)	52,549 (15.8)	280,482 (84.2)
Uighur	224,713 (100)	190,956 (85.0)	33,757 (15.0)
Tatar	204,229 (100)	104,234 (51.0)	99,995 (49.0)
German	178409 (100)	30,413 (17.0)	147,996 (83.0)
Koryo Saram	100,385 (100)	36,108 (36.0)	64,277 (64.0)
Turk	97,015 (100)	900,065 (92.8)	6,950 (7.2)

Source: Recreated using (Қазақстан Республикасы Статистика агенттігі 2011: 11-25)

Table 4 shows the perception of their mother tongue of the ethnic groups in Kazakhstan. According to statistics from the Kazakhstan government, when asked what they think is their own mother tongue is, 36% of the KS said it is the language of their historical motherland. 64% of the KS said it is different from the language of their historical homeland. It means that they think their mother tongue is Russian.

Table 5. Russian Language Level of the Ethnic Groups in Kazakhstan.

	Able to conversation			Able to read			Able to write		
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
Total %	94.4	96.7	91.4	88.2	92.9	82.2	84.8	90.2	77.9
Kazakh	92.0	95.4	88.8	83.5	89.7	77.4	79.1	85.9	72.4
Russian	98.4	98.4	98.6	97.7	97.7	97.6	96.7	96.8	96.6
Uzbek	92.9	95.3	91.3	78.6	82.1	76.1	68.3	73.4	64.7
Ukrainian	98.9	98.7	99.2	98.0	97.8	98.1	97.1	96.9	97.4
Uighur	95.8	96.4	95.3	88.2	91.1	86.0	81.8	85.4	79.0
Tatar	98.4	98.5	98.2	96.4	96.9	95.0	94.7	95.2	93.1
German	99.0	98.9	99.1	97.8	98.1	97.4	96.9	97.1	96.6
Koryo Saram	98.0	98.0	98.0	96.9	96.9	96.8	95.5	95.5	95.7
Turk	96.1	92.5	97.5	87.8	79.8	90.9	83.6	75.1	87.0

Source: Recreated using (Қазақстан Республикасы Статистика агенттігі 2011: 314-321)

Table 5 indicates the Russian language level of ethnic groups in Kazakhstan. 98% of the KS able to converse in Russian, which represents the average figure for both urban and rural areas. Among them, 96.9% of the KS said they could read it, and figures of the KS who lives in urban is 0.1% higher than numbers of the KS who lives in rural area. Also, 95.5% of the KS said they could write in Russian.

Table 6. Kazakh Language Level of the Ethnic Groups in Kazakhstan.

	Able to conversation			Able to read			Able to write		
Total %	74.0	67.7	82.0	64.8	57.3	74.5	62.0	54.3	71.8
Kazakh	98.3	97.9	98.8	95.4	94.7	94.2	93.2	92.1	94.2
Russian	25.3	25.6	24.6	8.8	8.8	6.5	6.3	6.2	6.5
Uzbek	95.5	94.0	96.6	74.2	70.5	63.6	61.7	59.0	63.6
Ukrainian	21.5	23.7	18.5	7.2	7.6	5.0	5.2	5.3	5.0
Uighur	93.7	89.9	96.7	70.5	64.3	66.0	60.8	54.1	66.0
Tatar	72.6	71.4	76.1	40.0	38.0	46.1	33.7	31.5	40.4
German	24.7	26.9	22.5	10.5	11.0	7.7	7.9	8.1	7.7
Koryo Saram	43.4	42.7	47.5	14.1	14.0	11.8	10.5	10.2	11.8
Turk	91.0	85.1	93.2	51.3	46.0	45.3	43.4	38.5	45.3

Source: Recreated using (Қазақстан Республикасы Статистика агенттігі 2011: 314-321)

Table 6 shows Kazakh language level of ethnic groups in Kazakhstan. 43.4% of the KS are able to converse in Kazakh, and figures of the KS who lives in rural is 4.8% higher than the numbers of the KS who lives in urban. Among them, 14.1% of the KS said they could read it. Also, 10.5% of the KS said they could write in Kazakh.

Because the KS has been already Russianized during the Soviet era, their use of the own language was low, and a higher percentage recognized Russian as their first language. Mother tongue education was banned from 1937 during the Soviet era, and no public schools for KS were established after Kazakhstan's independence. They have been educated in Russian, their own language remains only in spoken form, and very few people can speak their own languages.

4. Formation of Their Community in Kazakhstan: The Koryo Saram choose to stay in Kazakhstan

Map 2. Kazakhstan's Neighbors

In this part we will examine how KS formed their community in Kazakhstan, where the dissolution of the USSR and independence took place, based on the following three factors,

- Non-Kazakh's Migration from Kazakhstan,
- KS's Migration in the Former Soviet Union,
- Ethnic origin of the KS in Kazakhstan, and their major cultural organizations.

1) Non-Kazakh's Migration from Kazakhstan

The figures for Russians returning to Russia from 1991-1992 in the early period of the collapse of the Soviet Union and independence of each country are shown in Table 7.

Table 7. The Return of Russians to Russia

	Russian (1989)		Return of Russians to Russia (1991-1992)
	Number (10 thousand)	Russians in each country (%)	
Ukraine UA	1,130	13	Minority
Belarus BY	130	22	Minority
Kazakhstan KZ	620	38	107,950
Kyrgyzstan KG	92	21	56,960
Uzbekistan UZ	170	8	92,964
TurkmenistanTM	33	9	15,571
Tajikistan TJ	39	7	61,464

Source: Recreated using (Nakamura 1994: 387)

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, a large-scale migration of Russians in Central Asia occurred. Regarding the Russian outflow after Kazakhstan's independence, it emphasized two factors. The first is that the change in Russian status in Kazakhstan created various restrictions on life in Kazakhstan concerning the use of Russian, which was the existing official language. Also, due to changes in Kazakhstan's language law, non-Kazakhs became dissatisfied with learning of the Kazakh language and the changing of Russian-style names of streets and places to the Kazakh-style names.

The second is the problem that occurred during the settlement of overseas Kazakhs (Oralman) who returned to Kazakhstan. The north and northeast are the main residences of Russians. When the Oralman returned to the place and received government support during their settlement process, the Russians were opposed to it.

In other words, Russians were opposed to the government-led Kazakhification, such as the language and the Oralman policy. The

integration, centered on the Kazakhization, is the main cause of the outflow of non-Kazakh Russians after its independence.

It is also argued that economic motivation is a more important factor in their migration. After its collapse, the former Soviet Union states suffered from serious economic conditions in these societies, but many people moved to Russia because they believed that life there would offer them relatively better prospects.

Meanwhile after its independence, during the 1990s, more than 500,000 Germans in Kazakhstan returned to Germany, and the number of Germans who returned to Germany from the former Soviet countries was also on the rise as shown in Table 8.

Table 8. Germans who returned to Russia from the former USSR

Year	Federal Administration Office		
	Applications	Accepted Applications	Actual Immigration
1990	-	-	-
1991	19,288	12,583	-
1992	19,232	15,879	-
1993	14,299	15,785	16,597
1994	27,704	16,466	8,811
1995	29,824	22,777	15,184
1996	17,302	13,211	15,959
1997	21,098	12,931	19,437
1998	11,251	12,233	17,788
1999	24,854	15,549	18,205

Source: Recreated using (Dietz 2000: 640)

Germans chose migration for the same reason as the Russians. In addition, the international news of the reunification of East and West Germany (October 3, 1990) provided a strong motivation for their migration along with the German government's policy of accepting

overseas Germans. Both Russia and Germany were establishing immigration policies in the early days of Kazakhstan's independence.

The most important condition for the Russians and Germans in Kazakhstan wishing to return home after independence was that there was a policy of accepting them in their respective homelands.

2) KS's Migration in the Former Soviet Union

Meanwhile, the KS accounted for a smaller percentage of the total population than the Russians and Germans in Kazakhstan in the early days of independence. Their rural communities collapsed due to the consolidation of collective farms, which used to provide collective dwellings, and the change in operating patterns to state-run farms. At the same time, the KS community was quickly urbanized and scattered.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the historic homeland of South and North Korea did not come up with policies to accept them**.**

The policy of accepting overseas Russians and Germans returning to Russia and Germany, their main emigration sites and their historical homelands, has become a major factor in calling for their return to their homelands. Moreover, the Russians and Germans are considered to have "chosen" their return. However, the KS did not have such an option, so their only choice was to stay in Kazakhstan at that time.

Picture 2. Koryo Saram Kimchi in Almaty, Kazakhstan

Source: Author

After the collapse of Soviet Union, the KS moved for a better environment and to avoid the confusion caused by the integration policy of each country. The main migration areas were Russia and South Korea.

One of the main migration sites for the KS was Russia. In Russia, the unstable political environment caused by nationalism, civil war, and ethnic conflict and the unstable economic environment caused by unemployment in each country, served as a push factor in the KS's migration to Russia.

These were the major factors in the migration not only of the KS but also of other ethnic minorities from the former Soviet countries to Russia. In addition to these external environmental factors of KS's migration, the particular push factors inside the KS's community have contributed to the outflow of its population to Russia. These factors are the urban-oriented lifestyle, the high level of educational zeal, and the success-oriented characteristics of the KS.

In addition to the fact that Russian is spoken in each region of Russia, in moving to Primorsky there was the psychological factor of nostalgia for the historical hometown where the ancestors of the KS used to live.

In the 1990s however, there was a major lack of foundation for policies to accept the KS in Korea, but the introduction of the visiting employment system in 2007 led to an increase in KS's migration to Korea.

The 1988 Seoul Olympics, the normalization of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Korea in 1990, and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 served as a direct trigger for the KS to become interested in South Korea and in migrating to Korea.

During the Soviet era, KS were more engaged in exchanges with North Korea than with South Korea, and they had Soviet nationality and recognized South Korea only to a limited extent. However, the above series of events served as an opportunity to give a more positive impression of their existing image of Korea and the migration to Korea was recognized as a means of realizing the hope that they would be able

to pursue a better life and gain new opportunities after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Currently (2020), it is impossible to determine the exact population of the KS living in Korea because no census has been conducted. However, with the introduction of the "visitor employment system" in 2007, "statistics on overseas Koreans" (F-4) visa[1] issued only to overseas Koreans among foreigners from former Soviet Union countries and those who hold the "visitor employment" (H-2) visa can be used to gauge their size.

The largest number of KS with F-4 visas is in the order of Russia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan. H-2 visa holders are in the order of Uzbekistan, Russia, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan, and an overwhelming number of Uzbekistan nationals can be seen. Although F-4 and H-2 holders are steadily increasing overall.

In the case of Uzbekistan, not only the KS but also other ethnic groups have moved to other countries to live as migrant workers for various reasons, such as the political and economic instability common in former Soviet countries, the political situation of stronger nationalism, and especially low-wage issues[2].

As seen above, the KS of Kazakhstan chose to stay in Kazakhstan in the early days of unstable independence after the collapse of the Soviet Union. There are two factors that this can be attributed to: First, there was a lack of foundation for the acceptance of overseas Koreans in Korea, the historical homeland of the KS, unlike Russia and Germany, which had policies to accommodate their overseas people. It has been confirmed that the number of KS moving to Korea has been on the rise since 2007 due to the introduction of the visitor employment system. However, the majority of the KS's population that flows into Korea are from Uzbekistan, compared with a relatively small migration of KS from Kazakhstan to Korea.

I Visa issued to Koreans of foreign nationality for the "Qualification of overseas Koreans" required to enter and stay in Korea (IOM 2015:34-5).

[2] Interview with N (Dec. 12, 2016), O (Dec. 10, 2016), S (Dec. 8, 2016).

Secondly, the political and economic situation in Kazakhstan has stabilize compared to other former Soviet countries. Kazakhstan, like other former Soviet countries, has been pushing for Kazakh-centered integration. However, the relatively stable political environment without disputes and the economic situation with active foreign investment have further strengthened the foundation of the Kazakhstan's KS, who chose to stay[3].

They insist that their ethnic origins began from the forced migration in 1937. They also claimed that various organizations which they have, theater, radio, television, and newspapers, and their elite leaders since they moved from the Primorski, have formed and led their community.

3) Establishing Their Role as an Ethnic Minority in Kazakhstan

The first point I would like to mention in Part 5, is that the KS in Kazakhstan themselves are seeking their own role in terms of their historical homeland, especially in terms of their activities in connection with South Korea. I would also like to mention the following three factors that have strengthened cooperation.

First, the change in perception of the two Koreas before and after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, secondly, the opening of the Korean Education Center in Almaty, Kazakhstan, and the support of the Korean government, and finally, the 'Korean wave' and the construction of Almaty Koreatown.

Firstly, the establishment of diplomatic relations and cultural contacts between Kazakhstan and South Korea are being made through the Kazakhstan's KS themselves, and they have served as a bridge between the two countries[4]. As exchanges between Kazakhstan and South Korea increased after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Also the 1988 Olympics were held in Seoul, diplomatic relations between Korea and the Soviet Union were established in 1990, and the center of the KS's exchanges with their historical homeland was shifted to South Korea

[3] Interview with Q (Nov. 23, 2016).
[4] Interview with B (Dec. 14, 2015), C (Aug. 10, 2018).

from the North. However, although the frequency of exchanges with North Korea has decreased compared to the past, they have continued to take place[5]. Since its independence, the KS of Kazakhstan have emphasized not only their role as citizens of the multi-ethnic country of Kazakhstan but also their role in strengthening cooperation and friendship between Kazakhstan and their historical homeland, South Korea.

The second point I would like to mention is the opening of the Education Centre at the Embassy of the Republic of Korea in Kazakhstan in 1991 and the Korean government's support for the KS's organizations served as factors that solidified exchanges between the two countries and the role of Kazakhstan's KS as intermediaries. The Education Centre is engaged in educational and support programs for the spread of Korean language and Korean culture[6].

Thirdly, I would like to mention the impact of the Korean Wave, which is spreading worldwide. The Korean Wave's contents are also rapidly spreading in Kazakhstan. Also, the first Korean town in the former Soviet Union is under construction in Almaty, Kazakhstan. Plans have been postponed because of COVID-19, but in the future they hope it will be a place where Korean culture can be spread to Kazakhstan[7]. The formation of a Koreatown is expected to be an important factor in strengthening the role and position of the Korean and Kazakhstan's KS along with the spread of the Korean Wave. As seen above, factors such as a positive changes in perception of Korea, active links between KS's organizations and the Korean Education Center, and the influence of the Korean Wave, have contributed to the solidification of the role of the KS in the process of seeking roles between Kazakhstan and Korea.

[5] Interview with B (Dec. 14, 2015).

[6] For more information, see the homepage (www.koreacenter.kz).

[7] It is scheduled to open in February 2020 in Almaty mall, Jandosava Saina, Almaty City, Kazakhstan (see www.cistoday.com February 25, 2019) (It was postponed by the influence of Covid-19).

5. Conclusion

This presentation has researched about how the KS in contemporary Kazakhstan have built and preserved their life and culture after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

I have drawn the following conclusions. They had to preserve their life as Kazakhstan's KS, who experienced the collapse of the Soviet Union and Kazakhstan's independence and chose to stay in Kazakhstan. The methods underlying the preserving of their life are summarized in two ways.

Firstly, the KS in Kazakhstan had formatted their community in Kazakhstan as they chose to stay in Kazakhstan. There are basically three patterns for the formation and preservation of the basis of ethnic minority status after the USSR's collapse: first, going back to their historical homelands, second, moving to other countries within the former Soviet Union, and the third, staying where they were by acquiring citizenship of the newly formed states.

Secondly, the KS have established their role as an ethnic minority in Kazakhstan. They have used various organizations formed in Kazakhstan to seek and strengthen the exchange role between Korea and Kazakhstan, their historical homeland. The following three factors enhanced the role they intend to develop themselves. First, the change in perception of the two Koreas before and after the collapse of the Soviet Union; second, the opening of the Korean Education Center in Almaty, Kazakhstan, and the support of the Korean government; and finally, the Korean Wave and the construction of Almaty Koreatown.

To sum up more simply, the life and culture of the KS in Kazakhstan has been formed based on their choice to stay in Kazakhstan. It has been preserved by their relationship with their historical homelands, their status as a minority, and their ethnic foundations within Kazakhstan, and it is also in a constant process of transforming. Thank you for listening.

Concluding Remarks: Provocative Issues at a Crossroads in Asian Diaspora Studies

Jinhye Lee

We are very grateful to all our presenters for their deep insights, and their personal, and often moving portrayals of the daily lives, struggles and achievements of diasporic peoples. They underline the need to deepen these studies, as they brought to us lessons on their struggle for survival, their fight against discrimination, and the claims for human rights that are surfacing in the homogenized post-capitalist global community.

We have learned not only about their struggles but also their triumphs in overcoming all obstacles to live a fulfilled and contented life. We have learned that nothing comes without a struggle, but that ultimately it is worth the effort, and that to find the light at the end of a dark tunnel you must pass through it.

The individual presentations were followed by an enthusiastic Q&A session, and due to the participants' specialist knowledge and experience in Diaspora studies, and the valuable opinions they expressed on a wide range of related topics, I have decided to include a brief report on these discussions. Some of the questions shed light on the original presentations, some were generated out of the discussion itself, and others elicited some practical advice for future diaspora research.

The questions sparked discussions on a wide variety of diaspora-related topics, and so for ease of reference and the benefit of our readers, I have summarized them and listed them by the principle topics.

1. Naming of Koryo Saram

One of the first questions was with regard to the term "Koryo Saram". Tri Murniati asked whether the term referred to the Korean diaspora in different countries or just to those in the post-Soviet Union. I explained that Koryo Saram refers only to the Korea diaspora in the post-Soviet era and it is the name by which they identify themselves. In Koryo Saram studies there are several titles. For example, in English, they are known simply as 'Koreans in the post-Soviet Union', but in Japan, in Korea, and within Koryo Saram 's community there are many terms.

When I began my research, I found that the most important aspect of the name was that it was their own self-identification, because after the division of Korea, there were many political issues and then immediately after the collapse of the Soviet Union they suffered from harsh political conditions and had to identify themselves either by a contemporary South Korean name, a North Korean name, or a Japanese name. But they were not South Korean, or South Korean and not the citizens of a colony, so to define their unique identity they named themselves as the *Koryo Saram*.

2. Language Acquisition

Helen Kim remarked on the Koryo Saram's ability in reading and writing of the Russian and Kazakh languages. She was surprised that their proficiency in Russian was almost 99% but that in Kazakh it was much lower, at least in terms of writing. She was curious whether this was because Russian might be perceived as being more prestigious as a cultural language.

I explained that the Koryo Saram had already experienced being integrated into Russia during the Soviet period. Then immediately after the collapse of the USSR, the Kazakhstan government introduced the policy of Kazak centered integration of Kazakh language, culture, and

history. Immediately after the collapse of the Soviet union, Kazakh was not the major language in Kazakhstan, while, in Uzbekistan at the time, they did actually speak Uzbek. This meant that the over-forties in the Koryo Saram community couldn't speak Kazakh fluently, but the young generation had to, because the government introduced tests in Kazakh as a qualification for employment' so the young Koryo Saram in Kazakhstan had to learn it. That is why Koryo Saram teenagers and those in their twenties can already speak Kazakh.

3. Double-Belonging Identity Issues

I asked Ya-Han Chuang to clarify what she meant by double belonging. She explained that this phenomenon is particular to France, because French society is theoretically built on a model of assimilation where all citizens are taught there is no difference among people. However, in reality, as immigrants and their descendants grow up they are exposed to the a brutally multicultural environment, and find themselves constantly otherized at school, or by the media. Implicitly, in their social environment, Chinese descendants grow up with the idea that there is an authentic way of being French, but amongst their own people, there is also an authentic way of being Chinese.

This experience of socialization sandwiched between two cultures eventually pushes them to live with a hybrid identity. Ultimately, most of them live through a negotiation, beginning by saying that they are neither French nor Chinese and ending up by saying, they are both French and Chinese. In reality this does not result in a normative way of thinking but gives them a dual identity. Of course this only brushes over the problem, and the dilemma of, "Who am I?' will only be resolved when the revolutionary ideals of justice, equality, and brotherhood are actually adopted by humanity as whole.

What Ya-Han Chuang found interesting was that they succeeded in forming their own identity as a hybrid double belonging and this

symbolizes a kind of inner rebellion comparative to what we might imagine the struggle for the Republic was like.

4. Third Space for Diaspora Living in Two Worlds

When talking about the Asian diaspora in France Ya-Han Chuang had mentioned that most of them feel neither here nor there, as if they are living in two worlds. Tri Murniati brought up the question of a third space. For example, Indian domestic workers in Hong Kong have a regular gathering in a place called Victoria Park. This has become a kind of third place where they can bridge between the two worlds of Indonesia and Hong Kong. She asked Ya-Han Chuang whether the Asian diaspora in France have created or built such a space.

She replied that she thought that third spaces, as public spaces for diaspora to gather, have always existed for migrants, especially for those who live in Paris, since there are at least two little China towns where they can find very home-like clothing and sweets, and the Asian diaspora youth have grown up in this environment.

She pointed out that what has changed is that there has been a reevaluation of these spaces due to a new cultural activism. Chinese cuisine in France, or Asian cuisine in France, is often associated with inferior quality cuisine, especially if it is Chinese. In their new cultural activism the youth have reevaluated all this cuisine with illustrations portraying Chinese food as high quality cuisine.

However young people who are brought up in an entrepreneur's family, or children of Asian origin adopted by white French parents, grow up in a much more isolated environment and it is already difficult and complicated for them to assume their own identity as being Asian in France. For them, the Internet has become their primary place to meet up to exchange their experiences in a much more anonymous way. Then after this first encounter, they begin to nurture an identity, and nowadays we are starting to see them also gathering in some diasporic spaces. Ya-Han Chuang gave the example that her first meeting with these young

Asians was quite naturally in a well-respected Chinese restaurant, and actually for many of them, it was probably their first discovery of good Asian cuisine in Paris as well.

I asked Tri Murniati about the function of Victoria Park as a third space for Indonesian domestic workers to gather. I wondered if, in addition to the function as a space for Indonesian nationals it also acted as a space that accommodated the mixing of the two countries' cultures like Chinatown in Korea, or Korea Town in LA, which also have some important commercial or economic functions. Chinatown in Korea became the workplace of Chinese people living in Korea, thus providing economic benefits for their lives as well, and their network is formed based on that function. So I asked if there is any particular commercial or economic function in Victoria Park in Hong Kong?

Tri Murniati explained that migrant workers or the Indonesian domestic workers are not allowed to do any business outside their employment. However, according to the written sources, some of them do something like opening a food stall in Victoria Park selling Indonesian cuisine, so, this has helped the domestic workers to have a taste of home. This has the added benefit of providing the Indonesian domestic workers with additional income, not from their employment, but from this illegal business.

However, it is different from, say, a Chinatown, where the Chinese diaspora can legally make a living, while this is not the case for Indonesian domestic workers. In fact Victoria Park emerged as a space where they can socialize with their peers, other domestic workers, but not necessarily while freely enjoying economic activities.

5. Activists' Strategies against Anti-Asian Racism

Helen Kim pointed out that the Anti-Asian racism that Ya-Han Chuang described in Paris is also happening in other places, namely, the US and the UK, and a lot of the recent claims in the US accuse activist organizations who highlight anti-Asian racism of trying to silence or

divert attention away from anti-black racism. She asked her about the political landscape around making these claims in France, and whether she felt there was a greater sense of solidarity amongst racialized groups and political organizations across the board.

Ya-Han Chuang replied that there is a huge debate around this subject in France. The situation in France is not as serious but it is similar to the US in the sense that interracial hostility also exists, especially aggression in the form of delinquency coming from black or North African young teenagers who are in the beginning of their careers as a gangsters. When there were demonstrations there was a debate inside the Asian and Chinese circles as to whether to highlight this aggression as the consequence of interracial hostility or not? It is also true that some among the first generation Chinese entrepreneurs do have racial prejudice against Northern African or black minority teenagers. They do this without necessarily contextualizing them in the bigger sociological framework as young delinquents or apprentice criminals, so this hostility goes on, and this divergence still exists even among the Asian activists.

She explained that regarding the question about solidarity with other racial minorities concretely, there are different ways to frame the question. One group claims they are the victims of racism, and they want harsher reform, to punish teenagers who commit such a crime. In other words an ethno-centric way to frame the problem from the perspective of being criminally attacked. Meanwhile, another group tends to describe such a problem as a consequence of the systemic racism. This view is less visible today among activists, but it's growing under COVID-19.

Since COVID-19, activists have succeeded in changing the discourse on racism against Asians by showing the extent to which a common ideology remains deeply embedded in the French perception of their society, instead of it just being about a neighborhood problem of criminal hostility among residents of different ethnic origin. Further, in a larger way, in terms of the convergence and solidarity, there are more initiatives being done by other minority groups toward the Asians. For example, when in 2017, a Chinese man was shot in his apartment,

youngsters of all minorities demonstrated loudly against the police violence, so victims of similar violence who were of African origin and whose movement has been going for longer actually showed their support to this Chinese victim's Asian family.

However from a solidarity perspective the case of Asian youngsters going to the Black Lives Matter protests is much less visible and it's not yet becoming a consensus among the Asian activists in France.

So there has been some debate, and we can see among Asians a clear distinction between those who want solidarity, who want to work with the other minorities, and those who try to have a more ethnocentric way, who paradoxically tend to finally conserve the status of the model minority, even inside the political landscape. This situation is influenced by external economic and political conditions but there is certainly hope for the success of these activists efforts in to achieve solidarity. This is related to the conclusion to Section 3, and further highlights the point that differences of race, creed and color can only be resolved when the revolutionary ideals of justice, equality, and brotherhood are adopted by humanity as whole.

6. What Next after Gaining Political Agency?

Helen Kim recalled Tri Murniati's account of a narrative by an Indonesian domestic worker who, in resisting the unreasonable demands of her employer, had found a moment of political agency. She wanted to hear more about what happened after that. In this particular account the woman had contemplated going back to Indonesia and Helen Kim wondered whether she had come across other examples of these moments of political agency or subjectivity, and how much power or agency it actually give these women?

Tri Murniati replied that most of the time, these women do take lessons from their experience and in the case the protagonist in the narrative, she was able to execute acts to solve the conflict. Taking examples from the narratives, other protagonists began to engage in

micro-activism. They wanted to help their peers, fellow Indonesian domestic workers who were enduring similar problems. Their political moments empowered them to be more active in terms of becoming involved in advocacy, helping domestic workers and other workers who have similar problems. In this way are they participating in a wider space, migrant activism.

She encountered this firsthand when doing fieldwork in Singapore, where she met a migrant worker who was also actively participating in advocacy. She had a help desk and she spent her Sundays, which is the off day for the migrant workers in Singapore, helping other domestic workers who had problems.

She concluded that after they have experienced a political moment of this kind, and they have their political agency they not only empower themselves by having the confidence to disempower the colonial relation between themselves and their employer, but they also extend it to help other domestic workers. They have more agency to help not only themselves, but also others. They see others experiencing something they have also experienced and feel strongly that they would like to help them. From building the agency for themselves, they also become an agent in a wider space. I found this to be an inspiration in the diasporic people's struggle for equality and justice.

7. Mothering from Afar

When Tri Murniati tried to unravel the practice of mothering from afar in the case of Indonesian domestic workers, she studied the literature which examined similar issues but in different contexts, such as the context of Mexican migrants in the US. She mentioned Helen Kim's story about the Korean husband who followed his wife to Germany, and asked her if some of the guests workers' and nurses' husbands did not follow them, so that they had to do mothering from afar. Then she asked Helen if mothering from afar practices exist in her research context.

Helen answered that she has been interested in transnational mothering and mothering from afar, and had learned a lot by studying some excellent work that was done in the Philippines, by Jason, Cabanis and Suriano and recommended that other Diaspora researchers read their works and incorporate this very human aspect of migration into their diaspora studies.

8. Support from Host Country vs. Original Country

Prof. Lee Byong Jo of the Far East Department of the Al-Farabi Kazakh National University in Kazakhstan mentioned that after the Korean War, in the 1960s, the Korean government got a loan from Germany, and with the help of the Korean miners and nurses in Germany, was able to rebuild the Korean economy.

He asked Helen Kim if there is still a Korean miner and nurse community in Germany today and whether the German government giving them any support?

Helen answered that there are many associations, migrant associations, diasporic associations, specifically for miners and nurses in Germany. In fact, for the first leg of her project, she did a lot of interviews with these guest workers who settled in Germany, and part of her time there was spent visiting these associations. Every year, they travel from all the different towns and regions of Germany and meet in the former industrial region of Germany, spend a day together, eat, talk and reminisce on their past experiences and present circumstances. Helen informed us that there are numerous associations both informal and formal that have been created and sustained in Germany.

She mentioned that regarding the German government, there has been a lot more research within the last couple of years by South Korean scholars who have had access to the Ministry of Labor which has released documents concerned with this agreement between South Korea and western Germany at the time, so there's been a lot more research around this particular guest worker wave.

She stated that these guest workers receive no formal support from the German government. However, the South Korean government has proposed formal support to the guest workers in terms of offering pensions, which has yet to materialize. However, promises have been made by the South Korean government to offer support to these guest workers and we hope that they will be fulfilled.

9. New Approaches to Diaspora Studies

While enjoying this collaboration with my fellow Asian diaspora researchers I wanted to learn as much as I could from them, so I brought up the topic of research methodology. Diaspora researchers are trying to make a logical research framework for many cases, through conducting interviews and narratives. Helen Kim sought to establish a specific research framework from some cases of the Koreans who migrated to become German guest worker nurses, and Tri Murniati tried to generalize the study of some Indonesian domestic workers cases through narratives.

Therefore, I asked all the presenters two questions. 1) What is the most important thing for you in the process of generalizing several cases? And 2) What was the most difficult thing for you in making those processes.

I explained that in my case, in order to create a logical framework, first, I try to find commonalities and differences between the cases that I have gained material from during my field work. Then I try to sort them out and align them with my research framework. However, I have found this very difficult, and in most cases, I had no choice but to tailor my research to the existing researches' framework, rather than presenting a new framework. Then I asked the others to explain how they dealt with this issue.

Tri Murniati said that in her research she focuses on the narratives written by women who work as domestic workers and so she explores the migratory experiences particularly from the perspective of border studies, which is not so difficult because there is a lot of literature which

is similar to her research focus. However, as existing research is not looking at these issues from the perspective of border studies this is the significance of her research about the Indonesian domestic workers.

However, when she discusses their migratory experiences, she found that this is a common theme explored by other scholars, especially when they talk about migrant literature.

Helen Kim suggested that there are two research questions that frame her research which revolve around the usefulness of conceptualizations of diaspora. One research question could be for example, "How could diaspora studies more recent conceptualizations be useful in thinking about, and trying to reveal the lived experiences of these guest workers, as they have migrated from place to place?" In addition, the lived experiences themselves really tell us something new, and perhaps could stretch or offer different conceptualizations of diaspora. This comes from thinking of methodologies, and she is trying to explore the use of certain methods. She is an ethnographer, but in this project she has been trying to engage more with oral history interviews, and she has found that these oral history interviews introduced something entirely new. Some of the stories cannot be told, just through just speaking, and yet they are an integral part of the diasporic experiences, stories, these secrets that can't be told, which Susan Boyan describes in her work on diaspora and intimacy.

Helen Kim stressed the importance of studying the more recent literature around post-colonial formations, namely, Susan Boyan's work on Diasporic intimacy, Hazel Carby's 'Imperial Intimacies', and also Lisa Lowe's 'Intimacies of Four Continents. These are groundbreaking works that offer a different historical narrative. She summarized by saying that in her resent work she has been linking diaspora and work on intimacy, as the people, their cultures and identities and the connections that we cultivate are also our diasporic resources.

I hope that you have found my fellow presenter's comments and suggestions useful, and in conclusion, I would like to encourage the readers of this small report on Asian diaspora studies to continue to

pursue their studies for the success of their careers, and most importantly, for the benefits and lessons their reports can bring in establish equality, justice and human rights for all humankind.

Bibliography

Below is a list of books referred to by the presenters which the readers may find useful.

Asian Diaspora and Rascism

Strabucchi, Maria Montt and Carol Chan. 2021. *Chineseness in Chile: Shifting Representations During the Twenty-First Century*. Cham: Palgrave MacMillan.

Li, Yao and Harvey L. Nicholson Jr. 2021. When "Model Minorities" Become "Yellow Peril": Othering and the Racialization of Asian Americans in the Covid-19 Pandemic. *Sociology Compass*, 15(6), e12849.

Levitt, T. 2002. Creativity is not Enough. *Harvard Business Review*, 80, 137-145.

Lamont, Michèle and Crystal Fleming. 2005. Everyday Anti-Racism: Competence and Religion in the Cultural Repertoire of the African American Elite. *Du Bois Review*, 2 (1), 29-43.

Indonesian Diaspora

Azza, Juwana. 2010. Ramadhan dalam Ikhlas. In *Surat Berdarah untuk Presiden: Suara Hati BMI Hong Kong*. Nadia Cahyani et al, 64-69. Jakarta: Lini Jendela.

Bhugra, Dinesh. 2004. Migration, Distress, and Cultural Identity. *British Medical Bulletin,* (67), 129-141, DOI: 10.1093/bmb/Idh007

Häkli, Jouni, and Kirsi Pauliina Kallio. 2017. On Becoming Political: The Political in Subjectivity. *Subjectivity*, (11)1, 57-73, doi:10.1057/s41286-017-0040-z. Accessed on June 5, 2018.

Houtum, Henk Van, and Ton Van Naerssen. 2002. Bordering, Ordering and Othering. *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie*, 93(2), 125-136, doi:10.1111/1467-9663.00189. Accessed on Nov. 23, 2016.

Hussain, S. 2004. Label and Literature: Borders and Spaces in Postcolonial Migrant Literature in Australia. *Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature*, 3, 103-116.

Insani, Bayu and Ida Raihan. 2011. *TKW Menulis: Mereka saja Bisa, Kenapa Anda Tidak?* Yogyakarta: Leutika.

Konrad, Victor. 2013. Imagining and Imaging Borders: Understanding Borderlands for Global Sustainability. *The International Archives of the Photogrammetry, Remote Sensing and Spatial Information Sciences*, XL-4/W3, 23-27.

Mezzadra, Sandro and Brett Neilson. 2013. *Border as Method, or, the Multiplication of Labor*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Mignolo, Walter D. and Madina V. Tlostanova. 2006. Theorizing from the Borders: Shifting to Geo- and Body-Politics of Knowledge. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 9(2), 205-221, doi:10.1177/1368431006063333. Accessed on November 23, 2016.

Momsen, Janet Henshall, ed. 2013. *Gender, Migration, and Domestic Service*. London and New York: Routledge.

Moslund, Sten Pultz. 2010. *Migration Literature and Hybridity: The Different Speeds of Transcultural Change*. Great Britain: Palgrave Macmillan,.

Murniati, T. 2014. Indonesian Migrant Writing: A Trace of Indonesian Diaspora Narratives. *Proceeding International Conference in Commemoration of the 50 Anniversary of the Department of Malay-Indonesian Studies,* HUFS, Seoul. https://www.academia.edu/7339657/Indonesian_Migrant_Writing_A_Trace_on_Indonesian_Diaspora_Narratives

-----. 2018. One Place Two Stories: Unravelling Indonesian Domestic Workers' Migrant Journey (Unpublished paper).

-----. 2019. Sastra Buruh Migran Indonesia: Crossing Borders and Proposing a New Concept of Indonesian Domestic Workers.

Graduate Theses and Dissertations Retrieved from https://scholarworks.uark.edu/etd/3169

Risty, Kine. 2010. Ku Maknai Setiap Langkah di Negeri Beton. In *Surat Berdarah untuk Presiden: Suara Hati BMI Hong Kong.* Nadia Cahyani et al, 105-119. Jakarta: Lini Jendela.

White, Paul. 1995. Geography, Literature, and Migration. In *Writing across Worlds: Literature and Migration*. eds. Russel King, John Connell, and Paul White, 1-19. New York: Routledge,

Korean Diaspora

Davenel, Yves-Marie. 2012. Cultural Mobilization in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan: Views from the State and from Non-titular Nationalities Compared. *Central Asian Survey*, 31(1), 17-29.

Diener, Alexander C. 2005. Problematic Integration of Mongolian-Kazakh Return Migrants in Kazakhstan. *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 46(6), 465-478.

-----. 2006. Homeland as Social Construct: Territorialization among Kazakhstan's Germans and Koreans. *Nationalities Papers*, 34(2), 201-235.

Dietz, Barbara. 2000. German and Jewish Migration from the Former Soviet Union to Germany: Background, Trends and Implications. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 26(4), 635-652.

Gendaigagakujyuku 1991. *Perestroika of the Koreans in USSR*, Gaifusha.

Go, Songmu. 1990. Koreans in USSR, *Theory & Practice.*

Horie, Norio. 2010. Tackling Migration Problems: Chinese and Central Asian workers in Russia, *Russian and East European Studies*, 39, 13-25.

Im, Youngsang. 2011. Overseas Korean Communities and Digital Contents. *Studies of Koreans Abroad*, 23, 101-125.

IOM Migration Research & Training Centre. 2015. A Survey on the Current Status of Russian and CIS Koryoin Residents in Korea. *Overseas Koreans Foundation.*

Jeon, Shinwook. 2007. A Study on Remigration Factors and Resettlement of Central Asian Koreans (Russko-Koreets) to Maritime Region (Primorsky Kray). *Korean Policy Sciences Review*, 11(3), 77-107.

Jones, Nathan Paul. 2010. "Assembling" A Civic Nation in Kazakhstan: The Nation-Building Role of the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan. *Caucasian Review of International Affairs*, 4(2), 159-168.

Kim, German. 2014. I am the Koryo Saram, *Kookhakjaryowon.*

Kim, Hojun. 2013. Koryoin in Eurasia, *Juluesung.*

Kim, Kyunghak. 2014. Migration and Settlement of 'Koryein' in Central Asian Countries to Korea with Particular Reference to 'Koryeinmaeul' in Gwangju Metropolitan, *Journal of International Area Studies*, 17(4), 259-282.

Kim, Sangchul. 2012. Demographic Kazakhization and Repatriation Policy of Ethnic Kazakhs. *Minjok Yeonku*, 52(0), 112-146.

Kimura, Hidesuke. 1998. Russians in Kazakhstan. *Central Asia: Current Stage and Challenges of Marketization*, 489, 199-227.

King, Ross. 2001. Blagoslovennoe: Korean Village on the Amur, 1871-1937. *Review of Korean Studies*, 4(2), 133-176.

Kuscu, Isik. 2012. Constructing the Homeland: Kazakhstan's Discourse and Policies Surrounding its Ethnic Return-Migration Policy. *Central Asian Survey*, 31(1), 31-44.

Lee, Jinhye 2012. *A Study on Establishing a Museum based upon Lenin Gichi's Articles from 1986 to 1991.* Master's degree dissertation, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies.

-----. 2017. Identity Formation of the Korean Diaspora in USSR, Koryo-saram, in Perestroika Period: An Analysis Based upon Articles of *Lenin Gichi*, 1986 to 1991. *Kyoto Bulletin o f Islamic Area Studies*, 10, 177-191.

-----. 2019. Identity Formation of the Korean Diaspora（Koryo saram）in Contemporary Kazakhstan: An Analysis Based upon Articles of Koryo Ilbo. In *Korean Diaspora across the World: Homeland in*

History, Memory, Imagination, Media and Reality. Eds. Eun-Jeong Han, Min Wha Han, and JongHwa Lee, 131-145. Lanham: Lexington Books,

Lee, Chaemoon and Park Gyutae. 2003. Central Asia to the Russian Far East, *Journal of The Korean Association of Regional Geographers*, 9(4), 559-575.

Nakamura, Taizo. 1994. Current Demographic Situation of CIS. *Studies in the Humanities: the Journal of the Literary Association of the Osaka City University*, 46(7), 377-395.

Oka, Natsuko. 2000. Recent Developments Surrounding Russians in Kazakhstan: What 'Separativism Activities' and 'Demand for Integration with Russia' Suggest, *Modern Middle East*, 29, 27-38.

-----. 2003. Differentiation of Ethnic movements in Kazakhstan: Why didn't the Expected Conflict Occur? In *State, Violence, Politics: Over the Conflict in Asia and Africa*. ed. Shinichi Takeuchi, 451-492. Chiba: IDE-JETRO.

-----. 2006. Kazakhstan: Control of Ethnic Divisions in Authoritarian Systems. In *Crack Structure and Political System in West and Central Asia*. ed. Yasushi Hazama, 221-248. Chiba: IDE-JETRO.

-----. 2010. The "Return" of Co-ethnics: Kazakhstan's Migration Policy toward Ethnic Kazakhs abroad, *IDE Journal*, 51(6), 2-23.

Poujol, Caterrine 2006. *Kazakhstan*. Tokyo: Hakusuisha.

Shartz, Edward 2000. Framing Strategies and Non-ethnic Kazakhstan. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 6(2), 71-94.

-----. 2000a. The Politics of Multiple Identities: Lineage and Ethnicity in Kazakhstan. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 52(3), 489-506.

Shikama, Ayako. 2009. Diversity in Modern Immigration: Policy and Integration Issues for Accepting German Returnees Aussiedler between Immigration and Pedigree, *Senri Ethnological Reports*, 83, 159-168.

Shinmen, Yasushi and Ablimit Rizwan. 2002. The Uighur Community in Almaty, Centered on the Situation of School Education,

Historical Study on Sense of Belonging and Islam in Central Asia, pp. 153-241.

Son, Younghoon. 2007. "Russian Problem" in Kazakhstan and the Policy of Kazakhification, *Middle East Studies*, 25(2), 117-150.

Stephan, John J. 1978. *The Russian Fascists: Tragedy and Farce in Exile, 1925-1945.* London: Hamish Hamilton.

-----. 1992. Cleansing the Soviet Far East, 1937-1938. *Acta Slavika Iaponica*, 10, 43-64.

-----. 1994. *The Russian Far East: A History.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Sung, Dongki. 2009. The New Form of Central Asia-Korean's Migration and Research Problems, *Journal of Ethnology*, 8, 59-81.

Uyama, Yomohiko 1993. Interethnic Relations in Kazakhstan, 1986-1993, *International Relations*, 104, 117- 135.

Wada, Haruki. 1987. Koreans in Soviet Far East, 1917-1937, *Papers of the Center for Korean Studies, University of Hawaii,* 12, 25-31.

Yanagida, Kenji. 2005. On the "Russo-Korean Mixed Language Code" Spoken by the Second-generation Koreans at "Politotdel", a Former Kolkhoz on the Outskirts of Tashkent. *Northeast Asian Studies*, 9, 111-142.

Джарылгасинова, Р. Ш. 1960. Когурёсцы и их роль в сложении корейской народности, *СЭ.* №5.

Ионова, Ю. В. 1960а. Корейская деревня в конце XIX-XX вв. Историко-этнографический очерк. *Труды института этнографии Новая серия. М.*

Левин, М. Г. 1949. Антропологический тип корейцев. *Краткие сообщения Института этнографии.* TVIII. М, Л.

Тугжанова. Е.Л. 2016. Народ Казахстана Энциклопндия. Алматы: Казақ энциоклопедиясы.

Қазақстан Республикасы Статистика агенттігі 2011. *Қазақстан Республикасындағы ұлттық құрам, діни наным және тілдерді меңгеру.* Астана: Қазақстан Республикасы Статистика агенттігі.

ONLINE ISBN 978-4-9911356-6-8
PRINT ISBN 978-4-9911356-7-5

Asia-Japan Research Institute, Ritsumeikan University