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Master's Thesis of International Studies

Methods of Zainichi Ethnic Education

**- Case Study of Tokyo Korean School and Tokyo
Korean Junior and Senior High School -**

자이니치(在日) 민족교육의 형태:
동경한국학교와 도쿄조선중고급학교 사례를
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Methods of Zainichi Ethnic Education

- Case Study of Tokyo Korean School and Tokyo Korean
Junior and Senior High School -

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Abstract

After the imperial Japan's colonial rule of Korea ended in 1945, Korean residents in Japan – zainichi (在日) – set up a temporary Korean Language Institute with purpose of preparing zainichi in going back to their homeland. However, Korea's politically unstable situation on top of Japan's systematic cap on belongings the zainichi could possess left them with no choice but to stay. Now, zainichi is situated in a unique position in the discourse of Korean diaspora as they continue to live in a nation that was once a perpetrator to their ancestors and homeland. This uniqueness created systematic obstacles for zainichi's ethnic education to take place within Japan. Accordingly, zainichi's ethnic education faces constant institutional challenges up until now. This research aims to examine how the zainichi ethnic education is manifested within contemporary Japanese society. Furthermore, newly emerged social and ethnic values for new generations of zainichi will be diagnosed. In doing so, main findings of the research will provide guidance for zainichi community in formulating an appropriate policy for future direction of zainichi ethnic education.

Keywords: Zainichi, Ethnic Education, Mindan Ethnic Schools, Chongryun Ethnic Schools

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I. Introduction

Since the imperial Japan's colonial rule of Korea, zainichi have served a unique place in the discourse of diaspora as they continued to live as descendants of Korea in a country that was once a perpetrator to their homeland. This particularly unique historical component of zainichi created a bit more complex identity issue for them. Pervasive discrimination against zainichi from Japanese government and society worsened this problem. Now, fourth generation of zainichi still live within Japan with fifth generation coming up. Much has changed and so will the social, economic and political environment of which zainichi lives in. Accordingly, equipping zainichi with proper ethnic education that suit their needs and realistic situation is an important task for next generation of zainichi.

With that being said, this paper aims to deal with research question of how the Korean residents in Japan – hereinafter zainichi (在日) – ethnic education is manifested in contemporary Japanese society. The research will also identify newly emerged social narratives for new generation of zainichi. One of the biggest limitations to existing literatures of zainichi ethnic education is that it specifically focuses on certain types and formats of zainichi ethnic education, failing to draw holistic picture of it. Accordingly, the answer to this research question will fill in existing research gap by

drawing a comprehensive picture of ethnic education methods of zainichi community in contemporary Japan. The research will also identify social narratives and core values of new generation zainichi. This task is significant in that clearly and holistically identifying formats of ethnic education and its status within Japanese society provide important clues for zainichi ethnic education's future policy directions.

1. Brief History of Zainichi Ethnic Education

As Japan made official declaration to surrender in August of 1945, zainichi have begun to get ready for their glorious return to their homeland. One of the major activities the zainichi pursued was setting up education programs to help zainichi children in getting ready to go back to their homeland. The education mostly focused on teaching Chosun's history and language. This process deemed necessary, as almost all zainichi were forced to study Japanese history and language, while education of Chosun history and language were completely banned. Unfortunately, however, zainichi's dream of going back to their homeland suffered a setback, as the homeland was in a chaotic situation right after the war. Furthermore, General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (GHQ) and Japanese government systematically capped possessions of those zainichi that wish to go back to only 1,000 Yen and 113kg of belongings. This systematic cap, on top of Korea's unstable situation, discouraged many zainichi from

leaving Japan. It was difficult for zainichi to abandon their wealth in which they had accumulated over long period of years under constant disdain and discrimination by the imperial Japanese. Zainichi were even more deterred to go back to their homeland after Ukishima Maru (浮島丸) ferry sunk on their way back for ‘unknown reasons’. Reportedly, 549 zainichi have been identified dead due to the incident (재일한인역사자료관, n.d.a). Around 650,000 zainichi were left at the end of 1946, from what used to be 1.9 million in 1944 (재일본대한민국민단, n.d.ac). Accordingly, existing ethnic education have been officially institutionalized and modified to fit purpose of zainichi that have decided to stay in Japan. In other words, purpose of ethnic education revolving around Chosun history and language changed from preparing zainichi to adjust well after their relocation to Korean peninsula, to educating zainichi to maintain their ethnic identity while settling in Japan.

More specifically, Japan’s then-Ministry of Treasury (大蔵省) records that there were around 724,727 zainichi from 1939 in Japan, and reached up to 2.4 million zainichi at the time of Imperial Japan’s defeat of war, 1945. On October of 1945, the Korean language institute gets established in Shinjuku Totsuka, Tokyo (東京都新宿区戸塚). This institute serves as a predecessor of ethnic schools in Japan, and this is around the time when zainichi community actively pursues expanding horizons of ethnic education. On October 15th of

1945, Union of Korean Residents in Japan is founded¹. At this time, zainichi ethnic education officially begins with the union taking lead role. As part of the organization, many zainichi work hard to establish ethnic schools in Tokyo, Osaka and more. The Union specifically mentions their academic goals as cultivating ethnic identity and understanding their situation of settling in Japan – temporarily at the time. More specifically, cultivating ethnic identity meant cultivating democratic patriot, while understanding zainichi's situation to settle in Japan focused on making sure to understand problems and issues happening in zainichi's daily livelihoods on the basis of Japan's political economic background. Quite interesting aspect about ethnic education headed by the Union was that they published exclusive set of educational textbooks targeted towards zainichi. The author will touch upon this topic in more detail in the following chapters. During the formation process however, ideological conflict within the union becomes apparent as the leftist and rightist leaders have different opinion over the issue of trusteeship on Korean peninsula. In the end, leaders leaning towards the left takes full control of the Union. Due to ideological difference, the rightist leaders withdraw themselves from the union, forming Settlement Group of

¹ Union of Korean Residents in Japan (재일본조선인련맹 在日本朝鮮人連盟) later becomes General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (재일본조선인총연합회 在日本朝鮮人総聯合会).

Korean Residents in Japan (在日本朝鮮居留民團)² in October 3rd of 1946. The path of ethnic education seems to gain impetus as time passes, until the GHQ forced the schools to strictly follow instructions of the Japanese government on April 12th of 1947. Following the GHQ's instructions, Japan's then-Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (文部省) delivers an official letter on 'Regarding Establishment of Korean School' and it serves as a starting point of suppression on zainichi ethnic education in Japan. Main points of the official letter focused on how (1) zainichi children have to be enrolled into public or private elementary and middle school that are legally authorized with other Japanese children, (2) process of establishing private elementary school must be authorized by governmental authorities of prefectures of Japan and (3) establishment of 'miscellaneous schools' for school-aged children and students will not be authorized. Furthermore, only those instructors that appropriately adhere to legal educational standard of Japan was allowed to teach in academic institutions. The law also expelled zainichi ethnic schools that borrowed Japanese school buildings. In case the schools did not follow aforementioned instructions, local authorities were ordered to completely shut down the schools. As almost all zainichi ethnic schools were

² Settlement Group of Korean Residents in Japan (재일본조선거류민단 在日本朝鮮居留民團) later becomes Group of Republic of Korean Residents in Japan (재일본대한민국민단 在日本大韓民國民團).

categorized as ‘miscellaneous schools’, authority decree on shutting down the ethnic schools have been passed down starting from prefecture of Yamaguchi (山口県), expanding to Okayama (岡山県), Hyogo (兵庫県), Osaka (大阪) and Tokyo (東京). As the decree was announced, zainichi ethnic schools in various prefectures of Japan organized student protests and unanimously adopted a resolution in showing opposition to the declared decree by sending the document to the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture. At the time, North Korea gave out a statement condemning Japanese government’s inappropriate suppression on zainichi’s education rights in support of the Union. In Seoul, student activist groups gather to form a demonstration protesting against Japanese government’s illegitimate suppression of zainichi ethnic education. On March 24th of 1948, Japanese government once again strongly warned that the schools will all be shut down if they did not follow the orders. This was the onset of Hanshin Education Movement³ where teachers, students, and related faculty members of ethnic schools vibrantly protested against shutting down of the schools, claiming their right to be freely educated. The movement largely took place in Yamaguchi prefecture, where more than 10,000 zainichi gathered to protest for their cause. On April 23rd of the same year, more than 30,000 zainichi and others attended people’s

³ The original text of Hanshin Education Movement is 한신교육투쟁.

congress at Otemae (大手前) Park of Osaka. However, the gathering was soon forcefully suppressed by armed police forces where 23 were hurt with more than 200 arrested. Two days after the gathering, another round of people's congress was gathered. To suppress the gathering, more than 8,000 Osaka police forces were mobilized. A Japanese police officer fired a shot and a zainichi boy named Kim Taeil got killed. The death of Kim Taeil angered many zainichi and others present that day. Authorities of Hyogo and Kobe conducted negotiation with Zainichi Ethnic Education Committee and came to an agreement and signed a document on agreeing to withdraw commands to shut down the ethnic schools. Main points of the document include (1) order to close school will be withdrawn and (2) Japanese school buildings the zainichi ethnic schools are using will remain as it is. However, military government of Hyogo prefecture declares 'state of emergency' that night and claims all the signed items as nullified. Afterwards, the U.S. military and Japanese police forces arrests those zainichi and Japanese who have participated in the movement. Total of 3,076 are arrested. The movement comes to an end on May 3rd, 1948 as representatives of the Korean People's Education Committee⁴ and minister of Education, Science, and Culture exchange memorandum focusing on points of 'following basic education law

⁴ The original text of Korean People's Education Committee is 조선인교육대책위원회.

and school education law’ and ‘authorization of zainichi ethnic schools as a private school will be requested under the condition that Koreans will pursue independent education within parameters of private school’s autonomy’. Under the memorandum, zainichi ethnic schools were to be protected. In October of 1949 however, Japanese authorities once again order shutdown of the schools. More specifically, the authorities ordered shut down of 92 zainichi ethnic schools and ordered 245 schools to apply for private school status. Approximately 120 schools that failed to adhere to the demands were automatically subjected to the shutdown. At this point, most of the zainichi ethnic schools have been shut down, becoming an illegal entity just after four years since its foundation (한국민족문화대백과사전, n.d.ab).

In the year 1955, General Association of Korean Residents in Japan – hereinafter Chongryun – is officially established. The Union of Korea Residents in Japan is basically the predecessor for the organization. With mainly the leaders of leftist ideology, Chongryun naturally receives support of North Korea at the time. North Korea regularly transferred education support fees and scholarships needed for properly running the ethnic schools in Japan. North Korea’s capability to provide fund for zainichi come from the fact that North Korea was economically better off than South Korea at the time. Furthermore, helping out zainichi was not in South Korea’s priority at

the time as they were busy dealing with their own set of problems after the Korean war. For this reason, Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools become dominant actor when it comes to ethnic education in Japan.

Diplomatic relation of South Korea and Japan is newly established through signing of ‘Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea’ in June 1965, which later becomes effective on December of the same year. After the diplomatic relation between the two parties has been established, the Japanese government started to strongly encourage zainichi to enroll into Japanese schools. This particular agenda by the Japanese government started to evolve into Foreigner School Law⁵. From Japanese government perspective, this was indeed a necessary measure to be taken since there existed huge volume of foreigner schools at the time – approximately 200 American and Chinese schools – on top of 150 zainichi ethnic schools which was largest in volume. The Japanese government did not have any form of regulatory framework to systematically manage these foreigner schools. At best, the Japanese authorities could only categorize these institutions as ‘miscellaneous school’. This meant the foreigner schools were not guaranteed of any functions of governmental support nor any form of legal protection. With zainichi ethnic school issue taking the lead, the need

⁵ The original text of Foreigner School Law is 외국인학교법안 and 外国人学校法案 in Japanese.

for Japanese government to establish a new set of category called ‘foreigner school’ became clear. This was indeed a necessary legal measure (박장미, 2019). The problem with this law, however, lies within its core intention. While the policy presented itself as a means to guarantee protection and support of foreigner schools in Japan, it becomes clear that is not the case when specifics of the law is examined upon. The basic contents of the policy states as follows: (1) education of foreigner school must not interfere with interests and security of Japan, (2) with supervisory office being Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, the minister holds the authority to establish and shutdown school, and (3) the authority holds right to change and stop classes and order school to shut down or conduct entrance inspection (Yim, 2018). The contents of the policy clearly point to how the core intentions of the law focus on guaranteeing systematic management of the foreigner schools rather than to guarantee protection and support of the schools. The bill gets submitted few times throughout the mid-70s but fails to become an actual law as zainichi and progressive Japanese activists proactively protests against it.

In accordance with Japan’s immigration law that was enacted November of 1991, the zainichi maintains status of ‘special permanent

resident'⁶ in Japan. After the war was over, those foreigners who resided in Japan were naturally stripped of their legal status that allowed them to reside in Japan. The new status of special permanent resident was quite unique in that it was especially given to those foreigners who resided within Japan during the war time. This particular point distinguished special permanent residents from foreigners.

After the 90's, Mindan-affiliated ethnic schools started to grow in size. This was in part due to Korea's political democratization, exponential economic growth, increased political, economic and socio-cultural exchange between Korea and Japan. Interest towards ethnic education also started to grow and support from the South Korean government took place. North Korea's support towards Chongryun started to slowly decline as economic situation of North Korea did not get any better. North Korea's path to nuclearization and constant missile tests also didn't do any good on how zainichi students of Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools were treated in Japan. On April 25th of 1994, Osaka mobilizes more than 1,300 police forces to search Osaka Chongryun headquarters building. It was a period when North Korea was under the suspicion of nuclearization. The biggest victim at the time was the zainichi students. According to one news media (오규상, 2018),

⁶ Special permanent resident refers to 특별영주자 (特別永住者).

just from April of 1994 to June of the same year, more than 139 cases of physical violence and verbal abuse towards the Chongryun-affiliated zainichi students have been committed. More highlighted incident was ‘Chima Jeogori Knife Incident’ of 1994, where group of zainichi students wearing chima jeogori⁷ were threatened by far rightist Japanese group on a train. The offenders held a knife and swung it towards the students, ripping off the students’ chima jeogori. Anti-sentiment towards North Korea in Japan grew significantly as time passed, and it reached its peak as ‘North Korean Abductions of Japanese Citizens’ incident started to surface on 1987. North Korea at the time needed to train secret agents that can infiltrate South Korea with Japanese identity. Accordingly, North Korea abducted Japanese citizens not only to steal their identity, but also to force them to teach Japanese language to their agents. As number of missing Japanese started to rise, Japanese government started to realize North Korea was behind the abductions. Accordingly, the Japanese government constantly brought up the issue in its rounds of North Korea-Japan Normalization negotiations. Starting with first round of negotiation that took place in Pyongyang of November 1991, the issue was mentioned as part of condition from the Japan side

⁷ Chima jeogori, or ‘치마저고리’ in Korean, is a Korean traditional wear Hanbok (한복). It is Chongryun-affiliated ethnic school’s designated uniform, and is unique in that it shows ethnic identity of zainichi. After the knife incident and various other cases of violence towards the students, the ethnic school had no choice but to order students to wear different clothes on their commute to school from home. When the students arrived school, they then changed to chima jeogori. This policy, however, did not apply to all ethnic schools and similar incidents of Chima Jeogori Knife Incident kept taking place.

throughout the eighth round of negotiation in November of 1992. Despite Japan side's constant effort to bring up the issue, the two parties had obvious difference in their positions regarding the issue. North Korea strongly argued that the 'alleged' abduction incident put forward by the Japanese government is not only 'a fake story created by South Korea', but also 'a political propaganda created by the Japanese government to avoid responsibilities of the colonial past' (한국민족문화대백과사전, n.d.aa). The negotiation for normalization comes to a deadlock. Unfruitful negotiations take place throughout the years until September 17th of 2002 – first ever North Korea-Japan Summit taking place in Pyongyang. Here, Kim Jung-il admits to then-prime minister Junichiro Koizumi that North Korea was indeed behind the series of Japanese abduction incident. More specifically, Kim admitted that among 11 Japanese people that were abducted by North Korea, four are still alive, six have died, with one person's status unidentified. Kim makes an official apology, as well as promising to never let it happen again (일본국외무성, 2012). North Korea's official acknowledgement of the incident put zainichi students in more danger, especially for students of Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools. As the anti-sentiment towards North Korea got worse, chima jeogori incident took place once again. On January 29th of 2003, a first grade zainichi student attending Tokyo Korean Junior and Senior High

School gets her chima jeogori ripped about 7 centimeters by far-rightist Japanese with a knife on a train. In an interview, she mentions that she was ‘even too scared to turn around and look at the perpetrator in the train’. She continues to mention that despite what happened to her, she argues that she is not discouraged, and wish to continue wearing chima jeogori while commuting to school. She wants to ‘never abandon the dignity of their ethnicity that our grandfathers, grandmothers, fathers, and mothers have protected with blood and sweat’. This particular line of interview shows well the function of ethnic education conducted by zainichi ethnic schools and how that took place as an ethnic identity within zainichi students. In an interview conducted with principal of Tokyo Korean Junior and Senior High School points out that precondition to stopping discrimination against zainichi students is establishment of diplomatic relations between North Korea and Japan (김명희, 2003).

From early to late 2000s, systematic suppression and discrimination from the Japanese government and society towards the zainichi persisted. During this period, North Korea’s support towards Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools gradually declined as economic status of the country got worse and as the Japanese government strongly regulated and watched over Chongryun’s contact with Pyongyang. As most of financial support from

North Korea got cut off, Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools did not have any choice but to rely on subsidies from local government, education fee paid by the student's family and little of financial support from education committee (정진성 2016). On the other hand, Mindan started to establish concrete institutional and legal ties with South Korea, slowly gaining capability to provide various support to Mindan-affiliated ethnic schools. According to South Korea's article 82 of the Education Act (교육부, n.d.ab), ethnic schools in Japan that are legally authorized are as follows: (1) Keonguk School, (2) Keumkang School, (3) Kyoto International Middle and High School, and (4) Tokyo Korean School⁸. Furthermore, South Korea's Ministry of Education established basic education guideline for Korean residents living abroad. Through the guideline, the government supports installation and operation of education institution on a foreign soil. The ministry also manages human resources through appointment and dispatch of instructors to ethnic schools. Korean Education Centers under Ministry of Education supports Korean Schools and Korean Language Schools, while Korean Language Education System is provided to Korean residents living abroad through the internet (정진성, 2016).

⁸ While Keonguk School (건국유소중고등학교 建国幼小中等学校), Keumkang School (금강유소중고등학교 金剛幼小中等学校), and Kyoto International Middle and High School (교토국제고등학교 京都国際中等学校) are legally authorized by the Japanese government, Tokyo Korean School (도쿄한국학교 東京韓国学校) maintains status of 'miscellaneous school'.

On April of 2010, Democratic Part of Japan (DPJ) implements a free high school education policy as a ruling party at the time. Accordingly, tuition fee for public high schools in Japan become free, while students attending private school receive 120,000 to 240,000 yen annually per student. As the policy was implemented, it was unclear whether Korean ethnic schools would also receive the financial support⁹. On December 2012, Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) becomes the ruling party with Shinzo Abe as prime minister, and the Japanese government decides to completely and definitely exclude the ethnic schools from receiving any governmental financial subsidies. Chongryun, zainichi student activists, zainichi lawyers, as well as progressive Japanese civil society including lawyers and intellectuals filed a lawsuit against the Japanese government (Yim, 2018). South Korean civil society association like Mongdang Pen also proactively engages in fighting against discrimination towards zainichi, and for improving rights to ethnic education (몽당연필, 2020). Activists argue that zainichi's right to education must be protected under international human rights' principle of equal justice and non-determination. Because human rights are a universally accepted right that must be guaranteed regardless of their ethnicity, nationality, gender, class,

⁹ The law initially stated that educational subsidies toward schools categorized as 'miscellaneous' like Korean ethnic schools will be provided. However, the DPJ indefinitely delays approval of Korean ethnic schools from becoming beneficiaries of the policy because 'North Korea fired missiles to Yeonpyeong island. After LDP becomes the ruling party, numerous Korean ethnic schools are excluded from becoming beneficiaries of the policy because 'connection between Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools and North Korea is highly concerned.

economic status, social status, ideology, religion, political opinion and more, zainichi ethnic schools must also be treated fairly and equally among with all other schools that have become beneficiaries of the free education policy. The activists directly quote the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations 1948), International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (United Nations, 1966), and Convention against Discrimination in Education (UNESCO, 1960) as an international and universal basis for their argument. Key argument revolves around the fact that foreigners can establish a private school on a foreign soil for purpose of teaching mother language, as well as for succession of knowledge on their ethnicity's history and culture. This right, which has direct relation to basic education rights, must not be persecuted upon by foreign government but must be protected (모토 유리코, 2013). Activists fighting for zainichi ethnic school lost all legal cases in Nagoya, Hiroshima, Osaka, Fukuoka, and Tokyo (박세진, 2019). Zainichi ethnic school's fight against discrimination in Japan is not finished and ongoing even today.

Table 1. Brief History of Zainichi Ethnic Education

| Date | Event |
|-------------|---|
| August 1945 | Japan's Defeat to World War II and Korea's Independence |

| | |
|----------------|---|
| August 1945 | Establishment of Korean Language Institute |
| August 1945 | Ukishima Maru Ferry sinks, killing 549 zainichi |
| October 1945 | Establishment of Union of Korean Residents in Japan |
| October 1946 | Establishment of Settlement Group of Korean Residents in Japan |
| April 1947 | Japan's Ministry of Education, Science and Culture deliver an official letter on 'Regarding Establishment of Korean School' |
| March 1948 | Hanshin Education Movement |
| September 1948 | Establishment of Settlement Group of Republic of Korean Residents in Japan |
| September 1949 | GHQ order Chongryun to shutdown |
| October 1949 | Japanese government order shutdown of zainichi ethnic schools |
| January 1951 | Establishment of United Democratic Front of Korean Residents in Japan |
| May 1955 | Establishment of General Association of Korean Residents in Japan |

| | |
|----------------|---|
| April 1957 | North Korea starts to send scholarship for Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools |
| June 1965 | Signing of Treaty on Basic Relations Republic of Korea and Japan |
| June 1965 | Zainichi's legal status is determined through South Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty |
| April 1966 | Introduction of Foreigner School Law |
| 1987 | North Korean Abductions of Japanese Citizens |
| November 1991 | Start of 'Special Permanent Resident' Policy |
| April 1994 | Osaka police forces seize Chongryun headquarters building |
| April 1994 | Establishment of Group of Republic of Korean Residents in Japan |
| 1994 | Chima Jeogori Knife Incident |
| September 2002 | First North Korea-Japan Summit takes place and Kim Jung-il admits to Junichiro Koizumi that North Korea was behind abduction of Japanese citizens |
| January 2003 | Chima Jeogori Knife Incident |
| May 2006 | Mindan and Chongryun announce Joint Declaration with six clauses to restore relation |

| | |
|---------------|---|
| April 2010 | DPJ implements Free High School Education Policy |
| December 2012 | Zainichi ethnic schools are excluded from Free High School Education Policy by LDP |
| January 2013 | Activists fighting for rights of zainichi ethnic education sue Japanese government in Osaka |
| | |

[Source] Compiled and created by the author

Regarding aforementioned brief history of zainichi ethnic education, scholars systematically categorize into different periods. For instance, Yim (2018) categorizes into three different periods with focus on events of exclusion and discrimination against zainichi. Yim's categorization is as follows: (1) event of 'Hanshin Education Movement' and shut down of zainichi ethnic schools (1948-1949), (2) event of 'Foreigner School Law' where the Japanese government systematically tried to suppress zainichi ethnic schools by branding them as 'miscellaneous schools', making them illegitimate. The Japanese authority aimed to completely deny ethnic education and force assimilation policy on zainichi through state regulation (late 1960s-early 1970s). Lastly, (3) issues on exclusion of zainichi ethnic schools from policies of free education, education support subsidies, and discrimination policies against the ethnic schools such as getting involved in

education contents and operation aspect of the school (late 1970s-now). Ozawa Yusaku (小沢・有作) (1999) distinguishes zainichi's education history period as follows: (1) period of zainichi's education policy under occupation of GHQ (1945-1952), (2) period of establishment from the peace treaty to South Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty (1952-1965) and (3) period after the Normalization Treaty was established (post-1965). To begin with, first period can be characterized as a time when Japanese education have been forcefully taught to zainichi under the Japanese Education Law. The second period refers to a time when the peace treaty was enacted, but Japanese attitude toward zainichi have not changed from surveillance and suppression. Under this environment, Japanese interference to zainichi education have continued in both quality and quantity dimension. Lastly, the third period refers to a time when regulations to zainichi schools have been set up, as well as establishment of promotion on assimilation education based on Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty's agreement on zainichi's legal status. Legislations on foreign schools and immigration law were enacted, which the author viewed as means to decimate the fundamentals of the zainichi's ethnic education. Ozawa's work shows unique characteristic in that it deems ethnic education carried out during imperial Japan's colonial period. Also, Ozawa's work provides framework for understanding how zainichi ethnic schools are

established and collapsed amongst interaction of Japanese government and civil society of zainichi and progressive Japanese. On the other hand, Ozawa's work is criticized in a sense that it mainly focuses on variables within Japan, excluding other variables like the two-Koreas, and institutions like Mindan and Chongryun. Some evaluate that the work undermines significance of Mindan-affiliated ethnic schools. Kim Sang-Kyu views Ozawa's work as valuable but claims that there is a limitation in a sense that the works only deal with zainichi's ethnic education up to 1972. Accordingly, it is quite difficult to study zainichi's ethnic education post-1972 under Ozawa's framework. To fill in the research gap, Kim temporarily set up two more periods after 1972, and the periods are as follows: (4) period of high tension and conflict between the Japanese government and international organizations regarding issue on expansion of foreign child's right to education (1994-2003), and (5) period of zainichi ethnic education expanding into higher education (2003-present). The fourth period refers to a time when the Convention on the Rights of the Child have been selected as a resolution by the United Nations General Assembly in 1989, and the Japanese government ratified the treaty. As Japanese government ratified the treaty, the UN proactively pressured Japan to guarantee foreigners' rights to education, and rights to ethnic education which are rights that are 'internationally agreed upon' by the UN member states, including Japan. The fifth period refers to a

time when zainichi's higher education finally received an opportunity to be free from discrimination. Pressure by international organizations and Japan's various activities from wide span of politicians and academia made this possible. Although issues of school support fund discrimination against zainichi ethnic schools still exist, it is also true that the education opportunity for foreigners in Japan have improved significantly. One activist group in Japan fighting for rights of zainichi ethnic schools being excluded from the Japanese government's free education policy categorize periods with focus on Japanese government's policy towards the ethnic schools. The categorized periods are as follows: (1) period of start of zainichi ethnic school and overcoming chaos and suppression (1945-1949), (2) period of 'public' zainichi ethnic school (1950-1954), (3) period of fresh start and development (1955-2001) and lastly (4) period of kidnapping incident and exclusion from free education policy (2002-present) (Mori Sakura, n.d.a). It can be evaluated that while this categorization of period effectively shows historical change on zainichi ethnic school's legal status, it highly focuses on Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools and fails to take into consideration the variables on role of South Korean government, the inter-Korean relations, Mindan-Chongryun relations, as well as relation between South Korea and Japan. Chung (2016) argues that as time passed, zainichi have accepted their reality to permanently live in Japan and therefore, they are changing many aspects of their life to fit

their new goal. Accordingly, number of zainichi students pursuing ethnic education have decreased overall, while the schools are making diverse and practical changes to help zainichi adapt to what is now their land of forever settlement. Pointing out the fact that there are increasing number of South Korean national students enrolling into Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools, Chung categorizes the periods as follows: (1) period of ethnic education movement conducted as a common ethnic group (colonial period-1947), (2) period of ethnic school's division and Chongryun-affiliated ethnic school's overwhelming dominance (1948-1980), and (3) period of diversification and adding practicality to zainichi ethnic education, as well as forming a narrative of establishing unification (1990~). Chung's periodical categorization has value in that it takes into consideration the ideological division between Mindan and Chongryun.

2. Structural Make-up of Zainichi Society

In order to comprehensively and correctly understand zainichi's ethnic education, structural make-up of zainichi society must first be clearly identified. Chung (2005) mentions that there are few factors influencing zainichi society. First, as South and North Korea gets divided after the Korean War, zainichi society is also divided based on different ideological spectrum. Although the invisible wall of division dissipated little by little as time passed, the divide still exists strong and clear within zainichi society. Second, until

the South Korea and Japan Normalization Treaty was established, zainichi's immigration to their homeland happened illegally. This ultimately left a blank period for those zainichi who wanted to go back to their homeland with no choice but to stay in Japan. Third, as South Koreans began to travel more freely after the 1970s, new community of Koreans started to form within Japan. The new community of Koreans were called the 'new-comer', mostly consisting of people with purpose of studying abroad or working. On the other hand, previously existing horde of zainichi were coined with the term 'old-comer'. Although the two different categories of zainichi do have connection with each other, they definitely possess different set of characteristics as a zainichi. Fourth, Korean ethnic community in Japan is unique in comparison to ethnic communities in other countries because the society is basically comprised of three different categories of zainichi: South Korea-affiliated zainichi, North Korea-affiliated zainichi, and new-comers. Last but not least, Chung points out that issue of nationality is especially complex when it comes to zainichi due to Japanese imperial colonial experience that Koreans went through in the past. Among these influencing factors, direct reflection of Korea's divide into South and North within zainichi society is the most significant. Accordingly, this section will mainly focus on the division of zainichi institutional bodies. As mentioned in previous part of the paper, internal ideological conflict becomes apparent after the Union of Korean

Residents in Japan is established. The right and left wing holds different opinion over the issue of trusteeship on Korean peninsula. As the leftist takes complete control over the Union, the rightist withdraws themselves from the union and forms Resident Group of Koreans in Japan. This event marks start of division between Mindan and Chongryun.

2-1. Group of Republic of Korea Residents in Japan – Mindan

After the rightist figures withdrew themselves from the Union of Korea Residents in Japan due to ideological conflict with leftist figures, they went on to establish Settlement Group of Korean Residents in Japan in 1946. The Group directly dealt with GHQ and Japanese government at the time, regarding issues of supporting projects to return zainichi to their homeland, as well as tackling problems of zainichi's livelihoods. Due to ideological conflict, the Group often clashed with the Union in various issues, as they had fundamentally different position on various zainichi-related issues. As Republic of Korea government is officially established on August 15th of 1948, the Group becomes the first and only organization in Japan to be acknowledged by the South Korean government on September 8th of the same year. On following September 28th, the Group changes its name to 'Settlement Group of Republic of Korea Residents in Japan'. The Group continues its work as a South Korea-affiliated institution to help out zainichi. On April 20th of 1994, the Group drops 'Settlement' from its name, becoming 'Group of

Republic of Korean Residents in Japan’ (정진성, 2005). Main reason behind this seems to be the fact that most of the new-comers consist of resident employees and study abroad students from South Korea who intend to only temporarily stay in Japan. Because the new-comers also demand various service from the Group, ‘Settlement’ is dropped out of the name to reflect demands of new-comers as well. After changing its name, the Group is most often called as ‘Mindan’. The organization’s policy code includes the following: (1) we abide by South Korea’s national policy, (2) we wish to protect rights and interests of zainichi, (3) we aim for economic development of zainichi, (4) we work to improve culture of zainichi society, (5) we are committed to development of the Japanese local society and (6) we hope for world peace and amicable international relations (재일본대한민국민단, n.d.aa).

According to the official website, Mindan has an organization structure that is comprehensive throughout Japan, while also including institutions with specific purposes in various fields. Mindan provides various services to zainichi. For instance, Mindan actively engages in gaining zainichi’s local suffrage. The organization constantly interacts with the Japanese media through engaging public demonstration and civil society, alerting Japanese society about importance of zainichi having local suffrage. They also try to exert pressure onto the Japanese diet for successful legislation.

Mindan also engages in maintenance and activation work by officially holding various workshops and visiting zainichi households. Furthermore, the organization pursues cultural activities by operating zainichi historical museum, holding cultural fairs, and so on. Various support services like operating counseling center for marriage, employment, and North Korea defectors are being carried out. Most importantly, activities relevant to ethnic education are conducted which include: (1) supporting ethnic school, (2) operating Korean language classes, (3) helping zainichi visit their homeland and (4) expanding children's Saturday school (재일본대한민국민단, n.d.ab).

2-2. General Association of Korean Residents in Japan – Chongryun

After the independence of Korea, more than 300 institutions are formed within zainichi society. With purpose of having more centralized power, the zainichi society form a unified organization – Union of Korea Residents in Japan – on October of 1945. At first, the Union did not have any political color to their activities, but plainly focused on helping zainichi out in various matters. As time passed however, involvement of Japanese socialist party led to increased exposure to leftist ideologies. The Union's activity did not last long, as they were ordered to break up by the Japanese Department of Justice. With no organization to pursue their activities, leftist zainichi worked under Japanese socialist party's direct guidance. After a while

however, the zainichi wanted to be independent from the Japanese socialist party, forming Democratic Front of Korean Residents in Japan in January of 1951. The Front is the first ever zainichi organization to declare its official support of North Korean regime. With many other zainichi organizations positioned under the Front, zainichi issues related to forced deportation and isolation, as well as social and education problems are dealt with. As time passed, the Front gained momentum in growing its size thanks to support from North Korea. Also, in an effort to distance themselves from the Japanese socialist party, and align more towards North Korean regime, the Front changes and reinvents themselves to General Association of Korean Residents in Japan, or more commonly known as 'Chongryun'. Chongryun plays a dominant part in establishing foundation for ethnic education in Japan for zainichi. Unfortunately, the organization's power and influence start to dwindle as financial support from North Korea decline and as the bilateral relation between North Korea and Japan worsen. Up until today, Chongryun plays a key role in helping out lives of North Korea-affiliated zainichi. As Chung (2005) puts it, Chongryun is the result of ethnic identity from within zainichi community. At the same time, the organization played a key role in strengthening ethnic identity of zainichi. Chongryun and their set of ethnic identity was strengthened not only by Japanese government's systematic suppression of zainichi, but also was fortified by North Korea's engagement

policy. The ideological divide also hastened formation of Chongryun under chaotic social circumstances of the Korean Peninsula.

In sum, the South-North divide in Korean Peninsula after the Korean War is reflected well in zainichi society as well. It can be summarized that Mindan and Chongryun has a long history when it comes to ideological conflict and the division status remains as it is. With support from North Korea, Chongryun was able to largely expand ethnic education for zainichi before the 2000s. Chongryun started to get weaker after North Korea's Abduction of Japanese Citizens incident because the Japanese government started to strengthen its systematic suppression on Chongryun's ethnic education. This is around the time when support from North Korea also started to dwindle. As Chongryun's influence got weaker, Mindan started to gain more influence within zainichi society as the organization started receiving more support from South Korean government. The increased influx of new-comers to Japan also helped Mindan grow in size. Up to this date, however, Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools are considered to be more genuine in nature, as most of Mindan-affiliated ethnic schools are legally authorized by the Japanese government while it is the total opposite for Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools¹⁰.

¹⁰ The existing narrative is that because three of Mindan-affiliated ethnic schools are legally authorized by the Japanese government and only one school is categorized as 'miscellaneous', ethnic education is not being properly carried out since those schools with legal authorization must use Japanese government authorized textbooks. On the

3. Literature Review

Academic research on zainichi have mostly been conducted by zainichi scholars, on top of some research conducted by Japanese researchers. The research started little late in South Korea, where research on formation of zainichi society during the Japanese imperial colonial period and social movement after the independence from a historical perspective began to take place. Expanded areas on zainichi's legal status, and fight for their rights have been researched within various fields of law, humanity and social studies (정진성, 2016).

To draw an overview of research on zainichi so far, Ozawa's work (1999) is significant when it comes to academic discourse of zainichi ethnic education. Based on education history, his research is unique in that it understands ethnic education as a 'resistance education' – a reactionary attitude of zainichi towards Japanese government's repression. Ozawa uniquely placed ethnic education as a position of resistance attitude towards Japanese government's assimilation education policy. Discourse on zainichi's ethnic education has mostly focused on matters of formation of zainichi community after independence, resistance against ethnic discrimination, issue of zainichi's legal status, and zainichi's ethnic identity. After 1990s,

other hand, zainichi society overall views Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools as conducting more of a genuine ethnic education since they have their own exclusive set of textbooks produced by Chongryun. For this reason, there are increasing number of Mindan-affiliated zainichi students enrolling into Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools.

research on ethnic identity have begun to be published in large quantity. Sonia Ryang's book (1997) worked as a strong stimulus in encouraging scholars to pursue zainichi research. Ryang's work is especially unique in that she herself comes from a zainichi family in Japan. She spent her entire academic youth in Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools. Accordingly, her work portrays extremely live and dimensional aspects of zainichi ethnic education. Only after 2000s, research on formation of zainichi, and ethnic education have started to surface. It is important to note that most of the research on ethnic education focus on overall status quo, as well as pointing out to problems the ethnic education has and some potential solutions to overcome the problems (이경훈, 2016). The research in the field became more vibrant at this time, as it became easier for South Korean researchers to gain access to Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools due to amicable South-North Korea relation at the time. Notably, Chung (2016) draws general overview of historical development on zainichi ethnic schools. The author argues that there has been a dramatic change in zainichi ethnic schools, and points to following variables as reasons for the change: (1) decrease in number of students and financial difficulty of the schools, (2) repression of Japanese government and society, (3) reform and change and lastly (4) increased autonomy and number of South Korean national students. The research fails to specifically touch upon

important changes that have been made within the ethnic schools, such as curriculum change. Song (2011) comparatively analyzes changes of Chongryun-affiliated school textbooks (Korean language) from 1993 to 2003. While the research well reflects why the contents of the textbooks changed, it does not shed light on how the changed contents of the textbooks will impact ethnic identity of zainichi for the coming generation. Cho and Lee (2019) analyze major themes presented in the 1968-1974 Chongryun EFL textbooks, dealing with three research questions: (1) what political ideologies and beliefs are presented in the EFL textbooks? (2) what identity is depicted in the EFL textbooks? And (3) whose interests are embedded in the EFL textbooks? First, the textbook expresses North Korean ideologies. Second, regardless of the fact that first generation Chongryun Koreans originated from Southern part of the peninsula, the textbooks educate students to align with North Korean political identity. Third, the textbooks touch upon interests of dominant groups, such as North Korea's political leader and Chongryun's leading elites. The research only investigates first publications of the EFL textbooks. Further study needs to focus on updated editions of Chongryun EFL textbooks in order to map changes in Chongryun's values. Lee's work (2016) is unique in that it focuses on Mindan-affiliated ethnic education, while most of research on ethnic education focus on Chongryun-affiliated ethnic education. Lee examines history ethnic education in the three Mindan-

affiliated ethnic schools in Kansai area, where all schools are legally authorized by the Japanese government. By doing this, the researcher aims to clearly pinpoint what the core problems hindering ethnic education in Mindan-affiliated ethnic schools is and aims to suggest a possible solution for improving quality of ‘Korean history’ curriculum in Mindan-affiliated ethnic schools that are legally authorized by the Japanese government. While Lee’s research is valuable in that it aims to shed light on Mindan-affiliated ethnic education, it still remains the case that most of ethnic education that many people claim to be ‘genuine’ remain under the sphere of Chongryun. Also, it is mostly the Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools that are being systematically oppressed by the Japanese government.

4. Limitation of Previous Research and Research Question

Generally, existing literatures on zainichi ethnic education is heavily focused on examining major events from a historical perspective. Furthermore, the volume of research on Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools far outweigh those researches done on Mindan-affiliated ethnic schools. The literatures are either outdated or tend to focus on specific academic subject when the research aims to unveil how zainichi ethnic education is done, or how the ethnic education affects zainichi ethnic identity. Accordingly, there are many researches that focus on specific academic subjects like Korean language and history in which researchers believe significantly impact

zainichi ethnic identity, and how that is processed. Biggest problem to this tendency is that zainichi ethnic education don't just take place through textbooks and academic subjects at school. There are also extracurricular activities that take inside and outside of school where zainichi's ethnic identity is formed and affected. Accordingly, it is imperative for researchers to be able to holistically comprehend exactly what kind of ethnic educational mediums are out there in zainichi community – both in Mindan and Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools. Because external situations and internal institutional make-up of Mindan and Chongryun are completely different, the methods to pursue ethnic education is different in each setting. Accordingly, means of pursuing ethnic education in Mindan and Chongryun-affiliated schools must be comprehensively and comparatively analyzed to be able to understand different implication it poses on formation of zainichi ethnic identity and to provide appropriate future policy recommendation for zainichi ethnic education. This research will fill in existing research gap by drawing a comprehensive picture of ethnic education methods of zainichi community in Japan. The research question of the study will be as follows: what method of zainichi ethnic education is manifested in contemporary Japanese society and how are they different in Mindan and Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools? This research will not analyze how different mediums of ethnic education affect ethnic identity of zainichi but will only focus on examining different

types of ethnic education out there within zainichi community. Furthermore, the research will identify social narratives and core values of contemporary generation zainichi along the way.

II. Theoretical Framework and Research Methodology

1. Ethnic Education Methods and Influencing Factors

In order to better understand true nature of zainichi ethnic education, tools available for ethnic education, legal status of the zainichi ethnic schools, as well as the relation the academic institutions have with the government must be thoroughly examined. This is because methods of ethnic education can manifest and materialize in different forms depending on the above-mentioned influencing factors.

1-1. External Influencing Factors for Mindan-Affiliated Ethnic Schools

There are number of external factors that influenced and shaped ethnic education of Mindan. Just like Chongryun, Mindan was significantly affected by factors like South Korea-Japan relation, financial and legal support from South Korea and so on. To begin with, South Korea and Japan established official diplomatic relation through South Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty. This put Mindan in a better standing in comparison to Chongryun as an organization because Mindan was officially acknowledged institution by the Japanese government. As South Korea-Japan diplomatic relation was officially established, South Korean embassies naturally found

their way into Japan and this clearly and structurally distinguished roles and tasks of Mindan – the organization did not need to worry about operating as an ad-hoc institution representing their homeland's national interest and standings like Chongryun. With more room and method to pursue business in their desired direction, Mindan incrementally grew their size after officially becoming the organization they are in 1994. Second, factor of 'new-comers' from South Korea contributed significantly in expanding Mindan's size. Mostly consisting of South Koreans undertaking working holiday, study abroad and overseas employees of South Korean corporations, members of Mindan exponentially grew as time passed. Also, Mindan was in a position to constantly change projects and services they provide because there were various demands from new-comers. This made it possible for Mindan to not only strengthen the projects they had, but also provided them with opportunities to explore new projects. Lastly, as discussed in previous section of the paper, majority of ethnic education was carried out under the management of Chongryun until the 90s. Not only was North Korea equipped with better economic capability to support ethnic education projects of Chongryun, but South Korea did not really care too much about ethnic education of Korean residents abroad. As democratic regime settled within Korea and economy started to take off, more attention and support started to head towards zainichi ethnic education. It can be noted that the four Mindan-

affiliated ethnic schools are legally accepted by the South Korean education law. It is also important to note that except for the Tokyo Korean School which is categorized as ‘miscellaneous school’, all other three Mindan-affiliated ethnic schools are legally acknowledged by the Japanese government.

1-2. Internal Influencing Factors for Mindan-Affiliated Ethnic Schools

In terms of internal factors influencing ethnic education of Mindan-affiliated school, there are several aspects to examine. To begin with, the three Mindan-affiliated ethnic schools¹¹ that are legally acknowledged by the Japanese government and therefore uses textbooks that are designated by the Japanese government. On the other hand, because Tokyo Korean School is not legally acknowledged by the Japanese government and is only categorized as ‘miscellaneous school’, the school uses textbooks issued from South Korean textbooks. Unlike Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools which use textbooks that are specially designed and published for zainichi students, the textbooks used by the Tokyo Korean School is not specially designed and published for zainichi students. The textbooks are basically the same textbook used by the students in South Korea.

¹¹ Keonguk School (건국유소중고등학교 建国幼小中高等学校), Keumkang School (금강유소중고등학교 金剛幼小中高等学校), and Kyoto International Middle and High School (교토국제고등학교 京都国際中高等学校).

In terms of curriculum, only Tokyo Korean School will be examined for two reasons. First, the three legally acknowledged Mindan-affiliated ethnic schools follow Japanese education curriculum. This leaves small room for authentic ethnic education to take place within the curriculum¹². Since Tokyo Korean School is categorized as ‘miscellaneous school’, the school has more leeway to reflect zainichi society’s demand of expanding ethnic education. Second, it is only fair to conduct a comparative analysis between Tokyo Korean School and other Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools because they are not legally acknowledged by the Japanese government. Only when subjects with same or similar conditions are comparatively analyzed, how or why some components of the school are same or different could be clearly identified and distinguished.

Table 2. Tokyo Korean School’s Education System

| System Type | Education Type | Description |
|--------------------------|-------------------|--|
| Regular Education System | Elementary School | Tokyo Korean School does not have a pre-school education and there is no tertiary school under Mindan. |

¹² While this is controversial, one of the major reasons for increasing number of South Korean nationality zainichi pursuing education at Chongryun-affiliated ethnic school is because they believe authenticity of ethnic education at Mindan-affiliated schools have been compromised.

| | | |
|--|------------------|---|
| | Secondary School | The school mainly follows South Korea's education policy, while adding components of ethnic education and other necessary materials that help zainichi students in their daily life |
|--|------------------|---|

[Source] Tokyo Korean School (2020)

For regular education system of Tokyo Korean School, there is no pre-school system like Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools. The Mindan as an institution also do not have any tertiary level education, making Chongryun's Korea University the sole tertiary education institution in Japan. The Tokyo Korean School has mainly elementary and secondary schools, with secondary school consisting of middle and high school. As previously mentioned, Mindan does not have set of textbooks that are exclusively designed and published for zainichi students. Accordingly, Tokyo Korean School basically use textbooks that are used in South Korea and complement the ethnic education through adding other materials.

1-3. External Influencing Factors for Chongryun-Affiliated Ethnic Schools

There exist number of external influencing factors that put Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools in a certain position. Here, ‘external influencing factors’ may include components that are virtually outside Chongryun’s management like North Korea-Japan relation, North Korea’s support and systematic oppression from Japanese government and civil society. As clearly outlined in previous part of the paper, Chongryun does not have such a good standing within Japanese society as diplomatic relation between North Korea and Japan are not officially established. As time passed, North Korea’s growing incompetency to continue their financial support to Chongryun also significantly contributed to the organization’s decline. Incident of North Korea abducting Japanese citizens and Pyongyang’s constant nuclear tests and firing of ballistic missiles within Northeast Asia region are another influencing factors. Accordingly, Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools are directly experiencing systematic oppression by the Japanese government and society through legal means such as only being able to get acknowledged as miscellaneous school and being discriminated through hate-speech. The situation gets worse, as North Korea is not in any position to provide practical and meaningful support towards Chongryun. Support from South Korean government is out of the question, although South Korea based civil associations like Mongdang Pen works on many projects to fight unjust discrimination towards Chongryun-affiliated ethnic

schools (몽당연필, 2020)¹³. Lastly, the ethnic schools under Chongryun are legally categorized as ‘miscellaneous school’. This means that the ethnic schools are not legally recognized by the Japanese government and the secondary education zainichi students take on may not be acknowledged by institutions of higher education. Accordingly, it is common for zainichi students that graduated from Chongryun-affiliated secondary ethnic schools to pursue higher degree at Korea University¹⁴.

1-4. Internal Influencing Factors for Chongryun-Affiliated Ethnic Schools

There are also internal influencing factors that affect and shape education methods of Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools. To begin with, Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools use textbooks that are specially designed and published for educating zainichi students. The textbooks are exclusively published by a publishing agency called ‘Hakwoosuhbang¹⁵’ which was established in 1949, Tokyo, for sole purpose of publishing education materials for zainichi. The organization is operated by Chongryun and

¹³ To list a few, Mongdang Pen has projects of Mongdang Pen Picnic where the members of the association and entertainers visit ethnic schools in Japan, holding demonstration against Chongryun-affiliated ethnic school discrimination, raising awareness of existence of zainichi in South Korean society, hosting plays and movie showcases that focus on zainichi history and culture and so on.

¹⁴ The Korea University (朝鮮大学校) is a tertiary academic institution that is operated and managed by Chongryun. It is situated in Ogawacho, Kodaira of Tokyo. The school is categorized as miscellaneous school by the Japanese government and receives support from Chongryun and North Korea. Majors like political economy, law, language literature, geography history and so forth are established. Surprisingly, the student body not only comprise of zainichi students that graduated from Chongryun-affiliated secondary ethnic schools, but also include non-zainichi Japanese students as well.

¹⁵ In original text, Hakwoosuhbang is written as ‘학우서방’.

specializes in publishing various textbooks for Chongryun-affiliated zainichi ethnic schools, as well as Korean language dictionaries, and picture books for children. With the help of Pyongyang Information Center, Hakwoosuhbang also published 'North Korea's Map'. The publishing agency also took part in planning new set of textbooks as Chongryun went through expansive curriculum revision from 2003 to 2006. Revision committee comprised of 17 subdivisions and 180 members. Total of 118 academic textbooks for Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools were revised when ethnic schools of elementary, middle, and high schools are combined. Lee's research (2018) writes that when Chongryun forms academic contents that can be used for textbook, the contents would be sent to Kim Hyung-jik College of Education in Pyongyang and be evaluated whether the academic contents can be used or not. With feedbacks and further recommendations for the textbook contents, Chongryun would bring it back to Japan and revise and publish it for Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools. It can be evaluated that Hakwoosuhbang exercise quite significant influencing power over ethnic education of Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools since directors of the publishing agency are proactively involved in revising the textbooks within revision committee along with other members such as professors of Korea University, and other Chongryun related teachers within the region (세계한민족문화대전, n.d.a).

In terms of textbook, Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools focus on academic subjects such as Korean language, Korean history, mathematics, social science, geography, natural science, English, information technology, music, Japanese, physical education, and painting work. In the early beginning of the Chongryun-affiliated ethnic education history, most of the academic contents revolved around Korean's struggle to achieve revolution and praising Kim Il-sung. During the 80s, zainichi's identity began to explicitly appear within academic textbook context and discourse on fate of Korean residents in Japan permanently staying in Japan began to emerge. After 2000, the discourse of zainichi permanently staying in Japan becomes more widely accepted, as more than 20 percent of social studies textbook includes contents regarding living environment of zainichi.

Table 3. Chongryun-Affiliated Ethnic School's Education System

| System Type | Education Type | Description |
|--------------------------|----------------|---|
| Regular Education System | Pre-School | Purpose of the education focus on growing basic ethnic identity for zainichi children as well as educating the children about general knowledge |

| | | |
|--|-------------------|--|
| | | and culture they need to know as a human |
| | Elementary School | Purpose of the education focus on growing basis of ethnic identity, as well as systematically teaching children elementary level of general knowledge |
| | Secondary School | Comprised of middle and high school, purpose of the education focuses on conducting education of social and natural science, foreign language and ethnic education courses that is based on Korean language – the graduates of secondary school either advance to tertiary school or pursue professional career in society |
| | Tertiary School | Under Chongryun, tertiary school refers to Korea University situated in Tokyo – purpose of the |

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| | | education focuses on systematically cultivating talents that can significantly contribute to their homeland, ethnic group and zainichi issues |
|--|--|---|

[Source] Reorganized with contents from Lee (2018)

Academic curriculum of Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools is comprised of 6-3-3-4 system where elementary school is for 6 years, middle and high school for 3 years each and lastly tertiary education for 4 years. Furthermore, the ethnic education guidance stated by Chongryun broadly categorizes ethnic education into three system types. The first system type is a ‘Regular Education System’ which is the most formal and official education type of all. Here, education type of pre-school, elementary school, secondary school, and tertiary school are included. While pre-school refers to kindergarten aiming to teach basic sense of ethnic identity to zainichi children, elementary school aims to expand the sense of ethnic identity that was planted for zainichi children. The secondary school refers to middle and high school and its purpose is on providing zainichi students with higher level of knowledge in various fields as well as to expand sense of ethnic identity as a zainichi. After graduating secondary school, the graduates have choice to either advance to Korea University or other Japanese universities, as well as

pursuing further studies in professional and technical colleges or simply getting a job in the society. Lastly, Chongryun designates tertiary education as pursuing higher education in the Korea University¹⁶ based in Tokyo. Here, zainichi would be able to expand knowledge in the field they choose and have chance to make meaningful contribution to zainichi society by working in Chongryun and other zainichi-related organizations after graduation.

2. Research Methodology

2-1. Textbook Education and Extracurricular Activity Analysis Methodology

As mentioned in previous sections of the paper, there exist many external and internal factors such as political relation among the two Koreas and Japan, legal status of the ethnic schools, institutional make-up of Mindan and Chongryun and others that significantly influence how ethnic education is manifested within zainichi society. In order to analyze research questions which deal with clearly identifying different types of ethnic education that manifest within zainichi society, two broad categories of ethnic education will

¹⁶ Chongryun asserts that ‘In the history of overseas ethnic education, there is no case in which a single overseas ethnic organization founded and independently operated a university – except for Chongryun. The existence of Korea University is a proud achievement built up by Chongryeon and zainichi in national history’. With 8 departments, 17 majors, 4 research centers and a library, the Korea University is systematically organized just like any other tertiary school in the world. As of today, more than 13 thousand graduates of the Korea University are working not only in Chongryun, but also in various zainichi institutions and organizations, supporting daily lives of zainichi.

be used for analysis: textbook education and extracurricular activity used in ethnic schools.

As for Mindan-affiliated ethnic school, Tokyo Korean School will be examined. More specifically, Tokyo Korean School's elementary school and secondary school education plan will be used to delineate types of textbook education and extracurricular activity.

As for Chongryun-affiliated ethnic school, Tokyo Korean Junior and Senior High School will be closely examined. Unlike Mindan-affiliated ethnic school, there exist certain level of difficulty and constraint in obtaining information and materials for analysis. This is because Chongryun-affiliated zainichi community is rather an exclusive and closed society in comparison to Mindan-affiliated zainichi community. Accordingly, mainly information from interviews the author conducted with zainichi who attended Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools and materials from existing researches will be utilized to analyze extracurricular activity of Tokyo Korean Junior and Senior High School. As for category of textbook, the author retrieved copies of textbooks used in Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools from South Korea's Ministry of Unification's Information Center on North Korea for detailed analysis. Academic subject analysis has been restricted to 'Social Studies' for following reasons: (1) social studies subject serves as an important medium in which students learn about the society they are in and (2) social studies

subject was the only available textbook at the Information Center with enough information for detailed analysis.

2-2. Interview Methodology

Methodology of interview has been implemented for a more colorful and dimensional understanding of ethnic education. Total number of three has been interviewed throughout the research process with one interviewee from Mindan-affiliated ethnic schools and two interviewees from Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools. The author was able to attain interviews through human network. The interview went on for about 40 to 50 minutes per session and the dialogue was recorded with the interviewees' consent. Furthermore, the interviewees agreed to the author using information created within the interview. Two base questionnaires for Mindan and Chongryun-affiliated interviewees were formed, and they are as follows.

Table 4. Base Questionnaire for Mindan-Affiliated Interviewee

| Number | Question |
|--------|--|
| 1 | <p>Do you think zainichi ethnic education is important? Why or why not?</p> <p>(민족교육이 중요하다고 생각하시나요? 그렇게 생각하는 이유는 무엇인가요?)</p> |

| | |
|---|--|
| 2 | <p>What type of ethnic education have you experienced at your school?</p> <p>(학창시절 어떤 민족교육을 받았나요?)</p> |
| 3 | <p>Tokyo Korean School is legally categorized as ‘miscellaneous school’. Do you think this affects ethnic education in any way?</p> <p>(동경한국학교는 ‘각종학교’로 분류되는데, 이 부분이 민족교육에 영향을 미친다고 생각하시나요?)</p> |
| 4 | <p>Do you think Tokyo Korean School’s ethnic education is sufficient?</p> <p>(동경한국학교에서 민족교육이 충분히 진행되고 있다고 생각하시나요?)</p> |
| 5 | <p>How do you think ethnic education should change in the coming future, if any?</p> <p>(앞으로 민족교육이 어떻게 바뀌어야한다고 생각하나요?)</p> |
| 6 | <p>What do you wish for next generation of zainichi to learn from ethnic education?</p> <p>(다음 세대의 재일코리안이 민족교육에서 무엇을 배웠으면 좋겠나요?)</p> |

[Source] Created by the author

Table 5. Base Questionnaire for Chongryun-Affiliated Interviewee

| Number | Question |
|--------|--|
| 1 | <p>Do you think zainichi ethnic education is important? Why or why not?</p> <p>(민족교육이 중요하다고 생각하시나요? 그렇게 생각하는 이유는 무엇인가요?)</p> |
| 2 | <p>What type of ethnic education have you experienced at your school?</p> <p>(학창시절 어떤 민족교육을 받았나요?)</p> |
| 3 | <p>Tokyo Korean Junior and Senior High School is legally categorized as ‘miscellaneous school’. Do you think this affects ethnic education in any way?</p> <p>(도쿄조선중고급학교는 ‘각종학교’로 분류되는데, 이 부분이 민족교육에 영향을 미친다고 생각하시나요?)</p> |
| 4 | <p>Students of Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools study with textbooks that are exclusively published for zainichi students. Do you think this is an effective way to pursue ethnic education?</p> <p>(총련계 민족학교에서 공부하는 학생들은 학우서방에서 재일코리안 학생을 위한 교과서를 자체 출판해서 사용하고 있습니다. 재일코리안을 위한 독보적인 교과서가 민족교육에 있어 큰 도움이 된다고 생각하시나요?)</p> |

| | |
|---|--|
| 5 | <p>Do you think Tokyo Korean Junior and Senior High School's ethnic education is sufficient?</p> <p>(도쿄조선중고급학교에서 민족교육이 충분히 진행되고 있다고 생각하시나요?)</p> |
| 6 | <p>How do you think ethnic education should change in the coming future, if any?</p> <p>(앞으로 민족교육이 어떻게 바뀌어야한다고 생각하나요?)</p> |
| 7 | <p>What do you wish for next generation of zainichi to learn from ethnic education?</p> <p>(다음 세대의 재일코리안이 민족교육에서 무엇을 배웠으면 좋겠나요?)</p> |

[Source] Created by the author

Of course, the interviews did not strictly adhere to the given set of questions as the respondents went on to another set of topics, with the interviewer conducting follow-up questions deemed appropriate at the time and context. The base questionnaires only served as a compass and guideline for the interview. From a holistic point of view, the interview revolved around asking interviewees about: (1) their personal experience at zainichi ethnic institution and how ethnic education was conducted, (2) how it impacted their ethnic identity as a zainichi at the time and now, (3) the impact ethnic education have on zainichi community and (4) what role the zainichi ethnic

education have and how it should change in the coming future. The information created by conducting the interview will mainly be used to shed light on aspects of zainichi ethnic education that was not able to be observed through hard materials like education plan and textbook analysis. Furthermore, the narratives will be used to delineate the general idea and image of zainichi ethnic education for zainichi as a student. Lastly, the data will be used to assess where zainichi ethnic education is at the moment and the direction it is heading in the coming future.

III. Comparative Analysis of Ethnic Education Methods

In this chapter of the paper, the author will examine different types of ethnic education methods that exist within Mindan and Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools under two broad categories – textbook and extracurricular activities. As mentioned in research methodology part, Tokyo Korean School will be the main subject in examining Mindan-affiliated ethnic education. For textbook analysis, the author will first broadly identify exactly what textbooks are used in the school, discussing details about the textbooks' subject and publisher. The author will not retrieve copies of textbook from Tokyo Korean School because the textbooks used are basically the same with ones used in South Korea. It does not include elements specific and exclusive to zainichi ethnic education – hence, there is no need for detailed analysis. As for extracurricular activity analysis, elementary and secondary school

education plan published by the Tokyo Korean School will be the main source for extracting relevant data. Likewise, Tokyo Korean Junior and Senior High School will be the main target for analysis. Since Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools use textbooks that are exclusively designed and published by Hakwoosuhbang for zainichi students, the author will get hands on copies of the textbooks through South Korea's Ministry of Unification's Information Center on North Korea. More specifically, 'Social Studies Basic 4', 'Social Studies Intermediate 2' and 'Social Studies Advanced 1' published by Hakwoosuhbang will be examined. Furthermore, data created through interview with Chongryun-affiliated zainichi will mostly be used to shed light on exactly what type of extracurricular activities take place. Materials by existing researches will also be used to identify types of extracurricular activities.

Comparative analysis of the two specific schools – Tokyo Korean School and Tokyo Korean Junior and Senior High School – seems appropriate for several reasons. To begin with, the two school hold legal status of 'miscellaneous school' in Japan. This means the education institutions are not officially recognized by the Japanese government and are not subject to governmental policies that provide educational subsidies for legally acknowledged schools. Furthermore, majority of tertiary education institutions in Japan do not acknowledge secondary education diploma from

miscellaneous schools. This means that the graduates of miscellaneous schools' secondary education system are either institutionally and systematically blocked from pursuing higher degree, or are forced to apply to Japanese universities and colleges through international student program, if and when the miscellaneous school with secondary education system is a legally acknowledged educational entity by foreign government that has diplomatic relation with Japan¹⁷. Second, the two schools acknowledge their role as an academic institution pursuing ethnic education of zainichi. The official website and education plan of the two schools specifically mention that important aspect of their purpose and goal is to cultivate zainichi's ethnic identity, as well as helping the upcoming zainichi generation in effectively adapting and adjusting their life as a zainichi in Japanese society. Lastly, the two schools are located in Tokyo. Demand for zainichi ethnic education may vary in its form depending on zainichi population, social context and local government of the region. As Tokyo Korean School and Tokyo Korean Junior and Senior High School share these major similarities, comparatively

¹⁷ For this reason, situation of pursuing higher degree in Japan for zainichi differs from Tokyo Korean School to Tokyo Korean Junior and Senior High School in several aspects. For instance, graduates of Tokyo Korean School have wider opportunity to apply to universities and colleges in Japan since South Korea has a formal diplomatic relation with Japan. There are also a greater number of tertiary education institutions that acknowledge Tokyo Korean School diploma as a legitimate secondary education certificate. Because North Korea does not have an established diplomatic relation with Japan and social narrative against Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools are not amicable, chances for graduates of Tokyo Korean Junior and Senior High School to pursue higher education in Japan is quite low. Accordingly, majority of graduates of Tokyo Korean Junior and Senior High School who wish to pursue higher education are either clustered in few universities and colleges that acknowledge Tokyo Junior and Senior High School's diploma or are advancing to Korea University in Tokyo.

analyzing different ethnic education methods will effectively reveal meaningful and significant implications the different zainichi ethnic education methods have.

1. Mindan-Affiliated Ethnic Schools

1-1. Textbook Education Analysis

Before digging into textbook education analysis of the Tokyo Korean School, it is important to understand the legal foundation in which the curriculum stands. Tokyo Korean School, as a Mindan-affiliated education institution, follows that of South Korean education legislations. For instance, elementary school follow South Korea's 2015 Revised Curriculum while secondary school follow South Korea's 2009 and 2015 Revised Curriculum – guidelines of South Korea's Ministry of Education. The secondary school will incrementally drop the 2009 revised version and move onto 2015 Revised Curriculum. According to South Korea's Ministry of Education press release, the 2015 Revised Curriculum has four main goals it aims to accomplish: (1) making a transition from 'memorization-oriented study' to 'enjoyable study', (2) optimizing education contents with focus on core concepts and principles and improving classrooms into student-oriented classes, (3) establishing foundation for integrated education of liberal arts and natural sciences through creating common subjects such as integrated social studies and integrated natural science and (4) establishing task-oriented

vocational education system based on National Competency Standards (NCS) (교육부, 2015). Furthermore, according to Guidelines for Organizing and Operating Curriculum for Overseas Korean School published by Overseas Korean Education Portal, it recommends overseas Korean schools to flexibly organize and operate school curriculum so that it stands up to a national level curriculum and serve to take in needs and demands that suit zainichi students (교육부, n.d.aa).

According to Tokyo Korean School elementary education plan, it is stated that ‘the school will organize curriculum that is appropriate to the school’s situation based on national level curriculum, purpose of educating zainichi, distinct characteristic the school holds as an ethnic education institution and South Korea’s 2015 Revised Curriculum’. The plan further states that ‘based on 2015 Revised Curriculum, subjects of common curriculum and creative extracurricular activities will be organized’ (동경한국학교, 2019b). To be specific, the common curriculum of elementary education includes subjects of Korean Language, Ethics, Social Studies, Mathematics, Natural Science, Practical Course, Physical Education, Music, Art, Foreign Language (English) and Local Language (Japanese). In terms of creative extracurricular activities, following are included: voluntary, after-school, volunteer and career. Furthermore, the secondary education plan of

Tokyo Korean School state that ‘South Korea’s 2009 and 2015 Revised Education Curriculum will principally serve as a blueprint for the school’s curriculum but may be amended to appropriately reflect needs and demands of Japanese situation’. The plan further states that the secondary education of the school shall be operated flexibly by making distinction between homeland’s curriculum and local curriculum. This particular aspect of secondary education of the Tokyo Korean School manifested in forms of K (Korea) Curriculum and J (Japan) Curriculum. Simply speaking, the zainichi students who wish to pursue tertiary education in Korea study within K Curriculum while those who aim to pursue tertiary education in Japan study within range of J Curriculum. This curriculum setup is quite unique because it reflects zainichi community’s demand for distinct education needs rising out of the special position they are in. In an effort to cover for knowledge gap and maintain the core purpose of ethnic education institution, the school made it mandatory for those students following K Curriculum to take intensive Japanese Language courses while it is mandatory for J Curriculum students to take Korean Language and Korean History as complementary measures (동경한국학교, 2019a). The school aims to seek balanced curriculum structure by designating South Korea’s Ministry of Education and Japan’s Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology as an advisory body to

the school (동경한국학교 2019a, 16). The author was able to retrieve lists of textbooks that are being used in secondary education – middle and high school – of Tokyo Korean School in 2020. While the author was able to confirm with the school that the elementary education also adopts South Korean textbooks, the school refused to specifically identify which textbooks are being used for elementary schools. Accordingly, this part of the analysis will only include textbooks that are used in secondary education of the school.

Table 6. Tokyo Korean School Secondary Education Textbook List (Middle School)

| Grade | Subject | Course | Publisher |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| Middle School Grade 1 | Korean Language | Korean Language 1-1 | Mirae-N |
| | | Korean Language 1-2 | |
| | Ethics | Ethics 1 | Donga Publishing |
| | Social Studies | Social Studies 1 | Visang |
| | | Social Studies Appended Book | |
| | Mathematics | Mathematics 1 | Donga Publishing |

| | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| | Natural Science | Natural Science 1 | Visang |
| | Practical Course | Practical Course 1 | Kumsung Publishing |
| | Physical Education | Physical Education 1/2 | Visang |
| | Music | Music 1 | Visang |
| | Art | Art 1 | Kyohak |
| Middle School Grade 2 | Korean Language | Korean Language 2-1 | Mirae-N |
| | | Korean Language 2-2 | |
| | Ethics | Ethics 1 | Donga Publishing |
| | History | History 1 | Visang |
| | | History and Appended Book | |
| | Mathematics | Mathematics 2 | Donga Publishing |
| | Natural Science | Natural Science 2 | Visang |
| | Practical Course | Practical Course 1 | Kumsung Publishing |

| | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|------------------|
| | Physical Education | Physical Education 1/2 | Visang |
| | Music | Music 1 | Visang |
| | Art | Art 1 | Kyohak |
| Middle School Grade 3 | Korean Language | Korean Language 3-1 | Mirae-N |
| | | Korean Language 3-2 | |
| | Ethics | Ethics 2 | Donga Publishing |
| | Social Studies | Social Studies 2 | Visang |
| | | Social Studies and Appended Book | |
| | History | History 2 | |
| | | History and Appended Book | |
| | Mathematics | Mathematics 3 | Donga Publishing |
| | Natural Science | Natural Science 3 | Visang |

| | | | |
|--|--------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| | Practical Course | Practical Course 2 | Kumsung Publishing |
| | Physical Education | Physical Education 1/2 | Visang |
| | Music | Music 2 | Visang |
| | Art | Art 2 | Chunjae Education |

[Source] Reorganized with contents from 동경한국학교 (2020) 중·고등부 한국 교과서

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Table 7. Tokyo Korean School Secondary Education Textbook List (High School)

| Grade | Subject | Course | Publisher |
|------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-----------|
| High School Grade 1 | Korean Language | Korean Language | Mirae-N |
| | Social Studies | Integrated Social Studies | Visang |
| | History | Korean History | |
| | | History and Appended Book | |

| | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|---|--------------------|
| | Mathematics | Mathematics | Donga Publishing |
| | Natural Science | Integrated Natural Science | Mirae-N |
| | | Natural Science Research and Experiment | |
| | Practical Course | Practical Course | Kumsung Publishing |
| | Physical Education | Physical Education | Visang |
| | Music | Music | Chunjae Education |
| | Art | Art | Kyohak |
| High School Grade 2 | Basic Mandatory Subjects | Literature | Mirae-N |
| | | Reading | |
| | | Mathematics 1 | Donga Publishing |
| | | Mathematics 2 | |
| | | Statistics and Probability | |

| | | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| | | Calculus | |
| | Research Mandatory Subjects | Society and Culture | Visang |
| | | Chemistry I | |
| | Physical Education | Physical Education | |
| | Elective Courses | World History | |
| | | Economy | CMASS |
| | | Life Science I | Visang |
| | | Physics I | |
| | | Essay | Chunjae Education |
| | | Composition and Speech | |
| | | Sports Life | Visang |
| High School Grade 3 | Elective Courses | Politics and Law | Kumsung Publishing |
| | | Music Appreciation and Criticism | Chunjae Education |
| | | Geometry | Visang |

| | | | |
|--|--|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| | | East Asian History | Chunjae Education |
| | | Life Science II | Visang |
| | | Physics II | |
| | | World Geography | |
| | | Language and Media | Mirae-N |
| | | Chemistry II | Visang |
| | | Art Appreciation and Criticism | Chunjae Education |

[Source] Reorganized with contents from 동경한국학교 (2020) 중·고등부 한국 교과서

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Following guidelines set by South Korea's Ministry of Education, Tokyo Korean School uses textbooks published by South Korean publishing agencies. In other words, textbook contents that zainichi students learn at Tokyo Korean School are basically the same as what students learn in their homeland – South Korea¹⁸. As can be examined from the above tables, publishers like Mirae-N, Visang, Donga Publishing, Kyohak and more are all

¹⁸ Only students enrolled into K Curriculum study with the Korean textbooks that are listed above. Students in the J Curriculum study with Japanese textbooks. In this paper, only the Korean textbooks will be examined for following two reasons: (1) contents of zainichi ethnic education are more relevant with Korean textbooks rather than Japanese textbooks and (2) ethnic education for J Curriculum students are complemented with Korean textbooks.

South Korea based publishers that primarily create textbooks for students in South Korea. Since zainichi students of Tokyo Korean School that undertake K Curriculum mainly aim to pursue tertiary education in South Korea, it only makes sense for them to follow curriculum and textbooks of South Korea. As a result, it can be mentioned that ethnic education towards zainichi students under K Curriculum are generally taking place all over the subjects they are learning. Furthermore, while zainichi students under J Curriculum mainly study with Japanese textbooks, it is required for them to take Korean Language and Korean History subjects as a complementary measure for ethnic education. However, it is important to keep in mind that density of ethnic education is taking place heavier in some subjects – like Korean Language, Korean History and Social Studies – in comparison to other subjects – like Natural Science. Also, while it can be inferred that ethnic education is generally taking place through textbook contents based on a fact that they are literally the same textbook that are used by South Korean schools, it cannot be quantitatively analyzed to point out exactly how much ethnic education is taking place within each subject¹⁹.

1-2. Extracurricular Activity Analysis

¹⁹ Not only does this work require all the relevant data of textbooks translated into quantifiable data, but it also is not the purpose of this research.

In this section, extracurricular activities with ethnic education purpose will be closely examined. Sources for information of listed extracurricular activities are mainly retrieved from Tokyo Korean School Elementary Education Plan (2019), Tokyo Korean School Secondary Education Plan (2019) and official website of Tokyo Korean School. In total, mainly 11 extracurricular activities with purpose of ethnic education are identified.

1-2-1. Ethnic Education through Visiting Motherland (모국 체험을 통한 민족교육)

To begin with, ‘Ethnic Education through Visiting Motherland’ is an extracurricular activity that promote zainichi students to visit South Korea, their motherland. Specific purpose of the program is as follows: (1) helping zainichi students understand Korean culture and history and (2) establishing ethnic cultural identity through ethnic education and experience of their motherland. The program is supported by institutions of Overseas Korean Foundation, Mindan, Tokyo Korean Cultural Center and the Korea Education Institution in Tokyo.

Table 8. Ethnic Education through Visiting Motherland Program Details

| Program Name | Period | Program Details |
|--------------|--------|-----------------|
|--------------|--------|-----------------|

| | | |
|---|---------------------|--|
| Ethnic Education through Visiting Motherland | February / March | Recruiting overseas Korean students for ethnic education in South Korea |
| | | Introduction of the program and turning in school applications |
| | June | Overseas Korean youth experiencing culture of their motherland |
| | July | Jeju cultural experience (Korean language courses) |
| | August | Opportunity of developing ethnic identity, cultivating global leadership and better understanding Korea by visiting South Korea |
| | | Experiencing and understanding Korean language and culture by visiting major historical sites and facilities |

[Source] Reorganized with contents from 동경한국학교 (2019a)

Every February, the program is introduced to zainichi students who are interested in participation while applicants are sought through school. After students are selected and receive pre-education from June to July, the students will make a visit to South Korea around July to August. When zainichi students go to South Korea, they get an opportunity to have diverse

experiences in socio-cultural aspect. The program also includes Jeju Cultural Experience activity, mostly focusing on Korean language courses. The program visits major sites and facilities to help zainichi students experience Korean language and culture and to fully understand them. The program hopes to serve as a chance to increase identity of the Korean people, cultivating global leadership and increasing understanding of Korea. According to Tokyo Korean School's academic planner, organizers of the event eventually wish to *'promote ethnic consciousness and establish historical consciousness through thorough understanding of ethnic culture as a zainichi'* (동경한국학교 2019a, 63).

On a side note, many zainichi who wish to learn more about their ethnic root usually seek for this particular type of ethnic education even after they graduate from school. More specifically, it manifests in the form of attending Korean language academy that are institutionally established under the universities in South Korea. With the program usually taking place from period of six months to a full year, the zainichi not only go through intensive Korean language training, but also have an opportunity to actually live in South Korea for an extended period of time. This particular form of ethnic education is structurally reinforced by following factors: (1) Korean language centers installing special screening process for zainichi (Yonsei University

Korean Language Institute, 2020)²⁰ and (2) relatively easy access of visa through issuance of F-4 visa (주 일본 대한민국 대사관, n.d.a)²¹.

1-2-2. Introducing Korean Traditional Culture (한국 전통 문화 소개)

Tokyo Korean School also has an extracurricular activity where students engage in learning about Korean traditional culture. The activity not only aim to teach zainichi students about the Korean traditional culture, but it also aims to contribute to promotion of friendship between South Korea and Japan. Throughout the activity, the students get an opportunity to learn about Korean traditional dance and organize Korea Festival at the school. While developing sensitivity to art, the activity serves as a great means for ethnic education because the students are organizing the event on their own which provides students with opportunity to learn about various aspects of Korean traditional culture. The school proactively and continuously educate students on Korean traditional culture and art education before and after the event. Furthermore, the school actively conduct the event in close cooperation with various local community groups.

Table 9. Introducing Korean Traditional Culture Program Details

| Program Name | Period | Program Details |
|--------------|--------|-----------------|
|--------------|--------|-----------------|

²⁰ For instance, Yonsei University's Korean Language Institute actively seeks zainichi applicants for the program.

²¹ F-4 visa is issued to those overseas Koreans who wish to study or work in South Korea.

| | | |
|--|----------|--|
| Introducing Korean Traditional Culture | August | 8.15 Korea's Independence Day celebration held at Shinjuku Cultural Center |
| | October | Korean traditional culture event held at Kawasaki |
| | | Korean traditional dance performance march (2km) at Ookubo |
| | | Korean traditional dance performance at Shinjuku Mindan |
| | November | Korea Festival held at Tokyo Korean School |

[Source] Reorganized with contents from 동경한국학교 (2020) 중·고등부 한국 교과서

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According to Tokyo Korean School's Education Plan, the school wish to achieve the following through this particular activity: (1) giving students opportunity to demonstrate their skills and share talents and provide

opportunity for Japanese local residents to enjoy Korean traditional culture which would positively contribute to expansion of Korean traditional culture, as well as promoting friendship between South Korea and Japan and (2) promoting Korea's unique traditional culture to the world through activities of friendship and cultural exchange.

1-2-3. March 1st Movement Celebration Marathon (3.1 절 기념
마라톤대회)

Celebrating the March 1st Movement, the marathon aims to strengthen zainichi students' spirit of national independence and patriotism. Furthermore, the activity aims to strengthen the students' endurance, patience and physical toll. The event takes place in February annually and every student of Tokyo Korean School get to participate. The run starts from outer garden of the Japan's Imperial Palace and in front of the Sakurada gate (민단신문, 2017). By engaging in this particular extracurricular activity, the ethnic education aims to achieve the following purposes: (1) creating a motive to look back on the previous moments of Korea's precious history by completing a marathon around the Japan's Imperial Palace, (2) recalling spirit of the ancestors' noble love towards Korea and providing an opportunity for a harmony and leap towards a better future and (3) promoting healthy physical and mental health while building confidence through completing the

marathon (동경한국학교 2019a, 71). While it is an annual activity, the marathon is meaningful to zainichi students in that it teaches them not only about significance of the March 1st Movement, but also gives them an opportunity to fathom about the geological and social position they are in as a zainichi.

1-2-4. Saturday Korean Language School (토요 한글학교)

Tokyo Korean School firmly believes that it is imperative for zainichi to understand their roots and to have a firm conviction and character as a Korean individual, in order to lead a proud and quality life in Japan. In contemporary Japanese society however, many zainichi students end up enrolling into Japanese schools where there are not many opportunities for ethnic education. To cope with this crisis, Tokyo Korean School opened Saturday School since 1993. Simply speaking, the Saturday School provides students with opportunity for intensive form of zainichi ethnic education. Through the education, the school wish to evoke interest of zainichi society, as well as to cultivate spirit of patriotism for 4th and 5th upcoming generation zainichi children.

Table 10. Saturday Korean Language School Education Contents

| Subjects | Purpose of Education |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| Korean Language | Fostering basic language skills |

| | |
|----------------|--|
| | (쉬운 기초적 생활어의 구사능력 육성) |
| Korean Culture | Fostering Korean's pride and respect for the ethnic's culture (민족문화를 존중하는 마음과 태도 및 한국인의 긍지 함양) |
| Our Nation | Cultivating love for the homeland and its people and growing consciousness as an ethnic community (조국과 민족을 사랑하는 마음과 민족공동체의 의식 함양) |
| Events | Cultivating spirit of cooperation and understanding among commune life (협동심과 공동생활 의식 배양) |

[Source] Contents from 동경한국학교 (2019b)

Basically, the activity's curriculum is divided into four main parts: (1) Korean Language, (2) Korean Culture, (3) Our Nation and (4) Events. To begin with, Korean Language aspect of the school aims to serve as a proper education tool for fostering basic Korean language skills. Through total of 80 academic hours of classes and assignments that are regularly given out, the students study not only verbal usage of the language, but also learn grammars in a text. Class materials are individualized to meet different levels for each

student. Second, purpose of Korean Culture is on fostering zainichi's pride and respect for ethnic culture as a Korean. With total of nine academic hours, the students learn the historical components of the culture from the class and actually experience the culture through fieldtrips and events. Third, section of Our Nation is comprised of combination of academic courses and field study with total of 10 academic hours. The section aims to educate the students of their root and history as Korean. Finally, the Events aspect of the program focus on cultivating spirit of cooperation and understanding among commune life. Achieved through various events and festivals, school sports day and Korean folk day are conducted for more of an animated ethnic education for the students.

There is another version of Saturday Korean Language School organized and operated by the secondary education department of the school. While it also serves the same role of ethnic education through Korean language education, it includes a component that is specific to Mindan-affiliated ethnic schools: arrival of new-comers. This particular program is established by the Tokyo Korean School out of following concerns: (1) gap in Korean and Japanese language skills among students is severe due to new and transferring students from South Korea(new-comers), (2) lack of time and space for students to develop various talents and (3) lack of ethics and

moral education in fostering good character for the students (동경한국학교 2019a, 91). In other words, language ability gap begins to widen among the students at Tokyo Korean School as new-comers from Korea came to Japan for study abroad. While zainichi students from old-comer family tend to speak better Japanese than Korean, the new-comer students tended to speak better Korean than Japanese. This created problems for the school because education was not being effectively delivered and students were being divided from the old-comer to new-comer²². Aimed towards middle and high school students, the program provides beginner and intermediate level class of both Korean and Japanese language. Faculty members comprised of teachers from the school and instructors from outside the school, the program aims to effectively provide language education to students based on the language they lack. Through the program, the school aims to: (1) reducing educational gap through operating language education programs that match students' language proficiency level and (2) providing students with opportunity to explore various career paths through aptitude development and cultivating good ethics and morality²³.

²² This problem is particular to the Mindan-affiliated ethnic schools because new-comers most of the time tend to be from South Korea. New-comers include study abroad students, or children of a resident employee dispatched from companies in South Korea to be stationed in Japan for certain period of time.

²³ Same as 69.

This particular type of extracurricular activity is very unique in that not only does it serve as a medium for zainichi ethnic education, but it also serves as a medium for dealing with new set of problems that zainichi community faced as situation changed. Accordingly, the very existence of this particular extracurricular activity implies that make-up of zainichi community has changed and new demands and problems that require resolution have arose in contemporary zainichi community.

1-2-5. Motherland Appreciation Day (나라사랑의 날 행사)

The ‘Motherland Appreciation Day’ hosted and organized by the Tokyo Korean School aims to teach the students of traditional Korean folk games and to be proud of their ethnicity through teaching foreigner friends of Korea’s tradition and culture.

Table 11. Motherland Appreciation Day Contents

| Period | Contents |
|-----------------|--|
| 1 st | Instructions on how to wear Hanbok |
| | Story of origins of New Year’s Day celebration |
| | Watching New Year’s Day celebration video |
| | Instructions on how to bow to elders |

| | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 2 nd to 3 rd | Ganggangsullae (Namsaengi Nori, Chunguh Yeoggi, Daemun Nori ²⁴) |
| | Yut Nori ²⁵ |
| | Folk Activity (Neolttwigi, Tuho, Hoop, Jegi, Top, Gonggi, Long Jump Rope, Bisachigi, Yarn ²⁶) |
| 4 th | Eating bar rice cake and cleaning up after Hanbok and tools used for folk games |

[Source] Contents from 동경한국학교 (2019b)

Simply being a one-day event, the activity is comprised of various activities that provide opportunities for students to learn about Korea's tradition and culture. Organized as four period long activities, the first period is comprised of teaching students how to properly wear Hanbok – Korea's traditional cloth. Then, the students learn about origins of New Year's Day celebration and are given opportunity to learn about how to properly bow to elders. From 2nd to 3rd periods, various traditional folk activities like ganggangsullae, yut nori, neolttwigi, tuho, hoope, jegi, gonggi and so on. For

²⁴ Namsaengi Nori (남생이놀이), Chunguh Yeoggi (청어 엮기), Daemun Nori (대문놀이) are variations of mini dances that are added in between ganggangsullae to smoothly continue the alternating plays.

²⁵ Yut Nori in Korean is 윷놀이.

²⁶ In Korean, the aforementioned activities are: Neolttwigi (널뛰기), Tuho (투호), Hoop (굴렁쇠), Jegi (제기), Top (팽이), Gonggi (공기), Long Jump Rope (긴 줄넘기), Bisachigi (비사치기) and Yarn (실 뜨기).

fourth period, the extracurricular activity is wrapped up as students are given Korean traditional bar rice cake to eat.

1-2-6. Aptitude Education through Korean Culture (우리 문화 계승을 중심으로 하는 특기적성 교육)

Purpose of this particular extracurricular activity is in providing opportunity for students to learn Korean cultures like Gayageum, Korean traditional dance and Taekwondo (동경한국학교 2019b, 33). The school stresses that the activity not only serves as a means for ethnic education, but also help students develop their skills and aptitude. The extracurricular activity is not a one-time event but is an activity that is regularly held throughout the semesters as part of the students' academic curriculum.

1-2-7. Ethnic Education through International Exchange (국제교류를 통한 민족교육)

This extracurricular activity is mainly comprised of activities to develop students' ability to perform with high skills and pride in the international community while cultivating pride within the students as a Korean. Specifically, the zainichi students plan and organize various events like making Korean food, preparing a mob dance and a Taekwondo skit. The students then visit nearby Japanese schools to share the program they have prepared. In effect, the zainichi students not only get a chance to cultivate

pride for their history and culture through process of preparation and presentation, but also grow skills to efficiently engage with international community, growing qualities necessary for a global leader.

1-2-8. Writing Contest (작문 대회)

As part of the extracurricular activity, Tokyo Korean School also holds a writing contest. As the name of the activity suggest, the contest gives students opportunity to write papers on various topics in languages of Korean, Japanese and English.

Table 12. Contents of Writing Contest

| Category | Goal |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Topic-Centered Writing | Through topic-centered writing, the goal is to improve students' writing skills and to develop effective communication skills |
| Presenting Thoughts | Through providing opportunity to write in Korean, Japanese and English, students are provided opportunity to express one's linguistic and cultural skills |
| Expressing in Various Languages | Through multilingual writing assignments and sharing ideas and topics among students in various |

| | |
|--|---|
| | languages, the activity aims to improve the students' ability to listen to languages and ability to think and express creative opinions |
|--|---|

[Source] Contents from 동경한국학교 (2019b)

The activity is divided into three different categories: (1) topic-centered writing, (2) presenting thoughts and (3) expressing in various languages. Covering three aspects of writing, critical thinking and speech, the school aims to develop students' overall ability in using Korean, Japanese and English language. Having to write, think and speak in Korean is the part where most active ethnic education takes part since the students are learning to improve their fluency and get a chance to think about the root they are from. Writing, thinking and speaking in Japanese is also significant in that it delineates zainichi's unique status as a diaspora. Although zainichi understand their root, it is realistically difficult for them to go back to their homeland for many reasons. Accordingly, they have to equip themselves with proper skills they need to live in a country that they were incidentally born into. Zainichi understand that without fluent Japanese, they would be subjected to even worse discrimination. As for English, it can be understood that the school is providing zainichi students the opportunity to experience a bigger world.

1-2-9. National Holiday Education (우리 나라 국경일 계기 교육)

This particular type of extracurricular activity organized by the Tokyo Korean School provides opportunity for zainichi students to learn what kind of national holiday are in South Korea and what they mean.

Table 13. Lessons of National Holiday Education

| Date | National Holiday | Lessons |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| March 1 st | Independence Movement Day | A national holiday established to strengthen Korean people's unity and to enhance love for country by people |
| April 26 th | Tokyo Korean School's Foundation Day | An important day that marked founding of Tokyo Korean School as a zainichi ethnic institution |
| May 8 th | Parent's Day | Students show gratitude to their parents by writing a letter and giving them carnations |
| May 15 th | Teacher's Day | Students show respect to their teachers by writing a letter and giving them flowers |

| | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|---|
| June 6 th | Memorial Day | Students revisit the past when their country was at war and show gratitude to those who fought bravely to protect the country |
| July 17 th | Constitution Day | Students understand the importance of South Korea declaring constitution as a sovereign state |
| October 3 rd | National Foundation Day | Students learn about significance of the creation of Gojoseon founded by Dangun |

[Source] Reorganized with 동경한국학교 (2019b)

Out of the holidays mentioned in the table, March 1st Independence Movement Day, Memorial Day, Constitution Day and National Foundation Day especially work as a form of ethnic education. The March 1st Independence Movement Day teaches zainichi students of the painful history Korea has with Japan. This is especially important because it serves as a chance for the students to deeply fathom who and where they are as a zainichi. By teaching the students of significant historical events of the movement, they will revisit and reevaluate their ethnic identity as a zainichi. The Memorial Day also serves a similar purpose as the students are taught

historical events involving war with foreign country and the respect for brave soldiers in protecting Korea, which is described as a motherland to zainichi students. The Constitution Day help students understand that declaring the constitution meant South Korea finally became a sovereign nation. For zainichi students with South Korean nationality, it especially provides them with sense of legitimacy and affiliation to South Korea as the citizen which is something they have difficult time in feeling and understanding while living as a zainichi in Japan. Lastly, the National Foundation Day provide opportunity for students to grasp an idea of where they come from through story of how Chosun was established. By educating zainichi students at Tokyo Korean School on significance of the National Holidays, students are provided not only with factual historical knowledge of where they came from, but also personally gain chance to revisit and rethink their ethnic identity as zainichi.

1-2-10. Local Festivals (지역사회 축제)

Lastly, the Tokyo Korean School actively engage in Shinjuku Shin-Okubo festivals. Shin-Okubo, known as the biggest Korean town of Tokyo, the zainichi students organize and prepare various Korean traditional and cultural event to showcase to local community. This involve traditional Korean dances, Samulnori and wearing Hanbok (동경한국학교 2019b, 34). This

particular extracurricular activity can be understood as an extension of other ethnic education that aim to teach the zainichi students about Korean traditions and culture since the students not only learn how to perform particular Korean traditions, but engaging in festival at Shin-Okubo is also particularly meaningful in that it is a physical space for zainichi community. Internally, the zainichi students are once again reminded of the fact that they are, in fact, zainichi and other members of the zainichi community who simply attend the festival are passively reminded of who they are through contents of the festival. Externally, it is significant and symbolic in that Shin-Okubo is being branded as a unique space for zainichi against Japanese society. It can be viewed as zainichi community collectively sending out message to Japanese government and society of their existence. The act of sending out a message to particular subject fortifies zainichi community's collectiveness, ultimately leading to fortification of solidarity of ethnic identity among zainichi community.

2. Chongryun-Affiliated Ethnic Schools

2-1. Textbook Analysis

Being part of Chongryun-affiliated ethnic school, Tokyo Korean Junior and Senior High School has an exceptionally interesting set of curriculum. To be specific, the school uses particular set of textbooks that are exclusively designed for zainichi students. The textbooks are published by a

publisher named ‘Hakwoosuhbang (학우서방)’ established under Chongryun. Hakwoosuhbang has valuable experience in overcoming all kinds of difficulties and producing various textbooks for zainichi ever since Korea’s independence, when ethnic education officially began. The publisher has published series of educational materials from textbooks to reference books, Korean Language dictionary and so on (재일본조선인총련합회, n.d.a). It is especially important to note that since April of 2003, the curriculum and textbooks of Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools has greatly changed. With the second to last reform taking place in 1993, the latest textbook reform focus on educating zainichi children of the 21st century to be a talent with clear and solid ethnic identity who can play an active role in both Japanese and international society. Main contents that have changed in the textbook reform are as follows: (1) the reform was intended to focus on subjects that foster ethnic identity education such as Korean Language, Korean History, Geography, Social Studies, Music and Art, (2) the reform was intended to strengthen education with developmental focus on science and technology while keeping in mind that the world is making transition into information society and (3) the reform was intended to appropriately handle knowledge about Japan and the world in actively dealing with international society.

Table 14. Chongryun’s 2003 Curriculum Reform

| Publisher | Subject | Reform |
|---------------|-----------------|--|
| Hakwoosuhbang | Korean Language | Improved ethnic sentiments and increased language perception |
| | | Strengthened oral education with focus on basic daily conversation |
| | | Improved four functions of Korean Language (reading, listening, speaking and writing) |
| | Social Studies | Keeping in mind the reality of zainichi permanently residing in Japan, the reform aimed to deepen zainichi's awareness of ethnic identity and homeland |
| | | Put emphasis on Korean ethnic cultures |

| | | |
|--|------------------|--|
| | | as well as the experiences of 1 st generation zainichi |
| | | Dealt with Koreas' unification issue from a new perspective |
| | Korean History | Expanded chapters for students to learn from primitive eras to year 2000 |
| | | Included new chapters to exclusively deal with modern history |
| | | Made addition to talk about variables that had impact on culture and lifestyle of Korea |
| | Korean Geography | Reformed to educate students on climate, local products and scenic spots by dividing geography into three regions: |

| | | |
|--|-------------------|--|
| | | North, Central and South |
| | Japanese Language | Included more famous works by Japanese authors and increased practical exercise for enhancement of reading and writing skills |
| | | Added elements that made it possible to learn about Japanese society and culture the zainichi are living in |
| | Music | Emphasized Korean's unique rhythm and beat |
| | | Added various songs not only from North Korea, but also those songs from South Korea and the ones that are created by zainichi |

| | | |
|--|-----|---|
| | Art | Designed to help zainichi students develop sense of ‘ethnicity’ through five senses |
| | | Added more artworks from North Korea as well as the worldly famous artworks |

[Source] Reorganized with contents from 재일본조선인총련합회 (2003)

The 2003 textbook reform aimed to promote rich ethnicity, as well as high ethnic self-reliance. By possessing correct and clear historical perception towards zainichi community, the students would be able to become a competent talent that can positively contribute to not only zainichi community, but also in Japan and international society. Furthermore, Chongryun believes the textbook reform will cultivate talented people who can reliably contribute to building a harmonious, surviving and powerful zainichi community. In particular, the textbook reform holds importance in that it will play a pivotal role in developing ethnic identity of next generation zainichi.

The author was able to retrieve copies of Social Studies textbook published by Hakwoosuhbang that is actually being used in Tokyo Korean Junior and Senior High School. Specifically, textbook copies of Social

Studies Basic 4, Social Studies Intermediate 2 and Social Studies Advanced 1 were retrieved from South Korea's Ministry of Unification's Information Center on North Korea. In the following section, specific details to how zainichi ethnic education manifest within the retrieved textbooks will be examined. It must be reminded that the purpose of this analysis is on drawing a general overview on methods of zainichi ethnic education.

2-1-1. Social Studies Basic 4

The textbook 'Social Studies Basic 4' is a textbook published by Hakwoosuhbang exclusively for zainichi students' ethnic education. As it can be inferred by the title of the textbook, Social Studies Basic 4 is used by fourth grade of elementary zainichi students in Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools. The textbook was published on March 25th of 2001.

Table 15. Hakwoosuhbang – Social Studies Basic 4 Table of Contents

| Chapters | Lessons |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Chapter 1 Our Life and Society | Lesson 1 Science and Life |
| | Lesson 2 Myself and Community |
| | Lesson 3 |

| | |
|--|--|
| | Etiquette and Public Moral |
| | Lesson 4 Transportation and Life |
| | Lesson 5 Information and Life |
| | Lesson 6 Life and Environment |
| Chapter 2 Japan, Country We Live In | Lesson 1 Map and Various Symbols |
| | Lesson 2 What Japan Looks Like |
| | Lesson 3 Japan's Administrative and Regional Divisions |
| | Lesson 4 Geography |
| | Lesson 5 Climate |
| | Lesson 6 |

| | |
|------------------------------|--|
| | Various Industries |
| Chapter 3 Zainichi's Life | Lesson 1 Zainichi and Our Life So Far |
| | Lesson 2 Our Chongryun |
| | Lesson 3 Zainichi's Jobs |
| | Lesson 4 Ethnic Education and Its History |
| | Lesson 5 Zainichi's Ethnic Rights |
| | Lesson 6 Homeland and Zainichi |

[Source] Reorganized with contents from 학우서방 (2001)

According to table of contents of the textbook, chapter one to three deals with topic of 'Our Life and Society', 'Japan, Country We Live In' and 'Zainichi's Life' respectively. It can be observed from the table of contents that the textbook is tailor made for zainichi students. The first chapter deals with broad and general matters such as how science can affect people's lives

and what kind of etiquettes and morals one must have in contemporary society. Chapters two and three become more specific, as it highlights the students' unique status as zainichi. The author will only deal with chapter 2 and 3 since it includes the most relevant materials for zainichi ethnic education.

Chapter two of the textbook teach zainichi students about Japan as a country they live in. By making it clear to zainichi students of 'where they are', the chapter aims to equip the students with appropriate knowledge to pursue quality life. The first lesson of the chapter is about Japan's map and symbols. For instance, students learn about various map symbols they need to know in order to properly read a map. They also learn how to read longitude and latitude. The lesson ends with a short exercise showing Japanese map to check if the students properly learned how to read map using symbols. Lesson two discuss what Japan looks like. To be specific, the textbook mention how Japan is an island that is comprised of four main islands and many smaller islands. Geographical information on size of neighboring countries such as Korea, Russia and China are also explained. Lesson three touch upon Japan's administrative and regional divisions. The textbook shows two maps each describing administrative and regional divisions of Japan. The lesson ends with a short summary teaching the students that there are total of 47 administrative divisions and 8 regional divisions in Japan. Last page of the lesson shows a huge map of Japan, specifically depicting administrative, as

well as regional divisions. Topic of lesson four is on geography of Japan. The textbook points out that Japan is a country with a lot of mountains – third of the whole land being covered in mountain. Some famous mountains of Japan are listed as Mount Fuji (富士山), Mount Aso (阿蘇山) and Mount Ou (奥羽山脈). Next section of the lesson describes rivers of Japan in detail. The textbook explains that most of the big rivers of Japan start from Japan's highest mountains and flow down to West or East side of the land. Also, because much of the mountains are physically connected with the ocean, rivers of Japan are short in length, but fast in speed. Japan's geography is also characterized by plains. There are Ishikari Plain (石狩平野), Kanto Plain (関東平野) and Echigo Plain (越後平野) where big rivers flow through. Lastly, the textbook depicts Japan's geographical characteristic through identifying a particularly long coastline. Japan's coastline is measured as 34,000 kilometers long, just a little shorter than that compared to coastline of the United States of America. The lesson is finished with a map depicting each characteristics of mountain, plain and coastline of Japan. Lesson five deals with Japan's climate. It teaches the students that there are four distinguishable seasons in Japan – Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter. It also points out that because Japanese island is stretched from South to North, the temperature difference is pretty significant. Because seasonal winds come from the Pacific

Ocean on Summer and from 'Korean East Sea' on Winter, there are huge volume of rain and snow created by the seasonal winds riding up the mountains and hitting the high ground. Accordingly, Japan experiences constant rainy season and typhoon from June to July. The lesson is wrapped up by delineating four points about Japanese climate: (1) there are four seasons, (2) there are huge temperature gap between South and North, (3) seasonal winds have a huge impact and (4) there are rainy seasons and typhoons. Last lesson of chapter 2 deals with various industries of Japan. The textbook shows a pie graph depicting overwhelming percentage of rice as main production and dominating industry. A map is also shown where Japan's regions are divided by rice production rate. On another set of maps, Japanese regions are divided based on production of vegetables such as cucumber, tomato, lettuce, onion, carrots and radish. Two other maps show up in the lesson showing products of fruits such as orange, apple, grape, pears, peach and persimmon. Last map shows rate of cow domestication on a Japanese national level. Next section of the lesson deals with fisheries industry and major ports within Japan. The contents of the textbook explain that Japan was able to brand itself as a leading fisheries industry by exporting quality fish to foreign countries. Also, because Japan is surrounded by sea, there are more than 2,900 seaports. Famous ones out of these are: Kushiro Port (釧路),

Hachinohe Port (八戸), Yaizu Port (焼津) and Sakai Port (堺). The lesson is wrapped up with a short 1-pager summary explaining about Japan's agriculture and fisheries industry. Second part of the lesson focus on manufacturing industry of Japan. Major manufacturing industries of Japan are introduced in the textbook as: machinery, metal, chemical, textile and food. The textbook stresses that Japan's various manufacturing industries are closely related to the students' life. Next, the students learn that there are four major industrial zones in Japan: Keihin Industrial Zone (京浜工業地帯), Chukyo Industrial Zone (中京工業地帯), Hanshin Industrial Zone (阪神工業地帯) and Kitakyushu Industrial Zone (北九州工業地帯). The lesson also closely analyzes which sector of manufacturing industry is most focused on. Well-organized table shows that machinery industry making computers and cars take the most vital part within Japanese manufacturing industry. Furthermore, the textbook specifically mentions that most of the resources and fuel required to develop Japan's manufacturing industry are imported from other countries. Accordingly, most of the industrial zones are situated in regions near ocean for making export and import convenient. The lesson is wrapped up by summarizing important points of manufacturing industries such as its characteristic and Japan's four major industrial zones.

Chapter three of the textbook specifically deals with ‘Zainichi’s Life’. This is particularly a unique section of the textbook that cannot be found in textbooks of Tokyo Korean School. First lesson of the chapter touch upon brief history of zainichi. The lesson starts by clearing explaining to the students that zainichi have started to come to Japan since the imperial Japan colonized Korea in 1905. The textbook mentions that not only have the colonizers imprisoned people without cause, but they also took away important resources that are needed for people to live. The narrative continues on by saying that the imperial Japan even stole Korean ethnic’s soul by strictly forbidding studying and using of Korean language at school. It also mentions how Korean people were forced to change their name into Japanese. The narrative ends by pointing out that the Korean people had no choice but to move to Japan and Northeast side of China because their home was virtually destroyed by the imperial Japanese. Next section of the lesson specifically talks about the ‘Busan-Shimonoseki Ferry’ where Korean people were forced to get on aboard so that they could be taken to Japanese military and mining facilities for forced labor. By pointing out how the imperial Japanese forced Korean people into boarding the ferry, the textbook stresses that there have been more than 1.5 million people who have been forcefully taken into Japan. At the end of this particular section, it is emphasized as the following: *‘Our grandfather and grandmother are also those Korean people who have been*

forcefully taken to Japan against their will'. Next section of the lesson talks about zainichi's miserable life in Japan. The textbook mentions of zainichi's life where they lived in discrimination and hate without any job or home to depend on. People who were forcefully taken to Japan had to work in terrible conditions such as dangerous military, construction and mining facilities. The section ends with emphasis on how zainichi had to continue on with this miserable life until Korea's independence was achieved. The lesson ends with a map showing different construction sites across Japan where many Koreans were forced into labor. Under the map, there are several graphic materials showing zainichi's miserable working condition back then. The lesson is wrapped up with a summary explaining the following: (1) terrible things the imperial Japan have done to Korea, (2) reason why Korean people came to Japan and (3) miserable life Korean people had in Japan. Lesson two is on 'Our Chongryun', providing broad explanation about Chongryun as an ethnic organization. To begin with, Chongryun is described as *'a true patriotic organization that supreme leader Kim Il-Sung has bestowed to zainichi on May 25th of 1955'*. The textbook mentions that because Chongryun could consolidate will of zainichi, it became possible to strongly uphold ethnic rights of zainichi in Japan. Accordingly, it is recommended that the zainichi students proudly embrace Chongryun as a de facto motherland and contribute in pursuing its goals. Next, the textbook explains about structure of

Chongryun by showing a chart. According to the given chart, Chongryun is mainly divided into four parts: (1) central headquarters, (2) regional headquarters, (3) branches and (4) meetings. Furthermore, there are zainichi with various occupations like doctor, artist, teacher, athlete, scientist and so on. The textbook also mentions organizations like Women's Union, Chosun Sinbo and Hakwoosuhbang. A small map of Japan shows where each Chongryun-related organization are situated. Last section of the lesson stresses Chongryun's four important goals which are as follows: (1) to passionately love and protect our socialist nation, (2) to fight for unification, (3) to protect rights of zainichi and (4) to collaborate with people around the world, including Japanese. The lesson ends with a summary of Chongryun as an organization, how it is structured and what its goal is. Third lesson of chapter three discuss about zainichi's occupation. First section starts off with a statement claiming how important it is for people to have a job. It is stated that having a job is not only important for social and family life, but it is also important for oneself. The pie chart divides zainichi's occupation as follows: (1) scientist, technician and expert (3.4%), (2) laborer (3.5%), (3) agriculture and fisheries (1%), (4) art and entertainment (0.6%), (5) management and office worker (32%) and (6) commercial industry (59.5%). The textbook shows various pictures of zainichi working in different fields and sectors, wrapping up the lesson with a summary. Fourth lesson has to do with

zainichi's ethnic education and its history. The textbook points out that right after Korea gained long-yearned independence, zainichi strongly believed they must also regain the Korean language that were forcefully taken from them. Accordingly, a small Korean language school was opened and that was the start of zainichi's ethnic education. It is described that zainichi all contributed in different ways to establish ethnic schools throughout Japan. Hanshin Education Movement of 1948 is also described. The textbook mentions that after hard work of zainichi and a tragic sacrifice of 16 years old student, they were able to protect their school. There are old pictures of how Korean language school started and how zainichi fought for their ethnic educational rights against Japanese government and society. All of next section is dedicated to education subsidy and scholarship that the ethnic schools received from North Korea on April 8th of 1957. It is mentioned that from this point on, education subsidy and scholarship are regularly being sent from North Korea and ethnic education is making a great improvement accordingly. Last section of the lesson shows how systematic the ethnic education has become. A map of Japan shows pins of three symbols that each represent Korea University, High School, Middle School and Elementary School established across Japan. It stresses that many graduates of the ethnic school are making important contribution not only in North Korea, but also in various areas and sectors of Japan. The lesson is wrapped up with summary

on importance of start of ethnic education, the Hanshin Education Movement and education subsidy and scholarship sent from North Korea. Lesson five focus on zainichi's ethnic rights. According to the textbook, ethnic right is defined as follows: *'the right to live as a citizen of the republic; the right to live in Japan; the right to start commercial business; the right to receive ethnic education; the right to travel freely to and from the homeland (North Korea) and so on'*. Furthermore, it states that only when these rights are protected, zainichi can proudly live as an ethnic Korean in Japan. Next section of the lesson emphasizes what zainichi have done so far to protect ethnic rights. It is stressed that the students' ancestors have worked very hard to protect zainichi's ethnic rights by building and protecting ethnic schools. Furthermore, it is mentioned as follows: *'our homeland – Democratic People's Republic of Korea – have made it clear to the world that zainichi are overseas citizens of the Republic, and have protected zainichi's ethnic rights whenever it was endangered'*. Thanks to the homeland, zainichi are able to continually stand strong and fight for ethnic rights. The lesson ends with few pictures displaying how zainichi have worked to protect ethnic rights. There is a summary explaining concept of ethnic rights and what zainichi have done to protect the rights. Lastly the chapter ends with lesson six covering homeland and zainichi. The lesson shows an excerpt from Kim Il-Sung which is as follows: *'homeland is important than anything else. There cannot be*

happiness nor future without homeland'. Following the excerpt, the textbook points out that homeland is a place where the students' ancestors have lived in the past. It is also a place that protect people's livelihoods and happiness. Without homeland, people will go through hardships. Therefore, homeland is like a mother's hug where one must always return to and there simply cannot be happiness nor future without it. It is very important for one to give everything they have got to love and contribute to the homeland. Next section of the lesson stresses that although they live in different country, they must always remember that there is a homeland. Accordingly, it is important for the students to make their goal to contribute to development of their homeland. Most of all, the students are encouraged to passionately love their socialist homeland and to meaningfully contribute in making the homeland a stronger nation. The textbook is finished after reminding students once more that they have to study for their homeland, so that they can positively contribute to unification of their divided nation.

2-1-2. Social Studies Intermediate 2

The textbook 'Social Studies Intermediate 2' is used to teach second grade of middle school students in Tokyo Korean Junior and Senior High School. It is published in March 25th of 1974 by Hakwoosuhbang. The Ministry of Unification's Information Center on North Korea did not have any records of textbooks that are more recently published. Despite the

resource limitation, the material is still significant in that it provides us glimpse of how ethnic education was conducted through category of textbook education.

Table 16. Hakwoosuhbang – Social Studies Intermediate 2 Table of Contents

| Chapters | Lessons |
|-----------------|---|
| 1 | Our respected supreme leader Kim Il-Sung is the great sun who gave us our Homeland back |
| 2 | Chosun Revolution shall be done by Chosun People |
| 3 | Class and Class Struggle |
| 4 | Party |
| 5 | State |
| 6 | People's Country |
| 7 | Socialist Industry Country |
| 8 | Election |
| 9 | Words and Etiquette |
| 10 | Our Country's Symbol and Flag |
| 11 | Our Country's Government Organizations |

| | |
|----|---|
| 12 | General Associations of Korean Residents in Japan |
| 13 | Archenemy who betrays their own ethnic people |
| 14 | Widening gap between the rich and the poor |
| 15 | Chosun must be independently unified |
| 16 | Labor |
| 17 | A wild animal acting like a human-being |
| 18 | Work from the Organization |
| 19 | Organizational Life and Rules |
| 20 | Collectivism |

[Source] Reorganized with contents from 학우서방 (1974)

Compared to textbook of social studies basic 4, social studies intermediate 2 is a bit more complex in its contents. There are more chapters and more difficult contents included for students to learn. Much of chapters of the textbook seem to cover basic topics that a social studies textbook would cover in a country – in this case, North Korea. However, chapter 12 of the textbook specifically deal with Chongryun which is a very specific and unique organization that only exist within zainichi society. Similar to social studies basic 4 textbook, chapter 12 of the social studies intermediate 2 textbook start with how supreme leader Kim Il-Sung bestowed the

Chongryun to zainichi. It is stated as the following: *'persecution and oppression from American and Japanese bastards have become worse as time passed [...] our respected supreme leader Kim Il-Sung has taught us that although zainichi are living within Japan, we must give all our effort in pursuing patriotism for the Chosun revolution as the Republic's overseas citizens'* (학우서방 1974, 54). The textbook continues on to mention that thanks to the supreme leader bestowing zainichi with Chongryun, zainichi were able to: (1) fiercely fight their way towards Chosun revolution as zainichi under the leadership of the supreme leader, (2) firmly protect their rights and interests, (3) strongly stand against persecution and oppression from the enemies. Importance of Chongryun's role is once more highlighted in the following excerpt: *'throughout times of imperial Japan's colonial era, not only were zainichi forbidden from providing education to our own children, but we were also deprived of our right to live on as an overseas resident of Chosun'*. The textbook further states: *'even when zainichi proudly have our own homeland, we are being mistreated as an overseas resident of Chosun in Japan because of our enemies; we also cannot freely travel to our homeland nor are we granted of complete ethnic rights which is democratic and rightfully ours'*. After clearly delineating problems and issues that zainichi face, the textbook clearly emphasize role of Chongryun by mentioning:

'Chongryun is established to fiercely fight for zainichi's democratic ethnic rights' (학우서방 1974, 57). Furthermore, roles and missions of zainichi as part of Chongryun are well stated in the following excerpt: *'ethnic cooperation with Mindan zainichi must be pursued [...] our supreme leader also taught us that it is important for Chongryun to develop strong friendship with not only people of various other countries in the world, but also the Japanese people'*. The lesson is finished with re-emphasis on how zainichi students must be thankful to the supreme leader for bestowing Chongryun to them.

2-1-3. Social Studies Advanced 1

Last textbook that this research will examine is 'Social Studies Advanced 1' textbook used in high school grade 1 of Tokyo Korean Junior and Senior High School. The retrieved textbook was published on March 25th of 1975 by Hakwoosuhbang. In the textbook, entirety of chapter 4 is dedicated to Chongryun. The textbook is divided into two big lessons with sub-lessons included in them. To begin with, the foreword of the chapter starts with how the respected supreme leader Kim Il-Sung has bestowed zainichi with Chongryun. The foreword emphasizes how the supreme leader also personally took care of zainichi's daily lives. The foreword comes to a close with the following statement: *'zainichi is working hard to make Chongryun a Democratic People's Republic of Korea's authoritative overseas civic group*

by solidly uniting supreme leader's ideological will and firmly protecting heroic Chosun people's wisdom and socialist homeland's honor' (학우서방 1975, 167). Lesson 1 of the chapter discuss about brief history of how Chongryun was established by the supreme leader Kim Il-Sung. First sub-lesson is titled: *'cause of zainichi issues and characteristic and guiding principles of zainichi movement'*. The textbook then shows an excerpt from one of Kim Il-Sung's teaching regarding how the zainichi issue came to be. The excerpt is as follows: *'to talk about issue of six-hundred thousand Korean residents in Japan – it is fundamentally a problem that was created after the imperial Japan colonized our country'* (학우서방 1975, 168). The sub-lesson provides brief, yet clear explanations on how the imperial Japan forcibly took away ethnic rights and freedom of Koreans through colonization and how the Koreans had to suffer in misery and pain. The narrative stresses that the imperial Japanese forcibly dragged Korean youth and elders to Japan and put them to forced labor under the names of conscription, infantry and wartime mobilization. The six-hundred thousand zainichi today are the descendants of Koreans who were forcibly taken to Japan – hence, issues of zainichi is fundamentally a direct effect of the imperial Japan's colonialism. The sub-lesson ends with emphasis on how zainichi must incorporate the Juche ideology in carrying out their zainichi movement. Second sub-lesson is titled:

'establishment of General Association of Korean Residents in Japan'. The narrative describes establishment of Chongryun as follows: *'[the supreme leader] has freed zainichi that were miserably being oppressed and exploited and has granted zainichi with honor to be a proud overseas citizen of Democratic People's Republic of Korea'* (학우서방 1975, 171). Just like other Hakwoosuhbang textbooks, this particular textbook also mentions the Hanshin Education Movement as an important watershed for zainichi's fight for ethnic education rights and points out that the respected supreme leader has bestowed zainichi with Chongryun. It is further detailed that Chongryun is a proud organization that directly bequeathed the supreme leader's great revolutionary ideologies with the Juche ideologies as guiding principle. Characteristic of Chongryun is further mentioned in the following excerpt: *'Chongryun is an organization that strongly support all zainichi's democratic ethnic rights and interests, not just interests of particular class'* (학우서방 1975, 173). Second lesson of the chapter discuss about Chongryun's activity guidelines. The lesson strongly urges zainichi to fight for ethnic rights for which they rightfully deserve. An instruction from Kim Il-Sung clearly points it out: *'Chongryun must not only steadily protect zainichi's all democratic ethnic rights [...] it must also expand and develop ethnic education and Korean language education, as well as fight for zainichi's right to freely travel*

to our homeland' (학우서방 1975, 180). The textbook makes it very clear that zainichi are ethnic Koreans and overseas citizens of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Furthermore, it is stated that Japanese government are legally and ethnically obliged to guarantee zainichi's democratic ethnic rights and to properly treat zainichi like any other foreigners following international law. Because Japanese government is not carrying out their end of the obligation, the textbook asserts that it is Chongryun and zainichi's important work to fight for democratic ethnic rights. Furthermore, the textbook emphasizes importance of civil rights of zainichi as the people of Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The excerpt on zainichi civil rights is as follows:

'[...] when it comes to Chongryun's important activity guidelines, Democratic People's Republic of Korea's civil rights is an important part in protecting zainichi's democratic ethnic rights. According to the Socialist Constitution and the Republic's Nationality Law, zainichi are overseas citizens of the sacred Democratic People's Republic of Korea. This sacred right shall not be infringed upon by anyone, nor shall it be infringed upon in any circumstances. Accordingly, this is an important activity guideline that Chongryun must firmly hold on to' (학우서방 1975, 181). The excerpt continues on with regards to ethnic education: *'[...] another important part of zainichi's democratic ethnic rights that Chongryun must firmly protect is rights to*

ethnic education’ (학우서방 1975, 182). The excerpt continues on explaining how ethnic education is means to teach descendants of the ethnic’s language, writings and the history that the ancestors have made. But it is the reality for zainichi that their rights to ethnic education have been forcibly taken away. The following excerpt stresses importance of language and writing for ethnic identity: *‘[...] language and writing is an important symbol that characterize ethnicity. To not know language, writing, history and culture of one’s own country cannot call themselves part of the ethnic they belong to’*. Accordingly, ethnic education is extremely important for regaining ethnicity, for strengthening ethnic identity and for fortifying ethnic solidarity within the community. The excerpt mentions that it is considered one of the most important work that must be carried out by zainichi. It is interesting to note that the textbook specifically mentions of Mangyungbong-ho ferry (万景峰号) which was bestowed by the respected supreme leader Kim Il-Sung for zainichi to have chance to visit their homeland (학우서방 1975, 187). Third lesson of the chapter discuss some of accomplishments by Chongryun. According to an excerpt, the lesson mentions that fight for ethnic education has been very important for Chongryun: *‘democratic ethnic education activity has been very important for Chongryun [...] as Chongryun was bestowed to zainichi, foundation for democratic ethnic education system has*

been solidly established from kindergarten to university; there has been significant development in terms of number of schools, number of students and education contents' (학우서방 1975, 191). The excerpt further mentions that there are more than 159 regular schools and after-hour schools²⁷ that pursue zainichi ethnic education. Because Chongryun exist, the textbook narrates that zainichi were able to proudly protect their democratic ethnic rights. The chapter is finished with the following excerpt which narrates that zainichi should equip themselves with knowledge from ethnic education: *'while properly equipping ourself with Juche ideology, we must learn better of our language and writing, homeland's history and geography and modern scientific knowledge so that we can become a ready-made sons and daughters for the respected supreme leader [...]'* (학우서방 1975, 194).

2-2. Extracurricular Activity Analysis

In this section of the paper, extracurricular activities with purpose of ethnic education will be listed and analyzed. Because there are not much information regarding Chongryun-affiliated ethnic school's extracurricular activity recorded on official website of Tokyo Korean Junior and Senior High School or other documents published from the school or Chongryun, sources for information of listed activities are mainly retrieved from interview

²⁷ Since Social Studies Advanced 1 was published in 1975, it must be taken into account that the number of the schools may be different.

contents. This section will selectively pick out contents regarding ethnic education in the form of extracurricular activity from the interview. The two interviewees referred to in this section both attended Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools. Specific details regarding the interviewees will be discussed with detail in the interview analysis chapter.

2-2-1. School Field Trip to Democratic People's Republic of Korea

According to an interview conducted with Park and Kim, the author was able to identify several accounts of student visit to North Korea from school. For instance, Park recalls the extracurricular activity as follows:

“once a year, there is something called ‘sul-mat-ee’ where total of 130 zainichi students are auditioned to be chosen for a trip to North Korea. From end of November to mid-January, zainichi students are chosen from ethnic schools all over Japan and those who were selected would go to North Korea on Mangyongbong²⁸”.

When Park was asked how long they would stay in North Korea as a zainichi representative, she responded as follows:

“we stay there for around two months and half. North Korea provides the best hotel accommodation and food to us since we are the representatives. My older sister also went. Those students

²⁸ Also mentioned in ‘Social Studies Advanced 1’ textbook by Hakwoosuhbang, Mangyongbong-ho ferry (만경봉호) is a ferry given to Chongryun and zainichi by North Korean leader Kim Il-Sung with purpose of providing chance for zainichi to visit their homeland – North Korea.

that showed exceptional skills in Korean traditional dance were mostly selected. Since it is sul-mat-ee, we would perform for two weeks from the night of 31st – total of 15 performances. We would perform in the morning and night [...] at the time, we weren't tired. We were happy [...] most of the performance was about worshipping Kim Jung-Il."

Park further describes her experience in North Korea as follows:

"[...] there is also a high school graduation trip to North Korea for 10 days. At the time – and also when I visited in sixth grade of elementary school – Pyongyang was very clean with no trashes lying around. It was clean and there were not much people. And it felt like there was a huge gap between ordinary people and the elites. People who were just walking on the street had a rather brownish skin color since they did not do any makeup. It felt like they didn't have money to buy sun cream. But you would know an elite people right away. Even the kids were pretty with white skin. You could notice that right away."

When Park was asked how visiting North Korea as part of school's extracurricular activity influenced her ethnic identity, she replied:

"when I visited in elementary school years, it strengthened my ethnic identity as a zainichi. I think because I didn't know better and I was pure, I passively accepted those kinds of education."

But during Pyongyang visit in high school, it just felt normal. It just felt like a short trip you would go on with your friends.”

Kim also took part in this particular form of extracurricular activity organized by Chongryun and the schools. Kim mentioned that she has been on a North Korean trip for total of four times. During the interview, she responded as follows:

“[...] I have been to Pyongyang once as a school field trip during senior year of high school and also had chance to visit during August. I was selected for Korean traditional dance, ethnic education and as part of a chorus club [...] I also went to Pyongyang for period of one month during second academic year at Korea University.”

Aforementioned narratives from conducted interviews reveal how Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools held school field trip to North Korea. Factors of ‘auditioning zainichi students across Japan’ and ‘utilizing Mangyongbong-ho ferry’ point to how this particular extracurricular activity is rather institutionalized ethnic education practice that is centrally organized by Chongryun.

2-2-2. School Korean Festival

According to interview with Kim, an account of Korean festival has been recorded. When Kim was asked about the festival, the respondent replied as follows:

“[...] it was definitely different from Japanese school festivals. I was part of chorus club. Students would perform together as a chorus or band team and each grades of students would show exhibition. But topics on what to present were basically all decided by the school.”

When the author specifically asked Kim exactly what kind of topics were dealt with during the festival, Kim answered as follows:

“we had to sing about Korean peninsula’s history. We would sing and make hand signs as well. We also made some yakisoba. The festival would only happen once a year.”

While recorded account of the festival taking place at Chongryun-affiliated ethnic school was rather short, it clearly shows how there exist particular school festival that focus on topic of zainichi students being descendants of ethnic Korean.

IV. Interview Analysis

In this section, information created from conducting interviews with few zainichi will be used to shed light on aspects of zainichi ethnic education that could not be completely covered in textbook education and extracurricular

activity section. Particularly, the interviews will reveal: (1) ethnic education the respondents personally experienced in and out of ethnic schools and (2) meaning and significance of ethnic education for the respondents.

Total of three interviews with zainichi were conducted – one Mindan-affiliated zainichi respondent and two Chongryun-affiliated zainichi respondent. One interview with Chongryun-affiliated respondent was conducted offline in Tokyo and two other interviews with each Mindan and Chongryun-affiliated zainichi were conducted online. On average, interviews were conducted for 40 minutes. Throughout the analysis, contents relevant to ethnic education will be selectively chosen to extract important information. The respondents will be referred to by their last name throughout the narrative. The respondents all agreed to author using any information created from the interview to be used in analysis of the research. Despite relatively small number of interviewees, information gained throughout the interviews holds significance in that the respondents attended Chongryun-affiliated ethnic school throughout their whole educational life – one of whom went attended Tokyo Korean Junior and Senior High School. It should also be reminded that scoring an interview with Chongryun-affiliated zainichi is relatively difficult. Transcripts of the interview is attached in annex part of the paper.

1. Mindan-Affiliated Respondent

1-1. Ahn

Respondent Ahn is a third generation zainichi with South Korean nationality who was raised in Miyazaki Prefecture (宮崎県) of Kyushu (九州). Her grandparents came to Japan and her parents met within zainichi community. The respondent spent all of her elementary and secondary academic years in Japanese schools. She remembers that there were a lot of discrimination towards her for being zainichi throughout her academic years. After graduating high school, Ahn enrolled into Doshisha University (同志社大学) at Kyoto (京都). Ahn recalls that she was able to meet a lot of zainichi during her college years:

"[...] there were a lot of zainichi in Kansai area. When I first encountered zainichi friends, I felt freedom. It was such a comfortable feeling not to be discriminated. I really thought that Japanese, zainichi and Koreans (South) are different from each other. From that point on, I began to introduce myself as zainichi to other people."

The respondent began to learn Korean language in the university. She mentions in the interview that university was around the time when she began to think that Korean should naturally be her native language. As a result, Ahn enrolled into Korean language institution at Kyung Hee University in Seoul for a year. Now, she is working in Japan in a South Korean-affiliated company.

When asked whether she was able to fluently speak Korean from her young age, Ahn replied as follows:

“I could not speak a single Korean when I was young. I did not see myself as zainichi back then. When my mother tried to teach me Korean, I rejected her. At the time, I really had no interest for South Korea at all. I hated Korea. I hated everything about Korea from K-drama to Korean food [...] even at home, I never used Korean except for ‘ahbuhji’ and ‘uhmuhni’.”²⁹

When Ahn was asked about whether she used Korean or Japanese name during her student years, she responded as follows:

“zainichi usually have two names – Korean one and Japanese one. But I only have one Korean name. When you look at my passport, there is only my Korean name. My father wanted me to know that I am a proud Korean. He used to say that if I have Japanese name, I might mistake myself as being Japanese. He said one Korean name is enough. That’s why I have only one name.”

Ahn further mentioned that:

“I really didn’t want to say that my last name is ‘Ahn’. Everyone used to say: ‘are you Japanese? Chinese?’. I really didn’t want to say my last name. One time in high school, my friends used to

²⁹ ‘Ahbuhji’ and ‘Uhmuhni’ is an honorific term for father and mother, respectively.

joke to me: 'what country are you from?'. Everyone at school would gossip about me not being Japanese. So every time my friend asked me that question, I just answered that I am American. I was so ashamed of telling people that I am Korean."

When Ahn was asked whether there was any other ethnic education that took place within her home by her family, she responded:

"we used to eat miyeok-guk, hold ancestral rites and wear hanbok whenever there was a wedding. When meeting with relatives, I had to say 'annyeonghaseyo'. If I said 'konnichiwa', the relatives would get mad at me. They would say: 'that is not how you say hello'. When I think about it now, I think they were intentionally doing that to teach me that I am zainichi and that I am different from Japanese."

When asked about other points where the respondent genuinely felt to be zainichi, Ahn interestingly pointed out that spending time with Japanese people made her realize more that she was in fact, a zainichi:

"[...] I don't really like to hang out with friends. I like to spend my time alone. But when I first went to university and spent time with zainichi friends, I felt very comfortable around them. I thought about why. When I'm with Japanese friends, I think I make distance from them to me. Because that is uncomfortable, I think I prefer being alone. But zainichi friends are all same (with me). So from the beginning, I don't have to hide anything or be

anxious. At the time I felt: 'ah, I am zainichi'. I do think Japanese and Korean are different people. I feel most comfortable around South Korean and zainichi. We don't need to speak to communicate. It's not like Japanese friends would discriminate me, but I distance myself from the Japanese friends first because I feel uncomfortable."

When asked about what activities could be pursued to better ethnic education for future generation zainichi, Ahn responded that awareness on existence of zainichi in Japanese society must first be widened. She further points out that zainichi must work hard to position themselves as critical player within Japanese society:

"[...] I definitely think fourth generation of zainichi must change. If something could be done to change direction in a positive way, I really think we should do it. But the reality is that even now in Japanese society, many people look at you weird when you tell them you are zainichi. 'Korean (South)' is okay, but 'zainichi' is not okay. So I think we must first work to raise awareness on existence of zainichi in Japan. But we (zainichi) are the only people who can accomplish that. For example, we can become people who are crucial part of Japanese society."

When the author asked Ahn about whether ethnic education contributed in zainichi raising self-awareness as zainichi, the respondent replied:

“my mother used to attend ethnic school. But according to what my mother and her friend says, zainichi ethnic school is good for learning Korean language, but is not very good for forming balanced thoughts [...] according to what my mother said, there is a strong tendency for zainichi to gather as ‘us’. I also have an older sister. She was supposed to go to ethnic school. But my father didn’t like the idea. He said going to ethnic school will teach my sister to have one-sided mind. He stressed that we must know about both Japan and South Korea with a balanced mind, but that would be difficult if we live within the frame of ‘zainichi’. So I think zainichi ethnic education is not bad nor good. I think the best method is to teach Korean language at Japanese schools.”

Overall, interview with Ahn highlights few points: (1) ethnic education within family takes place through traditional and cultural practices, (2) existence of zainichi within Japanese society must be better known through zainichi proactively positioning themselves a role that is vital to Japanese society and (3) there is an increasing tendency for zainichi to balance themselves between the fact that they are descendants of Korea and the reality that they are permanently living in Japan.

2. Chongryun-Affiliated Respondents

2-1. Park

Respondent Park is a third generation zainichi who was born in Niigata Prefecture (新潟県). Park has attended Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools throughout her elementary, middle and high school years – 12 years of education life in total. Park explains that she has attended Niigata Korean Elementary and Middle School (新潟朝鮮初中級学校) for her elementary and middle school education, while attending Tokyo Korean Junior and Senior High School for high school education. After graduating from high school, Park pursued higher education at Hosei University (法政大学) majoring in Chosun Language. The respondent only uses Korean name and holds South Korean nationality.

When Park was first asked about what she thought ethnic education is, the respondent answered as follows:

“when I was in second grade of middle school, there was an issue of ‘North Korean Abductions of Japanese Citizens’. I was in elementary and middle school at the time and I just did not have any feeling that I was Korean [...] but because of the abduction issue, my father’s business was negatively influenced due to our Chosun nationality. Then, I started to wonder why I wasn’t born Japanese.”

Park pointed out that her parents took the issue of ethnic roots with gravity. She continued on mentioning:

“[...] I could have gone to Japanese school, but my parents sent me (intentionally) to Korean ethnic school. They believed ‘root’ was important. I wanted to become a person who can connect Japanese, North Koreans and South Koreans in Japan.”

It seemed that Park’s parents were intent on providing zainichi ethnic education for their children. Park added on by mentioning that her brothers, sisters and relatives all attended Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools. When Park was asked what type of ethnic education was taken place throughout ethnic education at schools, the respondent replied as follows:

“[...] at Korean school, we learned things like Korean (North) law – there were portraits of Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jung-Il. We studied Korean language. We also learned Japanese language. There was history as well. Korean history was the basis and sometimes we learned Japanese history and world history as well.”

The respondent further mentioned about extracurricular activities like taking a field trip to Pyongyang various times in her academic years, but since this was discussed with detail in Chongryun’s extracurricular activity section of the paper, this section will not deal with the issue. Park further mentioned that ethnic education also take place within home. She specifically mentioned that her parents were strongly against changing their nationality to Japanese. Accordingly, all of her family changed to South Korean

nationality³⁰. It was recorded that the respondent's family regularly carried out traditions of Korea such as performing ancestral rites and deep bow to elders on New Year's Day. When Park was asked about most of other zainichi's legal status of residence in Japan, she mentioned as follows:

“zainichi do have a permanent residence card but are not given right to vote. But we pay same amount of tax [...] but we also practically can't vote in South Korea. I thought I wasn't South Korean nor Japanese. But the truth is, I stand somewhere between Japanese, South Korean and North Korean.”

The respondent further mentioned about legal and institutional difficulties of Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools:

“reason I advanced to Hosei University is because Japanese universities do not acknowledge Korean ethnic schools as a legitimate secondary education curriculum. For those zainichi who went through 12 years of zainichi ethnic education, they must pass a particular exam that proves students' scholastic aptitude to be compatible to Japanese education.”

³⁰ There are few reasons why most of zainichi hold South Korean nationality. As mentioned in the interview, many zainichi parents of third or fourth generation zainichi are against the idea of naturalization to Japanese nationality. Accordingly, many zainichi – even Chongryun-affiliated zainichi – change to South Korean nationality. This is also because status of North Korean nationality cannot be attained due to absence of diplomatic relation between North Korea and Japan.

Park points out that Hosei University was one of the few Japanese universities that legally and institutionally acknowledged zainichi ethnic schools as a legitimate secondary education institution:

“because Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools are not legally acknowledged by the Japanese government, zainichi needed to take an exam that proves one’s scholastic aptitude that match level of high school. Only when you pass that, you could apply for universities. But Hosei University acknowledged Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools as a legitimate secondary education institution.”

The author asked Park whether the respondent regards herself closer to Japanese or Korean and she responded as follows:

“although I feel more closer to being Japanese, I have a feeling that I want to cheer for South Korean team when there is a South Korea-Japan soccer match. If someone asks me whether I want to live in Japan or South Korea, I would definitely say I would live in Japan. But I like South Korea. When there is an Olympic, I want to cheer for South Korean teams.”

When Park was asked how the ethnic education should be developed in the coming future for next generation of zainichi, she responded as follows:

“because they (zainichi) were incidentally born in that situation, I think it is important to know the roots of where they come from.

You are Korean – and I think it is important to study about history on why you live in Japan as a zainichi [...] I think – to some point – zainichi ethnic education create negative narrative about what the imperial Japan have done [...] but Japanese schools don't teach much about history of Japan's wrongdoings. I think it is important to know about the history as a fact. After understanding what happened, people can each decide what is right and wrong."

Park further mentioned that for zainichi ethnic education to advance to next step in the coming years, it is also important to pursue action targeted towards Japanese education:

"many Japanese are unaware of existence of zainichi. Japanese education does not teach Japanese students about zainichi. I think it is important to teach (Japanese students) about us so that existence of zainichi would not be forgotten [...] it is an important part of history. But if Japan only pursues education in their own way, awareness of roots or ethnic education will decline. That is why I believe ethnic education must persist."

Generally, Park's interview highlights following findings: (1) ethnic education takes place among family members and within households of zainichi, (2) while Park has ethnic identity as zainichi, she does not have any intention of permanently moving to South Korea and (3) the respondent

believes that Japanese education must also proactively reflect existence of zainichi in order to better ethnic education of zainichi.

2-2. Kim

Interview respondent Kim is a third generation zainichi who was born in Mie Prefecture (三重県) of Japan. The respondent attended Japanese kindergarten and started attending Chongryun-affiliated ethnic school from elementary school. She attended Nagoya Korean Elementary School (名古屋朝鮮初級学校) and Aichi Korean Junior and Senior High School (愛知朝鮮中高級学校). After graduating the ethnic schools, the respondent attended Korea University in Tokyo. Kim majored music in education department which is a two-year program. After graduating from the university, Kim pursued further education at Kunitachi College of Music (国立音楽大学) for two years, majoring in Piano. Now, she works as a professional pianist, playing in wedding venues of zainichi. Her family of five all hold South Korean nationality. The respondent further points out that her grandparents were strongly against their family naturalizing to Japanese nationality. But the respondent adds that she does not think that zainichi naturalizing to Japanese nationality is anything negative. When Kim was asked about purpose of the ethnic education, she replies as follows:

“[...] to put zainichi into simple words, I think it is ‘a mind of not wanting to see zainichi disappear’. After all, there are not as much zainichi as there have been compared to the past and social narrative has changed where it is not weird to naturalize to Japanese nationality.”

Kim points out that holding Japanese nationality makes it easy for zainichi to live in Japanese society. Accordingly, there are increasing trends of zainichi naturalizing to Japanese nationality. Kim states that amongst aforementioned trend, ethnic education is an effort for zainichi to maintain their status. She describes fundamental spirit of zainichi ethnic education as follows:

“when we first established Korean schools, we brought zainichi children who were educated with Japanese curriculum to educate them of Korean language, right? I think it’s the same context.”

When the respondent was asked with a question of how she believes the zainichi ethnic education should be changed in the coming future, she responded as follows:

“[...] I think zainichi ethnic education so far has been good. But it would be better for teachers to have a wider perspective. I think it would be good if they can accept bigger possibilities [...] when I was in senior year of high school, almost all teachers told me

to go to Korea University except for one. That one teacher told me it doesn't matter which school I go to. This was when I was consulting with my teachers. When I first heard that, I felt at ease. I hope more teachers with similar mindset would teach zainichi students."

Kim explained that it would be better for coming zainichi students to be taught by teachers with an open mind who can accept various possibilities. When Kim was asked about what kind of activities must be done by zainichi community to fight against discrimination from Japanese government and society, she mentioned as follows:

"I think it is difficult for discrimination to completely disappear. We can lessen it by little, but I think it is all the same in any country."

Interview with Kim highlights two important points: (1) social narrative of zainichi society changed so that it has become socially less restrictive for zainichi to naturalize to Japanese nationality and (2) Kim believes it is an integral role of zainichi ethnic education teachers in cultivating zainichi students' ethnic identity and acceptance towards Japanese part of identity.

V. Main Findings

Previous chapter clearly identifies different types of ethnic education that take place within Mindan and Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools under two broad categories of textbook education and extracurricular activity.

Table 17. Overview of Ethnic Education in Mindan and Chongryun-Affiliated Ethnic Schools

| | Textbook Education | Extracurricular Activity |
|--|--|--|
| Tokyo Korean School (Mindan-Affiliated Ethnic School) | Uses South Korean textbooks and there are no chapters exclusive to zainichi ethnic education | Consist of 10 extracurricular activities ranging from Korean language education to Korean traditional and cultural practices |
| Tokyo Korean Junior and Senior High School (Chongryun-Affiliated Ethnic School) | Uses textbook specially designed for zainichi published from Hakwoosuhbang and there are chapters exclusively designated for zainichi ethnic education | Consist of 2 extracurricular activities which consist of school field trip to North Korea and school festival |

[Source] Compiled and created by the author

To begin with, it has been revealed that Mindan-affiliated ethnic school such as Tokyo Korean School adhere to South Korea's 2015 Revised Curriculum. Interestingly, Tokyo Korean School operated two-track education systems – K and J tracks. It was observed that all the textbooks used within the track are virtually same with those textbooks used in schools of South Korea. For Chongryun-affiliated ethnic school such as Tokyo Korean Junior and Senior High School, it was revealed that they used textbooks that were exclusively designed for zainichi students which was published by Hakwoosuhbang – a Chongryun-affiliated publishing agency. In all three textbooks that were examined – ‘Social Studies Basic 4’, ‘Social Studies Intermediate 2’ and ‘Social Studies Advanced 1’ that are used in elementary and secondary education of Tokyo Korean Junior and Senior High School, the textbooks all included a dedicated chapter or two that teaches zainichi students of their unique history and situation of living as zainichi in Japan. Specific contents focused on following topics: (1) history of zainichi and how they came to live in Japan as ethnic Koreans, (2) history and role of Chongryun as an organization promoting ethnic rights of zainichi, (3) history of zainichi ethnic education and why it is important, (4) importance of zainichi's ethnic rights and how it must be protected and (5) information of Japan covering various fields. While Mindan-affiliated ethnic school's textbook does not include any form of educational contents that specifically

aim to deal with unique situation of zainichi, Chongryun-affiliated ethnic school's textbook includes dedicated chapters that discuss and teach zainichi students of how they came to be, who they are and what they should do. This can be interpreted as an active form of ethnic education taking place within textbook education category for Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools.

In terms of extracurricular activity, it has been revealed that Mindan-affiliated ethnic school like Tokyo Korean School is equipped with various types of extracurricular activity pursuing ethnic education. There are 10 identified extracurricular activity, ranging from 'Introducing Korean Traditional Culture' to 'Local Festivals'. It was observed that Mindan-affiliated zainichi students take active part in these extracurricular activities, learning about their ethnic roots through preparing and performing Korean traditional dances, playing Korean traditional folk games, learning Korean language and so on. It should also be noted that while Mindan-affiliated zainichi go through active and direct form of ethnic education through preparation and performance, other zainichi that participate in the activities of the school also passively and indirectly go through ethnic education by observation. For Chongryun-affiliated ethnic school, two extracurricular activity pursuing ethnic education has been identified through conducted interviews. One type of extracurricular activity is 'School Field Trip to Democratic People's Republic of Korea', where the zainichi students have to

go through auditions to join the program. Furthermore, the zainichi students got on Mangyongbong-ho ferry to go to Pyongyang. This points to the field trip being institutionalized extracurricular activity that is centrally organized by Chongryun. Another type of extracurricular activity – ‘School Korean Festival’ – seems to be a similar activity to that of Mindan’s school festivals. In sum, Mindan-affiliated ethnic school has overwhelming number of extracurricular activities that pursue purpose of ethnic education. Chongryun has relatively smaller number of extracurricular activities. However, it must be reminded that the level in which ethnic education takes place is not quantitatively measured since that is outside the paper’s objective.

In the interview analysis section of the paper, Mindan-affiliated zainichi Ahn constantly referred to how she had to use particular Korean words when gathering with relatives and engaging in various traditional Korean cultures like ancestral rites or wearing Hanbok to a wedding. This point sheds light on the fact that considerable level of ethnic education also takes place within family units of zainichi community which is considered outside of school. Chongryun-affiliated zainichi Park also points to how ethnic education takes place among family members and within zainichi households. Most importantly, the three interviewees – regardless of their affiliation to Mindan or Chongryun – seem to agree that standards and values of contemporary zainichi generation have changed when compared to the past. Park explicitly

mentions that while she holds strong ethnic identity as zainichi, she does not have any intention of moving back to her 'homeland' – Korea. Kim also believes that it has become more common and acceptable for zainichi to naturalize to Japanese nationality in contemporary society. This point is well portrayed when Kim mentioned there should be more teachers in ethnic schools who can not only cultivate students' ethnic identity, but also grow acceptance towards Japanese as part of the zainichi students' identity with an open mind. The point is also portrayed well when Ahn constantly stressed importance of appropriately balancing zainichi legacy as Korean descendant and their reality of having to live in Japan. Lastly, while the three respondents believed that zainichi ethnic education taking place within school is important, they pointed out there are also other matters zainichi must attend to, in order to serve purpose of ethnic education better. For instance, Park mentioned in the interview that there should also be a movement towards changing narratives of Japanese education. In other words, Japanese education must also be reformed to include more narratives on story of zainichi. Ahn also mentions in the interview that existence of zainichi within Japanese society must be spread wider through zainichi proactively positioning themselves in a role that is vital to Japanese society. This point reflects how social narrative of zainichi society has indeed changed and that zainichi ethnic education alone do not fulfill intended goals of promoting zainichi ethnic identity as it

used to before in the past. Responses from the interviewees point to new problems and issues that have emerged within zainichi society and calls for an inquiry on new solutions that must be sought to address new challenges for upcoming zainichi generation.

In sum, the analysis points to five main findings: (1) zainichi ethnic education is mainly manifested within extracurricular activity category for Mindan-affiliated school, while textbook education category for Chongryun-affiliated school is very uniquely tailored to be exclusively designed for zainichi students, (2) zainichi ethnic education also takes place within family units outside of ethnic schools, (3) social narrative of zainichi has changed so that it has become less socially restrictive for zainichi to naturalize to Japanese nationality, (4) zainichi ethnic education alone no longer fulfills the goal it used to and is faced with new set of problems and (5) solutions to newly emerged problems must be sought through Japanese education reform and zainichi integration within Japanese society.

VI. Conclusion

This research aimed to address research question of how zainichi education is manifested in contemporary Japanese society, as well as what social narrative and core values exist for zainichi from contemporary generation. To accomplish this goal, ethnic education pursued in Mindan and Chongryun-affiliated ethnic schools was identified. Through analysis of

gathered data from textbook copies, curriculum plan and interviews with zainichi that attended ethnic school, it was observed that Mindan-affiliated ethnic school did not have much room for zainichi ethnic education under textbook education category since they used textbooks that are being used in South Korea. On the contrary, Chongryun-affiliated ethnic school's textbook was exclusively designed for zainichi ethnic education. Analysis of copies of the textbooks confirmed that educational contents were specifically tailored to serve purpose of ethnic education. As for extracurricular activity, Mindan-affiliated ethnic school was equipped with numbers of programs for zainichi ethnic education. It was recorded that the programs specifically had goals of ethnic education by proactively engaging zainichi students in organizing and performing contents of the program such as Korean traditional dance, Korean traditional and cultural activities and so on. While only two extracurricular activities with purpose of ethnic education were revealed for Chongryun-affiliated ethnic school due to difficulty in obtaining information, the programs deemed significant part of ethnic education since it is institutionalized activity that is centrally organized by Chongryun.

These clear delineations on methods and characteristics of zainichi ethnic education point to four main findings:

- 1) zainichi ethnic education is mainly manifested within extracurricular activity category for Mindan-*

affiliated school, while textbook education category for Chongryun-affiliated school is very uniquely tailored to be exclusively designed for zainichi students.

- 2) zainichi ethnic education also takes place within family units outside of ethnic schools.*
- 3) social narrative of zainichi has changed so that it has become less socially restrictive for zainichi to naturalize to Japanese nationality.*
- 4) zainichi ethnic education alone no longer fulfills the goal it used to and is faced with new set of problems.*
- 5) solutions to newly emerged problems must be sought through Japanese education reform and zainichi integration within Japanese society.*

The research holds limitation in following points. First, Chongryun-affiliated ethnic school's two textbooks – aside from 'Social Studies Elementary 4' – are outdated. South Korea's Ministry of Unification's Information Center on North Korea did not have any textbooks with the latest 2003 curriculum reform by Hakwoosuhbang. If textbook copies of Hakwoosuhbang with 2003 curriculum reform could be obtained, more detail on textbook contents that reflect demand of contemporary zainichi

could be observed. Second, dimension on level of ethnic education taking place within each method of zainichi ethnic education is absent. For future research, more data under similar premises could be used to quantitatively analyze exactly how much effect – strong or weak – of ethnic education each method have. Lastly, interview sample is small. While interview contents are qualitatively sound due to each of respondent's unique experience of attending ethnic school, interview sample could be expanded to shed light on ethnic education methods that could not be covered.

Findings of the research not only delineate existing zainichi ethnic education methods, but also point to newly emerged problems within zainichi society. Based on the findings, it can be argued that zainichi ethnic education alone is no longer sufficient for promoting zainichi ethnic education. This seems to be the result of rapidly changing social environment and narrative of zainichi society. Considering emergence of new problems comprised of totally new characteristics, zainichi community – as well as stakeholders in Korean Peninsula – must formulate an appropriate policy for future direction of zainichi ethnic education to better serve its purpose.

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Appendix

- Settlement Group of Korean Residents in Japan [재일본조선거류민단·
在日本朝鮮居留民團]
- Settlement Group of Republic of Korean Residents in Japan
[재일본대한민국거류민단·在日本大韓民國居留民團]
- Group of Republic of Korean Residents in Japan [재일본대한민국민단·
在日本大韓民國民團]
- Union of Korean Residents in Japan [재일본조선인련맹·在日本朝鮮人連盟]
- United Democratic Front of Korean Residents in Japan
[재일조선통일민주전선·在日朝鮮統一民主戰線]
- General Association of Korean Residents in Japan [재일본조선인총연합회·
在日本朝鮮人總聯合會]
- Tokyo Korean School [동경한국학교·東京韓國學校]
- Tokyo Korean Junior and Senior High School [도쿄조선중고급학교·
東京朝鮮中高級學校]

Interview Transcript

[Ahn - Mindan]

[Author] 간단하게 자기 소개 부탁드립니다. 편하게 말씀해주세요.

[Ahn] 저는 일본 나이로 33 이고요, 안리애라고 합니다. 일본에서 태어난 재일교포 3 세입니다. 할머니, 할아버지 시대에 일본에 와서 엄마 아빠도 재일교포세요. 재일교포는 재일교포들끼리 맞선하는 경우가 많거든요. 어릴때부터 일본학교 다녔어요. 고등학교때까지 규슈 미야자키라는 곳에 살았는데 시골이었어요. 외국인도 많이 없었고 재일교포도 많이 없어서 차별이 많았어요. 힘든 경험이 많았어요. 그래서 친구들한테도 재일교포라고 말하기도 힘들고 숨기고 살았어요. 학교때 교토 도시샤에 입학했는데, 간사이쪽에는 재일교포가 많이 살고 있거든요. 그래서 처음 그때 재일교포 친구들을 만나보니까 자유를 느꼈고 차별도 없어서 너무 편했어요. 역시 일본인이랑, 교포랑 한국인은 뭔가 많이 다르구나, 하고 생각했어요. 그때부터 제가 재일교포라고 모르는 사람한테도 자기소개를 하기 시작했어요. 학교에서도 제 2 외국어로 한국어로 공부하기 시작했어요. 졸업할 즈음에, 역시 한국어가 모국어라고 생각을 했어요. 그대로 공부해보고 싶다고 생각해서 2013 년에 서울에 경희대학교 어학당 다녔어요 1 년동안. 놀지도 않고 정말 열심히 공부했어요. 한국인이랑 많이 대화하고, 친구랑 같이 밥먹고 만나고 하면서 역시 한국이 좋다고 생각했어요. 취업도 해봤는데, 역시 한국어가 완벽하지 않으니까 다시 일본으로 돌아왔어요. 꾸준히 한국어 공부하고 친구들이랑 한국어로 얘기하면서 한국어를 잊지 않도록 노력하고 있어요. 지금은 우연히 한국 기업에 다니고 있어요. 지금 도쿄에 있는데 한국인들이 많잖아요? 도쿄에 사는 한국인 친구들 많이 생겼고, 이제는 일본인 친구보다 한국인 친구가 더 많아요. 사실 지금은 일본에 있지만 더 한국에 있는 느낌이에요.

[Author] 그럼 일본 학교에서 소, 중 그리고 고등학교를 나왔는데 그때는 한국어를 못하셨나요?

[Ahn] 네, 그때는 전혀 못했어요. 그때는 제가 재일교포라는 인식이 없었어요. 엄마가 한국어 할 줄 아는데 가르쳐준다고 할 때 거부했어요 제가. 그때는 정말 한국에 관심이 없었고, 한국이 싫었어요. 한국에 관련된 밥, 드라마 전부 다 싫었어요.

[Author] 그러면 경희대 어학당 가서 그때 한국어를 배우신건가요?

[Ahn] 네.

[Author] 늦게 배우신 것 치고는 엄청 잘 하시네요.

[Ahn] 열심히 공부한 것도 있고, 한국에 간지 남자친구가 생겼어요. 한국인 남자를 만났는데 대화를 하려면 제가 한국어를 열심히 공부해야하잖아요. 그것 때문에 많이 늘었어요. 그리고 일본에 돌아오고 나서도 한국인 남자를 많이 만났어요.

[Author] 제가 깜짝 놀랐어요. 부모님께서도 자이니치 2 세시니까, 집에서도 한국어를 사용하시는 줄 알았는데 아예 성인이 되서 공부를 하신 거네요?

[Ahn] 네 맞아요. 집에서도 ‘아버지’, ‘어머니’ 외에는 한국어를 안 썼어요.

[Author] 그럼 집에서는 일본어로 커뮤니케이션을 다 하신 거네요?

[Ahn] 네 맞아요. 아마 다른 재일교포 친구들도 다 그런 식으로 자랐을 거예요.

[Author] 그러면 일본에서 초, 중 그리고 고등학교를 다닐 때, 일본 이름을 쓰셨나요?

[Ahn] 재일교포는 보통 한국 이름하고 일본 이름 두개가 있잖아요? 근데 저는 한국 이름밖에 없었어요. 여권을 봐도 그냥 ‘안리에’예요. 아빠가 어릴때부터 제가 한국인이라는 것을 당당하게 알았으면 좋겠다고 하셨어요. 일본 이름이 있으면 일본 사람이라고 착각할 수도 있으니까요. 이름은 하나만 있어도 된다고 아버지가 말씀하셨어요. 그래서 저는 이름이 하나예요.

[Author] 그럼 학창 시절에 이름때문에 ‘나는 자이니치다’라고 생각하는 경우가 있었나요?

[Ahn] 성이 ‘안’이라고 말하기 정말 싫었어요. 다들 ‘일본 사람이에요? 중국 사람이에요?’라고 물어봐서 정말 얘기하기 싫었어요. 고등학교때 ‘리애는 어느 나라 사람이에요?’라고 장난식으로 많이 물어봤어요. 제가 일본인이 아니라는 소문이 학교에 다 돌았어요. 그래서 친구가 ‘리애는 어느 나라 사람이야?’라고 물어볼 때마다 저는 미국 사람이라고 대답했어요. 한국인이라고 말하기 정말 부끄러웠어요.

[Author] 지금 국적은 한국 국적이신가요, 일본이신가요?

[Ahn] 한국 국적이예요. 그리고 한국 친구들이 자주 질문하는게 있어요. ‘리애씨는 재일교포면 한국사람이에요, 일본사람이에요?’ 라고 많이 물어봐요. 근데 일본에서는 거의 대부분 국적이 한국 국적이라고 보면 돼요. 태어났을때는 무조건 한국 국적이예요. 근데 그걸 물어보는 사람이 정말 많아요.

[Author] 그럼 태어나면 한국 국적이고, 나중에 성인이 돼서 귀화를 하고 싶다면 일본 국적으로 바꾸는 거네요?

[Ahn] 네 맞아요.

[Author] 혹시 리애씨는 학창시절 때 집에서 어머님께서 리애씨한테 한국어를 가르쳐 주시려고 했고, 아버지는 이름을 자이니치라는 것을 알고 있어야 된다는 취지에서 이름을 ‘안리에’라고 가르쳐 주셨는데, 그 외에도 집에서 부모님들이 리애씨가 자이니치라는 것을 알려주기 위해 따로 한 교육이 있을까요?

[Ahn] 생일 때는 미역국 먹고, 제사도 지내고 그리고 결혼식갈때는 한복 입고 친척들 만날 때는 무조건 인사 ‘안녕하세요’라고 했어요. ‘곤니찌와’라고 하면 화났어요. 그거 인사 아니라고. 지금 생각해보면 제가 재일교포라는 것을 알려주고 일본 사람이라 다르다라는 것을 가르쳐 주기 위해 일부러 그러신 것도 있던 것 같아요.

[Author] 그럼 친척분들도 다 일본에 같이 계시는건가요?

[Ahn] 네, 대부분 간사이쪽에 살고 계세요.

[Author] 또 궁금한게 있어요. 대학에 가니까 간사이 쪽에는 자이니치분들이 많이 계시니까 자연스럽게 자이니치분들과 만나니까, ‘나도 자이니치구나’라는걸 더 느끼게 되고 더욱 더 유심히 생각을 하시게 된 것 같은데 그것 외에 또 계기가 되었던 것이 있을까요?

[Ahn] 큰 계기는 없었는데, 친구랑 같이 놀거나 친구랑 같이 있는걸 별로 안 좋아해요. 혼자 있는걸 좋아하는 스타일이예요. 근데 대학에 가서 재일교포 친구들이랑 같이 있으니까, 그 친구들이랑은 같이 있을 수 있고 같이 놀 수 있었어요. 왜 그런가 생각해보니까. 확실히 일본 친구들이랑 있을 때는 제가 먼저 거리를 두는 것 같아요. 그게 불편해서 혼자 있는걸 선호했던 것 같아요. 근데 자이니치 친구들은 똑같잖아요. 그래서 처음부터 자연스럽게, 제가 뭐 숨겨야되는 것도 없고, 긴장할 필요도 없었어요. 그때, ‘아, 나는 역시 재일교포구나’라고 생각했어요. 역시 일본사람하고 한국사람은 다르다고 생각해요. 저는 제일 편한건 역시 한국인하고 재일교포예요. 말을 안해도 통하는게 있어요. 일본 친구들이 저를 먼저 차별한다기 보다는, 제가 먼저 ‘아, 일본사람이다’하고 불편해서 거리를 두는게 있는 것 같아요.

[Author] 앞으로 자이니치 4 세, 그리고 5 세들도 있을텐데, 앞으로 다가오는 자이니치 세대들에게 자신이 자이니치라는 것을 인식을 하는 것을 도와줘야한다고 생각하시나요? 아니면 지금처럼 그냥 현상유지해도 괜찮다고 생각하시나요?

[Ahn] 제가 지금 직장 다니기 전 직장에 교포 동료가 한명 있었어요. 그 교포 친구는 계속 일본 학교 다니고, 자기가 한국인이라고 남자친구한테도 말을 안하는 동료였어요. 저한테만 말했어요. 제가 ‘안’씨고 재일교포 3 세예요라고 말하고 다니니까, 자기도 재일교포라고 저한테만 말했어요. 근데 그 친구는 부모님으로부터 절대로 재일교포라고 말하지 말라고 교육을 받았다고 해요. 차별도 있고, 불편한 점이 정말 많아요. 재일교포로 살아가면. 그래서 절대 말하지 말고 살라고 교육을

받았다고 해요. 근데 제가 당당하게 재일교포라고 말하는 모습이 정말 멋있어 보였어요. 하지만 자신은 그렇게 할 수가 없어요. 숨기면서 살아왔기 때문에. 앞으로도 말할 생각이 없고. 그런거를 보니까 자이니치가 정말 힘들게 살아가고 있구나, 라고 생각했어요. 저는 지금은 거의 힘든 부분이 거의 없어요. 그런걸 보니까 확실히 4 세가 바뀌어야겠다고 생각했어요. 어떤 활동을 해서 좋은 쪽으로 바뀔 수 있으면 꼭 그렇게 해야한다고 생각해요. 근데 아직 일본에서는 자이니치라고하면 이상하게 보는 사람이 정말 많아요. ‘한국인’은 괜찮는데 ‘자이니치’라고 하면 이상하게 봐요. 그래서 먼저 자이니치라는 존재가 있다는 것을 일본에서 더 알려야 될 것 같아요. 근데 그것을 할 수 있는 것은 우리밖에 없잖아요. 예를 들어 우리가 일본 사회에서 부각되는 역할을 맡아서 필요한 존재가 되면 좋다고 생각해요.

[Author] 그러니까 앞으로 4 세대나 5 세대 앞으로 다음 세대의 자이니치가 억압을 받지 않고 보다 당당하게 자신이 자이니치라고 말할 수 있는 사회를 만들기 위해 어떤 일을 하는게 중요하다는 말씀이지요?

[Ahn] 네 맞아요. 그리고 아까 말한 친구같은 사람이 많아지면 앞으로 미래에는 자이니치가 사라질 수도 있잖아요. 그건 안된다고 생각해요. 재일교포라는 존재는 없으면 안된다고 생각해요. 한국 마음도 있고 일본 마음도 있고, 그런 존재는 없다고 생각해요. 일본 마음도 이해할 수 있고, 한국 마음도 이해할 수 있고. 일본 사람은 일본 편이잖아요. 한국 사람도 한국 편이고. 중립에서 이해할 수 있는 마음을 가진 사람들이 많이 없다고 생각해요. 미래에도 이런 사람들이 사라지면 정말 슬픈 일이라고 생각해요.

[Author] 네, 맞는 말씀 같습니다.

[Ahn] 근데 지금 일본 사회를 보니까 점점 살기 힘든 환경이 되어가고 있고 아무것도 안하면 정말 미래에는 재일교포가 아예 사라질 수도 있을 것 같아요.

[Author] 그러면 민족학교에서 공부를 하고 있는 자이니치 친구들도 있는데, 민족학교에서 공부를 하는 것이 어느정도 자신이 자이니치라는 것을 인식을 하고 일본에서 살아가는데 도움이 된다고 생각하시나요?

[Ahn] 우리 엄마도 민족학교를 다녔어요. 근데 엄마랑 엄마 친구가 말하기에는, 민족학교가 언어 공부하기에는 좋은데, 독립적인 생각을 가지기는 힘들데요. 저는 일본학교를 다녔고, 한국에서도 생활을 해봤잖아요? 그래서 조금 더 세계와 사회를 조금 더 넓게 볼 수 있었던 것 같아요. 근데 민족학교를 다녔던 엄마의 말을 빌리면 ‘우리만’이라는게 있는데요. 제가 언니도 있는데, 원래 언니는 민족학교에 보내려고 했데요. 근데 아빠가 반대했데요. 민족학교에 다니면 거기 사회밖에 모르니까. 우리는 일본도 한국도 양쪽으로 알면서 살아야하는데, ‘교포’라는 틀 안에서 살아가면 그게 더 힘들거라고 해서 안보냈는데요. 그래서 민족학교가 좋은 것도 아니고 안좋은 것도 아니지만, 제일 좋은건 일본학교에서 한국어를 가르치는게 가장 좋은 것 같아요. 일본은 이제 겨우 초등학교때부터 영어 공부 수업이 시작됐거든요. 초등학교때부터 한국에 관련된 수업을 하거나, 한달에 한번씩만이라도 하면 일본사람들이랑 같이 한국에 대해서 배우고 친구들을 만들 수 있는게 좋을 것 같아요. 이런걸 하면서 ‘아, 내가 재일교포구나’라는데서 시작하는게 좋은 것 같아요. 그리고 제가 그랬는데, ‘(민족)학교 다녀봐’라고 했을 때 정말 싫었어요. 참 특이한 곳이잖아요.

[Park - Chongryun]

[Author] 일단 간단하게 이름하고 자기소개해주실 수 있을까요?

[Park] 이름은 박귀예이고 니가타현 출신이에요. 12 년동안 조선학교에 다녔어요. 대학교부터 일본 대학교 다녔어요. 근데 일본 대학교도 호세대학교 다녔어요.

그때도 한국어 전공했어요 4 년간. 한국에서는 4 개월동안 연세대학교 어학당 어학 유학을 했어요.

[Author] 귀애씨 생각에는, 민족교육이 무엇인가요?

[Park] 내가 중학교 2 학년때, 니가타현에 납치문제가 있었어요. 그때까지는 그냥 초등학교, 중학교 그냥 제가 조선사람이라는 느낌이 없었어요. 그냥 자연스럽게 거기 있었으니까. 살다 보니까 일본 사람하고 제 차이를 몰랐어요. 근데 납치문제 때, 우리 아빠가 장사를 하는데 그때는 조선적이었어요. 장사를 하고 있는데 납치문제가 나타나니까, 안좋은 피해(장사)가 있어서 내가 왜 일본 사람으로 태어나지 않았는가라는 의문이 처음 중학교때 들었어요. 친척들은 일본학교를 다녔는데, 제 형제들은 모두 조선학교를 다녔어요. 우리 부모님이 어떤 루트로 일본 니가타에 있는 그런 교육을 하기 위해서 조선학교에 우리를 보냈다고 알려줬어요. 그걸 자기(부모님)도 느꼈으니까, 일본학교도 갈 수 있지만 조선학교(일부러)에 보냈으니까 루트를 중요하게 여겼어요. 일본에서 일본사람과, 조선사람 그리고 한국사람을 연결할 수 있는 그런 사람이 되고 싶다고 느꼈어요 중학생때. 민족교육은 지금 일본 차별이 있는데 나는 민족교육을 받아서 좋았다고 느꼈어요. 그때 사귀 친구들이랑 지금도 사이고 좋고요. 근데 그 속에서도 역시, 일본 사람의 차별을 하고 있는 사람도 있었어요. 그러니까, 재일교포는 재일교포를 결혼해야 한다는 차별도 있었고, 일본 남자친구는 안된다는 생각도 있었어요. 저는 그거는 틀렸다고 생각을 했어요. 일본에 살고 있으니까, 일본 사람하고도 같이 사이좋게 살아가고 싶고 그런 생각을 가지고 있는 재일교포도 있어요. 그런 사람들은 나는 조금 맞지 않았어요. 생각이 조금 다르니까.

[Author] 소학교, 중학교 그리고 고등학교 다녔던 학교 이름을 알려주시겠어요?

[Park] 소학교랑 중학교는 니가타조선초중급학교 그리고 고등학교는 도쿄조선중고급학교 다녔어요.

[Author] 그럼 공부를 할 때 민족교육이 어떤 형식으로 이뤄졌나요?

[Park] 납치문제가 있기 전에는 조선학교에서 조선법같은 것 - 김일성, 김정일 장군 사진 같은 것이 항상 있었어요. 국어로 조선말 공부를 했어요. 일본어 공부도 했어요. 역사도 있었어요. 조선역사가 기본으로 공부하고, 일본역사와 세계역사를 공부할때도 있었어요.

[Author] 학교에서 공부하는 것 외에도, 학교에서 이뤄진 활동이 있었나요?

[Park] 1 년에 한번 학교에서 '설맞이'라는 조선학교에 다니는 130 명 즈음의 학생들을 오디션해서 선발해서 북한에 보내요. 11 월 말부터 1 월 중순까지 일본 전국의 조선학교에서 선발해서 만경봉을 타고 북한에 가곤 했어요.

[Author] 가면 얼마나 있다 오시나요?

[Park] 2달 반 정도 있다 와요. 우리들이 가는 것은 조선에서는 좋은 호텔에서 좋은 음식을 제공해주요. 대표단 선발이니까요. 우리 언니도 갔었어요. 조선 무용을 잘하는 아이들이 갔어요. 설맞이니까 31 일 밤부터 15 공연 정도를 해요 2 주동안. 낮 밤 가릴 것 없이 공연을 많이 해요.

[Author] 힘들었겠네요?

[Park] 그때는 김정일 장군님을 모시는 그런 교육이었으니까, 힘들다고 하기보다는 기쁜 마음이 있었어요.

[Author] 그렇죠? 아무래도 노래라던가, 무용이라던가 김정일 장군을 위한 것들이었으니까요?

[Park] 김정일 장군을 숭배하는 그런 내용이었어요.

[Author] 그럼 귀애씨가, 처음 북한 가서 생활할 때 기분이 어떠셨어요?

[Park] 근데 고등학교때, 졸업 여행이 있어요. 조선학교는 평양으로 졸업여행을 가요. 10 일동안. 갔는데, 그때 느낌도 소학교 6 학년때도 느낀게, 평양은 쓰레기가 없고 고운 느낌이었어요. 깨끗하고 사람이 많이 없는 느낌이었어요. 그냥 일반 사람들이랑, 좋은 교육을 받고 있는 엘리트 같은 사람들의 차이가 겹이 꽤 있는 느낌이었어요. 그냥 걷고 있는 사람들의 피부는 화장도 안하니까 그냥 검검한

느낌이 있었어요. 돈이 없어서 선크림도 못사는 느낌이었어요. 근데 엘리트 사람들은 소학교 사람들도 예쁘게 하고, 하얗고 그런 차이가 딱 봐도 알아요.

[Author] 그런 것들을 보고 어떤 생각이 드셨나요?

[Park] 근데, 지하철도 타봤어요. 그때는 일반 사람도 있으니까 별 느낌은 못 받았는데 단지 나쁜 이미지도 없고, 그냥 이야기를 나눠보면 좋은 사람도 있으니까요. 일본의 뉴스를 보면 북한은 뭐 별로 안 좋고 무서운 이미지인데, 실제로 가보면 일반 사람들은 상냥하고 뉴스의 보도에 의문이 생겼어요.

[Author] 그러면 북한을 소학교때 가신 것 하고 졸업 여행에 가셨을 때, 자신의 민족 정체성에 대해서 조금 더 강해진 계기가 되었나요?

[Park] 초등학교때는 조금 그랬어요. 초등학교때는 잘 모르고 순하니까 그런 교육을 더 받아들인 것 같아요. 근데 고등학교때는 그냥 보통으로 느껴졌어요. 조선에 가는 것이, 친구들이랑 가는 거니까 그냥 재미있고 여행같은 느낌밖에 안 들었어요.

[Author] 그렇다면, 귀애씨는 이름이 조선 이름이신가요?

[Park] 그냥 박귀애예요. 일본사람들에게는 그냥 ‘파-크키에’라고 소개해요.

[Author] 귀애씨는 일본 국적이신가요?

[Park] 한국 국적입니다. 우리 부모님이 일본보다는 한국이 좋다고 하셨어요. 재일교포라는 부분이 컸던 것 같아요. 집에서 지금까지도 반찬을 많이 차려놓고 제사를 지내요. 큰절도 하고 다 해요.

[Author] 부모님의 영향을 많이 받으셨네요? 부모님께서 민족 정체성을 유지하려고 열심히 하셨네요. 근데 많이 어려우셨겠어요 한국 국적이라서. 여기에는 영주권으로 제신건가요?

[Park] 네네. 재일교포는 영주권이라는 카드가 있지만 투표권은 없어요. 세금은 일본에 똑같이 내지만. 역시 국적은 일본 사람이 아니니까 투표권이 없어요. 근데 한국에서도 투표를 실질적으로 못해요. 한국 사람도 아니고 일본 사람도 아니라고 생각을 했는데, 일본 사람이 아닌게 아니라, 일본 사람이고, 한국 사람이고, 북한

사람이고, 그 중간에 있는 것 같아요. 제일교포는 그런 것 같아요. 그런 사람은 많이 있잖아요. 아메리카라던가, 중국이라던가. 특히 한국 사람들은 다른 나라에 많이 가고 있잖아요. 그런 다양한 루트가 있으니까 국적은 그렇게 중요한 것 같지 않아요. 그래서 결혼할 때도 일본 사람이든, 한국 사람이든 북한 사람이든 상관 없는 것 같아요. 사람만 잘 맞으면.

[Author] 그러면 귀애씨의 가족 분들은 부모님은 조선적이시고요?

[Park] 아, 부모님도 한국 국적이세요. 일본에서는 조선 국적이면 일을 잘 못해요. 장사를 잘 못해요. 그래서 한국 국적으로 바꾸셨어요.

[Author] 정말 흥미로운 얘기 감사드려요. 이런 얘기는 직접 당사자한테는 처음 들어봐서, 아주 중요한 얘기인 것 같아요.

[Park] 대학교 가고, 고등학교까지는 사실 그냥 조선의 교육이었잖아요. 호세대학교 가서 한국어 공부를 하면서 연세대학교를 가니까 한국에서 보는 역사하고 엄청 다르지는 않았는데 조금 달랐어요. 근데 내가 호세대학교 간 이유도 일본은 조선학교라고 인정을 안해줘요. 고등학교라고 인정을 안해줘요. 12 년간 조선학교를 다닌 사람들은, 일본 교육을 받은게 아니기 때문에 일본의 교육을 받았다는 것을 인정해주는 특정 시험을 치뤄야해요.

[Author] 일본 정부에서 공식으로 인정해주는 일조교 학교가 아니기 때문이죠?

[Park] 네 일본 정부에서 공식으로 인정해주는 학교가 아니라서 고등학교를 졸업했다는 시험을 했어야 했어요. 그걸 합격하면, 대학교에 입학할 수 있었어요. 근데 조선학교를 인정하고 있는 대학교는 호세대학교였어요. 호세대학교는 한국어가 아니라 조선어예요. 호세대학교에서 쓰는 교과서도 조선어예요.

[Author] 소학교, 중학교 그리고 고급 학교를 우리학교에서 나오면, 조선대학교도 있잖아요.

[Park] 네네, 저희 오빠가 조선대학교 나왔어요. 근데 저는 싫었어요. 일본의 친구도 만들고 싶었고 일본을 더 느끼고 싶었어요. 지금은 일본 친구들이 훨씬

많아요. 근데 조선학교 가는 친구들은 역시 제일교포라는 생각이 강해요. 그런 것이 좀 강해요. 그것도 나쁘지는 않은데, 나는 일본도 좋고, 일본에서 사니까. 일본 친구들도 많이 있는게 좋아요.

[Author] 그럼 귀에씨는 민족 정체성 보다는, 나는 나다, 이런 생각이 조금 더 있으신 건가요?

[Park] 그래요. 민족교육은 좋았고, 혹시 결혼해서 애기가 생기면, 그런 기회가 있으면 내가 지금까지 살아온 것을 잘 전달해주고 말해주고 싶어요. 조선학교를 강제로 보내지는 않겠지만요. 그런 건 남편이랑 잘 상의하고 생각해야겠죠?

[Author] 귀에씨는 자신이 일본인에 더 가깝다고 생각하세요, 조선인에 더 가깝다고 생각하세요? 편하게 말씀해주세요.

[Park] 일본인에 더 가까운 느낌이 있는데, 한일전 축구가 하면 한국을 응원하고 싶은 느낌이에요. 일본 스타일인데, 혹시 지금 일본에서 살거나 한국에서 살거나 물어보면 일본에서 산다고 말할 것 같아요. 근데 한국도 좋아하고 한국의 올림픽이 있으면 한국 선수를 응원하고 싶은 마음이 생겨요.

[Author] 마지막으로 질문 하나 하겠습니다. 현재 3 세대 그리고 4 세대 자이니치가 있는데, 앞으로 5 세대 그리고 6 세대 자이니치가 있을거잖아요? 앞으로 민족교육이 어떤 방향으로 나아가는게 좋다고 생각하시나요? 앞으로의 자이니치 아이들에게 어떻게 가르쳐 주는게 좋다고 생각하시나요?

[Park] 자기가 그렇게 태어났으니까, 그런 뿌리를 아는게 좋다고 생각해요. 내가 조선인인데, 왜 일본에 있는지 그 역사를 아는 것에 대한 공부를 하는 건 좋다고 생각해요. 그런데, 지금 조선학교 교육이 어떻게 되고 있는지 잘 모르는데 10 년이나 지나서. 그 전에는 일본이 나쁘다라는 느낌이 있었을 것 같아요. 일본에서 이런걸 당했다라는 느낌의 교육이 있으니까요. 사실을 알면 좋다고 생각해요. 한국에서 보면, 일본의 침략이라던지 역사가 있으니까 조금 나쁜 느낌도 있는데 일본은 그걸 나쁘게 느끼지 않는 교육이 있잖아요. 그러니까 이런 사실이

있었다고 아는게 중요하다고 생각해요. 사실을 알면서 어떻게 느끼는가는 각자
알아서 느끼는게 좋다고 생각해요.

[Author] 그런 사실이 있다는 것을 아이들에게 가르쳐주고, 자신들이 알아서
생각할 수 있게 환경을 마련해주면 된다는 말씀이지요? 그리고 일본에 사니까,
일본에서 잘 살 수 있는 교육도 중요하다고 생각하시나요? 자이니치 대부분의
친구들은 일본에서 꼭 살다 왔으니까 일본에서 아무 문제 없이 살 수 있게
도와주는게 중요하다고 생각하나요?

[Park] 제가 재일교포라서 좋았더라는 생각을 하면 좋을 것 같아요. 역시 일본에서
사니까 그런 교육도 있으면 좋다고 생각해요. 조선학교는 일본에 대한 안 좋은
교육들도 많이 있었어요.

[Author] 역사에서 안 좋게 보여주거나 그런 것들이요?

[Park] 일본에서는 재일교포의 존재를 모르는 것도 많잖아요. 일본의 교육은 우리의
존재를 잘 말하지 않으니까요. 우리가 재일교포라는 존재를 잊지 않고 교육을
하는게 좋다고 생각해요. 민족교육은 제가 해보니 좋은데, 일본 사람은 우리의
존재를 모르니까. 역사의 중요한 부분인데 우리를 잘 모르니까 일본 교육만을 하면
그런 뿌리나 민족교육에 대한 의식이 낮아지니까요. 그래서 민족교육은 있어야
한다고 생각합니다.

[Kim - Chongryun]

[Author] 인터뷰 감사드립니다. 인터뷰 시작하겠습니다. 간단한 자기소개
부탁드립니다.

[Kim] 저는 김남희라고 하고 미에현에서 태어났어요. 유치원은 일본 유치원을
다니고, 초급 1 학년부터 조선학교를 다녔습니다. 미에현에는 조선학교가 하나
있는데, 집에서 나라현이 더 가까워서 매일 1 시간 30 분쯤 전철을 타고 다녔어요.
2 학년때 아빠 일때문에 나고야로 이사했습니다. 그때부터는 나고야조선초급학교

그리고 아이치조선중고급학교를 다녔어요. 졸업하고 저는 도쿄에 있는 조선대학교에 다녔어요. 교육학부 음악과 2 년제인데 거기를 졸업하고 도쿄에 구니타치 음악원이라는 전문학교가 있어요. 거기서 피아노를 전공했어요. 지금은 피아니스트 연주자로서 자이니치의 결혼식 같은 곳에서 연주를 하고 있어요.

[Author] 자기소개 감사합니다. 옛날에 초급학교때부터 집이랑 많이 멀리 떨어져 있는데 한시간 반정도 걸려서까지 학교를 다니셨는데 힘들으셨을 것 같아요.

[Kim] 너무 옛날이라서 기억이 없어요. 근데 혼자가 아니라 가까이 사는 친척이랑 같이 다녔어요.

[Author] 남희씨 부모님께서 민족교육을 받기를 희망하신건가요?

[Kim] 네, 그런 것 같아요. 근데 모순이 있어요. 제가 고 2, 고 3 때 나고야에 있는 음악학교에 다니고 싶다고 했어요. 조선학교 말고, 그렇게 말하면 우리 엄마도 아빠도 조선학교를 다녔는데 엄마는(조선학교에) 절대 가지마라고 얘기했어요. 제가 처음에는 전문학교에 가려고 했는데 고 3 이 되고 주위에 모든 친구들이 조선학교에 간다고 해서 갑자기 슬퍼졌어요. 그래서 저도 조선학교로 가기로 결정했어요. 엄마는 처음에 반대하셨어요 왜냐면 자기가 경험했으니까. 결국엔 조선대학교로 진학했어요.

[Author] 그러면 남희씨께서는 지금 국적이 어떻게 되시나요?

[Kim] 국적은 한국입니다. 고 1 때 바꿨어요.

[Author] 그 전까지는 조선적이셨던건가요?

[Kim] 네 그래요.

[Author] 부모님께서도 한국 국적이신가요?

[Kim] 네 그래요. 가족이 5 명인데 다 한국 국적이예요.

[Author] 국적을 바꿀 때 일본 국적이 아니라 한국 국적을 선택하는데 특별한 이유가 있었을까요?

[Kim] 아, 귀화가 아니라고? 우리 집이 부모님보다는 할아버지 할머니가 너무 일각심이 강하셔가지고 한국은 괜찮지만 일본 국적은 절대 안된다고 하셨어요.

[Author] 남희씨께서는 재일교포 3 세이신가요?

[Kim] 할아버지는 일본에서 태어나셨고 할머니는 한국에서 태어나셨을 거예요.

[Author] 그러면 할아버지께서는 일본에서 태어나신 거세요?

[Kim] 네 그래요. 할머니는 전쟁 중에 일본에 오셨어요.

[Author] 할아버지 할머니께서 귀화는 절대 안된다고 말씀하신 거죠? 상당히 역사가 깊네요. 그러면 남희씨께서는 지금 조선학교에서 하고 있는 민족교육이 뭐라고 생각하세요? 민족교육이 일본에 있는 자이니치분들한테 어떤 역할을 하고 있다고 생각하시나요?

[Kim] 상당히 어려운 얘기네요... 제 자신이 최근에 생각이 많이 바뀌어서요.

[Author] 그러면 남희씨께서는 어릴때부터 민족교육을 받아오셨잖아요, 그런 민족교육을 통해서 자신의 정체성이 초등학교 중학교 고등학교 자신이 일본사람이라고 생각하셨나요, 아니면 조선인이라고 생각하셨나요?

[Kim] 아 그건 백퍼센트 코리안이라고 생각해요. 지금도 그 생각은 바뀌지는 않았는데... 그때는 그런 환경이라서 그것밖에 몰랐으니까.

[Author] 학교 다닐 때는 아무래도 환경이 그렇도 아직 어려서 민족교육을 많이 받다 보니까 자신의 정체성이 조금 더 코리안이라는 생각이 많이 심어졌었는데 지금은 성인이 되고 나서 사회에서 다양한 것을 생각하고 접해보니까 생각이 많이 바뀌셨다는 거죠?

[Kim] 네네. 제가 코리안이 아니더라고 하기 보다는, 귀화를 하는 사람이 있어도 별로 부정적인 마음이 생긴 것 같지가 않아요. 실은 남자친구가 일본인이예요. 그래서 생각이 많이 바뀐 것 같아요.

[Author] 그런 부분이 많이 있었겠네요. 자이니치 분들 중에서도 귀화를 한다고 해도 그게 나쁘거나 안좋은 시선은 없더라는 말씀이지요?

[Kim] 네네. 저는 전혀 그런 시선은 없어요.

[Author] 그러면 지금 말고, 옛날에 학교에서 공부를 할 때는 그런 환경이기때문에 코리안이다라는 생각이 강했던 것 같은데 그런 생각이 민족교육이 다양하게 있었을 것 아니에요? 그런 것들이 상당한 영향을 끼쳤다고 생각하시나요?

[Kim] 네네. 상당한 영향을 끼친 것 같아요.

[Author] 편하게 말씀해 주셔도 되는데, 학교에서 민족교육이 어떤 식으로 이뤄졌는지 여쭙봐도 될까요? 예를 들어서 제가 알기로는 조선학교에서는 교과서가 학우서방에서 자이니치를 위한 텍스트북을 만들고 있는 것으로 알고 있어요.

[Kim] 네 그래요.

[Author] 교과서 내용을 보면 ‘내가 코리안이다’ 라는 생각을 심어주는 내용이 많이 있었나요?

[Kim] 있었던 것 같아요.

[Author] 아니면 학교에서 이벤트라던가 페스티벌이라던가 있었나요?

[Kim] 네! 한국제 같은 것 있었어요. 있었는데, 일본학교랑은 많이 달라서 재미있지는 않았어요.

[Author] 어떤 것들을 했나요?

[Kim] 저는 합창부였는데 학생들이 공연을 같이 하거나 밴드 공연도 하고 각 학급마다 전시를 해요. 자유도는 높지 않았어요.

[Author] 어떤 노래를 해야한다, 이런게 정해져있었나요?

[Kim] 조선반도 그리고 역사에 관한 노래를 했어요. 수화도 하고 노래도 하고 그랬어요. 야키소바 같은 것을 판매하는 매점도 운영했어요. 1년에 한번만 있었어요.

[Author] 북한도 체험하러 다녀오셨나요?

[Kim] 네 그래요. 4 번 다녀왔어요. 고 3 때 수학여행 한번 다녀오고, 무용하고 민족교육과 합창부 중에 선발된 사람들이 8 월에 평양에서 정신교육이 있어서 제가 다녀왔어요. 조선대학교 2 학년때 수학여행으로 1 달동안 다녀온 적도 있어요.

[Author] 그러면 가서 무용, 합창 이런 다양한 활동을 하고 오신 건가요?

[Kim] 저는 성악을 전공했어요.

[Author] 4 번 다녀오셨다고 해서 놀랐어요. 그렇구나. 그러면 학교에서 초급, 중급 그리고 고급 조선학교에서 다양한 방법으로 민족교육을 하고 있잖아요? 남희씨가 생각하기에는 조선학교에서 하고 있는 민족교육이 이제 앞으로 자이니치 아이들한테 어떤 정체성을 심어줄 거라고 생각하세요? 쉽게 말씀드리면, 민족교육의 목적이 뭐라고 생각하시나요? 편하게 말씀해주세요.

[Kim] 제가 조선대학교를 다녀서 아는 것 같은데, 솔직히 말해서 제가 생각하기에는 자이니치를 너무 쉽게 말하면 ‘자이니치를 없애고 싶지 않다는 마음’ 그런게 있는 것 같아요. 아무래도 사람이 이제 많이 줄어들었고 많이 귀화를 해도 이상하지 않은 분위기가 되었고요.

[Author] 쉽게 얘기하면, 어쨌든 시간이 지나면서 많은 자이니치분들이 한국이나 북한으로 돌아가려고 하는 마음보다는 일본에서 정주하려는 마음이 더 크기 때문에 일본인으로 국적을 귀화를 하면 다양한 면에서 편하잖아요. 그렇기 때문에 그런 추세에 많이 있는데, 민족교육의 목적은 자이니치라는 스테터스를 유지하려고 하는, 그렇게 보고 계신 거죠?

[Kim] 네 맞아요. 시작도 그렇잖아요. 처음에 조선학교를 세웠을 때도 일본교육을 받은 자이니치 어린아이들에게 우리 말을 가르치고 했잖아요. 그것도 같은 맥락이라고 생각해요.

[Author] 한국어 강습소 말씀하시는 거죠?

[Kim] 네네. 그래요. 자이니치가 이렇게 있다면 제가 좀 떨어진 느낌이 들어서(평범한 자이니치랑 다른 성향인 것 같아서).

[Author] 민족교육의 역사를 쭉 봐오면, 처음에는 전쟁이 끝나고 나서 일본교육을 받던 코리안 아이들한테 한국말도 가르치고 조선 역사를 가르쳐 줌으로써 우리가 다시 한반도로 돌아갈 수 있는 준비를 도와주는 거였다면, 이제는 일본에 많이

정주를 하려고 하잖아요? 그런걸 생각하면서 질문을 하나 물어보면 남희씨 개인적인 생각으로는 앞으로 우리가 자이니치 아이들한테 어떤 민족교육을 해줘야 한다고 생각하세요? 남희씨께서 초급, 중급, 고급 그리고 조선대학교까지 하셨잖아요. 민족교육을 꼭 받으셨잖아요. 이렇게 받으면서 개인적으로 느낀게 있으시다면 앞으로 이런 거는 바뀌고, 이런 식으로 했으면 좋겠다 하는 개인적인 생각이 있으실까요?

[Kim] 음... 현실적으로는 어려울 것 같은데, 기본은 지금까지 해온 것도 좋다고 생각해요. 근데 가르치는 사람들도 시야가 더 넓어졌으면 좋겠어요. 많은 가능성을 받아들이면 좋다고 생각해요.

[Author] 그 가능성이란게...?

[Kim] 제가 고 3 때 선생님들이 되게 조선학교 가라고 말씀하셨어요. 근데 어느 한 선생님은 상관없다고 하셨어요. 진로상담할때. 그 말을 처음 들었을 때, 마음이 편안했어요. 그런 생각을 가지신 분들이 더욱 더 가르치는 입장에 있었으면 좋겠어요.

[Author] 보다 열린 마음으로 많은 옵션들을 받아들이고 학생들을 가르쳤으면 좋겠다고 말씀하시는 거죠?

[Kim] 네. 그래요.

[Author] 그러면 남희씨께서는, 일본 남자친구분도 계시고 앞으로는 일본에서 계속 살고 싶은 생각이신거죠?

[Kim] 네.

[Author] 그러면 혹시 지금 한국 이름을 사용하고 계신가요?

[Kim] 네. 한국 이름밖에 없어요.

[Author] 계속 한국 이름 사용하신 거세요?

[Kim] 성이 하나 더 있긴 해요. ‘김’이 아니라 ‘다쓰미’라는 일본식 성이 있어요. 고등학교때는 알바할때 일본식 성을 썼어요. 그래서 혼란스러웠어요. 이제는 어딜가든 ‘김남희’로 통일해요.

[Author] 일본에서 생활을 할 때, 남희씨께서는 자이니치이니까 힘들었거나 불편했던 에피소드가 있을까요?

[Kim] 네 있어요. 제가 지금 가나가와에 사는데, 1 년 반전에 이사 왔어요. 이사할 때 지금 가장 가까운 역에서 10 분 정도 거리인데 사실 집을 찾을 때 더 가까운 장소를 찾았어요. 직접 찾아보고, 살고 싶은 곳이 있어서 ‘이 아파트 희망합니다’라고 말했는데 이유도 없이 안 받아들인다고 했어요. 그런 경우가 엄청 많았어요. 그런 얘기를 같은 자이니치 선배한테 말했더니, 그 분은 집을 구할 때는 일본 성을 쓰고 있다고 말했어요.

[Author] 엄청 억울하네요 그건. 그럼 남희씨께서는 차별이 엄청 억울하고 어렵잖아요, 그런데도 불구하고 일본 성이 아니라 김남희라는 한국식 이름을 사용하는 이유가 있을까요?

[Kim] 아무래도 저는 한국사람이라는 마음이 있는 것 같아요.

[Author] 마음 속에는 계속 자신이 코리안이다라는 생각이 있으신 거죠? 일본에 살면서 차별을 겪긴 하지만 부정하는 마음은 아닌 거죠?

[Kim] 네. 제 주변엔 차별하는 사람보다 저를 그대로 받아주는 사람이 더 많아요.

[Author] 그럼 마지막으로 질문 하나만 더 하겠습니다. 그럼 남희씨께서는 아직까지도 조선학교에 대해서 아직 차별이 많이 있잖아요. 예를 들어서 일본정부에서 지원금을 여러 학교에 주는데 조선학교에는 안 주는 걸로 알고 있습니다. 그리고 학생들이 공공장소가 전철같은 곳에서는 치마저고리를 입기도 힘들고. 그런 차별이 있는데, 그런 차별에 대해서 어떻게 생각하시나요? 그리고, 자이니치 커뮤니티가 그런 차별을 없애기 위해서 어떤 활동을 해야한다고 생각하세요?

[Kim] 제가 생각하기에는 차별이 없어지지는 않을 것 같아요. 줄어들 수는 있지만, 어느 나라에서도 같다고 생각해요. 역시 주변에 자이니치 아는 사람 한명 있기만 해도 많이 다르다고 생각해요. 어려운 질문이네요.

[Author] 지금 제가 알기로는 일본에 있는 자이니치 커뮤니티가 다양한 것을 하고 있지만 하고 있는 것들 중에 밖에 나가서 캠페인을 통해 알리고 있고, 그런게 있는 걸로 알고 있는데, 제 차별에도 차별이 완전히 사라지지는 않을 것 같아요. 근데 그런 활동이 차별을 조금이라도 줄이는데 도움이 될까요?

[Kim] 네.

[Author] 혐오시위라던지 아이들한테 하면 안된다는 같은 내용의 캠페인을 하면 차별이 조금이라도 줄어들 거라고 생각하시나요?

[Kim] 네, 합니다 저는. 고교무상화문제 아세요?

[Author] 네.

[Kim] 제가 고 1 때부터 그 문제가 있었어요. 고 1 때부터 고 3, 그리고 조선대학교 있을 때도 서명운동 엄청 많이 했어요. 근데 그때 종이를 찢어버리는 사람도 많이 있고, 던지는 사람도 있었어요. 그런데 그 중에, 나고야의 여성 교수 분이 엄청 흥미를 가졌고 서명도 하고 도와 주셨어요. 일본 사람이예요. 그렇게 생각하면 의미가 있었다고 생각해요. 조선대학교때는 매주 금요일에 문과성에 가서 ‘차별하지 마라!’하면서 밤에 소리질렀어요. 그거는 솔직히 대화를 하는 것도 아니고, 당시에는 ‘이게 의미가 있는건가?’ 하고 생각도 했었어요.

[Author] 대화를 하는게 아니라 아주 일방적이어서, 대화하는 방식으로 소프트하게 풀어나가는게 좋다는 말씀이지요?

[Kim] 네, 그래요.

국 문 초 록

1945 년 일제 식민통치로부터 조선의 광복 후, 당시 자이니치(在日)들은 고국에서의 생활을 위하여 일본에 임시국어강습소를 설립한다. 그러나, 당시 한반도의 정치적으로 불안정한 상황과 일본정부의 의도적인 재산 반출금지 조치에 따라, 귀국에 대한 꿈은 좌절되고 대부분의 자이니치들은 일본에 거류하기를 선택한다. 현재까지도 자이니치는 그들의 식민지배에 대한 가해자였던 나라에서 살아가고 있고, 이러한 특이성은 디아스포라 담론에서도 특별히 부각되는 부분이다. 현재까지도 자이니치의 ‘민족교육’은 초창기부터 지속적인 제도적 차별로 많은 어려움을 겪고 있다. 자이니치의 ‘민족교육’은 민족 정체성 형성에 있어 큰 역할을 하고 있다는 점에서 연구의 중요성이 있다고 평가된다. 아직도 자이니치들의 ‘민족교육’이 일본 정부 및 사회의 제도적 박해를 받고있다. 미래사회에서도 일본 사회에서 정상적인 사회생활을 영위할 수 있도록 자이니치들의 정체성을 유지하면서, 일본의 제도적 및 사회적인 차별을 제거하기 위하여 ‘민족교육’의 방향성 및 지속가능성에 대한 연구가 반드시 이루어져야 한다. 본 논문은 현재의 일본 사회에서 자이니치의 ‘민족교육’이 어떤 형태로 발생하는지 파악하는 데에 그 목적이 있다. 나아가, 새로운 세대의 자이니치에게 중요한 사회적 및 민족적 가치를 살펴보는 것도 고찰해 보았다. 연구결과에 따른 자이니치의 ‘민족교육’에 대한 방향성 및 지속가능성의 제시를 통하여 자이니치와 관련된

조국의 지원 및 일본의 정책 시행의 긍정적인 발전에 기여하는데
연구의 의미가 있다.

주제어: 자이니치, 민족 교육, 민단계 민족 교육, 총련계 민족
교육

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