

**Exploring Factors on Identity of Korean Diaspora in the CIS Countries:
Perspectives of Millennial Generation**

By

HONG, Min Oak

THESIS

Submitted to

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ABSTRACT

Exploring Factors on Identity of Korean Diaspora in the CIS Countries: Perspectives of Millennial Generation

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Korean diasporas in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) countries, also called as 'Koryo-in' or 'Koryo-saram,' are uniquely situated people groups, who maintain strong national identity despite being displaced from homeland for over 150 years. They embody strong adaptive strength as they have experienced the traumatic separation from homeland and radical transformation of political and economic systems in the turmoil of modern history. With their adaptive strength, they suggest great potential for rich and productive population and focal point of global Korean network against the backdrop of rapid decrease in productive population in Korea. Their importance, especially the Millennials, as global economic and cultural network possessing bicultural and bilingual strengths, deserves more academic and political attention. With the objective to help them construct identities that could more positively define their diasporic lives and their relationship with homeland, this study explores the factors affecting the development of national identity with a focus on the Millennials, and attempts to suggest relevant policy considerations.

Key words: Korean diasporas in the CIS countries, Koryo-in, Koryo-saram, diasporic identity, the Millennials, diaspora policy.

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I. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

The history of Korean diaspora has begun since the 1860s when Koreans crossed the northern border to avoid severe famine and natural disasters and settled in Manchuria in China and the Maritime Province in Russia. After over 150 years of diaspora history, Korean diaspora population now reached almost 7.5 million corresponding to approximately 10 percent of the total population of North and South Korea combined (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019). Against the turbulent modern history of homeland, the migrations of Koreans diasporas display distinctive patterns of different motivations, backgrounds, settlements, and identities.

Other than the voting and security issues of overseas Korean, Korean diasporas of foreign citizenship have neither appeared on national agenda nor attracted public attention. However, they clearly have been included in the national plan of future of Korea since the *Roh Tae-Woo* administration when the *Roh* government suggested ‘Unification as Korean National Community’ in 1989 (Heo et al., 2012). Moreover, Korean diasporas with their adaptive strength suggest great potential against the backdrop of rapid decrease in productive population in South Korea and lack of human resource in the North. Their importance, especially the Millennials, as global economic and cultural network, possessing bicultural and bilingual strengths, deserve more academic and political attention.

1.2. Objectives of the Study

Korean diasporas in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) countries, also called as ‘Koryo-in’ or ‘Koryo-saram’ are uniquely situated people groups, who maintain strong ethnic

identity as Korean national despite being long separated in history. They embody highly strong adaptive strength as they have experienced themselves traumatic separation from the homeland and radical transformation of political and economic systems in the midst of post-colonial and post-Cold War eras. They allude to classical notion of diaspora having the pain of being separated from their origin as they were unwillingly displaced from homeland for extended period of time and situated at the periphery of the host societies as strong wave of nationalism swayed their new dwellings.

As this study will discuss, diasporic identities are not static but continue to evolve over time in response to their relationship with homeland and host countries, and the relevant policies, highlighting either positive or negative aspects of diasporic lives. In this context, the objectives of this study is to explore the major factors affecting the development of national identity of the Korean diasporas in the CIS countries primarily focusing on the Millennials, and based on such analysis, suggest policy considerations in order to help them construct identities that could more positively define their diasporic lives and relationship with homeland.

The approach and focus of this study provides a unique and critical contribution to the field of diaspora studies in that the study takes a quantitative analysis on the relationship between diasporic identity and the relevant factors affecting identity construction of Korean diasporas with a focus on the Millennials, while most of the previous studies in this field offered qualitative approach to the identities of Korean diaspora in general.

1.3.Method and Scope of the Study

To achieve the study objectives, this study:

- examines the definition of diaspora, the history and current status of Korean diasporas in general and in the CIS countries, and distinguishable identity features of the Millennials in chapter 2;
- explores the historic development of diaspora studies focusing on diasporic identities in chapter 3 with the aim to provide theoretical framework for the study;
- develops hypothesis in an attempt to discover the factors affecting diasporic identities in chapter 4;
- introduces the methodology used for this study in chapter 5;
- analyzes the data collected in chapter 6; and
- discusses the major findings from the analysis and suggests policy considerations as conclusion of this study in chapter 7.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter of the study, we will briefly discuss how the notions of diasporas have evolved over time and investigate the history and current status of Korean diasporas in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) countries.

2.1 Defining Diaspora

Who are diasporas? What comes to your mind when you read the word *diaspora*? In today's globalized world diasporas are more positively constructed in our minds than in the past. We observe a large population of migrants voluntarily crossing national boundaries for social and economic opportunities outside their homelands (Cohen, 2008). Diasporas are certainly one of key contemporary trends and the trend is growing rapidly since 1990s. According to the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA, 2019), international migrant stock grew from approximately 153 million in 1990 and reached 271 million in 2019 (see Figure 1).

Cohen (2008) identifies four aspects of globalization that opened up new opportunities for diasporas to survive and thrive: a globalized economy, new forms of international migration, the development of cosmopolitan sensibilities in many global cities, and the revival of religion as a focus for social cohesion. Such growth of diaspora population in recent years represents an enormous developmental potential for developing countries and is captured in four Goals and five Targets of the Sustainable Development Goals of the United Nations, particularly the remittances of diasporas to their homelands are considered critical resources for economic development in developing nations (Nurse, 2018).

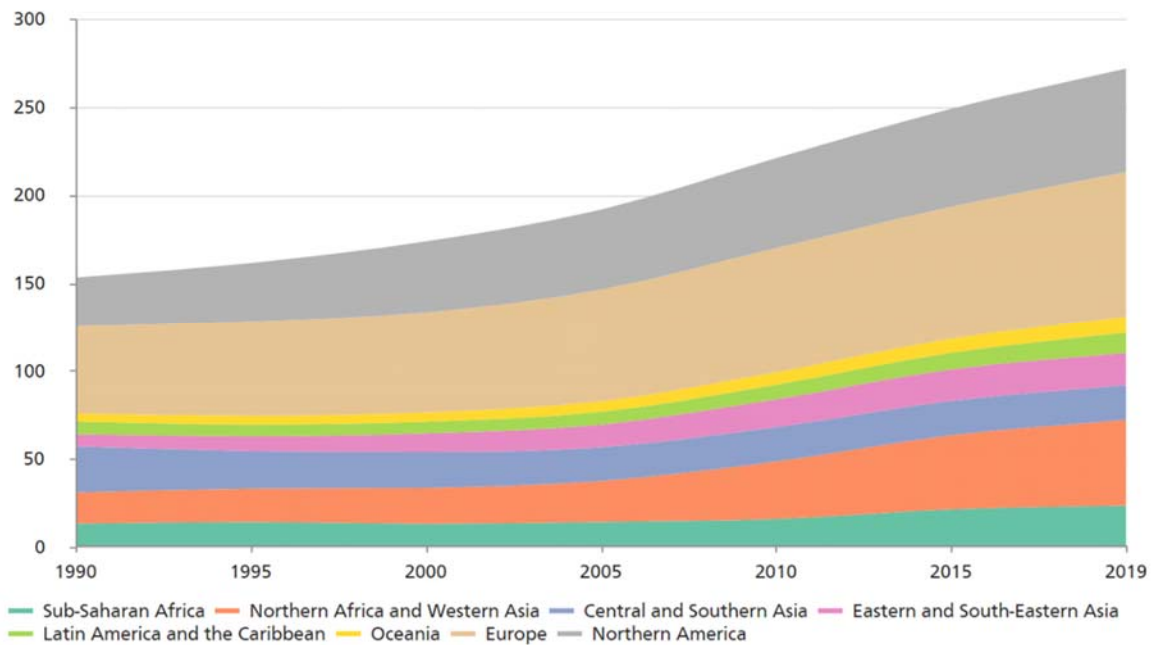


Figure 1. International Migrant Stock 2019 (Source: UNDESA, 2019. in million people.)

However, as Cohen (2008) notes that “diasporas are in a continuous state of formation and reformation,” diasporas were not always viewed as having great potential for advancement of individual and national causes. Rather, it would be more proper to understand that the term diaspora has been more negatively constructed for long time in history and aroused the sentiment such as loss of homeland and exile (Cohen, 2008). The English term for *diaspora* originated from the Greek compound *diasporav*, which means ‘scattered (*speivrow*) across (*diav*)’ (Oxford Dictionary). The term first found in the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, referred to the dispersion of the Jews as their nations Israel and Judea were conquered by the rising Assyrian, Babylonian, and Roman empires in the ancient Near East (Shim, 2018).

Cohen (2008) observes how the concept of diasporas has evolved over time. He notes that the classical notion of Jewish diaspora was later extended to be used to describe victim diasporas of Africans since the 16th century and Armenians in the early 20th century, groups of people

displaced from their homeland because of slave trade and genocide, respectively. Thus, the classical notion of diasporas represented exile, captivity, and forced uprooting of people following traumatic events in homeland and dispersal to two or more foreign destinations.

From the 1980s, however, diaspora was used by many scholars, most notably Safran, to describe a vast array of different peoples including expatriates, expellees, political refugees, alien residents, immigrants and ethnic and racial minorities (Safran, 1991). From the mid-1990s, social constructionist, influenced by postmodernist ideas, sought to decompose previously two major building blocks of the diasporic concept, namely 'homeland' and 'ethnic community' by arguing that "identities have become deterritorialized and constructed and deconstructed in a flexible and situational way" (Safran, 1991).

According to Cohen (2008), this social constructivist idea of 'deterritorialization' also met opposition by the turn of the 20th century. The current consolidation phase strongly attests that the ideas of home and homeland remain powerful discourses while admitting that "the increased complexity and deterritorialization of identities are valid phenomena" to some extent.

In short, the ideas of diaspora have been constructed and reconstructed as situations evolved over time. From gloomy and traumatic notion of classical view to social constructivist idea of deterritorialized identities, and to current consolidated view of modified homeland influence, the definition of diaspora continues to transform.

2.2 Korean Diasporas in General

Compared to other diaspora groups such as Jewish, Greek, Chinese, and Italian, Korean diaspora has relatively short history (Yoon, 2003). According to Heo et al. (2012), the history of Korean diaspora can be categorized into four distinct stages as follows:

The first generation of Korean diasporas migrated to Chinese and Russian border areas from the 1860s to 1910 to escape extreme poverty caused by series of natural disasters at home. Migration trend sharply increased as the Japanese rule became more obvious on the peninsula towards 1910. There also were Korean migrants to Hawaii as sugarcane farmer (Heo et al., 2012).

The second generation of Korean diasporas took place during the Japanese rule from 1910 to 1945. In this period, Koreans migrated to many foreign destinations for varying reasons. Some moved to Manchuria, also known as Kando, in China and to Japan to avoid growing persecution by the Japanese rule. Others moved to China, Russia and the United States for independence movement while mass population was conscripted as labor force for the Pacific War and relocated to Manchuria (Yoon, 2003).

After the liberation from the Japanese rule in 1945 and during the Cold War era, the third generation diasporas were more systematically mobilized by the Korean government for developmental purposes. Nurses and miners are sent to Germany, and construction projects in the Middle East invited many construction workers. Korean women moved to the United States as international marriage increased and many orphans were adopted by Americans. Furthermore, increasingly more population moved abroad for better economic and educational opportunities (Yoon, 2003).

Koreans diasporas after the Cold War era show different pattern of migration. Whereas earlier generations mostly moved temporarily, the fourth generation moved to more diverse destinations for long-term settlement. After the foreign currency crisis in 1997, migration to countries such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand increased sharply while migration to the United States declined. This caused a major shift in the regional distribution of the Korean diasporas (Heo et al., 2012).

The first two generations of Korean diasporas are closely related to the classical notion of diasporas. They were scattered primarily because of traumatic events in the modern history of Korea. Many of them were not given the opportunity to return to their homeland and remain in foreign nations (Yoon, 2003). Unlike the early phases of diaspora history, the third and fourth generations represent groups of migrants either nationally mobilized or voluntarily relocated (Yoon, 2003). They are more positively constructed than their ancestors and correspond more closely to the diasporas of the global age.

Although short in history, Korean diasporas of each stage symbolically captures the panorama of modern history of Korea. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Korean diaspora population is estimated to be 7.5 million, which represents approximately 10% of Korean population, North and South combined. More than 80% of diaspora population reside in East Asia and North America and the two largest host countries being the United States and China.

Region	Country	Population	
East Asia	China	2,461,386	32.85%
	Japan	824,977	11.01%
	Sub-total	3,286,363	43.86%
North America	USA	2,546,982	33.99%
	Canada	241,750	3.23%
	Sub-total	2,788,732	37.21%
South Asia & Pacific		592,441	7.91%
CIS		493,043	6.58%
Europe		194,016	2.59%
Central & South America		103,617	1.38%
Middle East		24,498	0.33%
Africa		10,877	0.15%
Total		7,493,587	100.00%

Table 1. Korean Diaspora Population by Region (Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019)

2.3 Korean Diasporas in the CIS Countries

According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, approximately 493-thousand Korean diasporas are hosted in the CIS countries as of 2019. Uzbekistan, Russia, and Kazakhstan each has more than 100-thousand diasporas, together accounting for more than 90% of Korean diasporas in the region. Korean diasporas in the CIS region, more precisely Russia and the Central Asian countries, are called ‘Koryo-in’ or ‘Koryo-saram (Kopë-capam).’

Country	Population
Uzbekistan	177,270
Russia	169,933
Kazakhstan	109,923
Kyrgyzstan	18,515
Ukraine	13,070
Turkmenistan	1,482
Belarus	1,343
Tajikistan	759
Armenia	373
Azerbaijan	192
Georgia	101
Moldova	82
CIS Total	493,043

Table 2. Korean Diaspora Population in the CIS (Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019)

As discussed earlier, the history of Korean diasporas in the CIS countries began in the 1860s as many Koreans crossed the northern borders to survive from series of natural disasters and famine in their homeland. According to Kim (2016) and Yoon (2003), upon the Japanese rule in 1910, more people fled from the brutal rule of the Japanese and moved to Manchuria in China and the Maritime Province in Russia. Those places gradually became the center of independence movement. By 1926 Korean population in the southeast of the Soviet Union grew to 167,400.

Deprived of their homeland, many Koreans obtained Soviet Union citizenship adopting the socialist ideals. They helped the Soviet Union during the Russo-Japanese War in Siberia but were poorly rewarded (Kim, 2016).

According to Yoon (2003), as Japan began to display its imperial ambition for the continent, the Soviet Union began to consider the Korean population in its territory a threat to national security. In addition to the rapid growth of Korean population, the Soviet government thought that Koreans might be used as spies by the Japanese troops. In this context, the Stalin government deported more than 170-thousand Koreans to Central Asia from September to November in 1937. During the 6,000km-long journey, about 11-thousand of them died due to harsh climate and starvation (Kim, 2016).

Deprived of their land, language, and education in foreign land far away from home, the lives of Koreans in the region were harsh. The living condition of Koreans at the time was similar to that of concentration camps. But the Korean communities were able to overcome the misery through their successful rice and cotton farming (Yoon, 2002). As Korean language was prohibited, they instead used Russian and chose to assimilate into the culture of their new habitation. Because of their fervor for education and diligent life style, Korean diasporas in the region were able to become middle-class of the host countries (Yoon, 2003).

After the Soviet Union collapsed, however, Korean diasporas met another great challenge as Islamic nationalism surged in the CIS countries in the aftermath of the Cold War era. Because of the lack of local language skills and growing discrimination against minority groups, a bulk of Korean diasporas re-migrated to the Maritime Province of Russia, where their ancestors began the long journey of diasporic life (Yoon, 2003).

Although the lives of Koreans in the CIS countries vary depending on host countries' nationalism and immigration policy, the Korean diasporas commonly show trends of rapid urbanization and high level of education. With the accumulated wealth from their successful farming business, Koreans in the region rapidly moved to urban area and supported the education of their children (Kim, 2016).

Yoon (2003) notes that Korean diasporas in the CIS countries maintain strong ethnic awareness. Contrary to the Korean diasporas in North America, because of the strong nationalism and harsh discrimination in the region after the Cold War, Korean diasporas in the CIS countries were forced to assimilate into the mainstream culture of their host countries. Despite such assimilation, Korean diasporas in the CIS countries exhibit strong ethnic bond, identifying themselves as 'Koryo-saram' distinguishable from the local people of host countries (Yoon, 2003). Their different appearance, substantial restrictions in vocational and educational opportunities, and the marks as minority group on their legal documents partly explain their long-maintained strong national identity as Koreans (Chang, 2016).

2.4 The Millennials and Identity

Generational theory attempts to understand and characterize cohorts of people according to the generation they belong to, which is objectively assigned according to the year of birth. Generations and generational units are informally defined by the press and media, demographers, popular culture, market researchers and by members of the generation (Benchendorff, 2010). The term 'Generation X' was first used by Douglas Coupland as the title for his novel 'Generation X' in 1992. Generation X is defined as "the group of people who were born between the early 1960s and the middle of the 1970s, who seem to lack a sense of direction in life and to feel that they have

no part to play in society” by Oxford dictionary. According to Oxford dictionary, Generation Y refers to “the generation born in the 1980s and 1990s, comprising primarily the children of the baby boomers and typically perceived as increasingly familiar with digital and electronic technology.” Generation X refers to the generation after the Baby Boomers and the ‘X’ stands for the namelessness of a generation different from Baby Boomers (Possamai, 2009). Yers are also called as dot.coms, the Millennials, the Net Generation or the Digital Generation (Possamai, 2009; Benchendorff, 2010). Current college students make up a meaningful portion of Generation Y.

Wyn and Woodman prefer to use the term “post-1970 generation’ to include so-called Xers and Yers because this broader group differs clearly from the Baby Boomers in terms of social and cultural conditions (Wyn and Woodman, 2006). Post-1970 generation were born and grew up during globalization, which has created a feeling of uncertainty due to job insecurity caused by the delocalization of industry from the west to the rest of the world (Possamai, 2009). They barely have experienced global war, their racial composition tends to be more heterogeneous than ever, and they have this uncertainty about their lifelong residency in one place, and also about their partners (Possamai, 2009). Thus, Post-1970 generation perceive the world as a world full of uncertainty.

However, many have argued that the pattern of values, attitudes and behaviors has shown that Generation X and Y respond to many public and social arenas differently. Generations X and Y are emerging as a topic of interest in many areas of business related studies regarding marketing, consumer behaviors, workforce management, and etc. Many researches show that generation Y represent distinct shift in life priorities from earlier members of the 1970s generation (Xers).

The previous 25-30 years have been a period of unprecedented transition from industrial economy to information-based economy and culture, from print-based to multi-mediated, digital

approaches to communication effects of ICTs, globalization and the emergence of the digital native (Benckendorff, 2010). Generation Y is the first generation born into the Information Age, and the changing society created a larger than usual generation gap. The generation gap between previous generations (so-called digital immigrant) and the Y Generation (so-called digital natives) is compared to similar shifts occurring with the introduction of the printing press in the 15th century (Benckendorff, 2010). Generation Y, the Digital natives, are characterized as: operating at twitch speed (not conventional speed); employing random access (not step-by-step); parallel processing (not linear processing); graphics first (not text); play-oriented (not work); connected (not stand-alone) (Benckendorff, 2010). Their native comfort level with ICTs ensures that they connect with the digital world through play, enjoyment and desire, rather than as a requirement of work.

Huntley describes Xers have more skeptical outlook than Yers who are more positive and open to many possibilities. Huntley explains that Yers were born into the age of uncertainty and took it for granted whereas Xers had to learn the change of reality for themselves (Huntley, 2006). Paul discusses the increase of diversity including ethnic, non-traditional families, linguistic, and change of media (Paul, 2001).

Many Generation Yers were born into more global societies. Generation Y have the technological and personal capability of participating virtually as global community members and regard themselves as participants of a global community (Benckendorff, 2010). Benckendorff and others cite other studies regarding the distinguishing features of Generation Y as follows: global perspective, technology savvy, high levels of ICT usage, flexible, multicultural, seek autonomy, strong individualism, independent, questioning of authority, want learning, team-oriented, group-focused, civic-minded, concerned about the world, entrepreneurial, and not interested in politics (Benckendorff, 2010).

III. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

As briefly discussed in the chapter 2 of this study, the classical notion of diaspora was labeled to describe the dispersion of peoples away from their homelands due to catastrophic events. So the term diaspora was used to refer to the Jewish experience of exile and later the African, Armenian, and Irish people scattered away from their origins.

But as the global age progressed, different categories of people who showed different motives and patterns of emigration have appeared. Since then, the studies of diasporas have evolved over time. Cohen (2008), Mavroud (2007), and other scholars in the field generally agree that there are three distinctive approaches to the studies of diaspora.

3.1 Traditional Approach

In the 1980s and onwards, the studies of diaspora felt the need to extend the narrow definition of the classical view because “the term now designated a vast array of different peoples who either applied the term to themselves or had the label conferred upon them.” (Cohen, 2008) Scholars who adopted this approach acknowledged the two major pillars in understanding diaspora, namely ‘homeland’ and ‘ethnic or religious community.’

This approach views that homeland or ethnic community plays a vital role in the lives and identity formation of peoples in diaspora. For example, heavily influence by the Jewish diaspora, Safran (1991) suggested that diasporic communities share several of the following characteristics:

- 1) *they, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original “center” to two or more “peripheral,” or foreign regions;*
- 2) *they retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland;*

- 3) *they believe they are not—and perhaps cannot be—fully accepted by the host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it;*
- 4) *they regard their ancestral homeland as the true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return –when conditions are appropriate;*
- 5) *they believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their homeland and to its safety and prosperity; and*
- 6) *they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethnocomunal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship.*

In defining the salient characteristics of diasporic communities, Safran (1991) emphasizes the vital importance of the relationship that a diasporic community has with its homeland for diasporic life. While diasporas are, at least partly, strangers in their host societies, their homeland is viewed as the ideal place, to which they belong and should eventually return when the time is right. Based on this shared memory or myth about this ‘center’, diasporas build relationship with their origin and acquire solidarity that defines their collective commitment to their homeland.

Similarly, Gupta and Ferguson (1997) note that homeland often serves as “symbolic anchors for dispersed people” and it remains “powerful unifying symbols for mobile and displaced peoples.” Anderson (1991) notes that this homeland must be an “imagined community” because “all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact are imagined” and such “communities are to be distinguished ... by the style in which they are imagined.” For many diasporas, being distant from their homeland for a long time, their homeland should be even more imagined. Here, Anderson (1998) argues for “long-distance nationalism” that distance can enhance

one's nationalism, highlighting that "imagined" nation can "exert a strong emotional pull on the diaspora." (Chander, 2001)

Mavroudi (2007) labels this traditional approach as "diaspora as bounded" because this approach to diaspora studies identifies shared language and beliefs, collective memories and homeland as important concepts in constructing "homogenous boundaries" relating to "nation-state, identity, and community."

3.2 Transnational Approach

From the mid-1990s, scholars began to criticize the traditional approach to diaspora studies that it centered around the boundaries of the nation-state hegemony and ethnic homogeneity, and does not fully capture the complexity and dynamics of diasporas in a global age. Cohen (2007) observes that new scholarly school of social constructionist "sought to decompose two of the major building blocks" of the traditional approach, namely "homeland and ethnic/religious community."

Tölölyan (1996) notes that the hegemonic power of the nation-state was greatly challenged by global trends of free movement of capital and labor, new ideologies, media, and intellectual discourses in the late twentieth-century. With this background, he argues that "diasporas are the exemplary communities of the transnational moment."

Scholars of this camp point out that if diasporas are defined primarily in terms of nation-state or ethno-centric groups of collective memory of history and language, such approach can be problematic that it cannot rightly explain the diversity or ethnicity within diaspora groups. For example, Clifford (1994) argues that because diasporas are situated in a state of "border" they form transnational identities. Hall (1990) underscores the "hybridity" and "doubleness" of diasporic identities formed culturally. Because of this hybridity and living in a state of "border," Shim (2018)

notes that diasporic identities have the positive potential to expand over the boundaries of nation-state. Emphasizing the hybrid, incomplete, and fluid nature of diasporic identities, Mavroudi (2007) labels these cultural interpretations as “diasporas as unbounded.”

3.3 Consolidation Approach

Cohen (2008) acknowledges the contribution made by the transnational approach that “increased complexity and deterritorialization of identities are valid phenomena.” He, however, points out that it is also true that “ideas of home and often the stronger inflection of homeland remain powerful discourses.” Tölölyan (2005) also insists that although “attachment to place” is no longer as much indispensable as in the past, “it remains important today.”

Chander (2001) notes that people away from home, just like any diaspora, do not generally form “cosmopolitan identity” and despite the globalized world of “hybridity, intermingling, and multiple allegiance,” most people have not given up “nationalist skin in favor of an evolved cosmopolitanism.” Instead, he focuses on the “enriched status” of diasporas’ bicultural and biracial aspects. Likewise, Vertovec (1997) underscores that such “multiplicity” is defined as “source of adaptive strength.” Cohen (2008) observes “counter-tendency to cosmopolitanism,” the “narrowing tendency” of “localism” in the cosmopolitan outlook. He identifies diaspora as having highly positive attributes in this paradoxical situation because “for a meaningful identity and a flexible response to burgeoning opportunities, for a resolution of the contradictory pulls of cosmopolitanism and localism, a double-facing type of social organization is highly advantageous.”

Anderson (1992) argues that although the nation-state is a recent invention, the nation always has been an “imagined community” and it transcended history. He further discusses that the emotional pull that the nation exerts effectively works at distance as well. He explains that

diasporas can either construct identities of homeland- or host country-orientation depending on their responses to the policies and cultural environments of both homeland and host society, while most of diasporas have the identities that continuously evolve around time of their diasporic lives.

Mavroudi (2007) argues that diaspora should be understood as ‘process.’ She notes that understanding “diasporas as process” would require “geographical grounding” like traditional approach but it does not assume that “diaspora is a given, fixed grouping” but it acknowledges “the need to examine the ways in which displaced people may manipulate and create visions of identity, community and the nation-state.” In this way, she suggests, diasporas may be understood as dynamic, in-the-making, and fluid but also “subject to power relations, tensions, disconnections and the specific, situated process that enable (or force) the constructions of shared (and often politicized) notions of belonging, identity and community.”

3.4 Summary

The traditional approach made a notable contribution to the studies of diaspora as it captured increasingly diverse categories of diaspora groups that the classical notion of diaspora could not correctly define. The traditional view, however, overemphasizes the influence of homeland or ethnic group making the dispersed people so passively subject to power relations of nation-states or ethnic groups.

On the other hand, the transnational approach better articulated the hybridity or doubleness of diasporic identities that transcend national border, underscoring a more autonomous and active role of diasporas in identifying themselves. This view also has limitation that it overlooks the reality that their homelands still remain important.

The consolidation approach correctly observes that diasporic identity is continuously at work-in-process that diasporas continue to construct and deconstruct their ideas of identity, community and the nation-state in response to the complex surroundings of diaspora lives. Understood as such, this study agrees the fluid and ever-evolving nature of diasporic thinking of their identities as suggested by the consolidation view, thus attempts to identify the major factors affecting their identity formation so as to offer policy suggestions for nurturing the potential of diasporas.

IV. HYPOTHESIS DEVELOPMENT

Factors affecting identity formation can be as diverse as family, peers, ethnicity, socioeconomic background, gender, societal expectations and values, social context of the times, state and religion, and all surroundings of a person (Bosma and Kunnen, 2001) and the identity formation is generally a complex and multidimensional process (Para, 2008). As discussed in chapter 3 of this study, diasporic identity formation should be considered a work-in-process rather a static product as diasporas respond to their complex surroundings of diaspora lives.

Although it may be a difficult task to determine the exact determinants that affect the identity formation of diasporas, this study suggests several key factors affecting diasporas' national identity formation based primarily on their relationships with host countries, homeland, and ethnic heritages, considering that diasporas are not only transnational and but also subject to complex tensions of environments of homeland and host country relations and policy (Anderson, 1992). As such, based on literature review, this study proposes seven elements as key factors affecting national identity of Korean diasporas: i) perceived relationship with host country, ii) perceived relationship with homeland, iii) homeland experience, iv) family education, v) Korean culture, vi) Korean history, and vii) Korean language.

In addition, this study assumes that the variables affecting diasporas' national identity also have a bearing on the overall life satisfaction of diaspora lives. Furthermore, this study also hypothesizes that the development of national identity affects diasporas' life satisfaction, desire to return home, and perception of unification. The proposed conceptual model that exhibits hypotheses of this study is outlined in Figure 2.

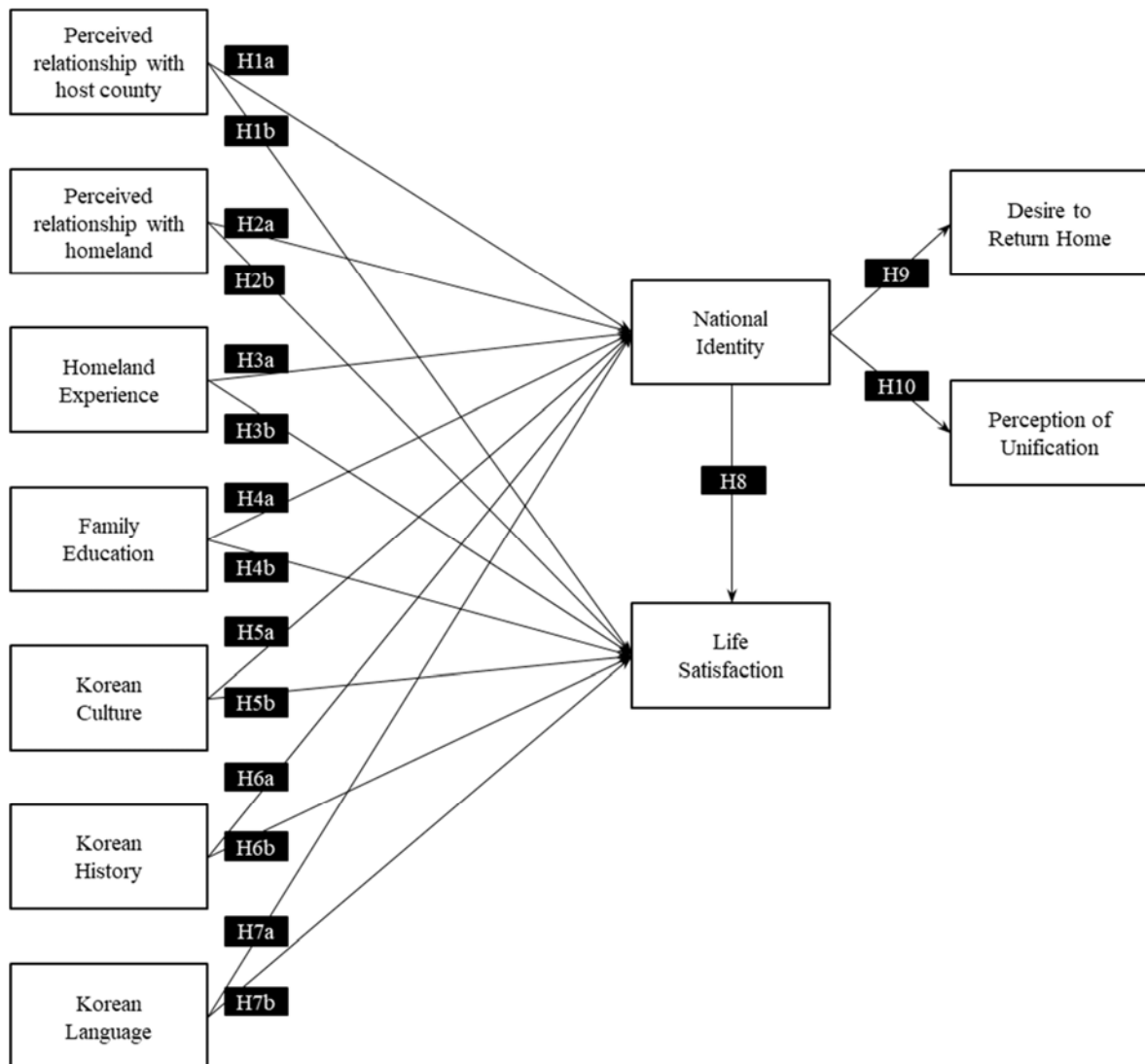


Figure 2. Proposed Structural Model of the Study

4.1 Effects of Perceived Relationship with Host Country on Identity and Satisfaction

Although diasporas exhibit transnational identity (Clifford, 1994) to some extent, they are still “subject to power relations and tensions” (Mavroudi, 2007) of host societies and homeland. Cohen (2008) notes that “significant levels of social exclusion in the destination societies” is one of the common marks of diaspora groups and ethnic discriminations are observed in a number of

diaspora populations. Yoon (2002) describes the severe social exclusion and racial discrimination that thwarts the lives of Korean diasporas in the CIS countries and forces them to assimilate into the cultures of host societies. He notes that despite the high rate of assimilation, the Korean diasporas in the region are significantly barred from many important socioeconomic positions of the host countries and such discrimination and exclusion ironically help them maintain strong ethnic identity (Yoon, 2002).

As Vertovec (1997) argues that “diaspora consciousness” is “constituted negatively by experiences of discrimination and exclusion,” the negative experiences of Korean diasporas in their host countries may enhance their ethnic awareness and exert negative influence on their diasporic lives. It is, therefore, hypothesizes that:

- *H1a. Perceived relationship with host country significantly affects the development of national identity of Korean diasporas in the CIS countries.*
- *H1b. Perceived relationship with host country significantly affects the overall life satisfaction of Korean diasporas in the CIS countries.*

4.2 Effects of Perceived Relationship with Homeland on Identity and Satisfaction

Considering homeland as “center” and foreign regions as “peripheral,” Safran (1991) emphasizes the paramount importance of homeland for diasporas. Safran (2004) also notes that “homeland orientation is widely perceived to be the major element that distinguishes a diaspora from ordinary immigrant expatriate communities.” Chander (2001) mentions that homeland exerts “a strong emotional pull on the diaspora” and Anderson (1998) claims that such emotional pull does not wane because of the distance, when arguing for “long-distance nationalism.”

Yoon (2002) explains the sense of belonging of Korean diasporas in the CIS countries against the backdrop of exclusion and otherness in foreign lands. As Vertovec (1997) claims that “diaspora consciousness” is “constituted positively by identification with an historical heritage,” this study hypothesizes that:

- *H2a. Perceived relationship with homeland significantly affects the development of national identity of Korean diasporas in the CIS countries.*
- *H2b. Perceived relationship with homeland significantly affects the overall life satisfaction of Korean diasporas in the CIS countries.*

4.3 Effects of Homeland Experience on Identity and Satisfaction

Diaspora’s travel to their ancestral homelands can be understood as a search for their roots and an experience of the connection to their heritage of original belonging (Huang et al., 2013). Huang et al. (2013) finds that such travel to ancestral home arouse “feeling at home” in their country of origin and the length and frequency of the “homecoming” effectively affects the strength of such feeling. Similarly, Hughes and Allen (2010) notes that diaspora tourism were generated by a pull of homeland rather than a push from foreign country and the visits of diasporas have “the effect of reinforcing a sense of” identification with homeland. Iorio and Corsale (2013) also finds that diaspora’s visit to homeland plays a clear role in defining the meanings of homeland and reaffirming the sense of belonging to their homeland.

Chang (2015) finds that visits of Korean diaspora with the motivation for relationship and search of identity generally had more positive experience than otherwise. In addition, he observes that more positive experience of diaspora leads to higher sense of national identity. As such, this study hypothesizes that:

- *H3a. Homeland experience significantly affects the development of national identity of Korean diasporas in the CIS countries.*
- *H3b. Homeland experience significantly affects the overall life satisfaction of Korean diasporas in the CIS countries.*

4.4 Effects of Family Education on Identity and Satisfaction

Para (2008) discusses that family interactions play a crucial role in identity development as it provides a foundation for one's value and belief system in early age. Waterman (1993) also agrees that family factors are the primary influence on one's initial stage of identity formation. More relevant to families in diaspora, Tsolidis (2011) notes that the family is "a primary site" where identities are mediated and negotiated between "members, generations and places." Emphasizing the role of women in diaspora families, she further observes that they "sift and mediate their parents' past and their children's future through their own experiences" (Tsolidis, 2011).

As family plays a crucial role in identity development and is considered a primary place where diasporic identities are negotiated and mediated, it is assumed that:

- *H4a. Family education significantly affects the development of national identity of Korean diasporas in the CIS countries.*
- *H4b. Family education significantly affects the overall life satisfaction of Korean diasporas in the CIS countries.*

4.5 Effects of Korean Culture, Language, and History on Identity and Satisfaction

As Gupta and Ferguson (1997) note, homeland serves as “symbolic anchors” and it remains “powerful unifying symbols” for diasporas. Shared language and beliefs, and collective memories have critical importance in constructing identities of people in diaspora (Mavroudi, 2007). Cohen (2008) also claims that “bonds of language, religion, culture and a sense of common fate” provide an “affective, intimate quality that formal citizenship frequently lacks.” In addition, language use is one of the “highly observable marker(s) of group identity” and “prerequisite for the intergenerational maintenance of group identity” according to Smolicz (1980).

A collective memory and myth about the homeland (Safran, 1991) with “intimacy of shared religion, language, and way of life” (Cohen, 2008) produce comforting identity of people in diaspora. Understood as such, this study hypothesizes that:

- *H5a. Familiarity with Korean culture significantly affects the development of national identity of Korean diasporas in the CIS countries.*
- *H5b. Familiarity with Korean culture significantly affects the overall life satisfaction of Korean diasporas in the CIS countries.*
- *H6a. Fluency in Korean language significantly affects the development of national identity of Korean diasporas in the CIS countries.*
- *H6b. Fluency in Korean language significantly affects the overall life satisfaction of Korean diasporas in the CIS countries.*
- *H7a. Understanding of Korean history significantly affects the development of national identity of Korean diasporas in the CIS countries.*
- *H7b. Understanding of Korean history significantly affects the overall life satisfaction of Korean diasporas in the CIS countries.*

4.6 Effects of National Identity on Life Satisfaction

Anderson (1991) contends that the “nation-ness” commands a “profound emotional legitimacy” and if diasporas find themselves positively positioned in the history of their homeland, they can construct national identity in its positive meaning, according to Weedon (2004). Moreover, as discussed earlier, “diaspora consciousness” is “constituted negatively by experiences of discrimination and exclusion, and positively by identification with an historical heritage” (Vertovec, 1997). Cohen (2008) also notes that extended family and identification with homeland brings warmth and comfort in the complex, uncertain, and even fearful world. Therefore, this study hypothesizes that:

- *H8. National identity significantly affects the overall life satisfaction of Korean diasporas in the CIS countries.*

4.7 Effects of National Identity on Desire to Return Home

Safran (1991) claims that for diasporas, homeland is considered a “specific original center” and they are dispersed to “peripheral” foreign places where the homeland is “the true, ideal home” and the place their descendants “would (or should) eventually return–when conditions are appropriate.” Similarly, Cohen (2008) also observes that diasporas exhibits “an idealization of the supposed ancestral home” and “a return movement or at least a continuing connection.” Choi (2016) discusses the right of Korean diasporas to return home and highlights the desire of Korean diasporas’ homecoming and its legal implications. In this context, this study hypothesizes that:

- *H9. National identity significantly affects the desire of Korean diasporas in the CIS countries to return home.*

4.8 Effects of National Identity on Perception of Unification

One of the salient features of diasporas is that diasporas believe that they should collectively be committed to the maintenance, restoration, safety, and prosperity of their homeland, and their relationship with homeland critically defines their “ethnocommunal consciousness and solidarity” (Safran, 1991). According to surveys, Korean diasporas view unification of Korea more positively than the Koreans in South Korea (Heo et al., 2012 & Park et al., 2016). Therefore, it is hypothesized that:

- *H10. National identity significantly affects the perception of unification of Korean diasporas in the CIS countries.*

V. METHODOLOGY

6.1 Data Collection

This study examines the relationships between national identity and life satisfaction of Korean diasporas in the CIS countries, primarily focusing on the Millennials, and various factors relevant to the diaspora lives. It further observes how the development of national identity affects diasporas' desire to return home and perception of unification. For this purpose, a survey was conducted among Korean diasporas in the CIS countries using the online survey tool 'Qualtrics' for distribution and collection of the survey. The survey was distributed through social medias as Qualtrics creates an online link for easy distribution and collection.

The survey was conducted from August to September of 2020 with 102 respondents of Korean diasporas from the CIS countries, most of whom from the Millennial generation. The questionnaire was prepared and distributed in English and Russian given that most of the Korean diasporas in the CIS countries speak Russian as their first language. This study conducted back-translation to check reliability of the translated version. The survey first informed the respondents of the objectives of the study, and confidentiality and anonymity of the survey. Comprised of 14 sections, the survey asked 61 questions in total, considering proposed variables and including demographic factors.

6.2 Development of Research Question

The survey questionnaire was designed based on the research model of this study (see chapter 4). The survey questions related to the proposed variables, including i) perceived relationship with host country, ii) perceived relationship with homeland, iii) homeland experience,

iv) family education, v) Korean culture, vi) Korean history, vii) Korean language, viii) national identity, ix) life satisfaction, x) desire to return home, and xi) perception of unification. The survey also asked questions related to policy measures and demographics such as gender, nationality, resident country, religion, language, place of residence, ethnic origin, diasporic history, marital status, age, education, occupation, income, and parent's education and occupation.

The Cronbach's alpha test was conducted for reliability check. Cronbach's alpha values were 0.862 for perceived relationship with host country, 0.845 for perceived relationship with homeland, 0.830 for homeland experience, 0.383 for family education, 0.792 for Korean culture, 0.678 for Korean history, 0.248 for Korean language, and 0.650 for national identity.

VI. DATA ANALYSIS

6.1 Demographics

Of the 102 respondents, two-thirds were female and one-third were male. About 42% and 33% were in their twenties and thirties, respectively, together representing approximately 75% of the respondents. Given that the Millennials are now in their twenties and thirties, most of the respondents are likely from the Millennial generation. Approximately 52% were married, 38% single, and 9% divorced, while 47% were without a child, 17% with one child, 29% with two children, and 7% with three or more children.

75% were third generation diasporas, 16% fourth generation, and less than 9% of respondents were first or second generation diasporas. 94% said both parents were of Korean ethnic and only 6% said only one of their parents were of Korean ethnic. 58% of the respondents were nationals of Uzbekistan, 12% were from Kyrgyzstan, and 11% from Kazakhstan and Russia. On the other hand, their current resident country distribution showed that more than 50% of the respondents are currently residing in South Korea, while 34% in Uzbekistan, 7% in Kazakhstan, 4% in Kyrgyzstan, 2% in Russia.

78% of respondents answered Russian as their first language, while only 25% answered they are fluent in the local languages. In regard to education level and occupation, while the respondents showed relatively high educational achievement that 13% had high school or lower education, 62% college degree, 24% master's degree, and 2% doctoral degree, their occupation showed diverse patterns: 19% office worker, 13% student, 13% self-employed, and 14% with no regular jobs. 52% of the respondents answered their annual household income was US\$10,000 or lower, 24% between US\$10,001 and 20,000, and only around 24% over US\$20,000. More than

50% of both fathers and mothers of the respondents had college degrees. 52% said they had no religion, 42% Christianity, and only one respondent was Muslim. Table 3 summarizes demographics of the sample.

(N = 102)	Total	
	%	N
<i>Gender</i>		
Female	66.67%	68
Male	33.33%	34
<i>Nationality</i>		
Kazakhstan	10.78%	11
Kyrgyzstan	11.76%	12
Russia	10.78%	11
Tajikistan	0.98%	1
Turkmenistan	2.94%	3
Uzbekistan	57.84%	59
South Korea	1.96%	2
United States	0.00%	0
Others (specify):	2.94%	3
<i>Country of Residence</i>		
Kazakhstan	6.86%	7
Kyrgyzstan	3.92%	4
Russia	1.96%	2
Tajikistan	0.00%	0
Turkmenistan	0.98%	1
Uzbekistan	34.31%	35
South Korea	50.98%	52
United States	0.00%	0
Others (specify):	0.98%	1
<i>Religion</i>		
Buddhism	0.00%	0
Catholicism	0.00%	0
Hinduism	0.00%	0
Islam	0.98%	1
Orthodoxy	19.61%	20
Protestantism	22.55%	23
Others (specify):	4.90%	5
None	51.96%	53
<i>Ethnic Origin</i>		
Both parents are of Korean ethnic	94.12%	96
Only my mother is of Korean ethnic	3.92%	4
Only my father is of Korean ethnic	1.96%	2
Both my parents are partially of Korean ethnic	0.00%	0
<i>Diasporic History</i>		
First-generation diaspora	0.98%	1
Second-generation diaspora	7.84%	8
Third-generation diaspora	75.49%	77
Fourth-generation diaspora	15.69%	16
<i>Marital Status</i>		
Married	51.96%	53
Single, never married	38.24%	39
Divorced	8.82%	9
Widowed (separated by death of spouse)	0.98%	1

<i>Number of Children</i>		
None	47.06%	48
One	16.67%	17
Two	29.41%	30
Three or more	6.86%	7
<i>Age</i>		
Under 20	0.98%	1
20s	42.16%	43
30s	33.33%	34
40s	21.57%	22
50s	0.98%	1
60s	0.98%	1
70s or older	0.00%	0
<i>Education Level</i>		
High school or lower	12.75%	13
College degree	61.76%	63
Master's degree	23.53%	24
Doctoral degree	1.96%	2
<i>Occupation</i>		
Student	12.75%	13
Office worker	18.63%	19
Self-employed	12.75%	13
Civil servant	2.94%	3
Physical labor	17.65%	18
Housewife	7.84%	8
Agriculture / livestock / fishery	0.98%	1
No regular job (including part-timer or contract worker)	13.73%	14
Job seeker	3.92%	4
None	0.98%	1
Other	7.84%	8
<i>Annual Household Income</i>		
US\$ 0~10,000	51.96%	53
US\$ 10,001~20,000	23.53%	24
US\$ 20,001~30,000	17.65%	18
US\$ 30,001~40,000	2.94%	3
US\$ 40,001~50,000	1.96%	2
US\$ 50,001~	1.96%	2
<i>Father's Education Level</i>		
High school or lower	33.33%	34
College degree	52.94%	54
Master's degree	13.73%	14
Doctoral degree	0.00%	0
<i>Mother's Education Level</i>		
High school or lower	30.39%	31
College degree	57.84%	59
Master's degree	11.76%	12
Doctoral degree	0.00%	0

Table 3. Sample Demographics

6.2 Hypothesis Testing

This study used factor analysis and regression analysis to test the relationships between the variables. First, for validity check of each construct, this study conducted factor analyses, using the principal component analyses as extraction method, and Varimax rotation with Kaiser Normalization. The outcomes of factor analysis positively appeared as the major model with Eigenvalues greater than 1.00. Table 4 summarizes the outcomes of factor analysis for each construct.

Items		Components							
Factors	Scale Items	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Host Country Perception 5	Do you think that you are disadvantaged because of your ethnicity in the following areas? - Occupation and income	0.831							
Host Country Perception 3	Do you think that you are disadvantaged because of your ethnicity in the following areas? - Social relationship	0.830							
Host Country Perception 4	Do you think that you are disadvantaged because of your ethnicity in the following areas? - Education	0.783							
Host Country Perception 6	Do you think that you are disadvantaged because of your ethnicity in the following areas? - Politics	0.733							
Host Country Perception 1	Do you think that your country of residence promotes ethnicity-based nationalism, differentiating and discriminating minor ethnic groups?	0.718							
Host Country Perception 7	Do you think that you are disadvantaged because of your ethnicity in the following areas? - Religion	0.678							
Host Country Perception 2	Do you think that the general population (major ethnic group) of your resident country perceive you as belonging to different cultural or social people group?	0.582							
Homeland Perception 1	Do you think that your country of origin (South Korea) sufficiently engages, supports and embraces Korean diaspora in your country of residence? - Engagement or interaction		0.903						
Homeland Perception 2	Do you think that your country of origin (South Korea) sufficiently engages, supports and embraces Korean diaspora in your country of residence? - Support		0.896						
Homeland Perception 3	Do you think that your country of origin (South Korea) sufficiently engages, supports and embraces Korean diaspora in your country of residence? - Embracement		0.866						
Homeland Perception 4	Do you think that the general population of your original country (South Korea) perceive you as belonging to same ethnic community with significantly common interest and concerns?		0.654						
Homeland Experience 3	Did your stay in Korea help you develop the followings? - Understanding of Korean culture			0.856					

Homeland Experience 4	Did your stay in Korea help you develop the followings? - Understanding of Korean history				0.855				
Homeland Experience 5	Did your stay in Korea help you develop the followings? - Korean language				0.755				
Homeland Experience 1	Did your stay in Korea help you develop the followings? - Solidarity with Korea				0.745				
Homeland Experience 2	Did your stay in Korea help you develop the followings? - Sense of belonging to Korean society				0.691				
Family Education 2	Do (did) your parents distinguished themselves from other ethnic groups of your country of residence and identified themselves as Korean origin?					0.788			
Family Education 1	Do you think your parents show effort to sustain Korean heritage such as language, traditional festival, foods, or value system and succeed to next generations?					0.788			
Korean Culture 4	Do you enjoy contemporary Korean culture?						0.733		
Korean Culture 5	Are you familiar with Korean national symbols such as national flag, anthem, flower and sport?						0.732		
Korean Culture 1	Are you familiar with traditional Korean culture such as traditional folk games, clothing, foods and festivals?						0.731		
Korean Culture 2	Do you enjoy traditional Korean culture?						0.714		
Korean Culture 3	Are you familiar with contemporary Korean culture such as K-pop, K-drama and –movie, and other public culture?						0.686		
Korean Culture 6	Do the Korean national symbols arouse sense of belonging to your homeland?						0.662		
Korean History 4	Would you like to learn more about Korean modern history?							0.767	
Korean History 2	Would you like to learn more about Korean pre-modern history?							0.751	
Korean History 3	Do you have good knowledge of Korean modern history (history from late Chosun dynasty, Japanese rule, Civil War and up to the present)?							0.691	
Korean History 1	Do you have good knowledge of Korean pre-modern history (history before late Chosun dynasty)?							0.676	
Korean Language 2	Would you like to develop your Korean language skill?								0.762
Korean Language 1	Describe the level of your Korean language proficiency.								0.762
National Identity 3	Would you like to contribute your resources (e.g. finance, time, talent) to the development of homeland and overseas Korean ethnic group's well-being and prosperity when the opportunity is given?								0.837
National Identity 1	Do you think that you belong to Korean ethnic community (overseas and homeland) and would you like to develop stronger solidarity or deeper relationship with Korean communities?								0.740
National Identity 2	Would you like to return to your homeland for permanent/long-term residence when the opportunity is given?								0.726

National Identity 4	Are you proud of your homeland and have affection for it?									0.477
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Table 4. Component Matrix

The multiple regression analysis was used to test the hypotheses using the factor scores. The ANOVA result tells that the models were significant at 0.01 level with $F= 4.032$ ($r\text{-square} = 0.232$). Table 5 summarizes the outcome of the multiple regression analysis for the effects of the first seven variables on national identity. According to the analysis, hypotheses 1a and 3a were accepted while hypotheses 2a, 4a, 5a, 6a, and 7a were rejected. In short, perceived relationship with host country and homeland experience affects the national identity of the sample population.

Variable (Independent → Dependent)	Standardized Coefficient (<i>t</i> -value-Sig)
Perceived Relationship with Host Country → National Identity (H1a)	0.183 (1.959*)
Perceived Relationship with Homeland → National Identity (H2a)	-0.42 (-0.406)
Homeland Experience → National Identity (H3a)	0.229 (2.065**)
Family Education → National Identity (H4a)	0.152 (1.625)
Korean Culture → National Identity (H5a)	0.091 (0.788)
Korean History → National Identity (H6a)	0.119 (1.211)
Korean Language → National Identity (H7a)	0.123 (1.149)

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$ denotes statistical significance

Table 5. Effects of Variables on National Identity

On the other hand, Table 6 summarizes the outcome of the multiple regression analysis for the effects of the same variables on life satisfaction. The ANOVA result shows that the models were significant at 0.01 level with $F= 4.016$ ($r\text{-square} = 0.164$). Hypotheses 1b and 3b were accepted while hypotheses 2b, 4b, 5b, 6b, and 7b were rejected. Again, only the perceived relationship with host country and homeland experience turned out to be affecting the life satisfaction of the sample population according to the analysis.

Variable (Independent → Dependent)	Standardized Coefficient (<i>t</i> -value-Sig)
Perceived Relationship with Host Country → Life Satisfaction (H1b)	0.204 (2.186**)
Perceived Relationship with Homeland → Life Satisfaction (H2b)	-0.87 (-0.849)
Homeland Experience → Life Satisfaction (H3b)	0.240 (2.168**)
Family Education → Life Satisfaction (H4b)	0.132 (1.414)
Korean Culture → Life Satisfaction (H5b)	0.100 (0.862)
Korean History → Life Satisfaction (H6b)	0.108 (1.100)
Korean Language → Life Satisfaction (H7b)	0.112 (1.051)

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$ denotes statistical significance

Table 6. Effects of Variables on Life Satisfaction

Table 7 shows the result of regression analysis on the effects of national identity on life satisfaction. The ANOVA result shows that the models were significant at 0.01 level with $F=3.705$ ($r\text{-square} = 0.037$). The analysis tells that hypothesis 8 was accepted that the national identity affects the life satisfaction of the sample population.

Variable (Independent → Dependent)	Standardized Coefficient (<i>t</i> -value-Sig)
National Identity → Life Satisfaction (H8)	0.193 (1.925*)

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$ denotes statistical significance

Table 7. Effects of National Identity on Life Satisfaction

Table 8 summarizes the result of regression analysis on the effects of national identity on desire to return home. The ANOVA result indicates that the models were significant at 0.01 level with $F=114.444$ ($r\text{-square} = 0.534$). According to the analysis, hypothesis 9 was accepted that national identity affects the desire of returning home of the sample population.

Variable (Independent → Dependent)	Standardized Coefficient (<i>t</i> -value-Sig)
National Identity → Desire to Return Home (H9)	0.731 (10.698***)

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$ denotes statistical significance

Table 8. Effects of National Identity on Desire to Return Home

Table 9 summarizes the result of regression analysis on the effects of national identity on perception of unification. The ANOVA result indicates that the models were significant at 0.01 level with $F = 2.489$ ($r\text{-square} = 0.25$). According to the analysis, hypothesis 10 was rejected that national identity does not affect the perception of unification of the sample population.

Variable (Independent → Dependent)	Standardized Coefficient (<i>t</i> -value-Sig)
National Identity → Perception of Unification (H10)	0.157 (1.589)

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$ denotes statistical significance

Table 9. Effects of National Identity on Perception of Unification

In conclusion, the results of multiple regression analyses suggest that H1a, H1b, H3a, H3b, H8, H9 were accepted while other hypotheses were rejected. Table 10 summarized the results of the hypotheses testing.

Hypothesis Testing	Result
Perceived Relationship with Host Country → National Identity (H1a)	Accepted
Perceived Relationship with Homeland → National Identity (H2a)	Rejected
Homeland Experience → National Identity (H3a)	Accepted
Family Education → National Identity (H4a)	Rejected
Korean Culture → National Identity (H5a)	Rejected
Korean History → National Identity (H6a)	Rejected
Korean Language → National Identity (H7a)	Rejected
Perceived Relationship with Host Country → Life Satisfaction (H1b)	Accepted
Perceived Relationship with Homeland → Life Satisfaction (H2b)	Rejected
Homeland Experience → Life Satisfaction (H3b)	Accepted

Hypothesis Testing	Result
Family Education → Life Satisfaction (H4b)	Rejected
Korean Culture → Life Satisfaction (H5b)	Rejected
Korean History → Life Satisfaction (H6b)	Rejected
Korean Language → Life Satisfaction (H7b)	Rejected
National Identity → Life Satisfaction (H8)	Accepted
National Identity → Desire to Return Home (H9)	Accepted
National Identity → Perception of Unification (H10)	Rejected

Table 10. Summary of Hypothesis Testing

VII. CONCLUSION

7.1 Key Findings

The outcomes of the analysis suggest a somewhat different set of factors affecting the diasporic thinking of the Millennials compared to what are believed to be important factors in the development of diasporic identities. While most of the factors conventionally considered to be critical in identity formation of diasporas, such as perceived relationship with homeland, family education, and culture, history and language of ancestral home, are found to be less significant, the factors of direct experiences, such as relationship with host societies and homeland experience, exhibit strong relationship with national identity and life satisfaction of the Millennial Korean diasporas in the CIS countries.

The unique characteristics of the Millennials and the long history of separation may explain the research outcomes. Because the Millennials are more individualistic, flexible, fast-paced, multicultural, play-oriented, and questioning of authority, the importance of skills, knowledge and emotional solidarity considered necessary to gain access to ethnocentric communities centered around the ideas of imagined, idealized and vague reality of ancestral home seems to reduce with this new generation. Moreover, such weakening power of conventional influences is accelerated by the time distance of this generation as they are now third- or fourth-generation away from their homeland. On the other hand, the relationship with their host countries and their visit to ancestral homeland are direct, live and real-time experiences, thus significantly affecting their identity construction and perception of life. Again, the generational gap between the Millennials and the previous generations is almost comparable to the gap created by the printing press in the 15th century. Also, the Millennial diasporas in the CIS region are now more than one and a half century

away from their national heritage, a time long enough to transform the entirety of diasporic patterns of life and ideas. Without considering such critically important generational difference and time passage, accurate and meaningful understanding of the diasporic perception and thinking of homeland becomes a naïve idea.

It must be noted, however, despite their weakening influence over the new diaspora generation, the conventional factors relating to diasporas such like culture, language, and history of homeland still play important roles as can be understood in a number of empirical studies of diaspora. In fact, the survey result of this study also agrees with this view that most of the respondents had the strong wanting to develop such skills and knowledge, and over 90% of the respondents answered that acquiring good understanding of Korean culture, language and history is very important for their future career in homeland and desired homecoming.

This study observes that national identity of these diasporas heavily affects their life satisfaction and desire to return home. This implies that although the Millennials are more transnational and exhibit more flexible identities, the emotional pull and sense of belonging in regard to their homeland still remain an important factor in the quality of diasporic lives. Diasporas' high level of identification with their homeland is found to have a significant bearing on their desire to return home. The hard experience in host societies and the positive experience in homeland seem to generate emotional push and pull toward homeland.

On the other hand, however, as the Millennials are generally apolitical, enhanced national identity does not seem to have significant effect on their perception of unification of Korea. Most of the survey respondents did not necessarily found unified Korea more favorable than South Korea of current status. However, they still exhibit a very high level of unification perception

compared to the South Korean cohorts that most of the respondents said that they would support the unification.

7.2 Additional Findings

This study makes additional observations by examining if there are any differences in national identity and life satisfaction among different groups. For this purposes, ANOVA analysis was used to observe the differences between groups. According to the analysis, the mean of life satisfaction differed based on i) nationality at the significant level of 0.1, ii) education level at the significant level of 0.1, and iii) annual household income at the significant level of 0.01. In addition, the mean of national identity differed based on religion at the significant level of 0.05.

Korean diasporas in different countries face varying degrees of discrimination and exclusion depending on the culture and immigration policy of host country in which they are located. For example, Korean diasporas in Kazakhstan may experience little discrimination due to the multicultural policies of the country whereas Korean diasporas in Uzbekistan may feel that they are significantly marginalized due to the strong nationalism and ethno-centric differentiation in the nation. In addition, factors that seemingly have heavy association with socioeconomic status or potential are found to be significantly affecting one's perception of life. This may be true with other populations but these factors may be felt more important for the Millennial diasporas in the CIS countries given their uncertainty as diaspora and the uncertainty of this time.

7.3 Policy Considerations

Again, this study highlights the paramount importance of understanding the characteristics of the Millennials in general and more particularly the Millennial diasporas in the CIS countries

given the extended passage of time of separation. With the proper understanding of such, diaspora policies of the Korean government can be set in a right direction. As discussed earlier, two factors are found to have more significance in diaspora policies than others – diasporas’ relationship with host societies and homeland experience. While not reducing the importance of other factors, these two factors need to receive more policy attention.

Firstly, the Korean government can leverage its enhanced international influence over the CIS countries to alleviate the social discrimination and exclusion that Korean diasporas experience in the region. Secondly, the government can enrich the homecoming experience of the diasporas by reviewing and upgrading of current visit programs in terms of quality, design and opportunity with enhanced financial support. At the same time the government can also invest in adding more Korean-ness abroad by reforming the current Korean culture and language center, elevating its presence comparable to Korean Schools. Currently, Korean language and cultural centers provide programs centered mostly around Korean language, while Korean Schools offer regular curriculum that is almost identical to that of the schools in Korea. This effort should consider the need and accessibility of Korean diasporas to the language, history, culture programs. A good benchmark case can be found in Israel’s diaspora policy in its national building effort. The Development Corporation for Israel (DCI) established by the Israeli government in 1951 invested heavily in placing Israeli-presence across the Jewish diaspora communities around the globe, maintaining and enhancing the bond between diaspora communities and homeland (Ketkar &Ratha, 2010). Thirdly, more discourse and researches are needed in legal and historic review relating to the diasporas’ right to return home. The researches need to explain the legitimacy of their claim taking into account the unique diasporic history of Korea. At the same time, researches are necessary to suggest concrete policy measures to help prepare both diasporas and Korean

population to make the return most profitable to both groups. Fourthly, unification discourses need to include the role and potential of the diasporas considering the unique strength and possible contribution they may offer. Through such effort, diasporas will be able to support the unification with their full capacity and be more positively positioned in the future of unified Korea.

7.4 Limitations and Future Research

This study primarily focuses on the Millennials of Korean diasporas in the CIS countries who are mostly third or fourth generation diasporas. Also, a significant number of survey respondents of the study currently reside in South Korea (51%) and a larger number of people had the experience in South Korea over one-year period (62%). Therefore, the sample population of the study may not well represent the general diaspora population in the CIS countries, rather it exhibits the ideas of nation, identities, and relationship with homeland of the Millennials of Korean diasporas with increased mobility.

On the other hand, while the study provides a high-level analysis relating to policy considerations, more in-depth studies are needed to suggest concrete policy recommendations based on the findings of this study. Possible areas of further research could be on issues relating to policy measures to alleviate the difficulties of diasporas in their host countries, support diasporas' homeland experience and increased Korean-ness in the host societies, and prepare diasporas' homecoming.

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APPENDICES

Survey Questionnaire

Start of Block: Survey Consent

Q1.1 Thank you for taking time to respond to this survey. This survey is about "Korean Diaspora in the CIS Countries: Identity and Policy Implications." Your response to this survey will help Korean government's effort to improve its relevant policy. This survey will take approximately 20 minutes. Please note that this survey is for research purposes only. Your response will be kept strictly confidential and anonymous, and will not be disclosed to anyone other than the researchers of this research project. Once again appreciate your time! Do you agree to continue this survey?

- Yes, I agree.
- No, I disagree

End of Block: Survey Consent

Start of Block: Demographics

Q2.1 What's your gender?

- Female
 - Male
-

Q2.2 What's your nationality?

- Kazakhstan
 - Kyrgyzstan
 - Russia
 - Tajikistan
 - Turkmenistan
 - Uzbekistan
 - South Korea
 - United States
 - Others (specify): _____
-

Q2.3 What's your country of residence?

- Kazakhstan
 - Kyrgyzstan
 - Russia
 - Tajikistan
 - Turkmenistan
 - Uzbekistan
 - South Korea
 - United States
 - Others (specify): _____
-

Q2.4 What's your religion?

- Buddhism
- Catholicism
- Hinduism
- Islam
- Orthodoxy
- Protestantism
- Others (specify): _____
- None

Q2.5 Describe your language proficiency.

	None	Beginner	Moderate	Fluent	Native
Russian	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Official language of your country of residence other than Russian	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other (specify)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q2.6 Where is your place of residence?

- Urban area
- Rural area

Q2.7 Describe your ethnic origin.

- Both parents are of Korean ethnic
 - Only my mother is of Korean ethnic
 - Only my father is of Korean ethnic
 - Both my parents are partially of Korean ethnic
-

Q2.8 What's your diasporic history?

- First-generation diaspora
 - Second-generation diaspora
 - Third-generation diaspora
 - Fourth-generation diaspora
-

Q2.9 What is your marital status?

- Married
 - Single, never married
 - Divorced
 - Widowed (separated by death of spouse)
-

Q2.10 How many children do you have?

- None
 - One
 - Two
 - Three or more
-

Q2.11 How old are you?

- Under 20
 - 20s
 - 30s
 - 40s
 - 50s
 - 60s
 - 70s or older
-

Q2.12 What is your level of education?

- High school or lower
 - College degree
 - Master's degree
 - Doctoral degree
-

Q2.13 What is your occupation?

- Student
 - Office worker
 - Self-employed
 - Civil servant
 - Physical labor
 - Housewife
 - Agriculture / livestock / fishery
 - No regular job (including part-timer or contract worker)
 - Job seeker
 - None
 - Other
-

Q2.14 What is your household annual income?

- US\$ 0~10,000
 - US\$ 10,001~20,000
 - US\$ 20,001~30,000
 - US\$ 30,001~40,000
 - US\$ 40,001~50,000
 - US\$ 50,001~
-

Q2.15 What is your father's education level?

- High school or lower
 - College degree
 - Master's degree
 - Doctoral degree
-

Q2.16 What is your mother's education level?

- High school or lower
 - College degree
 - Master's degree
 - Doctoral degree
-

Q2.17 What is your father's occupation?

- Student
 - Office worker
 - Self-employed
 - Civil servant
 - Physical labor
 - Housewife
 - Agriculture / livestock / fishery
 - No regular job (including part-timer or contract worker)
 - Job seeker
 - None
 - Other
-

Q2.18 What is your mother's occupation?

- Student
- Office worker
- Self-employed
- Civil servant
- Physical labor
- Housewife
- Agriculture / livestock / fishery
- No regular job (including part-timer or contract worker)
- Job seeker
- None
- Other

End of Block: Demographics

Start of Block: Life Satisfaction

Q3.1 Describe your overall life satisfaction.

	Extremely dis satisfied	Somewhat di ssatisfied	Neither satisf ied nor dissat isfied	Somewhat sat isfied	Extremely sat isfied
Level of satis faction	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Life Satisfaction

Start of Block: Part 1. Relationship with Resident Country (where you spent most of your life)

Q4.1 Do you think that your country of residence promotes ethnicity-based nationalism,

differentiating and discriminating minor ethnic groups?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q4.2 Do you think that the general population (major ethnic group) of your resident country perceive you as belonging to different cultural or social people group?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q4.3 Do you think that you are disadvantaged because of your ethnicity in the following areas?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Social relationship	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Education	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Occupation and income	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Politics	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Religion	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Part 1. Relationship with Resident Country (where you spent most of your life)

Start of Block: Part 2. Relationship with Home Country (Korea)

Q5.1 Do you think that your country of origin (South Korea) sufficiently engages, supports and

embraces Korean diaspora in your country of residence?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Engagement or interaction	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Support	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Embracemen t	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q5.2 Do you think that the general population of your original country (South Korea) perceive you as belonging to same ethnic community with significantly common interest and concerns?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Part 2. Relationship with Home Country (Korea)

Start of Block: Part 3. Homeland Experience

Q6.1 Describe your experience in your country of origin (South Korea): Length of stay (combined length if visited more than once).

- None
- 1 month or shorter
- Over 1 month and no longer than 1 year
- Over 1 year

Q6.2 Describe your experience in your country of origin (South Korea): Type of stay (multiple

answer).

- Self-paid trip
 - Sponsored cultural trip
 - Language training
 - Formal education (non-higher education)
 - Formal education (college or higher degree)
 - Vocational training or internship
 - Employment
-

Q6.3 To what degree was your language training, education, vocational training sponsored?

- None
 - Partially
 - Fully
-

Q6.4 Was your homeland experience satisfying?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q6.5 Would you like to visit Korea again?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q6.6 Did your stay in Korea help you develop the followings?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Solidarity with Korea	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sense of belonging to Korean society	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Understanding of Korean culture	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Understanding of Korean history	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Korean language	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Part 3. Homeland Experience

Start of Block: Part 5. Family Education on Ethnic Identity

Q7.1 Do (did) your parents distinguished themselves from other ethnic groups of your country of residence and identified themselves as Korean origin?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q7.2 Do you think your parents show effort to sustain Korean heritage such as language, traditional festival, foods, or value system and succeed to next generations?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Part 5. Family Education on Ethnic Identity

Start of Block: Part 5. Cultural and Symbolic Familiarity and Preference

Q8.1 Are you familiar with traditional Korean culture such as traditional folk games, clothing, foods and festivals?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q8.2 Do you enjoy traditional Korean culture?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q8.3 Are you familiar with contemporary Korean culture such as K-pop, K-drama and –movie, and other public culture?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q8.4 Do you enjoy contemporary Korean culture?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q8.5 Are you familiar with Korean national symbols such as national flag, anthem, flower and sport?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q8.6 Do the Korean national symbols arouse sense of belonging to your homeland?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Part 5. Cultural and Symbolic Familiarity and Preference

Start of Block: Part 6. Understanding of Korean History

Q9.1 Do you have good knowledge of Korean pre-modern history (history before late Chosun dynasty)?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q9.2 Would you like to learn more about Korean pre-modern history?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q9.3 Do you have good knowledge of Korean modern history (history from late Chosun dynasty,

Japanese rule, Civil War and up to the present)?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q9.4 Would you like to learn more about Korean modern history?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Part 6. Understanding of Korean History

Start of Block: Part 7. Korean Language

Q10.1 Describe the level of your Korean language proficiency.

	None	Poor	Intermediate	Fluent	Native
Level of fluency	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q10.2 Would you like to develop your Korean language skill?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Part 7. Korean Language

Start of Block: Part 8. Ethnic Identity

Q11.1 How would you identify yourself?

- I am a citizen of my resident country equal to the citizens of different ethnic background (e.g. I am American like other Americans).
- I am a citizen of my resident country distinguishable from the citizens of different ethnic background (e.g. I am Korean-American).
- I am a citizen of my resident country but I feel that I'm an alien who belongs to my homeland (e.g. I am Korean in the US).

Q11.2 Do you think that you belong to Korean ethnic community (overseas and homeland) and would you like to develop stronger solidarity or deeper relationship with Korean communities?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Part 8. Ethnic Identity

Start of Block: Part 9. Allegiance to Homeland (Korea)

Q12.1 Are you proud of your homeland and have affection for it?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q12.2 Would you like to return to your homeland for permanent/long-term residence when the opportunity is given?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q12.3 Would you like to contribute your resources (e.g. finance, time, talent) to the development of homeland and overseas Korean ethnic group’s well-being and prosperity when the opportunity is given?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q12.4 Do you hope for and would support the unification of Korea?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Part 9. Allegiance to Homeland (Korea)

Start of Block: Part 10. Policy-related

Q13.1 [Korean government’s support in resident country] Do you think the Korean government is properly supporting Korean diaspora in your resident country in relation to the ethnic discrimination you are experiencing?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of Agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q13.2 [Legal status in Korea] Effective from 2019, all descendants of Korean ethnicity are considered “Overseas Korean” eligible for the special status (i.e. 3 years of legal stay with possibility of extension of stay) under the “Act on the Immigration and Legal Status of Overseas Koreans.” Prior to the amendment of the same law, the special status was given only to first to

third generations of Korean diaspora.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Are you satisfied with current legal status that the Korean immigration law confers on you?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you think the Korean government should be more lenient in giving permanent residence status or citizenship to Korean diaspora?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you think you will have more career opportunity in Korea if you are given more security and freedom to your legal status in Korea?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q13.3 [Educational programs] How would you describe your experience in the following

training/education services provided by the Korean government agency in your resident country?

	Extremely dis satisfied	Somewhat di ssatisfied	Neither satisf ied nor dissat isfied	Somewhat sat isfied	Extremely sat isfied
Korean Cultu re: Accessibil ity	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Korean Cultu re: Quality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Korean Cultu re: Overall sa tisfaction	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Korean Histo ry: Accessibil ity	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Korean Histo ry: Quality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Korean Histo ry: Overall sa tisfaction	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Korean Lang uage: Accessi bility	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Korean Lang uage: Quality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Korean Lang uage: Overall satisfaction	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q13.4 [Career opportunity] Would you like to have the opportunity to develop your career in Korea?

	Strongly disa gree	Somewhat di sagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat ag ree	Strongly agre e
Level of agre ement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q13.5 [Career opportunity] Do you think the following skill(s) are necessary for you to have, maintain, and develop career opportunity in Korea?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Korean language proficiency	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
English proficiency	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Understanding of Korean history	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Adaptation to Korean culture	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
College degree in Korea or one of the advanced countries	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Graduate school degree or professional license in Korea or one of the advanced countries	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q13.6 [Political Participation] Are you interested in the Korean politics and would like to participate if allowed?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q13.7 [Political Participation] Do you wish to have the voting right to elect a Korean congressman representing Korean diaspora?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Level of agreement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q13.8 [Unification of Korea] Describe your thoughts on the followings.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Would the unification of Korea be meaningful to you personally?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you think you may have more opportunity in the unified Korea?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Would unified Korea come more positively to you than current South and North Korea?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q13.9 [Unification of Korea] Do you see the followings as your potential strength that may

contribute to the unification of Korea?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Your experience in a multi-ethnic society	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your experience and education in transitional economic and political system	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your Russian language	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your proficiency in the official language of your resident country other than Russian	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your productivity as labor force considering South Korea's rapidly aging society and North Korea's small and unproductive population (25million, only half of South Korea)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Part 10. Policy-related

Start of Block: Final Words

Q14.1 Please state what you'd like to suggest to Korean government in regard to its policy or

support for Korean diaspora.

End of Block: Final Words
