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Syifa Fatimazzahroh

Universitas Indonesia, syifa.fatimazzahroh@ui.ac.id

Eva Latifah

Universitas Indonesia, eva.latifah@ui.ac.id

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DISCRIMINATION AGAINST *JOSEONJOK* IN *HWANGHAE* MOVIE

Syifa Fatimazzahroh, Eva Latifah

East Asian Studies, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia

syifa.fatimazzahroh@ui.ac.id, eva.latifah@ui.ac.id

ABSTRACT

This research analyzes the discrimination against migrants returning to their homeland. The discrimination occurs because migrants are considered to have no sense of shared fortune and solidarity when the condition of the country was unstable. The government efforts to recall them to return to the country are not often responded well by the local community. They tend to discriminate and reject the existence of migrants who return as brothers. It represents in the movie *Hwanghae* (2010) by the director Na Hong Jin as a corpus. Thus, this research uses discrimination theory to analyze research problems a ethnic identity theory to analyze the consequences of research problems. This research uses literature review in collecting the data and critical discourse analysis as a method in analyzing the problem. The discrimination against *Joseonjok* has consequences for the idea of their ethnic identity as part of Korean ethnicity. In general, ethnic identity is correlated with blood relations, but the discrimination experienced by these migrants makes their ethnic identity disguised.

KEYWORDS: diaspora, racial discrimination, *Hwanghae*, *Joseonjok*, migrants, ethnic identity, national identity, homogeneous identity

INTRODUCTION

In his journal, Yoon (2014) explained the patterns and the history of migration of Korean diaspora in China. The pattern of migration of Koreans to China is divided into two main phases. The first phase began in 1860 in the area of South Manchuria (Kando) with the aim of finding land for farming caused by crop failure. The second phase occurred during the Japanese colonialism against Korea in 1910 - 1918 which caused the limited number of Korean farmers became landless farmers then decided to migrate to Manchuria. In both phases were occurred when Korea was in unstable condition. This led to the emergence of stigma from the local community towards *Joseonjok* when Korea back to normal situation, the majority of Koreans argue upon sense of fortune and solidarity toward the nation. A movie titled *Hwanghae* or *The Yellow Sea* produced in 2010, attracts the issue concerning discrimination towards *Joseonjok* in South Korea. It is not

per se as an issue of discrimination. It actually consists of complex problem of identity of *Joseonjok* and South Korea become confused looking back to its history (Ruixin Wei in Yonson Ahn, 2019).

The majority related with *Joseonjok* as a comparative study of the Korean diaspora (Yoon, 2012; Min, 2018; Fang, 2010), discrimination against *Joseonjok* in the world of work (Seol and Skrentny, 2004), definition of home for *Joseonjok* (Song, 2018), and description of *Joseonjok* as barbarians (Weddel and Kim, 2015). This research is about ethnic identity with discrimination relating to Korean diaspora returning to their home country. Therefore, it is discussing about discrimination, diaspora vs migration and ethnic identity.

The discrimination experienced by *Joseonjok* have been widely reported on the mass media. Nevertheless, this is considered not enough to change *Joseonjok*'s status in the Korean society based on several survey results. The results of the survey revealed that even though it was protected by labor law and policies such as Act on Immigration and Legal Status of Overseas Koreans, *Joseonjok* remains inevitable from discrimination. The issue remains as something common in the society.

It may be the impact of the increases of foreign migrants in South Korea which transforms a single-ethnic homogenous Korean society into multiethnic and multicultural one, viewed as an alternative value to their policy and social movement. The reality of multiethnic and multicultural shift in terms of the matrix of class, gender, ethnicity, and physical space in South Korea, and takes note of multiple social actors creating multicultural milieu in South Korea with contradictory policy agenda and political stances. The current discourses and concerns on multiculturalism in South Korea are mere political rethorics and slogans, not the constructive and analytical concepts for transforming a society (Han, 2007). It should be juxtaposed by the recognition of ethnic Korean in China as an official ethnic minority with Chinese citizenship referred to *chaoxianzu* (*Joseonjok*).

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses the literature review to collect the data as well as critical discourse analysis to analyze the data. Young (1997) argued that in social science, literature review is a very necessary first step to have qualitative data. These data can be obtained through books in libraries, offline and online news, newspaper articles, and research journals related to research topics. On the other hand, the analysis of the research uses the critical discourse analysis by Fairclough. Fairclough (2000) argues that there are three dimensions of analysis in critical discourse analysis, which are text analysis, discourse practice analysis, and socio-cultural practice analysis. Fairclough further explained that the discourse which is the object of the analysis in this method includes the language used both orally and in writing, visual description, and non-verbal communication. The main topics in this research are the discrimination and the ethnic identity of *Joseonjok*. The discrimination experienced by *Joseonjok* is considered as the object of visual description analysis and non-verbal communication. In addition, the most relevant dimension of the critical discourse analysis for analyzing data is the socio-cultural practices.

The first step taken to analyze the problem is watching the *Hwanghae* movie. The next step is to determine the parts in the movie that describe discrimination against *Joseonjok*. Then, the parts of the movie that contain discrimination are analyzed and criticized using critical discourse analysis on the dimensions of socio-cultural practices. In addition, the theory of discrimination, ethnic identity vs homogenous identity and diaspora are used as tools in analyzing and criticizing the problem.

***Hwanghae* (The Yellow Sea) Movie**

Hwanghae which has different title *The Yellow Sea* and *The Murderer* is a movie by director Na Hong Jin released on December 22, 2010 in Korea. Na Hong Jin, in his career, is often juxtaposed with Kim Kiduk who also worked on a discrimination-themed movie entitled *Address Unknown* or *Suchwi-in Bulmyeong*. Additionally, there are similarities between Na Hongjin and Kim Kiduk in the movies they produce. The two directors often convey the elements of the movie they produce implicitly. Na Hong Jin has a tendency to use ambiguity in his movie while Kim Kiduk often uses symbols that hold hidden meanings behind them.

Hwanghae is a movie with genre action-thriller, starring Ha Jungwoo who plays the protagonist and Kim Yoonseok plays the antagonist role in the movie. On the other hand, *The Chaser* or *Chugyeokja* which became Na Hong Jin's debut movie also starring both artists, but they have exchange roles. The 140-minute movie is the first Korean movie to be partially funded by 20th Century Fox as the leading movie distributor in the United States with a production cost of US \$ 15.8 million. The large production costs make this movie have the 'expensive' impression because there are many fantastic scenes, such as great crash, rollovered trucks, race car that are done without using Computer Graphic Image (CGI).

The movie takes the scene in two places, which are in China and South Korea. South Korea's setting of place in the movie begins when Gunam carried out his mission as an assassin in the area around Seoul. On the other hand, in the area of China, this movie takes a background in the Yanbian prefecture which is flanked by North Korea, Russia and China. This area is an area formed in 1952 as the *Joseonjok* autonomous area to survive. In this movie, Gunam, played by Ha Jungwoo, is a *Joseonjok*, and a father with one kid who worked as a taxi driver. He had huge debt for his wife's visa fee when his wife went to Korea hoping to improve the standard of living of their family.

The plot in *Hwanghae* movie is divided into four parts which are Taxi Driver (*Thaeksi Unjeonsu*), Assassin (*Sarinja*), *Joseonjok*, dan the Yellow Sea (*Hwanghae*). The first part tells the story of Gunam when he worked as a taxi driver. At one time, Gunam got an interesting offer from a mafia named Myun Junghak, played by Kim Yoonseok. The payment promised by Junghak could even pay off his debt to the loan shark. The task offered by Junghak was to smuggle into Korea to kill and carry one's thumb cut. Gunam did not immediately accept the offer because the task he had to do was a very serious. Nevertheless, he was also tempted by fee that could pay off all his debts and the opportunity to be able to find his wife. He was also consumed by the assumption of those around him who thought that if a *Joseonjok* woman went to Korea and had no news after her departure, it was very likely that she had an affair there. After going through the inner upheaval for a long time, Gunam finally decided to accept the offer to become an assassin.

The second part of the movie tells of Gunam's decision to accept the offer Myun Junghak became an assassin. After he arrived in Korea, he immediately looked for and learned his target routines everyday. The target was a silver medal winner in the Judo competition on the Asian Games, Beijing named Kim Seunghyun. After observing for approximately two days, Gunam concluded that he had a chance to carry out his mission around three in the morning. He was just about to carry out his mission on the appointed day, but it turned out that Gunam was not the only person who was eyeing Kim Seunghyun's life. He witnessed from outside there were two other people who were involved in a fight with Kim Seunghyun which seemed would be dead. When he climbed the stairs to where Kim Seunghyun was lying, Gunam found that Kim Seunghyun who was dying finally met his death in the hands of his own personal driver.

The third part tells of the rivalry between the white-collar mafia gang and the police to find the suspect of the murder of Kim Seunghyun. In this murder case, it was reported that there were three suspects. However, what's interesting about this case is that the identity of the suspect as a *Joseonjok* was very vocal more than the name. Though, in fact the person who killed Kim Seunghyun was not Gunam but his own assistant. Gunam wanted to return to China because he had finished his task, but the promised boat to take him home did not come.

The last part of the movie tells the story of Gunam who wanted to find the mastermind behind all the tragedies that befell him, after being betrayed by Myun Junghak. Instead of asking for his duty to bring Kim Seunghyun's thumb piece, Myun Junghak turned around and wanted to kill Gunam. Seeing the fact that Myun Junghak betrayed him, Gunam decided to return Kim Seunghyun's thumb cut to his wife and said that he was not the person who killed her husband but his own personal driver. On the other hand, after being investigated for several days, Gunam finally received confirmation that his wife who he had been searching for several weeks had died. Gunam was devastated when he heard this news, until this despair drove him to the Yellow Sea where he died.

Discrimination represented in the *Hwanghae* Movie

Prejudice is something that often appears in the social environment so that it can be said that prejudice is an essential thing in social psychology. Prejudice is often equated with discrimination in the everyday context, but theoretically prejudice and discrimination are two different things. According to Baron and Byrne (2010), prejudice is an attitude or treatment that tends to be negative towards certain groups based on the legality of one's membership in a social group. Similar to Baron and Byrne, Sherif and Sherif (1956) argued that social prejudice is a negative attitude that originates from the norm of a social group towards other group members. This negative attitude affects individuals and groups in several ways, for example the process of social information around them, their beliefs towards other group members, and their feelings towards them.

Prejudice generally occurs because of lack of tolerance among members within social groups or towards other social groups. Young (1991) said that prejudice has a characteristic in the form of conflict that occurs between groups, characterized by the strengthening of in groups and out groups. According to the results of a study conducted by Higgins (1996) and Fein & Spencer (1997), when individuals or social groups prejudice and look down on certain social groups, there is a high sense of self-esteem that makes them feel superior to other groups. Often, because they feel that other groups are a threat for them, prejudice is used as a tactic to maintain and improve their superior status.

Prejudice is not always reflected by visible actions, but it often does not appear and is only a negative attitude. The prejudice that is indirectly expressed can be caused by several things, such as legal restrictions, social pressure, and fear of being ostracized. This is the difference between prejudice and discrimination. Swim (in Baron and Byrne 1997) said that discrimination is a negative act towards someone who is the object of prejudice such as racial, ethnic, and religious. According to Theodorson & Theodorson (2009), discrimination is an unfair and unbalanced treatment carried out to distinguish a group. The things that make a difference are usually categorical, such as race, religion, and social class.

The form of discrimination is for example the domination of the majority against minority so that they can be classified as immoral and undemocratic actions. According to Shadily in Reslawati (2007, p. 11) discrimination can occur in various fields in the social order, such as employment discrimination, political discrimination, housing discrimination, and discrimination

in public places. Fulthoni (2009) classified the types of discrimination that are generally found in the society, such as discrimination based on ethnicity, race, and religion; discrimination based on sex/gender related to its role in society; discrimination based on social class; discrimination against persons with disabilities; and discrimination against people with HIV/AIDS.

Based on the type, Pettigrew in Liliweri (2005) categorized discrimination into two types, which are direct discrimination and indirect discrimination. Direct discrimination is an act of discrimination that limits a certain area, such as settlements, types of work, and public facilities. In addition, direct discrimination can also occur when making decisions that are influenced by prejudices against certain groups. Indirect discrimination is an act of discrimination through the policies that prevent certain racial/ethnic groups from interacting freely with other racial/ethnic groups. Policies that are made contain discriminatory rules which tend to be invisible. This policy making causes systematic losses for certain communities or groups.

Movie in the context of popular culture is an effective media in representing how culture is constructing in society. Therefore, movie can also be used as an object in analyzing many social phenomena that occurs in society. One of many Korean movies that describing about discrimination issue towards minorities in South Korea is *Hwanghae*. This movie tells the story of a *Joseonjok* named Gunam who worked as a taxi driver in China. Six months ago, Gunam borrowed money from a loan shark so that his wife could go to Korea to find a more decent life. However, his wife had never given him the news since the day she left while Gunam was being pressured with his huge debt and his addiction to gambling (Mah-Jong). One day, he met Myum-ga who gave him an illegal job with the fee that could eliminate his debt instantly. Gunam, who was worried and consumed by the assumption that his wife was having an affair, finally decided to accept Myun-Ga's offer. He crossed the Yellow Sea and then anchored in Seoul to do his work while searching for his wife. The job that was initially completed easily, unexpectedly turned into a disaster. This is more complicated considering that his status as *Joseonjok* whose arrival was not welcomed by the Korean people.

Through this movie, director Na Hong Jin tries to uncover one of the social issues that rises among Korean society. The Korean government has tried to facilitate *Joseonjok* to return to their home country. However, in fact when they return, there is an intersection between *Joseonjok* and the Korean community which leads to discrimination. Koreans tend to reject the return and existence of *Joseonjok* in their country. Thus, the question is who exactly can be called as Korean. This correlates with *Joseonjok*'s ethnic identity, both in the eyes of the Korean and the world. In fact, *Joseonjok*, who share the same blood with Koreans, is rejected and treated like a foreigner who has no blood relations with them. Therefore, the *Hwanghae* movie by director Na Hong Jin is considered very relevant to be used as a corpus of the research on *Joseonjok* discrimination that is happening in Korea.



Picture 1.

Narration about *Joseonjok* in *Hwanghae* movie

Director Na Hong Jin often uses ambiguity in conveying the true meaning of the movies he works on. This was applied to the name of the main character of this movie, Gunam who actually had a special meaning related to his identity in the movie. The word “gunam” in Korean consists of two words, which are “gu” which means “past” and “nam” which means “south”. In other words, it can be interpreted that the use of the name Gunam as the main character in this movie has a specific purpose, which is to show implicitly his identity in a movie that was once a southerner (South Korean people). The topic regarding *Joseonjok* was also expressed explicitly since the beginning of the movie in the form of a short narrative (picture 1). The majority of *Joseonjok* who live in China had a problematic life, considering that they worked in the rough sector, such as laborers, drivers, mobsters, and so on. This type of work is a job that is generally underestimated in the public eyes. This leads to the emergence of prejudices from the people around the place where *Joseonjok* lived against them.

In this movie, *Joseonjok*’s existence and identity are symbolized by a dog. This can be reflected in Gunam’s story of a dog who lived with his family when he was a child. At that time, he was eleven years old and the dog that was kept by his family was contracted rabies so he bit his mother’s dog to death. The dog was chased by society because he was thought to carry a deadly plague until eventually the dog ran away. A few days later, the dog returned with a terrible condition and died, then Gunam buried him behind the house. In the evening on the same day, the elders around his house again dug up the grave and then ate the dog.

In addition to the opening narrative of the movie, *Joseonjok*, symbolized by a dog, it is again depicted in the next scene. Myungga was convincing Gunam to accept an offer from him so he can start a new life. At that time, Gunam could not take for granted the offer given by Myungga because the offer was very risky. Therefore, Myungga tried to convince Gunam to accept his offer by seeing two dogs fighting in front of them, with the cheers from the audience.

명가 : “편생적 개들 처럼 잘 먹고 살게?”

Myungga : “Do you want to be beaten forever like a dog?”

(*Hwanghae* translation, minute 16:17-16:23)

The question from Myungga indicates that he felt his life was no different from a fighting dog that had to be beaten, became the object of the show to be able to survive. The narrative about

the dog with rabies and Myungga's question about Gunam who was treated like a dog can indicate a bad perception of the community towards *Joseonjok* in relation to their identity and existence. Then this perception leads to a prejudice that increases the inferior feeling of *Joseonjok* towards the Chinese as a superior.

According to Korea Immigration Service, on June 2016, there were approximately 800.000 *Joseonjok* (Korean diaspora in China) have returned to Korea. *Joseonjok* who returned to Korea are categorized into three types, which are migrant workers and job seekers, husbands or wives of Korean people, and others dominated by students. The discrimination experienced by *Joseonjok* has been widely reported in the mass media so that many Koreans actually realize of this discrimination issue. Nevertheless, this has not been strong enough to change *Joseonjok*'s status in Korean society. In another part, the movie *Hwanghae* further describes prejudice against *Joseonjok* when they return to their homeland. In addition to do the tasks given by Myungga, Gunam also returned to Korea with the aim of meeting his wife. Therefore, he approached one of the restaurants which he thought being his wife's place of work.

구남 : “거긴 어딘데?”

식당 주인 : “모르지... 아 근데 거기라고 막... 아직까지 붙여 있겠어? 근데 왜? 연락이 안 돼? 여기에 있는 사람들중에 부부가 몇명이 있는 것 같애? 모른척 하든가 그리고 사고 치지말고. 조선적 또 여기에 와서 사고 쳤다가 바로 추방당해... 조용히 참고 돈 벌어 가.”

Gunam : “Where is it?”

Pemilik Restoran : “I don't know... Do you think she is still there? But why? She cannot be contacted? From the people here, how many people do you think are partners? Be like you don't know them and don't make a problem. *Joseonjok* who returned here and made a mess (they) were deported. So, make money quietly and leave.”

(*Hwanghae* translation, minute 32:15-32:46)

Before Gunam returned to Korea to his job, he once asked about his wife to his acquaintance who should have received remittances from his wife. This acquaintance has not received the money from Gunam's wife and instead said, “There are many wives who go to Korea and have an affair.” In addition, while looking for his wife in Korea, Gunam saw a woman chatting with local men. In line with the words of his acquaintance, the owner said that *Joseonjok* who came to Korea made a mess and they were deported back to their their country. This is an implicit message about public prejudice against *Joseonjok* women who returned to Korea. The connection between these scenes leads to the conclusion that there were separate prejudices on *Joseonjok* women who returned to Korea. They are considered to never return to their husbands and children because they have gained a new life that is way better in Korea.

The prejudices shown in the movie both implicitly and explicitly will certainly influence *Joseonjok*'s movements in society. As a result of the prejudice, *Joseonjok* tends to hide their true identity. This is illustrated in the movie when Gunam was asked by Koreans who knew his identity as a *Joseonjok* to wear a hat so that he was not too different because Gunam had a very striking face like *Joseonjok*. In addition, in another scene, Gunam was surprised when Kim Seung Hyun asked about his identity as a *Joseonjok*. Gunam's surprise indicates that he tends to hide his identity as a *Joseonjok*. But interestingly, when Kim Seung Hyun was convinced that Gunam was a

Joseonjok, he was actually kind and even gave him some money. Although not explained in the movie, Kim Seung Hyun can be assumed to be a *Joseonjok* as well. The only reason Kim Seung Hyun actually empathized when he realized Gunam was a *Joseonjok*, most likely because he was also a *Joseonjok*. Gunam's surprise was slowly disappearing when Kim Seung Hyun still showed a friendly attitude even though his identity had been revealed.

Prejudices that exist in the society about the existence of *Joseonjok* are not merely bad perceptions, but continue to the next stage in the form of concrete actions that can be classified as discrimination. The symbol of *Joseonjok* as a dog is discussed before it turns out it is not only limited to a story in the movie, but actually happened in the society. Based on research conducted by Seol and Skrentny (2004), they conducted interviews and surveys involving migrants in Korea. Like other migrants, *Joseonjok* protested the discrimination they experienced. One of them said, "They (business owners) treat me like a dog."

The Gunam scene which hiding his identity as *Joseonjok* shows their movement patterns in the community. *Joseonjok*'s tendency to cover up his identity inhibits and limits their movements. This is a manifestation of minority behavior which closes social interaction, only for their people. In general, minority tends to pull themselves back from the majority because the minority with the majority often experience contact which causes discrimination. According to the types of discrimination from Fulthoni (2009), the case experienced by Gunam in the *Hwanghae* movie was classified as ethnic/racial discrimination. Then based on the types of discrimination proposed by Pettigrew, Gunam's limited social interaction is an example of direct discrimination means they receive restrictions in a certain area such as settlement, type of work, and public facilities.

Other discrimination occurs in the movie *Hwanghae* is portrayed when Gunam was playing mahjong gambling while he was still in China. He lost and was unable to continue playing because he ran out of money so one of his opponents drove him away, but Gunam still wanted to play. Finally, the co-star made a cursing "gaali bangzi" which is a racial invasion of the Chinese towards *Joseonjok* around them.

“走啦，我他妈让你走了高丽棒子”(zǒu la, wǒ zhème ràng nǐ zǒule gāolì bàngzi)

“가라고 이 조선적 새끼야”

“Go away, fucking *Joseonjok*.”

(*Hwanghae* translation, minute 11:32-11:35).



Picture 2.

Body mutilation case on *Joseonjok* woman in *Hwanghae* movie (01:29:40)

Meanwhile, in other parts of the movie, there is a case of mutilation of a *Joseonjok* woman by a Korean fisherman (picture 2). The motive for this mutilation was because the *Joseonjok* woman who worked for the fisherman wanted to return to China to meet her family. These two actions can be classified as manifestations of direct discrimination. The special names or cursing words in the community for *Joseonjok* is a specific form of discriminatory action taken. In addition, mutilating actions that eliminate victims' lives is also a form of direct discrimination because mutilators have ignored the rights of these women as human beings to stay alive.



Picture 3 and 4.

Ship deck as human transportation in *Hwanghae* movie (01:29:40)

In addition to cursing words from the local Chinese community, *Joseonjok* also has difficulty when they want to return to Korea. The majority of them want to return to Korea to meet their families or want to improve their standard of living. Nonetheless, *Joseonjok*'s efforts to return to Korea were not easy. Those who want to return must smuggle on the ship's deck. The ship's deck is a place that is provided for storing ship transportation goods, not for human transportation. The time taken to go to Korea is also quite long and there are frequent storms in the middle of the journey. The movie also illustrates that the smuggling of *Joseonjok* who wanted to return to Korea was very difficult and torturous that one of the *Joseonjok* travelers with Gunam died even when his ship had not arrived at the destination (picture 3 and 4). The use of the ship deck as a place for smuggling human transportation in this movie is a picture of the inhumane treatment received by the *Joseonjok*. This inhuman treatment is included in the act of direct discrimination.

Ethnic Identity vs Homogenous Identity

Jetnis (1996) argues that blood relation is the most substantial identity at the age of children. The main identity associated with blood relation tends to be more influential than other identities. Nevertheless, according to Cornel and Hartman (1997) ethnicity is an identity that can be accepted, opposed, chosen, determined, found or created, rejected, and actively maintained. This correlates with the definition of “we” and “them” not only in the context of situation but also related to an active response to situation by individuals and groups. This response is accompanied by thoughts, tendencies, and aims of each individual and group.

Ethnic identity is a psychological process that consists of internal and external aspects. In the internal context individuals or groups place themselves in a community internally using thoughts and feelings expressed. Internal aspects include images, ideas, attitudes, and feelings. In addition, the affective, belief/understanding, and moral dimensions are also included in the internal context. On the other hand, their external context adjusts their behavior to internal psychological conditions. The external context includes aspects related to behavior that can be seen, such as speaking a particular language; ethnic traditions; participation in institutions; participation in voluntary associations; and participation in events sponsored by ethnic organizations.

A homogeneous society is one in which its individuals share both the same racial ethnicity, language, and a series of belief. Its is a society where its member shared culture, customs, and way of thinking. In that sense, it is often said that ethnic divisions are associated with profound differences in preferences, values and attitudes (Sanchez, 2019). Homogeneity is artificially constructed through the use of national identities that prescribe what is that distinguishes members of a particular nation-state from non members. In this way, nation-state create national identities based on what Anderson’ has called an “imagined community”, for nation-states are distinguished “not by their falsity/genuiness, but by the style in which they’re imagined” (Anderson in Yuwanto, 2003). The legitimacy of nation-state is premised on the self-identification of a community people who see themselves as having an observable sovereignty and identification of a political unit housing a culturally homogeneous group (Nikolas in Yuwanto, 2003).

Joseonjok Diaspora

Braziel and Mannur (2003) satated that etymologically, the word diaspora is an absorption from Greek, which means “on the other side” and Sperien which means “spreading seeds”. According to Connor (1998), diaspora is interpreted as a group of people who live or live outside their homeland. In addition, Faist (2010) also argued that the term diaspora has often been used to call a religious or national group living outside the country. The religious group Faist referred was the Jews who move to various countries.

Along with the development of modernization and the globalization, the term diaspora has been interpreted to be even deeper than before. Now diaspora is not only interpreted as a group move to a new area, but the displaced group also lives and implements their culture in the new area. Cultivating culture in a new area is not an easy thing to do. Besides the far distance, the time needed to cultivate culture is not long enough. Of the many countries that has diaspora, South Korea is one of the countries whose diaspora movement is quite significant.

Park Janghyun (2014) explained that since mid-1860, Koreans have dispersed to various countries. He also said that although in relatively short time (around 150 years) compared to other countries, and the background of forced migration, now there are around seven million Koreans live in around 170 different countries. However, of the 170 countries, the majority of them live in four regions, which are North America, China, Japan and Central Asia.

According to Yoon (2014), in 1860 early Korean migrants who move to Kando (South Manchuria) were poor farmers who came from the northeastern part of Korea due to crop failures that had happened in Korea for several years. These migrants could finally settle in there because they had the same background as their hometown and Korean blood. In addition, structural conditions, strong ethnic awareness, and resistance to Japanese colonialism further strengthened solidarity between them. In the same journal Yoon Injin also explained further that the land extraction (annexation) carried out by Japan towards Korea in 1910 accelerated the movement of Korean people to Manchuria. In 1910-1918 the Japanese colonial government took land ownership from the local farmers. This caused farmers who lose land to migrate to other region, even to foreign countries. Han and Kwon in Yoon (2003) explained that refugees and activists also moved to Manchuria to create an independence movement against Japanese colonialism. Even so, their numbers were not as many as migrants who carry out diaspora because of economic demands.

Kang (2002) in Yoon also said that after Japan's defeat in 1945, the war between communists and nationalists in China continued and ended in 1949 with a communist win. *Joseonjok* allied with the communists who promised regional autonomy and land ownership rights to them. Korean ethnic sacrificed more than any other ethnic minority in China during the Sino-Japan War and Communist-Nationalist War. Korean ethnic was given citizenship and land ownership rights as an appreciation for the contributions they have made in the formation of the Republic of China. They were also allowed to form the Yanbian Autonomous Region in northeast China in 1952. Korean ethnicity in China was permitted to maintain their language and culture. This was what caused *Joseonjok* to be enthusiastic about the newly formed Republic of China and proud of their status as Chinese citizens they just acquired.

Seol and Skrentny (2004) stated that at the end of 1980 many *Joseonjok* returned to Korea and then settled under illegal status. The majority of them work in low-income sectors, such as construction coolies, waiters, household assistants, and factory workers. Korea restricted job competition between *Joseonjok* and Koreans by only allowing *Joseonjok* to work in low-income sectors, both legal and illegal. The official government foreign worker planed a foreign worker program called the Industrial Technical Tranining Program (ITTP) as a training program to work in the 3D sector (dirty, difficult, dangerous) for developing countries. At the end of 1980 the Korean Federation of Small Business (KFSB) took care of the legality of their foreign workers. Then in 1991 Korea's Justice Ministry decided to implement a similar program for foreign workers in their country, including *Joseonjok*. However, since the Act on Immigration and Legal Status of Overseas Koreans was initiated in 1999, the majority of Koreans who who had moved to China returned to their homeland in the hope of financial improvement as offered by the Korean government. According to "Korea Immigration Service", in June 2016, there were approximately 800.000 *Joseonjok* have returned to Korea.

***Joseonjok* Identity as Korean Ethnic**

The discrimination experienced by *Joseonjok* and foreign ethnic workers is not a minor discrimination but is already classified as serious. The situation that generally occurs in *Joseonjok*, especially trainee workers, is their low status with low fee. The labor law that protects them as workers is also considered not to provide benefits and protection, especially when there are accidents in the workplace that require benefits. This discrimination caused *Joseonjok* to decide to resign from their work and decided to work in the illegal sector. Working in the illegal sector causes higher fee, but creates other risks, such as the exploitation of workers with the threat of their status as illegal workers. Not only that, both undocumented trainees and illegal workers experience salary deductions their passports.

Seol and Skrentny (2004) stated that Koreans really prefer *Joseonjok* compared to others minority. In this context, it is very clear that Koreans always treat them as minority and may even feel disgusted with their existence. In the case of small and medium scale companies, the attitude of Koreans to *Joseonjok* is not even as good as their attitude towards other Asian ethnicities, the Middle East and Africa. The survey conducted by Seol and Skrentny (2004), showed that 34% of Korean respondents supported *Joseonjok* to come to Korea to work while 40% of them are refused. On the other hand, the survey results also prove that 15% of Korean respondents supporting races other than *Joseonjok* came to Korea to work, while 64% of respondents refuse their arrival. Based on the research that has been done, it can be concluded that the attitude of Koreans towards *Joseonjok* is generally unfriendly and even tends to reject them. Although prioritized compared to other foreign ethnicities, the survey results prove that more percentages of Koreans reject the arrival of *Joseonjok* than those who support it.

The real form of rejection of *Joseonjok* can be proven by the analysis described earlier related to the discrimination experienced by *Joseonjok* both in *Hwanghae* movie and in the community. Therefore, it is not an odd matter if on several occasions or cases of *Joseonjok* counterattack as a defensive action against the discrimination they experienced. For example, the case stated by Lim (2002) regarding a rebellion on a Korean fishing boat. This rebellion was led by a *Joseonjok* which eventually caused in the death of a Korean captain, seven Korean sailors, and three Indonesian sailors as the crew. Seol and Skrentny (2004) explained that the discrimination experienced by the *Joseonjok* is a paradox. On the one hand, they experience discrimination with a lower intensity compared to other races, but on the other hand high expectations arise from themselves to be treated properly as Koreans because they feel they are blood relatives with Koreans. *Joseonjok*'s understanding about Korean culture and language makes them more sensitive and can easily detect discrimination from Koreans that are generally not recognized by other foreign races due to cultural and linguistic differences. But this still cannot equate *Joseonjok*'s identity as part of Korean ethnic even though they share the same blood and the majority understands Korean language and culture well. In fact, *Joseonjok* is still considered as a foreign ethnic and received different treatment from local Koreans.

The facilities provided by the Korean government to *Joseonjok* in fact still have not been able to go hand in hand with the attitude of the Korean people towards *Joseonjok*. Korean people tend to refuse to treat *Joseonjok* as blood relative. The ITTP program for foreign workers implemented by the Korean government is basically an indication of the government's strategic effort to recall their citizens who migrated to several countries. This effort should have a positive impact on the existence of *Joseonjok* in their home country. Still, government's policy cannot push the Koreans society's recipient to *Joseonjok*. *Joseonjok*'s identity as part of Korean ethnicity in blood is limited to discourse between migration and diaspora, yet ethnic identity and identity of Korean citizens.

CONCLUSION

It concludes that the practical stages and tolerance being recognize as Koreans in the society seems blood lineage dealing with consanguinity. *Hwanghae* movie the issue of discrimination kept dealing by *Joseonjok* in Korea. The ITTP program for foreign workers implemented by the Korean government is government's political strategy to recall Koreans whom have migrated to other countries as international affair policy in the global stage. The *Joseonjok* still deal with discrimination in the Korean community which showed in *Hwanghae* movie is the representation of what really happening in the real everyday life. The confusion upon the recognition of *Joseonjok*'s status as pure Korean is the arena of powers between the concept of

migration and diaspora as well as ethnic identity and Korean identity which considered as homogen. Thus, *Joseonjok*'s identity is not only a matter of having the same identity related to blood relations, but more complex to historical experiences and structure of Korean society towards unity, solidarity and Koreaness as an offered concept from this paper to be challenged.

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