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* The Code of Research Ethics of the International
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Comparative Analysis of Inter-Ethnic Marriages in Korea and Among the Korean Diaspora in Central Asia

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Abstract: After immigration of thousands of Koreans to Russia in the second half of 19th century and first quarter of 20th century, and their deportation to Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan in 1937, the ethnic-cultural identity of Diasporic Koreans is gradually transformed. One of the manifestations of these changes is interethnic marriages. And today, the Korean Diaspora in Central Asia is one of those ethnic groups, which has an active growth of inter-ethnic marriages. The author analyses such factors of the growth of interethnic marriages among Central Asian Koreans as urbanization, alien ethnic environment, change of native language and policy of nationalities. The marriages are analyzed on the basis of author's field survey. Also, author pays attention to growth of interethnic marriages in South Korea, which are new phenomenon, and compares them with interethnic marriages among Central Asian Koreans. The trend of increasing inter-ethnic marriage among the Koreans, from author's point of view, will be intensified both in the Central Asian region, and on the Korean peninsula, as well. In this regard, the question of Korean identity begins to take on new facets and, first and foremost, in terms of its multiple-layer nature.

Keywords: Central Asian Koreans, Korean peninsula, interethnic marriage, globalization, ethnic-cultural identity

The 20th century, as well as the beginning of the third millennium, is characterized by transformation of many ethno-homogenous countries into multiethnic states. And this process is caused by globalization, in the first instance. Contemporary globalization is leading to standardization and harmonization in various spheres of society and given rise to phenomena of dynamic convergence of ethnic cultures, behavioral models, and ways of thinking of different nations and ethnic groups.

One of the such manifestations of inter-ethnic convergence of modern societies is inter-ethnic marriages, which can be regarded as intercultural, inter-confessional, interethnic, and interracial interaction, as a form of interpersonal relationships between men and women belonging to different ethnic communities. Inter-ethnic marriages, undoubtedly, change the traditional ethnic mosaic of society, blur ethnic boundaries, and form new patterns of behavior, resulting in increasing interest of scholars and government institutions. To study mixed marriages is important both for determining the state and characteristics of inter-ethnic relations, and for predicting ethnic processes in the future.

Inter-ethnic marriages affected the Koreans, as well. The growth of inter-ethnic marriages takes place both on the Korean Peninsula, and in the Korean Diaspora. However, its dynamics and structure, the grounds of motivation and the structure of inter-ethnic marriages are

much different in Korea itself and in the Diaspora in various countries around the world.

As is known, Korea, due to its insulating policy pursued over the centuries, up to a certain part of the 20th century, was an ethnically homogeneous state. During the first half of the twentieth century international marriages in Korea were concluded primarily with the Japanese people, primarily because the latter had occupied the former. In the second half of the twentieth century, the number of interethnic marriages in Korea was also negligible, mainly with the Americans (soldiers stationed in Korea, or those who worked here for a long time). As far as North Korea is concerned it is needless to say of cross-national marriages here, except for singular events.

In contrast to the Korean Peninsula, the situation of the Diaspora was quite different. You can talk about a sufficient number of marriages with the Americans in the United States, with the Chinese in China, with the Japanese in Japan, with the Europeans in Europe, etc. For example, according to the census of Japan in 1991, of 10,894 registered marriages 8,665 marriages (79.5%) were concluded between the Koreans and the Japanese, of which in 6,188 cases, a Korean woman married a Japanese man. The reasons were as follows: large numbers of Korean women worked in Japan in the sector of services and entertainment in connection with the simplification of entry from South Korea to Japan, as well as the difficulty of finding endogamous marriage partners because of the dispersed nature of residence of the Koreans in Japan, mainly in large cities, which lacked close intra-ethnic communications (Em, 2010).

Studying the American-Korean society, the scholars stated:

“The number of the Korean women, who were married to non-Koreans, made up 30-40% of the overall number of Korean wives” (Em, 2010, p. 92).

The reasons for this reason the demographic factor, the adverse sex ratio, and the long-term U.S. military involvement in Korea (Em, 2010).

According to scholars, the factors of increase in mixed marriages of Koreans overseas include different ethnic environment, the dispersion of residence, and the change in priorities in choosing a marriage partner. Changing the criteria in choosing a marriage partner also influenced the choice of a matrimonial decision. The social, economic, ethnic, and religious factors were gradually replaced by the psychological, cultural, and anthropological criteria for choosing a marriage partner. But this phenomenon became most widespread in the erstwhile Soviet Union and in Central Asia, where most of the Koreans resided.

Throughout the 20th century, the ethnic composition of the Central Asian region resembled a mosaic structure. In Uzbekistan, for example, within its present borders of 1897, there were registered representatives of 70 nationalities upto 1926 - 91, 1959 -113, and in 1989 – of more than 130 nationalities, respectively (Alimova, 2002). Ethnic migration in the region throughout the 20th century was both of forced nature, and voluntary. Spontaneous migration in the Republic of Uzbekistan became widespread in the early 1920s.

A major wave of forced resettlement in the 1920s and 1930s was the so-called “kulak deportation” associated with the mass collectivization. In the second half of the 1930s, a large number of people were deported. Initially, among those who underwent deportation

included Germans from the Volga region, Poles from the Ukraine, and Koreans from the Far Eastern region. In 1937, more than 1.7 thousand Koreans were forcibly resettled in the territory of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Of them, 74,500 people arrived in Uzbekistan (Alimova, 2002), 98 454 people in Kazakhstan (Kan, 1995), respectively. Then they started to expel the people of the North Caucasus, the Crimea, and Georgia on a charge of “aiding and abetting to the Hitlerite occupants”. From the Crimea around 151,424 people were deported of the Crimean Tatars. About 110 thousand of Meskhetian Turks came from Georgia to Uzbekistan. Tens of thousands of immigrants were representatives of other ethnic groups.

A notable factor of the growth of the migration inflow to Uzbekistan became a purposeful transfer of the “labor resources” by the administration of the then USSR. This is clearly evident from the rapid industrialization in the areas. Since the mid-1920s a large group of workers and professionals were systematically sent from the central regions for permanent residence in Uzbekistan in order to facilitate the deployment of industrial construction and development of the national squad of the class. Between 1933-1938, 650 thousand people came into the territory.

In subsequent decades of the then Soviet era, the policy of the multiplication of multi-ethnicity in Central Asia and Kazakhstan remained unchanged. This policy of the leaders of the erstwhile USSR was based on a position that the people were not representatives of some nationality but as Soviet citizens in general. Assimilation, the loss of their cultural peculiarities by ethnic minorities, and their acquisition of the language, culture, norms, and values of their new homeland was

regarded undoubtedly as a positive occurrence that expressed the tendency toward social homogeneity.

The intense migration processes and governmental policy of coming together of nations could not but affect the inter-ethnic relations formed in the region. Such manifestations of interethnic rapprochement resulted in inter-ethnic marriages, including those among the people of Central Asia.

Traditionally, inter-ethnic marriages took place in Central Asia. However, these marriages were concluded within the indigenous ethnic groups (ethnoses), since the latter were bind together by deep-rooted proximity in economic and everyday-life, linguistic and religious, ethnic and cultural aspects. Inter-ethnic marriages with the Europeans, representatives of different confessions and cultures were exclusions from practice.

The Koreans began to appear in Central Asia even in the late 19th century. According to the census of the Russian Empire in 1897 in the Turkestan territory of the Ferghana oblast (province), there were registered three Korean male: one of them lived in the Kokand uezd (district), the other one lived in the Namangan uezd, and the third individual lived in the city of Namangan.

In the 1926 census, Uzbekistan was home to 36 Koreans (including two women). Of them, 23 individuals lived in Tashkent, 10 individuals in the Tashkent province, one individual in the Bukhara district (*okrug*), two individuals lived in the Surkhandarya district, respectively. Of the total number of Koreans, 13 men and one woman identified themselves as literate in the language of their nationality, the two men literate in Russian (Kim, 1993). As it was stated above, the

majority of Koreans came to Central Asia as a result of Stalin's deportation in 1937.

The facts about the conclusion of mixed marriages of Koreans had been already reported at the end of the 19th century and in the early 20th century, when the first Koreans began arriving in Turkestan and the Steppe Region. Thus, Kahn (2006) mentions the wedding ceremony of the Korean man Cho-Kem-Piri with a middle-class girl, Natalia Nikolaevna Tukmacheva, which took place on 2 September 1909, in Grado-Omsk Ilyinskaya Church. Of other marriages, G. Kahn mentions the marriage of Li-Ion-Chun with Elena Baranova, and the common-law marriage of Kim-En-Su with a peasant woman Augusta Vasilievna Ryabkova.

In the Soviet period, inter-ethnic marriages among the Koreans were becoming more frequent. Thus, according to the Registry Office in Almaty, the capital of Kazakhstan, in 1950-51 among the intending spouses of Koreans there were reported 28.6% of marriages with non-Koreans, in 1962-63 it was 35.5%, in 1972-73 it decreased to 30%, and in 1981-82 it was reported 39.2% of marriages, respectively (Em, 1997). And in 1990, the proportion of mixed marriages among the Koreans in Kazakhstan amounted to 48.6% (Em, 2004). According to Khan (2003), who carried out the ethno-sociological survey in 2001-02 among the Koreans residing in Tashkent and the Tashkent province, which included the questionnaire survey of 400 Koreans, about 70% of respondents regarded the inter-ethnic marriages either positive or neutral ("no preference"). Among the marriage partners of Koreans were Azerbaijani, Belarusians, Buryats, Gagauz, Greeks, Jews, Kazakhs, Chinese, Kirghiz, Lezgins, Mordvins, Germans, Poles, Ossetians, Russians, Serbians, Tajik,

Tatars (including the Crimean Tatars), Uzbeks, Uighurs, Ukrainians and other nationalities (Li, 1998). The largest share among them is taken by the Slavs, especially by the Russian people.

And today, the Korean Diaspora in Central Asia is one of those ethnic groups, which has an active growth of inter-ethnic marriages. However, the situation with the growth of mixed marriages among the Koreans in Central Asia is not a standard one. But it steps beyond the historical tradition of Korean mono-ethnic marriage.

What are the growth factors of interethnic marriages among the Korean in the Central Asian region?

Language: As is known, in the Far East, the Koreans usually attended national schools. Their knowledge of Russian was characterized with a relative degree of proficiency. After the deportation of 1937, according to the decree of the CC of the CPSU (B) “On Reorganization of Nationality Schools” in the late 1930s, the Korean ethnic schools were reorganized in the general Soviet-type schools with teaching in Russian. The Russian language was also adopted for teaching in Korean Teachers’ Training Institute in Kyzyl-Orda. This fact had led to a crucial feature of the Soviet Koreans: they started gradual turning into the Russian-speaking group. Thus, according to the above-mentioned study by Khan (2007), to the question “In which language do you think?” over 85% of the interviewed Koreans named Russian.

By the end of the 1980s, only about 2% of Koreans could read and write in Korean (Kim, 1993). 98% of Koreans knew nothing about Korean literature (Khan, 2003), while they were well aware of Russian literature: Leo Tolstoy (“War and Peace”, “Anna Karenina”), F.M.Dostoevsky (“Crime and Punishment”, “Idiot”, “White Nights”),

Pushkin (“Eugene Onegin”, “Queen of Spades”, and lyric poetry), M. Lermontov (“The Hero of Our Time”, “Mciri”), Nekrasov (“Who Lives Well in Russia”), Esenin, Mayakovsky, Gorky, and others. The same is true of the song culture (Khan, 2003). Most Koreans of the older generation know Russian folk songs and Soviet military and patriotic songs. As the packets of song changed, the song preferences of the Koreans changed as well (especially popular songs and music).

Equally important is the fact that formation of a new Korean intelligentsia and also the world culture came to them through the Russian language. Of course, these circumstances could not but affect the intellectual and spiritual rapprochement of Koreans with Russian-speaking groups, and, above all, with the Russian’s themselves. Inter-ethnic marriages represent one of the consequences of this approximation on the basis of the common language and the common spiritual culture.

Urbanization: After the deportation of 1937, all the Korean population was resettled from the 23 border regions of the Far Eastern region into the South-Kazakhstan province, the area of the Aral Sea, Balkhash, and Uzbek SSR. In the Uzbek SSR, the Korean population was concentrated in the Lower Chirchik and in Mid-Chirchik districts of the Tashkent province, in the Gurlen district of the Khorezm *okrug* (region), Kokand district; Kungrad, Hodzheyli and Muynak districts of Karakalpakstan and others (Kim, 1993). In Kazakhstan, the Koreans were sent to the provinces of Alma-Ata, South Kazakhstan, Aktyubinsk, North Kazakhstan, Karaganda, Kustanai, and West Kazakhstan (Kan, 1995). It is important to note for the post-deportation residence of the Koreans in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, that they were settled in rural

areas and concentrated in one location (in the so-called “Korean collective farms”).

It is known that the Koreans were restricted in travel, but after Stalin's death (1953), restrictions on the travel of the Koreans were relaxed. It opened an “urban” page of their lives – the Koreans rushed to cities, first in Central Asian Republics and then in other Soviet Republics, and even returned to the Far East. Speaking of Uzbekistan, the rates of urbanization of the Koreans were far ahead of the urban population growth in the country. In 1939, the Koreans in town counted for 15.4%, whereas in the 1960s, they made up the majority, and in 1989, they made up 79.8% of the Korean population of the republic (Kim, 1999). Moreover, not only the urban population of Koreans increased, but also their concentration in large cities. In 1991, 64% of Koreans lived in the Republican and regional cities, and of them 24% resided in the capital city (Tashkent) (Kim, 1993). In 2000, 30% of the Koreans lived in the Uzbek capital already. At the beginning of 2002, 172,384 Koreans lived in Uzbekistan, of them 50, 692 lived in Tashkent, 70, 826 in the Tashkent province, respectively (Kim, 2003). Currently, the trend of urbanization of the Korean population continues to persist (Kim, 2003).

Urbanization is the factor that makes interethnic communication objectively necessary, since the overwhelming majority of urban enterprises and institutions represent multinational labor collectives, in which international consciousness and interpersonal relationships are strengthened and developed.

As is known, one of the features of urbanization is the commonality and standardization of city life, which contributes to leveling between different ethnic groups. This includes standardized

fashion, lifestyle, housing, etc. The standardization of urban life is primarily due to the nature of industrial production. According to Bromley (1981), very frequent consequences of 'initiation' and involvement into the urban environment are "restructuring of ethnic identity, changes in the significance of the factors of ethnicity and identity, and even the change of ethnic self-identity". This conclusion is confirmed by the results of ethno-sociological survey carried out by the Uzbek scholars between 2003 and 2005 in the midst of ethnic groups in Tashkent. Thus, they wrote:

"Long-lasting coexistence in the multi-ethnic environment and standardization of the conditions of life in the city brought about a gradual convergence of the cultural genofond of ethnic groups and, consequently, to their ambiguous identity and self-identity. A number of Diasporas ... The issue of blurring was raised by a number of Diasporas" (Arifkhanova, Zununova, & Khan, 2006, p.).¹

In turn, blurring "the boundaries of ethnic self-identity" is one of the important conditions for a tolerant attitude towards inter-ethnic marriages (Artykbaev, 1987).²

¹ The studies have shown that the blurring of ethnic self-identification also takes place among the titular ethnoses (for example, the Uzbeks and Kazakhs). Thus, among them there were registered some intermediate layers with a pronounced Russian-oriented identity, their members experiencing uncomfortable feelings in their traditional national environment, as they have poor knowledge of the Uzbek and Kazakh languages and they have different value (behavioral and mental) orientations.

² A high proportion of inter-ethnic marriages is characteristic not only of Koreans, but also of many other peoples living in urban areas. Thus, inter-ethnic marriages in Tashkent in 1979 amounted to 17.3%.

Dispersability of residence: Another factor that is closely associated with urbanization and simultaneously influencing the growth of inter-ethnic marriages is the residential dispersion of ethnic minorities in urban areas, in contrast to their compact living in rural areas. From the 1960s, in terms of spatial distribution of Koreans in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, the centers of their concentration became the large cities. Due to the residential dispersion of Koreans in urban areas, the problem of their choosing a marriage partner based on ethnicity had become more complicated. The fact is that when the Korean collective farms were formed, their composition was nearly homogeneous, although during their resettlement in the cities, the compact nature of their residence had been lost. Having moved to the city of Tashkent, the Koreans initially lived compactly on its outskirts (in city districts of Kuylyuk and Bektemir), later they settled in other district of the capital. This trend is particularly evident in the case of small, remote towns, where a small number of Korean people live. Thus, the statistical data of May 1991 showed that several thousand Koreans, or even several hundreds of Koreans lived in many cities of Uzbekistan, for example, in Turtkul there lived 29 Koreans, in Chartak 17, in Chimbay 16, in Urgut 14, in Muynak 13, and 9 Koreans lived in Gizhduvan, respectively (Kim, 1993). The same trend was observed in the resettlement collective farms in Kazakhstan, where in the 1950s and 1970s, the enlargement, additional settlement, organizational enrolment and other cases resulted in that the former Korean economies became multinational (Kim, 1995). As a consequence of that the proportion of interethnic marriages considerably increased.

Nationality policy: An important role in increasing the number of interethnic marriages was played, as it was stated above, by the nationality policy of the Soviet Union. The existing socio-economic, socio-cultural, and demographic situation in the country contributed to the increase in inter-ethnic marriages. If the socio-political system provides (or seeks to) the actual equality of all nationalities and operates efficiently, if the process of interethnic communication is becoming more intense in different social environments, then the inevitable tendency of increase in interethnic marriages will be objective and irreversible.

Changes in the generation structure of the population: The generation structure of the Korean population of the republics of Central Asia, as well as of other people, is non-uniform and non-homogenous. However, in contrast to the indigenous peoples of the region, the generation structure of the Korean people has its own characteristic peculiarities. Some of the Koreans (older generation) originated directly from Korea; some were born in the Russian Far East, and the younger generation was born and grow up in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and later in other Central Asian republics. Different generations of Koreans of Central Asia are the bearers of various cultures. Language, traditions and customs of the Korean people, have been partially lost already, the lifestyle is changing, as well as behavioral models and attitudes. All this leads to the appearance of the grounds to bring together the young Koreans (especially urban residents) with representatives of other nationalities, which is an important prerequisite for inter-ethnic marriages, and later for their further growth.

Alien ethnic environment: Large modern cities are multinational, as a rule. In other words, having moved to the city, the Koreans found themselves in the multi-ethnic environment, while in the “Korean” collective farms they lived in almost homogeneous Korean environment. For some time, the Koreans who moved to Tashkent, also lived in compact groups (in Kuylyuk and Bektemir districts), but gradually the settlement of Koreans in the city became characterized by greater dispersed than the compact residence.

Today, the Koreans perceive alien ethnic (heterogeneous) environment as more preferable (80% of respondents, according to V.S.Khan’s survey (Khan, 2003), if compared with a ‘purely’ Korean environment. In this regard, the scholars from the Institute of History of the AS RUz draw the following conclusion:

“Long-term dispersed residence in conditions of permanent inter-ethnic and intercultural contacts has formed the orientation set for peaceful coexistence among residents of Tashkent. This yields the unruffled and undistempered attitude towards inter-ethnic marriages” (Arifkhanova, Zununova, Khan, 2006, p. 63).

In other words, this situation is the reflection of the fact that the ethnic and cultural identity of the Koreans experiences serious changes. The essence of the changes is that the share of the traditional Korean origin is decreasing, while the share of components associated with the influence of other ethnic cultures is increasing.

As we stated above, a particularly large proportion of mixed marriages involves the Russians. In the 1930s up to the 1960s in the five

cities of Kazakhstan, (Almaty, Kyzyl-Orda, Taldy-Kurgan and Ushtobe) according to the materials of Civil Registry Offices, Russians were preferred by 82.2% of Korean men and 43.9% of Korean women. In the 1970s – 1980s, this index decreased, but still remained dominant (58.1%) (Em, 2004). There registered a high proportion of marriages between the Koreans and Ukrainians (in the 1930s to the 1960s, the male Koreans made up 13.2%, Korean women made up 5.3%, in the 1970s – 1980s they made up a total of 6.1%) (Em, 2004); the Ukrainians, as well as Russian people, Slavs, and in conditions of Central Asia, they maximally approximated with the Russian ethnic group (Brusina, 2001).³

I have already talked about the role of the Russian language and Russian-language education of the Koreans, which became important factors in convergence between the two ethnic groups. Along with this, I would like to draw attention to changing attitudes in the Korean family living in the urban and multiethnic environment. The traditional Korean family is very close to a traditional family of Central Asian nations, where kinship and neighborly relations play important role. But, according to Khan:

“With the assimilation of European culture, the role has been weakened of the collective principle characteristic of the traditional Korean family. This has affected the growth of the European-Korean

³ The Russian scholar O.I.Brusina stated consolidation of the Russians and Ukrainians into one community in old-Slavic settlements in conditions of alien ethnic environment in Uzbekistan, “... In the opinions of old-timers, there has been lost the ethnic-marking value of that or another element of material culture: in our times, no one could qualify a certain ritual as a Ukrainian ritual, as it is perceived as non-alien, but a local Russian one. Even speaking about the past, our informants were often unable to name any other differences between the Russians and Ukrainians, except for the language ones, though in this respect they did not have a complete clarity”.

marriages. The reason is that the Koreans, when Russifying, are becoming less dependent on the social Korean environment. The primacy of the collective over the individual is characteristic of the majority of families of indigenous peoples in the region. In Korean-mixed families, the relationships are based more on the individual rather than collective and social level” (Khan, 2002, p. 33).

Therefore, changing of the type of family relationships is also a factor in the formation of inter-ethnic families in accordance with the ethnic principle.

In addition, it should be taken into account that in comparison with other representatives of national groups the Russians in the Soviet Union had the status of an “elder brother”, what created an increased attractiveness in terms of ethnic partnership in inter-ethnic marriages.

Another important factor influencing the choice of a marriage partner by the Koreans (in this case, a Russian marriage partner) is their mass non-religiosity, formed during the Soviet period. Slavic peoples, if compared with the Central Asian ones, as well as the Koreans, undergone intensively implanted atheistic ideas. As is known, religious beliefs of the prospecting spouses are of great importance in forming a family. Considering the above stated similarity of the native language and Russian-language education obtained, all this explains the ethnic preferences of the Koreans in choosing a marriage partner.

Modern conditions of life in the context of globalization and integration of the international community continue to intensify inter-ethnic marriages in South Korea. In these latter days, in South Korea there is an increase in mixed marriages, which makes up 10-14%. This

situation is atypical for North Korea, as the country continues to be a closed one.

The institution of marriage in South Korea undergoes a significant transformation. In the mono-ethnic marriages, there is observed a departure from traditions and socio-cultural norms. Thus, the number of marriages is increasing, in which a husband and a wife are of the same age, or a wife is older than her husband is. The proportion of newly wed couples, in which a wife is older than her husband is high in 2002 as compared with 1990, by 2.8% and makes up 11.6% (Kim, 2006).

Mixed marriages are becoming more common, as well. International marriage between a Korean man and a foreign woman are becoming more popular. The level of international marriages has increased rapidly and made up 1.2% in 1990, 3.4% in 1995, 3.7% in 2000 and 13.6% in 2005, respectively (Li, 2009). The cases of marriages concluded between the Korean men and foreign women are steadily increasing (619 people in 1990, 7304 people in 2000). The number of marriage immigrants made up 134 people in 2001, 312 in 2002, 571 in 2003, 730 in 2004, 1306 in 2005, 1056 in 2006, and 1208 in 2007, respectively (Li, 2009). The studies of the phenomenon of mixed marriages of Koreans evoke ambiguous assessments. There is an opinion that the increase in the number of mixed marriages is a prerequisite for assimilation processes, what is detrimental to the history of the Diaspora and the ethnos as a whole (Em, 2010).

A characteristic feature is also the increase in the number of marriages of Koreans in South Korea with representatives of the Central Asian states. Of the total number of women-marriage immigrants, the Uzbek women accounted for 0.6% in 2000, 0.7% in 2001, 1.7% in 2003,

1.0% in 2004 to 2006, and 1.1% in 2005, respectively (Li, 2009). In the period between 1991 and 2006, the average age of Korean men was 27.9 years, the Uzbek wives 25.9 years, which is the lowest rate, after the Vietnamese wives, Cambodian wives (21.5 years old) and Philippine wives.

One of the characteristics of the concept of marriage and inter-ethnic matrimony is the concept of marital status. They are distinguished by the following categories: never married, widowed, divorced, and married. By the marital status, the number of the Korean men concluded their first marriage made up 62.3% and the Korean men entered into the subsequent marriage 34.7%; as for the Uzbek wives, the number of the first-married made up 85.7 %, and those entered into the subsequent marriage made up 10.9%, respectively.

Regarding the educational level of Korean men and Uzbek wives, the graduates from the elementary school made up 2.8% and 0.5%, the middle school grades 9.4% and 1.5%, high school 50.7% and 1.2%, and from the universities 36.1% and 52.8%, respectively.

By the type of employment of a husband, 2.5% of Korean men were high-ranking officials and civil servants, 5.2% were experts/specialists; 10.7% were the so-called experts/specialists; 26.2% were office workers; 24.9% were employees in the sector of services and sellers; 9.4% were farmers; 10.0% were technicians; 3.3% were mechanics; 3.3% were unskilled workers; 2.2% were unemployed.

A high rate of divorces is observed. The cases of divorce between a Korean husband and an Uzbek wife made up 3 in 2002, 16 in 2003, 67 in 2004, 75 in 2005, 106 in 2006, respectively.

The comparative analysis of interethnic marriages in South Korea and the Korean Diaspora in Central Asia reveals their common trends and differences. It is evident that this phenomenon requires an interdisciplinary study. In conclusion, the trend of increasing inter-ethnic marriage among the Koreans, from our point of view, will be intensified both in the Central Asian region, and on the Korean peninsula, as well. In this regard, the question of Korean identity begins to take on new facets and, first and foremost, in terms of its multiple-layer nature.

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