

The Significance of the Formation and Migration History of the Jeju Japanese People during the Japanese Occupation *

Lee, Kyung Won

Department of Public Administration
Jeju National University



Abstract

This paper is based on the records of Jeju's migration in the former half of the 20th Century which can be said to be a tumultuous time in Korea's history both internally and externally. It aims to go over the background and significance of the migration. With the effort, it intends to find some evidences that may lead into reevaluating our awareness and attitude towards the Jeju Japanese as to why the Jeju people migrated to Japan during those times.

What made the Jeju people go to Japan and what made it possible for them to cross over? Three main reasons were deducted from this investigation. First of all, the Jeju people's migration to Japan was a direct result of the 'land investigation project' which was one of the most representative Japanese colonization policy. Secondly, we could take the direct transportation factor which made it possible for the population leak of Jeju into account. The regular passenger liner between Osaka and Japan called the Kimikayomaru(君代丸) was set up. Such launching of passenger liners is also intimately connected with the change in the labor market followed by industrialization within Japan. Finally, we could take the unique characteristics of the Jeju people's cultural community into consideration. While other Korean Japanese from other regions form relationships by forming organizations from a province, city or county, the people from Jeju formed relationships according to villages and identified themselves with their own region.

Keywords : Significance of the Formation, Migration history, the Jeju Japanese People, Japanese occupation.

* This research was supported by the 2014 scientific promotion program funded by Jeju National University

I. Introduction

A term that is commonly used when referring to the entire population of Jeju Island is 'One Million Jeju People'. This 'One Million Jeju People' is a consolidation of about 550 thousand Jeju people actually residing on Jeju Island plus the 450 thousand or so Jeju people who are living abroad.

According to the statistics of the foreign residents recorded at the end of 2008 in Japan, the number of Koreans can be seen to be maintaining at about 600,000 and among them, more than 100,000 is assumed to be from Jeju. If we were to consider that the population of Jeju occupies only about 1.2% of the Republic of Korea, the ratio of the Jeju Japanese in Japan can be considered to be quite high. At one point during the Japanese Occupation, the ratio of Jeju Japanese even made up a quarter of the whole population of Jeju Island. It has been assumed that currently (2008), as much as 20% of Jeju's population is living in Japan.

This paper is based on the records of Jeju's migration in the former half of the 20th century which can be said to be a tumultuous time in Korea's history both internally and externally. This paper aims to go over the background and significance of their migration. Through this effort, it is hoped that it will ultimately throw some more light by offering evidence that may lead into reevaluating our awareness and attitude towards the Jeju Japanese as to why these Jeju people migrated to Japan during those times.

II. Jeju Japanese: Current Status and the Formation Process

1. The Current Status of the Jeju Japanese

While Jeju's population is commonly mentioned to be as being about 1% of the entire nation of Korea, the ratio of Jeju Japanese among

the overseas residents is considered to be relatively high. According to the foreign registry records of Japan, the total number of Koreans in Japan is 589,239 people. Among them, 93,162 people are from Jeju occupying about 15.81%. (Immigration data from the Japanese Ministry of Justice: As of December 2008). The ratio of the Jeju Japanese during the Japanese Occupation was at one time (1934) more than 25% of the entire Jeju Island population.

The historical background and motivation for migration to Japan is slightly different from other regions. (Jeju Development Institute et. al, 2005). The Jeju Japanese in the past chose to leave their hometown for Japan which offered a relatively easy migration process to escape from the Japanese Colonization, ordeals of the ideological conflicts and poverty which followed directly afterwards. Not long after, they formed an overseas Jeju community there and became the epitome of all major trends of the overseas residents. They have now entered the third and fourth generation of immigrants. Most of the Jeju Japanese have the tendency to cluster in big cities like Tokyo or Osaka. They have formed Jeju Japanese communities centering in Mikashima (三河島) in Tokyo and Ikunogu (生野區) in Osaka. The weight they carry within the Korean societies is continuously high and non-official friendly organizations are constantly being formed to demonstrate a special characteristic that their human networking in regional, academical and blood ties are vividly strong.

1) The Current State of the Jeju Japanese

If we were to take a look at the current state of where the Jeju Japanese are standing, they have a dual structure of maintaining economic activities within the Japanese society as Korean Japanese but also of expressing their own regionalism much stronger than any other region. This means that the Jeju people are trying very hard to maintain their Jeju culture partly within the Japanese culture while being part of the Korean society in Japan at the same time. However, with the passage of time, the desire to maintain

the Jeju culture has become diminished and the current reality is that they are being absorbed by the mainstream Japanese culture.

The first utmost reason behind this phenomenon can be attributed to the generation change within the overseas Koreans followed by 60 years or so after independence. When we take a look at the composition ratio of each generation in 2008, the first generation consists of 6%, the second generation 37%, the third generation 48%, while the fourth & fifth generation occupies 9%. It is salient that there is a decline in the first generation of immigrants. With this happening, the Jeju Japanese society has seen changes from the first generation to the second generation, to the third generation and finally to a changeover to the 4th generation. Along

with these changes, various awareness, values, lifestyles have become diversified and children receiving national identity education would have sharply decreased while facing the situation where there is the increase of children obtaining Japanese nationalities. In addition, along with these generational changes, the Korean-Japanese although they might wish for marriage within their own circles, more than 90% of them actually marry internationally with Japanese nationals. (Lee Kyung-won, Jin Gwan-hoon, 2006) The Korean-Japanese including the Jeju Japanese are showing complicated aspects of nationalities, blood ties, awareness and generation changes and because of this very reason, the Jeju Japanese society has inherent potentials to go through severe changes in the future.

2) The Population of the Jeju Japanese

According to a diplomatic document of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the end of December 1911, the population number of Korean Japanese according to region showed that the people from Kyeongsangnam-do was the highest with 440 people, Kyeongsangbuk-do with 161 people, followed by Kyeonggi-do with 135 people. As for Jeju, about 50 people were recorded to have lived at that time. (Yang Yeong-hoon, 2005) <Table 1> below is an overall look of the population number according to their original birthplace of Koreans residing in Japan at two points in time. The first one was a year before 1938 where forceful mobilization was executed when Japan entered into the Pacific War in earnest and 1964 which was the year before a drastic increase in new visitors from

Table 1. Strategies and Directions for Sustainable Tourism of Deokjeok-do Island (1911, 1938, 1964)

(Unit : number,%)

1911		1938			1964	
Native	Number	Native	Number	%	Number	%
Kyungsangnamdo	440	Kyungsangdo	484,814	61	367,441	64
Kyungsangbukdo	161	Jellado	213,983	27	158,044	27
Kyunggido	135	Jejudo	(46,463)*	(7)	(86,490)	(14.9)
Jeollanamdo	35	Changchungdo	51,275	6	24,190	4
Jejudo	50	Kyunggido	14,433	2	9,550	2
Jeollabukdo	12	Kangwondo	8,312	1	5,715	1
Chungchungnamdo	11	Hwanghaedo	5,643	0.7	1,905	0.3
Chungchungbukdo	11	Pyungando	12,490	2	3,313	0.6
Pyungannamdo	9	Hamkyungdo	8,928	1	2,827	0.5
		Yangando, Jagando			68	0.01
		Uncertain			5,519	1
Total	864	Total	799,878	100	578,572	100

* Jeju belonged to Jeolla-do Province in 1938. The Jeju statistics were taken from the 1936 data from p84 from Samwon Dal (1998). Data: Kim Young-dal, "The History of Korean Japanese" Myeongseok Publishers, 2003.

Korea came to be when the normalization of diplomatic relations between Korea and Japan was reached. (Kim Young-dal, 2003). The total number of Koreans in 1964 was 578,572 people and among them, 367,441 people were from Kyeongsang-do occupying about 64% while 86,490 people were from Jeju making them occupy about 14.9%.

The total number of Korean-Japanese in 2006 was 598,219. Most of them were from Kyeongsangnam-do with 169,582 (28.35%), and Kyeongsangbuk-do with 123,535(20.65%). In the meantime, the Jeju Japanese has been assumed to have been 97,651 people occupying about 16.32% of the total number of Korean Japanese. If we were to include the ones that were not registered and the people who were naturalized, the numbers of Jeju Japanese are expected to be far more than that. If we were to also consider that the population of Jeju occupies about 1% of the entire nation, we can assume the scale and importance of the Jeju Japanese within the Korean Society in Japan. The residential areas of the Jeju Japanese have not changed much ever since their first settlement. (Ko Sun Hwee, 2007) Generally speaking, the people from Kyeongsangnam-do, Kyeongsangbuk-do, Jeollanam-do and Jeollabuk-do tend to be evenly distributed across the country. On the other hand, the one hundred thousand or so people from Jeju are mostly concentrated in Osaka and Tokyo demonstrating a special characteristic of more than 90% of them residing in these areas. It has been found that more than 65% of the Jeju Japanese reside in the Japanese Kansai region mostly in Osaka. Ikunogu(生野區) of Osaka is especially known to be a place where there is heavy concentration of Jeju people and is referred to as 'Little Jeju'. In the Momotani(桃谷) area next to the Tsuruhashi(鶴橋) Station, there is a place called 'Korea Town' with a high concentration of commercial shops run by the Jeju people.

3) The Formation of the Jeju Japanese Community

The crossing of waters over to Japan from Jeju apparently began in earnest from the beginning of the 1920's when the Jeju people began responding to the recruit of factory workers there. (Samwon Dal, 1998). During that time, a direct passage that was set up between Osaka and Jeju acted as a crucial factor. The 10,000 Koreans that went over to Osaka in 1922 escalated to 100,000 in 1932 ten years later while in 1940, it reached up to 300,000. Out of the total number of Korean Japanese living in Osaka, the Jeju Japanese occupied 33% reaching its peak in 1934 maintaining a 30% average in the 1930's. It far surpassed Tokyo which maintained a 10% during the same time.

The area where Koreans especially gathered in Osaka was the Higashinari-ku(東成區) which came under Osaka City's jurisdiction in 1925. It was the new industrial zone in the eastern area of Osaka (Moon Kyeong-soo, 2000:178-9). About a third of the Osaka residing Koreans lived in this area and 13% (about 40 thousand people) of the population in Higashinari-gu was Koreans by 1935 already while its ratio increased to up to about 25% by 1941.

The representative jobs of these Koreans that crossed over to Japan included miners, laborers, factory workers and students. In Osaka's case where they especially saw a lot of Jeju people, the makeup consisted of people working in small enterprises in the chemical industry (mainly rubber), metalwork as well as mechanical fields. Factory workers had the higher tendency to settle down compared to laborers who worked in building infrastructures such as roads, harbors and river conservation. (Samwon Dal, 1998). In short, the Jeju people who had a relatively easier time to get to Japan had the higher tendency to settle down depending on the characteristic of the jobs that they had chosen. Among the Korean Japanese who went to Japan, Kyeongsangnam-do by far has the highest number in all of Korea but in Osaka, the highest ratio of Koreans are occupied by the Jeju people.

The job distribution of the Jeju Japanese during the 1920's is relatively simple. With Korea becoming colonized by Japan, even after a decade had passed, the job types for the Jeju people were jobs that required hard labor with low wages. They were mostly concentrated on hazardous industrial sectors which most Japanese laborers avoided. (Lee In-ja, 2004). The majority of the Jeju Japanese was mobilized into spinneries, rubber factories and oil plants. Other than being sent to factories, they also worked in the lowest level of labor work such as public engineering works, boarding houses, sewing factories, and bag manufacturers. The contents of the work began to gradually direct itself to the manufacturing fields and new changes began to appear. Generally speaking, the people from Jeju has a distinct tendency to devote themselves to specific fields depending on their hometown. This was so much so that there were terms like "○○-ri famous for bag manufacturing" and "○○-ri for shoe manufacturing". Some of the others are also thought to have worked in jobs such as sundries, junkyards and transportation businesses. By working in specific fields such as bag and shoe manufacturing en masse, they were able to establish an economic foundation which led to their formation of their own social network within the Japanese society (Takijawa Kenji-滝沢健次, 2004).

2. The Formation Process

1) Before the Japanese Annexation

According to the statistics of the Japanese government, in 1882, there were 4 Korean people residing in Japan. However, in 1909, 790 Koreans were recorded to have been residing in Japan which makes the number of Koreans who had gone over to Japan a mere handful before the Japanese annexation of Korea. Most of them were students who had gone to Japan in search of new academic studies while the others were diplomats or people seeking political asylum. (Kang Jae-un, Kang Dong-hoon, 2000). Before 1910, most of the industries in Japan prohibited

the hiring of foreign laborers so the import of Korean laborers were severely limited. (Yoon In-jin, 2004). However, the infiltration of Japanese merchants or landowners had already begun in Korea during this period so the migration of laborers could be said to have begun at this time. According to one research (Tamura, 2003), it states that various manual laborers had been known to have migrated to Japan during this time and demonstrates that the Japanese economy had started to import Korean laborer in their initial stage of industrialization.

This period when the labor migration just began, was a time where the Japanese merchants or landowners had started infiltrating Korea while at the same time, Korea, as an independent nation, had diplomatic offices set up within Japan. During this time, Koreans went over to Japan in response to the recruitment set up by Japanese enterprises. The recruitment method was that a Japanese recruiter would be commissioned by the enterprise looking for laborers, who would recruit on site in Korea, consequently sending them over to Japan (田峻, 1973:13).

2) The 1st Period (1910 ~ 1919): The Attraction Stage

After the Japanese annexation of Korea, the Japanese exploitation of Korea where they enforced severe colonization policies began in earnest. Jeju Island was no exception to this rule and the number that moved to Japan increased sharply. The lives of the Jeju people began to become starkly impoverished due to several factors such as the land investigation project (March 1910 ~ November 1918), execution of the increase in rice production policy, construction of new roads, and pillages of the fisheries.

During this time, the Japanese government forcefully executed the 'land investigation project' under the pretext of establishing the so called modernized land possession system and exploited the Korean lands. An institution called 'Dongyangcheoksik' was responsible for the spearheading of this activity (The World Encyclopedia, 1999). Under these circumstances, the

socio-economic order in the Korean agricultural societies started to crumble and many farmers especially small scale tenant farmers declared themselves to be ruined and began to wander around the country. They literally became a part of the surplus labor forces and eventually made their way into finding new work opportunities towards bigger cities, especially in Japan.

The impoverishment of the agricultural societies under colonization policies such as the land investigation project ultimately acted as a crucial factor in making many Jeju people to migrate to Japan who were suffering hardships in their daily lives as well as the necessity for massive amounts of labor in Japan due to industrialization. Jeju was actively responsive and cooperative to the call of labor forces in Japan followed by Japanese colonization policies at that time. As a result, the Jeju people not only moved to Japan as factory workers in the modern age but some even went over to Japan working as women sea divers, eventually settling down there.

Japan was seeking to benefit through the Korean peninsula and eventually into China en route pursuing an international imperialistic ideology during this time in the wake of the First World War (1914-1918). The Korean peninsula was their first attack target and Jeju Island was more than enough to be evaluated for its potential as the starting ground into their venture into bigger continents.

3) The 2nd Period (1920 ~ 1930): The Adjustment Stage

This is the period where the decline of the farmers began due to the oppressive rule of the Japanese government with the execution of the policy of increasing rice production (1920-1934) to provide food rations to Japan and in the aftermath of the March 1st Independent Movement. As a result of this policy, the farmers lost the foundation of their trade and it created a situation where they had to seek alternative means to survive. The Japanese Government-General of Korea at this time was concerned about the effects of the spread of the March 1st Independent

Movement followed by the wandering farmers and also to resolve the problem of unemployment within Japan, they issued the police inspector general decree and proposed the Japanese migration measure. This kind of effort to implement the migrating policy however was abolished on Dec. 1922 by the pressure from the Japanese enterprises who wanted an easier method of importing labor (Cho Maeng-Soo, 1995: 13). While Jeju was more concerned about daily survival in terms of the economic situation at that time, Japan on the other hand was seeing their capitalistic economy grow day by day. As a result, the Jeju people decided that it would be easier to amass capital by going to Japan and this became an important reason in making their way to Japan (Kim Chang-Min, 2003: 199-200).

The population drain in Jeju continued in the 1920's. (Lee Young-hoon, 1989: 9-10). This is attributed foremost of all to the effects of the 'free crossing law' implemented by the Japanese government from Dec. 15th 1922. The Japanese government had prohibited the immigration of the Korean people until then but with the First World War as a trigger in the positive development of the Japanese economy, the capitalistic society of Japan began to demand cheap labor from Korea. Following this, they started to execute the free crossing law and a full scale immigration began in earnest. The relationship between Jeju and Japan at this time arrives at point where it sees an important change. The Amakasaki (尼崎) Shipping Company based in Osaka launched a regular liner for the first time called the Kimikayomaru (君代丸). A regular direct route between Jeju and Osaka had been set up after 1923. Following this, three shipping companies launched passages competitively with 1000-ton ships including the Dong-ah-tong-hang Association based on the capital of the Jeju people in 1930. Ultimately, it could be said that the reduction in time and cost of the crossing led to the stimulation of the migration (Boo Man-geun, 1975: 425; The Jeju Yearbook, 1969: 173).

According to the investigation conducted by the Japanese Homeland Security Office, among

the total number of known migrants of 72,815, 39% were from Kyeonsangnam-do, 25% (including Jeju) was from Jellanam-do, and 16% was from Kyeongsangbuk-do. The percentage of the people from just these three provinces alone occupied 80% of the total. (Kang Jae-eon, Kang Dong-hoon, 2000). Furthermore, according to the investigation carried out in 1927, 73% said that they found employment through a relative or a friend. This means that their personal connection and family relationship had affected their urge to cross the waters. With the migration happening through the social network which connected Japan and Korea, the trend became where the people from the same region in Korea also became concentrated in the same region and industries in Japan as well (Yoo Cheol-in, 2000; Kim Chang-min, 2003).

4) The 3rd Period (1931 ~ 1938): The Regulation Stage

Before Japan poured its efforts fully into the Pacific War, the migration of the Koreans to Japan maintained a stalemate situation. In 1934, the increase in rice production policy was terminated and the number of Korean-Japanese before and after 1935 reached up to 500,000 people. After the Great Depression in 1929, the Sino-Japanese War broke out and limitations were put on the migration to Japan before the 'State Mobilization Decree' was declared.

In the 1930's, the population decline of Jeju came to a slowdown and in the latter half of the 1930's there was a slight tendency for an increase in population. This is because the Japanese government implemented a policy of forcefully prohibiting any migration on a nation wide basis due to the aftermath of the 1929 Great Depression where the employment rate was seriously taking a turn for the worse. For example, there were 48,449 people who submitted documents for migration into Jeju in 1932 nationally and among them 16,660(34.8%) received permission. In June of 1934, among the 40,968 people who submitted documents, 15,539(37.7%) actually were able to cross over

to Japan (Park Ie-taek, 1989). Furthermore, the youths who had returned to Jeju from Japan were spreading the socialism ideology and with that as a medium they were actively carrying out anti-Japanese campaigns in a more intricate and organized way. In response to these situations, they were struggling to find ways to repress any migration by coming up with policies such as the 'Repressive Measures against Migration to Japan' (内地渡航防止策) (Jeju History Booklet (濟州島勢要覽), 1937: 26).

In the meantime, if one was to take a look at the birthplaces of the Korean-Japanese at the time of 1937, the three regions of Kyeongnam (37.5%), Kyeongbuk (23.1%), and Jeonnam (including Jeju 20.6%) by far surpasses any others in numbers (田駿, 1973: 42). This kind of phenomenon is intimately related to geographical conditions and in the case of Jeju, it would have been advantageous in ocean voyages making it easy for human traffic to cross over to Japan. Other than that, the fact that Jeju's natural environment was hard for agriculture and the women sea divers migration (出稼) phenomenon was prevalent can be attributed as reasons behind it (Sin Haeng-cheol, 1982:128). As such, the number of Jeju Japanese reached up to 45,900 in 1938 and during the time of liberation on August 15th, it surpassed the 100 thousand mark (Park Yong-hoo, Jeju Chronicles, 1976: 176).

The Korean Japanese in the 30's take on the form of scattering and settling all over Japan (Moon Kyung-Soo, 2000). Along with this tendency to put down roots, the people who formed concentrations of communities in Osaka at the same time were none other than the people from Jeju. The ration occupied by the Jeju people among Koreans in Osaka reaches between 30-40% in the 1920's, 20-30% in the 1930's and was neck to neck in numbers of people from Kyongsangnam-do.

The reason behind such drastic increase of Jeju people to Osaka can be attributed to the fact that the direct route between Osaka and Jeju was maintained along with the fact that after the Kanto earthquake in Japan in 1923 the

crossing over to Japan was severely limited in the mainland but was actually encouraged in Jeju. Between 1923 and 1933 there was a drastic outflow of population from Jeju (Lee Young-Hoon, 1989). During those years, the Korean population on the whole increased by 15% but the population in Jeju decreased by 10% which proves the point. During the same time, the Jeju people who crossed over to Osaka increased up to 30,000 people from 3500 people in 1922 while the number of Jeju Japanese increased from 10,000 to 50,000. By the year 1933, the situation reached a point where about a quarter (about 50 thousand) of the entire Jeju population were living in Japan.

After the middle of the 1930's, the migration process to Japan becomes legally restrained but by that time, there was a firm establishment of roots of the community formed by the Jeju people centered in Osaka and Osaka becomes an extension of the lives of the Jeju people surpassing the international boundaries of Jeju and Japan. It should be noted that the crossing over also didn't come to a complete stop. The migrators from Jeju does decrease sharply from 30,000 in 1933 but about 10,000 each still crossed over respectively in 1935 and 1936. The forming of their countrymen's community in Japan made it easier for their moving over. In short, the settled down migrants and the existence of their community created the continuous condition of reciprocating migration (Sin Haeng-Cheol, 1997:67-70; Moon Kyeong-Soo, 2000: 178-80). The big trend during this time of maintaining official economic relationships along with family ties or migratory workers during the off farming season via labor guilds still continued. They in turn became the medium to create the extended life zones transcending the international boundaries between the Jeju society and the Jeju Japanese communities.

5) The 4th Period (1939~1945): The Forced Emigration Stage

The 1940's saw Jeju recovering their population number from 1924 and shows an increasing

trend. The regretful fact is that it is impossible to secure specific data about military drafting in Jeju so the scale of the migration to Japan cannot be grasped or analyzed regarding this matter.

This period was a time where the Japanese infiltration expanded to a larger scale and was a time where Japan demanded materialistic and human resources to execute their war affairs within Korea. The Japanese colonization policy during this time takes on the special characteristics of ① forced and violent drafting to execute their war affairs, and ② supplementing low cost labor to secure profits of the independent enterprises during the war. Therefore, the migration activity to Japan at this time has the element of a forced human extraction. It was of course a given that they were drafting soldiers and forced mobilization.

Japan instigated the Manchurian Incident in 1931 and launched the Sino-Japanese war with China in 1937 and there was a need for labor forces that would support the munitions industry in mainland Japan along with more military troops followed by expansions in front lines more than ever. Following this development, the Japanese government announced the national mobilization decree on April 1938 and consequently followed it with the declaration of the labor mobilization plan on July 1939. Then, they announced the guidelines for the process of drafting Korean laborers and their migration process on September 1939. Forced emigration soon began not long after. In other words, Japan had very forcefully drafted Koreans including Jeju people to execute their invasions. The number of 45,000 and 900 Jeju Japanese in 1939 increased up to 100,000 by the time of liberation in 1945 (Jeju Association in Japan, 1993) The ration of Jeju Japanese among the Koreans for these two terms are 6.2% (compared to 735,700 Korean Japanese people) and 4.8% (compared to 2.1 million Korean Japanese at the time of liberation) respectively. It is easy to discern that a considerable amount of population leak was being carried out due to the forced migration of Jeju people.

6) After Independence (1945)

After the war, two contrastive phenomena appear in terms of the change in the residing population of the Koreans living in Japan. One is the phenomenon of returning to the homeland and the other is the continued migration to Japan. The return to homeland phenomenon continued mainly in the form of regular returns until it was put to a stop by the memorandum of the top Headquarters of the Allied Forces on November 19th 1950. The people who tried to return after that had to go through the proper departure permission procedure classified as a general foreigner. (Lee Yu-hwan, 1971:372-3) In the meantime, the continued migration phenomenon after 1946 was considered to be illegal and became punishable with deportation. The number of people arrested for illegal migration between 1946-1966 apparently reached as high as 71,000 people.

In Jeju's case during this time, a majority of the Jeju residents can be seen to have sought migration especially as a result of the social, political unrest in the wake of the 4.3 Incident (Boo Man-geun, 1975). In the meantime, some of the Jeju people who migrated might have returned home through official deportation (up until 1950) or forced deportation (after 1950) but we haven't been able to comprehend the actual numbers. All we know is that if we were to take into consideration that the number of Jeju Japanese who were about 100,000 at the liberation period(1945) was decreasing to 64,117 in 1953, about 40 thousand or under Jeju people could be seen to have been returned or deported. However, it has been reported that the number of Jeju Japanese returned compared to the entire number of Korean Japanese is relatively small (Sin Haeng-cheol, 1982:130-131). In other words, it tells us that the tendency to stay behind in Japan was quite strong for the Jeju Japanese. The reasons behind their remaining could be firstly because of the environmental condition in Jeju or the unfavorable geographical conditions making life unviable and secondly because of

the relatively advantageous economic situation in Japan.

III. The Significance of the Migration of the Jeju Japanese: The Significance of the Formation and Background of the Jeju Japanese

Currently (2010) the population of Jeju is about 530,000 and about 100,000 Jeju people are living in Japan. As can be seen, a large number had gone over to Japan. What made them go to Japan and what made it possible for them to cross over? Three main reasons were deducted from this investigation. First of all, the Jeju people's migration to Japan was a direct result of the 'land investigation project' which was one of the most representative Japanese colonization policy. Second, we could take the direct transportation factor which made it possible for the population leak of Jeju into account. The regular passenger liner between Osaka and Japan called the *Kimikayomaru* (君代丸) was set up. Such launching of passenger liners is also intimately connected with the change in the labor market followed by industrialization within Japan. Finally, we could take the unique characteristics of the Jeju people's cultural community into consideration. While other Korean Japanese from other regions form relationships by forming organizations from a province, city or county, the people from Jeju formed relationships according to villages and identified themselves with their own region. If we were to take a specific look into the background and significance of these elements, we could list them as the following.

1. Land Investigation Project

The loss of sovereignty followed by the Japanese occupation demanded that the residents live their lives different from that of the ones that they had led in the past. Under the guise of implementing a modern land ownership system,

the 'land investigation project' executed by the Japanese brought cataclysmic changes in the lives of the residents. This means a total change in their lifestyle when there is a dissolution of a means of life such as that of land. They ended up choosing to go to Japan led by the lure of capitalism which was a new means of life.

The land investigation project were riddled with problems in the first place (Shin Yong-ha, 1979: 258-298). First, most of the people had no knowledge of the basic concept of ownership in the modernized sense so they couldn't differentiate whether the landowner was the state or the farmers themselves. The farmers especially had no experience with modern laws or procedures so couldn't understand the registration system. Through this registration system, the existing state owned land became Japanese property and the actual amount of land that the Japanese authority seized reached more than half (50.4%) of the whole nation. Other properties that were not declared or registered, uncultivated land, reclaimed land and forest lands all came to be owned by the Japanese Government-General of Korea.

As a result of the land investigation project, just like the rest of the country, it brought about a groundbreaking increase in arable land area. In Jeju, the expansion of the arable land is viewed as the result of reflecting the registration of the land exploitation system and reforms in reclaimed land (Shin Yong-ha, 1979). However, unlike the expansion of landowner-tenant farmer relationship which appeared in the mainland, in Jeju where the existing relationship between landowner and tenant farmer relationship weren't that much developed, there wasn't that much room for the tenant farmer who lost their land to find alternative means. After being pushed out from their land, they had to face a situation where they couldn't help but seek employment outside of the island (Lee Young-Hoon, 1989:41-49). Along with the tax exploitation, the land investigation project and prohibition of setting fire to the fields, many tenants were robbed of their livelihood and they couldn't

help but become vagrants as Jeju had more state owned lands than any other regions as a result. To add fuel to fire, most of the poverty-stricken farmers couldn't be absorbed within the labor market in Jeju as the landowner/tenant farmer relationship wasn't as developed compared to other regions leading to an inevitable population leak and Japan who had become the new rising industrial nation became their new destination.

Jeju shows a decline in population with the year 1917 as the mark. This could be seen as the direct result of the farmers who had been robbed of their arable land as a result of the land investigation project between 1914 to 1916 (Lee Young-Hoon, 1989). We can assume that a part of the people who left Jeju went over to Japan and this assumption can be supported with the record that an employee from a spinnery company in Osaka visiting Jeju to recruit temporary workers from 1911 onwards (Jeon Eun-Ja, 2008: 149).

2. The Establishment of a Regular Route: The Kimikayomaru (君代丸)

The history of the Jeju Japanese began in earnest with the launch of the Kimikayomaru (君代丸) which was a regular passenger liner commonly referred to as 'a ship that transfers cheap labor' (Jeju-do, 1991:67) on October 1922. The Kimikayomaru (君代丸) had direct routes and indirect routes. The indirect route began from Osaka going through Shimonoseki (下關), to Busan and then on to Jeju and Mokpo and made its maiden voyage in 1922. The direct route went straight to Jeju after Shimonoseki. If we were to take a look at the Kimikayomaru's logs, with the Sanji Harbor (Now Jeju Harbor) of Jeju-eup as the beginning, it would go towards the west for about 2 days and stopped over at eleven locations (Jocheon, Kimnyeong, Seongsan Harbor, Pyoseon, Seogwipo, Moseulpo, Gosan, Hallim and Aewol Harbor). Since it stopped at major Jeju villages and carried people around, it became a situation where people could go to Japan just by hopping on the ship. It was a direct route

from Jeju to Japan even in today's standards. This ship went around Jeju, then went on to Shimomoseki and reached Osaka in two days and created the background where the Jeju people could easily go to Japan during the Japanese Occupation period (Shin Jae-Kyeong, 2004: 191-3).

Following in the wake of the Kimikayomaru, another regular direct route gets established between Jeju and Osaka. The Joseon-wooseon (朝鮮郵船) supported by the Japanese Government-General of Korea deployed the Hamgyeonghwan (咸鏡丸, 749 tons) in the Jeju-Osaka route in 1924. In 1925 the next year, Kyeongseonghwan (京城丸, 1,033 tons) was also deployed and it ran until 1935. After the launch of these ships, the number of Jeju Japanese goes over about 30,000 thousand people in 1927. The people were highly dissatisfied by the exorbitant fare of the two ships owned by the Japanese shipping companies along with their treatment. It was at this time the Jeju Japanese in Osaka put forward the slogan 'We go by our ship' and established the Jeju Navigation Cooperation (濟州通航組合) (later known as the Dongah Navigation Cooperation 東亞通航組合) and raised funds for this venture. In 1930, they rented the Kyoryonghwan (蛟龍丸, 3,000 tons) and launched the route with the breakthrough fare of half the cost of the existing fare. Despite continuous crafty repressive measures by the Japanese authorities, they manage to purchase the Bokmokhwan (伏木丸, 1,332 tons) and continued on their voyages but on December 1st 1933, they couldn't overcome their deficits and closed down (Shin Jae-Kyeong, 2004:197-198).

The mass residence of the Jeju Japanese became even more active because of the launching of the Kimikayomaru in 1922 leading to the migration to Osaka. In 1924, according to the 'Ratio Table of the Birthplace of the Jeju Japanese in Osaka' with one thousand men as targets by the 'Osaka Vocational Association' 「大阪職業補導會」, there were 609 Jeju people, 192 Jeonnam people, 85 Kyeongnam people and 55 Kyeongbuk people showing a 60% ratio by the

Jeju people (Shin Haeng-Cheol, 1997: 65-70). In addition, according to the administrative report of the Osaka regional authorities in 1923, in the survey of 1,000 Korean laborers, more than 80% migratory workers from Jeollanamdo and among them 60% were from Jeju. This statistic is definitely not unrelated to the establishment of the regular passenger route between Osaka and Jeju in the year 1922.

3. Jeju Villages' Cooperative Network

In the case of Jeju people, it is not a once and for all immigration case where once one goes over to Japan, you do not return and it is not a case where they continue to go back and forth because of financial reasons. It is a relationship where one belongs to a family or a blood relation called 'gwaendang'(kindred) and it is a case where they move between the villages of Jeju and the 'secondary extended village' in Japan as a sort of a family network. Of course it is not only people that move but commodities and information move as well.

The Jeju Japanese unlike the people from other regions who form their network through cities and counties, form their network via village units (called 'Bon-Ri' or 'Bon-Hyang') and have maintained their blood ties and intimate relations. This means that the Jeju people recognize themselves or their identities based on the basic foundation of their village units. It means that they recognize this basic unit as their starting point in their social lives. From this point of view, the informal social gatherings of the Jeju Japanese is an extension of their hometown and the boundaries of their Jeju society could be said to have been extended up to Japan which is their migratory grounds (Lee Kyung-Won, Jin Gwan-Hoon, 2006). Through this, the Jeju Japanese were feeling as one in the need for cooperative support within Japan and formed various social gatherings in village units. This may be called the 'Jeju Japanese People's Human Resource Network'.

One of the external reasons as to how the net-

work community was established can be attributed to the Japanese colonization policy (Harajiri Hideki, 2005; 89-91). The reason behind the setting up of the Osaka-Jeju route by the Amakasaki shipping company in Osaka in 1922 is because the Kanto region centered in Osaka was in dire need of cheap labor. At the time, Osaka was called 'Manchester of the East' but because of the ever changing economy, the demand and supply of labor were never evenly controlled. With this situation as the background, cheap and controllable labor was a tempting condition for factory managers or the Japanese government who was seeking industrialization. The Jeju Japanese had a high tendency to get employment as skilled workers in factories and there was also a high tendency to get a job by moving and looking for positions that were in line with village units. Furthermore, the first settling place within Japan was also carried out through village units. Even while being exploited under the pretext of modern economic policies wielded by Japan, the Jeju people continued on with their survival tactics by networking their logic of 'village' community.

The human resource network of the Jeju Japanese can be said to have aided in the migration and settlement of the Jeju people from the initial stage or the colonization era. In short, the Jeju people who had gone over first formed the 'village benefit association' and such other organizations to help with the migration to Japan along with the jobs and residential spaces that followed afterwards. It didn't stop there but have gone on to act as a centripetal role in alleviating the difficulties and sufferings that would have been encountered in a place far away from home and offered an alternative means of providing cultural comforts of home in the psychological sense. This kind of tradition have continued on until now and a village with that much more active human network have more numbers of migrated people and their economic activity and contributions to their Jeju hometown is quite robust as well.

IV. Conclusion

Within the daily lives of the Jeju people, Japan is considered to be a place where the Jeju Japanese reside. If we were to think about the migration process and its scale, Japan takes on quite an extensive importance in the minds of the Jeju people. In addition, the Jeju Japanese have much deeper and stronger ties with their hometown in Jeju compared to any other people from other regions in Korea. This is amply proven by the fact that there are cenotaphs citing appreciation of the Jeju Japanese erected in front of autonomous centers of village offices in almost every village. For Jeju, the Saemaeul Movement (New Village Movement) is kind of a campaign to show their love of their hometowns by the Jeju Japanese. Taking a look at the 'The Worthiness of Loving your Hometown: Contribution Records of the Jeju Japanese' which Jeju published in 1991, the Jeju Japanese's contribution records which are listed by year and project demonstrates their love of their hometown quite vividly.

Despite the qualitative and quantitative changes of the Jeju Japanese, the awareness and systematic interest about them still possesses many dilemmas. First of all, the people in Jeju in general are not very clear as to who they really are. The reason behind why, when and where and how much they have moved there are absolutely lacking in its basic research. The Jeju Japanese much become an object of special interest considering their scale and historical background. The relationship between Jeju and the Jeju Japanese must be looked at under the premise of their relationship forming followed by the historical process and its understanding. Other than that, an investigation must be carried out about what kind of special characteristics and universality lies in other Jeju people who have gone to the US or China and so on.

References

- Kang Jae Un. 2005. 「Conflict and Challenge for the Korean Japanese」, Koh Sung Jung(trans.), Jeju: North Jeju Cultural Center
- Kang Jae Un, Kim Dong Hoon. 2000. 「Korean Japanese-History and Prospectus」, Ha Woo Bong Hong Sung Duk(trans.), Seoul: SoHwa publisher
- Koh Kwang Myung. 2005. "A Study on the Commerce and Industry for the JeJu Japanese and Korean Japanese", in the seminar of 「The Lives of JeJu Japanese and JeJuDo」, JDI, Jeju KAL Hotel 2005.3.4-5
- Koh Sun Whi. 1998. "Identity for the Jeju People" 「JeJu Island toward 21 Century」, JDI
- _____. 2007. 「JeJu people who moved to Japan to make money」, Koh Sung Jung(trans.), Jeju: North Jeju Cultural Center
- Kim Dong Jun. 2005. "The formation, change and future for the Jeju Japanese Society", in the seminar of 「The Lives of JeJu Japanese and JeJuDo」, JDI, Jeju KAL Hotel 2005.3.4-5
- Kim Chang Min. 2003. "The Change between JeJu Japanese and JeJu Village: 1930-2000". 「Comparative Cultural Study」, 9(2): 195-221, Seoul National Univ., The Institute for the Comparative Culture
- Moon Kyung Soo. 2000. "JeJu Japanese in Japan", 「The Power and Strategy of one million JeJu people for the 21C」, 11th Seminar by JeJu International Association.
- Park Kyung Sik. 1986. 「Chosun occupation by Imperial Japan」, Seoul: Cheong-A Publisher
- Boo Man Keun. 1975. 「30 Years after Independence in Japan」, Moon Jo Sa
- Shin Yong Ha. 1979. "Chosun Land Investigation under Japanese Rule and Farmer's right", 「A Study on the Land investigation under Japanese Occupation」, Korea Research Institute
- _____. 2001. 「Korean History under Japanese Occupation」, (I)(II), Seoul National Univ Press
- Shin Jae Kyung. 2004. "Jeju under Japanese Ruling: KiMiKayomaru", 「JeJuDo」, 108: 190-201, JeJu Provincial Government
- Shin Haeng Chul. 1982. "JeJu Japanese: The Characteristics and Stratification as a minority", 「Tamla Culture Studies」, 6:123-155, Tamla Culture Research Institute, JeJu National Univ
- _____. 1997. "Identity of JeJu people and the Lives of JeJu Japanies", 「JeJu Study」, 14: 53-80, Society for JeJu Studies
- Yang Sung Jong. 2005. "The Current State on the Study of Jeju Japanese", in the seminar of 「The Lives of JeJu Japanese and JeJuDo」, JDI, JeJu KAL Hotel 2005.3.4-5
- Yang Young Hu. 2005. "Jeju Japanese around Osaka between 1920~30", in the seminar of 「The Lives of JeJu Japanese and JeJuDo」, JeJu KAL Hotel 2005.3.4-5
- Ministry of Foireign Affairs. 2003, 2005, 2007. 「The Statistics of Koreans abroad」
- Chun Un Ja. 2008. "The Study on the crossing to Japan by Jeju people", 「Tamla Culture Studies」, 32: 137-178, Tamla Culture Research Institute, JeJu National Univ
- The Association of JeJu Japanese. 1993. 「The Jeju Spirit in Japan: 30 year history of the Association of JeJu Japanese」
- Chulanamdo, 1937, 1939. 「The Statistics on JeJu」
- JeJu Provincial Government, 1999. 「Fruitful hometown JeJu loving - with a million JeJu people toward 21C」, new ed.
- _____. 2007. 「A White Paper on JeJu」
- _____. various years. 「JeJuDo Statistics」
- Choi Bong Soo. 2005. "Policy implication of Land Investigation under the Japanese Occupation", 「The Review of Korean Administrative History」, 17:153-173, The Society of Korean Administrative History.
- Hideki, Harajiri. 2005. "Jeju people's moving practice", in the seminar of 「The Lives of JeJu Japanese and JeJuDo」, JDI, JeJu KAL Hotel 2005.3.4-5
- 朝鮮總督府統計年譜. 1906-1942
- 外村大. 2004. 「在日朝鮮人社會の歴史學的研究: 形成, 構造, 變容」. 「A Historical review on the Korean Japanese」, 2010.
- Masaru, Tonomura, Shin Yoo Won · Kim In Duk (trans.), NonHyung
- 杉原 達. 1998. 「越境する民: 近代大阪の朝鮮人史研究」, 新幹社
- 高鮮徽. 1996. 「在日濟州島出身者の生活過程: 關東地方を中心に」, 東京: 新幹社.
- 高鮮徽. 1998. 「20世紀の滯日濟州島人-その生活過程と意識」, 明石書店.
- 金英達. 2003. 「在日朝鮮人の歴史」, 東京: 明石書店.
- 李仁子. 2004. "移住者の故郷への寄付と故郷づきあいの変遷", 「在日コリアンの社会的ネットワークと文化動態に関する比較社会学的研究」, 東京: 文部省科学研究費 國際學術研究報告書.
- 滝沢健次. 2004. "在日高内里出身者の社会的ネットワークそのコミュニティー形成史を中心に", 「在日コリアンの社会的ネットワークと文化動態に関する比較社会学的研究」, 東京: 文部省科学研究費 國際學術研究報告書.
- 久間建一. 1943. 朝鮮農政の課題, 東京: 成美堂
- 入管協會. 1999. 2007. 「在留外國人統計」.
- 法務省. 1974. 「在留外國人統計」.

Receiving Date : November 11, 2014

Reviewing Dates : November 18 & 25 , 2014

Reporting Date of Article Appearance : November 27, 2014

