Lost Koreans: Information Technology and Identity in the Former Soviet Union

by

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ABSTRACT

The history of Koreans in the former Soviet Union dates back to more than a century ago. Yet little was known about them during the existence of the USSR, and even less as the first decade of the Newly Independent States unfolded. This current study is one of the first attempts to quantitatively measure the national and ethnic identity of this group. The research was conducted via an online survey in two languages, English and Russian. Three main variables — ethnic identity, national identity and information technology — were used to test the hypothesis. The data collection and survey process revealed some interesting facts about this group. Namely, there are some strong indicators that post-Soviet Koreans belong to a category of their own within the larger group known as the “Korean diaspora.” Secondly, a very strong sense of ethnic group belonging, when paired with higher education and high to medium levels of proficiency with Internet technology, indicates the potential for further development and sustainability of these ethnic and national identities, particularly when nurtured by the continued progress of information technology.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The history of Russian/Soviet Koreans goes back at least 100 years. The Korean diaspora within the former Soviet Union is considered the first wave of Korean immigration (1860s to 1910), during which farmers and laborers emigrated to China, Russia and Hawaii to escape famine, poverty and oppression by the ruling class (Yoon, 2006). After China's loss in the Third Opium War, the Russian and Chinese governments of that time agreed to sign the Treaty of Peking in 1860. The Treaty gave Russia vast, almost uninhabited territories on the East side of the Amur River. As a result, Russia and Korea became neighbors. The countries' short, 14-kilometer border allowed poor, landless Korean peasants, mainly from the Northern parts of Korea, to cross an almost unguarded border and settle in the Russian province of Primorye. In 1864, the first Korean settlement was established by 14 Korean families in Tizinkhe, and the official history of the current diaspora of a half million Koreans into the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) began. (Kho, 1987).

Russia's reaction to the Korean migration was conflicted. On the one hand, Russian authorities relied on Koreans to populate and develop that isolated territory. On the other hand, the perception of Koreans as a potential “fifth colony” gave rise to fear that populating “yellows” so far east could cause Russia’s Asian neighbors to claim these territories in the future (Kalishevskiy, 2007). The number of Koreans increased significantly, with the total Korean population in the Russian Far East believed to be more than 90,000 people in 1917 (Kalishevskiy, 2007).

Offering hope of a brighter future, the October Revolution of 1917 inspired laborers to work toward the establishment of Soviet power. The Koreans of the Russian Far East enthusiastically supported the revolution (Kan, Kim and Men, 1997). In the 1920s and 1930s, they developed into a strong social group with their own traditions that
had great economic, political, cultural and social potential. Communications developed rapidly with the establishment of Korean newspapers, journals, radio programs, theatre and departments within some universities. Hundreds of Koreans studied in colleges and universities all over the USSR. (Kan, Kim and Men, 1997).

In 1937, with a sudden stroke of the pen, Koreans were accused of espionage on behalf of the Japanese and were forcibly deported from the Far East of Russia to Central Asia and Kazakhstan (Kan, Kim and Men, 1997). Just before the mass deportation, 2,500 Koreans were arrested in the Far East (Kho, 1987 p. 29-30). As an excuse for this illegal deportation, the Soviet government began distributing propaganda about the Koreans’ mass spying on that territory. Two articles in Russia’s primary newspaper, Pravda, dated 16 and 23 of April, 1937, claimed that Japanese spies were using Korean and Chinese lookalikes in Korea, China and the Soviet Union (Kim, 2004). Within a short time, all Koreans living in the Far East were put in railway wagons usually used for goods and livestock; they were allowed to bring only their clothing and enough food for a month. The forced relocation of these Koreans from one end of Asia to the other destroyed the “root system” that fed the soul of the Korean people (Kan, Kim and Men, 1997). They experienced much hunger, cold and mass sickness during their first winter.

As a result of the forced repression and deportation, these Koreans lost their cultural, social and intellectual identity. In 1938 all Korean schools were closed throughout the Soviet Union, and the following year the Soviet State Committee for the Preservation of Secrets in Print confiscated and destroyed thousands of books printed in Korean (Kan, Kim and Men, 1997).

One sector of the economy in which the Koreans found opportunities and achieved great success was agriculture. Numbers of Korean kolhoz (villages) were recognized, not only at the republican level but throughout the Soviet Union. (Kan, Kim and Men, 1997)
In 1953, Koreans and other repressed nationalities were given the freedom to move throughout the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), at which time the Koreans began to reestablish their ethnic, cultural and linguistic identities (Kan, Kim and Men, 1997). During the Soviet period, displaced Koreans occupied an intermediate class position between the Russian elite and the local people of the Central Asian region. They wanted only to be accepted by the Russian-dominant society and culture and consequently tended to acquire Russian attitudes toward local ethnic groups (Yoon, 2006).

PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

The purpose of this research is to identify the effects of current global changes in the arena of information technology on the Post-Soviet Korean minority in relation to ethnicity-based national identity. The study focuses on the group who self-identify as “Soviet” Koreans and those of Korean ethnicity born in the Soviet Union and after the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, in the former Soviet territories. For more than 70 years, the Soviet regime impacted so many countries and peoples that today, 18 years after its collapse, the magnitude of its policies and repressions from that period are yet to be fully discovered. With the global advancement of information technology development and open market-economy propaganda about globalization, definitions of race, ethnic minority status and nationality are being redefined on many levels and in many contexts.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

The global political situation and recent socioeconomic instability in Russia and the newly independent states of Central Asia have led to anxiety among all people of the former Soviet Union regarding their future. Koreans in these countries share the same difficulties as other residents of the former Soviet Union, as well as additional unique problems (Kim, 2004). After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the independence of the Central Asian Republics in 1991, Koreans face disadvantages and discrimination in the
newly independent nations. The new governments granted their own national languages official status, demanding that all ethnic minorities learn to speak the languages in schools and workplaces. Some Koreans left Central Asia — specifically Tajikistan, after civil war broke out in 1992 — to start a new life in Russia and Ukraine. However, most remain in Central Asia where they have tried to adapt to the new political and economic systems (Yoon, 2006).

According to statistics from the South Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, as of 2001, there were 521,694 Koreans residing in the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States). The largest Korean population of the former Soviet Union is in Uzbekistan (230,800 Koreans), followed by Russia (156,650), Kazakhstan (99,700), Kyrgyzstan (20,222) and Ukraine (8,958) (Yoon, 2006). Up to five generations of Koreans are believed to be living in the former Soviet Union. Those born during Stalin’s time attended Russian schools and speak fluent Russian. Starting with that generation, “Soviet” Koreans were considered Russian speakers.

As a result of this strong pressure for “Russification,” Koreans in the CIS are better assimilated to their host society than other groups of Koreans living outside Korea (e.g., China, Japan, USA and Canada), in terms of language use, ethnic identity and interethic marriage (Yoon, 2000) The language of Soviet Koreans (Koryo-mar) is primary used at the household level and is not at all known in scholarly literature. Koryo-mar often was not included on lists of languages of the USSR (Kho, 1987). No books were published in the language and many Russian words and words from other Central Asian languages began to enter regular usage due to nonexistent equivalents in Koryo-mar. Examples include certain political and social terminology, as well as the Soviet Koreans’ generational, location and occupation references (Kho, 1987). There were two attempts

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1 The dialect is closer to the Hamgyŏng dialect than to the Seoul dialect, though somewhat mutated over the generations. Many of those who retain some command of Korean report difficulties communicating with South Koreans., [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soviet_Koreans#Language](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soviet_Koreans#Language) 2008
for national language revivals, resulting in one Soviet Korean newspaper, Korean theatre, Korean radio programming, a few Korean cultural organizations and Korean language departments in some universities.

The proportion of Koreans who receive advanced education is double that of the general Kazakh population. After acquiring the capital through rice farming, the first generation of Koreans moved to large cities and invested in their children’s education, which resulted in high rates of urbanization. Ethnic Koreans in the former Soviet Union are now concentrated in large cities, especially the capital cities of the republics. According to the Soviet census, the urbanization rate of Koreans was lower than 20 percent from 1937 to 1940, but the rate rose sharply to 73 percent in 1970. While the 1989 census showed that 84.2 percent of Koreans in Kazakhstan lived in urban areas, the urbanization rate increased to 86 percent by the 1999 census (Yoon, 2006).

Equipped with advanced education, the second and later generations of Koreans became professionals, technicians, and administrators (Yoon, 2006). In the private sector, ethnic Koreans have developed a unique economic activity called kobonjil, in which they capitalize on business opportunities forbidden during the Soviet period (Baek, 2001). With kobonjil, a previously illegal seasonal and mobile form of lease farming, ethnic Koreans have managed to engage in a commercial enterprise, and through it they have acquired capital as well as capitalist values and behavior patterns. The Koreans’ experience with commercial farming and self-employment facilitated their upward mobility in the transition economy of the CIS (Yoon, 2006).

Today the information revolution and globalization are marching across the continents, a new way for nations to coexist within an emerging network of transnational and local phenomena: diasporas, new ethnicities, diaspora-nations and nationalistic drives to establish new nation-states. These tendencies — along with the fluctuating fluidity of international capital, the ever-broadening circulation of commodities and
global media systems (i.e., the Internet) — are contributing to the simultaneous homogenization and diversification of the world. As borders are realigned and even destroyed, prior definitions of ethnic identity, citizenship and nation are challenged, giving way to forms of blended identity and transnationalism (Kurti, Langman, 1997).

The main question of the current research is: Due to the unique and multilevel history of various countries and regions (the Russian empire, Soviet Union and the Central Asian Republics), combined with the strong push for ethnic and cultural identity preservation and the rapidly spreading popularity of Internet and other forms of Information Technology, what is the national identity of ethnic post-Soviet Koreans residing worldwide? Additionally, is there such term as “post-Soviet Korean national identity”? If yes, how strongly do those who identify with it feel about it, and in what form does it exist? Are there any fundamentals in place for a nation-building process? How much does the Internet have to do with such a process?

This research will attempt to answer these questions, targeting particularly post-Soviet Koreans already connected to Internet who are members of several network websites. Though the target group is the post-Soviet Koreans already using Information Technology, they might also be using other forms of advanced technologies, like cell phones, satellite dishes, etc. However, the Internet seems to be one of the primary ways of connecting with the target audience, perhaps the best way possible, considering its cost and efficiency.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM

The significance of this research is its attempt to clarify ongoing debates about whether Information Technology is capable of bringing scattered people together, ultimately creating ethnic and cultural social enhancement. The research is an attempts to answer questions about why ethnicity is one of the capstones at a time when the world seems to be shrinking, where information travels with the speed of megabytes, where one
can find a branch of McDonald’s in almost any part of the world, where nations and borders are frequently redefined and very often destroyed — the era of globalization.

Very few academic studies have been dedicated to this ethnic group. For one thing, the political regimes of the Central Asian Republics still repress any initiation of growing political activism or acknowledgement of Korean ethnicity, apart from titular ethnic groups. The Korean people of the former Soviet Union have historically been neglected, deprived, repressed and discriminated against. One could argue that this is a characteristic of belonging to an ethnic minority group (Morris, 1968, Tajfel, 1978).

This research implies that although most Soviet Koreans still reside in the post-Soviet territories geographically and politically, Information Technology can be a key to democratizing and nurturing the movements of growing national and ethnic identities, even developing those identities through the use of digital media for communications and to flow information from any part of the globe. Thus, this research contributes to the shallow amount of existing literature about this mostly unknown ethnic group, one that could potentially emerge on the world stage as thousands of ethnic identities are revived and reconstructed due to developing global processes.

The history of Koreans in the Soviet Union can be compared to many other studies of various ethnic groups. However, each of those ethnic groups followed their own paths and destinies. Today, nearly 20 years since the breakup of the USSR, there is little to nothing in common in the contemporary history of these ethnic groups. Thus this study might also contribute to the whole set of studies dedicated to other dislocated groups in totalitarian Soviet Union, as they relate to national-identity and Information Technology.

LIMITATIONS

The study was conducted using online tools to create the survey and collect data. An access link to the survey was posted on various network websites. Moreover, a request
was posted to forward the link to others who might be willing to respond, a process known as semi-snowball sampling. The main limitation was that only people who happened to visit the network websites containing the link or those to whom it was forwarded had knowledge of the survey; thus, only these individuals had the opportunity to respond, which led to a self-selective group of respondents. This limitation was unavoidable because it is impossible to know of — much less reach — every website on the World Wide Web, as new websites are created every minute. Nor is it possible to know precisely how many presently existing websites are salient.

ASSUMPTIONS

As the majority of the data collected was done via an online survey, the first assumption was that the target audience had access to computers and the Internet. We can assume that the limited number of the respondents showed that only a limited number of post-Soviet Koreans are exposed to Internet technologies. These limited numbers are not problematic in that the main interest of the current study is people who possess computers or have access to them and who are Internet users.

Given that the online survey was posted in English and Russian, the second major assumption was that the survey translation was accurate to the degree that respondents had a clear understanding of the questions and optional answers.

The final assumption was that all respondents not only clearly understood the questions, but answered all the questions truthfully. The survey did not request any personal information which might be used to locate and/or identify any of the individual respondents. Each respondent was promised that all data collected is confidential and cannot/will not be used for any purposes other than the current study. None of the respondents' information can or will be disclosed to any other party.
LITERATURE REVIEW

The summary of available literature regarding post-Soviet Korean ethnicity may indicate that the ethnicity of Koreans in the former Soviet Union can be categorized as an independent ethnic minority group that is united by a common history, race, and culture. However, there is room for research to explore the strength of this unity and to what extent it has spread. Indeed, Koreans of the former Soviet Union are part of the ethnic Korean community living outside both Koreas; however, many might argue that Koreans of the former Soviet Union are very much like Americanized Asians who refer to themselves as “bananas” — yellow on the outside but white inside.

Many Koreans born and raised in the former Soviet Union have several characteristics that can be broken down into three groups. The first, ethnic features that can be directly associated with North/South Koreas, such as physiology, surnames, and recognition by other ethnic groups as “Koreans.” The second group includes demographics, like education, career, first language, first names, marital tendencies, and the most popular location for migration (especially after 1991), all factors associated with Russian history and Russian language and culture. Even the future for most Soviet Koreans is associated with the Russian Federation. The third group includes blended features that can be distinguished as originating in Korea but influenced by other cultures over a significant period of time. Among them are a common history, a Korean dialect (Koryo-mar), Korean traditions and customs, cuisine and mentality.

Meanwhile, the lack of academic research gives us a starting point for unveiling the first steps toward understanding who post-Soviet Koreans are. The following collection of literature is organized in a logical order, beginning with a general understanding of ethnicity and ethnic identity, followed by an explanation of national
identity and its connections with ethnic identity, and lastly Information Technology and its effects on both ethnic and national identities.

ETHNIC IDENTITY

For a group to be considered “ethnic,” it must have a common cultural tradition and sense of identity (Naroll, 1964; Gordon; 1964; Theodorson, Theodorson 1969). Members of this ethnic group differ from larger society with regard to certain cultural characteristics; they may also be behaviorally assimilated while maintaining a strong sense of ethnic identity. Therefore, ethnicity is not so much a product of common living; it is more a product of self-awareness of belonging to a particular group and one’s distinctiveness from another group (Barth, 1969). In the past, self-definition was derived directly from identity concepts denoted by birth: race, language, culture, and history of the group’s relationship with other groups in society. Today, rapid technological advancements and increased mobility make it possible to choose one’s ethnic identification in a self-conscious way (Hutnik, 1991). Moreover, ethnic identity is not fixed, and multiple ethnicities may coexist (Wallman, 1983).

Identity today is more decisively a question of collective empowerment that is constructed from history, geography, biology, productive and reproductive institutions, collective memory, personal fantasy, power apparatus and religious affiliation. Identity cannot be studied and posses regressive or progressive values outside its historical context (Friedman, 1994; Castells, 2004). The identity of ethnic minority groups tends to have a deeper connection among its members who share a common fate and common experiences of discrimination and social disadvantage which strengthen in-group cohesiveness and solidarity, as well as enhancing the self-consciousness of minority group membership (Morris, 1968; Tajfel, 1978). Ethnic groups are not always minorities, but mainly groups suffering low status and a lack of power, relative to the majority (Hutnik, 1991).
NATIONAL IDENTITY

According to Anthony D. Smith (2001), nationalism is perceived as an ideology and movement, or ideological movement. “Nation” may be defined as an ideal — a typical term for a self-defined human community whose members cultivate shared myths, symbols, values and memories, reside and are attached to a historic homeland, create and disseminate public culture, and observe common laws and customs. “National identity” can thus be defined as the continuous reproduction, reinterpretation and transmission of a pattern of symbols, values, memories, myths and traditions that represent the distinctive heritage of a nation and identification for individuals with the cultural elements of that heritage. At the top of all these definitions is the “nation-state,” a political system that draws on an ideology, proclaiming that political boundaries should coincide with cultural boundaries (Eriksen, 2002).

Anthony D. Smith (1991) suggested that there are two general national models: the civic territorial model and the ethnic genealogical model. The civic model arose in the West, assuming a sense of political community for all its members, including common institutions and a single code of rights and duties. It also assumed a demarcated territory in which all its members lived. On the other hand, the non-Western ethnic model was first and foremost a community of common descent. In this model, national identity was more a matter of ascription than civic choice, with Western emphasis on laws and institutions replaced by linguistic and cultural elements (Jones and Smith, 2001). Thus Jones and Smith’s study (1999) resulted in representation of two dimensions of national identity: an ascriptive dimension, resembling the concept of ethnic identity described in historical and theoretical literature, and a voluntarist dimension that was much closer to the notion of civic identity.

The above-mentioned research was conducted in relation to eighteen European countries with further comparative analysis. Theoretical background suggested that
forces such as post-industrialism and globalization tend to favor more open and 
voluntaristic forms of identity over the more restrictive ascribed version (Scholte, 1996). 
Internal cultural differentiation (polyethnicity) reflects the existence of different language 
groups and the fact that regional divisions may have similar effects, inhibiting nation-
building and the growth of a strong national identity (Hutchinson, 1994). Simply stated, 
the higher a nation-state's degree of globalization, the greater its members’ commitment 
to a civic/voluntatristic form of national identity, rather than an ascribed version.

In the case of Soviet nationalistic policies, it clearly needs to be mentioned that 
due to the unique nature of the Communist nationalism phenomenon, nationalism was 
not only viewed as an essential component of political and social life, but it also touched 
the daily life of every member of the society. As Katherine Verdery (1999) stated, post-
socialism is more than just a set of technical changes; rather, it involves the redefinition 
of almost the entire fabric of everyday life. The key factor in the identity of post-socialism 
was the creation of a particular sense of identity which enabled the differentiation of 
“others” who are not the same as “us.” According to Verdery (1994), the Communist 
Parties constructed their identities by identifying some form of “enemy” intent on 
thwarting the work of building socialism. Thus, hostile attitudes toward the West were 
persistent in Soviet political propaganda.

From this perspective, the USSR was viewed as a multinational empire seeking to 
become a Russian nation-state by forcibly assimilating non-Russians (Kaiser, 1997) and 
seeking to destroy other forms of nationalism. Some federal state structures explicitly 
recognized national identity as an issue; others attempted to promote a strong Soviet or 
Russian nationalist identity feeling among minority groups (Kaiser, 1997). If we try to 
apply the above hypothesis of Jones and Smith (2001) to the more advanced globalised 
states, we see more members opt for the civic model. Verdery (1999) argues that post-
socialist change must be seen as more than simply establishing democracy and a market 
economy. Rather, it involves an entire reordering of peoples’ lives and “worlds of
meaning,” including the production and reproduction of new cultural identities at a range of scales. Thus it is more complicated than simply the marketization and democratization of the region.

NATIONAL IDENTITY AND ETHNIC IDENTITY

According to John Calhoun (1993), nationalism remains the preeminent rhetoric for attempts to demarcate political communities, claim rights of self-determination and legitimate the ruling of “people” of a country. Ethnic solidarities and identities are claimed most often where groups do not seek “national autonomy,” but rather recognition, either internal or cross-cutting national or state boundaries. The most recent analyses of nationalism have rejected the claim that nationalism can be explained by pre-existing ethnicity. Nations rooted in ethnicity are developed via long-term processes, continually reenacted and reconstructed; they require ethnic cores, homelands, heroes and golden ages if they are to survive (Smith, 1986). Ethnicity, religion, language and territory do not suffice for building nations; instead, they induce nationalism. Shared experiences build nations (Gellner, 1983).

For Phinney, Horeneczyk, Liebkind and Vedder (2001), ethnic identity is likely to increase when immigrants have a strong desire to retain their identities and when pluralism is encouraged or accepted. Additionally, groups feel accepted and national identity is likely to be strongest when there is pressure toward assimilation. According to Liebkind (2001), the two-dimensional models of acculturation, based largely on Berry’s work (1990, 1997), recognize that two dominant aspects of acculturation — namely, preservation of one’s heritage and culture and adaptation to the host society — are conceptually distinct and can vary independently. Four acculturation strategies (integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization) can be derived from “yes” or “no” answers to these questions:

1. Is it considered valuable to maintain one’s cultural heritage?
2. Is it considered valuable to develop relationships with the larger society?

Integration is defined by positive answers to both questions, and marginalization by negative answers to both. A positive response to the first and a negative to the second defines separation; the reverse defines assimilation. This model allows for multiculturalism, which asserts that different cultures may coexist in a society and, according to Phinney (1990), is a useful starting point for understanding variation in ethnic identity. A simple explanation of the two-dimensional model of acculturation is that ethnic identity and national identity (identity as a member of one’s society) can be thought of as two dimensions of group identity that vary independently; that is, each identity can be distinctly secure and strong or undeveloped and weak (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, and Senecal, 1997). An individual who retains a strong ethnic identity while also identifying with the new society is considered to have an integrated (bicultural) identity. One who has a strong ethnic identity but does not identify with the new culture had a separated identity, whereas one who relinquishes the old ethnic identity and identifies only with the new culture has an assimilated identity. The individual who identifies with neither has a marginalized identity (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind and Vedder, 2001).

The process of ethnic identity formation has been conceptualized in terms of a progression, with an individual moving from unexamined attitudes of childhood through a moratorium or period of exploration to a securely achieved ethnic identity at the end of adolescence (Phinney, 1989). Many youth, especially those from ethnic groups with less status or power, may become deeply involved in learning about their ethnicity during adolescence. This process can lead to constructive actions aimed at affirming the value and legitimacy of their group (Brown, 2000; Tajfel and Turner, 1986) or to feelings of insecurity, confusion, or resentment over the treatment of their group (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind and Vedder, 2001). Likewise, national identity is a more complex
construct than is conveyed by a label; it involves feelings of belonging to, and attitudes toward, the larger society (Phinney and Devich-Navarro, 1997).

According to the two-dimensional model, ethnic and national identities among immigrants are assumed to be independent; that is, both could be either high or low, and individuals could belong to any one of the four possible identity categories. Research generally supports a two-dimensional model of ethnic and national identity among immigrants, in that linear measures of the two types of group identity are usually statistically independent (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind and Vedder, 2001). However, relationships may vary across immigrating groups (Hutnik, 1991; Phinney, Cantu and Kurtz, 1997) and across national settings.

INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY: INTERNET AND NETWORKING

Although Information Technology is not the cause of the changes we are living through, without the development of new information and communication technologies, many fewer of the changes in our lives would be possible. The entire realm of human activity depends on the power of information, and the current sequence of technological innovation seems to accelerate its pace by month. Software development is making user-friendly computing possible, so that millions of children, when provided with adequate education, can progress in their knowledge and in their ability to create wealth and enjoy it wisely, much more quickly than any previous generation. Today the Internet is used by millions of people, the rate of new users roughly doubling every year. It serves as a channel of universal communication where interests and values of all sorts coexist in a creative cacophony (Castells, 1999).

All new technologies originate in advanced societies, as does much of their content. In terms of cultural globalization, these advances have three principal effects. First, they export what Leslie Sklair (1991) calls the “culture-ideology of consumerism” from the center to the periphery of the world system, because most news, information,
entertainment, sports, and advertising flow in that direction (Hoskins and Mirus 1998; Mowlana 1985; Sklair 1991). Second, cultural flows via the mass media dissolve the internal boundaries of those networks and help knit them together, as well as absorbing new nations into what some might call the network of cultural imperialism. These cultural flows are primary examples of transnational connections, links between collective actors and individuals that subvert state frontiers. Third, mass media convert the contents of human relationships into symbols or tokens that can connect people across great distances. This process can become so effective that communities of interest or value commitment can develop between people who have never met, much less joined together in a live political event (Waters 2001).

A major Information Technology component associated with significant recent transformations in the world of communications is the Internet, or the World Wide Web. The Internet originated in the USA, where it grew out of the merging of local area networks originally under military sponsorship. It then morphed into an academic and research network; however, by the 1990s, the commercial opportunities became apparent. The Internet is global in its reach but not total in its coverage. It had 15 million users in 1992, growing at a rate of 20 to 30 percent every three months (Kroll 1992).

In its early development, the Internet simulated global space, because users needed to conceptualize and find other “places” to use the information. However, in roughly 1990, new hypermedia software became available (e.g., Netscape and Internet Explorer) that could act as an agent that allowed the user to independently search the network and find bits of information in different parts of it, aggregating them and presenting them to the user, without any reference to location. Equally, this software rendered the Internet increasingly user friendly, and thus generalized its use. The chief importance of this development to our research is that it provided an opportunity for the realization of simulated communities that can now develop through trans-global patterns of interaction (Waters 2001).
The critical organizational form of the information age is networking. A network is simply a set of interconnected nodes. It may have hierarchy, but it has no center. Relationships between nodes are asymmetrical, but they are all necessary for the functioning of the network and for the circulation of money, information, images, goods, services, or people throughout the network. The most critical distinction in this organizational logic is the decision whether or not to participate in the network. If one chooses to become active in the network, they can share and, over time, increase their chances to advance. Should they opt out of the network, or become switched off, their chances vanish, since everything that counts in terms of being in the center of information and innovations is organized around this worldwide web of interacting networks (Castells, 1999).

According to Jessica Mathews (1997), individuals or groups in a network create links for joint action without building a physical or formal institutional presence. Networks have no person at the top and can be coordinated without a center. Rather, they have multiple nodes through which collections of individuals or groups interact for different purposes.

To be sure, networks have always existed within human organizations, but they have only recently become the most powerful form for organizing instrumentally, rather than expressively. The reason for this shift is fundamentally technological. The strength of networks is their flexibility, decentralizing capacity, variable geometry and ability to adapt to new tasks and demands without destroying their basic organizational rules or changing their overarching goals. Nevertheless, their fundamental weakness throughout history has been the difficulty of coordination toward a common objective or focused purpose that requires the concentration of resources in space and time within large organizations like armies, bureaucracies, big factories or vertically organized corporations.
For members of diasporic groups who use online services extensively, the ability to exchange messages with individuals on the other side of the globe and instantaneously access a targeted community changes the dynamic of the diaspora by facilitating more enhanced linkages. And as the number of language scripts and translation capabilities of online software grows, an increasing number of non-English speakers become more active Internet users (Karim, 1998).

NATIONAL AND ETHNIC IDENTITY AND INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY

David Hooson (1994b:23) writes “... [T]he urge to express one’s identity, and to have it recognized tangibly by others, is increasingly contagious and has to be recognized as an elemental force even in the shrunken, apparently homogenizing, high-tech world of the end of the twentieth century”.

National identity must be analyzed as a rational construction formed through the new media (i.e., these new networks created via Internet technology). This is the only way one can raise the question of national identity as a historical problem in relation to which collective subjects may be seen as emerging in response to this new media (Poster, 1999).

Contemporary nationalism is not necessary an elite phenomenon, but rather a reaction against the global elites. Because contemporary nationalism is more reactive, it tends to be more cultural than political, thus more oriented toward defending an already institutionalized culture than toward the defense of the state. When new political institutions are created or recreated, they become defensive trenches of identity, rather than launching platforms of political sovereignty (Castells, 2004).

Contemporary nationalism is nationalism emerging in an age of globalization and information technology. When new technologies encourage the creation of shifting, non-institutional networks, they empower individuals by weakening their relative attachment to community, the preeminent one in modern society being the nation-state (Mathews, 1997). Where ethnicity is specified as a source of meaning and identity, it merges less
with other ethnicities than with broader principles of cultural self-definition, such as religion, nation or gender; otherwise, ethnicity becomes the foundation of defensive trenches and territorial in local communities (Castells, 2004). New technologies change people’s perception of community by enabling them to make cross-border connections with exponentially growing ease, while separating them from their natural and historical associations within nations (Mathews, 1997).

The chief importance of information technology, particularly Internet software development, is that it is providing an opportunity for the realization of simulated communities that can now develop from trans-global patterns within these interactive networks. In theory, the Internet can eventually bring together like-minded people from many countries to help build more open communications networks, stronger patterns of globalization, and eventually more open civil societies, or even democracies.

According to Kurt Mills (2002), different kinds of communities are using the Internet to strengthen their communal identities and pursue self-determination, though they are running into certain contradictions of confused and conflicted identities inherent in using this fast-growing set of technologies. As a result, it is too soon to declare the end of nationalism and parochial identity.

According to Benedict Anderson (1991), members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the power of their communion, made all the more real due to virtual communities created on the Internet. Thus are all communities imagined or constructed in the minds of their members, so it is not surprising that such communities would appear to be strengthened in cyberspace (Mills, 2002).

For Piet Bakker (1999), virtual communities are responsible for only a small part of Internet usage. Much more common are existing communities with a virtual “branch.” Soccer fans are members of face-to-face communities, but they also participate in virtual
communities which have their own mailing lists, websites and chat channels. Such offline communities existed before the Internet and can exist without it. They had other ways of communicating: via their own newsletters, magazines and personal communication, through local or regional gatherings, or by phone conversations and letters. The Internet merely provided these communities additional possibilities: communication is faster, can be more frequent and is possible for more people.

The main difference seems to lie in the scope of the communities: there are “one issue” communities like those for music lovers, dog breeders, etc., while others like white supremacists, members of religious organizations and people with specific political affiliations share common ideas or beliefs that are not limited to a single topic and participate by promoting and defending their ideas or beliefs. Before the Internet, meetings of national communities without actual nations used to take place within local or regional communities; the Internet offers new possibilities for these communities. For the first time, they can organize worldwide, reach new members and communicate with these members more often.

However, Robert Saunders (2006) in his recent research of Internet usage and national identity among near-abroad minority Russians, argues that regular Internet usage among this ethnic group has precipitated a denationalization of identity since the breakup of the USSR. Despite the prevailing notion that Internet use among national minorities tends to strengthen national identity, his research reveals a paradoxical relationship between Web use and national identity. His research also concluded that while a minority Russians are using the Internet to rail against the ethno-nationalist policies of their states of residence or rally the support of co-nationals in Russia, the vast majority of near-abroad cyber-Russians are instead using the Web to build transnational personal and commercial networks across Europe and Eurasia and to develop their English skills for employment and educational opportunities in western Europe and elsewhere. Saunders’ findings also indicate that Internet networks and nationalist
websites have little, if any, direct influence on national identity among near-abroad cyber-Russians.

Likewise, Bakker (2001) agrees that nationalistic websites could fall within a possible “dangerous” category; abuse and explicit language are quite common, but he concludes that notwithstanding the crass language used and ideas advocated, there is little proof of harmful effects because of the content alone. In his recent research paper “The Internet Crusade,” Bakker studied 30 nationalistic websites of ethnic minorities around the globe (Kurds, Macedonians, and Armenians). In his paper, he concluded there is no visible proof that a “digital divide” exists. He asserts that specific reasons for Internet use remain unclear, but the websites he studied offer a clue. For one thing, there is very little participation in entertainment-type activities; most users are just there for information, but according to the visitors, this is something they very much enjoy. Furthermore, these websites can be important for some groups or individuals, and research points in the direction of strengthening identity, but for the majority of users/visitors, it is less important than a simple information exchange. He finishes by stating that websites offer a very fast, complete, and inexpensive service and that they continue to reach more people every day.

THEORY

To sum up the ideas represented in the previous chapters, we can conclude that: ethnicity first of all indicates a shared culture that is different from “others” or larger society. Secondly, ethnic identity is most of all a sense of individual self-awareness that one represents and shares a certain culture. Thirdly, multiple identities may coexist. And finally, ethnic identities are constructed from common history, geography, biology, productive and reproductive institutions, collective memory, personal fantasies, power apparatus and religious affiliation.
National identity is generally a more complicated fabric that can be divided into two categories: civic-territorial, which is mainly derived from Western influence and ethnic-genealogical, which is known as a non-Western concept. The civic form of national identity is easily found in highly globalized states, while those states that did not embrace the global culture tend to opt for ethnic forms of national identity. In the case of the Soviet Koreans, the history and nature of the Soviet rule must be noted. For this ethnic group it is a significant historical period, beginning with the mass relocation and discrimination, and ending by being scattered across the former Soviet territories and elsewhere.

Regarding the relationship between ethnic identity and national identity, the above academic literature is best described by the acculturation of a two-dimensional model, where national identity and ethnic identity are statistically independent, thus allowing both pluralism and multiculturalism to exist simultaneously (see the literature discussion above). This concept is easily summarized in Table 1 below.

Despite theories and evidence depicting the Internet as a mind-blowing technology with exponential possibilities regarding globalizing and democratizing, shrinking spaces and destroying borders, two researches have presented somewhat contradictory opinions. The study of near-abroad ethnic minority Russians (Saunders 2006) reveals that this particular ethnic minority group is using the Internet primarily to expand their businesses and educational opportunities, rather than for the promotion of nationalistic ideas. He also concludes that this group’s Internet use does not generally affect their national identity. On the other hand, Bakker's study (2001) concluded that nationalistic websites do have a positive effect on the process of enhancing of national identity. Even though the percentage of participants is very small, they do enjoy participating and interacting on the Web and, for the most part, use it for the purpose of reaching more people every day with minimal expense.
Among these differences in research and discussions, one must consider Saunders' point (2006) that while cyberspace may provide a temporary reprieve from the daily travails of minority status for ethnic minority groups, it neither rewrites the rules of daily life, nor does it override reality; it merely offers a temporary escape from it. The Internet as a medium is neutral; only through the actions of its users does it emerge as a social space. Thus, nationalist ideas cannot appear on the Internet independent of individuals who genially care, believe, promote and are responsible for their creation and are willing to use cyberspace to express them. Additionally, if no one was interested in exploring and joining the discussions to rediscover, reestablish and/or strengthen his or her ethnic or national identity, there would be no searches or active participation in nationalistic websites. We can summarize our theory in the Table 2 below by combining Table 1 with the effects of Information Technology.
Table 1. Identification Patterns of Cultural Adaptation. (Suggested by literature)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Combined Identity</th>
<th>Ethnic Identity</th>
<th>National Identity and the Host Society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Integrated</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assimilated</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginalized</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ Strong attitude
- Weak attitude

Table 2. Effect of Information Technology on Ethnic and National Identity (Hypotheses)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Combined Identity</th>
<th>Ethnic Identity</th>
<th>National Identity in the Host Society</th>
<th>Effect of Information Technologies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Integrated</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assimilated</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginalized</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ Strong attitude
- Weak attitude
Before we highlight our hypotheses, some aspects need to be clarified. Despite the above-mentioned civic/ethnic national identity model, we chose to use a two-dimensional acculturation model instead. The reason behind this choice is: firstly, the civic/ethnic model is focused on globalized versus non-globalized states and has the country names as variables, which creates a problem, as we do not know exactly how many people will respond to our survey and we cannot possibly estimate where they might reside. Moreover, we do not require that respondents’ national identity be of any particular state, as post-Soviet Koreans do not have a nation-state in its traditional sense. We did attempt to discover that alternative, but were unsuccessful.

According to German Kim (2003-2004), some years ago a significant discussion took place about potentially setting up an autonomous Korean area in the Russian Far East. Several young Koreans from Central Asia traveled to the Far East to explore the possibility of moving entire families systematically back to the Maritime Province. Such a mass migration would have received no help from Russian authorities. As such, the Koreans decided that such a settlement would be impractical, primarily because there was no procedure for the establishment of such autonomy within Russian legislation. Thus, due to the nonexistence of a nation-state with physical boundaries, it is unnecessary to focus on particular national identities that are already assigned to nation-states. Simply stated, we were open to any findings to which our research might lead us.

HYPOTHESES

1. Separated identity likely leads an individual to have a positive effect on the virtual nationalistic communities in regard to his/her ethnic and national identity.

2. Integrated identity likely leads an individual to have a positive effect on the virtual nationalistic communities in regard to his/her ethnic and national identity.
3. Assimilated identity generally indicates that an individual has a negative or negligible effect on virtual nationalistic communities in regard to his/her ethnic and national identity.

4. Marginalized identity generally indicates that an individual has a negative or negligible effect on virtual nationalist communities in regard to his/her ethnic and national identity.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

SAMPLING (Please see the full survey in APPENDIX A.)

1. The original survey was designed in English and then translated into Russian.
   Two versions of the survey were available for participants.

2. Both versions were posted online using one of the survey software websites.

3. Simultaneously, the links for both versions were posted on network websites
   including, but not limited to:
   • www.odnoklassniki.ru
   • www.facebook.com

4. The snowball technique was employed through personal networking, whereby
   emails were sent out containing a link to the survey with the request that
   recipients forward the link to other people who might be interested in answering
   the survey.

5. The anticipated timeline for receipt of responses was 30 days, with an open
   deadline.

6. No personal information was collected in this survey, and all data collected was
   used only in the following study within the above-established limitations and
   purposes.

DATA COLLECTION

The survey, consisting of 24 questions, was launched in two languages, English
and Russian. Test-run diagnostics suggested the survey to be easy to access and respond
to. We designed the survey to contain both multiple choice and fill-in-the-blank
questions. The first part of the survey consolidated questions regarding national and
ethnic attitudes, followed by a series of questions regarding demographics. We finished with questions about Internet use and levels of computer proficiency.

After a few attempts to promote the survey through several network websites, the total number of responses was only twenty. It makes sense to discuss this issue a little further. Firstly, it is important to mention a few challenges that were difficult to anticipate. One was the “former Soviet mentality,” so to speak. This mindset explains the fact that some people who were asked or redirected to fill out the survey online (via the snowball technique) posed questions and statements like, “Why would someone need me to fill out an online survey?” or “I did not understand the instructions and do not understand why I should do it.” Mindset also explains why, when tracking the number of visits to the survey page, the application frequently appeared to have been opened and closed without the individual answering any questions. Soviet mentality includes suspicion and fear for personal safety if any personal opinions are expressed openly to unknown sources.

It was also noted that the higher their level of education, the more willing people were to participate in the survey. Only 26 percent of the participants were geographically located in Central Asia, which suggests that although the biggest number of former Soviet Koreans live in the Central Asian region, their response rate was very low due to the tense political situation as well as scarce access to information Technology, compared to other regions, even those of the former Soviet territories like the Russian Federation.

Secondly, in the Russian language, the term “national identity” literally equates to the word “ethnicity”; then again, the Soviet system is the one responsible for this interpretation. During the existence of the USSR, a passport contained two fields: “Citizenship,” which meant country of residency and “Nationality,” which meant ethnicity. If you compare two pages of the current Uzbek passport, the one in English
contains only one field, “Nationality,” which suggests citizenship. The Russian version of the same passport page has two lines: “Citizenship” and “Nationality” (i.e., ethnicity).

Simply stated, if one asks, “What is your nationality?” in Russian, a native speaker’s interpretation would be “What is your ethnicity?” That explains why one participant’s answer to the question “Ethnically, I belong to…” was “Korean/Russian.” However, his/her parents both are ethnically Korean, but his/her native language is Russian. This might also lead to speculation about whether one’s native language is a real indicator of ethnicity. Following that conclusion to its logical end, one must ask: if one’s native language were English, would that not indicate English ethnicity?

Thirdly, all of the above observations of the data collection process and general data presentation explain the low number of answers. It is essential to clarify that this sample size might be of high importance and relevance to this research. Our argument would state that even though the total population of former Soviet Koreans is a half–million, the fact that they are geographically dispersed across much of the globe makes the likelihood of increasing the sample size by finding those with access to the Internet who would be willing to answer the survey regarding their ethnic and national identity, by all hopes, very slim. Table 4 is the quick glance of the raw data and some general details of the whole sample. Most of the respondents are members of the Russian network website (APPENDIX B) and possibly do belong to those groups inside of this website. Majority of the responses were in Russian that also indicates that all of them are proficient in this language, received education and are fluent to use it in their daily lives.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Currently live in</th>
<th>I was born in Central Asia</th>
<th>I currently live in Central Asia</th>
<th>I was born in the former Soviet Union</th>
<th>My current age on my last birthday was</th>
<th>How many years of education do you have?</th>
<th>My current occupation is</th>
<th>My native language is</th>
<th>I am citizen of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>student</td>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>Uzbekistan</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>female</td>
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<td>Kyrgyzstan</td>
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<td>female</td>
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<td>Russian Federation</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>female</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<td>Kyrgyzstan</td>
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<td>foreman</td>
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<td>teacher</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>male</td>
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<td>operator</td>
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<td>rural area</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>26</td>
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<td>no</td>
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<td>female</td>
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<td>male</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<tr>
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<td>metropolitan area</td>
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<td>male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 Sample description
MEASURES

The survey included 16 items assessing three aspects of ethnic identity: positive ethnic attitudes and sense of belonging (4 items); ethnic identity achievement (6 items); and ethnic behaviors or practices (2 items). The items were rated on a 5-point scale, from strongly agree to strongly disagree, with the neutral rating being neither agree nor disagree. Additional items, which did not affect the scores, assess self-identification and the ethnicity of respondents' parents.

Also included in the survey are four items assessing other group orientation. Although attitudes and orientation toward other groups are conceptually distinct from ethnic identity, they may interact with it as an aspect of one's social identity within the larger society. In this research, these items are included to provide a “national identity” variable. As former Soviet Koreans have no “nation-state,” as such, all of them reside in a “host society” where they are members of an ethnic minority group. The results show that some participants have dual citizenship, having been born and raised in one country but residing in a different one, thereby making it impossible to measure their sense of belonging to one specific nation.

The third important part of the survey included 8 items measuring Internet use, value, and proficiency, rated on a 3-point scale from high to low that was considered the Information Technology variable. Although Internet use, proficiency and value are nearly indicators of the respondents’ actual participation in “virtual nationalistic communities,” it is more importantly the indicator of access and ability to use the technology. This is notable because it indicates that the possibility of using this technology to research one’s own ethnic and national identity might be anticipated or suggested. It is impossible to track the Internet activity of every survey participant, and seems unnecessary for our research, as the hypothesis suggests that virtual reality is merely a reflection of the actual reality. If, in reality, an individual has a strong ethnic identity and participates in various
ethnic practices, it is suggested that he or she, having access and the ability to use the virtual reality, might virtually practice those ethnic behaviors, as well.
CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

After processing the data coding and recoding, additional sub-variables were created in order to format all the data in a numerical model that is recognized and ready for use by the SPSS software. The total number of variables is 54:

- 16 are combined as an “Ethnic Identity” variable.
- 4 of them comprise an “Other Group Orientation” variable which, in our study, is considered a “National Identity” variable.
- 8 variables are combined to form the “Information Technology” variable.
- The rest of the variables are demographic and social information details.

The first step in describing our sample was to run the frequencies report of all the variables. As may be assumed, the length of that report does not permit display of its full version in this paper. But we are able to see the frequencies of the most important of the combined variables for the purposes of this research: Ethnic Identity, National Identity and Information Technology.

Table 4. Combined Ethnic Identity Frequencies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Identity</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat disagree</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither agree nor disagree</td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>14.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat agree</td>
<td></td>
<td>76</td>
<td>33.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
<td></td>
<td>87</td>
<td>38.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>228</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5. Combined National Identity Variable Frequencies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National Identity Frequencies</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Identity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat disagree</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither agree nor disagree</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat agree</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>42.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Combined Information Technology Variable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Information Technology Frequencies</th>
<th>Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information Technology</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Other characteristics of the sample drawn from the frequencies are the following:

- 98%\(^2\) of the participants were born in the former Soviet Union.
- 63% of them reside outside the borders of the former Soviet territories.
- 26% are still living in Central Asia.
- 89% have college degrees.
- 84% consider English as their first foreign language.
- 15% consider Korean their Native language.
- The remainder, almost 78%, consider Russian their native tongue.

The next step was to look into any significant correlations between all the variables. The overview of the relationships is as follows: it was obvious that all the variables of Ethnic Identity are strongly and consistently correlated with each other. The variables of Internet Use, Proficiency and Value all have strong positive correlations. The most interesting relationships indicate that:

- A stronger Ethnic Identity attitude is likely to be found in those who were born in the former Soviet Union and still live within the former Soviet Union territories. However, these individuals might have a lower level of Internet Proficiency.
- Those born during the existence of the Soviet Union are likely to have Russian as their Native Language. However, the older the person is, the more likely they are to have Korean as their Native Language and the more unlikely they are to have English as Foreign Language 1.
- Education is the most interesting variable to examine, at as it seems that the higher the level of Education, the weaker the person’s Ethnic identity. The same goes for Occupations. A lower Occupational score appears to be related to those who reside within the former Soviet Union territories. On the other hand, more educated people tend to have higher Occupational scores and higher levels of Internet Proficiency. In our opinion, Education seems not to be a good variable in relation to Ethnic Identity

\(^2\) All the percentages used are valid percentages considering missing values in each variable separately.
in this particular sample. The simple explanation of this “illogical relationship” can be seen in the responses themselves. The answers are not equally distributed (with the scale of: High School Diploma 1, Associate Degree 2, Bachelor’s Degree 3, Master’s Degree 4 and Ph.D. 5), as only one of the participants has High School as their highest level of education. The majority of participants had acquired Master’s Degrees. A bigger sample and wider distribution of responses would give us a better picture of this particular correlation. The same is true for Occupations (i.e., Education has a strong positive correlation with Occupation, but there is no way to depict it statistically other than via a verbal description by the researcher).

The third and the final step, was to test the hypotheses. For the purpose to better describe and explain our sample, a cross-tabulation technique was chosen. The three cumulative variables (Ethnic Identity, National Identity and Information Technology) that were used are depicted in Table 8. Percentages from “Strongly Disagree” and “Somewhat Disagree” can be determined to be a “Weak Attitude”; ratings of “Somewhat Agree” and “Strongly Agree” are interpreted as a “Strong Attitude” that apply to both Ethnic Identity and National Identity variables; “Low”, “Medium” and “High” ratings for Information Technology variables suggest respondents’ low, medium or high levels of Internet use, value and proficiency, combined. Additionally, all percentages in Table 7 are based on the percentages of the number of responses accumulated for each separate item.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>National Identity</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IT</td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>Somewhat disagree</td>
<td>Neither nor</td>
<td>Somewhat agree</td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Ethnic Identity</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.40%</td>
<td>0.40%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>0.40%</td>
<td>13.60%</td>
<td>15.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.20%</td>
<td>0.40%</td>
<td>2.60%</td>
<td>3.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.70%</td>
<td>1.00%</td>
<td>3.70%</td>
<td>2.40%</td>
<td>10.30%</td>
<td>19.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>288</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1.30%</td>
<td>1.60%</td>
<td>6.20%</td>
<td>6.10%</td>
<td>13.50%</td>
<td>28.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.00%</td>
<td>3.00%</td>
<td>7.50%</td>
<td>3.90%</td>
<td>14.80%</td>
<td>34.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium Ethnic Identity</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>248</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.20%</td>
<td>0.90%</td>
<td>0.70%</td>
<td>0.80%</td>
<td>4.00%</td>
<td>7.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>104</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.20%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>0.50%</td>
<td>0.50%</td>
<td>1.70%</td>
<td>3.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>62</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.90%</td>
<td>1.60%</td>
<td>2.70%</td>
<td>1.70%</td>
<td>5.30%</td>
<td>13.20%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>64</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>1128</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2.00%</td>
<td>3.50%</td>
<td>7.10%</td>
<td>9.10%</td>
<td>12.90%</td>
<td>34.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>140</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>1352</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.30%</td>
<td>5.10%</td>
<td>9.30%</td>
<td>7.40%</td>
<td>15.30%</td>
<td>41.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Ethnic Identity</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.70%</td>
<td>1.30%</td>
<td>1.50%</td>
<td>0.40%</td>
<td>3.00%</td>
<td>7.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>0.40%</td>
<td>1.30%</td>
<td>1.50%</td>
<td>3.60%</td>
<td>7.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>57</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>2.20%</td>
<td>2.80%</td>
<td>2.30%</td>
<td>6.20%</td>
<td>15.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>234</td>
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<td>434</td>
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<td>2.20%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>90</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>1088</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.00%</td>
<td>4.10%</td>
<td>6.50%</td>
<td>8.70%</td>
<td>13.70%</td>
<td>36.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentages and totals are based on responses.
If we examine the totals, we can define the percentage of Information Technology (Internet Use, Value and Proficiency) for each type of cultural adaptation identity. Table 8 offers a summary presentation of the theory and hypotheses that is easy to compare with Figure 1, which shows that Integrated Identity has the highest level of Internet Use, Value and Proficiency, as is suggested by Table 8, the same goes for Separated, Assimilated and Marginalized Identities relatively.
Table 8. Effect of Information Technology on Ethnic and National Identity (Hypotheses)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Combined Identity</th>
<th>Ethnic Identity</th>
<th>National Identity in the Host Society</th>
<th>Effect of Information Technologies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Integrated</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assimilated</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginalized</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ Strong attitude
- Weak attitude

Figure 1. Information Technology and Types of Identity
In general, the stronger the level of Ethnic Identity and National Identity, the higher the level of Information Technology Use, Value and Proficiency. However, Higher levels of Information Technology do not give us a direct answer regarding whether an individual with Integrated Identity is more active in virtual nationalist community websites; it simply suggests that when an Integrated type of individual has access and proficiency of Internet technology, he or she might be an active participant in those kinds of communities. Conversely, it is unlikely that those with a Marginalized sense of Identity (those with a weaker sense of Ethnic and National Identity, coupled with a low level of Internet access and proficiency) would actively participate in virtual nationalist communities. The following chapter will discuss some of the final points of the data and research as a whole.
CHAPTER 5

RESULTS, REVIEW AND DISCUSSION

For the first decades, Korean immigrants to the Russian territories experienced daily life, social relations, ethnic culture, and language that resembled their lives in Korea. By the 1930s, Koreans in the Soviet Far East had established their own identity, culture and traditions. At that time, Koreans had a strong ethnic and cultural unity, based on the number of Korean schools, theatres, newspapers and cultural institutions (Kim, 2003-2004). The massive relocation of Koreans at the end of 1930s was the breaking point for the whole community to fall apart. Koreans were pronounced as people who could not be trusted by the Communist Party. This might be the most important point in the whole Soviet history of Koreans.

Firstly, Koreans by that time had a strong national sense of identity as “Soviet citizens,” along with a strong ethnic identity and supportive foundation of being Koreans. Secondly, the forcible relocation destroyed the supportive base from which that strong ethnicity originated, as well as crushing the sense of national identity through the propagation of mistrust and fear of massive and cruel repressions. By destroying the supportive ethnic system of the Korean community, the Soviet government tried to implement the idea of “an individual retaining his/her sense of belonging to an ethnocultural community, but this would be a non-political attachment which did not interfere with the allegiance to the Communist cause and authoritative rule of Communism to destroy other forms of nationalism” (Young, Light, 2001). The grand idea of the Soviet policies was to establish a Sovietized population, which also could be referred as Russification (Kaiser, 1997); linguistic Russification, intermarriage with Russians, and assimilation into the Russian nation that was built as the result of internal colonization.
Never again did Soviet Koreans dare to create or establish any politically oriented ties or attempt to have a defined Korean identity outside their Soviet identity. Moreover, they tried to assimilate and “dissolve” into the dominant Russian ethnicity. All this was due to more than 70 years of Communist rule. After the breakup of the Soviet Union, this pressure dissipated.

However, Koreans then found themselves as citizens of different countries, if not continents, with the titular ethnics who reshape and reestablish their Newly Independent States. With the starting point of lost Soviet identity, displaced Koreans now have a chance to choose their own identity, due to the possibility of immigrating to any country of the globe, with accessibility to any kind of information available on the Internet, and with the feasible global tendencies for nation-states to be based on ethnicities.

Most studies of Koreans in the Soviet Union and Central Asia do not explain who the “post-Soviet Koreans” are. Some studies refer to them as part of the Korean diaspora within the homeland of North/South Korea; some define them as the part of Central Asian diaspora, and finally, some refer to them as members of the Russian diaspora. There is a need to seek a clear definition, including all the unusual factors and characteristics of that group that might not fit into the well-defined and recognized definitions of “ethnicity,” “diaspora” and “minority.”

During the Soviet Union’s existence, there were few studies about Koreans in the Soviet Union. Some would not even have seen the need for such studies, as it used to be one country, one nation. Evidence of such a perspective is seen in that most of those Koreans still refer to themselves as “Soviet Koreans” today. Koreans in the USSR attempted to blend in and simply be Soviet people. Since the historic breakup of the country, the vast territory of the former Soviet republics has been “exposed” to the world. And it became obvious that much of the world had never heard about the Koreans living in the former Soviet territories.
The 21st century can clearly be called the digital age. Information Technology in every form and shape can be seen in our everyday use and need. The possibilities for Information Technology are enormous. Some refer to them as the main characteristic of today’s world and predict a mind-blowing future. Yes, indeed, we happen to live in the age of globalization, when major communication tools have shifted from landline telephone to mobile phone and from paper mail to electronic messages. Our local television and news stations are no longer enough; people have the urge and need for satellite dishes so they can receive any number of international news and entertainment stations. People living on other continents seem to be closer than ever, with the instant communication possibilities of the Internet.

One of the effects that borderless instant communication seems to bring to the table is a debate about the concept of a “borderless” world and a questioning of the definition of “nation.” Direct evidence for that phenomenon can be seen in the number of regional and ethnic conflicts around the globe. Compare the number of new nations and countries appearing on the world map with countries that have existed for generations, as well as the number of ethnic groups that have become politically active in attempt to claim territorial independence. All support the facts regarding the urge to look at today’s world from a new perspective, with the effect of Information Technology as the main attribute.

The first chapter of this study introduced the existing gap in the academic studies about Koreans of the former Soviet Union. The main question examined in this research was whether Information Technology affects this ethnic group in the relation to their national identity. If yes, how and to what degree does IT help bring them together? Can Information Technology be a reliable tool to unite people of the same ethnicity and history who happen to live in dislocated and dispersed territories? The results of this study help fill a gap in the literature about that particular ethnic group and provide ideas for further studies in relation to other ethnic groups around the world. The current study
likely contributes to the ongoing debates about the effects Information Technology has on society. From what angle should we look to see: whether information technology is a tool for society to communicate or something more, for instance, a tool of connectivity and unity among societies?

The second chapter introduced the related literature and other studies that helped to identify existing knowledge of this topic. It discussed the following variables: ethnic identity, national identity, the combination of ethnic and national identity, and Information Technology. This was followed by the theory and hypotheses that suggest that if an individual has either separated or integrated identity, it most likely will lead to a positive effect on relevant virtual nationalistic communities in regard to his or her ethnic and national identity. On the other hand, if an individual has assimilated or marginalized identity, it is a likely indicator for negative or negligible effect on virtual nationalistic communities regarding his or her ethnic and national identity.

The third chapter is dedicated to the methodology and data collection process, as well as measurements. It is important to mention the main points of the data collection process. The challenges and peculiarities of the “Soviet mentality” and language differences easily explain the sample size and some of the contradicting answers received.

The fourth chapter explains the data in narrative and graphic forms including narrative description of the results.

The findings state simply that yes, in fact, the Internet is capable of bringing people together, if and only if an individual is truly interested in participating and communicating virtually. The Internet, as any other type of Information Technology, is a tool that is available to individuals who are willing, interested and able to use it. The ways of using the Internet are merely at an individual’s discretion. Yet, this research suggests that if a person belongs to certain type of identity (two-dimensional model of acculturation), there is a higher or lower chance to be virtually active in nationalistic websites. For this particular sample, 66.6 percent of respondents have high-level Internet
skills and high levels of ethnic and national identity, versus 18.30 percent of those who have low skills with Internet and computer technology along with a weak sense of ethnic and national identity. This difference in percentages suggests that former Soviet Koreans as a group in general might have a very strong sense of ethnic and national identity when equipped with high levels of computer skills and the potential to use those skills and resources, if available. Most importantly, it is possible to state that there is a significant indication that these individuals can be placed into the category of a Soviet Korean ethnic group to build and strengthen the “Soviet Korean identity.” However, further research and contributions from other scholars in this field of study are necessary to investigate and determine how strong the ties inside this group are, and whether there is any future for this community to grow into something bigger than being simply another ethnic minority group of its own. Our recommendations would also include in-depth verbal interviews with participants that could also lead to a bigger sample size. And most importantly, more studies of this nature and direction are needed to predict the future development of this ethnic group. Such studies would greatly contribute to the whole field of studies about ethnic minority groups and Information Technology.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX A
DATA COLLECTED JULY-SEPTEMBER 2010
SURVEY
SURVEY

1. Please rate the following statements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group, such as history, traditions and customs</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have not spent much time trying to learn about the culture and history of my ethnic group</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have talked to other people about it</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

I enjoy being around people from ethnic group other than my own

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

2. Please rate the following statements:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I have a clear sense of my ethnic background</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am not certain about the importance of my ethnicity in my life</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I understand what my ethnic group membership means to me</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have a lot pride in my ethnic group</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel good about my ethnic background</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
<td>()</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups did not mix together

3. How important are Internet websites related to Soviet Korean community?
   () Low
   () Medium
   () High

4. I currently live in
   () Metropolitan area
   () Rural area

5. I was born in Central Asia
   () Yes
   () No

6. I currently live in Central Asia
   () Yes
   () No

7. I was born in the former Soviet Union
   () No
   () Yes

8. I currently live in one of the countries of the former Soviet Union
   () No
   () Yes

9. I currently live in a country that is not a part of the former Soviet Union
   () Yes
   () No

10. I am
    () Male
    () Female

11. My age on my last birthday was
    ________________________________

12. How many years of education do you have?
    ________________________________

13. My current occupation is
    ________________________________

14. My native language is
    ________________________________

15. My first foreign language is
16. My second foreign language is ________________________________

17. My third foreign language is ________________________________

18. I am citizen of ____________________________________________

19. Ethnically, I belong to ______________________________________

20. My father's ethnicity is ______________________________________

21. My mother's ethnicity is _____________________________________

22. How would you describe your level of proficiency with computer and Internet use? (Low: New to computer and Internet technology, with the great difficulty can independently operate; Medium: Can easily operate and constantly in use; High: Can professionally program and train beginners)
   ( ) Low
   ( ) Medium
   ( ) High

23. How would you rate the value of Internet for you personally?
   ( ) High
   ( ) Medium
   ( ) Low

24. Please rate the value of your Internet use in the following categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Not important</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Very important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To reconnect with my family and friends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be informed about social life in my country and abroad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be informed about political life in my country and abroad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To learn new things about my ancestors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To meet new friends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B

WWW.ODNOKLASSNIKI.RU
NETWORK WEBSITE
Veronica Lee
Phoenix, США
My group of 11

“Lee Group”

Koreans born in the USSR!

FBM

Koreans THE WHOLE WORLD!
LIST OF TERMS

1. KOREAN DIASPORA. The Korean terms dongpo (동도) and gyopo (유도) refer to people of Korean ethnic descent who have lived the majority of their lives outside Korea. They can also mean simply any Korean who lives outside Korea. (retrieved from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnic_Korean 05/22/2009)

2. SOVIET KOREANS, OR KORYO-SARAM. (Russian: Корё сарам, Korean: 고려사람, Hanja: 高麗人) This is the name used by ethnic Koreans in the post-Soviet states to refer to themselves. Approximately 500,000 ethnic Koreans reside in the former Soviet Union, primarily in the now-independent states of Central Asia. There are also large Korean communities in southern Russia (around Volgograd), the Caucasus, and southern Ukraine. These communities can be traced back to the Koreans who were living in the Russian Far East during the late 19th century. (retrieved from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Koryo-Saram 05/22/2009)

3. THE COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES (CIS). (Russian: Содружество Независимых Государств, СНГ, (transliterated Sodruzhestvo Nezavisimykh Gosudarstv, SNG)) The CIS is a regional organization whose participating countries are former Soviet Republics. It is comparable to a confederation similar to the original European Community. Although the CIS has few supranational powers, it is more than a purely symbolic organization, possessing coordinating powers in the realms of trade, finance, lawmakers and security. It has also promoted cooperation regarding democratization and cross-border crime prevention. As a regional organization, the CIS participates in UN peacekeeping forces.[3] Some members of the CIS have established the Eurasian Economic Community, with the aim of creating a full-fledged common market. (retrieved from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/CIS 05/22/2009 05/22/2009)

4. NIS. The post-Soviet states, also commonly known as the former Soviet Union (FSU) or former Soviet republics, are the 15 independent nations that split off from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in its breakup in December 1991. Excluding the Baltic states (which were independent before World War II and had already signaled their political intention to dissociate themselves from the rest of the Soviet Union in 1989), they were also referred to as the Newly Independent States (NIS). (retrieved from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Newly_Independent_State 05/22/2009)

5. KOLKHOZ. (Russian: колхоз, Russian pronunciation: [kɐlˈkəʊs], plural kolkhozy. This was a form of collective farming in the Soviet Union that existed along with state farms (sovkhooz, plural sovkhozy). The word is a contraction of коллективное хозяйство, or “collective farm,” while sovkhooz is a contraction of советское хозяйство (literally, “Soviet farm”). Kolkhozy and sovkhozy were the two components of the so-called “socialized farm sector” that began to emerge in Soviet agriculture after the October Revolution of 1917 as the antithesis of individual or family farming. The 1920s were characterized by spontaneous and apparently voluntary emergence of collective farms, which included an updated version of the traditional Russian “commune,” the generic “farming association” (zemledel’cheskaya artel’), the association for joint cultivation of land (TOZ), and
finally the *kolkhoz*. This peaceful and gradual shift to collective farming in the first 15 years after the October Revolution turned into a violent stampede during the forced collectivization campaign that began in 1928. (retrieved from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kolhoz 05/22/2009)

6. KORYO-MAR, Goryeomal or Koryömal. (Hangul: 동동동; Russian: Корё маль; Standard Korean: 동동동동동동동, literally *Central Asian Korean language*)
This is the dialect of the Korean language spoken by the Koryo-saram, ethnic Koreans in the former USSR. It is descended from the Hamgyŏng dialect. Koryo-saram often report difficulty understanding speakers of standard Korean, which may be compounded by the fact that the majority of Koryo-saram today use Russian rather than Korean as their mother tongue. (retrieved from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/KoryoMar 05/22/2009)

7. KOBONJIL. Uniquely 'Soviet' Korean form of agriculture as a seasonal and mobile form of lease farming. (Yoon, 2006)

8. FORCIBLE RELOCATION OF KOREANS IN THE USSR. More than 172,000 Koreans were deported from the border regions of the Russian Far East as part of Joseph Stalin's policy of systematic population transfer. Its legal basis was the joint decree #1428-326c of the USSR Sovnarkom and VKP(b) Central Committee of August 21, 1937, “About Deportation of the Korean Population from the Border Regions of the Far Eastern Krai” (“О выселении корейского населения из пограничных районов Дальневосточного края”), signed by Stalin and Molotov. The justification was “to suppress the penetration of the Japanese espionage into the Far Eastern Krai.” (retrieved from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deportation_of_Koreans_in_the_Soviet_Union 05/22/2009)
Veronika Li was born and raised in Central Asia in the territory of the former Soviet Union. Ethnically, she belongs to the post-Soviet Korean minority group of that region. Ms. Li has received her B.A. in Business Management from Tashkent State Technical University. Over the next few years, she travelled extensively, working for various developmental projects around the Central Asian region that led her to apply for the graduate program of Global Technology and Development at Arizona State University. Ms. Li currently resides in Phoenix, Arizona, and is employed by the Maricopa County Sheriff’s Office.