Rhetoric of the Korean Diaspora: Critical Reflection on the Analysis of *Grain in Ear* and *Desert Dream*

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【Abstract】

The usual way of analyzing diaspora is to look at the origin of the group, and to ascribe to them characteristics based on their shared origin. This perspective of diaspora may lead one to consider the diaspora group as the fundamental basis of analysis, which should be revisited. This paper attempts to investigate the undifferentiated usage of diaspora in analyzing the movies by Zhang Lu, and looks into the rhetoric of the each sub-group's

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nomenclature as well as history to see how they became to be considered 'Korean diaspora,' and questions if it is justifiable to call them as such. With the possible scene analysis of the movies from this perspective of the collective diaspora, this paper critically presents the double consciousness of South Koreans toward the two groups: *Joseonjok* and *Talbukja*. Consequently, with this view, it risks perceiving the movie as a representation of a collective diaspora group which this paper sees as a problem. This paper therefore argues that the perception is projected on individuals by South Koreans. As Rogers Brubaker argues: if everyone is of diaspora, no one is distinctively so; if an analyst takes the diaspora group as an essential element, the experiences of the characters and the people in reality get to be hidden behind the banner of a diaspora group.

Key words: Joseonjok, Talbukja, Zhang Lu, Korean diaspora, double consciousness, Grain in Ear, Desert Dream

1. Introduction

Many studies of the movies by the director Zhang Lu, who is ethnically Korean but holds Chinese nationality, project views of diaspora on the director's work; however, not many investigate deeply why the movies can be seen from the diasporic perspective. In other words, the word 'diaspora' seems to be used simply because the director himself is a descendant of the Korean diaspora in China. However, upon closer analysis it seems hard to combine

the different groups of people who dispersed throughout history into one category, and this is true also of the Korean diaspora. While many of the studies seem to assume that the various groups of people, who may share the culture under the name of *Joseon* in the movies, are simply 'Korean diaspora,' this attempt to generalize also creates problems. It is as Rogers Brubaker argues:

> [...] 'let-a-thousand-diasporas-bloom' approach is that the category becomes stretched to the point of uselessness (Sartori 1970). If everyone is diasporic, then no one is distinctively so. The term loses its discriminating power - its ability to pick out phenomena, to make distinctions. The universalization of diaspora, paradoxically, means the disappearance of diaspora.[1)]

As Brubaker points out, the term diaspora nowadays is so broadly used that its meaning becomes diluted to an extent that the boundary between diaspora and any other movements of people gets mixed. In the cases of the groups of people in the movies, it appears to be an oversimplication when one ties them under the category of diaspora altogether without understanding the circumstances of specific sub-groups or even individuals. It can be argued that the way they are identified in the discourse produces an otherized Korea, which belongs to nowhere and does not exist, yet which symbolizes the unified Korea that existed prior to colonialization and the Korean war. In this paper it is argued that the existence of this otherized Korea is a problem.

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1) Brubaker, Rogers. "The 'diaspora' diaspora." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28-1. 2005, p. 3.

In this paper the undistinguished usage of the word 'diaspora' is problematized in the analysis of the movies by the director Zhang Lu because it limits full understanding of the individual struggles beneath the surface. The author will attempt to study how the Korean diaspora is perceived by South Korean thinkers by investigating the history and nomenclature of two Korean groups outside South Korea: the ethnic Koreans in China, *Joseonjok* and the North Korean defectors, *Talbukja*[2]. The analysis will also consider some studies that describe the characters in the movies *Grain in Ear* and *Desert Dream* as members of the Korean diaspora in the region, and questions if the diaspora consciousness of South Koreans to regard both groups of *Joseonjok* and *Talbujka* as Korean diaspora is justified. In other words, the paper questions whether or not the main characters in both movies are perceived from the perspective of South Koreans being one of them, to firmly solidify the thought of the same ethnic bloodline regardless of the reality. In the end, the paper will critically assess the double consciousness of South Koreans that imposes the sameness on the two groups and; in doing so, subsumes and ignores individual struggles under the banner of Korean Diaspora.

2. Rhetoric behind the History and Nomenclature

It is interesting to point out that there are few, almost rare, cases

2) Henceforce, the two groups will be written as *Joseonjok* and *Talbukja* respectively.

to call a group of people by a country which exists only in history: the ethnic Koreans who dispersed before the independence.[3] One can see it in the way the ethnic Koreans in China are called: *Joseonjok*. The history may help to account for the reason why they are called as such. There exist various theories as to the history of migration of the ethnic Koreans into China[4]; however, according to Lee, the modern migration occurred on three stages of events in a chronological order: the frequent natural disaster and the subsequent damage on farming in the 1860s, the independence movement activists after the Japanese annexation of Korea, and the forced migration under Japanese colonialism until the independence of Korea (Lee 331~332; Yeo 250), which implies that the mass migration began during the Joseon dynasty. While staying in China, the ethnic Koreans kept their traditions, and system of education.[5] As it can be noted, the tendency of the modern migration shows the maintenance of a strong national identity. The interesting point about the identity, however, remains after the independence of Korea and the establishment of the Communist government in China. By being acknowledged by the Chinese government, *Joseonjok* became

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3) For example, ethnic Koreans who reside throughout Russia, Commonwealth Independent States call themselves as Goryoin. (고려인)

4) Lee discusses that from the ancient period there were the influx of ethnic Koreans into the current northeastern part of China, but it is hard to trace their genealogy. He states it is the generally accepted history to regard the 19th century as the beginning of the mass migration of ethnic Koreans to the area. Refer to Lee (2012), pp. 326-329.

5) Lee's study reveals that the number of ethnic Korean students and the secondary private schools in the northeastern part(Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang provinces) by 1916 reached 63,000 and 238 respectively. Refer to Lee (2012), p. 332.

one of the minorities in China, and got opportunities to acquire Chinese nationality (Lee 338). It is interesting to note that the group of ethnic Koreans was granted an official name of which only one part in the peninsula remains to be related to *Joseon*, merely in a titular way. The relationship between Communist China and North Korea may have affected the naming. Chinese Government publicized that: "Among the People of Joseon nationality, those who have family register in China are all Chinese citizens, and those who do not have family register in China and stay here temporarily are overseas Koreans (*Joseon Gyomin*)" (Lee 339).

While China enacted such a law, the South Korean government had to deal with various other matters which put the problem of the ethnic Koreans into a delay. When diplomatic relations between South Korea and China were established in 1992, the relationship between *Joseonjok* and South Koreans was also developed in positive ways, and South Korea became seen as a land of economic opportunities (Lee 342; Jung 197); and at the same time the positive relationship created opportunities for many to visit the land with which they share blood ties and from which their ancestors originated[6] (Yeo 244). However, due to the diplomatic relations with China, the first enactment of the Policy for Overseas Koreans made an exception to those who left the country before independence and has limited the free migration of *Joseonjok* and *Goryoin* (Jung 199; Yang 208). This limitation, along with the increased difference between cultures by the time of normalization,

6) Yeo investigates how the shared feeling of the blood ties transforms into economic ties in the reunited family, which causes deterioration of their relationship. Refer to Yeo (2005), pp. 252-254.

might have created a the strong identity as *Joseonjok* rather than maintaining a common Korean identity, and it is shown on surveys: Lee states, citing from Lee's doctoral thesis[7] in 2007, that 93% out of 107 *Joseonjok* stated that they are 'one of the Chinese minorities, Chinese nationality' while only 5 answered 'Korean immigrants who live in China' (Lee 336). Also, one of the online newspaper, *Seoul Kyoungje* states that 91.9% of *Joseonjok* regard China as their homeland, whereas there were only 0.3% for South Korea. To a question: where the motherland is, the responses were China (24.9 %), Korean peninsula (23.9%), North Korea (36.0%), and South Korea (8.8%). This shows that *Joseonjok* feels themselves as more Chinese, or North Korean, rather than South Korean.

In the case of *Talbukja*, there are more discussions on whether or not they should be protected as refugees, but this paper will focus only on how *Talbuk* symbolically represents their position. From the South Korean government's point of view, according to the constitution, every individual on the peninsula is a South Korean citizen. From this stance North Koreans are suspended from their rights temporarily, but when they escape the North they are supposed to be protected by the South Korean government (Jung 206). But the Chinese government considers the people as simple defectors who cross the border, and sends them back to North Korea according to the relationship between China and North Korea (Jung 207; Gwak 87).

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7) Recited from Lee (2012): 李晶, 2007「朝鮮族的認同意識研究」(中央民族大學博士學位論文).

Amid this manic spiral of events, *Talbukja* cross the border to find better lives. What is interesting is the name which symbolically postulates them outside of the North. *Talbuk* means literally 'to escape the North,' and it is very neutral in what it delivers: it does not belong to the North since it is outside of it, nor does it define any other places of belonging. Kang explains in his article as to why he chose to use the widely used term, *Talbukja*, rather than the recent term *BukhanItalJumin*. He states that among the changes of terms from *Guisunja* in 1980s, *Talbukja* in 1990s *Saeteomin* in 2005, to *BukhanItalJumin* in 2008, not a single term can properly describe what they are. He regards the recent term is not different from what it means as *Talbuk*; and one difference of setting them as residents (*Jumin)* does not make sense in that they can hardly be proper residents in the place to which they flee. *Saeteomin*, which means: people settling in a new place, is not correct since in many cases they cannot find a place to settle as a member of the society. In this sense, he claims *Talbukja* can better describe the situation people encounter than *Saeteomin*[8] (S Kang 5).

One particular difference from *Joseonjok* is that *Talbukja* has less intention to maintain their identity due to their own security issues. While *Joseonjok* builds their own community and keeps their life style outside their home, the group of *Talbukja* cannot

8) Each word in original: 귀순자 (Guisunja) means "a 《North Korean》 defector (to the South)", 탈북자 (Talbukja) as "a North Korean defector", 새터민 (Saeteomin) as "a new settler", and 북한이탈주민 (BukhanItl Jumin) as "a resident escaping from North Korea." Meanings searched on an Internet dictionary: endic.naver.com

easily reveal their origin due to issues such as their security or status in the host country, including possible retaliation and kidnapping by North Korean agents. If there are Korean or Chinese communities in the host countries, it seems easier for them to mingle in, as they are all-together the ethnic minorities. However, it is harder in South Korean society because of the emphasis on the homogeneity by the majority, which is doubly contradictory in that although the group of *Talbukja* is technically of the same ethnicity, they are regarded as aliens who come from the North and whose culture and ideology are different.

With the two cases, the similarities can be noted that both arguably share the same ethnicity as South Koreans, and both may represent what the modernized Korea has lost: what used to be the Korean peninsula before the colonialism and the war. By naming them as *Joseonjok* and *Talbukja,* the groups already are alienated from the majority, South Koreans. In this sense, what the nomenclature may hint is that the majority accepts their being alien from other Koreans, and postulates themselves in a different position; at the same time, they are somehow related to the place that South Koreans seek to restore: both the glory of *Joseon* and the peninsula reunited as a whole. In other words, the rhetoric shows that the groups are the residue of the past; at the same time, the aliens in the present time.

However, unlike the nostalgic perspective toward these groups, the reality is rather cold. According to Kang, the recent trend of the identity formation in South Korea is of the state identity, rather than the national identity as a whole, which can include the same blood line: for example, in a survey asking whether or not the

overseas Koreans have the same identity in terms of the state identity, the response in favor dropped from 76.9% in 2005 to 55.6% in 2010 in the case of the North Koreans, and it showed similar pattern for the case of *Joseonjok*: from 73.6% in 2005 to 60.9% in 2010. Kang analyzes this decrease in figures that the emphasis of the same blood line has narrowed its scope to the South Korean society, and it separates itself from the one nation (*Hanminjok)* identity toward the citizens in society, who can acquit their own duties (W Kang 25). Kang explains the difference between the state identity and the national identity in South Korea is a result of the unique history in the sense that this overdetermined identity conflicts and that people are believed to be loyal to their nation yet the nation is divided into two states with very different political stances, unlike other countries such as those in Europe where the multiple identities can exist as an individual without much conflict, and political systems are similar, i.e. states are liberal democracies (W Kang 12).

What one can draw from the rhetoric behind the history, naming, and the polls is that the markers suggest that the gap and the discrepancy between the groups of diaspora and the people of the homeland is getting larger. It can be assumed that the different groups are growing apart based on the identity formation of each group throughout time, the way they are recognized, and the changing culture. Therefore, the perspective to see the overseas Koreans as all-together a Korean diaspora group, especially *Joseonjok* and *Talbukja*, may be reaching far and its intention can be doubted.

3. Problems of Collective Diaspora Consciousness

Before discussing the analysis the movies, it will be helpful to see as to how diaspora itself can be defined. To briefly continue the discussion on diaspora, the term originally refers to the dispersion of Jews, and now it is adopted to address various groups of people who are outside of their homeland for various reasons (Safran 83). Scholars like Safran and Brubaker share the view of its definition to describe the modern diaspora, and it generally includes: dispersion of people to foreign territories, a strong tendency to maintain their identity, and orientation toward their homeland (Safran 83-84; Brubaker 2005, 5-6)[9]. In this sense, *Joseonjok* and *Talbukja* can be categorized as a diaspora group historically in that they moved from their homeland to foreign territories, but they do not necessarily have the same nature of diaspora: in that the boundary maintenance is not clear, and the postulation of their homeland is also very blurred. To be precise, although both groups maintain the shared culture that can be a feature to their identity, it can be argued that it is so not because they strive to keep the culture, but because they maintain the culture as a tool to survive against the common enemy (Ross 836). It can be clearly shown with the case of *Joseonjok* as it was presented in the earlier part of this paper that the group maintained the culture to survive against the majority in China and Japanese in the earlier stage of dispersion. It posits questions to the nature of

9) This three general definition is from Brubaker (2005), because it has many which overlap with that of Safran's (1991).

the diaspora because the endeavor to preserve the culture and the necessity to do so connote differently, and moreover, even though the culture has been kept, it is doubted at this time of the era how much cultural overlap between different Korean groups remains. In such a sense, the term 'Korean diaspora' becomes all together questionable.

In the followings; nonetheless, a few scholars present ideas of collective diaspora on the characters of different backgrounds in describing Zhang Lu's movies. Yuk states in his article that:

> If *Grain in Ear* deals with the historical, industrial dispersion, *Desert Dream* deals with the current dispersion. [...] Even though the space is different, both female characters share the universality of East Asian diaspora.[10)]

In his article, the factors of the silence and non-existence in movies by Zhang Lu are very well discussed; however, the article puts the main characters: two Sunhees,[11)] that act as *Joseonjok* in *Grain in Ear* and *Talbukja* in *Desert Dream* respectively into one category: East Asian diaspora. He states what Zhang Lu describes in his movies shows the identity of East Asians' life (Yuk 164). It seems that characterizing the similarity of the people in East Asia as the united identity is problematic because the various experiences cannot be easily tied together as such. Coming back to Brubaker's argument, if everyone's life is diasporic, then no

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10) Author's translation. Refer to 육상호, 「침묵과 부재: 장률 영화 속의 디아스포라」, 『한국콘텐츠학회논문지』9-11. 2009, p. 167.

11) In the two films, the main female characters are called Sunhee (순희).

one's life is distinctively diasporic any more. This is to say, by placing people under the name of East Asian diaspora, the characteristics of the region that are in the process such as rapid industrialization and needs to import cheap labor can be rightly emphasized, but the females described in the movies are not necessarily of the same kind lest should they share universality. Even though both the female characters present some similarities, if it is universal for the females in the region to disperse, it lacks the historical and societal push behind it. For example, the reason that the *Joseonjok* Sunhee in *Grain in Ear* sells Kimchi in the rural area outside of Beijing and that the *Talbukja* Sunhee stays with the Mongolian nomad is different due to the background of their individual history. The former sells Kimchi to make ends meet in the circumstance with which she is left. The latter crosses border and finds the *Ger* tent to stay to survive and move on. In this sense, the notion of the collective East Asian's diaspora can be questioned.

In Shin's article, it is not of East Asian's diaspora but that of *Joseon*'s. Shin states:

> [...] beyond the border of national and ethnic identity as a Chinese *Joseonjok*, the director summons *Joseonin*[12] at the verge. He surveys the diasporic life of *Joseonin*s who wander around China, South Korea, North Korea and Mongolia. (italics added)[13]

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12) *In* (인) means a person in Korean. With the noun in front of it, it means a person of the noun: therefore, a person of *Joseon*.

13) Author's translation. Refer to 申東順, 「장뤼(張律, ZhangLu) 영화와 디아스포라 이중의식」, 『중국소설논총』40. 2013, p. 302.

However, this collective concept as *Joseonin* cannot explain as to where these characters postulate their homeland to be. Shin explains that this diaspora consciousness, imagining *Joseon* or Korea (Hanguk) as a motherland, can be read as *Joseon* consciousness (Shin 306); at the same time, he complicates this consciousness by analyzing Sunhee's attempt in *Desert Dream* which fails to follow the movie crew team from South Korea as the frustration of return to *Joseon* (Shin 309). Here it shows the word *Joseon* is used as South Korea. The problem exists with the simplicity which hides the overdetermined consciousness behind what Shin calls *Joseon* consciousness, and to regard the described main characters in the movies by Zhang Lu as a simple diaspora of *Joseon*. The director, however, does not clearly notify the viewers of any 'homeland' places. In *Grain in Ear*, Sunhee's son asks his mom when they will go back to their 'hometown,' and consequently, when they then will come back to 'here' where they stay now. This may mean their movement but does not necessarily mean their 'hometown' being South Korea or any other places for the matter. In *Desert Dream*, the son of Sunhee states that he does not want to go to South Korea or any other cities but to stay in the steppes of Mongolia because there are no people to harm them. It renders the viewers think what modernity has brought to a family that has to migrate around, rather than a homeland orientation.

Likewise, studies on the director Zhang's movies present a rather blurred idea of diaspora as a collective image. Jang criticizes this exact point in her article, stating:

> When interpreting Zhang Lu's movies, the common mistake is to

> impose the collective diaspora consciousness on him - on the basis of the fact that he is a descendant of the ethnic Koreans, *Joseonjok* which is a group of Korean diaspora.[14]

Her argument is that Zhang Lu's movies illustrate relationship between individuals rather than groups; in other words, with the diasporic element, Zhang Lu shows the formation of relationships between individuals, while the focus is on the problem of individual existentialism (Jang 506). According to her, it is beyond the question of the collective diaspora consciousness, with which this paper shares the view.

Nevertheless, the question is then what intrigues one to believe that all different individuals belong to the so-called East Asian or *Joseon* diaspora, when in reality, they are otherized Koreans who are there when South Koreans need to picture a compatriot image of the shared past; and yet with whom they feel somewhat uncomfortable to see as the same identity in their own society, as the earlier statistics shows. It is as Appadurai argues that minorities are created in certain circumstances in every nation and nationalism rather than preformed (42), indeed, the group of *Joseonjok* and *Talbukja* as Korean diaspora in Zhang Lu's films may also be the creation by the viewers in South Korea; in other words, the majority in the homeland for their own cause, such as labor force driven by the global capitalism (Yang 207).

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14) Author's translation. Refer to 장수현, 「상상된 기억으로서의 디아스포라: 장뤼(張律)의 디아스포라 의식과 그 영화적 재현」, 『한민족문화연구』 41. 단일호. 2012, p. 483.

4. Imagined Group

If one can treat this diaspora phenomenon to call the dispersion of population as an idiom, stance, and claim rather than substantionalist terms (Brubaker 2005, 12), the circumstances behind such an idiom, stance, and claim can be understood. In other words, what is considered to be a substantial source for the struggles between groups may not be a problem of the groups only. Brubaker claims, affirming Stuart Hall[15], that if one approaches diaspora as a category of practice, it can be utilized to "make claims, to articulate projects, to formulate expectations, to mobilize energies, to appeal to loyalties" (Brubaker 2005, 12). That is to say, the notion of diaspora can mean that they are the imagined group, functioning for the majority in the 'homeland.' This notion of group is what Brubaker attempts to deconstruct, arguing that the practice to regard a group for the basis of every analysis as a "taken-for-granted" concept should be revisited (Brubaker 2004, 7). The 'groupism' that Brubaker explains is the tendency of the reification of such groups, "as if they were internally homogeneous, externally bounded groups, even unitary collective actors with common purposes" (Brubaker 2004, 8). Therefore, what one can draw from this argument of Brubaker in the cases of Korean diaspora is that the descendants of Korean diaspora are often reified into a solid group by South Koreans for the purpose of the extension of the national

15) In his note, Brubaker writes the quote from Patterson and Kelly's writing on African diaspora: unitary images of diaspora offered 'a way of imposing an imaginary coherence on the experience of dispersal and fragmentation' Stuart Hall (1990, p. 224). Refer to the note, Brubaker (2005), p. 15.

interest, while it is harder through generations to argue that the group is internally homogeneous and externally bounded.

In such a sense, these imagined groups can be observed in both movies, if one takes the notion of a diaspora group as a basis. For example, as it has once touched upon earlier, the scene in *Desert Dream* that shows the disappearance of the movie crew team can be interpreted as a conflicting moment between the North Korean defectors and South Korean people. As the main character, Sunhee, sees the movie crew alone at first time, she cannot follow the team because she has to be with her son. When she brings her reluctant son back to the same spot, the movie crew team has already disappeared like a mirage of a desert. By having the camera angle from the back of Sunhee, the gaze of Sunhee toward the movie crew team gets emphasized and the scene gives the impression of the foreignness of *Talbukja* which stands out because South Koreans do not notice Sunhee's gaze, as if there exists a wall between them. It may appear as the situation of *Talbukja* whose desire to go to South Korea fails; therefore, it may therefore be interpreted as the dream of Korean diaspora to go back to the homeland that cannot be achieved.

Another case is in *Grain in Ear* at the climax of the movie: Sunhee poisons Kimchi and delivers it to the wedding of the police officer Wang. This scene may seem as a terrorism done by a *Joseonjok* toward the majority, *Han* Chinese, by arranging the contrast between Kimchi and the red wedding decoration for the officer Wang who is *Han* Chinese. Also, the image, rather prejudice of *Joseonjok* may have worked in the mind of the viewer that is spread in South Korea that *Joseonjok* people are cruel, merciless

and will do anything when they are furious.[16)]

However, the director Zhang Lu has pictured it differently[17)]: the possible encounter of the North Koreans and South Koreans outside of the peninsula is usually very rare, mainly because of the lack of interest or ignorance. This has been described in the scene of Sunhee running into the South Korean movie crew team. Also, the anguish of Sunhee is not toward *Han* Chinese but toward the uncertain mass, which shows how she cannot express her emotions properly up to the point that she does not know how to dismiss it properly. After all, what the director Zhang Lu illustrates in the movies is not necessarily of the collective diasporic life, but of an individual's life which includes the director's own memory. As Brubaker criticizes, when approaching a matter from the point of a 'diaspora group' view, the notion becomes fundamental; therefore, the political, cultural, or social background cannot be discussed, and so it is for the director Zhang Lu's movies too. All the collective diaspora consciousness imposed on him hinders the individuals which embraces the memories of Zhang Lu presented in the movies to be properly touched upon.

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16) There is a stereotyped image of *Joseonjok* with the wide spread rumor of them being monstrous. As Yang researches in her paper, this thought is reflected and formed as a discourse through mass media in South Korea that portray them in such a way that fossilize the group into a solid, reified figure. Refer to Yang (2010), pp. 217-219.

17) From "an interview with the director Zhang Lu: about *Grain in Ear* and *Desert Dream*" arranged by Professor Rhee, in English literature department at Yonsei university 13/May/2014.

5. Conclusion

As it has been discussed so far, it is hard to connect both groups to the same collective diaspora. These groups of people form their own identities through different types of social education, and it is overinterpretation to postulate them as Korean diaspora all together when all the parties involved in the discussion do not necessarily regard them as such after generations. It is also a one-sided approach to see the two groups, *Joseonjok* and *Talbukja* only from an ethnic point of view, which often gets disturbed by the Korean homogeneity theory. That is to say, by calling them *Joseonjok* of which naming set by Chinese government, it puts emphasis on the fact that it accepts *Joseonjok* being one of the minorities in China; at the same time, the ethnic Koreans in China who keep the tradition as well as lag behind as the name *Joseon* suggests. In the case of *Talbukja* as well, the people outside of North Korea are considered as one of 'us' in a certain political point of view, while they are the shameful 'others' if there are troubles across the border.

Although they may originate from the same nation and same ethnicity which make it possible to consider them Korean diaspora, but it should be noted that they are regarded as minorities without the same rights in South Korea due to the differences in the national identity and the state identity. The problem exists in this sense that even though all the parties involved in this discourse regard themselves as belonging to different identities as the earlier statistics suggested; however, when they are far away in the land which was related to the one-Korea in the past, common bonds and heritage

are more strongly emphasized, but once they are in South Korea they are often ignored with or without intention, and that they are not seen as the Korean diaspora returning home, but as alienated minorities. It can be argued that this is from the double consciousness of South Koreans, and it makes it possible to use the idea of groupism, and keeps producing the discourse of diaspora.

The director Zhang Lu's movies give different perspectives in this sense. His characters do not ask for sympathy, nor appeal to the national sentiment. Through the symbols and spaces he calmly pictures the characters' daily lives in hardship, which gives us the realistic impression without filtered emotion. As Brubaker de-substantializes the notion 'group' not to be fundamental basis for analysis, one should look at the movies by Zhang Lu, and focus on the struggles that the characters go through without the 'one-blood' lenses which contradict in reality. Rather, the movies are presenting the life of two Sunhees with her son, who are *Joseonjok* and *Talbukja,* and the movies are reflecting the problems in each society, as well as director's own memory while growing up; thus, recognizing and respecting the multiple identities that constitute the contemporary trans-state Korean identity.

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[Abstract]

한국인 디아스포라의 수사학:
「망종」과 「경계」의 분석에 대한 비판적 고찰

이 승 연

본 논문에서는 장률 감독의 영화 「망종」과 「경계」의 분석에 종종 사용되는 '디아스포라' 개념에 대해 고찰 한다. 이 두 영화를 분석한 논문들을 살펴보며, 그 속에서 조선족과 탈북자를 집단적 '디아스포라'로 통합하여 지칭하는 것에 대해, '디아스포라'의 정의와 이들 그룹의 명명법, 역사를 짚어보며 그 타당성을 찾는다. '한국인 디아스포라 그룹'을 분석의 기본 틀로 잡고 그 관점에서 이들 그룹을 보았을 때 영화가 시사할 수 있는 등장인물 간의 갈등을 살펴보고, 이는 영화를 시청하는 한국인의 시각과 두 그룹에 대한 정형화된 이미지가 만들어 낸 결과물이라고 분석한다. 이 두 그룹이 한국 영토 밖에서는 한국인 디아스포라의 일원으로 간주되겠지만 영토 내에 들어오면 여느 소수 인종과 다름없이 대우 받는 것과, 분석에 쓰이는 통합적 '디아스포라'도 조선족과 탈북자에 대한 한국인의 이중의식에 기인하고 있다는 것을 밝히려 한다. 나아가 이 작품 내 등장인물들의 삶과 그에 대한 감독의 영화적 표현이 집단적 디아스포라 정체성에 의해 가려져서는 안 되며, 다른 정체성을 가진 초국가적 그룹 간의 다양성을 인정할 필요를 주장한다.

주제어: 조선족, 탈북자, 장률, 한국인 디아스포라, 이중의식, 망종, 경계

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