The Identity of Daramjwi Character in Anatoli Kim’s
Daramjwi
Mutiara Chaerani1,∗ Eva Latifah1

1Department of Literature, Faculty of Humanity, University of Indonesia, Depok, Indonesia
∗Corresponding author. Email: mutiara.chaerani@alumni.ui.ac.id

ABSTRACT
This novel is chosen because it is written by Korean representation author in Russia. This research discusses the identity crisis issue that occurs in Korean diaspora in Russia and Central Asia. Korean diaspora in Russia and Central Asia has been going on since the 1860s. We argue that the identity crisis that occurs in Korean diaspora in Central Asia and Russia happens because of lack of empathy. This argument is different from previous studies which show that the discrimination occurs because of racial minorities and ruler’s authority which did not allow migrants to come to Russia. This research is analyzed by using Genetic Structuralism theory and Identity Crisis theory. We use literature review method and Daramjwi novel by Anatoli Kim as the corpus. The authors also collect some data of Korean diaspora history, Anatoli Kim biography, documenter, and some news related to the research to support the argument. This research shows that the identity crisis occurs because of continuous discrimination without empathy from native Russian.

Keywords: diaspora, Goryeoin, identity crisis, identity negotiation, Korean diaspora

1. INTRODUCTION
Korean diaspora as whole is a group of people whose ancestral land is Korean Peninsula, which group is more or less aware of a sense of common origins and historical memories, and their culture is Korean [1]. As migrants, Korean ethnic groups certainly cannot be accepted easily by the local community. Moreover, if the Korean ethnic groups cannot adapt to the surroundings, they will have difficulty living in the neighborhood. One of the areas with the most Korean inhabitants in Russia is Sakhalin. There are two types of Korean descents in Sakhalin; those who still hold and perform Korean traditions and still hope to return to Korea [2] and those who have considered Sakhalin their home and merged with local culture [3].

There are several names for Korean descendents in Central Asia and Russia, such as, Goryeoin, Goryeo Saram, Kareisky, dan Koreïtsy. Adamz explained that Goryeo Saram is used by Korean ethnic group in Central Asia. However, Goryeoin is used in political and academic terms in South Korea [4]. One of the Goryeoin who gets the world’s attention in literature field is Anatoli Kim. He was born on June 15th, 1939 in Sergyevka. His grandfather and grandmother became one of the victims of a massive deportation during the Stalinist government. Anatoli Kim lived in a place of exile along with other deportation victims, such as people from German, Chechen, Crimean Tatar, Kalmuk, Korea, and so on. After the abolition of migrant regulations, Anatoli’s family decided to move to Sakhalin, Russia, in 1948 [5].

The history of Korean ethnic immigration to Russia cannot be separated from the starvation incident and arbitrary rule in Joseon. Furthermore, the flow of Korean ethnic immigration to Russia increased again during Japanese colonization in Korea. The lives of Koreans ethnic groups who had been well established in Russia were later disturbed during Stalin’s leadership. Stalin insisted immigrants to live like Russians, especially speaking Russian in daily life. It is known as Russification. Administratively, the Russification refers to the centralization of the Russian Empire’s bureaucracy which took place since the reign of Nicholas I (1825-1855). Centralization and “standardization” in the Russian Empire was very strong because Russian language was the language of the imperial bureaucracy. Thus, Russian language is preferred over all other languages [6]. This caused Korean ethnic groups in Russia unable to speak Korean. Then on July 10th, 1932, Politburo (the principal policymaking committee of a Communist Party) reconfirmed the instruction of Korean massive deportation from Primor’e border. Korean ethnic groups who lived in central Russia were suspected of being spies for Germany (Nazis) and Italy (Fascists). This issue led to a deportation based on “On the Deporation of Koreans from the Territory of the Far Eastern Krai” decision which was signed on September 28th, 1937 and published by Sovnarkom (Council of People’s Commissars) USSR [7].

These unpleasant events cause most Koreans ethnic groups in Russia experience identity crisis issue. There are some people who try to survive with their real identity as Koreans and there are also some people who try to live like Russians by no longer holding Korean attributes in order be accepted in society. Thus, the research question made by the authors is “How is the identity crisis issue experienced by Daramjwi in the novel Daramjwi by Anatoli Kim?”

Many studies have been conducted on Korean diaspora in Central Asia. Not only in the fields of economic and politic, research in literature has also been carried out. However, the study mostly discusses Korean literature written by Goryeoin in general.
There are few previous studies about Anatoli Kim, and they were conducted around 1989-2001. In the Daramjwi novel, the character of Daramjwi is depicted as a fantastic creature that can change his shape [8, 9, 10]. [11] even said that Daramjwi is a werewolf. Daramjwi’s transformation is considered to be imperfect results when the first nature is formed. This novel is also a famous in Russia that uses Menippean Baxtin genre, which is a satirical theme that is expressed indirectly [12]. This research is different from previous studies that focus on structural studies. This research considers Daramjwi as a Korean who moved to Russia and experienced identity crisis.

We argue that discrimination does not only occur because of the ruling power, but it is also because of the lack of mutual respect between people in Russian society. The diaspora communities who did not have the right to speak under the government of Stalin had to be able to bring themselves to the society. As a result, someone could lose his or her ‘original’ identity. This problem is told by Anatoli Kim in the novel Daramjwi. This novel was published in 1984, when the issue of the openness of the Soviet Union declared by Krushchev began to be heard. Therefore, this study aims to see how diaspora becomes an identity crisis factor in a person.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses a qualitative method. The aim is to get interpretive understanding of human experience using a naturalistic approach. This is different from laboratory studies that attempt to imitate the environment by controlling the situation [13]. The main corpus of this research is Daramjwi novel by Anatoli Kim written in 1993. In this study, the authors analyzed Daramjwi novel with several stages such as, reading the corpus, understanding the corpus, classifying data based on theme categories, identifying data in accordance with the research, and analyzing data in accordance with the theories. In analyzing the sources, the authors use literature review to find some information and theories that are in accordance with the research topic. To support the analysis, the authors use data about Korean diaspora in Central Asia and Russia, Anatoli Kim biography, documenter, and related news.

This study uses Genetic Structuralism theory as well as Identity Crisis theory. Character in a narrative has an important function. Its function is as an example for real life in the form of symbols that represent feelings, attitudes, problems and others. Character must be able to affect the feelings, moods, and emotions of the audience to a certain level [14]. Characterization cannot be separated from the thoughts and background of the author. The author consciously or unconsciously represents their reality, experience, and intentions in narrative literature because the bringing to light of a work’s global semantic model, the formation of which constitutes the schema of a global system of relationships between men and between them and the universe [15, 16].

Human beings experience many problems throughout their life. This is in accordance with the identity crisis theory by Erik H. Erikson, therefore the authors use Erikson’s Identity Crisis Theory as the main theory in this study. [17] explained that there are six stages of human life, such as infant, early childhood, childhood, school age, adolescence, and adulthood. He argued that experiences gained at every stage of human life affect someone’s identity.

In line with the concept of identity crisis theory by Erikson, Stuart [18] also explained that cultural identity occurs because of the connection between people who share same history and descent so that a common culture is born. Thus, it causes minority hiding in the majority. In this definition, cultural identity reflects the same historical experience and focuses on “unity”. Hall further explained that cultural identity is a matter of ‘being’ and ‘becoming’. In this concept identity is conceived as “how we are being positioned and positioning”. Cultural identity is formed in a long time based on history and continuous power, depending on who is in power at that time.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Daramjwi’s story begins with a narrative explaining that Daramjwi character was born in Korea and had a life in the Korean War situation. The Korean War happened in 1950-1953. As a result of this war, more than 4,000 orphans spread out throughout the Korean Peninsula [19]. This war not only caused physical death, but it also indirectly killed the psychological and spiritual aspects of the children. They lost their parents and had to live alone. Many children were starving because they were not able to find their own food, especially in war situations. The situation became worse during the winter. More and more orphans died and frozen. For the sake of getting something to eat, children who were the victims of this war often followed the American army. They usually received a bar of chocolate or nuts from American soldiers.

In Korean history, the evacuation of the orphans of the war is called “Operation Kiddy Car” initiated by Rev. Russell L. Blaisdell. From 4,000 orphans, Blaisdell managed to save approximately 1,000 orphans. Most of them do not have any memory of what happened in their infancy. In a documentary aired on [19], monk Byeongjin described his experiences as a victim of the Korean War. He said, “I became an orphan all of the sudden. At that time, I was only four years old. No, I don’t know my parents. If I remember them, maybe I’ve missed them. But, I don’t. Not only me, all children experienced the same thing.”

Monk Byeongjin’s experience also happens to the Daramjwi character, as illustrated in the following quote: “ jegi gyeokhwal su jwi ge ungwo su dgeun sin." [20]

Translation: “I can’t remember anything. How hard I try to remember my mother, even the vague memory of my mother, there is not a single memory of a mother that appears” [20]

The initial identity of human being is derived from the process of feeling, both feeling from the senses and from the heart [17]. The most important basic feeling that can form identity is trust. This trust can be obtained from anyone, even from non-human. For monk Byeongjin, the
person he trust is Blaisdell. However, for the character of Daramjwi, the only thing he could trust was a squirrel.

“그리고 세끼 다람쥐의 두 눈에는— 그것은 물론 제가 작았기 때문에 커 보이는 다람쥐였습니다—호기심과, 우의, 즐거움, 그리고 생각이 번뜩이고 있어서 저는 활짝 웃으며 다람쥐에게 손을 내밀었습니다” [20]

Translation: “In the little squirrel’s eyes, I, the little one, thought it was a big squirrel, there were curiosity, friendship, joy, and sparkling enthusiasm. Seeing this, I smiled and reached out to the squirrel” [20]

Daramjwi is a Korean language which means “squirrel”. Anatoli Kim uses squirrel to depict the character of Daramjwi because his characteristic and physical appearance are similar with squirrel. He is short and energetic. From the beginning, the character of Daramjwi who equated himself with squirrel never mentioned his real name. The use of animal character is an author's attempt to convey the suffer that he experienced as an ethnic minority. However, the author also wants to effort. It can be “something big” in the above quote refers to Anatoli Kim’s'A name given by his parents, Andrejebic is father’s name, and Anatolij is family’s name. In the quotation above, Daramjwi name is Anatolij Andrejebic Kim). Anatolij is father’s name (отчество), and family’s name (фамилия). For example, Anatoli Kim’s full name is Анатолий Андреевич Ким (Anatolij Andrejevic Kim). Anatolij is name given by his parents, Andrejevic is father’s name, and Kim is family’s name. In the quotation above, Daramjwi mentions that he hid in a short last name. It can be considered Korean name which has only three syllables that already include his family name. The character of Daramjwi and Anatolij Kim are quite similar. Even though Anatoli Kim said that he is Russian, from his name he could easily be recognized as a person who has Korean blood. The true identity will continue to be found until someone receives a recognition from his surroundings. The Daramjwi character who has lived in Russia for most of his life, still could not find his identity as an adult. He kept thinking that he was like a squirrel. Squirrels are animals that have high skills in survival. They have strong memories and are easy to learn from experience [22]. The quote below shows that Daramjwi was very respectful of squirrels.

“그렇지만 여기에서도 저는 당신 앞에서 감히 제 이름을 말씀할 수 없었고, 무의미하고 짧은 어미(語尾) 속에 숨겼습니다. 저를 용서해 주십시오, 가능하시다면 말씀입니다........” [20]

Translation: “However, here, in front of you, I afraid to tell my name. I hide behind the last name which is short and meaningless. Please forgive me, if it is possible......” [20]

Russian name consists of three words: first name (имя), father’s name (отчество), and family’s name (фамилия). For example, Anatoli Kim’s full name is Анатолий Андреевич Ким (Anatolij Andrejevic Kim). Anatolij is name given by his parents, Andrejevic is father’s name, and Kim is family’s name. In the quotation above, Daramjwi mentions that he hid in a short last name. It can be considered Korean name which has only three syllables that already include his family name. The character of Daramjwi and Anatolij Kim are quite similar. Even though Anatoli Kim said that he is Russian, from his name he could easily be recognized as a person who has Korean blood. The true identity will continue to be found until someone receives a recognition from his surroundings. The Daramjwi character who has lived in Russia for most of his life, still could not find his identity as an adult. He kept thinking that he was like a squirrel. Squirrels are animals that have high skills in survival. They have strong memories and are easy to learn from experience [22]. The quote below shows that Daramjwi was very respectful of squirrels.

“— 엉, 나는 숲 속으로 나를 찾아오곤 했던 다람쥐를 생각하고 있었지. 아마도 그 다람쥐가 날 키워 준
The ability of squirrels to survive is very similar to the survival ability of Koreans who were deported to Central Asia. Korean diaspora communities in Central Asia faced some problems when they arrived in new places, including language barrier, cultural crisis, lack of employment, and poverty. In their development, Goryeoins were active in developing science, education, health, architecture, culture and business. Some of them became translators and interpreters to help business relations between South Korea and Central Asian [23].

Identity crisis in adulthood can be seen from intimacy crisis experience that is represented by “changing partners” [17], while Daramjwi was trapped between Korean and Russian identities. He could not lie that he was Korean descendant and not Russian. Although he grew up in Russia, he still used some Korean terms. Indirectly, this also explains that Anatoli Kim as the author still held his Korea identity when making his work.

Translation: “As I remember, the color of the house always changes like waves. They are, green like lettuce which greatly increases appetite, brown color that seems strong, or blue like the skies” [20]

In Korea, lettuce has become the main food, especially when eating meat. One of the Korean food cultures is ssam [24]. Ssam is a way of eating leafy vegetables by wrapping rice with them. The vegetables commonly used in making ssam are lettuce. The culture of eating lettuce is thought to have existed since the period of the Three Kingdoms. Additionally, Korean thoughts in this novel can be seen in the following quote:

Translation: “Doesn’t the squirrel have to run away and just rest in its nest when bear and tiger fight? So, please let me out.” [20]

Again, Anatoli Kim raises the issue of the origin in this novel. Bear and tiger are important animals in Korean history and culture. These animals are found in a narrative, the legend of Dangun. The legend of Dangun is a story that tells of the origin of Korea. Koreans believe that the founder of the kingdom of Gojoseon, Dangun, was a descendant of god and bear. Gojoseon was the first kingdom in Korean history.

Besides, bear and tiger can be interpreted as Russian and Koran symbols. Tiger in Korea is believed to be animal that has the ability to expel evil spirits [25]. In addition, many folklores begin with the phrase “Once upon a time, when tigers were still told to smoke...”. This is because the largest population of white tigers in the northeastern region of Asia was on Baekdu mountain. Whereas in Russia, bear has long been used as a symbol of the country because the forests in Russia are full of bears and there is no Russian symbol that is better than a very big and frightening bear [26, 27].

As an adolescent, Daramjwi moved from Sakhalin to Moskva. Adolescent has a naive attitude, not easy to believe, and sensitive [17]. They also often see that what other people have is better and think that their friend’s opinions are very important. However, Daramjwi knew that he was different from his friends so that his stress could not be avoided.

The development process of Dramjwi since childhood is not perfect. Children have very high curiosity. He realized that he was not a native of his living place so he asked why he was different from the others. Daramjwi’s attitude transformation shows that he did not accept the truth about his origin. This makes him to choose to change into “human” that can be accepted by his surroundings. Because it lasts for a long time, there is a sense of failure, guilt, and worry in Daramjwi. According to Erikson’s opinion, if children continue to feel disappointed then it causes bad impacts [17]. They will restrict themselves to the point of excessive inhibition and hate the people around who have disappointed them. If this happens, they will learn about revenge and how to suppress the others.

“봄볕이 익숙해지자, 주위를 둘러보며 제 몸건들을 제자리에 놓습니다. 그리고 무언가 발견할 수 있다면 요기를 하려고 했지만 않으면 굽중에 끌리고 낳은 둔탁한 소리가 저를 부르는 것 같은데, 구석으로 가 보았더니, 거기에는 펼쳐진 거미줄에 등이 붙어 있는 꼬벌한 마리가 있었습니다. (중략) 저는 어떻게 된 영문인지 꼬벌에게 서둘러 자유를 주지 않고, 오랫동안 꼬벌을 바라보고 있었습니다” [20]

Translation: “After adapting to the light, I look around and put things in place. I am looking for something to do. Suddenly, I hear like a tense and heavy voice. I move to the corner and see a bee trapped in a spider web.

... I don’t know what to do and don’t release the bee immediately. I only pay attention to it for quite a long time” [20]

One more time, Anatoli Kim uses animals on the characterization. In the quote above, spider and bee are mentioned. Russian symbolists define the meaning of spiders in the literature as evil desires, such as story of vampires, demons, and destruction [28]. Honey bees that are weaker than spiders in the quote can be interpreted as non-Russians who experience some problems. The nature of honey bees who work hard can also be interpreted as Koreans. One of the accomplishments achieved by Goryeoin in Central Asia is gobonjil. Gobonjil is a form of agricultural system that emphasizes the principle of common interests to produce maximum products [22]. This
certainly can be called achievement because at that time Goryeoin was under pressure from the Soviet Union government which did not provide any facilities for Goryeoin. The quote above shows that, although they came from the same ethnic group, there was a competition between them to survive. In addition to external appearance, a place to live is one form of identity. Daramjwi’s childhood which is spent in Sakhalin made him despised in Russia. Sakhalin is an island that is 10,417 km from the city of Moskva. During the Russian Empire, the main function of Sakhalin Island was a prisoner colony. Then in 1905, Japan won control of the southern part of the island, but then lost to the Soviet Union in 1945. When Sakhalin was under Japanese control, many Koreans were taken to Japan to do forced labor (강제노동) [29]. Discrimination experienced by Daramjwi regarding his identity as a non-Russian ethnic can be known from the quotation below:  "---자네는 우리 시민, 맞아?  네, 저는 맹당했습니다.  외국인은 아니야, 이 말이지요.  아닙니다, 저는, 물론, 부인해야만 했습니다.  ---그럼 어떻게 됐어요?  저는 입양되었습니다. ---○○○는 설명하기 시작했습니다 (중략)” [20] Translation: “You belong to our people, right?” “Yes.” I replied. “I mean, not foreigner” “No. I... of course, must deny it.” “So what do you mean?” “I was adopted.” The Police begins to explain the story...” [20] This discrimination occurred because the life of Russians in the east was very hard since the days of the Russian Empire. They worked as hunters and farmers. They had fears that their hunting grounds will be reduced if immigrants came to the area, especially migrants from China. They certainly maintained their territory by keeping their distance from migrants. Koreans in the Far East Russia were always discriminated and blamed [7].  "---여러분들, 저는 다람쥐가 저를 배반하기 전에 바로 여기, 이 어둠 속에서 이 다람쥐를 죽여 버려야 하는 게 아닌가 하고 생각했습니다. 다만 손이 아니라 도끼로 그렇게 하고 싶었던 것이다" [20] Translation: “Ladies and gentlemen! Before Daramjwi betrays me, I think of killing Daramjwi right here, in this darkness. It’s just that, not by hand, I want to kill him with an axe.” [20] The quote above depicts that innocent people can be treated based on assumptions. It also shows Anatoli Kim’s thought as a Korean. In Korea, there is a proverb that says “Be chopped in the foot by a trusted axe” (믿는 도끼에 발등 찐다). In the quote above, Daramjwi's friend, Kesya, did not want to kill Daramjwi with his own hands, but with an axe in a dark place. It can be seen that actually the person who wanted to betray was Kesya, and he wanted to be free from his responsibility and did not want to be blamed after killing Daramjwi. In addition to place of living, clothing is also one of the things that can identify someone’s identity. Korean children could be recognized by the hankbok clothes that they wear. This way of dressing is also one of the identities that distinguishes Russia and Korea. Someone will be seen as educated person in western countries if he or she wears neat clothes, such as shirts or suits. It can be seen from the following quote:  “예비는 자기 것은 놓치지 않는 여자였습니다 (오, 그런 여자는 절대로 놓치는 여자가 아니야). 비록 행동거지는 여성답게 부드리었고, 육모는 모스크바에서 훈배 빼친 주군께투성이의 평범한 처녀아이를 달았지만 말입니다. ---그런 처녀아이란 잘 보이기 위해 특별히 그렇게 잘 차려 입는 편이죠” [20] Translation: “Eva is a woman who will not let go of something that she has (Wow, women like that should not be set free, right?). But, her behavior was very gentle, completely like a woman and her freckled face was very similar to the girl found in Moskva. It makes people who want to meet her must want to dress their best” [20] The low social status of Korean ethnic groups in Russia is caused by exclusiveness in maintaining their traditions. The Soviet Union is a nationalist country that does not provide opportunities for other cultures to develop. Korean communities who keep their culture, such as how to dress and speak in Korean, make them easily to be recognized, and therefore they become easy to discriminate. The inability of Korean communities in Russia to feel as the locals is also experienced by Marina Kim. She is a reporter for Russian television and the fourth generation of Goryeoin in Russia. She told that although at that time (in 2015) Russia was more open to non-Russian ethnicity, she still could not lie that she was different from her friends. She said, “When I was little, I hated this. They used to mock and laugh at me. I was the only Goryeoin in school” [30]. As a major society, Russians do not realize that discrimination can change the culture of an ethnic group. Russification may only be seen as a change in cultural transformation in the form of language, culture and political ideology changes. On one side, Goryeoin considers this to be a form of modernization, but they also consider it to be a discrimination from the government because they cannot carry out the Korean tradition at all [31]. This cultural identity crisis is alarming. The descendants of the third and fourth generation of Korean ethnic groups in Russia have not been able to speak Korean perfectly, and some even cannot speak Korean at all. Korean communities in the former Soviet Union have the lowest Korean language skills compared to Korean communities in China, Japan and the United States. In contrast, Korean
communities in the former Soviet Union are in the first rank on mixed marriage with the locals [29].

In the end, someone must decide who he or she is. Negotiation between two identities, as Russians and Koreans, makes Daramjwi depressed. At the end of negotiations with him self, Daramjwi decided to become a Russian and did not keep his identity as Korean.

“하지만 저는 틀어진 다음과 위에 서 있게 되었습니다 —그래서 멀리고, 새롭하고, 아주 얕한 기쁨이 제 마음 속에서 일어나기 시작했습니다. 드디어…… 마침내 나는 인간이 되었어요” [20]

Translation: “I stand on torn squirrel— so I am shaking, wry, and a glimmer of excitement begins to wake up in my heart. Finally… In the end I become a human” [20]

Daramjwi wanted to feel accepted so that he would do anything, including killing if it is needed. In this context, the word ‘kill’ can be interpreted as a way of not keeping his Korean identity.

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the explanation and analysis in the previous section, there are several conclusions that can be drawn. First, the identity crisis experienced by Daramjwi character not only comes from within him, but also from his surroundings. Local communities and cultures influence the formation of someone’s identity. Daramjwi character represents Goryeoin, especially Anatoli Kim. After the negotiation took place, by rejecting and destroying something that threatened him, Daramjwi decided to become a human, in this case being a Russian and lost his identity as a Korean. Second, Daramjwi novel is considered to be Korean literature. Some of Anatoli Kim’s thoughts related to Korea make this novel a Korean literature, especially literature on diaspora. Although Anatoli Kim said that he is a Russian and Russian writer, he cannot give up his identity as a Korean. Literature on diaspora that has ideas and concepts about Korea needs to be included in the history of Korean literature. This research is still very narrow because it only sees the condition of the Goryeoin identity crisis from just one novel. Further research is needed to gain more understanding of the identity crisis, especially the cultural crisis, which experienced by Goryeoin.

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