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Title	A comparison of general and specific features of Russian schools in Sapporo and Seoul
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Citation	国際広報メディア・観光学ジャーナル, 18, 91-114
Issue Date	2014-03-18
Doc URL	https://hdl.handle.net/2115/55171
Rights(URL)	https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/2.1/jp/
Type	departmental bulletin paper
File Information	Jimcts18_06_Svetlana.pdf



A comparison of general and specific features of Russian schools in Sapporo and Seoul

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abstract

Mother tongue schools have always played an important role in the preservation of native language, language socialization, and the formation of national identity of the children of immigrants and long-stay residents. In this paper we consider two schools of Russian long stay residents: the Russian school in Sapporo (Japan), and the Russian school in Seoul (South Korea) to identify and compare the general and special features of these schools. Specifically we will determine how the geographical situation of each city influences the ethnic background and years of stay of the Russian community. How this together with the education policy of each country determines the type of Russian school they want to choose for their children. And how the type of school directly influences the command and usage of the language.

I Introduction

Mother tongue schools have always played an important role in the preservation of native language, language socialization, and the formation of national identity of children of immigrants and long-stay residents. When necessary, these schools are opened by the governments that send their nationals to work abroad, such as the Japanese schools (Nihonjin gakkou) or the schools of Russian embassies in many countries. In other cases, these schools are opened by immigrants or long-stay residents themselves. They open mother tongue schools in accordance with their needs and the characteristics of their place of residence.

In this paper we are going to consider two of such schools of Russian long stay residents: the Russian school in Sapporo (Japan), and the Russian school in Seoul (South Korea) to identify and compare the general and special features of these schools.

1.1. Background and purpose of research

It can be assumed that the mechanism for opening these schools and how they operate in different countries and among different groups of immigrants has many similarities, but until now, almost no studies have been devoted to the comparative analysis of such schools. For example, Japan is one of the countries that have a long history of education of children in foreign countries. There are also studies on this subject, but many of them are specific and directed only at those who are directly involved in the education process of these schools. One exception to this is the great work of Nakajima (Nakajima 2002).

In her research she analyzes the types of bilingual schools in several countries, and considers the Japanese schools abroad. However, her comparative research about the type of Japanese schools is dedicated to Japanese readers and it is written in Japanese, therefore it is not available to people who do not read in this language.

Furthermore, researches about the education of foreign children in Japan are mainly dedicated to their learning of the Japanese language, with only a very few devoted to the study of their native languages. Amongst such research, the authors are aware of no comparative research about the mother tongue schools of foreign children.

In Russia the problem of education of the immigrants has become again evident after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In 2001 the Russian government created its Special Federal program: “The Russian language for the years 2002-2005” and recognized the problem of education for Russians who live in foreign countries. However, in reality, there is not much support from the government to the Russian schools abroad.

From the same time, the implementation of education for Russian children abroad has become an actual problem to educators and researchers, but the number of studies is limited and they are written in Russian, therefore, they circulate in the Russian-speaking environment. (Protasova 1998, Paichadze 2004)

Moreover, recently several works in Japanese have been published on Russian language problems of children in Japan and the methods of assistance to such children. (Basova 2011, Chiba 2011, Paichadze 2012)

In Japan, from 2012, “The Japanese society for Russian language education” (Nihon Rosiango kyoiiku kenkyuukai) annually organizes conferences about the education of Russian children in Japan. The conferences gather representatives of various Russian schools in Japan. In these conferences there has been discussion about the need to analyze the work of Russian schools (Kazakevich 2012). However, until now there are no studies analyzing in detail the situation of each school or any comparative analysis between them. In Korea, there have been only review articles about Russian education. (Seulskiy vestnik 2010)

In this paper the authors look at Russian schools in Sapporo (Japan) and Seoul (South Korea) to identify and compare the general and special features of these schools. The authors particularly want to identify: 1) how the characteristics of each Russian community and the general educational policy of the hosting countries influence the mechanism for the formation of each type of school. 2) how the language maintenance among children depends on the type of school.

1.2. Research method and terminology

The authors of this paper work at Russian schools: Paichadze Svetlana in Sapporo, and Din Yulia in Seoul. The method of data gathering in this study is primarily through constant work in the classroom, and communicating with children and parents. Furthermore, since the autumn of 2012 to the spring of 2013, we conducted questionnaires for children and parents, as well as partial interviews with families and staff at the schools.

In Sapporo, from a total of 53 students, the authors interviewed 44 children / 20 families from all classes, from elementary to high school. In high school, we surveyed children and parents. In elementary school, the questionnaire was answered only by the parents and we monitored children in their classrooms and talked with them. All questionnaire and interviews were held in Russian. When necessary, some questions were translated into Japanese.

In Seoul, the structure of the school is different from that of the school in Sapporo. Firstly, the elementary school is administrated separately from the high school and that made it difficult to do the survey. Secondly, the school in Seoul is an everyday school, thus the parents are not present during the school time. Because of these features, the form of the questionnaire and interviews were a little bit different. At the elementary school we only interviewed the teachers and monitored the children in their classrooms.

In high school, where one of the authors is working, the questionnaire was answered by 29 students and we interviewed families and school staff.

The main topics of our survey are: 1) the ethnic composition of each school; 2) years of residence and choice of school; 3) command of languages and its usage environment.

To better understand the relation between the environment and the command of Russian language we divided all children into the following groups of speakers: Native, Heritage language, Russian as a Second language (RSL), and Russian as a Foreign language (RFL).

Native language speakers are children who were born in Russia and used the Russian language in a Russian language environment. In other words their studying of Russian language was determined not only by the desire of the parents, but also by the necessity to communicate in the language environment outside the family.

Heritage language speakers are children who were born in Japan/South Korea or moved there in early childhood. They speak Russian fluently (sometimes there is almost no difference from native speakers), but they inherited the language from their parents. They don't need the inherited language to communicate in society. For these children the Japanese/Korean language is the language of the environment.

Russian as a second language speakers are children who understand the Russian language, but whose language of environment (Japanese/Korean) prevails over Russian. For them Japanese/Korean is their first language.

Russian as a Foreign language speakers are children who, until attending the Russian school, had no or minimal contact with the Russian language.

In our survey of command of Japanese/Korean language we divided all children into following groups of speakers: Native, Environment language, Japanese/Korean as second Language (JSL/KSL), Japanese/Korean as a Foreign Language (JFL, KFL).

Native Japanese/Korean speakers are children who have the Japanese language environment at home and in society. Environment language speakers are children who are fluent in Japanese/Korean, began to use it from early childhood, but at home are using their heritage language.

JSL/KSL speakers are children who came to Japan/South Korea in early school age with Russian as a native language, but they started to use Japanese/Korean in everyday life and as language of school learning. This group uses Japanese/Korean more or less freely.

JFL/KFL speakers are children who came to Japan/South Korea in late school age (especially high school students) and began studying Japanese/Korean as a foreign language.

Distinction between the groups is very conditional and unsteady. It is also possible to transition from one group to another. One example is the case with chil-

dren who moved to Japan at an early school age (especially until 9 years old). Before moving to Japan they were Russian native speakers, but in Japan they stopped using Russian as an Environment language, using it only with family members. Accordingly, Russian became a Heritage Language. The same can be said about the boundary between JSL and JFL. These speakers came to Japan in late school age and began to learn Japanese as a foreign language, but, depending on many factors such as the depth of interaction with the Japanese language environment, for some of them Japanese turned into a Second language, and for others it remains a foreign language.

The structure of our paper is as follows. The paper is divided into three sections, the first of which addresses education of Russian children in Sapporo (Japan) and the second, education of Russian children in Seoul (South Korea), while the last section comprises a discussion in which we carry out a comparative analysis between the Russian communities and schools in Sapporo and Seoul. Specifically, in Section II we consider: 1. History of Russian immigration and education in Japan; 2. The Russian community and their school in Sapporo; 3. Ethnic background of children and their usage of languages at the Russian school in Sapporo; 4. Years of residence in Japan and type of education. Section III mirrors section II by considering the same topics in the Seoul, South Korea case. It begins with 1. The history of Russian immigration and education in Korea, passes through 2. The Russian community and their school in Seoul and 3. The ethnic background of children and their usage of languages at the Russian school there, and finishes on 4. Years of residence in South Korea and type of education. In the discussion we conduct a comparative analysis of all the above-mentioned parameters.

II Russian Education in Japan

As noted above, in this section we consider education of Russian children in Japan. We examine the history and present condition of the Russian community in Japan, emergence and working conditions of the Russian school in Sapporo, level of mastery of children in the Russian and Japanese languages, years of residence and type of school choice by parents for their children.

II.1. History of Russian Immigration and their Education in Japan

Until the mid-nineteenth century contacts between Japan and Russia were episodic, almost random. In 1854, the mission of General Putyatin began negotiations with the Tokugawa Shogunate which concluded on 26 January 1855 with the signing of the Shimoda Treaty that established the trade and diplomatic relations

between the two countries. Following the establishment of relations, Russian culture began to spread into Japan.

The Russian Orthodox mission played an important role in this process. It imported and published Russian books as well as began opening Russian schools. These Russian schools were designed for Japanese children and sometimes for adults, too. In the 1870s, in the three-year Elementary school in Hakodate there were up to 80 students (Paichadze 1995: 137).

After the Bolshevik Revolution, people from the Russian upper-middle class started to emigrate to various countries in Europe and Asia. Compared with other countries, there were a small number of emigres to Japan. According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, on 1 September 1926 there were 2,356 Russian refugees in Japan (including the colonies of Taiwan and Korea). (Kurata 1998: 35)

From the 1920s, the idea of creating Russian schools emerged among the Russian immigrants. The First School was established in Yokohama. It was a 'Russian middle school', and it existed from 1920 until the Kanto Earthquake in 1923. The objectives of the school were: 1) to give the children practical knowledge that they could use after the expulsion of the Bolsheviks and their return to Russia; 2) to provide knowledge that would guarantee them a peaceful existence as emigres. The number of students at the school was around 20 people (Kurata 1998: 37-39).

In 1929 the first Russian school opened in Tokyo in the Kanda district inside the Holy Resurrection Cathedral (Nicolai-dō). However, the school existed only for two years and was closed in 1931 because of disagreements between the pro-Soviet Archbishop Sergii and the parents (Kurata 1998: 40).

In 1933 Nikolai-dō Pushkin School (Russkaya Vysshaya Nachal' naya shkola im A.S. Pushkina) was opened. According to Vanovsky (c. 1933: 1), at that time a big problem for the Russian community was the loss of the Russian language among the Russian children. Therefore, the opening of the school created high expectations within the Russian community. The school aimed to promote the 'Russian national character' and to keep alive the Russian language and moral values of the Russian immigrants. In 1933, the school had 16 children, and in 1937 there were 22. The school existed at least until the summer of 1944. (Sawada 2007: 120-1)

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the majority of Russians left Japan. Some returned to the USSR, while others moved to the United States of America or Australia. In 1985 there were only 322 Russians with permanent residence status in Japan (Nikiporec 2007: 75).

During the Cold War there was only the Embassy School for the children of diplomatic mission members.

The bursting of the economic bubble in the early 1990s and the demographic situation in Japan led to a change in the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act. At the same time, Perestroika and the collapse of the Soviet Union allowed Russians to leave freely, and the difficult economic situation in Russia

pushed many people to move abroad.

During the first decade of the twenty-first century the number of Russians who live and work in Japan permanently increased almost thirty-fold. Table 1 shows the Russian population in Japan as of 2011. (Seifu tokei sogo madoguchi, 2011)

■ Table 1. Russian population in Japan (source: Seifu tokei)

	Male	Female	Total
Russian	2307	5259	7566
children (aged 0-19)	(500)	(516)	(1016)

From 1990 the increasing numbers of Russian citizens in Japan led to the start of schooling and distance learning at the Embassy School for all Russian children.

Later on, schools set up by Russian communities started appearing in various districts of Japan. According to the Conference of Russian Schools, in 2012 there were 15 schools spread all over Japan (Kazakevich 2012). One of the oldest is the Russian school in Sapporo.

II.2. Russian community and their school in Sapporo

The number of foreigners in Japan increased after the government changed the law on immigration in 1990. The number of foreign residents in Japan in 2011 was 2,078,508 people. Sapporo has relatively few foreign residents: approximately 9,800 in 2012 (Sapporo City 2012).

■ Table 2. Foreigners in Sapporo (source: Sapporo City 2012)

China	North/South Korea	USA	Philippines	Russia	Other	Total
3956	2670	457	316	307	2072	9778
40.5%	27.3%	4.7%	3.2%	3.1%	21.2%	100.0%

As seen in Table 2, Russians make up the fifth largest group (after Chinese, Koreans, Americans and Filipinos) with 307 residents. These figures, however, are limited to registered foreign residents and do not include a number of significant categories, such as those with dual Russian-Japanese nationality and those of Russian heritage who have acquired Japanese citizenship.

One significant group of long-term Russian heritage residents are people from Sakhalin who moved to Hokkaido after the “Cold War” era (returnees). In March of 2010 there were 68 households of returnees comprising 173 people (of which 25 households and 91 people were in the Sapporo area). Considering Russian-Japanese nationals and Russian heritage citizens such as the returnees, the Russian community can easily become the fourth or third largest group of foreigners in Sapporo.

Wherever a significant enough number of immigrants share a desire to preserve their culture, we would expect local educational initiatives. The formation of a large Russian community in Sapporo led to the “necessity” to educate children in their heritage language and to the organization of a school.

The Russian school in Sapporo was founded in December 2001 on the initiative of the Consulate General of the Russian Federation in Sapporo. In the early days of the school, lessons were held in the building of the Russian Consulate (until March 2006). From April 2006 to February 2010 lessons were held in one of the community centers in Sapporo. From March 2010, classes have been held in classrooms at Hokkaido University and students at the university have been involved in helping the school in its educational work.

The school is a volunteer organization and is open to all who share the school’s two-fold mission: to preserve Russian language skills and culture, and to educate a younger generation of Russian-Japanese bilinguals.

From April 2008, the school has worked with the Non-Governmental Organization CaSA (Child-assist Sapporo Association), which provides Japanese language support and promotes multicultural understanding. CaSA offers support to schoolchildren who have come from abroad. It helps them to cope with any difficulties and tries to enhance their studying experience in Japan.

Both the Russian school in Sapporo and CaSA are run on a voluntary basis and do not have any official support from either the Japanese or Russian governments. The core subjects of the school’s curriculum include Russian for preschool children, Russian as a first language, Russian as a second language, Russian literature, and world and Russian history. Along with these core subjects, there are two support teachers for English and Art classes. The school is attended by approximately 50 children. Almost all the children of the Russian school attend full-time Japanese schools.

II.3. Ethnic background of children and their usage of languages at the Russian school in Sapporo

The students at the Russian school in Sapporo are children of Russian families, families of Russian-speaking citizens from other CIS and Baltic countries, returnee families, and international families (Russian-Japanese or Russian-with other foreign nationals). There are also children of Japanese families who lived for some time in Russia.

As we can see in the Table 3, 30.2% of the children are from Russian families, 22.6% of the children are from Russian/Japanese families, 3.8% are from Russian/other nationality families, and 3.8% are Japanese. With 30.2%, returnees represent one of the largest group of children in the school. 9.4% of the children are from other ethnic groups, such as the Russian-speaking residents of the CIS and Baltic countries or ethnic Koreans from Sakhalin and continental Russia (this group is different from the Japanese- Korean mixed families of returnees).

■ Table 3. Ethnic background of children at the Russian school in Sapporo (2013)

Grade	No of Children	Returnee	Russian	Russian / Japanese	Russian / Other	Other	Japanese
Pre-school	11	2	4	3		2	
1 st	6	1	4	1			
2 nd	8	0	3	3	1		1
4 th	7	2	3	1		1	
6 th	5	2	1		1	1	
9 th	5	3		1		1	
11 th	7	6	1	0	0	0	
RSL	4			3			1
Total	53	16	16	12	2	5	2
Percentage	100.0%	30.2%	30.2%	22.6%	3.8%	9.4%	3.8%

During the 12 years of history of the school there has been one student from Mongolia and a child of an American-Japanese family. In these cases, the parents commanded a high level of the Russian language, and so they wanted their children to learn Russian as well.

The command of the Russian language among the interviewed children is presented in Table 4.

Of the total number of students, we surveyed 44 children, of whom 27.3% are Russian Native speakers, 40% are Russian Heritage speakers, 29.5% are RSL speakers and only 2.3% speak Russian as a foreign language.

Among RSL speakers, 10 children have a high level command of the Russian language, which allows them to study on the same program as the Russian-speaking children (Native and Heritage speakers); the remaining 3 children study following a RSL program. Currently, in the school is one Japanese child who is studying Russian as a foreign language. Her reason for attending the school is friendship with a Russian speaking child.

■ Table 4. Command of Russian language among children

Grade	Age	No of Children	Command of Russian language			
			Native	Heritage	RSL	RFL
Pre-school	3 - 6	3	1	1	1	
1 st	6 - 7	5		2	3	
2 nd	7 - 9	8	1	4	3	
4 th	10 - 11	7	3	2	2	
6 th	12 - 14	5		5		
9 th	14 - 16	5	2	2	1	
11 th	16~	7	5	2		
RSL	6 - 9	4			3	1
Total		44	12	18	13	1
Percentage		100.0%	27.3%	40.9%	29.5%	2.3%

■ Table 5. Command of Japanese language among children

Grade	Age	No of Children	Command of Japanese language			
			Native	Environment	JSL	JFL
Pre-school	3 - 6	3	1		2	
1 st	6 - 7	5	1	2	2	
2 nd	7 - 9	8	4	2	1	1
4 th	10 - 11	7	1	4	2	
6 th	12 - 14	5		5		
9 th	14 - 16	5	1	2	1	1
11 th	16~	7		2	3	2
RSL	6 - 9	4	4			
Total		44	12	17	11	4
Percentage		100.0%	27.3%	38.6%	25.0%	9.1%

The command of the Japanese language among the interviewed children is shown in Table 5.

Among the 44 surveyed children, 27.3% are Japanese native speakers, 38.6% are Japanese environment language speakers, 25% are JSL speakers, and 9.1% speak Japanese as a foreign language.

Almost all children of the Russian school in Sapporo attend full-time Japanese schools, which require certain knowledge of the Japanese language. All children in the school are bilingual. According to their age, there are balanced bilinguals, with the two languages developed at the same high level, or dominant bilinguals, with one of the languages dominant over other. There is also some cases of double limited bilingualism, where both languages have not developed enough according to the child's age. The Russian school, in cooperation with CaSA, does everything possible to resolve such cases.

■ Table 6. Language of intra-family interaction

Grade	Age	No of Children	Between siblings			Between children and parents		
			Russian	Japanese	both	Russian	Japanese	both
Pre-school	3 - 6	3	2	1		2	1	
1 st	6 - 7	5	3	1	1	2	1	2
2 nd	7 - 9	8	2	2	4	4	2	2
4 th	10 - 11	7	2	2	3	5		2
6 th	12 - 14	5	1	1	3	5		
9 th	14 - 16	5	2	1	2	5		
11 th	16~	7	5		2	7		
RSL	6 - 9	4		4			4	
Total		44	17	12	15	30	8	6
Percentage		100.0%	38.6%	27.3%	34.1%	68.2%	18.2%	13.6%

Table 6, shows the language of intra-family interaction. We can see that in family interactions with their parents, 68.2% use only Russian, 18.2% use only Japanese, and 13.6% use both languages.

In family interaction between siblings, 38.6% speak only Russian, 27.3% speak only Japanese, and 34.1% use both languages. We found that the Japanese spoken language prevails in communication between brothers and sisters, even inside completely Russian-speaking families.

II.4. Years of residence in Japan and type of education

Children at the Russian School in Sapporo are living in a multicultural environment. Their adaptation to Japanese society and command of languages has much to do with the duration of their time in Japan itself, a topic dealt with in Table 7.

■ Table 7. Years of residence in Japan

	1 - 3	3 - 5	5 - 10	> 10	Total
Number of respondents	5	3	3	8	19
Percentage	26.3%	15.8%	15.8%	42.1%	100.0%
Expected years of future stay	1 - 5	5 - 10	Whole life	Not decided	Total
Number of respondents	1	0	12	6	19
Percentage	5.3%	0.0%	63.2%	31.6%	100.0%

As we can see in Table 7, 26.3% of the 19 parents that answered the questionnaire have lived in Japan from 1 to 3 years, 15.8% from 3 to 5 years, 15.8% from 5 to 10 years, and 42.1% are long-stay residents living in Japan for more than 10 years. Among the respondents, only 5.3% are expected to stay for one more year, 31.6% have not decided how much longer will stay, and 63.2% are expected to always stay in Japan.

Most families of the children at the Russian school have lived in Japan for a long time, and most of them came in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Many of the children were born in Japan or were brought when they were very little, so they speak Japanese from early childhood, go to Japanese kindergartens or schools, and therefore have no problems with adapting to the Japanese society.

Many of the children who have arrived during the last 5 years are children of returnees. Although this group has come to Japan for permanent residence and thus must strive for such adaptation, they find it difficult to adapt to the Japanese society and to learn the Japanese language.

The ethnic composition of the Russian community in each country determines the years of stay there. Actual and planned number of years of residence affects the desire to integrate into the host society and school choice for the children. Among our respondents in Sapporo, the number of long-term residents, who have lived in Japan more than 5 years, is 57.9%. The people who plan to live in Japan their whole life account for 63.2%. Integration into Japanese society is important for long-term residents, especially for their children. For this reason, they prefer to send their children to Japanese schools, and on Saturday to send them to Russian school for learning and support of language.

III Russian Education in South Korea

In this section we consider education of Russian children in South Korea. We examine the history and the present situation of the Russian community in this country, working conditions and the level of mastery of children in this school in the Russian and Korean language, period of residence of Russian families in South Korea and its influence on choice of type of the school.

III.1. History of Russian Immigration and their Education in Korea

The Russian community in Korea has a long history. The first Russians visited the country in the second half of the 19th century, following the opening of Korea by Imperialist Powers in 1876.

The diplomats Karl Weber, Alexey Shpeyer, Dmitriy Dmitrievskiy, the architect Afanasy Seredin-Sabatin, the military attachés Dmitriy Putyata, Dmitriy Khmelev, the engineer Sergey Remnev, the teacher of Russian language Nikolay Birukov, Father Chrysanth and other members of the Russian Orthodox Mission in Seoul, were the first Russians who initiated the relationship between Russia and Korea, but many of them were also instrumental in the pursuit of Russia's policies in the Far East (Sibirtseva 2001: 45-61). In this first stage of relations between the two countries, the Russian community in Korea was small and consisted mainly of Russian government officials.

The first Russian school operated in Korea from 1898 to 1904. Nikolay Birukov taught young Koreans the Russian language and other disciplines. Even though this school was not in operation for long, it nonetheless played an important role in the incipient Russo-Korean relationship. Russia, defeated in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 ceded its imperial dominance of the country to Japan and the school ceased operations around this time as well.

In the colonial period, relations between Korea and the USSR were very limited. This was because until 1945, Korea as a colony of the Japanese Empire heavily controlled Russian immigration. For a long time in fact, the only Russians in Korea were members of the Orthodox Mission, who preferred to stay in Korea after the events of the October Revolution in 1917; and this Mission certainly did not have any support either from the Soviet or Japanese governments.

In 1945, after the fall of the Japanese Empire, Korea achieved independence and was divided into two parts – Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) and Republic of Korea (South Korea). But the Russian relationships with South Korea was restricted due to the Cold War between the USSR and the USA. South Korea, being in the USA's sphere of influence, was naturally not on

particularly friendly terms with the Soviet Union.

The increase of Russian migration in South Korea started after the normalization of diplomatic relationships in 1990 and the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991. Social, political and economic crises in the newly formed Russia Federation affected all groups of society and intensified migratory trends in Russia and the CIS in general. The number of Russians in South Korea has increased dramatically and reached around 10,000 in 2011. To this number we can add some Russian spouses living in South Korea who got the Korean citizenship due to their marriages with Koreans.

In addition, there is a fair number of citizens from the CIS residents in South Korea. For most of them, the Russian language is their native tongue. Among citizens of these post-soviet states, ethnic Koreans prevail and the Russian language is native for them while most of them don't know much, if any, Korean. Table 8, shows the number of Russian-speaking residents from CIS.

■ Table 8. The Russian-speaking residents from CIS (The Nation official census, 2011)

	Male	Female	Total
Russian	2704	4279	6983
children (aged 5 - 19)	(409)	(445)	(854)
Russian-Korean	1362	2202	3564
children (aged 5 - 19)	(64)	(67)	(131)

It is interesting to note that repatriated Sakhalin Koreans form part of this community. Sakhalin Koreans' history is one of collective strife and struggle. The first generation was stranded in Sakhalin and could not return to Korea after the territory of Southern Sakhalin was ceded to the Soviet Union by Japan as a result of World War II. Sakhalin Koreans were not able to return to their native land for half a century due to geopolitical factors and only began to return in 2000. From 2000 to 2010 around 3,000 Koreans were repatriated to their homeland. Even though the repatriation project covered only those Koreans who were born till August 15, 1945 (the first generation), their children and grandchildren (second and third generations) were also given the chance to visit South Korea and assess the possibility of migration there. At present, the community of Sakhalin Koreans (located mostly in Ansan and nearby) is numbers around 3,500.

III.2. The education system in South Korea affecting Russian immigrants

The emergence of the Russian community in South Korea, inevitably raises the issues pertaining to school education. Two main factors affect the education of Russians.

First, Korean schools are distinguished by their strong competition and tough selection policies. At the age of 15-18, school children spend around 11 hours a day in school, and as all of them know, the chances of success in life hinge

on one day: college entrance exam day. As a result of overwork and extreme competition, one of the major problems in South Korea is the high suicide rate among teenagers (Lankov, 2000).

The second factor that influences Russian education in South Korea is the privileges which are given by the South Korean government to foreigners. The government has gone to great lengths to attract foreign students to Korean universities. Foreigners can enroll to the most prestigious universities without extraordinary efforts. Usually all that is required is a foreign school diploma, foreign citizenship and some Korean language skills in order to be granted a place in a high-ranking university. Foreign students do not compete with Korean students for admission, and usually Korean professors are lenient towards them. Sometimes even Koreans would like to avoid the difficulties of usual Korean schools and use the privileges granted to foreigners, but such actions are strictly forbidden by law and violators are subject to severe punishment and public censure.

From above, we can understand the reasons why the foreign schools (apart from universities) are so popular in South Korea.

III.3. Russian School in Seoul - Russian House

The demand for Russian education has even led to the appearance of a school called Russian House in addition to the school of the Russian Embassy (mostly children of Embassy's officials study in this school). Russian House is a private school and fully self-sufficient. At the end of each semester students pass exams in the Embassy's school.

Tuition fees of 400~500 dollars per month are attractive to many Russian residents, especially if we take into account the fact that Russian House is 3-4 times cheaper than equivalent American or English schools in Seoul. All 22 teachers of Russian House have the relevant education certificates and some of them are especially invited to work in the school from Russia. Russian House maintains close relationships with the Embassy school and always gets the help and support from its administrators and teachers. The Embassy school provides Russian House with its syllabus and textbooks, as well as consultative and methodological help.

The syllabus of Russian House is worthy of some further attention. The school's syllabus includes in-depth study of the English language, in line with the policy/curriculum of the Embassy school. In the grades 1 to 3, students also study the Korean language in accordance with the syllabus of Korean schools. The latter as a result of parental request, since many parents of students at the school are married to Koreans. Children in these mixed families live in bilingual homes and therefore the families want to promote their children's Korean language education.

In addition to major courses, various paid extracurricular paid classes are also offered at Russian House. The most popular are the Korean language classes of various levels taught by Korean teachers. These classes are attended by those students in 4-11th grades who need Korean language skills for enrolling to Korean

Universities. The second most popular are the classes of musical education (piano and choir) taught according to the syllabus of Russian musical schools. There are also classes of choreography (classical, Russian folk and sport dances), painting, and design (model making, origami, decoupage).

Saturday school is also very popular. This school is largely attended by children of mixed families who study in Korean or English schools. Classes are for children of pre-school age and grades 1st-3rd. The syllabus is the same as that of the main school, but the children understandably are behind full-time students. The students of this school can nonetheless get certificates for exams they pass.

In addition to the above, Russian House has evening classes for Korean students who want to study Russian language. The school was designed in agreement with Moscow State University, teaching according to the Test of Russian as a Foreign Language (TORFL), and can issue certificates necessary to enroll in Russian Universities. Often Russian House plays the role of a center of Russian culture. It holds events like New Year's parties, musical and choir performances, Russian literature evenings etc. Russian House has close connections with the Global Centre of Korean Education and the NGO 'Mannam', an organization, which engages in international communication and cultural contacts. The school has also contact with Russian studies departments of some South Korean universities and the Russian Orthodox Church.

III.4. Ethnic background of children and their usage of languages at Russian House

As shown in Table 9, currently, Russian House enrolls 93 students in all grades provided, from 1st to 11th. There are 30 students from Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Russia, who ethnically are Koreans, 3 Ukrainians, 1 Kyrgyz, 2 Byelorussians, 1 Moldovan, 3 Mongolian, 36 Russians, 1 Korean (both parents are South Korean citizens but the child spent 5 years studying in Moscow due the parents' business). Additionally, there are 14 students from international families wherein the mother is usually Russian and the father is Korean. However, in the case of two of these families one parent is Russian and the second of another ethnicity (Uzbek and American). It should be noted as well that "returnees" in Korea are slightly different from those in Japan, as programs of repatriation exist only for the older generations. In other words, "returnees" here refers to ethnic Koreans who returned to their homeland from the territories of the former Soviet Union, but did so according to their own desire without support from the government.

Table 9. Children at the Russian school in Seoul (2013)

Grade	No of Children	Ethnic Korean	Russian	Russian / Korean	Russian / Other	Other Ethnicity	Korean
1 st	12	2	9	1			
2 nd	9	3	4	2			
3 rd	13	2	6	4	1		
4 th	6		4	1	1		
5 th	12	5	2	3		2	
6 th	2	1	1				
7 th	6	4	2				
8 th	9	3	4			2	
9 th	8	1	1	2		4	
10 th	11	5	2	1		2	1
11 th	5	4	1				
Total	93	30	36	14	2	10	1
Percentage	100.0%	32.3%	38.7%	15.1%	2.2%	10.8%	1.1%

The following analysis is based on interviews with 29 students from the senior classes (grades 6th to 11th). The command of Russian language among the interviewed students is presented in Table 10.

Table 10. Command of Russian language among the students

Grade	Age	No of Children	Command of Russian language			
			Native	Heritage	RSL	RFL
6 th	12	2	2			
7 th	12 - 14	5	5			
8 th	13 - 15	4	2		1	1
9 th	14 - 16	8	6		1	1
10 th	16 - 17	6	5		1	
11 th	16 - 17	4	4			
Total		29	24	0	3	2
Percentage		100.0%	82.8%	0.0%	10.3%	6.9%

In the eighth grade there are two students who are not Russian native speakers; a Romanian girl with Moldovan citizenship and a boy from Kirgizstan. The girl speaks Russian fluently but the boy speaks it poorly and has been experiencing difficulties in studying. In the ninth grade, there is a boy from Mongolia who also is not a native Russian speaker and a girl from a mixed family who is bilingual. In the tenth grade a boy of mixed family who has been marked out as one of the best students is also bilingual, but has a slight Korean accent because he studied in a Korean school until the eighth grade. This student moved to the Russian school due to plans to enroll in a Russian University.

According to information given by teachers of the elementary school (grades from 1st to 5th) there is similar situation about the native speakers among students. 43 students of 52 in total (83%) are Russian native speakers, as in grades from 6th to 11th there are 24 native Russian speakers, that also gives about 83% of

the 29 interviewed students.

As noted above, the students of grades 1st-3rd enroll in Korean language classes because many of them wish to study Korean. However Korean language skills are not obligatory later on, so it is interesting to look at the level of Korean language skills of students in the higher grades.

■ Table 11. Command of Korean language among the students

Grade	Age	No of Children	Command of Korean language			
			Native	Environment	KSL	KFL
6 th	12	2			1	1
7 th	12 - 14	5			5	
8 th	13 - 15	4			2	2
9 th	14 - 16	8	1		6	1
10 th	16 - 17	6	1		4	1
11 th	16 - 17	4			4	
Total		29	2	0	22	5
Percentage		100.0%	6.9%	0.0%	75.9%	17.2%

As shown on Table 11, 5 students know the Korean language to a very low level (i.e. they can barely read and write), or don't know it at all. While 4 students from eleventh grade have only temporarily ceased their Korean language studies due to preparation for final examinations, and have plans to study it again after graduation. Nonetheless, it is clear that Korean language skills are not all that important at the school beyond the 3rd grade.

In the elementary school the situation of the Korean language appears to be better than that in the middle or high school. There, many students attend the elective classes of Korean (according to teachers, almost all of them).

■ Table 12. Language of intra-family interactions.

Grade	Age	No of Children	Between siblings				Between children and parents			
			Russian	Korean	both	other	Russian	Korean	both	other
6 th	12	2	2				2			
7 th	12 - 14	5	3		2		3		2	
8 th	13 - 15	4	2			2	1		1	2
9 th	14 - 16	8	6		1	1	6		1	1
10 th	16 - 17	6	5		1		5		1	
11 th	16 - 17	4	4				4			
Total		29	22	0	4	3	21	0	5	3
Percentage		100.0%	75.9%	0.0%	13.8%	10.3%	72.4%	0.0%	17.2%	10.3%

Usage of Russian and Korean at home is shown in Table 12. The table indicates the answers to the question: "What language is used at home with family members?"

Languages used at home provide revealing information because they influ-

ence the children's mentality and self-identification. As the Russian school in Seoul, in contrast to that in Sapporo, enrolls many students from regions speaking languages other than that of their homeland or country of residence, we have added the additional column "other" to Table 12 to indicate that the child speaks a language inside the household other than Russian or Korean.

Only 4 of the 29 students interviewed in Seoul speak both Russian and Korean at home.

III.5. Years of residence and education

Children at Russian House face social issues being foreigners in a foreign cultural environment. Their adaptation to Korean society has much to do with the duration of their time in Korea itself, a topic dealt with in Table 13. As this point was difficult to research in elementary school, this aspect was analyzed in grades 6th ~ 11th and among those who provided interviews.

■ Table 13. Years of residence in Korea

Years of residence	1 - 3	3 - 5	5 - 10	> 10	Total
Number of respondents	15	7	4	3	29
Percentage	51.7%	24.1%	13.8%	10.3%	100.0%
Expected years of future stay	1 - 5	5 - 10	Whole life	Not decided	Total
Number of respondents	4	0	12	13	29
Percentage	13.8%	0.0%	41.4%	44.8%	100.0%

As we can see from Table 13, 51.7% of the 29 respondents have lived in South Korea from 1 to 3 years, 24.1% from 3 to 5 years, 13.8% from 5 to 10 years, and only 10.3% are long-stay residents living in South Korea for more than 10 years. Among the respondents, 13.8% are expected to stay for 1 to 5 more years, 44.8% have not decided how much longer they will stay, and 41.4% are expected to stay their whole life in South Korea.

As noted above, the ethnic composition of the Russian community in each country determines the years of stay there. Actual and planned number of years of residence affects the desire to integrate into the host society and school choice for the children. In Seoul, number of long-term residents, who lived more than 5 years and number of people who planned to stay their whole lives is less than in Sapporo. Unresolved issues of future place of residence and the possibility of immediate return to the home country, lead to a lack of necessity to integrate into the society of the host country. Therefore, when choosing a school, parents prefer everyday Russian school. Specific comparisons between years of residence, ethnic composition of Russian communities in Sapporo and Seoul and their impact on school choice for Russian children will be considered in the Discussion.

IV Discussion

Both Russian schools in Sapporo and Seoul began under the initiative of the Russian community. However, the Russian school in Seoul is a private every-day school while the Russian school in Sapporo is a Saturday school organized by volunteers.

In this section we want to: 1) consider the reasons for the emergence of these two different types of schools; 2) compare the command and development of language in each type of school.

As the main reasons for the differences of schools we will consider the geographical characteristics of each place, the ethnic composition of the Russian community, the years of stay of its members, and the education policy of each host country.

IV.1. Geographical characteristics

Geographical characteristics determine the composition of the Russian community living in any given place. For example, returnees from Sakhalin, who are coming to Japan, tend to choose Hokkaido because of the climate and geographical proximity to Sakhalin. Russian people in Hokkaido mostly do not work in large Japanese companies, but rather have their own companies in the fishing industry or the automobile sale business, which is possible as well because of the proximity of Hokkaido to the Russian border. Both of these categories of people require a long-term or permanent stay in Japan.

Seoul is larger in size and is different by its functional purpose, because it is the capital of South Korea. There are more Russian specialists working in large companies or universities, coming for a certain period of time. On the one hand, the proximity of Seoul to Ansan, hometown of the first generation of returnees, leads “visiting relatives” to choose Seoul when they go to work in South Korea.

IV.2. Ethnic composition

The ethnic composition of each school have the following in common: both schools enroll students from Russia, as well as people from the CIS, and in both schools there are children from Russian/Korean or Russian/Japanese international families. However, at the Russian school in Sapporo, there is a high percentage of returnees from Sakhalin, and in Seoul, there is not. The reason lies in the difference of the repatriation policy in South Korea and Japan. In South Korea only members of the first generation can be repatriated, while Japan gives the right to repatriate to second and third generations as well. Descendants of ethnic Koreans from Sakhalin and Central Asia are educated by both the Russian school in Sapporo and Seoul.

IV.3. Years of state and choice of a school

As we can see in Tables 7 and 13, the number of years of stay for Russian families in Japan is longer than that in South Korea. In Sapporo 42.1% of respondents live for more than 10 years, and in Seoul only 10.3%. The number of people who are going to live all their life or for a long-term period is also bigger in Sapporo than in Seoul, 63.2% and 41.4% respectively.

The ethnic composition of the Russian community in each place determines the years of stay in the country. We have seen that in Sapporo there are two groups of people that require a long-term or permanent stay in Japan: the returnees and the holders of their own business. They want to integrate their children into Japanese society and thus send them to Japanese schools. International families with children holding double nationalities may consider the possibility of sending their children to Russia as foreign students. This group also prefers to send their children to Japanese schools for a thorough proficiency in Japanese.

Parents, who plan to send their children to study in USA or Europe and who have the sufficient financial resources, send them to the Hokkaido International School (HIS). Sometimes, children attend a Japanese school until finishing middle school and then go to the HIS.

However, for all the groups above, Russian is still the language of family interaction and they want to leave it as a heritage to their children. Therefore, to support and develop the Russian language used inside the family, parents send their children to the Saturday Russian School.

Those parents thinking about the possibility of educating their children in Russia in the future, besides the Saturday school, make their children take distance education at the Tokyo Embassy School or in one of the Sakhalin schools.

In South Korea the people who plan to go back to Russia prefer to send their children to everyday Russian school for a smooth return to schooling in Russia. However, as we can see in Table 13, 37.5% of respondents expect to live in South Korea all their life. Some of them think to send their children to Korean Universities. So why do they choose a Russian school? To answer this question, we should also consider the characteristics of the educational policy of South Korea.

IV.4. Educational policy of the host country

Multicultural education policies have a big impact on family's choice of a school. In both countries we have no examples of bilingual public schools.

In Japan, there is a recent positive development in multicultural policy. However vacancies for foreign students (ryuugakusei waku) or for returnees (hikiagesya waku) require a high knowledge of Japanese language for entrance and for further learning. For this reason, parents who want their children to attend Japanese universities prefer to send them to full-time Japanese schools.

South Korean Universities have a special educational policy for foreigners.

Students with a foreign school diploma, foreign citizenship and some Korean language skills can enroll to any university. Therefore, parents prefer full-time foreign schools such as the Russian school in Seoul.

IV.5. Differences of the Russian schools in Sapporo and Seoul

In Sapporo as well as in Seoul, Russian schools are trying to respond to the Russian community's educational requests, while adapting to the conditions of each country and city. Let's see what the differences are between these schools.

The choice of a Saturday School by parents in Sapporo can be explained by the principle of bilinguals in a combination of supplementary school and local school (Nakajima, 2002: 126). What are the features of this type of education?

Nakajima analyzing the bilingual education of Japanese children in an English language environment says that "From the point of view of bilingual training, it can be said that in English-speaking countries, studying in a combination of local and supplementary schools, is a quite effective bilingual environment" (Nakajima, 2002: 126).

We can say the same about Russian/Japanese bilinguals in a Japanese environment. In fact, many children at the Russian school in Sapporo are balanced bilingual children.

However, we cannot say that with this kind of education the children do not have any problems. Especially, children who moved to Japan during primary or secondary school age are experiencing problems at school related to the understanding of Japanese language and culture. Sometimes because of this, there are cases of discrimination on the part of Japanese children.

Nakajima points out on such characteristics of Japanese children in America: "one day suddenly language changes radically, they are relegated to a situation where they have to study in side by side desks together with native speakers in words they do not know at all. It is not known how to measure the influence that the switch of the learning environment has to the human formation and intellectual development of children. We can assume that there is a positive influence, but depending on the child, he/she of course may also suffer of negative influences." (Nakajima, 2002: 124)

For those who were born in Japan, there is usually no problems in Japanese schools, but among them there are children that are heavily influenced by the Japanese school and as a result, by the Japanese culture. This causes a reluctance to learn Russian and the alienation between children and parents. For a more complete education of bilingual children more interaction between the local and supplementary schools is needed.

The Russian School in Seoul is a full-time school. This type of school has a high level of efficiency in the maintenance and protection of native language, culture and identity. This form of education guarantees "safe landing" at school in the

home country after returning. However, from the point of view of bilingual and bicultural education this type of education is not sufficient, because learning the language of the host country a few times a week is not enough. Furthermore studying in a closed environment without much contact with the host country does not lead to multicultural education. (Nakajima 2002: 125)

The characteristics above can also be seen at the Russian school in Seoul. In the school, the level of Russian language is maintained with high efficiency, but the interaction with the Korean society is limited and the command of the Korean language of many children lacks proficiency.

IV.6. Command and usage of the language

In both Sapporo and Seoul schools, almost all children live in a bilingual environment, but in Sapporo the basic education system of the children is in Japanese, and Russian only complements it. In Seoul, the main education system is Russian, and the study of the Korean language is optional. The type of the education directly influences the command and usage of the language.

Among surveyed children, in Sapporo and in Seoul respectively (Tables 4 and 10), 27.3% and 82.2% are Russian Native speakers, 40.9% and 0% are Russian Heritage speakers, 29.5% and 10.3 % are RSL speakers and 2.3% and 6.9% speak Russian as a foreign language.

Large differences exist in the number of native speakers and especially between Heritage language speakers. At the Russian school in Sapporo, 40.9% of the students are Heritage language speakers, but none of the surveyed children at the Russian School in Seoul fall within this category. This may be due to the fact that not many children have been born in South Korea, and children who were brought from Russia have minimum contact with the environment language. Their Russian language is not only supported inside the family, but also supported inside the micro social environment of the everyday Russian school.

In numbers of RSL speakers, the Russian school in Sapporo excels its counterpart in Seoul, but there are more RFL speakers at the Russian school in Seoul. This may be explained by the fact that in Sapporo there are more children of mixed families born in Japan.

In family interaction between siblings (Tables 6 and 12), in Sapporo and Seoul respectively: 38.6% and 75.9% speak only Russian, 27.3% speak only Japanese and 0.0% speak only Korean, and 34.1% and 13.8% use both languages. In family interactions with their parents, in Sapporo and Seoul respectively: 68.2% and 72.4% use only Russian, 18.2% use only Japanese and 0.0% use only Korean, and 13.6% and 17.2% use both languages.

The authors found that in Sapporo the Japanese spoken language prevails in communication between brothers and sisters, even inside completely Russian-speaking families. But in Seoul we have not seen such tendencies. The use of two languages between parents and children can be explained as belonging to interna-

tional families with parents of different nationalities. But the use of two languages or the language of environment between siblings despite that both parents are Russian native speakers, suggests that the language of environment has developed to a high level. A negative consequence of this high command of the environment language could be the complete shift to the environment language.

V Conclusion

In this paper we analyzed two schools of Russian immigrants or long-stay residents: the Russian school in Sapporo (Japan), and the Russian school in Seoul (South Korea). We tried to identify and compare the general and special features of these schools.

Specifically we determined how the geographical situation of each city influences the ethnic background and years of stay of the Russian community. This together with the education policy of each country determines the type of Russian school they want to choose for their children.

We also saw how the type of school (everyday vs Saturday school) directly influences the command and usage of the language: in Sapporo the basic education system is in Japanese, and Russian only complements it. In Seoul, the main education system is Russian, and the study of the Korean language is optional.

This paper is the first attempt to make this kind of comparative analysis. However, the conditions of immigration concerning both problems inherent to immigrant communities and the policies of the host countries are constantly changing. Therefore, this kind of analysis should be carried out continuously to monitor these changes. Doing so will benefit the operation of the schools and the formation of multicultural education policies inside the countries of origin and host countries.

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(平成25年10月31日受理、平成26年2月10日採択)