Article

Exploring the Meaning of Double Nostalgia in the Life Histories of Sakhalin Koreans

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Introduction

The purpose of this study is to examine the life histories of Koreans to determine how their return to Sakhalin occurred. The meaning of "hometown" for Koreans is also explored. It is explained why Koreans miss their lives in Sakhalin as they adapt to Korea after returning to their homeland. Specifically, the concept of the hometown—the core of maintaining Korean cultural identity while surrounded by Russian culture—is studied. We suggest that immigrants attempt to maintain their Korean cultural identity by performing rites of passage and practicing traditional Korean customs in their daily lives. In these cases, the hometown is not Sakhalin—where they were born—but a "hometown inherited from parents or imaginary homes."

Sakhalin Koreans are Koreans who were born or lived in Sakhalin before August 15, 1945. The migration of Sakhalin Koreans started as a recruitment of labor by Japan. When young Japanese men were drafted for the Great East Asia War that began in 1941, Japan's labor force decreased. At that time, the Japanese imperialists tried to recruit Koreans to supplement the labor force (Jeon and Lee 2012; Kuzin 2014).

Since then, the Korean recruits lived in Sakhalin's harsh environment with the dream of returning to their hometown. When the Japanese imperialists were defeated on August 15, 1945 and South Sakhalin was liberated, all Koreans were excluded from repatriation, except those who were married to Japanese citizens. Sakhalin Koreans flocked to the port city of Korsakov for their return to Korea. However, the Soviet government did not allow them to return to Sakhalin, because they needed Korean laborers to develop Sakhalin. Thus, they were deprived of their right to return to their homeland, regardless of their desire to do so, leaving the dream of returning home in their hearts. As such, they remained stateless. They were concerned that if they acquired Soviet citizenship, they would face problems returning to Korea in the future. Therefore, Sakhalin Koreans have lived with the idea of returning to their hometowns while suffering discrimination and disadvantages as stateless individuals.

The 1988 Seoul Olympic Games and Korea-Russia diplomatic relations

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enabled the first generation of Sakhalin Koreans to reconsider their dream of returning home. These historical events motivated the Sakhalin Korean people to return to their homeland (Ministry of Health and Welfare 2016). After Korea-Soviet relations were established in 1990, they returned to Korea in 1994 with the "Sakhalin Korean permanent return home project" by the Korean-Japanese government. The Korean government, however, maintained a passive attitude in resolving the return of Sakhalin Koreans. In 1994, the government agreed that the land needed to build housing and nursing homes for permanent returnees would be provided by the Korean government, while construction costs and settlement support would be provided by the Japanese government. However, due to the delay in the site selection by the Korean government, Ansan's hometown could only be moved in 2000. Currently, more than 2,700 Sakhalin Koreans live in 30 locations including Seoul, Incheon, Ansan, and Busan (OKF 2019). In the early days of migration, Sakhalin Koreans longed for their homeland, to which they had hoped to return for decades, and upon their return, were filled with joy. However, adapting to the new life of their mother country in which their parents lived was not easy after leaving Sakhalin, where they had lived for their entire lives (Kim and Park 2016).

As recipients of the Basic Livelihood Security Program, most returnees from Sakhalin spend their days at the hospital and the Sakhalin Korean Center. In fact, because they lived in a different culture and they are not accustomed to Koreans, it is difficult for them to communicate with neighbors. Furthermore, living in an apartment complex makes it difficult to adapt to life in Korea. In addition, they face economic difficulties and are unable to live above the country's minimum cost of living.

The Sakhalin Korean people faced the reality that they could not live with their families, who had been left behind in Sakhalin; thus, they had to endure another farewell. In Sakhalin, they missed their parents' homes and relatives in their home country. On the other hand, since returning to Korea, they have suffered loneliness, because they miss their children and brothers who remained in Sakhalin. No matter how rich they are, they cannot replace the longing for their relatives and friends in Sakhalin. They face social, physical, and psychological problems in an emotional environment that differs from that of typical seniors who must endure farewells. As a result, problems such as social maladjustment, health deterioration, family life, emotional loneliness, and alienation are intensifying (Park and Lim 2015; Lee and Kim 2008).

Since 2005, in order to solve the problem of Sakhalin Koreans returning to their permanent residence, the National Assembly has continued to discuss special legislation regarding support for Sakhalin Koreans. Due to the lack of budget and diplomatic friction that would have occurred when Koreans with Russian nationality were included in their permanent homes, related ministries such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs continued to object. Currently, three items of legislation related to support of Sakhalin Koreans proposed by the 20th National Assembly are pending (Overseas Koreans Times 2019). The main goal of the bill is to allow the government to find diplomatic solutions for Sakhalin Koreans and to provide a budget for their domestic settlement. In the meantime, voices of legal support for them have been steadily raised, but due to controversy over equity, the legislative bill has been in vain. In other words, if a provision is made to support Sakhalin Koreans, there will be equity issues with other Koreans such as Goryeoin. Nevertheless, there is consensus on the need to consider the special background of Sakhalin Koreans.

In this situation, it is very meaningful that "The Special Law on Support for Sakhalin Koreans" was enacted in May 2020. This Act is intended to relieve the damages of Sakhalin Koreans who migrated to Sakhalin due to forced mobilization during the Japanese colonial period through diplomatic efforts with the relevant countries, and to support the permanent return and settlement of Sakhalin Koreans and their accompanying families.

Nonhyeon-dong, Namdong-gu in Incheon is an important neighborhood where Korean Sakhalins return to their home country. In this article, missing Korea while in Sakhalin and then missing Sakhalin after returning to one's homeland is referred to as "double nostalgia." The concept describes the meaning of the homeland and the longing for it in the lives of these people. Specifically, we concentrate on the collective memories of the mother country, visions or myths regarding characteristics of the diaspora among immigrant social groups, and memories of the ancestral homeland.

Theoretical Background

The Sakhalin Korean Diaspora

Korean people in Sakhalin have clear boundaries in terms of national identity

for individuals in the first, second, third, and fourth generations. Unlike their parents' generation, third and fourth-generation Sakhalin Koreans live in Russia and marry Russians. Sakhalin Koreans living in cities are highly educated, work in professional jobs, and are often assimilated into the social culture of Russia. Through this process of forming multiple identities, interpersonal conflicts occur between these individuals and their parents' generation. Despite their high level of linguistic, cultural, and structural assimilation in local society, there is a strong national identification and attachment as Sakhalin Koreans.

Although Sakhalin Koreans have assimilated into local society in terms of language and culture, their retention of a strong Korean national identity is attributed to the discrimination and ill treatment of ethnic minority groups (Kim and Park 2016; Юрий Александрович 2015; Yoon 2002; Lee and Kim 2008; Choi 2012).

The focus of this article is on Sakhalin Koreans. It is necessary to consider how they settled in Russia, and to this end, we cite three types of immigration routes and six migration periods for Koreans in Sakhalin. These include migration from the sending country to the migration route, the migration route from the entry country to Sakhalin (migration destination), and the "return route" from the migration site to the motherland. The six migration periods began with the Freedom Period (1905-1937) and the Japanese Forced Cycle (1937-1945), both of which were relatively free of migration in both Sakhalin and North Sakhalin prior to 1905. Japan's forced migration period corresponds to 1937, when Koreans were forced to move to Central Asia in North Sakhalin.

After that, Koreans who entered the Soviet Union during the Chaos period (1945-1959) and returned home to Japan with their Japanese wives experienced resignation and abandonment. A relatively stable period (1959-1988) preceded the transition period (1990) in which the Soviet Union was suddenly transformed (Lee 2011, 92).

Our investigation revealed various research themes, such as forced migration, discrimination, adaptation, cultural transformation, fairy tales, community, national culture, and national identity in the process of the migration and settlement of Korean people in Sakhalin. Each theme is an independent research area. In fact, many studies have already been conducted in the fields of history, anthropology, folklore, sociology, politics, economics, and linguistics. Since these topics are closely related, they must be understood holistically. Diaspora is a concept that can be used to explain the connections

among the various experiences of Korean people in Sakhalin (Yoon 2002).

The origin of "diaspora" is derived from the Greek word διασπορά, which means "sowing" or "discrete." Διασ means "beyond" and πορά means "sows" (Yoon 2004). The "diaspora" diaspora involves not only a proliferation of putative diasporas, and a diffusion of diaspora talk throughout the academy and into the wider culture and polity, but also a proliferation of terms. In addition to the concrete noun, "diaspora," designating a collectivity, there are abstract nouns designating a condition (diasporicity or diasporism), a process (diasporization, de-diasporization, and re-diasporization), even a field of inquiry (diasporology or diasporistics). There is also the adjective "diasporist," designating a stance or position in a field of debate or struggle (Brubaker 2005).

In this sense, diaspora often means "ethnic dispersion" or "ethnic disunity." However, diaspora does not only refer to the process of disseminating ethnic members to various parts of the world. This term is also used by groups that left their previous homes and settled outside of their country. As such, the concept of diaspora encompasses dispersed peoples, their places of residence, and their communities, when the country of ancestral origin, the country where they were born, and the country that they now belong to are separated (Seo 2006). Most early discussions of diaspora were firmly rooted in a conceptual "homeland"; they were concerned with a paradigmatic case, or a small number of core cases. In a further extension, the term has come to embrace labor migrants who maintain emotional and social ties with a homeland (Sheffer 2003).

Yoon (2004) argues that only a few conditions need to be met to support the definition of diaspora. The term is also used in connection with transnational issues such as migrant workers, stateless persons, multicultural families, and language convergence, as well as in international migration, asylum, refugees, ethnic communities, cultural differences, and identities of other peoples. The Korean diaspora is defined as the dispersion of Koreans who migrated to various parts of the world from their native country. Therefore, the Sakhalin Korean community was the ideal case for studying the diaspora prototype. This community shares common traits and the tragic experiences of migration. In addition, its members imagine their Korean motherland, experience discrimination and exclusion in their country of residence, and long to return to their homeland.

The Soviet Perestroika (1985), Seoul Olympics (1988), and Korean National Sports Festival (1989) provided Sakhalin Koreans with opportunities

to visit Korea. When Korea and Russia established diplomatic relations in 1990, the resolution of the Sakhalin Korean problem began to accelerate. In 1994, South Korea and Japan agreed to conduct pilot projects to return Sakhalin Koreans to their permanent homeland. In 1999, for Sakhalin repatriates, Japan provided 3 billion *yen* to Korea and 100 housing units; in 2000, it provided 500 apartments as residences (Choi 2015).

However, the pilot project was limited and wrought with challenges. Furthermore, the governments of Korea and Japan developed restrictions for permanent residency based on the August 15, 1945 date, and only those who were legally married and at least 65 years old were permitted to return to their permanent homeland. Their residences were provided only upon arrival, and occupants were not permitted to inherit them. The Permanent Return system was extended in 2008, allowing the repatriation of a couple satisfying the above conditions, even if one spouse was born after August 15, 1945. Family members affected by this system and its extension include children with disabilities and non-Koreans. Because of the institutional contradiction, some Koreans deliberately married to return to their homeland, manipulated their birthdates, or returned to their homeland using the name of a deceased person (Kuzin 2014).

According to the Ministry of Health and Welfare (2020), the status of permanent return and residential status of Sakhalin Koreans in Korea are as follows. As a result of the permanent residence return project, 4,408 people have entered the country by the end of December 2019. However, excluding those who died or returned to Korea, the number of people currently staying in Korea is 2,690. As for the residential facilities, they live in permanent and national rental apartments (2,592 people) and in-house facilities such as nursing homes (98 people).

Sakhalin Koreans were forced to remain separated from their parents in Korea during the Japanese occupation. Now, they are separated from their children following their return to their ancestral land. As a result, an unfortunate history is being regenerated.

Nostalgia for Home

Nostalgia responds to a diversity of personal needs and political desires. The nostalgic subject turns to the past to find/construct sources of identity, agency,

or community that are lacking, blocked, subverted, or threatened in the present. The "positively evaluated" past is approached as a source for something now perceived to be missing; but it need not be thought of as a time of general happiness, peacefulness, stability, or freedom. Invoking the past, the nostalgic subject may be involved in escaping or evading, in critiquing, or in mobilizing to overcome the present experience of loss of identity, lack of agency, or absence of community. Some of the key tropes central to nostalgic rhetoric are the notion of a Golden Age and a subsequent Fall, the story of the home-coming, and the pastoral (Tannock 1995).

The dictionary definition of hometown is "the place where one lived or died" (National Korean Language Institute 2014). As such, the hometown has both temporal and spatial characteristics. It is the place of one's ancestors' generation. Therefore, the hometown does not necessarily refer only to a physical space. It has a special meaning, because it is composed of a spatial dimension (e.g., a village), a temporal dimension (e.g., tradition), and an intimate human relationship (e.g., family) (Yun 2015).

For the Korean diaspora, "home" has a dual meaning. To immigrants, it is the land of their ancestors. In addition, it is a residence where someone lives. In other words, the current location is their home country and another home. Those of us who make up the Korean diaspora know where we were born and grew up. We left our ancestral homeland and have put down roots in our country of residence. In the process of establishing a new hometown, marginalized and unstable people desire to return to a warm and comfortable human space (Kim 2006, 9).

For all individuals, the concept of one's hometown evokes warmth, peace, and trust, like a mother. This powerful force confirms the absoluteness of the original hometown. One's mother and hometown are images of paradise embraced by all life in the universe. Behind the unconscious emotions associated with hometowns is the intention of the self or a longing for the hometown as an alternative to a lifestyle that is becoming rugged. For the diaspora to be assimilated and live in the socio-cultural system of the country of residence, enjoyment and longing for the hometown generates collective feelings and consciousness that occur in the same environment in which people share experiences and the aura of a community.

For the Korean diaspora, the motivation to leave home is important, because the level of maintaining the traditional culture differs depending on

whether one's migration was voluntary or involuntary. Voluntary immigrants quickly embrace the culture of their country of residence, rather than retain their original culture and traditions. On the other hand, non-voluntary immigrants try to maintain a relatively traditional hometown culture and their national identity.

The hometown represents a "fantasy." The scenery of the beautiful hometown masks the dark memory of the actual place. In the past, family, nature, and animals were depicted together, forming a sense of collective identity based on customs and culture. The present-day deficiency is lessened with psychological rewards based on imagining their homes—where their mothers or sisters stay—as restful havens. The presence of the mother relocates the hometown of destitution and tiredness as one of healing. This hometown is a space that exists in years past and a memory that avoids breaking down (Choi 2007).

Therefore, in this study, the concept of a hometown is the present expression of past experiences and events, as well as hope for the future. We also consider the hometown as an intimate spatial relationship. Anderson describes people as imagined communities, because most have never met or heard of their peers, although the images of communion live in their hearts.

In the case of disenfranchised peoples or refugees who cannot return to their homeland, the identity of their hometown overlaps with their homeland or nation or demonstrates the dream of a new community beyond the modern nation state. They try to associate the hometown where they reside with the meaning of their ancestral land to establish the foundation of their identity (Relph 1976). To construct a sense of security, they create a new hometown within their emotional space. The memory of the individual's hometown is extended to villages during negotiations with the outside world. They create alternative spaces similar to their hometowns and perform rituals to form a national community (Kim 2006).

Currently, the hometown is the homogeneity of individuals and the identity of the community. This hometown is created at the individual and social levels through appropriate actions. A hometown is a space of communication and support where people interact and stay together. As such, the hometown evokes nostalgia; this paper explores the meaning of nostalgia in this context.

Materials and Methods

Life History Narrative Research

According to Goodson and Sikes (2001), a life story is concerned with understanding a person's view and account of their life, the story they tell about their life. In life history research, the intention is to understand how the patterns of different life stories can be related to their wider historical, social, environmental, and political context. Yet, Rosenthal (1993) uses life history to denote the "lived through life," while the life story denotes the narrated life.

This study used the method of historical narrative to reveal the meaning of nostalgia for Sakhalin returnees. Since historical narrative research is actively used in exploring characters and events—especially marginalized groups in society and the surrounding hierarchies, which are distorted—it is in accord with the characteristics of research on Sakhalin. Life history data that show the influence of Sakhalin returnees and have beneficial personal and political interpretations can reveal their life stories and experiences in subjective, temporal, or holistic ways. For example, in an investigation by the researchers of research participants, it was necessary to review and evaluate the current situation regarding self-image to give meaning to and justify consistency, satisfaction, and personal reflection on the acceptance of scarcity and pain.This narrative, which is characteristic of the reconstruction of the human experience, provides a theoretical framework that can be developed through the rites of passage of Sakhalin returnees. In other words, permanent Sakhalin returnees narrate their stories again (possibly with some changes) and enliven them; thus, the narrative inquiry method seems most appropriate for capturing the meaning contained in the rites of passage as individuals relive their experiences.

Southeast Sakhalin Center as Research Site

The target area of this study was the Nonhyeon Jugong Apartment Complex based in the Sakhalin Center in Nonhyeon-dong, Namdong-gu, Incheon. Inha University's Convergence Institute for Multicultural Studies, to which the researchers belong, signed an MOU with the Sakhalin Center for collaborative research and conducted a study on the life histories of Koreans returning from Sakhalin. As bordered outsiders, we focused on forming relationships with the

Sakhalin Center, because the researchers realized it would be difficult to observe activities at the facility directly.

The researchers paid attention to returnees' activities, facial expressions, gestures, relationships with their colleagues, and stories. Furthermore, they played gate ball and billiards to become better acquainted with Sakhalin Koreans returning to their homeland. Typically, we observed places where the researchers could go: a grandmother's room, a grandfather's room, and a restaurant, for example. We briefly recorded our observations after returning home, focusing on temporal, social, and spatial characteristics.

This facility operates in Namdong-gu, Incheon City. Though regarded as being under the management of the local government, it is actually voluntarily operated by returnees from Sakhalin. However, inconveniences associated with the self-help space cannot be solved by the elderly volunteering at the center. The chairperson and executives are responsible for general, cultural, embassy, and consular affairs. When an elderly man returns to his homeland, he is contacted by his family in Sakhalin.

Since the elderly people returning from Sakhalin communicate in Russian, they spend their time playing and participating in lifelong education programs without discomfort. Here, Korean people can forget their daily afflictions. The Sakhalin compatriots returning to their homeland are loyal to Russian dancing, singing Russian folk songs, and taking a break from their daily struggles. Moreover, the elderly appear to be happy and free. For them, this is not just a physical space, but also a place of emotional attachment, warmth, and kindness. In addition, political participation takes place at the Southeast Sakhalin Center. The center also helps the government prepare petitions to provide children with permanent resident status and documents required by the Japanese Red Cross and Korean Red Cross regarding an individual's return to his or her permanent homeland.

Members of the Sakhalin Center are developing their own perspectives regarding Sakhalin and Korea. The facility is not only a place where supranational communication takes place in a self-help space but is also a location in which various ties are formed. Returnees can reconstruct their identities in a social network. Specifically, it is a place where individuals can create a new perception of the hometown and find their identity. The hometown is projected as a physical space: The Sakhalin Center. It is an intersection where people can sympathize with others (e.g., researchers who

come inside the borders of their hometowns, become their friends, and share the concept of home). Ultimately, the researchers saw that the homeland of Sakhalin returnees is not a static concept. Rather, it follows a process which moves from the past to present and future experiences. Therefore, the Sakhalin Center can be viewed as an expanded space of the hometown.

Research Participants

For this study, research participants were selected based on the following criteria. First, the ability to communicate in Korean was required. Second, evidence of the ability to cooperate with a researcher through the formation of sufficient rapport was necessary. Third, indication that individuals were active and motivated to participate in this study was sought. Fourth, aspiring participants had to demonstrate that they were willing to be open about themselves and share family photos. Ten participants were selected based on these criteria. Table 1 provides general information and the characteristics of the research participants.

Table 1. Information of the Research Participants

Research Participants	Birth Year	Place of Birth	Occupation before the Return
1	1934	Gyeongbuk Province, Korea	Mathematics Teacher / Korean Association President
2	1938	Sakhalin	Electric Company / Chairman of Korean Association
3	1938	Gyeongbuk Province, Korea	Airplane Engineer
4	1941	Sakhalin	Treasurer
5	1941	Jeju Island, Korea	Pastoral Farmer
6	1941	Sakhalin	Logistics Company / President of Korean Association
7	1944	Sakhalin	Director, Artistic Troupe
8	1944	Sakhalin	Translator
9	1944	Sakhalin	Korean Teacher
10	1944	Sakhalin	Accountant

These participants share something in common: they are currently aged 77 to 87 though their birthplaces are not the same—either born in Korea or

Sakhalin. Three of the ten participants were born in Korea, and the others were born in Sakhalin. In addition, all participants worked in Sakhalin, and were thus able to spend their lives there if they do not choose to live in their homeland of Korea. What is the reason for returning to Korea as a permanent resident? The common answer is nostalgia for the hometown.

Data Collection and Method of Analysis

As a data collection method, researchers should typically document all data and diary entries by hand (while in the field). However, in this study, participant records were not required. The researchers used the data to reflect their thoughts and emotions from the interviews to conduct livelier in-depth interviews with research participants and to consider the contents and deficiencies in consecutive interviews. The participants in this study paused frequently because of tears, especially when talking about their parents. This paper records in detail the interpretation of the interviews.

In this study, the photojournalistic technique led the communication activities of the research participants. They were used as resources for new concepts, not for the purpose of memorizing people in photographs. In addition, research participants used the characteristics of photographs, which provide realistic recordability, to disseminate the detailed narratives therein and convey them convincingly through interesting and vivid stories.

In-depth interviews were the second source of data collection. Data was collected by allowing sufficient time for each interview and an appropriate frequency of interviews. The in-depth interviews were conducted from July 2015 to March 2016, and additional interviews took place during this period as needed. These individual interviews took about 90 to 120 minutes each and involved 3 to 4 sessions. The semi-structured interviews addressed the willingness to migrate from Sakhalin to Korea. Both the narrative interview and photojournalistic technique for obtaining life stories and descriptions regarding rites of passage were employed.The interviews were conducted at the homes of the research participants, because based on their ages, this approach seemed most convenient. Visiting the homes of the research participants allowed researchers to view what they had placed prominently (within their eyesight), as these arrangements revealed what participants considered important. When a researcher visited a participant's home, the two could talk naturally about who

they are, what they have done, what has happened, and so on.

The research participants have many memories related to the past. However, these autobiographical memories have been selectively coded, partially forgotten, and modified in various ways. Furthermore, they are fundamentally influenced by the present situation. In this sense, retelling an experience in an in-depth interview presents the past, which is reproduced as a story through the interpretation of meaningful experiences in one's life. Is this autobiographical memory valid? The question of whether a representation of accumulated past experiences is objective or sincere is not important. Most important is that the speaker—the "narrator"—reflects on the "narrative," which is the subject of a past experience from the present viewpoint at a critical or discursive distance.

The research participants often used Russian during the interviews. At this point, to understand the meaning of respondents' answers, the researchers did not ask, "what is it or what does it mean?" After making efforts to understand the participants clearly, we made note of any incomprehensible parts and inquired about these subjects again in the next in-depth interview, or we listened to recorded files from colleagues in the Russian lab to decipher the meaning. During each interview, the researcher recorded participants' moods and behaviors and transcribed the records within two days to retain the context. The transcripts were written using Hangul. When writing the transcripts, we proceeded by confirming through interaction with the research participants that their oral statements were accurately described.

Each documented interview with a participant filled about 15 to 20 pages. The complete interview records for all 10 research participants totaled 560 pages.

Analysis Results of Qualitative Research

This study collected and analyzed participant nostalgia for the homeland based on the experience of Sakhalin Koreans. We used narrative research as a type of qualitative research. There were two stages. One stage was missing the old hometown in Sakhalin before returning, and the other was missing Sakhalin in daily life in Korea after returning. These distinctions are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Double Nostalgic Meaning

Stages	Theme	Sub-theme
Before returning home	They miss home	- Personification of the hometown - They hope to return home - Struggle to return home
After returning to Korea	They miss Sakhalin in Korea	- They miss family left in Sakhalin - They miss life in Sakhalin - Returning home, here is the other home - My home country is Sakhalin - Parents' diaspora

Before Returning Home: They Miss Home

Sakhalin Koreans consider their hometown and country to be the land of their ancestors, where their parents' parents lived in the past. Furthermore, they think their hometowns are "places to which to return," and personify their home with their parents or families. They also hope to go home and miss their hometown. Furthermore, they struggle to return home.

Personification of the hometown

Research participant 1 wants to realize his father's wishes to return home. He remembers his father trying to return to his homeland and hometown. He also wants to return home. In other words, returning to his hometown is not only the wish of this father: he regards home as the existence of his father in his hometown.

> When my father went to the port to go home, the Japanese took only their own people. Because we went to Sakhalin through the Japanese government, they have to send us to Korea. Therefore, I decided to go home. Whether the life in Korea is difficult or not, I want to realize my father's wish to return. (Interview with research participant 1)

Research participant 2 remembered that her mother visited Korea temporarily. Her mother returned from Korea to Sakhalin and gave her grandchild the same name as her nephew. Her mother considers the hometown as a family relative in Korea. In other words, she personalized her home and country as relatives living in Korea.

> My mother gave my son the same as her nephew so that he would not forget the nephew's name. My mother came to visit my hometown and met my relatives. Then she passed away. (Interview with research participant 2)

For these research participants, their hometown and country are like their parents or family relatives. In this study, based on the interviews, Sakhalin Koreans tend to personify their motherland and hometown. This can be considered an anthropomorphic abstract noun referred to as a hometown.

They hope to return home

Research participant 5 remembered that his father missed his brother and called the brother's name during ancestral rituals. His father's brother was the only family in Korea. These expressions indicate that they want to return to their country and hometown.

> My father had a younger brother, my uncle on my father's side. My father always called him in ancestral rituals: "Suhwa, Suhwa. Are you alive? Are you not alive?" He was sad. I remember it. (Interview with research participant 5)

Korsakov is a port city in southern Sakhalin. To go to Japan and Korea, people must go through Korsakov Harbor. According to research participant 6, as the liberation was realized, Sakhalin Koreans flocked to the port of Korsakov to return home. However, they could not sail home. Therefore, some committed suicide, and others died from homesickness.

> "Isn't there a hill in Korsakov?" Many people sat on it and looked at the sea to the ship. When the ship came, they did not come to the hometown. Then, many people committed suicide. Many people were also ill with homesickness. I still did not give up my hopes of going home. (Interview with research participant 6)

The economically comfortable Sakhalin Koreans could visit Korea before the permanent return policy. It became a trend to visit Korea. Research participant 10 remembered that many elderly Korean people visited their home country, and then felt homesick and missed their homes.

> My dad became ill after visiting his home country. He was homesick. Once a year, he visited his relatives in Korea, and he wanted to return home permanently. He has already passed away. I always feel worse when I think about my father. (Interview with research participant 10)

Struggle to return home

Sakhalin Koreans have been actively involved in preparing to return to their hometowns and in their requests to return to their homeland. Research participant 6 recalled the protest in front of the Japanese consulate in Sakhalin. They fought hard to permanently return home.

> There was a demonstration in front of the Japanese Consulate in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk. The demonstration was arranged by the Korean Association in Sakhalin. The Japanese government has to compensate Sakhalin Koreans. The Japanese paid for our plane tickets, and the Korean government provided us with houses. (Interview with research participant 6)

Regarding the Sakhalin Korean struggle to return home, research participant 2 enjoys Korea's role in the Liberation Day celebrations and sings about his hometown. At this festival, he misses his homeland throughout the day.

> I played Korean wrestling during Korean Independence Day and had fun. I also played with my friends. They were all singing about my hometown. The Koreans have many playgrounds. It is like home. (Interview with research participant 2)

After Returning to Korea, They Miss Sakhalin

Sakhalin Koreans are returning to their homeland but want to return to Sakhalin. They do not want to return, because they cannot adjust to life in Korea and are not satisfied. They want to return because of the families, who have left Sakhalin, they long for.

They miss the family left in Sakhalin

Most participants were filled with nostalgia for their families. It seems that their longing ended when they returned to their homeland and hometown. However,

Sakhalin Koreans now long for their children. For research participant 1, this is no different from the grandparents or grandmothers in Korea who love their grandchildren.

> I have a smartphone, so I make video calls and frequent calls. However, I just want to see them again, and watch my grandchildren playing. Our grandson says grandma's *kimchi* is the best. I am comfortable here, it is not bad, but Sakhalin is also good. The air is good; I am respected here. However, if I am there, I miss it here. Like my parents... (Interview with research participant 1)

Research participant 4 missed her grandchildren who were left in Sakhalin after returning to her homeland. She feels so nostalgic about Sakhalin while walking in the streets that she often imagines her grandchildren calling her.

> I grew up in Sakhalin and got married and lived in Sakhalin. When I first came home, I could not sleep, because I missed the children who stayed in Sakhalin. I missed being called "grandmother." Yes, there is no one to look back on. I cannot. What are you going to do at this time? Today is my grandson's birthday, and I wonder whether they will do something... (Interview with research participant 4)

Research participant 6 returns every year to see her children in Sakhalin. When she goes to Sakhalin, she does not want to return to Korea, and stays in Sakhalin for about three months. Even when she returns to the homeland and hometown from Sakhalin, it is because she knows the reality that she cannot live with her children in Korea. Likewise, research participant 10 also wanted to see her children in Sakhalin while living in Korea.

> We go to Sakhalin every year. My children and relatives are all there. If I go, I stay for three months. Even if you go, my mind is always there. I want to see my daughter, so she comes to Korea with my grandchildren. My son once came and left again. My youngest daughter came and left last year, but I do not know what to expect this year. (Interview with research participant 6)

> If my husband is not sick, I often go there, but I cannot go now. I always want to see the place. All my younger siblings are in Sakhalin, and I want to go back because all my children are there too. It is the happiness of the old to see children running. (Interview with research participant 10)

They miss life in Sakhalin

Research participant 4 recalled that he had spent leisure time with his family members in Sakhalin and would like to return there. Because memories create longing, Sakhalin Koreans want to return to their other hometown in Sakhalin.

> My children come often, but my sisters are in Sakhalin, so I want to go to Sakhalin. I do not often visit my children. I want to see all my family members on my birthday. I remember eating watermelon in the hut, swimming in the sea, and picking up shells. I want to live together as a family again, because there is not much time left to live. (Interview with research participant 4)

Research participant 6 misses the children remaining in Sakhalin on holidays. If she had been in Sakhalin, she would have been able to spend time with relatives on holidays. She could also have seen her grandchildren and given lottery money in the New Year ceremony. Therefore, Sakhalin Koreans feel sad regarding their memories of holidays in Sakhalin. Research participant 9 also hope to live with her daughters. However, for Sakhalin Koreans, this is not easy. They are eager to live with their children. No material wealth can take the place of longing for family, friends, and acquaintances in Sakhalin.

> Even if it is the New Year's day in Korea, my heart is sad, and I speak frankly. All my family members are in Sakhalin. If I am in Sakhalin, I can visit my sisters' houses, eat delicious food with my family, and give the children lottery money. However, there is no one here (Korea). (Interview with research participant 6)

> My daughters want to come. It's good to see and live. They say that they like Korea the most because Korea is clean and comfortable to live in. They also say they want to come and live here by our side with confidence. If they live with me, they would feel comfortable. I want to live together all the time. I also have grandchildren. I have to keep connecting and let all my family come here and live together. (Interview with research participant 9)

Wanting to return to Sakhalin

Sakhalin Koreans came to their homeland and hometown. However, they are

eager to return to their family remaining in Sakhalin. They miss their families in Sakhalin because of economic hardship and emotional loneliness. Research participant 7 considers Korea a foreign land.

> I want to go to Sakhalin too. Our son was married and has a son. My grandson lives alone in Sakhalin. My grandson haunts my eyes and my heart remains in Sakhalin. When he graduates from college, I want to go to Sakhalin. Is this a real home? Here, it is not. (Interview with research participant 7)

Research participant 6 regrets choosing to return to the permanent homeland. He feels very negative about the restrictions that prevented families from returning home together.

> It is wrong to return here to Korea. Japanese, German, or Jewish people are all returning to their homelands with their families. My sons and daughters formed a separate family. The Japanese people brought their own family members to their Russian daughters-in-law. Why is Korea so perfect for a couple and children if they cannot live together. (Interview with research participant 6)

My home country is Sakhalin

Research participant 6 argued that returning to the homeland, to which he cannot bring family members, is nothing but disastrous. They have returned home; however, while their bodies are in Korea, their hearts are in Sakhalin. This contradicts Sakhalin's pre-emigration confession that the mind is in Korea. They are now saddened by being still separate from their family just with a change of location.

> I live here now, but my heart is in Sakhalin. The beginning of the permanent return was wrong. How do the elderly come here, leaving behind the children? What is this law? Why doesn't Korea follow Germany, Israel, or Japan…other countries? We are returning to Sakhalin now. Our relatives are there. My younger brother is there. The mind is there. I cannot go back, but I just want to with my family. (Interview with research participant 6)

Research participant 3 says that his wife wants not to leave Sakhalin once again when he and his wife visit Sakhalin after having returned to Korea. For research participant 8, if his wife goes to Sakhalin, she does not want to return to Korea, and they must take care of their granddaughter. Research participant 10 misses her children, even after returning to their homeland. They all say, "Sakhalin with our children is home."

> I have not been in Sakhalin for long. I want to go back to Korea in two weeks. However, my wife is different. I want to play with my grandkids, and my grandchildren told my wife that she is the best. I think my hometown is Sakhalin. (Interview with research participant 3)

> My wife wants to go to Sakhalin, which is a hometown with children. My son is now divorced and my daughter-in-law has left home. My granddaughter is 14 years old and I am still young, so my granddaughter goes to the piano school after school. If my wife goes to Sakhalin, I will not come back to Korea. (Interview with research participant 8)

> I just met them once or twice a year while the kids grew older. The children and all my relatives are there. We wish the same as our mother's parents. I like here, but I want to see my son and granddaughters. My home country is Sakhalin. (Interview with research participant 10)

The parents' diaspora

Most Sakhalin Koreans are happy to return home, but they cannot bring their families, so they miss them while in Korea. Research participant 8 said that his parents inherited the diaspora, which was passed on to him and his family.

> My mother said that it was through her sin that she came to Sakhalin. I now deeply understand what she meant. I cannot forget her words, and I always say that the sins came back to me. (Interview with research participant 8)

Research participant 10 regrets coming to South Korea and leaving his children when he returned to the homeland. He thinks that his return caused him pain. While in Korea, he misses Sakhalin, and when in Sakhalin, vice versa, he misses Korea.

> My son did not agree with me coming to Korea. I do not know what to do.

> How can I leave the children? However, I wanted to go to my hometown because all my friends live in Korea. This is why I came. […] Recently, my son-in-law died. My daughter is likely very sick. I cannot even think about it. What is this? I want to go to Sakhalin, because I have to live with my family. But I would also miss this place if I go to Sakhalin. (Interview with research participant 10)

Conclusion

In this study, we explored the meaning of the duality of longing, the so-called "double nostalgia." This term was derived from the Sakhalin Koreans who are permanently returning to Korea as they consider it their homeland. In fact, the meaning of the Sakhalin Korean's homeland needs investigation because most of them actually were not born in Korea. The Sakhalin Koreans longed for their parents' homeland and home country in Sakhalin and returning to their homeland was a lifelong wish. They returned to the hometown of their dreams. Frankly, Korea is not their birthplace, but that of their parents. For them, Korea is the imaginary home in a story they did not actually experience.

Sakhalin is the birthplace of most Sakhalin Koreans. Nevertheless, they dreamed of returning home of their parents. In their lifetimes, their parents dreamed of returning home and endeavored to maintain their national identity through their Korean food, Korean rituals, and Korean language education for future generations. They realized that returning home was their parents' greatest hope. Although they dreamed of returning to their imaginary homeland and such wishes came true, they are not that happy, missing their children remaining in Sakhalin and thereby dreaming of another homecoming. This study intended to understand this return and re-return as double nostalgia. We noted that while in Korea, Sakhalin Koreans miss Sakhalin. Generally, longing has a certain direction. In other words, the hometown Sakhalin Koreans missed was the object and destination of the longing before returning. However, they suffer froma double nostalgia. In Sakhalin, before returning, the longing for the homeland manifests as a "personification of the hometown," "longing for the homeland to die in," and "struggle to return home." Neverthless, after returning to Korea, various meanings were revealed through the following statements: "They miss their family remaining in Sakhalin," "They miss life in Sakhalin,"

"Wanting to return to Sakhalin, I came to realize that Sakhalin is the other home," "My home country is Sakhalin," and "Parents' diaspora."

Home is a very broad concept with a multiplicity of meanings and associations. Moreover, home can be seen as a combination of spatial, social, psychological, and emotional elements. The double nostalgia that is apparent in Sakhalin Koreans plays an important role in understanding their identity formation and socialization into cultural norms and values.

This research is a part of continuous ongoing study andnot a just one-time inquiry on Sakhalin Koreans. Researchers in this paper continue to conduct interviews with them and study based at the Convergence Institute for Multicultural Studies at Inha University. The "collective memory" of Sakhalin Koreans will be of important significance in contemporary Korean history.

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to examine the life histories of Koreans to determine how their return to Sakhalin occurred. The meaning of "hometown" for Koreans was also explored. It is explained why Koreans miss their lives in Sakhalin as they adapt to Korea after returning to their homeland. In this article, missing Korea while in Sakhalin and then missing Sakhalin after returning to one's homeland is referred to as "double nostalgia." Sakhalin Koreans were forced to remain separated from their parents in Korea during the Japanese occupation. We noted that while in Korea, Sakhalin Koreans miss Sakhalin. Generally, longing has a certain direction. In other words, the hometown Sakhalin Koreans missed was the object and destination of the longing before returning. However, they havea double nostalgia. In Sakhalin, before returning, the longing for the homeland manifests as a "personification of the hometown," "longing for the homeland to die in," and "struggle to return home." In addition, after returning to Korea, various meanings were revealed through the following statements: "They miss their family remaining in Sakhalin," "They miss life in Sakhalin," "Wanting to return to Sakhalin, I came to realize that Sakhalin the other home," "My home country is Sakhalin," and "Parents' diaspora."

Keywords: Sakhalin Korean, diaspora, nostalgia, home, life history

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