

A Study on Korean Diaspora and Population: 1910-2019 and into the Future¹⁾

Sang-Hyop Lee²⁾. Hyun Kyung Kim³⁾

Abstract

A population is usually defined as the number of people living in a territory, which is the basis of a nation. In some countries, including Korea, however, people tend to equate nationality with membership in a single, homogeneous ethnic group (Han-minjok in Korean), which are viewed as important elements of their identity. Hence, this study tries to estimate the Korean population dynamics based on ethnicity rather than geographic territory. This study focuses on the dynamics of Han-minjok in terms of ethnic identity, although most previous literature mainly focuses on the population living on the Korean Peninsula or Korean immigrants to a certain country. By utilizing historical census data sets, historical records, administrative data, and statistical projections, this study encompasses the size, structure, and distribution of the ethnic Korean populations as well as spatial or temporal changes in them since the early 20th century.

Key words : Korean diaspora, ethnic Korean population, Han-minjok dynamics

1. Introduction

Population typically refers to the number of people residing in a geographic region or country. For example, the population of South Korea was estimated to be approximately 51.7 million in 2019. This number includes 1.73 million foreigners living in South Korea but does not include 7.49 million ethnic Koreans living outside of South Korea. In addition, the population of North Korea is separately counted because it is considered a separate geographic region. Likewise, over

1) This work was supported by the Strategic Research Institute Program for Korean Studies of the Korean Studies Promotion Service of the Academy of Korean Studies and by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea (AKS-2020-SRI-2200001). The participants' comments in several seminars and workshops vastly improved the quality of the paper.

2) Professor, Department of Economics, University of Hawaii at Manoa, 2424 Maile Way, Honolulu, HI 96822, USA. E-mail: leesang@hawaii.edu

3) (Corresponding author) Deputy Director, Division of Economic and Social Statistics Research, Statistics Korea, Statistics Center 7F, 713 Hanbatdaero, Seo-gu, Daejeon, South Korea 35220. E-mail: khk144@korea.kr

600,000 Japanese were included in Korea's population in 1944, while over 4 million Koreans living outside of Korea at that time were not counted in population statistics.

The usual definition of the population based on geographic territory is convenient in large part because it can be measured by a census administered by a country. This notion is widely applied in countries with multiethnic citizens, such as the United States. However, it has limited application in Korean studies for several reasons. In Korea, nationality or citizenship with membership tends to equate to a single, homogeneous ethnic group. In practice, Koreans usually consider ethnicity, rather than geographic territory, as an important element of identity. Koreans in both South and North Korea are defined as a single homogeneous ethnic group, namely *Han-minjok* in Korean, in many cases.

Accordingly, this study investigates the *Han-minjok* population and their diaspora by estimating the Korean population based on Korean ethnicity rather than geographic territory. By utilizing historical census data sets, historical records, administrative data, and statistical projections, this study encompasses the size, structure, and distribution of the Korean populations and their spatial or temporal changes since the early 20th century. Although there is a growing number of population studies based on ethnicity, including studies on the Jewish population, there is currently little research on historical demographic statistics based on the ethnicity of the Korean population, which is another single, homogeneous ethnic group. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first study to focus on the demographics and population dynamics of the Korean population based on ethnicity utilizing historical and administrative demographic statistics.

This study contributes to the current literature in a few ways. Most of all, this study complements the study of the Korean diaspora. Several studies on the Korean diaspora have focused on the characteristics, motivations, identities, settlement regions, and migration classifications of the Korean diaspora, which was driven by different waves of historical factors and policies in the homeland and the host countries (Yoon, 2012; DeWind et al., 2012; Hong, 2017; Shen, 2019). The others have focused on either the citizenship or membership of Korean ethnicity (Kashiwazaki, 2009; Lee, 2012, 2020; Kim, 2019). Several projects have also focused on different aspects of diaspora (e.g., Ryang and Lie, 2009; Tsuda and Song, 2019). Unlike the previous studies, however, this study purely focuses on demographic statistics or population dynamics based on Korean ethnicity and identity over a long period of time.

This study tries to answer several questions. How do we define "Korean" and "Korean population"? How many Koreans live on the Korean Peninsula and outside of the Korean Peninsula? How will the population of Korea change in the

future? What would the picture look like in case of a sudden shock, such as the unification of the two Koreas?

This study first focuses on the large-scale emigration of Koreans during the Japanese occupation period and after Korean reunification based on Korean ethnicity. During the Japanese occupation period, large-scale emigration from Korea began around 1904 and continued until the end of World War II. When Korea was under Japanese occupation, many Koreans emigrated to Manchuria, other parts of China, Japan, the Soviet Union, and the United States. Koreans were conscripted into Japanese labor battalions or the Japanese army, especially during World War II. Although the population estimates vary widely among researchers based on their definition of Korean, the estimation methodology, and other factors, our estimation results showed that 1.8 to 2.1 million Koreans lived in Japan, 1.4 to 1.7 million in Manchuria and China, and 300,000 to 600,000 in Siberia in the 1940-44 period. At the end of World War II, it is believed that over 2 million Koreans were repatriated from Japan and Manchuria. This study also shows that the effects of reunification on population aging would be limited, although there are some arguments that reunification will solve the aging problem in South Korea. This study identifies that the demographic structure and evolution of the two Koreas are similar, and North Korea is now experiencing a low birth rate similar to South Korea's. In addition, we expect that there is little room for increasing the labor force in North Korea when considering the high rate of economic participation in North Korea.

It is not easy to estimate population size when there is an enormous population shift. For Korea, huge population shifts happened under the Japanese occupation and 1944-1949. Estimating demographic changes after unification is also challenging in terms of timing, size, and shift. We first discuss how to define population based on ethnicity and offer practical ways to define it in the case of Koreans. Then, we try to evaluate the statistics based on several different sources, find gaps, and try to resolve the issue. Accurate demographic statistics in a given period provide a foundation for many studies, including diaspora history, demography, sociology, economics, citizenship, or regional studies.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 describes the methodology and the data. Section 3 presents a history of changes in the Korean population. Section 4 presents the results of population projections. Section 5 concludes.

2. Methodology and Data

2.1 Methodology

This study employs a historical demography methodology, which is used to study the size of human populations in the past. It is concerned with population numbers and population characteristics as they relate to the three basic components of population change – fertility, mortality, and migration. Several historical demographers have investigated population dynamics using the concept of ethnicity. The best examples are the population studies of Jews. Historically, Jews were found all over the world, although after the establishment of Israel, their populations became increasingly concentrated in a small number of countries. The research method and the historical population techniques were developed by a few researchers, including Sergio DellaPergola, an eminent demographer of the Jewish population. DellaPergola suggests numerous ways to define ethnicity and population (DellaPergola 2003, 2020). For example, he proposes a “core” Jewish population, including all those who, when asked, identify themselves as Jews or, if the respondent is someone else from the same household, are identified by him/her as Jews. This includes those who define themselves as Jewish by religion and those who define themselves as Jewish, although not based on religion, but also do not have another religion with which they identify. DellaPergola also defines an “enlarged” Jewish population figure that adds self-reported Jews with multiple religions, persons of a Jewish parent who do not identify as Jewish, and Jewish-connected populations such as those who have a Jewish background but not a Jewish parent and non-Jewish household members who live in households with Jews. As DellaPergola states, this definition is a purposefully comprehensive and pragmatic approach that reflects most available data sources on the Jewish population. In fact, individual scholars and organizations report different estimates in large part due to the lack of uniformity in defining criteria. Indeed, in the absence of official census documentation, Jewish population estimates must rely on alternative sources, which in turn define the Jewish.

In the case of Korea, *minjok* is more of a self-reported concept, while other individual characteristics, such as religion, do not play any roles in defining Korean in general. Based on available data sources, this study classifies the population into five groups: (1) Native Koreans living in South Korea, (2) Native Koreans living in North Korea, (3) Native Koreans living abroad within three generations, (4) Spouses who are married with Native Koreans and their children who self-identified as Korean, (5) Single or married foreigners living in the Korean peninsula. This study estimates the Korean population as the sum of (1)

through (4) in large part due to the availability of data on overseas Korean. Furthermore, it is most similar to an enlarged concept of Korean.⁴⁾

Thus, foreigners and their children, including Korean nationals, are included in the population if they marry a Korean, but other foreigners living on the Korean peninsula are excluded from the population count. For example, according to the population census conducted by the Japanese colonial empire pre-liberation, 780,000 foreigners, including about 710,000 Japanese, were included in the Korean population estimate. According to the 2019 population census, 1.7 million foreigners residing in South Korea were counted as population; these foreign residents in the Korean peninsula are excluded from the population count in our study.

<Table 2.1> Summary: Definition of Korean (*Han-minjok*)

<i>Han-minjok</i>			
(1) & (2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Native Koreans living in the Korean peninsula	Native Koreans living abroad within three generations*	Married with Native Korean (including their children) living in the Korean peninsula	Not married/Married Foreigners
Korean		Foreign residents living in the Korean Peninsula	

* Excluding over four generations after moving abroad

On the other hand, Koreans living abroad, i.e., overseas Koreans, were included in the population in this study. Overseas Koreans include both Koreans who acquired foreign nationality and Koreans living abroad permanently or temporarily. They are defined somewhat broadly, even if they migrated before 1948 because they include the lineal descendants of all those who moved away from the Korean Peninsula.⁵⁾ Foreigners who married Native Koreans and their children living in

4) Although the definition *Han-minjok* relied upon the availability of data, this definition is quite consistent with the “enlarged” population defined by DellaPergola, where language and culture are shared within minjok. In more detail, this study contains (3) Native Koreans living abroad within three generations and (4) Spouses who are married with Native Koreans and their children who self-identified as Korean, mainly considering cultural homogeneity and language. More specifically, in the case of Native Koreans living abroad within three generations, it takes into account the fact that most Native Koreans living abroad after three generations end up using the language of their place of residence rather than their native language, i.e., the Korean language. Similarly, given that the same household generally shares culture and language, spouses who are married with Native Korean and their children are included in the scope of *Han-minjok*. This definition may reflect the data limitation, The opinions on the definition of *Han-minjok*, including (3) and (4), may differ among scholars.

the Korean peninsular are also included. The study period began in 1910 because modern census techniques had not been developed before then.

2.2 Data

We use government data, including census data and vital statistics collected by the Governor-General of Korea under Japanese occupation, as well as by South Korea, North Korea, the United States, the former Soviet Union, Central Asian countries, China, and Japan. We primarily rely on two types of statistical data: (1) data from the literature to estimate numbers in years and areas where few or no official statistics were collected or generated, and (2) historical census and government data and reports. The latter is beneficial in detailing demographic changes.

Estimates based on various definitions are helpful for our study. They suggest different ways of evaluating the historical estimates and provide statistical ranges for reliable estimates. For example, it can be shown that the Overseas Korean Foundation tends to overestimate the number of overseas Koreans, while country censuses tend to underestimate them. The percentage of foreign nationals living in Korea has been growing rapidly as well, but there are many issues. For example, *Joseonjok*, descendants of Koreans who live in certain provinces in China, are sometimes double-counted, both as part of the population in Korea and as overseas Koreans.⁶⁾

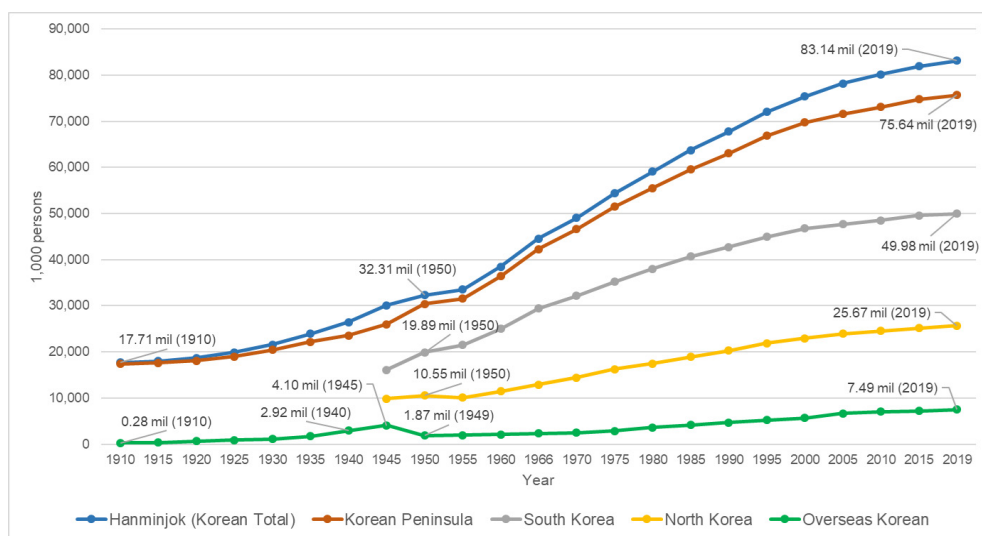
3. The Korean Population, 1910-2019

3.1 Population Estimates Overview

Figure 3.1 presents a summary of Korean population trends from 1910 to 2019. Specific numbers and sources of data are shown in Table 3.1. In 1910, there were

-
- 5) However, if they are over four generations after moving abroad, they will be excluded from the statistics, regardless of whether they are mixed or not, for similar reasons as explained before. For example, if a Korean forced to move from Central China to Central Asia in 1937 acquired Russian nationality later, all of his children and grandchildren would be included in overseas Koreans. But his/her great-grandchildren are not.
 - 6) This study first identifies the size and the dynamics of Han-minjok based on data from Statistics Korea and data provided by the National Archives (through a request for information disclosure), which are the most reliable official data. Then, this study additionally utilizes the data of the Overseas Korean Foundations and previous literature when data supplementation is necessary.

17.71 million Koreans, including 0.27 million living in China and the Soviet Union. Between 1925 and 1930, the Korean population, including overseas Koreans, exceeded 20 million and grew to 30 million after the Korean War and liberation. Since then, the number of Korean people surpassed 50 million in the early 1970s and then 80 million in the late 2000s.



Source: Created by using Table 3.1. See sources of Table 3.1

<Figure 3.1> Korean population (1910-2019)

<Table 3.1> Korean population by year and place of residence

(Unit: Thousand Persons)

Year	<i>Han</i> - <i>minjok</i> (Total Korean) (A)+(B)	Korean Peninsula (A)=(a)+(b)	South Korea			North Korea (b)	Overseas Korean (B)
			Excluding Foreign Residents (a)=(1)-(2)	Including Foreign Residents (1)	Foreign Residents (2)		
1910	17,711.1	17,427.0					284.1
1915	18,030.3	17,656.0					374.3
1920	18,690.4	18,072.0					618.4
1925	19,881.9	19,020.0					861.9
1930	21,554.3	20,438.0					1,116.3
1935	23,921.6	22,208.0					1,713.6
1940	26,464.1	23,547.0					2,917.1
1944	29,012.4	25,120.0	15,400.8			9,719.2	3,892.4
Before liberation (1945)	30,101.3	26,001.0	16,136.0			9,865.0	4,100.3
1950(1949*)	32,304.7	30,437.6	19,888.1	19,904.0	15.9	10,549.5	1,867.1*
1955	33,486.7	31,566.4	21,479.4	21,502.0	22.6	10,087.0	1,920.3
1960	38,472.0	36,404.1	24,979.9	25,012.4	32.5	11,424.2	2,067.9
1966	44,573.1	42,253.4	29,388.5	29,435.6	47.1	12,864.9	2,319.7
1970	49,048.5	46,593.2	32,182.8	32,240.8	58.0	14,410.4	2,455.3
1975	54,339.5	51,483.1	35,208.4	35,280.7	72.3	16,274.7	2,856.4
1980	59,095.4	55,508.2	38,036.1	38,123.8	87.7	17,472.1	3,587.1
1985	63,738.4	59,578.9	40,701.7	40,805.7	104.1	18,877.2	4,159.5
1990	67,730.1	63,042.3	42,749.2	42,869.3	120.0	20,293.1	4,687.8
1995	72,046.3	66,817.8	44,955.5	45,093.0	137.5	21,862.3	5,228.6
2000	75,366.4	69,717.2	46,788.1	47,008.1	220.0	22,929.1	5,649.2
2005	78,216.6	71,578.2	47,674.1	48,184.6	510.5	23,904.2	6,638.3
2010	80,145.9	73,100.2	48,551.4	49,554.1	1,002.7	24,548.8	7,045.7
2015	81,915.8	74,730.9	49,547.1	51,014.9	1,467.9	25,183.8	7,184.9
2019	83,137.0	75,643.5	49,977.3	51,709.1	1,731.8	25,666.2	7,493.6

Sources:

[Korean Peninsula]

1910-1920: Kim et al. (2011) p. 52.

1925-1944: Census.

[South Korea (Excluding Foreign Residents)]

1944: Author's projection. An interpolation method is used to fill the gap.

1945: Kim et al. (2002).

[South Korea (Including Foreign Residents)]

1950-2019: Statistics Korea Population Projection [2022-02-20], <http://kosis.kr>.

[South Korea (Foreign Residents)]

1950-1995: Author's projection.

This research assumes that the ratio of foreign residents living in South Korea to the total South Korean population, including foreign residents, increased by 0.005% per year until the base year 1998. In practice, the ratio of foreign residents to the total South Korean population, including foreign residents, in 1998 was 0.320%. Based on the ratio in 1998, this research assumes that the

ratio of foreign residents to the total population in 1997 and 1996 were 0.315% and 0.310%, respectively. Also, following sequential calculation, the ratio of foreign residents to the total South Korean population, including foreign residents, in 1960 and 1950 is assumed to be 0.130% and 0.080%, respectively.

2000–2019: Status of Foreign Residents (Long-term Foreign Residents), Ministry of Justice, (provided by Statistics Korea [2022–03–19], <http://index.go.kr>).

[North Korea]

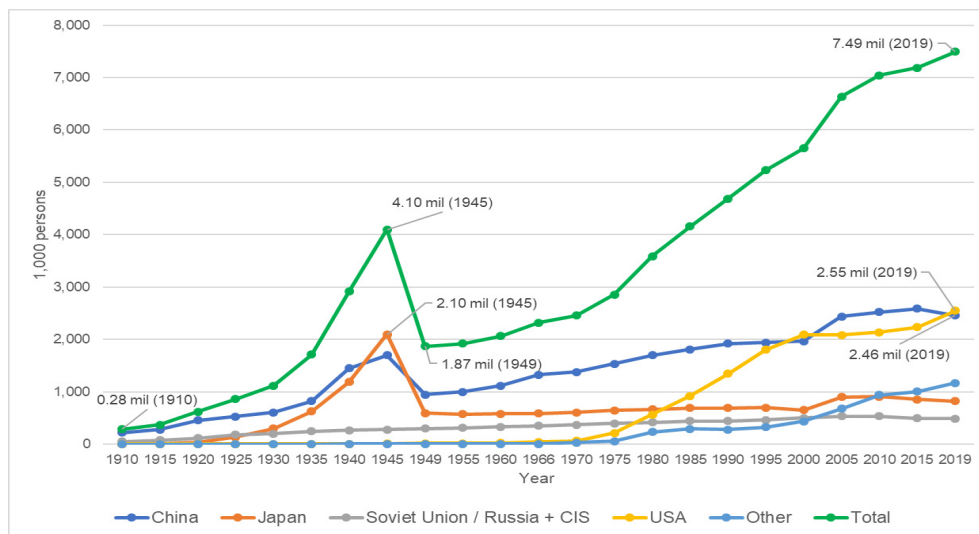
1944–1945: Author's projection. A linear extrapolation method is used to fill the gap.

1950–2019: UN World Population Prospects, the 2019 Revision, <http://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp> (provided by Statistics Korea [2022–02–20], <http://kosis.kr>).

[Overseas Korean]

1910–2019: Table 3.2. Overseas Korean population by year and place of residence

Between 1925 and 1930, under Japanese occupation, Table 3.1 indicates that the overseas Korean population surpassed 1 million. Since 1940, when conscription under Japanese occupation peaked, the number increased to 3 million. It is estimated that more than 4.1 million Koreans left the peninsula just before liberation. After liberation, the total number of returnees is estimated at 2.25 million, including 1.5 million from Japan and 0.75 million from China. The population of Koreans living abroad by region (1910–2019) is shown in Figure 3.2.



Source: Created by using Table 3.2. See sources of Table 3.2.

<Figure 3.2> Overseas Korean population by place of residence (1910–2019)

<Table 3.2> Overseas Korean population by year and place of residence
(Unit: Thousand Persons)

Year	China	Japan	Soviet Union / Russia + CIS	U.S.A.	Other Countries	Total
1910	220.0	2.5	54.1	5.0	2.5	284.1
1915	282.1	4.0	80.0	5.6	2.6	374.3
1920	459.4	30.2	120.0	6.2	2.6	618.4
1925	532.0	133.7	185.3	8.2	2.7	861.9
1930	607.1	298.1	200.0	8.3	2.8	1,116.3
1935	826.6	625.7	250.0	8.5	2.8	1,713.6
1940	1,450.4	1,190.4	264.8	8.6	2.9	2,917.1
1944	1,658.6	1,936.9	280.5	12.3	4.1	3,892.4
Before liberation (1945)	1,700.0	2,100.0	283.0	13.0	4.3	4,100.3
1949	950.0	597.6	297.1	16.8	5.6	1,867.1
1955	1,000.0	577.7	314.7	20.9	7.0	1,920.3
1960	1,120.0	581.3	333.3	25.0	8.3	2,067.9
1966	1,330.0	585.3	353.0	45.1	6.3	2,319.7
1970	1,378.5	609.0	373.9	63.0	30.9	2,455.3
1975	1,537.6	647.5	396.0	214.9	60.3	2,856.4
1980	1,696.7	665.0	419.5	568.6	237.3	3,587.1
1985	1,810.0	692.7	444.3	920.5	292.0	4,159.5
1990	1,923.4	694.3	444.3	1,347.2	278.6	4,687.8
1995	1,940.4	696.8	461.1	1,801.7	328.5	5,228.6
2000	1,965.6	650.2	504.3	2,090.4	438.8	5,649.2
2005	2,439.4	901.3	532.7	2,087.5	677.5	6,638.3
2010	2,520.9	908.7	536.8	2,139.6	939.7	7,045.7
2015	2,586.0	855.7	497.1	2,239.0	1,007.1	7,184.9
2019	2,461.4	825.0	493.0	2,547.0	1,167.2	7,493.6

Sources and Notes:

[China]

1910–1945: Manchukuo Department of Police, various years. Japan Ministry of Affairs.

Re-quoted from T. Kwon (1996).

1949–1990: Author's estimates. An interpolation method is used to fill the gap.

[Japan]

1910–1944: Japan Home Ministry. Lee (1996) pp. 44–45.

1945: various estimates: 2–2.3 million.

Repatriation from Japan 1.5 million left Japan. 1.4 million arrived in ROK.

1949–1966: Ministry of Foreign Affairs report, various years.

1970: Overseas Korean Foundation.

1975–1990: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Status of overseas Koreans report, 1973–1975, 1977–1984, 1985, 1991 (provided by National Archives of Korea [2022-03-11], <http://www.archives.go.kr>).

[Soviet Union]

1910: I. Babichev (1959) *Uchastie Kitaiskikh i Koreiskikh Trudiaschchikhsia v Granzhdanskoi Voine na Dal'nem Vosttoke*, Tashkent. pp. 18-19. Re-quoted from H. Kwon (1996) p. 51

1915-1920: Author's projection. An interpolation method is used to fill the gap.

1925: Koh (1973) pp. 55-59.

Assume that there are no repatriates from Central Asia to Joseon after the deportation of Koreans in the Soviet Union in 1937.

1930-1990: Author's projection. An interpolation method is used to fill the gap.

[USA]

1910-1960: Census. Various years.

1966-1970: Author's projection. An interpolation method is used to fill the gap.

1975-1990: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Status of overseas Koreans report, 1973-1975, 1977-1984, 1985, 1991 (provided by National Archives of Korea[2022-03-11], <http://www.archives.go.kr>).

[Other Countries]

1910-1966: Author's projection. An interpolation method is used to fill the gap.

1970-1990: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Status of overseas Koreans report, 1973-1975, 1977-1984, 1985, 1991 (provided by National Archives of Korea [2022-03-11], <http://www.archives.go.kr>).

[China, Japan, Russia + CIS, U.S.A., Total]

1995-2019: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Status of overseas Koreans [2022-03-11] (provided by Statistics Korea [2022-03-11], <http://kosis.kr>).

For years 2000 and 2010, we use the average of years 1999 and 2001, 2009 and 2011, respectively.

'Other countries' were calculated as residuals.

Note: Japan 1910 is actually 1911.

Russia 1910 is actually 1909.

The highlighted area is the author's calculation for estimates of the overseas Korean population.

An interpolation method is used to fill this gap.

1998-2019. The author's calculation is based on 'Status of Foreign Residents (Long-term Foreign Residents)', Ministry of Justice, (provided by Statistics Korea [2022-03-19], <http://index.go.kr>).

As of 2019, there were 49.98 million people living in South Korea (excluding foreign residents (not married or married with foreigners)), 25.67 million in North Korea, and 7.49 million overseas Koreans outside the Korean Peninsula. It is estimated that the *Han-minjok* population totaled 83.14 million.

3.2 Population Estimates before 1910

Koreans lived mainly on the Korean Peninsula until the mid-19th century and then went through a massive migration and separation process. Following Kim et al. (2002), the first mass migration began in the 1860s when farmers and workers crossed the border of China and Primorsky Krai, part of Russia (so-called Yeonhaejoo). From then until 1910, the beginning of the Japanese occupation, Koreans moved to China, Yeonhaejoo, and the United States. Many farmers left their homes to escape from floods and other disasters. This migration was also in large part due to changes in immigration policies toward Koreans by the Qing Dynasty and Russia. For example, the Qing Dynasty abolished the Manchurian ban on Koreans in the 1880s, which in turn led to a substantial increase in the inflow of Koreans to Jiangdao (Kando) and Yeonhaejoo. In 1910, Japan estimated that 220,000 Koreans were living in China. In 1903, the first Korean migrants arrived in the United States and in Mexico in 1905. In practice, 7,394 Koreans lived in Hawaii (United States), and 1,031 Koreans lived in Mexico in 1910 (Kim et al., 2002).

3.3 Korean Estimates during Japanese Occupation, 1910-1944

Japan conducted its first census in Korea in 1925 for the purpose of economic exploitation and labor exploitation. After that, the census was conducted every five years until 1944. Based on those earlier census results, South Korea's National Statistical Office and other researchers estimated the population in 1910 to be about 17.43 million (Kim et al., 2002).^{7),8)} After 1920, mortality rates declined with

7) There was also a census in the Joseon Dynasty. For example, according to a household survey in the 13th year of King Jeongjo (1789), the total population of Joseon was 7,404,000. Today, however, this census is known to have substantially underestimated the population at the time. Kim (1990) argues that only about 40% of the population was included in the census. Until the modern-day population census was first conducted under Japanese colonial rule, there was little record of the population on the Korean Peninsula.

8) There are several other studies that have estimated the population in 1910, which widely from 14.77 million to 17.42 million (Kim, 2012). However, many of them fail the *lowest limit* (Park, 2008). Park calculated the unregistered deaths assumed to be zero, which provides the lowest limit for any assessment of the population. That is, as the population in 1910 was underestimated by the number of unregistered deaths during the period from 1911 to 1925, the actual population should attain at least that level. The population estimates which meet this criteria ranges from 16.27 million (Cha, 2006) to 17.43 (Kim et al, 2002). This provides a reasonable boundary of the population estimates in 1910.

the introduction of the Western health system and medicines, which also led to a natural increase in population. By 1920, the population of the Korean Peninsula had reached 18.07 million. The population census in May 1944 reports the Korean population as 25.12 million, an increase of about 44% since 1910.

During the period, many people who were deprived of land and the means of production moved to Manchuria and Japan or were drafted or conscripted into the military or labor battalions. More than 3.9 million Koreans lived in Japan (1.94 million), China (1.66 million), Yeonhaejoo (0.25 million), and other countries. This figure is more than 15% of the total population of Koreans living in Korea in 1944. Immediately after liberation, it is estimated that 2.1 million Koreans lived in Japan and 1.7 million in China. After World War II, the figures for draft and conscription increased significantly.

The census statistics differ by country. Japan conducted a regular census of the Korean population. China's estimates of the Korean population varied, depending on the source of information. There is little information on the Korean population produced by the Soviet Union. After the forced migration of Koreans to Central Asia in 1937 under Stalin, little information on the number of Koreans was available until 1990. The number of Koreans in the Soviet Union territory increased by many thousands after 1910, and more than 185,000 Koreans lived in the territory in 1925. By 1923, records indicate that 34,599 Koreans had acquired Russian nationality. Records show that 171,781 Koreans were forced to move to Central Asia in 1938 after the immigration policy in 1928. To the best of our knowledge, there is no record or research on how the Korean population in the Soviet Union changed over the next several decades.

3.4 Population since liberation

The period between liberation and 1960 was a confusing time demographically because of the division of the Korean Peninsula, war, and citizens returning from foreign countries. In particular, the demographic changes in South and North Korea need to be evaluated separately because of the division, but data are scarce.

Of the 25.9 million inhabitants shown in the May 1944 census, Koreans accounted for 97%, 25.12 million. One question is how many foreigners (especially Japanese) lived in South and North Korea just before and just after the liberation. If we regard Pyongan, Hamgyong, and Hwanghae provinces as North Korea and other regions as South Korea, we can see that the ratio of Koreans to foreigners was similar in the two Koreas. But the actual numbers were very different. Approximately 15.40 million Koreans lived south of the 38th parallel in 1944, and about 9.72 million people lived north of it. Kim et al. (2002) estimate that the

population south of the 38th parallel was 16.14 million immediately after liberation. After that, enormous population shifts occurred until 1949. Kim et al. (2002) estimated that South Korea's population grew by up to 2.5 million people, in large part owing to repatriation and migration from Japan, Manchuria, and North Korea. As a result, the population south of the 38th parallel increased significantly to 19.90 million in 1949, while in North Korea, the natural growth rate was negative. Of course, the figures for North Korea are less reliable than for South Korea at the time, but data from North Korea's Census Bureau also confirm that the North Korean population remained stagnant for at least 10 years after liberation.

After the Korean War, South Korea's population grew to 21.5 million in 1955, while North Korea did not appear to reach 10 million until 1954.⁹⁾ Since then, South Korea's population, excluding foreign residents (not married or married with foreigners), increased sharply to 24.98 million in 1960, 32.18 million in 1970, and 40.70 million in 1985. Since the late 1990s, falling fertility has caused the rate of growth to slow. However, the size of the population has still increased steadily owing to lower mortality rates and longer life expectancy. The population of South Korea, excluding foreign residents (not married or married with foreigners), reached 49.98 million in 2019.

North Korea officially released its first census in 1989. Since then, North Korea's Bureau of Statistics has released census data in 1993 and 2008. However, North Korea's Bureau of Statistics data reports large variations in annual growth rates. On the other hand, the Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Dynamics of the United Nations has also estimated the North Korean population since 1950. We expect it to be more credible than North Korea's Bureau of Statistics data in terms of annual growth rate and estimation techniques. As shown in Table 3.1, the population of North Korea increased from 11.42 million in 1960 to 14.41 million in 1970 and to 20.29 million in 1990. It was estimated at 25.67 million in 2019. In the case of North Korea, there are no statistics for the number of foreign residents; all residents are treated as Koreans.

Korean overseas migration increased substantially after implementing South Korea's Overseas Migration Act in 1963. Since 1972, Korean statistics have included Korean residents in Japan, and since 1991, data on Koreans living in China have also been available. As of 2019, 7.49 million Koreans were living outside the Korean Peninsula with various types of resident status. For example, in the United States and Canada, more than half of overseas residents were permanent residents, while in China, most were classified as temporary residents

9) According to the UN (2019), the changes in North Korea's population from 1950 to 1955 are as follows: 10.55 million (1950) → 10.25 million (1951) → 10.05 million (1952) → 9.96 million (1953) → 9.97 million (1954) → 10.09 million (1955)

due to the Chinese policy on immigration. In China, it is known to be very difficult to obtain permanent residence. As of 2019, China, Japan, and North America account for 81% of Koreans living abroad, including 2.46 million in China, 2.55 million in the United States, 0.83 million in Japan, and 0.24 million in Canada.

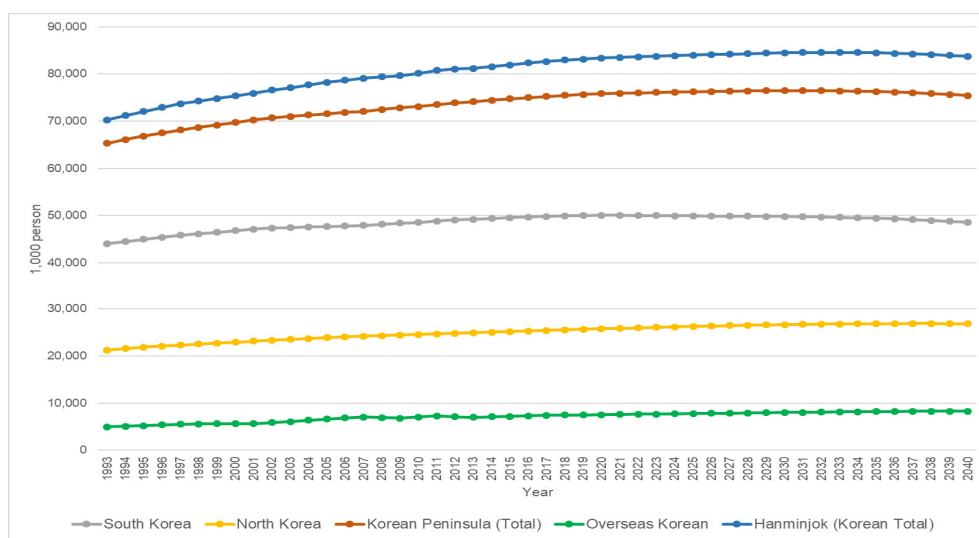
It should be noted that the census data of each country differ from the overseas Korean data reported by the Overseas Korean Foundation. The most significant difference is in the US data, primarily because the definitions of “overseas Korean” are different. For example, in the United States, overseas Koreans are recorded as Korean if their parents or grandparents are Korean, which may lead to an overcount of the Korean population. However, the status of overseas Koreans relies only on published data, so there is also a risk of underestimation. In responding to the census, people are asked to self-report their ethnicity, which may lead to either overestimation or underestimation. For example, a respondent whose father is Korean and whose mother is half Caucasian and half Chinese is highly likely to be Korean. However, if the respondent says she is American, then the census records her as such. For example, the US Census reported that the number of Koreans living in the United States increased from 1.08 million in 2000 to 1.71 million in 2010; on the other hand, the Overseas Korean Foundation reported that the number of Koreans living in the United States decreased from 2.12 million in 2000 to 2.08 million in 2010. If we compare the census data with the Overseas Korean Foundation data, there is not much difference in the numbers reported by China and Japan, but in the case of the United States, the census reports substantially lower numbers than those reported by the Overseas Korean Foundation. The results could be due in part to overestimation by the Overseas Korean Foundation but are more likely due to underestimation by the census.

4. Projections

4.1 *Han-minjok* population

What is the population of the Korean Peninsula? How will the Korean population change in the future? How many Koreans are living overseas? These are not only academic questions but also important ones for a policy that can be considered first concerning population aging and unification. In particular, it is necessary to approach the “*Han-minjok*” population by combining the population of South Korea and the population of North Korea if we want to predict the situation

after unification more precisely, although the populations of South Korea and North Korea are currently estimated separately based on geographic territory. In practice, Statistics Korea and the United Nations have published population projections for South and North Korea, respectively. Those figures are shown in Figure 4.1.¹⁰⁾ South Korea's population, excluding foreign residents (not married or married with foreigners), is projected to decline from 50.05 million in 2020 to 48.58 million in 2040, the population level in 2010. North Korea's total population was 25.78 million in 2020; it will peak at 26.87 million in 2038 and then decrease.¹¹⁾ The total population of the two Koreas is estimated to peak at 76.46 million in 2031, just slightly higher than the 75.83 million in 2020, and is expected to drop to 75.43 million by 2040 (detailed estimates by year and sources are shown in Appendix Table A1).



Source: Created by using Appendix Table A1. See sources of Appendix Table A1.

<Figure 4.1> The population projection for the Korean population (1993–2040)

The number of overseas Koreans continues to grow, but the percentage of (South) Koreans living overseas to Koreans living in South Korea was 14.99% in

10) Figure 4.1 excludes foreign residents (not married or married with foreigners) in South Korea. In 2019, there were 1.73 million, representing 3.3% of the total population in South Korea.

11) Following 'the UN World Population Prospects, the 2019 Revision,' North Korea's population continue to decline from 2038 to 2100.

2019, which we believe is a steady state because it has remained stable since the 2010s. Under the assumption that the growth rate of the number of overseas Koreans will increase by 0.10% per year after 2019, considering the growth rate is relatively stable, the numbers of overseas Koreans living abroad in 2030 and 2040 are projected to be 8.01 million and 8.30 million, respectively. In 2032, adding these two figures, Koreans living on the Korean Peninsula plus overseas Koreans equals 84.54 million *Han-minjok*, which is estimated to be the peak. This is an increase of about 1.16 million people between 2020 and then. Considering that the population of South Korea increased by about 1.83 million people in the five years between 1995 and 2000, the rate of population growth is currently very low and heading toward zero.

Of course, it is possible that migration from the Korean peninsula, especially from South Korea, will continue to increase in the future. If that happens, however, the population of Koreans on the Korean Peninsula projected by Statistics Korea will be too high. However, even if such a scenario takes place, it may not affect the total number of *Han-minjok*, including those living outside the Korean Peninsula. There is also no evidence that the birth rate of overseas Koreans is significantly higher than that of Koreans living on the Korean Peninsula.

Statistics Korea assumes minimum, basic, and maximum estimates based on three population assumptions, namely low, medium, and high population growth-rate scenarios. All estimates in this study assume a medium growth rate. The minimum and maximum estimates are about 1.3 million higher or lower than the basic estimates.

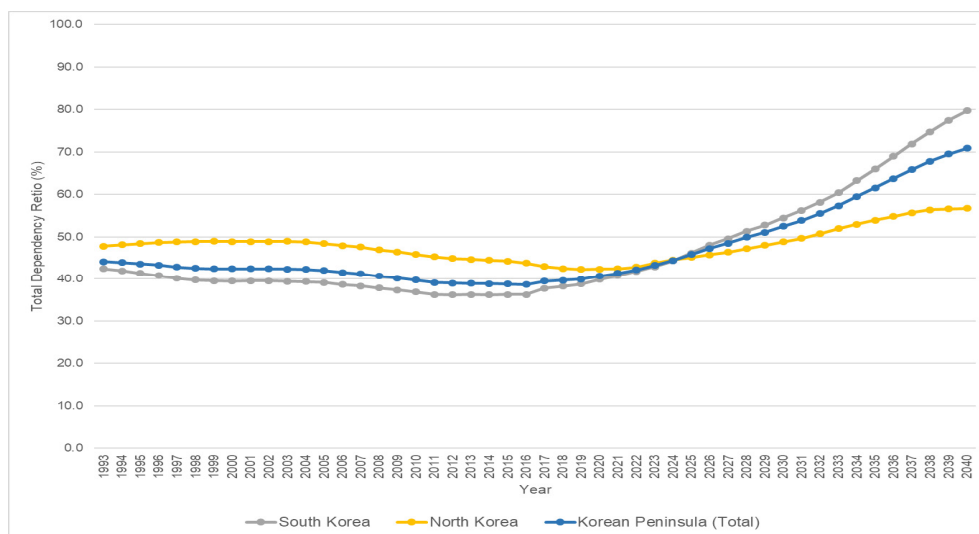
4.2 Effect of Unification

Some argue that if the two Koreas are reunified, some economic problems in the Korean Peninsula arising from population aging can be resolved. To test this hypothesis, we calculated the dependency ratio, assuming that unification does not change the fertility rate of either Korea. The dependency ratio is the sum of the child dependency ratio (the ratio of the 0-14-year-old population to the 15-64-year-old population) and the old-age dependency ratio (the ratio of the 65 and older population to the 15-64-year-old population). According to economic theory, the higher the dependency ratio, the higher the economic burden arising from the population.

As shown in Figure 4.2, South Korea's dependency ratio is expected to rise rapidly after reaching the bottom between 2012 and 2016. This is in large part due to rapid population aging as fertility declines. On the other hand, in North Korea,

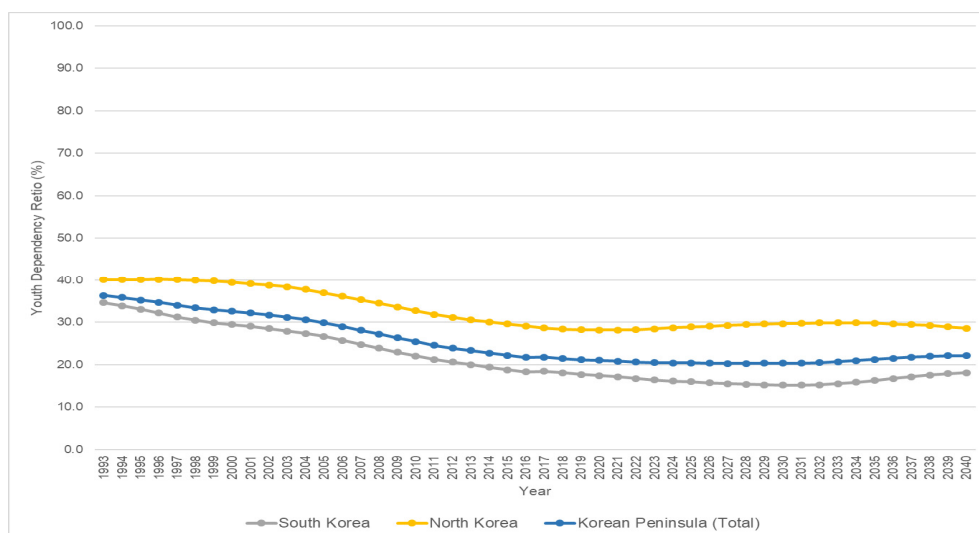
the increase in the old-age dependency ratio was overtaken by the decrease in the child dependency ratio after 2019. Since the two Koreas are near the bottom of the dependency ratio and South Korea has a much larger population, the total dependency ratio is more likely to increase in the future. Therefore, even if South Korea's dependency ratio can be slightly reduced by unification, the effect will be very limited.

A. Total dependency ratio in the Korean peninsula (1993–2040)



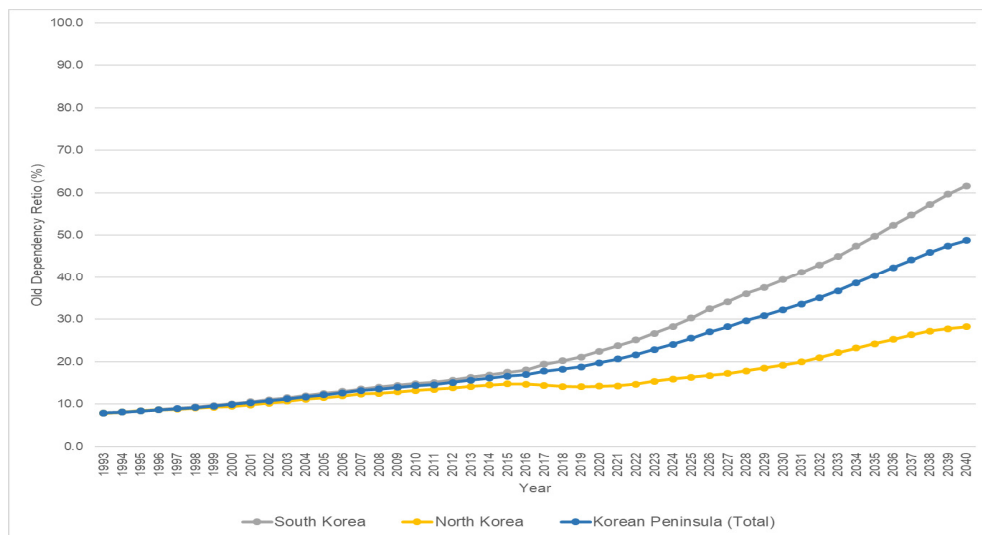
Source: Created by using Appendix Table A1. See sources of Appendix Table A1.

B. Youth dependency ratio in the Korean peninsula (1993–2040)



Source: Created by using Appendix Table A1. See sources of Appendix Table A1.

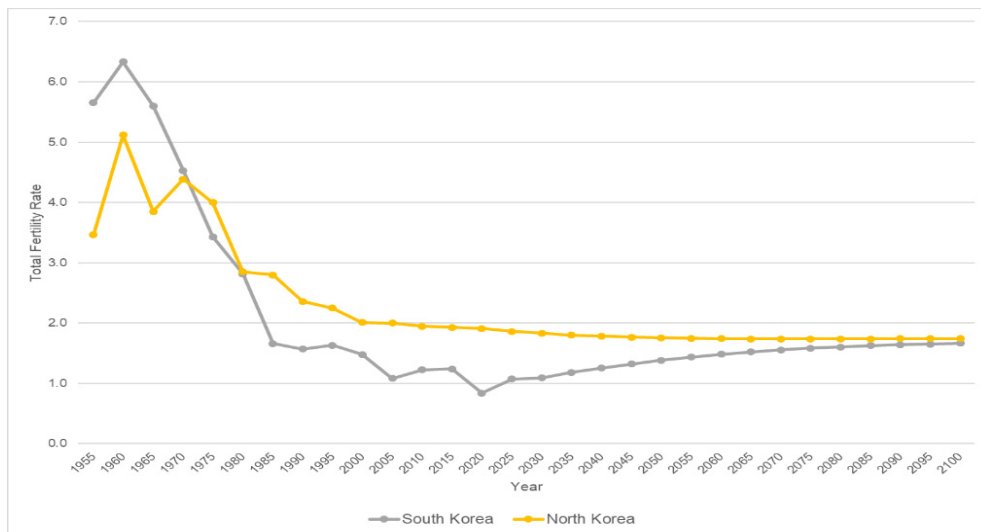
C. Old dependency ratio for the Korean Peninsula (1993–2040)



Source: Created by using Appendix Table A1. See sources of Appendix Table A1.

<Figure 4.2> Dependency ratio in the Korean peninsula

The two Koreas have actually undergone similar demographic evolutions and are believed to have similar demographics. As shown in Figure 4.3, the total fertility rate of South and North Korea shows similar trends in both increasing, decreasing, and normalizing periods, although South Korea shows a more rapid drop. Following the data from ‘Statistics Korea’ and ‘the UN World Population Prospects, the 2019 Revision,’ there is no reason to believe that total fertility will increase after unification. The opposite is more likely to be true. After Germany’s reunification, the fertility rate in eastern Germany dropped sharply for a considerable period. The same may happen in Korea as well. In particular, North Korea has just become a low-birth society, but there is a possibility that the birth rate will continue to fall, similar to South Korea. This is in line with the accelerated tendency among younger generations to delay marriage. Unfortunately, the view that population aging in South Korea will be resolved by reunification seems overly optimistic, even if one overlooks the similarity between the demographic structure and its change process in the two Koreas.



Source: South Korea and North Korea 1955–2100 : UN World Population Prospects, the 2019 Revision, (provided by Statistics Korea, [2022-02-20], <http://kosis.kr>)

<Figure 4.3> Total fertility rate (TFR) for two Korean countries (1955–2100)

It should also be noted that the labor force participation rate in North Korea is very high, higher than in South Korea. According to the 2008 census, more than 70% of North Koreans aged 16 and over were active in the labor market. In particular, North Korean women's labor force participation rate is much higher than that of South Korean women, in part because of the high level of government-funded childcare facilities (Kim et al., 2011). However, the share of older workers in North Korea is very low. Therefore, the elderly in North Korea, as in South Korea, have no choice but to rely on public and private support systems. This means the issues related to an aging population will not disappear even in a unified nation.

In North Korea, in large part owing to the 11-year compulsory education system, basic educational skills such as literacy are very high. However, the share of students with university or trade school education is very low. For example, according to the 2008 population census, the rate of enrollment in college and above is 27% for people aged 18, but it is only 7.7% at the age of 22. For women, the figures are even lower (Kim et al., 2011). According to the occupational distribution, the level of human resources is also lower than in South Korea because a high percentage of the population are simple laborers or sales workers. This difference could create roadblocks for economic growth if the two Koreas are reunited.

5. Summary and Conclusion

This study investigates the population dynamics of the "Korean" population based on Korean ethnicity (*Han-minjok* in Korean) rather than geographic location. Although there is a large and growing number of population studies based on ethnicity, none of these focus on the Korean population. The existing literature focuses on the population living on the Korean Peninsula or on Korean immigrants. In large part, due to inconsistent methodologies and varying definitions, the previous studies are not comparable and could produce biased results. By utilizing historical census data sets, historical records, population censuses, and statistical projections, this study considers the size, structure, and distribution of the Korean population, as well as spatial and temporal changes since the early 20th century.

According to our calculations, the Korean population, which was 18 million in 1915, grew by four and a half times over the subsequent 100 years to 81.7 million, 7.18 million of whom live abroad. The Korean population will peak at 84.5 million around 2032 and then shrink. In other words, the population of Koreans can be expected to begin declining soon, while the global population is expected to increase steadily over the next 100 years.

This study also investigates whether Korean reunification solves some economic problems in the Korean Peninsula arising from population aging. In practice, there are arguments that reunification will solve the aging problem, which is considered a serious problem in South Korea, and solve the population problem caused by aging due to North Korea's high participation rate in economic activity. However, the demographic structure and evolution of the two Koreas are similar, and North Korea is now experiencing a low birth rate similar to South Korea's. On the other hand, the high rate of economic participation in North Korea also means that there is little room for increasing the labor force. Above all, the proportion of older workers in North Korea is very low. Therefore, the elderly in North Korea, as in South Korea, have no choice but to rely on public and private support systems, so the effects of reunification on population aging would be limited. Above all, the quality and educational achievement of the labor force in the two Koreas differ. It will be important to prioritize the support necessary to improve the skills and education of the Korean population before reunification to prevent conflicts and foster harmony.

Appendix

<Table A1> The population projection for Korean population (1993–2040)

(Unit: Thousand Persons)

Year	<i>Han-minjok</i> (Total Korean)	Korean Peninsula	South Korea	North Korea	Overseas Korean
1993	70,274	65,330	44,064	21,266	4,944
1994	71,172	66,086	44,508	21,578	5,086
1995	72,046	66,818	44,955	21,862	5,229
1996	72,882	67,497	45,384	22,113	5,385
1997	73,685	68,144	45,809	22,335	5,541
1998	74,268	68,675	46,139	22,537	5,593
1999	74,823	69,178	46,447	22,731	5,645
2000	75,366	69,717	46,788	22,929	5,649
2001	75,913	70,259	47,126	23,133	5,654
2002	76,578	70,713	47,373	23,339	5,865
2003	77,051	70,975	47,432	23,542	6,077
2004	77,681	71,324	47,591	23,733	6,358
2005	78,217	71,578	47,674	23,904	6,638
2006	78,674	71,833	47,778	24,055	6,842
2007	79,116	72,072	47,883	24,188	7,045
2008	79,403	72,469	48,159	24,310	6,934
2009	79,638	72,815	48,387	24,428	6,823
2010	80,146	73,100	48,551	24,549	7,046
2011	80,761	73,493	48,819	24,673	7,269
2012	81,021	73,880	49,079	24,801	7,141
2013	81,152	74,139	49,210	24,930	7,012
2014	81,525	74,427	49,369	25,058	7,099
2015	81,916	74,731	49,547	25,184	7,185
2016	82,303	74,995	49,687	25,308	7,308
2017	82,639	75,209	49,779	25,430	7,431
2018	82,931	75,469	49,919	25,550	7,462
2019	83,137	75,643	49,977	25,666	7,494
2020	83,385	75,830	50,051	25,779	7,555
2021	83,517	75,916	50,029	25,887	7,601
2022	83,634	75,988	49,997	25,991	7,647
2023	83,749	76,057	49,967	26,090	7,692
2024	83,864	76,126	49,941	26,185	7,738
2025	83,978	76,193	49,918	26,275	7,784
2026	84,091	76,260	49,898	26,362	7,831
2027	84,201	76,323	49,879	26,444	7,878
2028	84,305	76,380	49,860	26,520	7,925
2029	84,396	76,426	49,836	26,590	7,971
2030	84,467	76,452	49,801	26,651	8,015
2031	84,517	76,460	49,755	26,705	8,057
2032	84,544	76,446	49,695	26,751	8,097
2033	84,544	76,409	49,620	26,789	8,135
2034	84,516	76,347	49,527	26,820	8,169

2035	84,461	76,260	49,417	26,843	8,200
2036	84,374	76,146	49,287	26,859	8,228
2037	84,260	76,007	49,139	26,868	8,252
2038	84,115	75,842	48,971	26,871	8,273
2039	83,940	75,650	48,783	26,867	8,290
2040	83,738	75,434	48,576	26,858	8,304

Sources and Notes:

[South Korea]

1993-2019: 'South Korea (Including Foreign Residents)' - 'South Korea (Foreign Residents in South Korea)'

- South Korea (Including Foreign Residents) 1993-2019: 'Population by age group' in "Population Projection for Korea" by Vital Statistics Division (2019.3) (provided by Statistics Korea, [2022-02-20], <http://kosis.kr>).
- South Korea (Foreign Residents) 1993-1997: Author's projection. This research assumes that the ratio of foreign residents living in South Korea to the total South Korean population, including foreign residents, increased by 0.005% per year until the base year 1998. In practice, the ratio of foreign residents to the total South Korean population, including foreign residents, in 1998 was 0.320%. Based on the ratio in 1998, this research assumes that the ratio of foreign residents to the total population in 1997 and 1996 were 0.315% and 0.310%, respectively. Also, by following sequential calculation, the ratio of foreign residents to the total South Korean population, including foreign residents, in 1993 is assumed to be 0.295%.
- South Korea (Foreign Residents) 1998-2019: Status of Foreign Residents (Long-term Foreign Residents), Ministry of Justice, (provided by Statistics Korea[2022-03-19], <http://index.go.kr>).
- South Korea 2020-2040: Press release 'Forecast of the Korean population and foreign residents reflecting the special population projection in 2019: 2017-2040' (provided by Statistics Korea, [2020-10-14])

[North Korea]

1993-2040: UN World Population Prospects, the 2019 Revision, <http://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp> (provided by Statistics Korea [2022-02-20], <http://kosis.kr>).

[Overseas Korean]

1993-2019 (odd year): Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Status of overseas Koreans [2022-03-11] (provided by Statistics Korea[2022-03-11], <http://kosis.kr>).

1993-2019 (even year): For even years, we use the average of the previous year and the next year. For example, for the year 2014, we use the average of the years 2013 and 2015.

2020-2040: Author's projection.

This research assumes that the ratio of overseas Koreans to the total South Korean population, excluding foreign residents, increased by 0.10% per year after the base year 2019. In practice, the ratio of overseas Koreans to the total South Korean population, excluding foreign residents, in 2019 is 14.99%. Based on the ratio in 2019, this research assumes that the ratio of foreign residents to the total population in 2020 and 2021 were 15.09% and 15.19%, respectively. Also, following sequential calculation, the ratio of foreign residents to the total South Korean population in 2040 is assumed to be 17.09%.

References

- 고승제 (1973). <한국이민사 연구>, 장문사, 서울
- Koh, S. J. (1973). A Study on Korean Diaspora, Jangmoon-sa, Seoul.
- 권태환 (1996). <세계의 한민족>, 통일원.
- Kwon, T. (1996). Koreans in the World, Ministry of Unification.
- 권희형 (1996). <세계의 한민족: 독립국가연합>, 통일원.
- Kwon, H. (1996). Koreans in the World: Commonwealth of Independent States, Ministry of Unification.
- 김두섭 (1990). 조선후기 도시에 대한 인구학적 접근. <한국인구학>, 24, 7-24.
- Kim, D. (1990). A Study on Deamography of Cities in Late Joseon. Korean Demography, 24, 7-24.
- 김두섭, 박상태, 은기수 (2002). <한국의 인구 I>, 통계청.
- Kim, D. Park, S. and Eun, K. (2002). Korea's Population I, Statistics Korea.
- 김두섭, 최민자, 전광희, 이삼식, 김형식 (2011). <북한 인구와 인구센서스>, 통계청.
- Kim, D. Choe, M. Jeon, K. Lee, S. and Kim, H. (2011). North Korea's Population and Census, Statistics Korea.
- 박이택 (2008), 식민지기 조선인 인구추계의 재검토. 『대동문화연구』 63: 331-73.
- Park, Y. T. (2008). Reconsideration of Population Estimates in Colonial Korea. Journal of East Asian Studies 63: 331-73
- 외교부 (2013, 2015, 2017, 2019). <재외동포현황>, 외교부.
- 외교통상부 (1999, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011). <재외동포현황> 외교통상부.
- 외무부 (1973, 1974, 1975, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1986). <재외국민현황>, 외무부.
- 외무부 (1991, 1993, 1995, 1997). <해외동포현황>, 외무부.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Various years. Status of Overseas Korean.
- 이문웅 (1996). <세계의 한민족: 일본>, 통일원.
- Lee, M. (1996). Koreans in the World: Japan, Ministry of Unification.
- 재외동포재단 (1991, 1993, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015, 2017, 2019). <재외동포현황>, 재외동포재단.
- Overseas Korean Foundation. Various years. Status of Overseas Korean.
- 조선총독부 (1926, 1934, 1936, 1944, 1945). <간이국세조사결과표>, 조선총독부
- Japaense Colonial Government of Korea. Various years. Abbreviated Results of Tax Census (in Japanese).
- 차명수 (2006). 우리나라의 생활수준 1700-2000, 안병직 편저, <한국경제성장사>, 서울대학교 출판부.
- Cha, M. S. (2006). Standards of Living in Korea 1700-2000. Ahn, Byung Jik (Ed.) The History of Economic Growth of Korea. Seoul: Seoul N a t i o n a l University Press.

- DellaPergola, S. (2003). Review of Relevant Demographic Information on World Jewry. Report submitted to The International Commission on Holocaust Era Insurance Claims. Jerusalem.
- DellaPergola, S. (2020). World Jewish Population, 2019, *The American Jewish Year Book*, 2019, edited by A. Dashefsky and I. M. Sheskin, Volume 119. Cham, Switzerland: Springer. Accessed on April 1, 2021 at <https://www.jewishdatabank.org/>
- DeWind, J., Kim, E. M., Skeldon R. and Yoon, I.-J. (2012). Korean Development and Migration, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(3), 371–388.
- Hong, I. (2017). Overseas Koreans and Dedicated Diaspora and Emigration Policies, *Emigration and Diaspora Policies in the Age of Mobility*, edited by A. Weinart, Springer, 173–185.
- Kashiwazaki, C. (2009). The Foreigner Category for Koreans in Japan: Opportunities and Constraints, *Diaspora without Homeland: Being Korean in Japan*, edited by S. Ryang & J. Lie. University of California Press, 121–146.
- Kim, N. H. (2019). Hierarchical Ethnic Nationhood in the Formal Membership and Beyond: Joseonjok and Formal and Substantive Citizenship in Their Ethnic Homeland. *Diasporic Returns to the Ethnic Homeland: The Korean Diaspora in Comparative Perspective*, edited by T. Tsuda & C. Song. Palgrave Macmillan, 79–97.
- Kim, N. N. (2012). Historical Statistics of Korea: A Survey. *Korean Social Sciences Review*, 2(2), 1–34.
- Lee, C. (2012). How can you say you're Korean? Law, governmentality and national membership in South Korea, *Citizenship Studies*, 16(1), 85–102.
- Lee, C. (2020). Nation v. State: Constitutionalizing Transnational Nationhood, Creating Ethnizens, and Engaging with Kin-Foreigners in Europe and Asia, *Asian Journal of Law and Society*, 7(1), 5–38.
- Ryang, S. and Lie, J. (2009). *Diaspora without Homeland: Being Korean in Japan*, University of California Press.
- Shen, S. (2019). Historical and Contemporary Korean Emigration: a Comparative Analysis of Ten Waves of Korean Migration, *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 20(1), 31–47.
- Tsuda, T. and Song, C. (2019). *Diasporic Returns to the Ethnic Homeland: The Korean Diaspora in Comparative Perspective*, Palgrave Macmillan.
- United Nations (2019). *UN World Population Prospects. The 2019 Revision*, UN Population Division, New York.
- Yoon, I.-J. (2012). Migration and the Korean Diaspora: A Comparative Description of Five Cases, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(3), 413–435.

한국의 디아스포라와 인구에 관한 연구: 1910년부터 2019년까지 그리고 미래¹²⁾

이상협¹³⁾, 김현경¹⁴⁾

요약

일반적으로 특정 국가의 인구는 지리적 영역을 기준으로 해당 국가의 영토에 거주하고 있는 사람으로 정의된다. 그러나 한국을 포함한 일부 국가에서는 단순 영토보다는 민족 정체성에 초점을 두고 단일 민족 집단의 구성원인지 여부를 통해 국가의 인구를 정의하기도 한다. 본 연구에서는 지리적 영역보다는 민족 정체성 측면에서 한민족 범위를 정의하고, 이를 토대로 과거 일제 강점기 시대부터 현재까지의 한민족 이주 형태에 대해 살펴보고자 한다. 인구조사 자료, 역사적 기록, 행정 자료, 그리고 통계적 추정 등을 활용하여 20세기 초반 이후의 한민족의 규모, 인구 구조, 시간적 그리고 공간적 변화 등에 대해 살펴본다.

주요 용어: 한인 디아스포라, 한민족 인구, 한민족 이주

12) 본 연구는 한국학중앙연구원 한국학전략연구소 육성사업 및 교육부의 지원을 받아 수행되었습니다(AKS-2020-SRI-2200001). 여러 세미나와 워크숍에서 본 논문에 대한 소중한 조언을 해주신 모든 분들께 감사드립니다.

13) 주저자. 하와이대학교 경제학과, 교수. E-mail: leesang@hawaii.edu

14) 교신저자. 대전광역시 서구 한밭대로 713, 통계개발원 경제사회통계연구실, 통계사무관. E-mail: khk144@korea.kr