A HISTORY OF THE SOVIET DIASPORA IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA (1989-

2015): CASE STUDIES OF RUSSIAN-SPEAKERS IN SOUTH KOREA,

CAMBODIA, AND THE NETHERLANDS

by

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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my mother, Rachel Harmon, for always believing in me and for instilling in me a value in education.

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Thanks to my committee members, the faculty at Texas State University, and all my fellow student colleagues for assisting me along the way.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation   **Description**

CER- Chinese Eastern Railway

FSU- Former Soviet Union

NASA- National Aeronautics and Space Administration

NKVD- People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs

OKA- Overseas Korean Act

PRK- People's Republic of Kampuchea

TFR- Total Fertility Rate

U.S.S.R.- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to look at the history of Russian immigration and diaspora formation since the end of the Cold War period in 1989. It analyzes the destinations of Russian immigrants, the patterns and dissimilarities among the post-Soviet Russian-speaking diaspora, and particular motivations for leaving Russia during the 1990s and early 2000s. In particular I will examine the post-Cold War immigration of Russians into Asia, with case study examinations of Cambodia and South Korea. What particular reasons drove Russians from their homeland, and what particular reasons attracted these groups of Russians to East and Southeast Asia, over the traditional destinations of North America and Western Europe? There have been relatively few studies done on post-Soviet Russian migration. The history of Russian migrants in East and Southeast Asia is sparse, other than some literature on early twentieth century Soviet migration to Shanghai and Manchuria. In an effort to highlight the particularities of post-Soviet immigration into East Asia, I will also present the history of the Russian diaspora into the Netherlands as a contrast. The Netherlands, like Cambodia and South Korea, is a small densely populated nation with high levels of tourism. However the Netherlands is a wealthy European nation, which attracts different types of migrant classes than an Asian nation. I will present the case study of Russian immigration into the Netherlands alongside Cambodia and South Korea to show how emigration from post-Soviet states since the 1990s progressed along different paths, but how initial motives for migration as well as diaspora organization patterns are similar within these Russian-speaking groups in

diverse host societies. Academic studies on recent Russian migration over the past twenty years are scarce, and give justification to this research. The 1990s and early 2000s were tumultuous and chaotic times for the Russian state, and the historical significance of this time period has yet to really be analyzed, most likely due to its contemporary relevance. The actions of Russia over the recent years, such as the invasion of Georgia in 2008, military action in Ukraine in 2014-2015, and a general increase in aggressive foreign political influence in Russia's near abroad, display that Russia has come out of its political lull, and has emerged as an energy superpower and re-emerged as a political power state in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. Analyzing the history of Russian migration during the 1990s and early 2000s will allow better understanding of the particularly chaotic period following the demise of the Soviet Union, and will allow for a better understanding of how post-Soviet Russian diaspora groups self-identify culturally, socially, and ethnically.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Russians and the End of the Soviet Union

Russian migration and the development of the international Russian diaspora

since the end of the Soviet Union has been an important and extremely influential

element of redefining the Russian people and the Russian nation in the 21st century. This

thesis offers a historical analysis of Russian migration and diaspora development since

the end of the Cold War. The period under study is relatively recent, and its relevance as

a transition period for modern Russia is important and in need of understanding. The end

of the Cold War in 1989 and the break-up of the Soviet Union by December 1991 was a

significant rearrangement within Eurasian political geography as well as within the

international political system. From the Soviet Union sprung fifteen new nation states,

with the Russian Federation being the largest and the most obvious successor for filling

the vacuum in international politics that the Soviet Union once filled. Despite initial

optimism with the end of the Cold War and the hope of liberal democracy and capitalism

in Russia, the situation turned bleak very quickly in the early 1990s. The political and

economic institutions in Russia were ill prepared for such a transition, seventy years of a

planned economy under the U.S.S.R. weighed down the fledgling Russian Federation.[1]

The rush to privatization and the establishment of capitalism resulted in a deteriorating

economic situation in Russia; the country was ill-prepared for the sudden change from

state socialism. GDP and average household incomes in Russia plummeted in the early

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[1] Lawrence Scott Sheets, *Eight Pieces of Empire: A 20-year Journey Through the Soviet Collapse* (New York: Broadway, 2011), 55, 111-112, 145.

1990s, crime skyrocketed, national healthcare declined in capability, and corruption became commonplace within the political and economic institutions in the new nation. The ruble crises of 1998 added to the economic pressures facing Russia.[2]

Demographically, the consequences of the break-up of the Soviet Union were immediately felt in the Russian Federation and the surrounding successor states of the former Soviet Union (FSU). The worsening economic situation, and the lifting of previously strict movement regulations, created new incentives for people to migrate out of Russia during the 1990s. From 1989 to 2002 nearly 1.1 million Russian citizens left Russia.[3] This period of out-migration from Russia has been termed the third wave of Russian migration, and will be the focus of this thesis.

Russian-speaking diasporas have existed continuously throughout the 20th century, with historical 'waves' of Russian immigration being visible; the first wave consisted of a large number of Russians emigrating after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and the following civil war. The second wave is often categorized around the Stalinist purges in the 1930s, through World War II and the 1950s. The third wave represents the diaspora of this study, and examines Russian immigration from the late 1980s through the demise of the Soviet Union in the 1990s.[4] Analyzing the experiences and effects of recent Russian immigration in the post-Cold War period will update and give insight into the long historical saga of the ever evolving Russian diaspora.

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[2] Andrei V. Korobkov and Zhanna A. Zaionchkovskaia, "Russian brain drain: Myths v. reality," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 45, no. 3-4 (2012): 328.

[3] Timothy Heleniak, "Migration Dilemmas Haunt Post-Soviet Russia," *Migration Policy Institute*, (October 2002), http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/migration-dilemmas-haunt-post-soviet-russia.

[4] Ludmila Isurin, *Russian Diaspora: Culture, Identity, and Language Change* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 5-6.

Russian-speaking communities have developed in Japan, South Korea, China, and in smaller pockets in Cambodia, Vietnam, and Thailand. Although these diaspora groups are far smaller and less politically significant than Russian diaspora groups in North America, Israel, and Western Europe, they do play an important role in interacting with their host Asian communities, and can help in defining the characteristics of the larger Russian diaspora of the 21st century. Little attention has been given to how the Russian communities in East Asia and Southeast Asian nations organize and deal with adjusting to living in a non-Western society, and how they influence or impact their Eastern host society. This thesis will propose that emigration from Russia, and other post-Soviet states, to Western Europe, East Asia, and Southeast Asia since the 1990s share common motivations for emigration, but that these different diasporas are composed of Russians from different socio-economic classes and the level of community organization which has developed in the diasporas in Western Europe is far stronger and more representative than that of Russians living in Asia. Russians within South Korea, Cambodia, and the Netherlands share similar ideas of how they self-identify, as Russians based on a linguistic and cultural concept rather than on an ethnic concept of being Russian.

Sizeable European migration to East Asia and Southeast Asia has been historically rare, other than the few British colonial administrators in China in the early twentieth century which number no more than 10,000; making Russian presence in the region all the more significant.[5] The motivations for Russian migration to Asia from the 1920s to 1960s, particularly Jewish Russian migration to China, share commonalities with Russian migrant waves into North America and Western Europe, and have been

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[5] Marcia Reynders Ristaino, *Port of Last Resort: The Diaspora Communities of Shanghai* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), xiii.

studied in the light of the political turmoil that existed in Russia during the Stalinist

purges in the 1920s/1930s, as well as the Nazi invasion of Russia beginning in June 1941.

The post-Soviet Russian diaspora may share some similarities in terms of destination

choice but the motivations tend to be more economic than political, and the numbers of

migrants are fewer. The Russian communities in Asia since the end of the Cold War have

been less densely populated and less economically diverse, as compared to the Soviet

diaspora communities in China during the 1920s and 1930s. The Russian immigrants

coming to Asia in the inter-war period were often middle class, educated, and a

substantial number were Jewish Russians. Little has been written on the population make

up, in terms of economic status, religious, and ethnic composition of Russians

immigrating to Asia since the demise of the U.S.S.R. in 1991. Thus this study will shed

light on a little known diaspora group of recent history.

This thesis is a historical and comparative analysis of the formation, patterns, and

outcomes of post-Soviet Russian immigration and diaspora organization of Russian-

speaking groups in three distinct locations, South Korea, Cambodia, and the Netherlands.

Why choose South Korea, Cambodia, and the Netherlands, for studying Russian

immigration and diaspora development in these places? All three of these countries have

historically low levels of Russian immigration, when compared to the main powerhouse

immigrant destinations, such as the U.S., Israel, France, the U.K., and Germany.

Comparing these rather diverse destination points, larger conclusions about the

similarities and differences among Russian migrant groups can be drawn. South Korea,

since the 1960s, has become an economic powerhouse, and has seen an increase in

immigration to the country. Wider levels of immigration to South Korea are fairly new,

and thus important to watch and study the effects of how immigration may impact the political, economic, and cultural institutions of a highly industrialized Asian state. Cambodia on the other end, is still an underdeveloped Southeast Asian nation, and permanent immigration into the country is minimal. However, a Russian diaspora does exist in the country, and helps to bolster the high-tech and financial industries, as well as the tourist industry which supports the growing Cambodian economy. Studying the history of the Russian presence in South Korea and Cambodia allows for examination of how the third wave of Russian immigration has responded and been influenced in a diverse Asian setting. This study will show how Russian communities in Asia have formed and interacted within the larger host community. South Korea and Cambodia will be juxtaposed with the Netherlands in order to explore the similarities and differences between Russian immigrant groups in Asian nations with those in a European state.

The Netherlands, like South Korea is a small densely populated and industrialized modern country with a somewhat homogenous population make up. The Netherlands has a similar number of people as Cambodia, close to seventeen million, while Cambodia has close to fifteen million people. However, despite some demographic similarities, the Netherlands is a wealthy European nation in which Russian immigrants have a higher degree of blending in and assimilating into Dutch culture. South Korea and Cambodia are nations in which it is harder legally, linguistically, and culturally, to assimilate. There is also a lack of academic information on Russian-speaking groups in the Netherlands, which this study will help to update.

South Korea has had a similar post-Cold War history of Russian migration with that of Japan. Russia's economic opening in the 1990s, and its increasing trade

connections facilitated new information streams which led to new migration destinations for Russians. Korea has only recently opened up to immigration, and remains a relatively homogenous society. In 1992, the number of foreigners entering the country was only one thousand. The South Korean economic boom however has demanded and attracted foreign labor. In 1992, the Korean government began a program of granting amnesty to undocumented foreign workers.[6] The port of Busan in the south of Korea has seen an increase in Russian migrants in the city. Many Russians there work half the year in Vladivostok, while others have established permanent residents in Busan. "Texas Town" is the Russian area of Busan, which also serves as the red-light district in the city.[7] South Korea is a destination spot of sex trafficking, victims come mainly from Thailand, China, the Philippines, Russia, and former Soviet Union states such as Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan.

There is also a history of Korean diaspora groups in the Soviet Union returning home to Korea after migration restrictions were lifted in Russia in the 1990s. A large Korean presence in the Russian Far East was displaced to Central Asia in 1937, namely in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. The dissolution of the Soviet Union, as well as ethnic conflicts in Central Asia, prompted Korean-Russians to migrate back to Korea. South Korea maintained tight control on migrant residency regulations to keep immigration into the country low throughout most of the latter half of the twentieth century, with the justification of Cold War logic. However the Republic of Korea has increasingly

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[6] Tsuneo Akaha and Anna Vassilieva, *Crossing National Borders: Human Migration Issues in Northeast Asia* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2005), 205-212.
[7] Don Kirk, "In Korea, 'Texas Town' Goes Russian," *The New York Times*, December 1, 1999.

liberalized its migration policies with the dissolution of the Soviet Union in the 1990s,

the end of the cold war, and the growing interconnectedness of the global economy.[8]

The presence of Russian communities has been historically sparse in Cambodia,

as the two nations are geographically separated by the huge land mass that is China.

Southeast Asia has also lacked much of the appeal that has attracted Russian migrants to

the more noteworthy destinations such as the United States and Western Europe.

Cambodia has not been economically or politically stable for most of the 20th century

either, making the cost of migration to the region high and the benefits low. Modern

political and economic connections between Russia and Cambodia flourished in the Cold

War however, when the Soviet Union supported the communist governments in North

Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Military advisors, diplomats, educators, and technical

experts comprised the majority of Russia's demographic presence in the region.[9] With the

dissolution of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War in 1991, Russia withdrew

from political and economic activity in the region, instead focusing on rebuilding

connections with Russia's near abroad. However since Putin's ascendency to the

presidency of Russia in 2000, the Russian government has attempted to regain

connections in Cambodia, Southeast Asia, and Asia at large.[10]

Russian diaspora communities in Cambodia that have existed since the 1990s are

relatively unknown and understudied, which gives credence to further examination. The

sex trafficking of Russian women and women from former Soviet Union states into

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[8] Akaha and Vassilieva, *Crossing National Borders: Human Migration Issues in Northeast Asia*, 191,193, 205-212.

[9] Susanne Birgerson, "The Evolution of Soviet Foreign Policy in Southeast Asia: Implications for Russian Foreign Policy," *Asian Affairs* 23, no. 4 (1997): 213-215.

[10] Leszek Buszynski, "Russia and Southeast Asia: A New Relationship," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 28, no. 2 (2006): 276-279.

Cambodia has been studied only briefly, as shown by the documentation of Moldovan women in Cambodia.[11] There exists a modestly sized Russian community in Sihanoukville, around 300 Russian families are registered as permanent residents in the coastal city, which operates mostly in terms of providing for Russian tourists coming to the country for holiday.[12] In Phnom Penh there are communities of Kazakhs, Tajiks, and Uzbeks that work in the telecommunications and banking industries. The majority of telecom companies in Cambodia are Russian or Kazakhstani, such as Beeline, Intersputnik, and Kazakhtelecom.

The Netherlands has seen a spike in immigration of Russian-speaking groups since the early 2000s, with nearly 50,000 former Soviet citizens residing in the country by 2013.[13] These groups tend to be educated with university degrees, and occupied professional positions in Russia within the fields of engineering, science, technical management, and education. In addition to the immigration of more educated Russians to the Netherlands, there has been an increase in the number of Russian women exported as part of the human trafficking and sex trade. From 1989 to 2002, there were an estimated 500,000 Russian women sold into sexual slavery outside of Russia's borders.[14] Russian-speaking women from former Soviet states play heavily into the underground prostitution rings in the Netherlands.[15] The number of women from former Soviet states living in the Netherlands far exceeds that of men, with nearly 31,000 women compared to 18,000

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[11] June J.H. Lee, "Human Trafficking in East Asia: Current Trends, Data Collection, and Knowledge Gaps" *International Migration* 43 (2005): 168.

[12] Rosa Ellen, "From Russia, with love to Cambodia: a unique friendship," *The Phnom Penh Post*, July 19, 2013.

[13] Suzanne Loozen, Han Nicolaas, and Carel Harmsen, "Substantial increase immigration from former Soviet Union," *Statistics Netherlands*, January 30, 2013.

[14] Heleniak, "Migration Dilemmas Haunt Post-Soviet Russia," 2002.

[15] Gudrun Alyce Willett, "Crises of Self and Other: Russia-speaking Migrants in the Netherlands and the European Union" (PHD diss., University of Iowa, 2007), 143.

men.[16] The Netherlands has seen less Russian immigration into the country than more established European destination points such as France, Germany, and the United Kingdom. Analyzing Russian immigration into the Netherlands will serve to update the scholarly work on this country, and help to present a useful contrast for the history of the post-Soviet Russian-speaking diaspora in South Korea and Cambodia.

Data Collection and Literature Review

This is a historical analysis of Russian immigration in the post-Soviet era to the present (1991-2015), looking at the particular destination of Russian immigrants and the scale and structure to which the diaspora developed. Academic studies (Isurin 2011; Heleniak 2002) look at the primary destinations of Russian immigration after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, namely Germany, Israel, and the United States. Key to understanding post-Soviet immigration is an analysis of Russia in the 1990s, and what factors contributed to an increase in out-migration from the country. The economic and political transition in the 1990s was a primary factor in the decision for some people to leave Russia. Academic studies on privatization, income inequality, and rising crime rates in Russia in the 1990s (Kuznetsov 2011; Leonard and Pitt-Watson 2013) demonstrate the increasing benefit of migrating out of the country. Lawrence Scott Sheets' *Eight Pieces of Empire* chronicles the troubles that Russia and its fellow post-Soviet states entered into in the early 1990s, ranging from a decrease in social and economic status for many Russians, as well as the dramatic surge of criminal and ethnic violence that flared within much of the post-Soviet world.

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[16] Loozen, Nicolaas, Harmsen, "Substantial increase immigration from former Soviet Union."

A historical analysis of the post-Soviet Russian diaspora in former Soviet states will be presented in context along with the post-Soviet diasporas in Asia and Europe. Scholarly studies such as Koltsø, Melvin, and Zevelev describe the emergence of a new Russian diaspora in former U.S.S.R. states as a result of the partition and creation of fifteen new countries in 1991. Koltsø looks at the history of this particular diaspora, how these diverse Russian communities may respond to its new identity as a minority ethnic group. The resurgence of Russia on the global arena, thanks in large part to natural energy incomes,[17] has prompted Russia to resurrect the agenda of ethnic Russians in the near abroad as an avenue for international discourse, as seen in Russia's actions in the Ukraine. Russia has become involved and supportive of pro-Russia separatist groups in Eastern Ukraine and the Crimea, claiming they are representing the rights of ethnic Russians in Ukraine. The debate on whether Russia has any claim or responsibility to these ethnic Russians or Russophones in the former Soviet states outside the Russian Federation is a hotly debated current issue and will continue to shape Russia's political actions in Eastern Europe and Central Asia in the coming years.

News articles, academic studies (Akaha and Vassilieva 2005; Hugo 2012), and survey data collected in Cambodia in the summer of 2014 provide information on Russian migrant groups in Asia. My survey initially asked why the person left Russia, what part of Russia they are from, their job, education, family status, age, how long they've been in Cambodia, and why they chose Southeast Asia as a destination. I interviewed seven Russian-speakers in Cambodia, these included one Belorussian and one Russian man working for telecom businesses, the owner of a Russian restaurant in

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[17] Sheets, *Eight Pieces of Empire*, 307-308.

Phnom Penh, a Ukrainian businessman out of Sihanoukville, two Russian tourists, and a Moldovan church priest for the Eastern Orthodox church in Cambodia. I located these Russian-speakers through networking from friends I had in Cambodia, visiting the sole Russian Restaurant in Phnom Penh, emailing the head of the Eastern Orthodox church in Cambodia and attending Orthodoxy services at the Bulgarian embassy, and also from visiting the Russian Science and Cultural center in Phnom Penh. My interviews were conducted mostly in English, although some Russian was used as well. I also spoke with three Cambodian instructors at the Royal University of Phnom Penh about their knowledge of Soviet-Cambodia relations in the 1970s and 1980s. These contacts were known to me, as I was an English instructor at the university during the summer of 2014. Although many of these Russians in Cambodia were recent arrivals, and the survey field utilized is too small to provide quantifiable analysis, these interviews help supplement the historical academic data used and provide insights into relatively recent Russian immigration. Unfortunately, I was not able to conduct a survey in South Korea, instead I draw upon my experiences living and working in South Korea from 2011-2012, in which I was able to witness certain aspects of the Russian diaspora in Seoul and Busan, including visiting the Russian quarter in Busan and talking to Russian merchants and street peddlers.

For my comparison with the Netherlands, I used census data (Statistics Netherlands), as well as academic studies of Russian immigration into the country (Willett 2007; Siegel 2000). In addition, I utilized survey data and interviews collected in January 2015 of Russian-speaking immigrants currently living in the Netherlands. These included eight Russian-speakers and four Dutch locals. Of these was a Russian graduate

student who had lived in Japan, Orthodox church leaders in Amsterdam and Deventer, one employee of a Russian restaurant and one employee of a Slavic grocery store in the Hague, and three Russian service-industry workers in Amsterdam. I found these contacts through a Dutch expat website, through which I was able to schedule an interview. I also met several at a souvenir shop in Leidseplein, a Russian gift shop in central Amsterdam, visiting several Russian Orthodox churches, and also visiting a Slavic grocery store and Russian restaurant in the Hague. The interviews were again primarily conducted in English. In addition to interviews collected in Cambodia and Holland, email interviews were used with contacts from my time working in the Russian Federation in 2012; these included a Russian graduate student in Moscow, a Russian graduate student from Vologda studying in Germany, and from an American teacher in Cherepovets. I reached out to these contacts in order to get some supplementary experiential information on life within Russia. The information from these total survey interviews will support the academic research, not serve as the basis of conclusions.

The Russian-speaking immigrant classification will comprise any person emigrating from a former Soviet Union (FSU) state, not just ethnic Russians. Russia is a multi-ethnic country with over a hundred and fifty officially registered ethnic groups within its borders, such as Ukrainian, Buryat, Georgian, Tatar, Korean, Kalmyk, and a host of others. The Soviet Union was built upon a multi-ethnic coalition of states which supplanted ethnic-national identity in favor of a Soviet, albeit Russified, identity.[18] For simplicity this study will categorize the Russian diaspora group as anyone with Russian language background, or from a former Soviet state who immigrated to the new point of

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[18] Igor Zevelev, *Russia and its New Diasporas*. (Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2001), 160.

destination. Also in the cases of my research period in Cambodia and Holland, discussions with native Cambodians and Dutch people about their perceptions of Russia and Russian-speaking people will be used in analysis of the host culture's attitudes towards Russian migrants in their country. Survey data from Cambodia and the Netherlands will help to supplement academic research on the history of Russian immigration in Asia and Europe, and may help to give light on the motivation and reasons for why these people have left Russia and chose their new destination.

This study will also utilize historical works on earlier waves of Russian immigration as background and comparison. Academic studies have focused on Russian immigration in the inter-war period of the twentieth century, and of particular importance to this study is the history of Russian immigration into Asia (Moustafine 2013; Ristaino 2001; Snow 2012). Academic studies of twentieth century Russian immigration into the United States and Western Europe, as well as China, mostly examine the political situation in Russia that prompted out-migration. World War I, the Bolshevik Revolution, the Russian Civil War, the Stalinist purges, and World War II all served as political landmarks in the Soviet diaspora of the twentieth century. Having a comparison of the previous Soviet era Russian diaspora will help to compare and contrast with the post-Soviet diaspora, and this study aims at bridging that gap and updating the history of Russians living abroad.

This study makes use of migration theory (Lee 1966; Baker and Chapman 1992), and how it can be used to analyze the historical patterns of a diaspora group (Akaha and Vassilieva 2005; Heleniak 2010). Isurin's 2011 *Russian Diaspora* as well as other academic studies on migrant adjustment capabilities (Stoessel et al. 2012; Diener 2009;

Polek et al. 2008) use linguistic and socio-economic measurements to help analyze how Russian migrants have adapted to their new homes. Understanding the cost-benefit incentives and motivations for emigration from Russia in the 1990s-2000s will become clearer with understanding the demographic changes that became apparent in Russia in the 1990s. Scholarly studies have been numerous on depopulation and low fertility in Russia since the 1990s (Wood 2012; Heleniak 1999; Herd and Grace 2009). Instability and economic decline in Russia in the 1990s contributed to some peoples' decisions to leave the country, and are closely related to the decrease in the overall total fertility rate (TFR) in Russia. Factoring into this study the demographic crisis of depopulation which has been visible since the 1990s, will help to draw clearer conclusions for the reasons people emigrated from Russia during that time period.

An aspect of post-Soviet migration which factors into this research, is that of sex trafficking and Russian sex-workers abroad. Russia is one of the largest suppliers of women to the international sex trafficking industry. Russian-speaking women have an overwhelming presence in the prostitution industry in Europe and North America, and a growing presence in East Asia. Studies on Russian prostitution in Europe since the end of the Soviet Union are numerous (Tverdova 2010; Schuckman 2006; Willett 2007; Heleniak 2002) and document well the tragic trend of Russian women exploited into sexual slavery. Scholarly studies on Russian sex-workers in Asia (Lee 2005; Kim and Fu 2008; Schuckman 2006) are growing, showing evidence of the increasing demand within prospering East Asian nations like Japan, South Korea, and China, for the exotic white Russian prostitute. McKinney's 2009 article "Russian Babies, Russian Babes" describes the issues of both the sex-trafficking of Russian women, and the international adoption of

Russian babies as factors related to Russia's demographic decline. Population decline in Russia is influenced by a lack of economic opportunities and health problems like drug use and the spread of AIDS; issues which have caused women to become more easily exploited by human traffickers, and have caused mothers to give up their children to adoption agencies.[19]

The following chapters begin with the history of Russian immigration throughout the 20th century, to provide context for the migration analyzed throughout this thesis. The study then moves to a description of the third wave of Russian immigration in the context of the breakdown of the Soviet Union. Key to understanding this will be an analysis of Russia in the 1990s, looking at the economic, social, and political factors that triggered high levels of out-migration during this decade. Population decline in Russia, which became significant in the 1990s, will be compared with emigration, to further analyze the post-Soviet period. The history of post-Soviet Russian demographic presence in South Korea, Cambodia, and the Netherlands is examined at this point, and placed into the context of the larger third wave of Russian immigration. In defining the identity of these Russian-speaking groups, further analysis will be given to the political debate which has raged in Russia since the end of the Cold War regarding the nature of Russian ethnicity and identity. Under the Soviet Union, the Russian language as well as Russian-Slavic culture had been institutionalized as the face of Soviet citizenry. Ethnic identity was supplanted in favor of a unified Soviet identity, one that is heavily Russo-Slavic. With the breakup of the Soviet Union, 25 million ethnic Russians, and many more native Russian

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[19] Judith Record McKinney, "Russian Babies, Russian Babes: Economic and Demographic Implications of International Adoption and International Trafficking for Russia," *Demokratizatsiya* 17, no. 1 (2009): 19-22, 25.

speakers, found themselves outside the political boundaries of the new Russian

Federation. Russia has since been embroiled in a domestic political debate about how to

define, and handle, Russians outside Russia.[20] Defining what is Russian demographically

is important to understanding the Russian diaspora since the end of the Soviet Union.

Lastly the developments of Russia in the 2000s, under Vladimir Putin, will be examined

and interpreted in the context of the global Russian diaspora in the current era.

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[20] Heleniak, "Migration Dilemmas Haunt Post-Soviet Russia," 2002.

CHAPTER II

The History of Russian Immigration

Early Russian Migration

The Russian Federation, the acknowledged successor state to the former Soviet Union as of 1991, is the world's largest nation by land area. With an area of 17,098,242 square kilometers, Russia extends over the landmass of Eurasia, from Easter Europe to the edge of the Pacific Ocean. Due to Russia's size, the country has a vast array of differences in its physical and cultural geography. The European section of Russia, west of the Urals, contains vast plains with low hills; coniferous forests and tundra span Siberia; while mountains and deserts make up much of the southern edge of the country.[21] The modern Russian state traces its roots back to the mixture of Scandinavian and Slavic tribes which settled the region west of the Urals. According to some histories, the Viking chief Rurik elevated the city-state of Novgorod to prominence in 862.[22] The state of Kievan Rus' arose to power in the 10th and 11th centuries but was dominated by the Mongol Empire beginning in the 13th century. The Principality of Muscovy emerged as a powerful European state after the dissolution of Mongol dominance by the 15th century. The Romanov dynasty led the kingdom as it expanded to its imperial heights as the Russian Empire, which by the beginning of the 20th century had conquered territory extending to the Pacific Ocean and down to Central Asia. External defeats in the Russo-Japanese War and World War I, coupled with internal discontent among the rural and

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[21] "Russia," The CIA World Factbook, last modified June 20, 2014, accessed September 20, 2014, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rs.html.

[22] Wladyslaw Duczko. *Viking Rus: Studies on the Presence of Scandinavians in Eastern Europe* (Boston: Brill, 2004), 10.

working populations in Russia, culminated in the 1917 Russian Revolution, the Russian

Civil War, and the emergence of the Marxist-Leninist state the Union of Soviet Socialist

Republics in 1922. After nearly seventy years of Soviet rule, the U.S.S.R. dissolved in

response to a stagnating economy and growing nationalistic demands among the fifteen

Soviet republics. The Russian Federation, occupying the boundaries of the Russian

Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, emerged from the U.S.S.R. in December 1991.[23]

In 1550, the population of the state of Muscovy was around 6.5 million people.

By 1897, the Russian empire reached its territorial heights and was populated by close to

125 million people.[24] The population of the Russian Federation, as of July 2014, is just

over 142 million people. As of Russia's 2010 census, 190 different ethnic groups were

represented within the boundaries of Russia. Russians make up the majority of ethnic

representation, with 77.7%, followed by Tatar at 3.7%, Ukrainian 1.4%, and a number of

other ethnicities such as Bashkir, Buryat, Chuvash, Chechen, Ingush, and others.[25] As

will be brought up later in this thesis, the idea behind what makes up Russian ethnicity is

still uncertain, and is a political debate currently under discussion in former Soviet states.

The East European Plain and the Eurasian Steppe have historically been areas of

passage for nomadic groups, such as the Scythians, the Turks, Slavic tribes, and Mongol

invaders, entering into Europe, the Middle East, or into Central Asia.[26] The Great

Migration period dates from around 400 to 700 CE, and facilitated the pushing of

Germanic tribes westward by Slavs, Huns, and Avars coming from the East European

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[23] The CIA World Factbook, "Russia."

[24] David Moon, "Peasant Migration and the Settlement of Russia's Frontiers, 1550-1897," *The Historical Journal* 40, no. 4 (1997): 859.

[25] The CIA World Factbook, "Russia."

[26] John Gunther, *Inside Russia Today* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958), 146.

Plain.[27] Russian immigration before 1800 was sparse and usually involved migration

within the Slavic-Eastern European world. The Raskol schism within the Russian

Orthodox Church in 1666 resulted in many Old Believers migrating west, settling in

Poland and Lithuania, where they were free to practice their faith. Old Believers were a

sect of Orthodox Christians in Russia, who refused to recognize 17th century reforms to

the Orthodox faith, which the Old Believers asserted separated the Russian church too far

from the original Greek Orthodoxy. Old Believer migrant groups left Russia and settled

mostly in Poland and the Baltics area, where there remains a small presence today.[28] The

Lipovans and Doukhobor were also religious dissident groups which emigrated out of

Russia due to religious persecution. The Lipovans left Russia around the early 18th

century, settling mostly in Moldova, Ukraine, and in the Balkans in Romania and

Bulgaria.[29] The Doukhobor emigrated mostly around the latter half of the 19th century,

where a large number settled in Georgia and in Canada. By 1905, there were 8,000

Russian Doukhobors living in Canada, mostly in the province of Manitoba.[30]

The expansion of the Russian Empire in the 19th century into Siberia and Central

Asia, and imperial policies to Russify the region, led to a large number of Russians

migrating to the Eastern portion of the empire. These consisted mostly of Russian,

Belorussian, and Ukrainians, which helped to dominate the empire's new acquisitions by

spreading the Russian language and East Slavic culture. By 1897, fifty million Russians

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[27] Zbigniew Kobylinski, "The Slavs," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. 1: c.500- c.700*, ed. Paul Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 530-537.

[28] Anton Beliajeff and Richard Morris, "Towards a Further Understanding of the Old Believers," *Cahiers du Monde russe et sovietique* XXVIII, No. 3-4 (1987): 425-427.

[29] Natalia S. Dushakova, "Specifics of the Traditional Culture of the Old Believers of Moldova and Southern Ukraine: Dwelling Practices," *Anthropology & Archeology of Eurasia* 52, no. 1 (2013): 22-23.

[30] Aurelio Palmieri, "The Russian Doukhobors and their Religious Teachings," *Harvard Theological Review* 8, no. 1 (1915): 69-70.

had settled throughout new territories in the Empire.[31] A significant number of Jewish-Russians began emigrating out of the Russian Empire in the 1880s, with the United States being a primary destination. The economic aspect was a central cause for Russian-Jewish migration to the U.S. in the late nineteenth century; at the time the Russian Empire had instituted anti-Jewish laws, such as the inability to live in cities, own land, or attend universities, and the establishment of pogroms, which left the majority of its Jewish population in poverty. From 1880-1910, 1.5 million Russian-Jews immigrated to the United States.[32]

The First and Second Waves of Russian Migration

Although emigration out of the area that constitutes Russia has been occurring since before the formation of the earliest incarnations of the Russian state back in the 9th century, academic studies of the modern Russian diaspora have looked primarily at Russian immigration in the 20th century.[33] The first substantial period of out-migration occurred during and immediately after the Russian Revolution of 1917, and the subsequent Russian Civil War, which resulted in the establishment of the Soviet state within the borders of the old Russian Empire by 1922. The Russian Revolution and the establishment of a new Communist state was a shock to the old ways of Russia, it upset the old societal orders that the empire was built upon. The Russian Empire in the start of the 20th century was an absolutist monarchy governing a vast agrarian society that had only outlawed serfdom some forty years earlier. The ideals of the revolution promised to

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[31] Moon, "Peasant Migration and Settlement," 859, 880, 885.

[32] Silviu Costachie, "The Immigration to the United States of Jews from the Russian Empire," *Geopolitics, History, and International Relations* 3 (2011): 248-251.

[33] Eva Bertrand, "Russian Diaspora in the US: 'I don't think there will be another wave of immigration'-interview," *The Voice of Russia*, December 19, 2012.

remove the old aristocratic and growing capitalistic ways of Russia, and build a society

based on the principles of socialism. The combined casualties of the Great War, the

revolution, and the civil war resulted in 14.5 million Russian deaths, according to some

historians; and the political outcome of this period culminated in the overthrow of the

czarist regime and the establishment of rule by Soviets (the Russian word for council).[34]

The chaos of the civil war and the ultimate defeat of the White forces by 1922 resulted in

a large exodus of Russians emigrating out of Russia for fear of starvation, death, and fear

of the new regime. Thousands of Russians managed to leave Russia during and

immediately after the Russian civil war. The U.S. State Department lists nearly a million

Russian immigrants entering the U.S. from the early 1900s to the tightening of migration

restrictions in the early 1930s, under the Stalin regime.[35] The first wave of Russian

immigrants went in large numbers to Europe, Paris and Berlin were cities contained large

communities of Russians in the 1920s. The U.S. was also a major point of destination for

Russians, as was China. Harbin and Shanghai became host to a significant grouping of

Russian exiles in East Asia. Hsu documents the development of two groups among the

first wave of Russian immigrants, the first being those more politically minded, who wish

to keep the memory of the old Russian government alive. These include White army

soldiers and politicians who remained politically active in their anti-Sovietness during the

1920s and 1930s. The second group were those Russians who rejected the political side,

instead embracing an identity as the guardians of the tradition of Russian culture and

art.[36] London, Paris, and Berlin all hosted vibrant Russian artistic scenes, and produced a

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[34] Tony Wood, "Russia Vanishes," *London Review of Books*, December 6, 2012, 5.
[35] Isurin, *Russian Diaspora*, 5.
[36] Chia Yin Hsu, "Diaries and Diaspora Identity: Rethinking Russian Emigration in China," *Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 11, no. 1 (2010): 128.

number of important literary and artistic figures, such as Boris Pasternak, Andrei Bely, and Boris Pilnyak. A prime example of a prominent literary figure to emerge out of the first wave was the acclaimed Russian writer Vladimir Nabokov, who was an active member in the Russian communities in England and Germany, before immigrating to the United States.[37]

Studies of the first wave of Russian immigration point to a wide-spread feeling of a loss of homeland among Russian émigrés. Russia was wiped off the map and replaced with the Soviet Union, which many among the diaspora did not identify with, nor consider their homeland.[38] In 1921, the Soviet government deprived Russians living abroad of Soviet citizenship, leaving many to continue to claim to the lost Czarist government or become citizens of their host country.[39] Literature coming from the Russian diaspora displays this sentiment, as well as a sense of alienation in their new home. This feeling will resurge with the third wave of Russian immigration, when Russians abroad will lament the loss of their homeland the Soviet Union in the 1990s.

The second wave of Russian immigration is less defined than the first or third, and is usually measured around the time of the Stalinist purges in the 1930s through World War II. These include Soviet citizens fleeing the strictly regulated life of the U.S.S.R. and those fleeing the onslaught of the German invasion into the Soviet Union beginning in 1941.[40] Purges within the Soviet Union during the 1920s and 1930s, heightened from 1937-1938, focused on systematically eliminating those viewed as

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[37] Greta Slobin, and Nancy Condee, Katerina Clark, Mark Slobin, Dan Slobin, *Russians Abroad: Literary and Cultural Politics of Diaspora (1919-1939)* (New York: Academic Studies Press, 2013), 32.
[38] Slobin et. al, *Russians Abroad*, 35.
[39] Ristaino, *Port of Last Resort*, 37.
[40] Isurin, *Russian Diaspora*, 6.

dissidents, spies, class antagonists, and foreigners.[41] The People's Commissariat for

Internal Affairs (NKVD) records of casualties from the purges and relocations during the

period of 1937-1938 total near a million deaths, although other statistics point to higher

numbers of casualties.[42] Stalin's regime targeted a number of ethnic groups perceived as

threats to the state, this included Jews and ethnic Germans living in Russia, as well as

Ingushetians, Chechen, and Koreans. Forced relocation became part of the regime's

policy towards perceived dissident groups. Central Asia, mostly Kazakhstan and

Uzbekistan, was the destination where most of these groups were dropped off and forced

to undergo Russo-Sovietization programs.[43] Some sources indicate 1.2 million ethnic

Germans were deported to Central Asia, as well as 9,000 Soviet Finns, 90,000 Kalmyks,

390,000 Chechens, 90,000 Ingushetians, 70,000 Karachai, 180,000 Crimean Tartars, and

40,000 Balkars.[44] A separate Jewish Autonomous Oblast was established in Siberia in

1934 which was supposed to serve as the allowable living location of all Jewish people in

the Soviet Union. By 1957, the Jewish Autonomous Oblast had a population of 157,000,

about half of which were Jewish. In 1914, some 6,200,000 Russian Jews lived within the

empire, but by the end 1950s, there remained only 2,500,000.[45] Koreans living in Siberia

and on Sakhalin Island, were transplanted to Central Asia, as the Soviet government

feared these communities were working with the Japanese Empire. Over 100,000 ethnic

[41] Alastair Kocho-Williams, "The Soviet Diplomatic Corps and Stalin's Purges," *The Slavonic and Eastern European Review* 86, no. 1 (January 2008): 92.

[42] Michael Ellman, "Soviet Repression Statistics: Some Comments," *Europe-Asia Studies* 54, no. 7 (November 2002): 1155.

[43] Alexander C. Diener, "Diasporic Stances: Comparing the Historical Geography Antecedents of Korean and German Migration Decisions in Kazakhstan," *Geopolitics* 14 (2009): 469.

[44] "Kazakhstan: Special Report on ethnic Germans," *Irin Asia*, February 1, 2005. http://www.irinnews.org/report/28051/kazakhstan-special-report-on-ethnic-germans.

[45] Gunther, *Inside Russia Today*, 183, 339.

Koreans were deported to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan by October 1937.[46] Forced

deportation and labor camps were largely done away with during the Khrushchev

destalinization era. A quote from Nikita Khrushchev highlights his views on forced

migration in the Soviet Union under Stalin, in relation to the Ukrainians: "The Ukrainians

avoided meeting this fate only because there were too many of them and there was no

space to which to deport them. Otherwise Stalin would have deported them also."[47]

These groups will be important in analyzing the ethnic breakdown of the third

wave of Russian immigration. A large portion of Russian-speakers leaving former Soviet

states during the 1990s were non-Russian ethnic groups repatriating back to their historic

homelands. As will be discussed in chapter three, return programs in Germany, Israel,

and South Korea incentivized emigration of these ethnic groups out of Russia.[48]

Russian Migration to Asia during the First and Second Waves

Western Europe and the United States were the primary destination locations for

Russian-speaking migrants in the early part of the 20th century. There was a significant

level of immigration, however, of Russians to East Asia during the interwar period and

during World War II. China, being geographically close to Russia, was the port of call for

many Russians escaping the Bolshevik armies, the ascent of Stalin's terror, and later the

invasion of the German army. Japan and Korea also had Russian refugee populations

during this time as well.[49] The Chinese cities of Shanghai and Harbin contained the

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[46] Levi Bridges, "Koreans in Russia: Hiding in Plain Sight." *Russian Life* 55, no. 5 (2012): 52.
[47] Gunther, *Inside Russia Today*, 221, 234.
[48] Korobkov and Zaionchkovskaia, "Russian Brain Drain," 328.
[49] Hsu, "Diaries and Diaspora," 135.

biggest inflow of Russians in Asia, although there were smaller communities dispersed throughout the country.

The city of Harbin, located in Manchuria not far from the Russian-Chinese border, was a focal area of Russians in Asia, and during the 1920s hosted one of the largest Russian diaspora communities outside Russia.[50] Initially Russian workers were brought in beginning in 1898 to work on the Chinese Eastern Railway (CER), the railroads connects to the Trans-Siberian Railways in Vladivostok, which links European Russia to Siberia. Harbin would develop into a city that would exemplify Russianness outside Russia. Its architecture, streets, language, and culture were all Russian, despite being in China. After the revolution of 1917 and the overthrow of the Czarist regime, Harbin became a place of refuge for White forces and those Russians fleeing the Bolsheviks. By the mid-1920s, around 120,000 Russians lived in Harbin, while some 35,000 lived in the surrounding area in Manchuria. This not only included ethnic Russians, but former citizens of the empire, such as Georgians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Armenians, and Jewish-Russians; in the 1920s the Jewish population in Harbin was around 13,000.[51] For those Russians that felt the loss of their home-state, the Russian Empire, Harbin offered the feeling of Russia, as the cultural-linguistic aspects of Harbin were predominately European Russian.

The 1930s saw the decline in the Russian community in Harbin, as the Japanese had occupied Manchuria by 1932, and the Soviet government had sold their portion of the CER Railway to the Japanese Empire in 1935. The Russian community in Harbin

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[50] Mara Moustafine, "Russians From China: Migrations and Identity," *International Journal of Diversity in Organizations, Communities and Nations* 9, no. 6 (2010): 143.
[51] Moustafine, "Russians from China," 146-147.

entered a difficult period in the 1930s, with a declining economy and harassment by the Japanese government. Militant anti-Semitism also became a powerful political force amongst the Russian community at this time, as seen by the rise of the Russian Fascist Party (RFP), which arose out of the White exiled forces living in Manchuria. After the sale of the CER in 1935, the Japanese created the Bureau of Russian Émigré affairs in Manchukuo (BREM) to manage and control the activities of the Russian population in the region. BREM was headed by a number of ex-White military men with ties to the Russian Fascist Party, which further increased tensions within Harbin and Russian Manchuria. Many Russians evacuated Manchuria after the Japanese gained control of the region, some 30,000 Russian families returned to the Soviet Union by 1935. The Harbintsy, as Russian citizens of Harbin were termed, returning to the Soviet Union were targeted as Japanese spies by the Soviet government, and 31,000 were killed, while many were sentenced to labor camps. The Russian-speaking population in Harbin declined to around 30,000 by the end of the 1930s, and by the end of World War II only 1,000 Russians resided in Harbin. The Communist revolution in China and the tumultuous period in the new People's Republic of China, culminating in the chaotic Cultural Revolution beginning in 1966, left few incentives for Russians to remain in China. Many Russians chose to immigrate back to the U.S.S.R., which by the 1950s was more of a hospitable option for former anti-Bolshevik dissidents and exiles, while others chose to leave for the United States, Australia, or Western Europe.[52]

As many as 50,000 Jewish and Slavic Russian-speakers were living in the city of Shanghai during the 1930s, another major city of the Russian diaspora in Asia during the

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[52] Moustafine, "Russians from China," 150-151, 153.

interwar period.[53] The defeated White military forces became prominent leaders in the Shanghai Russian community, while many fleeing White regiments became employed as military forces under Chinese warlords. By 1927, the Russian population in Shanghai was around 8,000, by 1929 it was 13,000, and by 1933 it was close to 16,000.[54] The Russian community in the 1920s, largely impoverished and fleeing the discord in the new Soviet regime, were often viewed with disdain by the wealthy established foreign community in Shanghai, as these Slavic refugees were willing to work as hard labor alongside the native Chinese.[55]

The Slavic community in Shanghai by the 1930s was made up mostly of Russian-speakers and Polish immigrants, although by the commencement of World War II this group would increase as would the presence of other Eastern European Slavic groups such as Czechs, Slovaks, and Slovenes. The Slavic community was mostly based around the Hong Kou area of Shanghai, and was dominated in leadership and representation by the Russians. The Polish and Russians groups generally had an amicable relationship, however the greatest objection to Russian dominance in representation were the Ukrainians, who wanted to separate themselves from their Russian counterparts. The Ukrainians hoped to establish separate living area and political representation within the Shanghai Slavic community. The Ukrainians protested to being lumped together and counted in census registrations as Russian; an issue which has and continues to divide Russian and Ukrainians to this day. The Chinese and international groups did not seem to

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[53] Ristaino, *Port of Last Resort*, xiii.
[54] Ristaino, *Port of Last Resort*, 46, 53, 72.
[55] Ristaino, *Port of Last Resort*, 15.

pay much attention to the Ukrainians, and continue to view them as an extension of the Russian presence in Shanghai.[56]

The Russian community in Shanghai was the largest Russian-speaking diaspora outside of Harbin and Paris during the interwar years. Despite the impoverished state of many Russian-speakers fleeing to Shanghai, many were well-educated and had professional skills. Prostitution was also tied to the Russian community in Shanghai, a League of Nations study in 1930 stated that 22.5% of Russian women were engaged in prostitution.[57] The issue of prostitution among Russian communities abroad continues to be an unfortunate pattern within the Russian diaspora, as this will be highlighted later in all the case studies of Russians in South Korea, the Netherlands, and to a lesser extent Cambodia.

The foreign communities in Shanghai were a hotbed of spies and political intrigue during the 1920s and early 1930s, and by the time the Japanese invaded China proper in 1937, the situation became tense in the city. A number of right-wing organizations sprung up amongst the Russian diaspora, this included the Russian Fascist Party, the Legitimist-Monarchist party, the Russian General Military Union (ROVS), and the Union of Mladrossy. The Russian Fascist Party had close ties with the Japanese military in Shanghai, as was the case in Harbin as well.[58] The presence of the Japanese, and the emergence of a right-wing dominated Russian leadership increased tensions within the Jewish and Slavic groups in Shanghai, however the racial tensions in Shanghai were less

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[56] Ristaino, *Port of Last Resort*, 74.
[57] Ristaino, *Port of Last Resort*, 94.
[58] Ristaino, *Port of Last Resort*, 161, 182.

overtly violent than in Harbin.[59] The German invasion of the U.S.S.R. stirred up

nationalist sentiment among the Russian diaspora abroad, and support for the Soviet

government increased among Russian émigrés. After World War II, a large portion of

Slavic Russians in Shanghai returned to the Soviet Union, while many Jewish Russians

chose to emigrate to Israel and the United States. As was the case with Russians living all

over China, the situation after World War II did not look promising in the country. The

Chinese civil war, the establishment of a Communist state, the Sino-Soviet split, and the

Cultural revolution all increased Chinese hostilities towards outsides, and Russians found

themselves less secure under the new Chinese leadership.

Academic studies on the Russian communities in China, during the first and

second waves of emigration out of Russia, look at the struggle of Russian immigrants in

adjusting to the alien environment of East Asia. Raeff in *Russia Abroad: A Cultural

History of the Russian Emigration, 1919-1939* coins what he terms the 'Far Eastern

Branch' of Russian immigration, in examining the Russian diaspora in East Asia during

the interwar period, particularly in China. Raeff describes how the Russian community in

China was able to preserve its linguistic, cultural, and religious institutions despite living

in a drastically different Chinese society. Despite differences among the differing ethnic

groups represented within the Russian community, Georgians, Ukrainians, Jews,

Armenians, etc.; the community generally cooperated under an umbrella of a shared

Russo-Slavic culture and Russian language.[60] Raeff describes how Russian communities

in Western Europe generally assimilated into the host culture within one generation,

however the level of separation existing in the Russian community from the host Chinese

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[59] Ristaino, *Port of Last Resort*, 276.
[60] Hsu, "Diaries and Diaspora Identity," 133-134, 141-142.

one, prevented any real assimilation into Chinese society.[61] The Russians skin tone, language, customs, and culture stood out as alien to the homogeny of ethnic Chinese culture and society in Shanghai, making assimilation difficult. Hsu quotes from Petr Balakshin's work on the Russian diaspora in China; "a person with light-colored skin will always remain an alien in Asia."[62]

In examining the diaries of several prominent White Russian émigrés, Hsu reinforces this sense of apartness felt by Russians in China. Using diaries from P.V. Vologodskii and I.I. Seerebrennikov (and his wife A.N. Serebrennikova), both White government officials in Siberia who emigrated and lived in various cities in China, Hsu describes a sense of both excitement and loneliness when faced with life in China.[63] Ristaino describes how the Russian community felt ostracized by both the Chinese community and the European expat community in Shanghai. The Russian immigrants in Shanghai were poor, a large portion were Jewish, and willing to do hard labor or blue-collar work; to which the other wealthy European classes in Shanghai looked down upon.[64] The Russians were also the largest European diaspora present in China, making them an issue for the Chinese government.

The motivations for Russian immigration to Asia since the 1990s were different from the Russian diaspora in China during the first and second wave of Russian immigration. As will be discussed later, Russian immigration in the third wave occurred more out of economic desperation, rather than due to political turmoil as was more the

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[61] Marc Raeff, *Russia Abroad: A Cultural History of the Russian Emigration, 1919-1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 4, 10.
[62] From Petr Balakshin's *Finale v* Kitae (San Francisco: Knigoizdatel'stvo Sirius, 1958), 10, in Hsu, "Diaries and Diaspora," 138.
[63] Hsu, "Diaries and Diaspora Identities," 141.
[64] Ristaino, *Port of Last Resort*, 15, 81.

case in the first half of the twentieth century. However, comparisons can be made in the responses and experiences of Russians living in Asia. The separation felt within the Russian Slavic community in China in the 30s and 40s can be comparable to those Russians in Korea and Cambodia in the 90s and 2000s. The ease to which Russians assimilated into Western Europe during the interwar period, as compared to those Russians in China at the same time, is analogous to our case study of Russians immigrating to the Netherlands since the 1990s, who as a group have a greater ease remaining invisible within Dutch society as compared to those Russians living in South Korea or Cambodia.

Post-Soviet Migration

The Third Wave of Russian Migration

The period of emigration from Russia from the late 1980s up through the early

2000s is often termed the third wave of Russian migration, and is the focus of this thesis.

From 1989 to 2002, over a million people emigrated out of Russia. The catalyst for the

third wave of migration was the break-up of the Soviet Union in December 1991, and the

economic downturn that followed the transition to a liberal market economy in Russia.

The dissolution of the Soviet Union, the transition to a market economy, along with the

lifting of strict regulations on internal and external migration policies open the door for

new patterns of migration in and out of Russia.

From 1948 to 1990, around 1,130,000 Soviet citizens emigrated out of the

country, with 40% of that number emigrating from 1987 to 1989.[65] Nearly the same

amount of people left Russia in the span of around 10 years (1991-2002) as left the Soviet

Union in the span of over forty years (1948-1990). From 1990 to 1991, nearly 450,000

people alone emigrated out of the Soviet Union.[66] This large increase in migration out of

Russia was an outcome of the debunking of the U.S.S.R. and Russia's transition to a

liberal democracy and capitalist economic system, as well as a lifting of the decades-long

internal passport system. The transition to a market economy halted 70 years of the

Soviet planned economy, and resulted in a rush to profit off the privatization of formerly

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[65] Lilia Shevtsova, "Post-Soviet Emigration Today and Tomorrow," *International Migration Review* 26, no. 2 (1992): 241.
[66] Shevtsova, "Post-Soviet Emigration," 241.

state-owned enterprises. This precipitated further widening of income levels, high corruption, and economic instability.[67] The economic downturn that occurred in the 1990s brought about new incentives for migration out of Russia. Reforms were also made to adhere to international migration standards, and in 1993 the internal passport system was officially abolished, giving more freedom for people to choose where they lived. The internal passport system was introduced under Stalin's rule to control migration, and tighten the Soviet government's grasp of the national economy.[68] Internally what occurred from this was a large migration from the Russian Far East and Far North to Russia's more central areas, where economic opportunity was greater. In sixteen regions in Siberia and in the far North from 1989 to 2001, twelve percent of the population migrated out; in seven of those regions, the percentages were as high as twenty percent. In the far northeastern regions of Magadan and Chukotka, 43% and 61% respectively have migrated away.[69]

The Russian ruble crisis in 1998 and economic decline further increased the incentives for migration out of Russia. The economic tail spin of the 1990s, along with the relaxing of migration restrictions, created a new wave of Russian migration in the post-Cold War era. A brain drain occurred initially, with educated Russian talent heading mostly to three locations, the United States, Israel, and Germany; as well as to a lesser extent in other Western European countries, Canada, and small pockets around Asia. In the course of over ten years, nearly 100,000 people emigrated out of Russia annually. Between 1989 to 2002, 1.1 million Russians migrated out of the Russian Federation, less

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[67] Gideon Lichfield, "Having it Both Ways," *The Economist*, May 20, 2004.
[68] Heleniak, "Migration Dilemmas."
[69] Heleniak, "Migration Dilemmas."

than 1% of the total population; with Germany taking 57% of that group, Israel 26%, and the United States 11%.[70] The United Kingdom, which has had historically lower rates of Russian migration than Germany or France, has seen a sharp increase in Russian migration since the early 1990s. Migration statistics reported 300,000 Russian-speakers immigrated to the U.K. in the early 1990s.[71]

Although one million people out of Russia's 140 million plus population may seem minimal, this is a huge increase in out-migration from the previous forty years of Russian history, especially factoring in that a large portion of that one million migrant pool were highly educated professionals. Since the end of World War II, the Soviet Union was an isolated state, with little migration in and out of the country. Strict regulations on internal movement made movement difficult during the Soviet era. The internal passport system, created in the 1930s in order to conform Soviet society to a planned economy, prevented a great deal of internal and international migration. Harsh punishments were laid down for Soviet citizens trying to escape the U.S.S.R., and state permission to emigrate was rarely allowed.[72]

The United States has always been a major destination point for Russian immigration since the late 18th and 19th century, and it is no surprise that the United States was an important destination for Russian immigrants in the 1990s. Soviet immigration in the 1970s was minimal, with nearly 40,000 Soviet migrants settling in the U.S. during that decade. From 1981 to 1993, nearly 186,000 Russians immigrated to the

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[70] Heleniak, "Migration Dilemmas."
[71] Andy Byford, "The Russian Diaspora in International Relations: 'Compatriots' in Britain," *Europe-Asia Studies* 64, no. 4 (2012): 716.
[72] Isurin, *Russian Diaspora*, 10.

United States. The largest Russian community in the United States exists in New York, in the famous Brighton Beach district. By the mid-1990s, nearly a quarter of a million Russian Americans had settled in New York City alone. Other areas include major cities such as Chicago, Philadelphia, Miami, Boston, Los Angeles, and Houston. NASA in Houston co-opted several hundred Russian engineers during the 1990s, previously employed by the Russian Space Center, and many Russians were offered permanent residency and employment in the city. Despite difficulties in obtaining permanent residency visas and American citizenship, usually three to five years after initial settlement, Russian immigrants in the United States have generally reported positive feelings in adjustment to their new American host society.[73]

A significant number of third wave Russian immigrants have been ethnic repatriates and members of the educated intelligentsia. The early 1990s saw a large number of ethnic Germans and Russian Jews emigrate out of Russia, primarily to Germany, Israel, and the United States. In addition to Jewish and German repatriation, there were significant amounts of Poles, Armenians, Greek, and Koreans immigrating back to their historic homelands after migration restrictions were lifted in 1991 in the Soviet Union. From 1990 to 1991, nearly 1,000 Soviet Greeks immigrated to Greece from the Soviet Union every month.[74] In the later period of the 1990s there was less of an ethnic component in the emigrant composition, and the majority of migrants leaving

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[73] Isurin, *Russian Diaspora*, 16-17.
[74] Shevtsova, "Post-Soviet Emigration," 248.

Russia were Slavic Russians, and the reasons were predominately economically motivated.[75]

The Russian-Jewish migration in the third wave represented a large percentage of Russian emigration, and Israel was one of the primary destinations for Russian Jews. In 1990, over 200,000 Russian Jews immigrated to Israel.[76] One of the biggest positive attracters for immigrating to Israel was the immediate obtaining of Israeli citizenship upon entrance into the country for Jewish Russians, and non-Jewish spouses; a 2003 study showed 70% of Soviet Jews were married to non-Jewish partners.[77] For Russian Jews emigrating during the Soviet period, and for all emigrants granted permission to permanently leave the Soviet Union, the renouncing of Soviet citizenship was mandatory before departing. Russians immigrating to the United States had to go through a lengthy process to obtain visas, and an even lengthier process to obtain citizenship. The Israeli government was trying to bump up its population numbers in the 1970s and 1980s. As the nation was under pressure from hostile Arab neighbors, increasing its population was a way of increasing the Israeli work force, tax base, and military recruits. The Israeli government even pleaded with the U.S. government to reduce its Russian immigrant admission numbers in the late 1980s and early 1990s, in order that some of the Russian Jews looking to immigrate to the States would be deflected to Israel.[78]

Many Jewish Russian immigrants who came to Israel faced difficult circumstances, such as prejudices from the established Israeli communities. Russians

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[75] Korobkov and Zaionchkovskaia, "Russian Brain Drain," 328.
[76] Isurin, *Russian Diaspora*, 12.
[77] Isurin, *Russian Diaspora*, 7.
[78] Isurin, *Russian Diaspora*, 12.

immigrated in large numbers in quite a short period of time. Russian Jews were seen by many of the wealthier Sephardic Jewish groups, those Jews from North Africa who immigrated to Israel in the early period of the country's formation, as of a lower social class. The Jewish Russian group of the 1990s was driven less by Zionistic attitudes for coming to Israel, and more about a need to escape Russia. This group of Russian Jews were sometimes colloquially referred to in Israel as 'non-Jewish Jews', since they were mostly irreligious, didn't practice Judaic dietary laws, and held a strong attachment to the Russian language and Soviet culture.[79] Some of the more established Jewish groups in Israel looked down on the Russian newcomers for their perceived lack of gratitude to the Israeli state, lax attitude in practicing Judaism, and bringing so many Gentiles with them. Most Russians could not speak Hebrew, and although many were educated professionals, they often had to accept lower status positions. A 1990 study showed that 60% of Russian immigrants were unemployed. Israel was unprepared in how to accommodate such a large wave of Russian professionals. The Russian Jewish communities have been more inclined to retain their Russian culture, and continue to speak Russian over Hebrew. Russian is still the second most common first language in Israel.[80]

The German government opened up its immigration doors to Russian Jews for the first half of the 1990s, in part of a good faith effort to repair its stained history of Holocaust atrocities under Hitler's Nazi Germany. In conversations with a Jewish American girl working in Amsterdam, she claimed she was able to obtain German citizenship quite easily, despite her or her parents not being born in Germany nor being

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[79] Margarita Levantovskaya, "The Russian-Speaking Jewish Diaspora in Translation: Liudmila Ulitskaia's *Daniel Stein, Translator*," *Slavic Review* 71, no.1 (2012): 91.
[80] Isurin, *Russian Diaspora*, 13.

able to speak a word of German. She stated that all it took in order to be granted a

German passport was showing that you had family connections to Holocaust victims.[81]

The attraction with Germany was less work prospects, as the availability of jobs was still

higher in Israel and the United States, but for EU citizenship and the substantial welfare

benefits that the German government provided. Therefore the age group that was

generally more attracted to Germany as a migration destination was elderly Russian

Jewish migrants, those who could no longer really compete in the workforce but were

concerned about pensions and medical care. The German government reduced its quotas

on the number of Jewish Russians allowed citizenship in Germany by the second half of

the 1990s, however the larger more substantial Russian migrant group that entered

Germany in this period were the ethnic Germans that were pouring out of Russia in the

1990s.

Russia has historically had a large population of ethnic Germans living within its

borders, going back to the Czarina Catherine the Great who invited German farmers to

settle in Russia, promising them religious freedom, the right to keep their language, and

practice Protestant Christianity. The Germans who settled were known as Volga

Germans, due to primary settlements near the Volga River in the south of Russia.[82] With

the establishment of the Soviet Union in 1922, a special Volga German Autonomous

Soviet Socialist Republic was established shortly after in 1924, and would continue until

1941. The ethnic Germans in Russia were one of the groups targeted in Stalin's

deportation tactics in the 1930s and 1940s, and thousands of German Russians were

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[81] American female, personal interview with author, Amsterdam, the Netherlands, January 6, 2015.
[82] Diener, "Diasporic Stances," 467.

deported to Central Asia. The onset of World War II and the German invasion only increased Soviet hostility to Germans in Russia.

The dissolution of the USSR, the lifting of the internal passport system, and the downward spiral of the economic situation in Russia in the 1990s all created incentives for German Russians to emigrate out of former Soviet states, just as the situation had done for Jewish Russians.[83] Like Israel, the German state had offered the promise of citizenship to all Germans abroad, termed 'Aussiedler', who were willing to repatriate back to their ancestral homeland. Some sources list around 900,000 ethnic Germans migrated from former Soviet States back to Germany during the 1990s up into the early 2000s.[84] One of the greatest problems these German Russian migrants faced was language difficulties, similar to Russian Jewish migrant in Israel. The Germans living in the Soviet Union had mostly assimilated to Russo-Soviet culture, and faced a difficult adjustment to a homeland they knew little about other than through community stories. The number of ethnic Germans migrating out of the former Soviet Union to Germany decreased in the late 1990s, although in Central Asia in the early 2000s there were still ethnic Germans emigrating out of the area; the German embassy in Almaty, Kazakhstan reported 29,000 ethnic Germans applied for citizenship in 2003.[85]

A study done in 2012 (K. Stoessel et al.) compared the experiences of youth immigrants from German Russian groups in Germany, and Russian Jewish groups in Israel. Although both groups have faced discrimination, and adjustment to new language and cultural customs, these groups have adapted fairly well to their new host country. The

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[83] Diener, "Diasporic Stances," 471.
[84] "Kazakhstan: Special Report," *Irin Asia*.
[85] "Kazakhstan: Special Report," *Irin Asia*.

study compared the test subjects' level of host culture identification with the frequency of usage of the host-language.[86] Results showed that in Israel, the established Russian sub-culture there increased the polarity between young immigrants identifying as either 'Israeli' or 'Russian', where there was more of a preference to identify as one over the other. In Germany, perhaps due to the lack of established 'Aussiedler' community, young German Russians responded positively to identifying as both German and Russian simultaneously.[87]

Beyond ethnic repatriation, major attractive factors for western nations were their higher standards of living, high economic development, professional career opportunities, and a political climate of stability. The level of ethnic repatriation became less significant in Russian emigration by the latter half of the 1990s. The percentages of Slavic Russians in the immigrant pool in the 1990s were less compared with the primary groups of Jewish and German Russians. In 1993, ethnic Russians made up 24% of Russian emigrants, compared to ethnic Germans which were 53% and Jewish Russians at 16%. In 2000 ethnic Russians were 41%, compared to ethnic Germans at 23% and 7% were made up by Jewish Russians. By the early 2000s, ethnic Slavic Russians made up over 50% of the emigrant pool leaving Russia, as the ethnic German and Jewish groups in Russia had shrunk in size throughout the 1990s.[88]

In the 1990s, 90% of Russian immigrants went to the big three destinations points of the U.S., Israel, and Germany, however by 2000s these three countries made up

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[86] Katharina Stoessel, Peter F. Titzmann, and Rainer K. Silbereisen, "Young Diaspora Immigrants' Attitude and Behavior Toward the Host Culture: The Role of Cultural Identification," *European Psychologist* 17, no. 2 (2012): 145.
[87] Stoessel et al., "Young Dispora Immigrants'," 152.
[88] Korobkov and Zaionchkovskaia, "Russian Brain Drain," 328.

only 60% of Russians leaving Russia.[89] A significant part of the third wave of Russian immigration was the component of intellectual migration, which adds weight to the impact of this migration. The economic situation in Russia during the 1990s did not provide a suitable environment for highly educated professionals. Russia since before even the Soviet days has had good universities, mostly in Moscow and St. Petersburg, and Soviet funding into academia and science during the 1960s and 1970s was high. However the Russian Federation has put far less financial funding into the sciences, in the 1990s Russian government funding of research and development (R&D) declined to pre-1960s standards. By 2000 Russian R&D funding was a total of 1% of government GDP spending, as opposed to 2.69% in the U.S. and 2.98% in Japan.[90]

The major destination points for Russian academics and scholars are Western Europe and North America, with 42.4% and 30.4% respectively of total intellectual migrations heading to these regions. According to 2003 statistics data from Gosurdarstvennyi Komitet RF po Statistike, of academic intelligentsia migration from Russia, the United States has accounted for 28% of Russian academics abroad, while Germany makes up 19%, France 6.5%, the United Kingdom 4.6%, Japan, 4.3%, Sweden 3.2%, India 2.4%, Italy 2%, the Netherlands 2%, and China 2% as well.[91] International migration of Russian students for academic purposes is still high despite recent improvements in funding to Russian universities. In an interview with a Russian student attending graduate school in Germany in 2014, the student mentioned how German professors are much more professional, and more interested in their students'

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[89] Korobkov and Zaionchkovskaia, "Russian Brain Drain," 328.
[90] Korobkov and Zaionchkovskaia, "Russian Brain Drain," 328.
[91] Korobkov and Zaionchkovskaia, "Russian Brain Drain," 333.

development; whereas the professors in Russia don't care about their students whatsoever.[92] In another conversation with an American who taught English in Russia in 2012, and now attends graduate university in Germany, she said that plagiarism was much more rampant in the Russian university she worked for, as opposed to in the United States. She said that the professors and administration for the most part do not care, nor are there any repercussions for Russian students committing academic dishonesty.[93]

Despite ongoing issues with the Russian education system, recent developments under Putin since 2000, such as increasing oil prices, have led to greater investment in education and the scientific fields in Russia, in attempts to prevent further academic out-migration. Russia has been in the process of rebuilding its position as a global superpower since the early 2000s, and the continued depopulation of the country due to emigration presents an embarrassment as well as an economic issue. Not only has Russia suffered the loss of over a million Russians since the 1990s, it faces an even greater demographic threat of an aging and shrinking population. Russia's total fertility rate (TFR) has been in decline since the 1990s, and may well have declined past replacement numbers as far back as the 1930s. However, since the 1990s, Russia's population has been in noticeable decline. In 1992, deaths exceeded births by 220,000.[94]

Russia's population declined by 6.4 million from 1991 to 2009, with an annual average decline of 337,000. U.N. figures estimate that Russia's total population will decrease from 142.9 million in 2010, to 111 million by 2050. Multiple issues have contributed to depopulation, such as below replacement TFR, higher than average infant

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[92] Russian male graduate student, email interview with author, December 3, 2014.
[93] American female graduate student, email interview with author, December 5, 2014.
[94] Wood, "Russia Vanishes," 5.

mortality rate for a European state, poor lifestyles, a weak national healthcare system, and the demographic devastations of the first half of the 20th century. Census data reports 14.5 million Russians being killed off between 1914-1922, during World War I, the Russian Revolution, and the Russian Civil war. The Stalinist purges from 1927-1938 resulted in some 10 million deaths, and World War II claimed 25-30 million Russian lives. These catastrophic events left a demographic echo on the Russia population, and reduced the nation's ability to have any substantial population growth in the second half of the 20th century. The decline in Russian population, which although only revealed itself in the 1990s, was most likely ignited by these devastating events to the Russian population throughout the first half of the 20th century.[95] Russia's government since 2000, when Vladimir Putin took power, has been much more conscious of the nation's demographic issues, and has enacted policies to provide greater financial assistance to couples starting families, lessening restrictions on internal migration, and facilitating easier access to guest worker programs for immigrants coming into Russia. In particular, the Russian government wants to prevent further out-migration, and attract in-migration of those Russian speakers who are part of the Russian diaspora in the near abroad. Although the Russian population has stabilized somewhat in the recent years, due to increased government fertility programs and a new generation of Russian women entering child-bearing ages, population dynamics in Russia are far from ideal.[96] Russia's re-emergence as a global super power in the 21st century is only tenuously supported by its abundant natural gas and energy resources, and if the country continues to decline demographically then its place among the world's great powers will decline as well.

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[95] Wood, "Russia Vanishes," 5.

[96] L.L. Rybakovskii, "Russian Population Dynamics and Its Components in 2001-25," *Russian Social Science Review* 54, no. 4 (2013): 51.

The Russian Diaspora in the Near Abroad

An aspect of Russia population dynamics which has impacted the Russian

Federation and all post-Soviet successor states, is the element of the Russian diaspora in

Russia's near abroad. While not a traditional diaspora, ethnic Russians and those

Russian-speakers who identify as Russian, found themselves a part of a minority group in

the post-Soviet era. When the Soviet Union was dissolved in December 1991, 25 million

Russians were left outside of the newly created Russian borders. Many ethnic Russians

in Central Asia and Eastern Europe chose to immigrate back to Russia, roughly 3 million

immigrated into the Russian Federation by the start of the 21st century. Twenty-two

million Russians however still reside in former Soviet states; an issue which remains

politically important to the Russian government.[97] Categorizing these Russians as part of

a diaspora may be inaccurate, as these Russians did not choose to migrate out of Russia

but were rather displaced by redrawn national boundaries after the collapse of the Soviet

Union. The largest groups of ethnic Russians are predominately in Eastern Ukraine,

Northern Kazakhstan, and the Baltic States of Latvia and Estonia. In 1989, the Russian

population of Latvia was 905,000, 34% of the total population. In Estonia in 1989, the

Russian population was 475,000, 30% of the nation's total population. In Kazakhstan in

1989, ethnic Russian numbered around 6,227,000, 37% of the total population. In

Ukraine in 1989 the total ethnic Russian population was 22%, close to 11,355,000

Russians.[98] Today in Kazakhstan, Latvia, and Estonia, the population of each of these

states which identify as Russian are nearly 25%. In Ukraine, 15% of the population

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[97] Heleniak, "Migration Dilemmas."

[98] Neil Melvin, *Russians Beyond Russia: The Politics of National Identity* (London: Chatham House, 1995), 134.

identify as Russian, however in the region of Crimea, which has recently been annexed by the Russian Federation, 58% of the population identifies as Russian.[99]

Several sociological models are available to measure how these communities adjust and accommodate to their new minority status as Russians in former Soviet states. One is to continue to identify politically and culturally with Russia, more specifically with the state of the Russian Federation, rather than identify with the new nation. These Russians may immigrate back to the homeland, or advocate assimilation of the region back within Russia. In areas such as Northern Kazakhstan, Eastern Ukraine, and parts of Moldova, ethnic Russians in these countries have proposed re-attaching these regions to Russia proper, rather than remain as a minority group.[100] Another option for these groups is adopting the political loyalties of the new state, while retaining the cultural identity and language of Russia. This path has been adopted by much of the Russian communities in the Baltic states of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, as well as in parts of the Ukraine and Belarus. A final option is adopting both the political and cultural identity of the new state, which involves political participation in the new state, learning the dominant language, and disassociation with the Russian homeland.[101] The political and cultural direction that the Russian diaspora in former Soviet Union states follows will be a determinant in how the Russian Federation projects itself politically in the region. Recent tensions in the Baltics and most visibly in Ukraine, where Russian minorities have a large and active presence, showcase how important ethnic Russian communities are as a political tool for the Russian state in achieving its foreign policy objectives. Although beyond Russians in

[99] Michael Crowley, and Simon Shuster, "Czars in his Eyes," *Time Magazine*, May 19, 2014, 30-35.
[100] Heleniak, "Migration Dilemmas."
[101] Pål Koltsø, "The New Russian Diaspora- an identity of its own? Possible identity trajectories for Russians in the former Soviet republics," *Ethnic & Racial Studies* 19, no. 3 (1996): 613-614.

Eastern Ukraine and Crimea, the Russian diaspora in the former Soviet Union has largely been politically diverse, and has not acted in a politically or socially homogenous manner. However as demonstrated by pro-Russian militants in Ukraine, the Russian diaspora can be a powerful political tool of the Russian state. Analyzing how Russian communities in former Soviet Union states react to their new residency can be important and helpful in modeling how Russian diasporas react in locations which are more distant from the homeland.

Examining Russian Identity

In discussing and defining the characteristics of the Russian diaspora, it becomes pertinent to analyze the definition of what it means to be Russian, as the concept is not as concrete as it would seem. The concept of a more defined demarcation of 'ethnic Russian' has really come into political play in the post-Soviet era, when the Russian state was reduced in territory from its previous incarnations as the Soviet Union and the Russian empire. Twenty-five million Soviet-Russians were left outside the borders of the new Russian state, these people spoke Russian as their native tongue, did not speak the ethnic language of the newly created state, nor identify with the newly dominant ethnic culture and religion. These people are Russian-speakers, but may also be of Belorussian, Ukrainian, or Polish ethnic background, or they may be Russofied persons of non-Slavic ethnic background.[102] As discussed, the Russian Federation under the Putin regime has attempted to utilize the Russian diaspora as a political tool to regain its foothold in the

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[102] Melvin, *Russians Beyond Russia*, 5-6.

near abroad and to reassert dominance in traditional areas of influence such as Eastern Europe and Central Asia.[103]

However, the idea of ethnic Russia is not so well defined, as Russia, presently and in its previous incarnations, is a multi-ethnic nation. The Russia core is ambiguous in territorial boundaries, making the Russian nation-state undefined and far less consolidated than most other European or Asian states. Russian people may not know how to visualize their homeland as a state entity, and may identify more with the ill-defined cultural and linguistic aspirations of 'Russianness.'[104] Both the imperial and the Soviet regimes attempted to supplant ethnic nationalism in favor of grander concepts which would unite such diverse ethno-linguistic groups. The Russian empire utilized ideas of Slavic unity, in an effort to homogenize the different Slavic groups into one cultural expression. Russian language became the dominant language among Slavic and non-Slavic groups under the empire, and East Slavic-European culture and Russian Orthodoxy became the basis of the identity of the Russian Empire. Ukrainians, Belarusians, and Russians intermixed during the age of imperial expansion, spreading throughout the corners of the empire.[105]

Within the Soviet Union, the Communist regime supported the idea of Sovietazation over nationalism, and promoted the integration of different ethnic groups into a Soviet identity, with the Russian language and East Slavic culture at the forefront. During the Soviet era, Slavic Russian speakers were also sent out to the 14 different Soviet republics in professional and technical roles. Slavic Russian-speakers typically

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[103] Crowley and Shuster, "Czars in His Eyes," 35.
[104] Zevelev, *Russian and its New Diasporas*, 5, 13, 22-26.
[105] Melvin, *Russians Beyond Russia*, 125.

held the upper class position throughout the Soviet Union, and different ethnic groups saw the potential of upward mobility through conforming to this Russo-Soviet identity.[106] Even in the current Russian Federation, the government attempts to build the Russian identity internationally on the basis of ethnic grounds, while domestically on the basis of a civic identity, as being Russian means being a citizen of the Russian state. This is due to the need for preventing certain territories, Such as Chechnya or Dagestan, from building up separatist ethno-nationalist sentiments.[107]

The meaning of being Russian is different depending on who is being asked. In an interview with a Belarusian man working and living in Cambodia, he addressed his identity as 'Russian'; he speaks Russian fluently, Belarusian culture is almost identical with Russian, and he grew up during the late era of the Soviet Union, when all the Russian-speaking peoples were united as one nation. He discussed as well how most Slavic Russian-speakers from FSU states other than Russia, will identify as Russia to most outsiders, while people within the Russian Federation will typically identify with the city they are coming from; Moscow, St. Petersburg, Vladivostok, etc. He compared this to Americans who typically identify with the state they are from first, while immigrants living permanently in the United States may first associate as being American.[108] Within the global Russian diaspora, the lines are blurred between ethnic Russian and Russophones, those Russian-speakers who may identify more with Russian culture but are not ethnically Russian. The Russian-speaking diaspora group in Shanghai in the interwar period consolidated the various ethnic groups from the Russian Empire

[106] Zevelev, *Russia and its New Diasporas*, 160.

[107] Zevelev, *Russia and its New Diasporas*, 133.

[108] Belorussian male, personal interview with author, Phnom Penh, Cambodia, August 13, 2014.

into one group united by a common language and cultural conventions, although the Ukrainians were the one group adamant about being counted separate from the other Russians.[109] Willett, in her experiences among the Russian-Speaking diaspora in the Netherlands, describes how these various ethnic immigrants hailing from the former Soviet Union felt some consolidation and comradery underneath a common language and Soviet-Slavic cultural background. Willett describes how the connections amongst this loosely defined 'Russian' diaspora were made stronger due to adversity and difficulties adjusting in a new country.[110] It is interesting how the Russian diaspora in former Soviet states is very divided along ethnic lines, while the Russian diaspora outside of the old Soviet sphere is much more united along a common language and common experiences under the Soviet system.

In an interview with an older Russian telecom worker living in Cambodia, he claimed to identify his homeland as the Soviet Union, as he had fonder memories of the Soviet era, over being a citizen of Russia. He claimed it was safer in the Soviet Union, there was less corruption, and all the peoples of the Soviet Union were equal and united with a civic ideal of egalitarian socialism.[111] This sentiment is common within the third wave of Russian immigration, as many Russian-speaking immigrants abroad identify with the Soviet Union as a homeland, and may not identify with the new states that have sprung up in its place.[112] The fact that the Soviet Union ceases to exist may add to the trauma of some Russians in adjusting to a new home. In a sense this may be similar to

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[109] Ristaino, *Port of Last Resort*, 74.
[110] Willett, "Crises of Self and Other," 204.
[111] Russian male, personal interview with author, Phnom Penh, Cambodia, August 13, 2014.
[112] Zevelev, *Russia and its New Diasporas*, 60.

Russian immigrants from the first wave of immigration, which identified more with the Russian Empire, rather than the Soviet Union which replaced it.

This ethno-nationalism built up within the former Soviet Union is a product of some former Soviet states attempting to retake control over their historical ethnic territories away from the Soviet Russians which dominated local politics for the past seventy years, as well as a product of Russia utilizing ethnic identity as a tool for reasserting its political influence in its near abroad.[113] Russian-speaking immigrant groups located farther away from the Russian homeland, such as those in Western Europe, North America, or in East Asia, will more likely find a common identity with diverse ethnic groups from the Soviet Union who have a shared knowledge of the Russian language, Slavic-Soviet cultural heritage, Orthodoxy Christian faith, and have had shared experiences under the Soviet regime.

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[113] Melvin, *Russians Beyond Russia*, 12, 14, 23, 26.

CHAPTER IV

Post-Soviet Russian Immigration into Asia

The Third Wave in Asia

Since the 1990s, Russian communities have sprung up throughout Asia, with large groups in Japan, China, Mongolia, and South Korea, as well as sporadically throughout Southeast Asia. Although these Russian groups have been much smaller than the Russian diasporas in Israel, the United States, or Western Europe, they represent a part of the new Russian diaspora. Although this thesis compares the Russian presence specifically in South Korea and Cambodia, along with a comparison of the Russian presence in the Netherlands, a brief account however of the history of recent Russian immigration into Asia will be given here. With a historical analysis of more recent Russian immigration into Asia, comparisons and differences can be made with the larger Russian community abroad, which could help to better characterize and define the post-Soviet Russian diaspora.

The largest locations of the Russian diaspora are in the People's Republic of China, Japan, South Korea, and Mongolia. In Japan, Russians immigrated into the country beginning at the end of the Cold War in the 1990s. In 2003 there were 6,734 Russians residing in Japan, representing the largest European ethnic group in some regions, such as the Hokkaido prefecture and the city of Niigata. Registered reasons for entering Japan have been mostly for temporary visitation, although business and entertainment have been listed as the primary reason for long-term residents. The increased economic activity between Japan and Russia has increased the Russian

presence in the country. From 1990 to 1999, the number of Russian ships entering the port at Hokkaido increased from 731 to 9,181. Japanese companies based in northern Japanese regions like Hokkaido sought business investments in the Russian Far East after the collapse of the Soviet Union, particularly in forestry, fishing, and tourism. Certain areas in northern Japan and along the Kuril islands have been "no-visa visit" zones, and Japanese and Russian citizens are allowed to visit these areas without needing a visa.[114] The economic connection created between Japan and Russia out of the demise of the Soviet Union, has been an element in the formation of the migration stream of Russians to Japan.

Russia has maintained a strong presence in Mongolia, as the two countries were political and economic allies throughout the Cold War. The Communist revolution in Mongolia in 1921 brought the country under the umbrella of the Soviet Union, versus its traditional Chinese patron. The Mongolian government in 1929, in compliance with the U.S.S.R., mandated that all foreigners aside from Russians were to be forcibly expelled. This allowed Russians to monopolize a strong influence in the country. In 1989, 19,000 Soviet citizens were registered in Mongolia, most being professionals and technical specialists. However, many of these Russians left the country as relations ceased with Russia in 1990-1991. Although the demographic presence of Russians in Mongolia has declined since the end of the Cold War and Mongolia's transition from a Communist satellite state of the Soviet Union to a democratic capitalist nation in 1990, Russians still remain strong in northern industrial cities close to the Russian border such as Erdenet and Darkhan. Immigration restrictions were extremely liberalized after the democratic

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[114] Akaha and Vassilieva, *Crossing National Borders*, 96-105.

revolution in 1990, however, by the early 2000s a numerical limit was set on the number

of long-term residents allowed into the country; and from the 100 annual cap, 30

immigrants allowed to enter could be from Russia. In 2003, of the 146 long-term foreign

residents in Mongolia for private purposes, 20 were Russian. Of the 10,460 long-term

foreign residents in Mongolia for official purposes, 2,700 were Russian. Russians also

represent the second most populous illegal immigrant group in the country, behind the

Chinese. Most permanent Russian residents in the country have Russian passports;

although this was a status bump during the socialist days in Mongolia, it has become a

hindrance since the 1990s, as non-citizens in Mongolia are barred from social security

benefits and privatization opportunities. The opening up of Mongolia economically

stimulated the interest of a number of firms in Russia, who saw Mongolia as viable

investment interest due to its low-cost living, profitable trade, and geographic location as

a transit point to the rest of East Asia. Russia contributes a number of contract

construction workers for joint Russian-Mongolian ventures, 1,744 in 2003 (also 1,741

Ukrainians in 2003), such as the Erdenet copper plant and the Ulaanbaatar Railway

Company. 250 joint Russian-Mongolian companies registered in Mongolia in 2005.[115]

Public attitudes in Mongolia have been friendly and more receptive to Russians,

versus the generally negative attitudes towards the Chinese, and this may be from the

relative recent history of economic and political cooperation between Russia and

Mongolia. The economic, political, and cultural connections that had existed during the

Cold War have allowed for Russians to maintain a diaspora presence in Mongolia.

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[115] Akaha and Vassilieva, *Crossing National Borders*, 200-229.

The Russian diaspora was highly active in China during the interwar period, as described earlier, and today China contains one of the largest Russian populations in East Asia. Russians are an officially recognized ethnic group within the ethnic classification of Chinese citizenship in the People's Republic of China. According to 2002 Chinese census data, there were over 15,000 ethnic Russian living in China holding Chinese citizenship,[116] with many more Russians residing the country holding Russian passports. The number of Russians entering the country on tourist visas rose from 109,800 in 1990 to 833,000 in 1999.[117] The larger cities of Hong Kong, Beijing, and Shanghai have the biggest groups of Russians residing in China, as these cities are more international, financial, and offer greater opportunities of employment for foreigners. Russian immigrants in these cities were mostly connected to newly re-organized private business interests of Russia. Beginning in the early 2000s, Russia had begun expanding its energy markets towards East Asia, particularly China, South Korea, and Japan. With the increase in China's economy in the late 20th and early 21st century, and with the growth in economic interaction between Russia and China, has come the increase in Russians residing in China.[118] As Hong Kong is one of the financial centers of China, the Russian demographic presence is much more of a white collar nature, and connected to the growing business interactions between the two countries. The Russian consulate in Hong Kong has around 800 Russians registered as of 2013, but suggests up to 2,000 counting

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[116] "2002 Chinese Ethnic Population Census," National Bureau of Statistics of China, last modified 2002, accessed November 6, 2014, http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/ndsj/renkoupucha/2000pucha/html/t0106.htm.

[117] "Number of Foreign Tourists by Country," National Bureau of Statistics of China, last modified 2013, accessed November 6, 2014, http://www.stats.gov.cn/english/statisticaldata/yearlydata/YB2000e/R07E.htm.

[118] Joshua Kurcera, "China's Russian Invasion," *The Diplomat*, February 19, 2010, accessed December 9, 2014, http://thediplomat.com/2010/02/chinas-russian-invasion/.

non-registered Russians.[119] The Russian business community in China is organized around the Russian Club, which was created in 1999 and mostly centered around Shanghai and Hong Kong, and serves as an elite social group for Russians living in China.[120]

In China there is also an element of scientific and academic migration of Russians into the country. Employment opportunities for academics and intelligentsia have risen in China since the 1990s, making this significant at a time when funding for higher institutions was declining in Russia. An aspect of the labor emigration during the third wave has been a small but noticeable brain drain out of Russia. In Asia, China and Japan have drawn in the majority of scientists and academics who have looked outside of Russia for short-term and long-term employment in more advanced fields of study.[121]

Russian demographic presence in Southeast Asia has been sparse and little studied. Russian travelers and diplomats did make inroads into Southeast Asia in the latter half of the Nineteenth century. After the Crimean War ended in 1856 and Russian hopes of expanding further into the Balkans were deterred, many Russian imperialists looked eastward for greater expansion. In Siam and Burma, Russian travelers were treated as a more favorable western alternative to the British, French, or Dutch, and trade and diplomatic relations were enhanced in the region.[122] Russian demographic presence really didn't have a significant representation in Southeast Asia until the 1960s and

[119] Charmaine Che, "Russians are rushing to 'exotic, trendy' Hong Kong," *South China Morning Post*, July 28, 2013.

[120] "Russian Club in Hong Kong celebrates 10-year anniversary grand ball," *Риа Новости*, September 11, 2009, http://ria.ru/society/20091109/192651530.html.

[121] Korobkov and Zaionchovskaia, "Russian Brain Drain," 333.

[122] Karen Snow, "Russia as the 'Western Other' in Southeast Asia: Encounters of Russian Travelers in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Russian Review* 71, no. 2 (2012): 246-248.

1970s, when the Soviet Union became the main economic and diplomatic supporter of the newly formed Socialist Republic of Vietnam, as well as Lao People's Democratic Republic and later the People's Republic of Kampuchea in the 1980s. Engineers, doctors, technical experts, military advisors, as well as educators were part of the Russian groups present in Indochina during the 1970 and 1980s. With the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, these groups were largely dispersed and withdrawn back to Russia. A new group of Russians migrated to Southeast Asia during the 1990s however, particularly to Indochina; businessmen and entrepreneurs looking for new opportunities in the rising tiger cub states. These opportunities were more attractive as the economic scene in Russia was plummeting in the 1990s, and the cost of doing business there meant dealing with mobsters and corrupt public officials. Although government corruption existed in Indochina during the 1990s, and continues to exist today, the cost of bribery transactions was cheaper in Asia, and the level of organized crime far less pervasive than in Russia. In an interview with a Russian student in Cherepovets, Russia, he claimed that his father during the 1990s had to continually deal with local mob bosses in order to start his business and keep it running. Vietnam and Cambodia appeared for some Russians as a viable option for living, as the weather was warm, the cost of doing business cheaper, and there were already economic lines of contacts established between Russia and Indochina from the Soviet days.

The Russian Diaspora in South Korea

The Republic of Korea, also known as South Korea, has prospered significantly since the dire days of the country's political and economic turmoil in the 1950s. Located on the southern half of the Korean Peninsula, South Korea has a very mountainous and

hilly terrain with flatland plains along the coastlines, and a temperate climate with distinctive seasonal differences. The Korean Peninsula was settled by ethnic Korean tribes, which formed into the Gojoseon Kingdom in the 7th century BCE. Subsequent states controlled the region, notably Goryeo, the Mongol Khanate, the Joseon dynasty, various Chinese dynasties, and the Japanese Empire. The Korean War split the peninsula along the 38th parallel, creating two separate Korean states. South Korea came under the patronage of the United States during the Cold War, and American financial and military support allowed South Korea to prosper economically during the Cold War era. The South Korean military held power politically over the country until popular protests in the late 1980s led to the transition to a liberal democracy in 1987.[123]

South Korea currently has a population of close to 50 million people, with a very homogenous make-up, over 95% of South Korea's population is made up of ethnic Koreans.[124] Eighty-three percent of the population of Korea lives in an urban setting, with Seoul, Busan, Incheon, and Daegu being the largest cities. South Korea has advanced far more rapidly than its northern half, and from 1961 to 1979, the South Korean economy rose to seventeen times that of North Korea.[125] The increase in the economic output of South Korea has made it appealing as an immigrant destination, and Russians are no exception as an immigrant group seeking opportunity in the Hanguk nation.

Korea has been historically isolated from significant levels of immigration into the country, and it wasn't only until the 1990s that Korea began to see noticeable levels

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[123] "South Korea," CIA World Factbook, last modified June 20, 2014, accessed October 16, 2014, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ks.html.

[124] Jung-Sun Park and Paul Y. Chang, "Contention in Construction of a Global Korean Community: The Case of the Overseas Korean Act," *The Journal of Korean Studies* 10, no. 1 (2005): 8.

[125] CIA World Factbook, "South Korea."

of foreigners working and living in the country. According to Statistics Korea data, in 1990 there were roughly 50,000 foreigners living in Korea, making up 0.1% of the total population of South Korea. As of 2013 data, foreigners made up 2.8% of the total population, with 1.46 million foreign residents in the country, with only 790,000 foreigners officially employed. According to 2012 data, 32% of foreign residents in South Korea are ethnic Koreans.[126] Many of these ethnic Koreans come from North Korea, China, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Russia, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

South Korea has retained low levels of immigration throughout most of the latter half of the twentieth century, using the justification of the Cold War to maintain strict immigration controls. But since the end of the Cold War era, and Korea's continued economic climb, immigration has drastically increased in the country. There are also some higher level political calls for immigration reform, as South Korea has recently come to face the problem of an aging population. Much like issues that Japan, Russian, and Western European nations are facing, South Korea needs immigration to beef up its work force, especially for lower wage jobs that young Koreans may chose not to do. Seventy percent of the population has university level education, yet there is a need for construction labor, trade craft labor, and other blue-collar jobs.[127]

The political relationship between Russia and South Korea has been relatively sparse throughout most of the 20th century, as the U.S.S.R. had been a diplomatic ally of

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[126] Yoshihiro Makino, "South Korea struggles to welcome growing number of foreign workers," *The Asahi Shimbun*, May 11, 2013, accessed September 10, 2014, http://ajw.asahi.com/article/asia/korean_peninsula/AJ201305110007.

[127] Makino, "South Korea Struggles."

North Korea and China, while South Korea has been heavily supported by the United States since the Korean War. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War by 1991 also allowed for greater economic and political exchange between South Korea and the Russian Federation, all elements which help to facilitate population migration.[128] Russian immigration into South Korea has been increasing steadily since the 1990s. A 2005 government census listed 3,120 Russians residing in South Korea, of which the gender divide was split fairly evenly. The other former Soviet state listed in the same census was Uzbekistan, which listed 5,479 residing in South Korea. Of this group, only 675 Uzbekistanis were female, while the rest were male. In 2010 census date, the number of Russians rose to 5,230, with the number of females higher than males, 3,067 to 2,163 respectively. The level of Uzbekistanis in the country rose as well, to 11,204, of which 8,585 are male and 2,163 are female.[129] As will be discussed in this section, the liberalization of political discourse between Russia and Korea, as well as the increasing economic and ethnic tensions within the former Soviet sphere, and the increasing appeal of South Korea as a destination point for immigrants, allowed for a greater surge of emigration from the former Soviet Union into South Korea.

The Historical Interaction between Russia and South Korea

Although geographically close to the Russian Far East, real Russian interaction with the Korean Peninsula did not occur until the late 19th century, and while the Soviet Union maintained diplomatic support for the Communist North Korean regime

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[128] Eugene Bazhanov, and Natasha Bazhanov, "The Evolution of Russian-Korean Relations: External and Internal Factors," *Asian Survey* 34, no. 9 (1994): 790.

[129] "Number of Foreigners in Korea by Country," Statistics Korea, last modified August 28, 2014, accessed September 11, 2014, http://kostat.go.kr/portal/english/help/1/index.board?bmode=read&bSeq=&aSeq=329477&pageNo=3&rowNum=10&navCount=10&currPg=&sTarget=title&sTxt=.

throughout the latter half of the 20th century, Russian involvement with the South Korean government only came to substantial fruition during the late 1980s with Gorbachev's attempts at rapprochement with traditional Asian Cold War enemies such as South Korea, Japan, and ASEAN states.[130]

In the latter half of the 19th century, Russia was in a period of significant Eastward expansion into the Far East, and as the Russian Empire reached the Pacific coast, Korea entered Russia's radar. Russia's imperial navy was expanding eastward during this period, and the establishment of new ports and maritime trade routes was an imperative of the Russian navy based out of Vladivostok. The Korean Peninsula offered an advantageous position for the Russian Navy in connecting to trade routes in the Indian Ocean. Increasing contact between Russia and Korea facilitated demographic exchange as well, as Russian explorers, travelers, and diplomats were growing in presence throughout East Asia and Southeast Asia. Russia also began to see its first waves of Korean immigration into the Russian Far East, especially in Sakhalin and throughout Siberia. Koreans would continue to immigrate to Russia throughout the first half of the 20th century, and would become an important force in the return migration of ethnic Koreans to the emerging economic powerhouse of South Korea.

Korea throughout much of its early history had traditionally been under the influence of two of its more powerful larger neighbors, China and Japan. The Qing Dynasty in China had stagnated throughout the 19th century, and its influence over Korea waned. Japan however was emerging as a significant player in the East Asia region, and as Russia sought to increase its dominance over Korea and in East Asia, the two empires

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[130] Bazhanov and Bazhanov, "The Evolution of Russian-Korean Relations," 789.

came into competition. The Korean Empire courted Russian diplomatic support as a balance against the growing power of the Japanese empire. King Gojong of Korea fled to Russia in 1896 when his wife was assassinated, and as a pro-Japanese faction came to power in Korea. Russia and Japan eventually came into conflict in 1904-1905, resulting in a Japanese victory and acquisition of the Korean Peninsula, and a check on Russia's influence in the region.[131]

Russia's influence in East Asia declined as the nation became embroiled in World War I, and the ensuing civil conflict which resulted in the establishment of the Communist Soviet Union. Domestic preoccupation during the 1920s and 1930s kept Russia removed from any significant relations with Korea, which was still under the rule of the Japanese Empire. The Soviet Union emerged after World War II as a major player in world politics, and Asia once again entered the sphere of Russian interests. The Korean War became one of the first battlegrounds of the cold war rivalry, as played out in Asia, which would be followed by Vietnam and Cambodia in the 1960s and 1970s. The Communist Korean regime in the north was primarily economically supported by the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The Soviet Union was eager to make Korea a buffer state from the advances of the United States and Japan in Asia. The Sino-Soviet split which occurred in 1956 and increased in tone in the 1960s, created a new incentive for Soviet influence in the Korean Peninsula, to counteract the influence of the Chinese.[132]

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[131] Byung-Joon Ahn, "The Soviet Union and The Korean Peninsula," *Asian Affairs* 11, no.4 (1985): 4.
[132] Ahn, "The Soviet Union and the Korean Peninsula," 7.

Moscow provided economic support to North Korea throughout the 1950s and 1960s, and Soviet technicians and professional consultants participated in the construction of North Korean electrical and energy output facilities. North Korea was continuously unable to pay its debts to the Soviets however, and Moscow opted for Pyongyang to pay its debts with labor. Large numbers of Korean workers were sent to Siberia to work in the timber industries there. The Soviets began reducing economic support to North Korea by the late 1970s, and by the time Gorbachev had taken power in Moscow in the mid-80s, the Soviets began reducing connections with Pyongyang in an effort to normalize relations with the other East Asian states. Although North Korea continues to hold diplomatic relations with Russia, it has shifted more into seeing China as its main benefactor of diplomatic support. In 1979, Pyongyang was publically critical of Soviet support for Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia, and the removal of the Chinese-supported Khmer Rouge regime.[133] Moscow during the 1980s had distanced itself from North Korea, which has caused turmoil in the international arena for its hostile tone and black market activities. China however has attempted to benefit in diplomatic clout from being the sole negotiator in cooling down North Korea in its seasonal bouts of aggression.

At the same time that the Soviets were attempting to reduce political and economic support from North Korea, Moscow was increasing its economic and diplomatic activity with South Korea, partly as a way of balancing China in the region and as a way of normalizing Soviet relations with a traditional enemy in the region. The South Korean government had also initiated its *Nordpolitik* policy in 1973, whereby

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[133] Ahn, "The Soviet Union and the Korean Peninsula," 14.

Seoul would pursue friendly relations with traditional allies of North Korea, as a way of isolating and disabling North Korea. Diplomatic relations reached a turbulent point in 1983 however with the shooting of Korean Airline flight 007 by Soviet fighters on September 1st.[134] Despite the rather shocking bump in relations between the two Northeast Asian neighbors, South Korea and the Soviet Union continued relatively peaceful relations, and on September 30th 1990, the two nations officially established diplomatic relations.

The dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the economic and social turmoil which engulfed the Russian Federation during much of the 1990s, provided somewhat of silent decade for economic and political interaction between the two states. The Yeltsin regime's primary foreign policy objectives, headed by foreign minister Andrei Kozyrev, was mostly aimed at increasing good relations with Europe and the United States. Towards the end of Yeltsin's tenure, Russia began to reassert itself over traditional areas of domain in Central Asia and re-inject itself in the political relations of Northeast Asia.[135] Putin's regime in Russia has been focused on strong state-building and the utilization of energy resources to rebuild Russia as a world superpower and regional hegemon in Eurasia.

Russia and South Korea began more dynamic economic trade in the late 1990s as Russia began attempting to reassert itself in Asian politics.[136] In 1991, bilateral trade between Russia and South Korea had risen to 1.2 billion, which was up 30% from

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[134] Ahn, "The Soviet Union and the Korean Peninsula," 17.

[135] Beom-Shik Shin, "Russia's Northeast Asian Policy and Korean Peninsular," *The Journal of East Asian Affairs* 22, no. 2 (2008): 171.

[136] Bazhanov and Bazhanov, "The Evolution of Russian-Korean Relations," 790.

1990.[137] From 2001 to 2011, Russian exports into Korea increased from $1.93 billion to $13.4 billion. While exports from Korea to Russia increased from $94 million in 2001 to 11.6 billion in 2011.[138] Energy deals have become an important aspect, if not the most prevalent part of Russian-Korean economic deals. The Korea Gas Corporation has been buying 1.5 million tons of liquefied natural gas from Russia annually, and plans to increase this number to 7.5 million tons annually after 2015.[139]

The high levels of South Korean economic development and performance became noticeable at a time in Russia when economic and political struggle made life difficult for many. This coupled with increased Russian-Korean economic and political relations highlighted South Korea as a more stable option for residence for many Russians. The close proximity to the Russian Far East also made South Korea a more plausible and cost-effective destination for emigration, rather than the U.S. or Western Europe, for Russians living in the eastern portions of the country. As will be discussed in the next section, the stream of information which heightened awareness within Russia about Korea as a migratory possibility may also have been helped by the increased level of ethnic Koreans in Russia and Central Asia immigrating to South Korea after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

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[137] Alexander N. Panov, "The Situation in Asia and the Pacific, and Russia-Korea Relations Toward the 21st Century," *Asian Perspective* 16, no. 2 (1992): 220.
[138] Galina I. Novolodskaya and Petr S. Andreev, "Development Questions of Russian-Korean Economic Cooperation," *European Researcher* 42, no. 2-3 (2013): 439.
[139] Novolodskaya and Andreev, "Development Questions," 439.

Repatriation of Soviet Koreans to South Korea

At the end of the Cold War there existed a Korean diaspora of close to around 600,000 ethnic Koreans in the former Soviet Union.[140] The first Koreans settled in Russian territories in the Far East beginning in the 1860s, as the Russian Empire was pushing farther east in its territorial acquisition. A bad harvest in Korea in 1869 led to an increase of Korean settlers in Russia looking for more favorable farming opportunities. Korean immigration to Russia increased after Japan took control of the Korean Peninsula in 1910, and further still after World War I. Although Korean communities in the Far East were willing to undergo Sovietization and accommodate Russian language and education, fears spread through the Russian communities out east and within the government that these Russian-Koreans held favor to the Japanese and could be utilized as spies. By the 1920s and 1930s there were already discussions within the Soviet government about forced relocation of the Korean community. Resolution no. 428-326cc, which passed on August 21st 1937, authorized the deportation of over 200,000 ethnic Koreans from the Far East to Central Asia. The Korean communities in Central Asia remained relatively close-knit and practiced traditional agricultural and artisan techniques, which proved profitable.[141]

The Sakhalin Island in the Russian Far East became home to 40,000 Korean workers, when the island was seized by the Japanese during World War II. After the war, the Koreans were given Soviet citizenship and allowed to stay on the island. Some Central Asian Koreans were forcibly resettled to the Sakhalin Island in the 1950s in order

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[140] Bazhanov and Bazhanov, "The Evolution of Russian-Korean Relations," 790.
[141] Diener, "Diasporic Stances," 472-474.

to educate the Sakhalin Korean population in Sovietification. Several regional differences evolved among the Soviet Korean populations over the course of the 20th century, which mark varying social and cultural differences among the Korean groups. Sakhalin Koreans today refer to themselves as Josoen Saram (조선 사람), and consider themselves more closely related to Korean culture. Central Asian Koreans call themselves Koryo Saram (고려 사람), and are considered to be more easy going and more Russofied by the Sakhalin Koreans. Uzbekistani Koreans consider themselves to be more Korean than the Kazakhstani Koreans, and retain much of the Korean language and culture; while Kazakhstani Koreans consider themselves to be more European.[142] These groups are colloquially referred to by native South Koreans as Tongpo (동포), which can translate to compatriot in Korean.[143]

Soviet Koreans were not as active in repatriation as their German and Jewish counterparts after the fall of the Soviet Union, this may be due to the fact that the Korean community in Russia and in Central Asia had become more entrenched in Soviet society. Although the Korean community underwent periods of forced deportation and harassment from the Soviet state, this wasn't on the same level of persecution as the German and Jewish communities. Russia has had a long tradition of anti-Semitism in its country, and although at times these prejudices had been be contained, they would resurface when it was convenient for the state and the public to require a scapegoat. Anti-Semitism resurfaced towards the end of the Soviet era and during the 1990s, as many Russians blamed Jews for the economic and political downturn in Russia, and there was a

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[142] Diener, "Diasporic Stances," 474, 476.
[143] Park and Chang, "Contention in the Construction of a Global Korean Community," 12.

sense of envy from many Russians towards the opportunity of Jewish Russians to escape as Russia was going downhill.[144] The Germans faced similar hostility, as Germany has always occupied a position as an enemy of Russia throughout much of the first half of the 20th century. German Russians were looked upon as suspicious of their loyalties during the first and second world wars, and were punished accordingly.[145] The Koreans were able to escape further persecution after deportation in 1937, and assimilated fairly well into Soviet society. Many Koreans were Sovietized to the point where Russian became the first language, and the Korean language gradually lost influence in the former Soviet Union. Not only that, the Korean communities in Central Asia had prospered economically in the agricultural trade. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, many Koreans were unwilling to give up their hard earned positions in society to return to a homeland they hardly knew.[146]

Another aspect that created differences in repatriation for Korean Russians was the lack of any formal route to South Korean citizenship for ethnic Koreans in Russia. Both the German and Israeli government had citizenship programs for Germans and Jews abroad who wished to adopt their ancestral homeland, the Korean government had no formal program. Although the Overseas Korean Act (OKA) was proposed in 1997 and passed in 1999, it excluded many ethnic Koreans in China and Russia from obtaining South Korean citizenship. The OKA only allows people who have a connection to the nation-state of the Republic of Korea, which was only created in 1948. If a person's family had emigrated after 1948, that person could be eligible for Korean citizenship.

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[144] Isurin, "Russian Diaspora," 8.
[145] Diener, "Diasporic Stances," 468, 479.
[146] Diener, "Diasporic Stances," 479.

Since many of the Korean communities in Russia trace their roots to the Korean

Peninsula during the late 19th century and early 20th century, current Russian Koreans are

left out of the chance to become South Korean nationals.[147] Criticisms have been levied

against the OKA, arguing that the act excludes poorer Korean compatriots in China and

Russia from obtaining citizenship in favor of wealthier English-speaking Koreans in

Canada and the United States. Therefore Koreans from Russia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan,

and other former Soviet states must work and live in South Korea under a guest visa or

illegally. Since the 1990s, there have been thousands of ethnic Koreans from the former

Soviet Union who have immigrated to South Korea for temporary and permanent

residence, with many residing and working in the country illegally.[148]

Slavic Russians in South Korea

Besides ethnic Korean Russian immigration to South Korea, there have been

increasing levels of European Russian immigration into the country since the 1990s. The

economic boom that South Korea has been undergoing has attracted both professional

and blue-collar Russian workers into the country. White European Russians are viewed

by Koreans as hardly different from the other Western foreigners who have increased in

numbers in South Korea. The term 'wehgook saram' (외국 사람) is utilized by Koreans

for any foreigner, or anyone not of ethnic Korean heritage. The Dutch have a parallel

linguistic term, 'allochtoon', which can describe any non-Dutch non-native resident in

the Netherlands.[149] Despite ethnic differences between the Dutch and the Russians, which

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[147] Park and Chang, "Contention in the Construction of a Global Korean Community," 2.

[148] Igor, Saveliev, "Mobility Decision-Making and New Diasporic Spaces: Conceptualizing Korean Diasporas in the Post-Soviet Space," *Pacific Affairs* 83, no. 3 (2010): 490-492.

[149] Willett, "Crises of Self and Other," 26.

will be discussed in later chapters, Slavic Russians are able to quite easily blend into Dutch society. This is not the case in South Korea, nor any other East Asian or Southeast Asian society. The physical barriers to assimilation within Korean culture present obstacles for long-term residency of Russians living in the country, and perpetuate the temporary nature of Russian immigration into Korea.

Initially with establishment of diplomatic relations between Russia and South Korea in 1990 and lifting of migration restrictions within the Russian Federation, the first wave of Russians to come into Korea were merchants and small-time traders, hoping to buy wholesale goods at cheap prices and then sell them back in Russia. By the mid-1990s the number of Russian vendors residing in Seoul increased to several hundred, and Russian merchants bought nearly $100 million worth of goods annually in Korea.[150] By the late 1990s a Russian enclave formed around Gwanghui-dong in northern Seoul, not far from Dongdaemun market. The "Little Russia" district in Gwangui-dong contains cloth shops, monetary exchange stands, drug stores, and Russian restaurants to service the Russian-speaking community. The Russian Embassy stated there were around 10,000 Russian-speakers living in Gwanghui by the early 2000s, including Central Asians and other former Soviet citizens.[151] As South Korea faced even greater levels of foreign immigration, several cities neighboring Seoul were used to house foreign-born populations. Ansan in the Gyeonggi-Do province has evolved into one such suburb connected to the greater Seoul area, which contains another segment of Seoul's Russian-

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[150] Joon K. Kim and May Fu, "International Women in South Korea's Sex Industry: A New Commodity Frontier," *Asian Survey* 18, no. 3 (2008): 497-498.

[151] "A Taste of Russia in the Heart of Seoul," *JoongAng Daily*, August 11, 2004, accessed June 13, 2014, http://web.archive.org/web/20080612170444/http://english.seoul.go.kr/today/news/newsclip/1213490_3675.html.

speaking population, mainly Uzbekistanis and Kazakhs. Ansan is known as a less developed city, with cheaper housing, and is home to 44,000 foreign born residents, which make up roughly 6% of the city's population.[152]

The historical interaction between Russia and Korea, as well as the increased demographic presence of former Soviet peoples in South Korea since the 1990s, has led to Eastern Orthodoxy becoming one of the many religious institutions in Korea. South Korea is one of the few East Asian countries with a dominant Christian presence; 31% of South Koreans are Christian, made up mostly of Roman Catholic and Protestant denominations, while 24% are Buddhist.[153] Eastern Orthodoxy in Korea actually dates back to 1897 when the Russian Orthodox church established a mission to convert and spread Russian Orthodoxy on the Korean Peninsula. The Russian Orthodox church under the diocese of Vladivostok administered parishes in Korea up until the Bolshevik revolution in 1917 broke the power of the Russian patriarchate at home. A branch of the Russian church in Tokyo oversaw Korean Orthodox parishes up until 1936, when the Japanese government closed down all the Russian churches in connection with Soviet espionage accusations. The onset of the Cold War, the spark of the Korean conflict, and the division of Korea furthered the rift between Orthodox Christians in South Korea with the Russian patriarchate, and in 1955 Orthodox Christians in South Korea chose to be placed under the leadership of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople.[154] The Korean Orthodox church continued to develop under the guidance of Greek Orthodoxy, however in 1994 the Russian Orthodox mission abroad reopened a chapter in South

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[152] Makino, "South Korea Struggles."
[153] CIA World Factbook, "South Korea."
[154] "Korean Orthodox Church: Historical Background," Korean Orthodox Church, last modified 2014, accessed February 6, 2015, http://www.orthodox.or.kr/html/include2.php?inc=ehin_01_03.

Korea, establishing the St. Anna parish in Yongwa, Kangwon-do. Although the Russian

Orthodox church struggles to maintain financial and public support in comparison to the

more entrenched Greek Orthodox variant, the increase in Russian-speakers in South

Korea during the 1990s has kept the church afloat.[155] Interestingly as well, a Russian

Orthodox church, the Church of the Life-Giving Trinity, opened in Pyongyang, North

Korea in August 2006.[156] Although the Russian embassy maintains assistance to the

Church in Pyongyang, Orthodox worshippers in South Korea were active in the early

2000s in giving support to the establishment of Orthodoxy in North Korea. Although

Eastern Orthodoxy in South Korea is held predominately under the domain of the

Patriarchate in Constantinople, parishes service the wide variety of Orthodoxy

worshippers present in South Korea. As is the case in Cambodia and the Netherlands,

which will be discussed in greater detail later on, the select presence of Orthodox

parishes engenders Russian-speakers to congregate with other Eastern Europeans and

Orthodox believers in worship. Orthodox parishes are present in all the major cities in

South Korea, including Seoul, Ulsan, Incheon, and Busan.[157]

In Busan, along the coast in the south of the country, has developed a noticeable

Russian community. The Russian community has formed around the street known as

"Texas Street", which happens to run through the China town of Busan as well. Signs can

be found in Cyrillic along the road, and Russian vendors stand outside on the street.

Busan is a port town and has many immigrant communities engaged in the shipping

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[155] "Brief History and Present Status of Russian Orthodox Mission in Korea," Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia, last modified May 1, 2005, accessed February 7, 2015, http://www.korthodox.org/eng/brief_history.html.

[156] "Orthodox Church of the Life-Giving Trinity in Pyongyang," Embassy of Russia to the DPRK, last modified 2015, accessed February 8, 2015, http://www.rusembdprk.ru/en/russia-and-dprk/orthodox-church-in-pyongyang.

[157] Korean Orthodox Church, "Historical Background."

business, although the Russians by far have the most visible immigrant presence, due to their European appearance. Many of the Russians are part-time Korean residents, living six months in Busan and six months in Vladivostok. Dock work and shipping employs much of the Russian community, while others are engaged in street peddling or as vendors. There is also a presence of prostitution among Russian women in Busan. Texas Street serves as the red light district for Busan, where Russian sex-workers can be found.[158]

The legal status of much of this group of Russians is speculative, as many spend half of their year in the Russian Far East, and then half the year working or doing business in Busan. These Russians are a far cry from the white collar diaspora of Russians associated with Russian business and energy industries, such as those found in China. Many Russians in Korea come from the Far East and are more working-class. In an interview with a Russian graduate student who had spent time living Japan, she asserted that the difference between Russians living in the European part of the country and those living in the Russian Far East, are worlds apart. Moscow is a different country to those Russians in the east, as is Vladivostok to Muscovites. Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Russian East has suffered economically, with significant population decline due to a lack of economic industry.[159] Russians emigrating from the east are more willing to move to exotic locations like South Korea for work, and perhaps more willing to do so illegally. Russian women from the Far East are the most exploitable to sex-trafficking than their European counterparts, as will be discussed in the next section.

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[158] Kirk, "In Korea, 'Texas Town' goes Russian."
[159] Heleniak, "Migration Dilemmas Haunt Post-Soviet Russia."

Russian Women in the South Korean Sex Trade

Prostitution has been one of the most pronounced and visible elements of Russian immigration into South Korea. Russia is the largest source country for trafficked women[160], and Russian sex trafficked victims can be found all over the world, from Western Europe to the Middle-East, to East and Southeast Asia. Since the mid-to-late 1990s, there has been a growing demand for "white Russian blondes" within the illegal sex trade industry in South Korea. Initially Russian women were trafficked in to meet the demands of American military personnel stationed in South Korea, but over time the clientele of Russian sex workers has shifted to Korean men.[161]

According to a Korean Institute of Criminology report, the sex industry comprised 4.1% of the South Korean GDP in 2002, which would be $24 billion.[162] The Russian Far East has lines of human trafficking that connect to China, South Korea, and Japan. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the onset of the 1990s economic troubles, women trafficking out of the former Soviet Union became a lucrative trade. Many Russian women in the Far East were conned into prostitution with the offer of jobs as dancers, waitresses, housemaids, and other service jobs in exotic countries. Upon leaving Russia and entering the new foreign country these women are often violently abused and forced into prostitution. Human trafficking companies, which advertise themselves as job placement companies, continue to run commercials in rural and poorer parts of Russia which advertise service jobs in foreign countries like South Korea, China, and Greece.[163]

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[160] Emily E. Schuckman, "Antitrafficking Policies in Asia and the Russian Far East: A Comparative Perspective," *Demokratizatsiya* 14, no. 1 (2006): 85.
[161] Kim and Fu, "International Women," 504.
[162] Kim and Fu, "International Women," 494.
[163] Schuckman, "Antitrafficking Policies," 94-95.

The Russian Far East is an underdeveloped region of Russia, with little industry or financial development, and a shrinking population; the region is where the majority of trafficked Russian women come from. The promise of a job and an exciting opportunity in a foreign country entices many young women to trust these companies, which end up trapping these women into prostitution.[164]

In East Asia, Russian women are in the most demand, and at the top of the price category in the sex industry.[165] Russian sex workers entered into South Korea after Russian merchants had established a presence in Seoul by the mid-1990s. Initially the Korean public was exposed to the presence of the "Russian blonde" in the country when Russian dancers and entertainment troupes entered Korea. In 1998 changes were made to the E-6 visa category, the entertainment visa, which required that a domestic Korean organization must sponsor the visa. Numerous illegitimate entertainment organizations rose up domestically and utilized this visa process to import prostitutes into the country, which would be claimed as female 'dancers and entertainers.' The number of E-6 visa holders increased to 8,500 in 2001, from 598 in 1995. From 2000 to 2003, 9,700 Russian women entered Korea, of that 92% had E-6 visas. For Uzbekistani women, 1,768 entered Korea from 2000 to 2003, and 95% of those women had E-6 visas.[166] Since 2000, around 13,000 Russian women have entered Korea annually using short term visas (C-3 visas).[167]

Russian sex works originally were brought in as "intergirls", paid to work in bars known as hostess bars, where Korean male clients would frequent. Girls who work at

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[164] Schuckman, "Antitrafficking Policies," 96.
[165] Lee, "Human Trafficking in East Asia," 180.
[166] Kim and Fu, "International Women," 499.
[167] Kim and Fu, "International Women," 501.

these bars are required to entertain the male customers for around 15 minutes for every

drink the customer buys. The girls are pressured to make customers buy drinks, and those

who don't meet quotas are punished with confinement or labor chores. It is implied that

hostess bars are places for Korean men to pay for sex with a Russian girl. Russian women

were originally only found in the cities, but have since spread throughout the country.

The internet has also spawned new ways to market prostitution, and cyber forums have

been available since the early 2000s for finding Russian prostitutes in South Korea.[168]

A study by Kim and Fu in 2008 describes how the rise of demand among South

Korean males for Caucasian Russian prostitutes is centered on the perception of the

western woman as the epitome of universal beauty. South Korea's rise in economic status

has increased levels of nationalism, and the introduction of the exotic Russian blonde

creates a new avenue for sexist nationalistic discourse for South Korean men.[169] The

availability of Russian prostitutes reverses the traditional roles of western domination and

creates a sense of sexual and nationalistic Korean domination over western symbols of

modernity. Kim and Fu describe how Western conceptions of Asian men as feminine,

and the sexual exploitation of Korean women during the Japanese occupation during

World War II, has constructed a sense of emasculation among Korean men. The

availability of Russian prostitutes gives Korean men an opportunity to reassert their

masculinity and instill a sense of pride over the domination of a western icon of

beauty.[170]

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[168] Kim and Fu, "international Women," 502-503.
[169] Kim and Fu, "International Women," 493.
[170] Kim and Fu, "international Women," 511.

Conclusions about Russian-Speakers in Korea

The economic advancement of South Korea since the 1970s has provided a new ground for immigration into the country. Although Russian immigration has been relatively sparse in East Asia since the end of the Cold War, South Korea is one of the few economically and politically developed countries in the region, along with Japan, to draw in a significant portion of Russian-speakers to live and work. The third wave of Russian immigration into Korean has been present in three different aspects, the repatriation of ethnic Koreans from the former Soviet Union, a smaller presence of Slavic Russians working as merchants, in the shipping industry, or in other low-level industries, and the presence of Russian women trafficked in mainly from the Russian Far East to work in the South Korean sex industry. In comparison with the primarily studied third wave destinations of the United States, Germany, and Israel; South Korea shares some similarities and differences. Ethnic repatriation played a significant part of Russian-speaking immigration in Korea, as it did in Germany and Israel. However, unlike the latter two, Russian Koreans faced a far more difficult task in obtaining citizenship than Russian Germans or Russian Jews. Assimilation into Korean civil society has been a much more difficult task for Slavic Russian immigrants, as Korea is a far more homogenous society than the multi-cultural immigrant societies of Israel and the United States, and to a more recent extent Germany. The cultural and linguistic differences, along with the sheer drastic differences in physical appearances, makes adjusting to Korean life difficult for non-ethnic Korean Russian immigrants. There could be some parallels to the experience of Russian immigrants in China during the interwar period.

Faced with the alienness of East Asian life, assimilation can seem like an unwelcomed and impossible task and can result in feelings of isolation among the Russian immigrant.

The presence of Russian women in the sex industry in South Korea also highlights some similarities with other destinations. The presence of Russian women internationally in the sex trade has been a tragic fact of post-Soviet life. Russia is the world's greatest supplier of women in the sex trafficking industry. In 2002, studies indicated that nearly half a million Russian women had been trafficked out of the Russian Federation since 1992.[171] Russian women and women from former Soviet republics can be found in prostitution rings all across the world, in China, Germany, the Netherlands, Jordan, and the United States. The predominance of Russian women in the sex trade bares similarities as well to the high levels of Russian women engaged in prostitution in Shanghai during the 1920s and 1930s. The Russian woman has unfortunately been a tragic victim of sexual exploitation during the 20th century, and the beginning of the 21st century shows no change in this system of sexual slavery.

Overall though the aspect of economic opportunity in South Korea, as it is in the United States and Germany, has been the biggest pull for many Russian-speaking immigrants, who have faced economic difficulties in Russia since the 1990s. The proximity of South Korea to the Russian Far East makes it a viable market for Russians out of Vladivostok or other eastern cities. The stagnation of the Russian economy in the east, apart from energy production, has continued to propel more desperate Russians to view South Korea as migratory option for seasonal or short-term work.

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[171] Heleniak, "Migration Dilemmas."

Russians in Cambodia

Russian immigration since the end of the Cold War has spread to every corner of the globe, and the Russian diaspora has truly become an international manifestation. As this thesis describes, Russians have migrated not only to the traditional destinations in North America and Western Europe, but also to more exotic locals in Asia, such as Cambodia in Southeast Asia. Immigration to a Southeast Asian state from a European nation is rare, making the Russians there an interesting case study. Migration patterns in Southeast Asia occur mostly on a regional inter-state level, with movement along the borders of neighboring states, such as the case with Burmese immigration to Thailand, or Cambodian immigration to Vietnam. Although Europeans and North Americans have become more visible in Cambodia since the country stabilized in the 1990s, both as tourists and expats, but Russians and former Soviet citizens in Cambodia were seen in the country as far back as the early 1980s, owing to Soviet patronage of Cambodia during the last decade of the Cold War.

The Russian presence in Cambodia, although relatively understudied, is a significant part of the history of both the Cambodia nation and the history of Russian relations in Asia. The Russian nation, in all its different modern guises, has played a major role in the development of modern Cambodia. Russian explorers and travelers in Southeast Asia played a role as a diplomatic counterbalance to the French and English colonizers there.[172] The Soviet Union was a major supplier of military and diplomatic support for the socialist People's Republic of Kampuchea, and the Russian Federation has continued the diplomatic connection to the modern Kingdom of Cambodia. A study

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[172] Snow, "Russia as the 'Western Other'," 246-248.

of the Russian demographic presence in Cambodia is important, as it represents an element of Russian migration that has received little attention, and because Russians have been a major contributor to the development of Cambodia in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Cambodia has a long and rich history going back to the kingdom of Funan and the Khmer Empire, which dominated Southeast Asia for a time. Despite limited contact in the first half of the 20th century, tangible Russian involvement in Cambodia began in the latter half of the 20th century when the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States incentivized the Soviet government's outreach to third world revolutionary struggles. The creation of the Soviet and Vietnamese backed People's Republic of Kampuchea in 1979 created a new ally and avenue of diplomatic and economic support in Southeast Asia, and the Cambodia budget during the 1980s was primarily funded by the Soviet Union.[173] While trade, military, and diplomatic relations broke down almost completely between Russia and Cambodia after the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, economic and diplomatic relations have recovered somewhat in the 21st century.[174]

A modest Russian-speaking diaspora community exists in the country today, with Russians being prominent in the development of the tourist industry in Sihanoukville, and being involved in the tech and finance industries in Phnom Penh. Not only that, Russian and Eurasian industries such as the telecommunications company Beeline, Intersputnik, VimpelCom, and Kazakhtelecom have become dominant in Cambodia. Although France, Vietnam, and China have all played key roles in molding and influencing the Cambodian nation, Russian influence since the last decade of the Cold War has played a crucial

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[173] Birgerson, "The Evolution of Soviet Foreign Policy," 226.

[174] Dmitry Tsvetkov, "Our Cambodia-Russian Friendship," *The Phnom Penh Post*, June 12, 2014, accessed August 15, 2014, http://www.phnompenhpost.com/analysis-and-op-ed/our-cambodia-russia-friendship.

element in boosting the Cambodian economy and in forming the modern Cambodian state.

Russians in Cambodia, in choosing an impoverished but developing Southeast Asian nation to live and work in, represent a different breed of migrant than those Russians immigrating to Western Europe, although there are common elements present within the varied Russian diaspora sub-groups. Like South Korea, the obstacles to acclimation and acculturation in an Asian nation present a larger deterrent for European migration, as Slavic Russians are immediately visible as outsiders in Cambodia, whereas those Russians who immigrate to the Netherlands, for example, have a relatively easier opportunity adjusting to a Western European society. However, as will be discussed, Cambodia is a newly emerging country with economic opportunities available for foreign professionals or entrepreneurs willing to relocate to an exotic and unfamiliar Southeast Asian nation with a tragic and very recent history of mass atrocity. Russia also has economic and diplomatic ties to Cambodia, dating back to the late 1970s, which have helped to create a networking linkage for Cambodians pursuing work or education in Russia, and Russians pursuing work and holiday in Cambodia. Cambodia's growing economy as well as a shared Russian-Cambodian diplomatic connection, have led to the formation of a modestly sized Russian-speaking diaspora in Cambodia, made up mostly of technical professionals, educators, and businessmen.

Russia-Cambodia Historical Foreign Relations

Cambodia is made up primarily of Khmer people who inhabit the Indochina region, along with neighboring Thai, Cham, Lao, and Viet people. The geography of

Cambodia is characterized by extended low-lying marshes and flat plains, scattered jungles throughout much of the country, and mountains in the southwest as well as in the north bordering Thailand. The Khmer kingdoms which sprung up in the area, The Funan kingdom, Chnela kingdom, and the Khmer empire, were influenced primarily by Hindu and Buddhist Indian culture and religion, as well as by Viet, Thai, and Han Chinese culture. The Khmer empire reached its height from the 9th to 13th centuries, before coming into conflict with the Islamic Cham people who descended from within Vietnam, and eventually were decimated by the neighboring Thai. The Khmer monarchy continued in Angkor Wat, until being defeated by Thai armies in 1431. A dark age period existed from the 15th to 19th century in Cambodia, and the Kingdom was mostly at the behest of its more powerful neighbors Thailand and Vietnam. The French entered the Indochina region as an imperial power in 1859, and by 1863 Cambodia was made a protectorate of the French Empire up until 1953, except for a brief period of Japanese occupation during World War II.[175]

The country of Russia is located more than 5,000 kilometers north of Cambodia. At the time the French empire was colonizing Indochina, Russia was entering a period of imperialism as well. Russia was mostly looking towards Central Asia and the Balkans in its colonial reach. The Crimean War from 1853 to 1856, with Russia taking on France, Great Britain, and the Ottoman Empire, halted Russia's advancement over the Black Sea and in the Balkans regions. The defeat in the Crimea led many Russian elites to look East, towards Asia, as a region for influence. Russian academic interest in Southeast and East Asia really took off in the 1830s and 1840s, and the opening of the Suez Canal in

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[175] Andrew Forbes and David Henley, *Cambodia*, (Peterborough: Thomas Cook Publishing, 2010), 8-9.

1869 also increased Russian trade with Asia. Southeast Asia, however, remained third along the chain of Russia's Asian geopolitical interests, behind Central Asia and China. Russian explorers and travelers did increase in numbers to Southeast Asia in the 1870s, providing more opportunities for diplomatic exchange with Russia. The Russian orientalist P.I. Pashino, during a voyage to Southeast Asia in 1876, became acquainted with King Mindon of Burma, and even briefly acted in a counselor role on how to maintain political independence from Britain. King Mindon and his successor King Thibaw, continued to seek Russian assistance as a diplomatic counterbalance to the encroaching British.[176] The Russo-Japanese War, from 1904-1905, proved to be a failure for Russia and halted the empire's expansion in Asia. Russia's interest in Southeast Asia was put on hold, as its concerns turned inward. The country became embroiled in domestic revolutionary threats, the onset of World War I, the Russian Revolution and civil war, and the aftermath of such drastic changes to the political landscape of the Eurasian nation.[177]

Although Soviet diplomatic relations with Cambodia were established in May 1956, support for Cambodia was not realized until the 1970s, when the Communist Khmer Rouge were battling against the U.S. backed Lon Nol regime. The Khmer Rouge, which developed as a splinter group from the North Vietnamese Army in 1968, took over political power in Cambodia when the Khmer Rouge military seized Phnom Penh in 1975. The Sino-Soviet split in 1969 shifted Russian avenues of interest in the Asia-Pacific region, and the conflicts in Southeast Asia in the 1960s and 1970s provided a new

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[176] Snow, "Russia as the 'Western Other'," 247-248, 256.
[177] T.H. Rigby, "The Soviet Political Elite 1917-1922," *British Journal of Political Science* 1, no. 4 (1971): 418.

venue for Soviet patronage, especially as countries like Vietnam were eager to avoid Chinese dominion. Although the Khmer Rouge was created as an ally to the North Vietnamese, who were primarily supported by the Soviets,[178] the Khmer Rouge government of Democratic Kampuchea quickly lost any connection with Vietnam and the Soviet Union, and received the majority of its military training, finances, and diplomatic backing from the People's Republic of China. The Khmer Rouge's socialist rhetoric borrowed more from Chinese Maoism than Marxist-Leninism.[179]

The Soviet interest in Cambodia served to expand the influence of a Russian foothold in Indochina, and to exclude both the Chinese and Americans in the region. Cambodia also served as a buffer state against western-backed Thailand.[180] Both the Lao and Vietnamese Communist movements were ultimately successful, and secured a key foothold in Southeast Asia for Soviet diplomatic support, economic aid, and military equipment and training. Although the Khmer Rouge was also successful in toppling the western-backed regime in Phnom Penh in 1975, the new regime under Pol Pot was more aligned with Maoist China, and ultimately became hostile to the Vietnamese government in Hanoi.[181]

The invasion of the Vietnamese army in Cambodia in August 1978, culminating in the overthrow of the genocidal Khmer Rouge regime, and the establishment of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in 1979 shifted that backing to Vietnam, the Soviet Union, and the Eastern Bloc. The PRK in Cambodia was lampooned by China as a

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[178] J.L.S. Girling, "Russia and Indochina in International Perspective," *International Affairs* 49, no. 4 (1973): 615.
[179] Birgerson, "The Evolution of Soviet Foreign Policy," 214-215.
[180] Girling, "Russia and Indochina in International Perspective," 609, 611.
[181] Birgerson, "The Evolution of Soviet Foreign Policy," 219.

puppet state for the Vietnamese. Neighboring Thailand harbored public fears that the establishment of the PRK represented a Soviet threat in Southeast Asia.[182] The twelve year period of the PRK rule in Cambodia was a strong period for Soviet-Cambodian relations. The Soviet Union became an important supplier of economic aid and military equipment, and was a key diplomatic backer to the struggling socialist nation.[183] A significant number of Cambodians were trained and educated in Moscow as well, over 8,000, including those from the post-Soviet period.[184] In an interview with a Cambodian educator who spent six years studying in Moscow, she claims that many of her generation in the 1980s had the chance to get higher degrees in Russia, but the end of Soviet support and the breakdown of Cambodian politics in the 1990s severed this connection. Although with the reconnection of Russia-Cambodia foreign relations in the mid-1990s, Cambodian students once again had the opportunity to study in Russia, although the amount receiving Russian funding is noticeably less.[185]

The Soviet Union also helped create and direct several universities and educational institutions in Cambodia. The Institute of Foreign Languages and the Institute of Technology in Phnom Penh were under Soviet direction in the 1980s, and the Royal University of Phnom Penh was under mutual leadership of Vietnamese and Russian administration. Schools and Universities were closed and destroyed during the period of the Khmer Rouge rule, and it wasn't until the People's Republic of Kampuchea was set up in 1979, that universities were reopened, and many new ones created under the

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[182] Punagthong Rungswasdisab, "Thailand's Response to the Cambodian Genocide," *Cambodian Genocide Project*, Yale University (2010).
[183] Birgerson, "The Evolution of Soviet Foreign Policy," 226.
[184] Tsvetkov, "Our Cambodia-Russian Friend."
[185] Ellen, "From Russia, with love to Cambodia."

tutelage of Soviet and Vietnamese support. Many teachers from the Soviet Union, as well as from East Germany or other Eastern Bloc states, were sent to Cambodia in the 1980s to aid in the rebuilding of the countries educational institutions. Professionals, educators, and technicians made up the early Russian diaspora in Cambodia.[186]

The 1980s served as a strong period of cultural exchange between the Soviet Union and Cambodia, with Russians making up the primary foreign residents in the country, along with the Vietnamese. The coastal city of Sihanoukville served as a port for Soviet ships based out of Vladivostok, in transit to the Indian Ocean, or providing goods to Cambodia. Despite China and the West's recognition of the Khmer Rouge as the legitimate rulers of Cambodia, Hun Sen's regime in the People's Republic of Kampuchea continued to receive economic aid, military equipment, and diplomatic support from the Soviet Union and its satellite governments in Eastern Europe throughout the 1980s. Cambodia received nearly $1.5 billion in monetary aid from the Soviet Union from the period of 1979 to 1991.[187]

With the ascent of Mikhail Gorbachev as head of the U.S.S.R. in 1985, Soviet foreign policy in the last half of the 1980s was less hostile in tone against ASEAN, China, and the West. Gorbachev's foreign policy mirrored his domestic reform efforts and attempts to improve the economy of the Soviet Union, which played itself out in a military scale back, resulting in a decline in aid to Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. The balance of trade between the U.S.S.R. and Indochina was very much in favor of the latter, with more Soviet goods and money flowing into Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, than

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[186] Ellen, "From Russia, with love to Cambodia."
[187] May Kunmakara, "Russian Debt Emerges as Billion-Dollar Question," *The Phnom Penh Post*, May 6, 2014.

going the other way. It is estimated that Soviet aid to Hun Sen's government in Phnom Penh represented 75% of Cambodia's budget during the 1980s, and as much as 80% of Hanoi's budget.[188] Aid reductions to Indochina were expected as the Soviet Union wanted to downscale commitments abroad. Gorbachev also made conciliatory efforts to mend relations with China, calling for reduction of troops from the Chinese-Russian border. The Soviets did continue to maintain support for the PRK regime in Cambodia and the presence of the Vietnamese army there, which strained Russian relations with other Southeast Asian states. However the Vietnamese government's withdrawal of troops from Cambodia by 1989 helped to ease tension with ASEAN, and the Soviets helped to mitigate the end of the civil war in Cambodia by 1991.[189] The introduction of a U.N. government in Phnom Penh in the 1990s also helped to relax tense relations in Indochina. The collapse of the Soviet Union ended Russian commitments in the region however, and Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam had to reform their economies to meet the absence of Soviet aid.[190]

Cambodia and Russia have slowly been building up deeper economic and diplomatic ties since the end of the Cold War. The 1990s was a chaotic period for Cambodia, as it was for Russia; a brief U.N. administrative period occurred in Cambodia from 1992-1993, and in 1997 the Cambodian People's Party took power under the leadership of Prime Minister Hun Sen.[191] The Cambodian People's Party has retained rule in the country since 1997, and remains highly corrupt. Despite significant corruption

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[188] Birgerson, "The Evolution of Soviet Foreign Policy," 226-227.
[189] Paradorn Rangsimaporn, "Russia's Search for Influence in Southeast Asia," *Asian Survey* 49, no. 5 (2009): 787.
[190] Birgerson, "The Evolution of Soviet Foreign Policy," 225.
[191] Forbes and Henley, *Cambodia*, 12-13.

within this virtually one-party state, Cambodia was able to quell the prolonged chaotic civil strife that plagued the country for over thirty years. From 1999, Cambodia has remained relatively peaceful on domestic and international front, with only sporadic border confrontations with Thailand over disputed northern territories.[192]

With the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, Cambodia was quick to recognize the Russian Federation as the successor state to the U.S.S.R. The unstable period of the 1990s in both countries limited contact, however Russia and Cambodia began to reestablish relations in the mid-1990s, and in 1995 the two nations signed agreements on economic integration. When Hun Sen and the Cambodian People's Party (CPP) took power in 1997, Russia supported the move.[193] The CPP was the government that ruled the People's Republic of Kampuchea from 1979-1991, of which the Soviet Union was one of their primary economic and diplomatic supporters. The CPP maintains good relations with Russia currently, and Vladimir Putin's United Russia party publicly supports Hun Sen's government.[194]

Russia's foreign policy in Southeast Asia, while less aggressive in tone than Cold War U.S.S.R. or Czarist Russia, is still influenced by similar objectives. By maintaining economic connections and diplomatic support with Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia, Russia is able to counter the balance of the Chinese and the Americans in the region, as well as secure key shipping lanes to the Indian Ocean.[195] Gorbachev's policies of dealing

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[192] "Cambodia," Freedom House, last modified January, 2015, accessed August, 2014, https://freedomhouse.org/blog/cambodian-election-results-signal-discontent-autocratic-regime#.VMFa6S49-So.

[193] "Political and Economic Relations," Russian Embassy in Cambodia, last modified 2013, accessed August 20, 2014. http://www.embrusscambodia.mid.ru/dip-policy-e.html.

[194] Tsvetkov, "Our Cambodia-Russian Friendship."

[195] Rangsimaporn, "Russia's Search for Influence," 787.

with Southeast Asia in the latter half of the 1980s, more emphasis on bilateral relations and a softer touch with the ASEAN organization, has obviously had considerable influence on how the current Putin regime in Russia, much more so than the Yeltsin regime, interacts with Southeast Asia.[196] With increased integration between Russia and Cambodia since the late 1990s, the level of Russian demographic presence has increased in Cambodia. As was the case in the 1980s, Russians migrating into Cambodia tend to be made up of technicians and professionals, although increasingly Russians have become involved in the tourist industry within Cambodia.

The Post-Soviet Diaspora in Cambodia

Although Russian military and state personnel were present during the 1980s in Cambodia, these numbers were reduced as the Soviets withdrew economic aid to its Communist allies during the Gorbachev era. The Russian market, the largest street market in Phnom Penh, was named for being the foreign market in the 1980s, where Soviet and Eastern Europeans living in the city could get Soviet products. Many of the Russian-speaking people in Cambodia in the 1980s were also teachers, helping to rebuild the universities and schools in Cambodia after they were decimated by the Khmer Rouge regime.[197] The Russian demographic presence declined drastically following the immediate collapse of the Soviet Union and the reduction of economic and diplomatic support to Cambodia, however a small diaspora of Russian-speakers has been building up in Cambodia since the late 1990s, built mostly around tourism as well as in professional industries such as telecommunications and finance.

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196 Buszynski, "Russia and Southeast Asia," 293.
197 Ellen, "From Russia, with love to Cambodia."

The stabilization of Cambodia in the 1990s created new economic opportunities for Russians looking to escape the socio-economic chaos of Yeltsin's Russia. Political stabilization in Cambodia has been followed by economic growth in the country, and by the late 1990s and early 2000s Cambodia has seen substantial economic development. Economic growth rates have been at about 10% annually from 2004 to 2007, however in 2009 there was a decline in following the economic recession affecting the rest of the world.[198] However, growth rates have increased again in the second decade of the 21st century, and tourism is the nation's fastest-growing industry. The Russian community in Cambodia has been building itself around the industry of tourism, capitalizing on providing resort and tourist facilities for Russian-speakers traveling to the region. The start of the 21st century also marked an increase in trade between Russia and Cambodia.[199] In 2006, trade between the two nations amounted to $10.8 million, while by 2013 it had risen to $133.2 million. The first half of 2014 marked an increase on the previous year as well.[200] The two nations have increased military cooperation and training as well, specifically the Russian navy has been active around the port of Sihanoukville,[201] the locale of one of the largest Russian diasporas in Cambodia.[202]

As tourism is one of Cambodia's largest industries, the increased activity between Russia and Cambodia has seen an increase in Russian tourists visiting Cambodia. In 2010, 30,000 Russian citizens visited Cambodia, while in 2013 over 131,000 Russians

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[198] Forbes and Henley, *Cambodia*, 13.
[199] Russian Embassy, "Cambodia."
[200] Tsvetkov, Our Cambodia-Russian Friendship."
[201] Russian Embassy, "Cambodia."
[202] Ellen, "From Russia, with love to Cambodia."

visited the country.[203] The Cambodian government signed over a 99-year lease of the Sihanoukville Victory beach and island in 2006 to a Russian owned-company, Koh Pos Investment Group co Ltd (KPIG), in the hopes that the move will increase Russian tourism to Sihanoukville and Cambodia over all.[204] The key players behind KPIG were Nikolai Doroshenko, an Uzbek-born Ukrainian, and Sergei Polonsky, a Russian real estate mogul wanted in Russia for embezzling charges. Attempts were made in 2013 to transfer the lease to a Taiwanese company, Cambodia courts halted the transfer as they claimed Doroshenko and Polonsky had violated the original terms of the contract. Doroshenko has filed counter-claims arguing that Polonsky alone had violated the contract. Polonsky was also arrested in early 2013 for assaulting six Cambodian fisherman.[205] Although it is unproven, Polonsky almost certainly paid Cambodian officials to arrest him, in order to avoid being extradited to Russia on charges of embezzling $180 million.[206] Despite lease complications, the majority of shares of Doroshenko's Victory Beach property have already been sold to a Chinese company, Sea Snake Investment Group Co. Ltd. in 2013.[207]

The Russian-speaking community, including citizens of former Soviet Union (FSU) states, in Cambodia has grown significantly since the 1990s, and large pockets exist in Phnom Penh, Sihanoukville, and Siem Reap. Many Russians, including

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[203] Tsvetkov, "Our Cambodia-Russian Friendship."

[204] Cheang Sokha, "Russians Win 99-Year Lease of Sihanoukville Beach and Island," *The Phnom Penh Post*, October 6, 2006, accessed August 10, 2014. http://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/russians-win-99-year-lease-sihanoukville-beach-and-island.

[205] Joshua Wilwohl, "Court Temporarily Halts Lease Transfer for Victory Beach," *The Cambodia Daily*, May 13, 2014, accessed August 16, 2014, http://www.cambodiadaily.com/news/court-temporarily-halts-lease-transfer-for-victory-beach-58598/.

[206] Simon Shuster, "Russian Tycoon's Arrest in Cambodian Jungle Highlights Oligarchs' Fall," *Time Magazine,* November 11, 2013, accessed August 15, 2014, http://world.time.com/2013/11/11/russian-tycoons-arrest-in-cambodian-jungle-highlights-oligarchs-fall/.

[207] Wilwohl, "Court Temporarily Halts."

Doroshenko, came to Cambodia in the 1990s to escape the turmoil that had engulfed the former Soviet Union and because Cambodia was seen as a fresh and newly opened market for investment and entrepreneurship. In an interview with one Russian-speaker, he claimed that he preferred Cambodia because it was cheaper, had warm weather, and there was relatively less red tape when getting businesses activities done.[208] Although Cambodia was still reeling off a decade-long civil war and a temporary U.N. government which ended in 1995, the Cambodian economy was improving a long with its neighbor Southeast Asian nations and tourism has been bringing money to the country. The reestablishment of Russian-Cambodian diplomatic and economic relations in 1993 was followed by greater Russian business investment into Cambodia, particularly in the telecomm and tourist industries.

There are currently 300 registered Russian families living permanently in Sihanoukville.[209] The Russian community there is engaged mostly in the tourist industry, accommodating the Russian tourists visiting the city every year. The Russian community provides everything familiar to Russians visiting, including Russian food, drink, language, and even women. An interviewee familiar with the Russian community in Sihanoukville stated that Russian prostitution exists in the country, but only to service Russian tourists, and it is unclear whether these women are victims of sex-trafficking or not. The evidence of former Soviet and Eastern European women trafficked into Cambodia has been documented,[210] although is understudied and ignored by Cambodian officials, which is typical of prostitution in the country. Doroshenko acts as a quasi-mafia

[208] Belorussian male, personal interview with author, Phnom Penh, Cambodia, August 27, 2014.
[209] Ellen, "From Russia, with love to Cambodia."
[210] Lee, "Human Trafficking in East Asia," 168.

boss, providing approval for new Russian business opening up in Sihanoukville. The community in Siem Reap is the smallest between Phnom Penh and Sihanoukville, and is engaged mostly around providing a tourist hub for Russians visiting the city. Siem Reap is a major tourist destination for Cambodia, and Southeast Asia at large, due to having Angkor Wat and the surrounding temples at its doorstep.[211]

The Russian-speaking community in Phnom Penh is made up mostly of people from former Soviet republics, engaged in telecommunications, NGO work, and banking. Intersputnik, a former Soviet telecom company, was introduced into Cambodia in 1987. Beeline, the Russian telecom company, has a franchise operation in Cambodia which dominates the telecom industry in the country. VimpelCom, another Russian telecom company, and the Kazakhstani Kazakhtelecom operate in Cambodia as well. According to one interview with a Belorussian telecom worker living in Phnom Penh, most of the Russian-speaking community in Phnom Penh is made up of non-Russians, but rather Russian-speakers from outlying republics, mostly Ukrainians, Kazakhs, Tajiks, and Uzbeks. Many educated Russians are generally unwilling to accept work positions in Cambodia, despite good pay, so the positions are filled by other Eurasian groups who are more open to adopting a life in Southeast Asia. In the same interview with said Belorussian telecom worker, he stated that Russians have the most trouble cooperating and accommodating Cambodian officials and police, while those other FSU communities such as the Ukrainians, Uzbeks, and Kazakhs, are generally more efficient at working with local Cambodian police and government in order to operate businesses.[212]

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[211] Forbes and Henley, *Cambodia*, 74.
[212] Belorussian male, personal interview with author, Phnom Penh, Cambodia, August 27, 2014.

Each of these FSU groups in Phnom Penh however does not number over a hundred or so. The Kazakhs are the most numerous group of the Russian speakers in Phnom Penh. The Kazakhs run the Kazakhtelecom business, and the popular Cambodia bank Advanced Bank of Asia (ABA) is owned and run mostly by Kazakhs. The ABA bank opened in 1996 in Cambodia, and is now one of the leading banks, with branches in all major cities in the country. In 2007, 100% of ABA's shares were bought out by the Central Asian emerging markets private equity firm Visor Group. The major shareholder and Chairman of directors is Damir Karassayev, a Kazakh national who initiated the acquisition of ABA in 2007. The three other top management positions are held by two other Kazakhs, Madi Akmambet and Askhat Azhikhanov, and one South Korean, Lee Young Ho.[213]

Eastern Orthodox Christianity, the major religion of people from Russia and the former Soviet Union, has a small base of followers in Cambodia. Orthodox temples have been built in Sihanoukville, Siem Reap, and most recently Phnom Penh, in order to accommodate the Russian, Eastern European, and FSU diaspora in Cambodia.[214] Ninety-three percent of the Cambodian population, of around fourteen million total, is Theravada Buddhist, while Islam makes up the second largest demographic between 3.5-5% of the population. Christians make up 2% of the Cambodia population. The majority of Christians in Cambodia are Catholic, a leftover from the French colonial period, however more Protestants have sprung up in the country resulting from American missionary work started in the 1990s. Of Eastern Orthodox churches in Cambodia, the St. Panteleimon

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[213] "Board of Directors," Advanced Bank of Asia Ltd., last modified 2014, accessed August 20, 2014, https://www.ababank.com/about-aba/board-of-directors/.
[214] Tsvetkov, "Our Cambodia-Russian Friendship."

parish services the community in Sihanoukville, the Our Lady of Kazan parish is in Siem Reap, and the St. George Parish is in Phnom Penh. The St. George Orthodox Christian temple in Phnom Penh was built within the Bulgarian Embassy, as a memorial to Bulgarian peacekeepers killed in the U.N. mission to resolve the ongoing Cambodia civil crisis in 1993. In an interview with the Rector of Orthodox parishes in Cambodia, he outlined the details of operations for Orthodox churches in the country. Priests are assigned from within the Russian Orthodox hierarchy, and arrive in Cambodia in October to administer worship and services until the end of spring. The priests leave for summer, and services are held without a head priest to oversee. The churches in Cambodia perform weekly services, offer pilgrimages and trips, offer a local Orthodoxy newsletter, and translate religious texts from the Church Slavonic language (the language used in religious texts and services in Russian and several Eastern European orthodoxy variants) into the Khmer language for all native Cambodians interested in Orthodox Christianity.[215] Although all variants of Orthodoxy denominations, Serbian, Bulgarian, Russian, Greek, etc., share the temples in Cambodia, the Orthodox churches in Cambodia fall under the representation of the Russian Orthodox Church in Thailand.[216] Although the Orthodoxy churches are by no means the main focal point nor chief directors of the Russians living in Cambodia, they do provide a familiar Russian cultural and religious customs, and provide a weekly place for social gatherings. As will be discussed later on, the Russian church is usually a sign of some level of Russian and FSU presence in a city, and is an indicator of some level of organization among Russian-speakers abroad. The Russian

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[215] Russian Orthodox priest, email interview with author, August 23, 2014.
[216] "History of Christianity in Cambodia," Orthodoxy in Cambodia, last modified 2014, accessed August 19, 2014. http://cambodia.orthodox.or.th/index.php?content=cambodia/history_Christianity.

Orthodox church is found in the three major cities in Cambodia, as one is found in the major cities of South Korea and the Netherlands alike.

Conclusions about Russian-Speakers in Cambodia

Cambodian economic growth and the increase in economic activity between Russia and Cambodia, beginning in the late 1990s, has seen an increase in the Russian and Russian-speaking diaspora in Cambodia, most notably in Sihanoukville, Phnom Penh, and to a lesser extent Siem Reap. The Russian-speaking diaspora in the country is mainly connected with the tourist, banking, and telecommunications industries. The Russian diaspora groups in Sihanoukville and Siem Reap have created a friendly community for the growing number of Russian tourists coming to Cambodia. Phnom Penh, being the financial center of Cambodia, has accumulated a community of Russian and Russian-speakers from former Soviet states, who are engaged in banking or with telecom companies like Beeline or Kazakhtelecom. The increase in the presence of Russian business investment and tourism in Cambodia will likely increase the level of the Russian-speaking diaspora community in the country, as well as increase the omnipresence of Russian products in Cambodia.

Cambodia contains no element of ethnic repatriation, differing from the case of those Korean-Russians migrating to South Korea, however like South Korea much of the Russian-speaking immigration into Cambodia is of an economic nature. The growing economies of Cambodia and South Korea in the 1990s provided new markets for new private entrepreneurs looking to capitalize. The connections that had previously existed between the Soviet Union and Cambodia provided a familiar setting for new Russian

businesses in the late 1990s and 2000s. The relative cheapness and ease of doing business in Cambodia was a plus for many Russians looking to escape the social and economic chaos of Russia in the 1990s. The problems of alienation and isolation in an Asian nation, as felt by Russians immigrating to China during the interwar period, and those immigrating to Korea, can be partially bypassed with money in Cambodia. Unlike South Korea, Cambodia is still a very poor country with little ethnic nationalism. Russians in Cambodia, like other foreigners in the country, are able to live quite well utilizing money to overcome the obstacles to interacting in a culturally estranged Southeast Asian society. As Tom Vater said in his 2013 novel *The Cambodian Book of the Dead*; "Unbridgeable cultural gaps and huge income disparity precludes integration."[217]

Although Russian immigration to Cambodia is minute, compared to other countries, they do represent a part of the history of the new Russian diaspora. Like Korea and the Netherlands, these Russian-speakers tend to identify as Russian along a linguistic and cultural basis, despite perhaps being from one of the other non-Russia post-Soviet states. My interactions with Russian-speakers in Cambodia demonstrated that there is relatively no ethnic discourse nor ethnic division among the East Slavic groups or other former Soviet ethnic groups, as there is among the Russian diaspora in Russia's near abroad. Russian-speakers of all variety unite in Sihanoukville, Siem Reap, and Phnom Penh, in order to socialize and find comradery with people who share a similar language and cultural background. In such a far off and exotic locale like Cambodia, Russian-speakers cannot afford nor have any incentive to identify in such a narrow ethnic mindset.

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[217] Tom Vater, *The Cambodian Book of the Dead* (New York: Random House, 2013), 92.

Russia has been a strong ally to Cambodia, and the presence of all things Russian in the country have helped to prosper the Cambodian nation from failed-state status in the 1970s to a developing Asian nation with high GDP growth rates at the start of the 21st century. Cambodia remains a cheap alternative lifestyle to that of expensive Moscow or St. Petersburg, and investment opportunities are widespread across the country, making the cost-benefit ratio of migration appealing to some entrepreneurial Russians. Employment opportunities are also available for those Russian-speakers on the fringes who are not afraid to accept long-term employment for professional companies in an exotic developing state like Cambodia.

A Comparison with Russians in the West

Russians in the Netherlands

Russian immigration into the Netherlands presents an interesting case study and contrast to the immigration in other European and western states, as well as to those Russian diasporas in Asia. Although there were fears within Western Europe of a flood of immigrants from the former Soviet Union within their borders following the fall of the iron curtain, this has not been the case.[218] In a 1992 poll in Austria, over 61% of the participants listed Russians as 'undesirable foreigners' and feared the opening of their country's eastern border would lead to a surge of immigrants coming from the old Communist world.[219] Western Europe has however faced more recent immigration coming from the Middle-East, South Asia, and Africa, over Eastern Europe. In the Netherlands in 2010, the foreign-born population was made up of 200,000 immigrants from Turkey, 167,000 Moroccan immigrants, 186,000 Surinamese, and 140,000 Indonesian.[220] The population from ex-Soviet nationals in Holland is currently around 65,000, which includes around 16,000 as children born in the Netherlands from Soviet immigrants.[221]

The stark contrast of East Asian and Southeast Asian cultures towards Slavic Russian culture presents high barriers for assimilation of Russian immigrants, and acts as

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[218] Willett, "Crises of Self and Other," 61.

[219] Shevtsova, "Post-Soviet Emigration," 255.

[220] Katya Vasileva, "6.5% of the EU population are foreigners and 9.4% are born abroad," Statistics in Focus, *EuroStat* (2011): 4. http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/en/web/products-statistics-in-focus/-/KS-SF-11-034.

[221] Loozen et al, "Substantial Increase Immigration."

a deterrent for many Russians for viewing Asia as an option for more long-term migration. However economic incentives in South Korea and entrepreneurial opportunities in Cambodia, as well as deteriorating socio-economic options in the former Soviet Union, swayed some Russians to venture to the Far East in hope of a better life. Other Russians went out West to Europe or North America for new opportunities. On a surface level Europe seems like an easier place for Russians to blend in or assimilate, as ethnically Slavic Russians are similar in appearance to Germanic, Celtic, and Latin Europeans, and Russian culture and Orthodox Christianity share some common similarities to other European cultures. However, the political and economic divide between Eastern and Western Europe during the Cold War has left a stigma of sorts on how Westerns perceive Eastern Europeans. Willett in her analysis of Russian immigrants in the Netherlands in the early 2000s describes how the Dutch, along with other Western European societies, have a much-influenced perception of Russians and other Eastern Europeans, as alien, exotic, and Eastern. Willett describes how Russian female immigrants in Holland are overwhelmingly stereotyped as prostitutes, with an exotic overly sexualized and manipulative persona, while the men are characterized as criminals and mobsters, brutish and coming from a misogynistic cultural background.[222] In an interview with one Dutch woman, she said all the Russians she has interacted with were nouveau riche Russians whom she considered were rude, brutishly direct, and without manners. This aligns with Willett's analysis of how Russian males in the Netherlands are stereotyped as thuggish and having no sense of manners. The stereotype of Russian-speakers having an alien 'otherness' presents a challenge for assimilation into Western European society. Slavic Russians in Asia appear mostly to the locals as Caucasian and to

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[222] Willett, "Crisis of Self and Other," 11.

be grouped along with the other Western foreigners, while in Western Europe they symbolize a contrasting Easternness.

The Netherlands is a prosperous Western European country with a high standard of living and well known liberal attitudes to diverse lifestyles. The country has just over 16 million people and is one of the densest countries, in terms of population, in the world. The Netherlands is a founding member of both the European Union and NATO. Like other European states, the appeal of economic prosperity and the coverage of the welfare state blanket in the Netherlands have drawn in major streams of migrant groups from across the world, and its inflow of migrants from the former Soviet Union have increased since the 1990s. From 1995 on, immigration levels have increased dramatically in the Netherlands. Most immigrants who have come into the country fall into four categories; asylum seekers, labor migrants, family reunion migrants, and family forming migrants. Family formation migrants are those immigrating for the purposes of marrying a spouse, either a Dutch citizens or a fellow ex-Soviet citizen residing in the Netherlands. A 1998 study done by Statistics Netherlands showed that, among migrants from the former Soviet Union in the Netherlands, the majority had migrated for the reasons of family formation and asylum.[223] Although France, Germany, and the United Kingdom have historically drawn in larger number of Russian-speakers than Holland, the Russian diaspora there has grown significantly since the end of the Cold War. In 1992, around 1,000 people from the former Soviet Union immigrated to the Netherlands, while in 2001

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[223] Hans Nicolaas and Arno Sprangers, "Migration Motives of Non-Dutch Immigrants in The Netherlands," *Statistics Netherlands* (2001): 3, 7, 12.

over 6,000 former Soviet citizens immigrated.[224] The numbers of Russian-speakers has increased further throughout the 2000s, including a surge of asylum seekers from the Caucasus conflict in Dagestan and Chechnya between 2000 to 2005. A more recent surge of Russian-speakers from the Baltics states have come to the Netherlands, since Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania have become EU member states in 2004.[225] The open door migration policy among member states of the EU has led to higher immigration from newly admitted Eastern European countries into the more advanced Western European economies.

The Netherlands, like South Korea, is a densely populated post-industrial society with a strong economic record, a factor which has attracted Russian immigration in the post-Soviet era. Like South Korea, the Netherlands has been relatively separated from economic, political, and demographic exchange with Russia during the majority of the Cold War period, as both states were allies with the United States. The presence of Russian women acting as sex workers occurs in both South Korea and the Netherlands, the latter of which has made prostitution legal, which reduces the smuggling and trafficking aspect of the sex trade. Although prostitution is more institutionalized in Holland, the presence of underground brothels exists, and this illegal market tends to be dominated by Russian-speaking women as well as women from various other Eastern European countries.[226]

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[224] Maarten Alders and Hans Nicolaas, "Immigration from former Soviet republics on the rise," *Statistics Netherlands*, August 12, 2002.
[225] Loozen et al, "Substantial increase immigration."
[226] Willett, "Crises of Self and Other," 145-146.

Like Cambodia, the Netherlands has a similar sized population and a large industry based around tourism. Russians in both Cambodia and the Netherlands are largely involved in tourism, and contribute to the industry in their respective host countries.[227] The Russian diaspora as it exists today in the Netherlands is around 49,000 people, with another 16,000 second generation Russian-speakers.[228] This is considerably larger than the diaspora in South Korea and Cambodia, which numbers around 15,000 and between 1,000-2,000 respectively. The Netherlands is the 6th-largest economy in the EU and the standard of living is one of the highest in the world, it is also a European nation with an ethnic, religious, and cultural sphere closer to that of Russia than exists in East Asia or Southeast Asia. Assimilation into the host culture of a European nation may seem more attainable, although still not without social-linguistic difficulties in adjustment. Assimilation into an East Asian or Southeast Asian nation may seem impossible to the Russian migrant, and these Russians may always face internally and externally what Balakshin described in his study of the Russian diaspora in China; "a person with light-colored skin will always remain an alien in Asia."[229] This can no doubt help to explain why Western Europe has had a larger draw for many Russians leaving their country.

Dutch-Russian Historical Interactions

The Dutch and the Russians have a relatively sparse history of foreign relations and demographic exchange. The Netherlands lies on the western edge of the European

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[227] Willett, "Crises of Self and Other," 168.

[228] Loozen et al, "Substantial increase immigration."

[229] From Petr Balakshin's *Finale v* Kitae (San Francisco: Knigoizdatel'stvo Sirius, 1958), 10, in Hsu, "Diaries and Diaspora," 138.

Peninsula, separated from Russia by the vast distance of Central and Eastern Europe. The Dutch descend from Germanic Frankish tribes which settled the Low Countries region north of France. The Spanish Hapsburg kingdom ruled the territory of Belgium and the Netherlands, until the Northern provinces rebelled from Spain and established the Dutch Republic in 1581. Although trade contacts were established between Russian and the Netherlands dating back to the 16th century, the first significant political exchange between the Dutch Republic and the Russian Empire occurred when the Russian Czar Peter the Great embarked on his Grand Embassy diplomatic mission through Western Europe from 1697-1698.[230] Peter the Great spent four months in the Dutch Republic working as a shipbuilder and learning from the expertise of the Dutch merchant fleet, the professional naval knowledge gained in Holland would led to Peter's revamping and restructuring of the Russian navy.[231]

The Netherlands and Russia remained relatively neutral towards each other politically until the Napoleonic Wars at the start of the 19th century. When the Dutch Republic was overthrown and the French-supported Batavian Republic established in 1795, the country entered into a war against the forces of the Second Coalition, of which Russia was a member. From August 27th to November 19th 1799, British and Russian military forces invaded the Netherlands in an attempt to overthrow the Batavian Republic. The Dutch were successful, with the help of French military support, at

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[230] Dina Siegel, "Russian *Biznes* in The Netherlands," (PhD diss., University of Utrecht, 2002), 75.
[231] Leonid Alekseyevich Nikiforov, "Peter I," *Encyclopedia Britannica,* last modified April 25, 2014, accessed November 9, 2014, http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/453644/Peter-I/14786/The-Grand-Embassy-1697-98.

throwing out the Anglo-Russian armies.[232] The United Kingdom of the Netherlands

emerged from the Napoleonic Wars as the successor government to the Batavian

Republic and the short-lived Kingdom of Holland, which was governed briefly by

Napoleon's brother Louis Bonaparte. In 1845 a Russian Tsaritsa, Anna Pavlovna, became

the Queen-consort of the Netherlands when she married King Willem II, making the

royal lineage of the Dutch House of Orange intertwined with the Russian Romanovs.[233]

     Dutch-Russian political and economic relations however remained relatively

sparse up into the 20th century, and as the Cold War followed World War II, the

Netherlands was separated by the iron curtain which divided Europe between East and

West. The Netherlands fell under the blanket of U.S. protection and economic support in

the Cold War era, and was a founding member of the NATO military alliance in 1949.

The Netherlands was also a founding member of the European Economic Community

which was refurbished as the European Union under the Maastricht Treaty in 1993.

Participation within the EU has helped to boost the economic activity of Holland, and has

created a greater integration with the rest of Europe. By the 21st century the Netherlands

has become the sixth largest economy within the European Union, with low

unemployment and an expansive welfare state system.[234] The end of the Cold War and

the inclusion of Eastern Europe within the integrated economy of Europe have opened

greater interaction between the Netherlands and the countries of the former Soviet Union.

The Netherlands has become the top export country for Russian products, made up

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[232] A.B. Piechowiak, "The Anglo-Russian Expedition to Holland in 1799," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 41, no.96 (1962): 190.

[233] Siegel, "Russian *Biznes*," 75.

[234] CIA World Factbook, "Netherlands," Last modified June 20, 2014, accessed November 16, 2014, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/nl.html.

mostly by petroleum. Nine percent of Russia's exports went to the Netherlands in 2012, accounting for $43 billion.[235] Russia emerged in the 2000s as the top supplier of crude petroleum to the Netherlands, replacing Saudi Arabia, in part due to the development of new technology and developments of new oil fields.[236] The Royal Dutch Shell oil company also has a 27.5% stake in the Sakhlin-2 oil rig off the pacific coast of Russia, although the Dutch company previously held 55%, it was pressured along with Japanese companies to sell off part of its stake to Russia's Gazprom.[237]

As of 2015 Russian and Dutch economic exchange continues to thrive, despite political differences between the two governments and hiccups like the downing of Malaysia Airlines Flight 17 over the Ukraine, killing 193 Dutch citizens; Russia remains the top oil supplier to Holland and the Netherlands remains a top investor in Russia. Nearly 4,000 Dutch companies operate in Russia, investing nearly $63 billion into the country.[238] The growing economic interaction between Russia and the Netherlands since the end of the Cold War, and the expansion of the economic union of Western Europe into Eastern Europe at the start of the 21st century has helped to elevate the Netherlands and the rest of Western Europe as a destination for Russian-speaking migrants looking for better long-term and short-term economic and social living situations.

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[235] Mitchell A. Orenstein, "The Dutch Disaster: Malaysia Airlines Flight 17 and the Future of Dutch-Russian Relations," *Foreign Affairs*, July 22, 2014.
[236] Sander Brummelkamp and Ram Sardjoepersad, "Russia largest oil supplier for the Netherlands," *Statistics Netherlands*, March 17, 2011.
[237] Orenstein, "The Dutch Disaster."
[238] Orenstein, "The Dutch Disaster."

Russian Immigration to the Netherlands

The Netherlands experienced a large increase of Russian-speaking immigrants immediately following the demise of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. Although the United States, Germany, France, and Israel were hit early and more significantly by the post-Soviet wave of immigration, the Netherlands soon followed its western neighbors as a popular destination point for Russian-speaking immigrants wishing to flee the chaos of the post-Soviet transition to capitalism and democracy. Initial fears echoed within the Dutch public of the threat of a Russian mafia presence that would follow the inflow of Russian immigrants, although little organized crime was prevalent among Russians in the Netherlands.[239] As with the case of Germany, Israel, and the United States, the earliest groups of Russian-speakers coming into the Netherlands in the early 1990s were Jewish Russians. Many Western European countries were more open to receiving Jewish-Russian immigrants who were fleeing the Soviet Union due to a widespread cultural guilt from the mistreatment of Jews in Europe leading up to the Holocaust during World War II. The Germans sponsored many Russian-Jewish immigrants for German citizenship in a good will effort and as a way to reinstitute Germany's once thriving Jewish sub-culture. The Netherlands like Germany previously had a very active Jewish presence in the country, which was largely displaced during World War II. The Jewish Quarter in Amsterdam once had a thriving Dutch-Jewish community, however this neighborhood was nearly vacant of any Jewish residents after the war. One Dutch interviewee stated that one of the historical stains upon the Dutch people was how quickly and easily they betrayed and handed over their Jewish

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[239] Siegel, "Russian *Biznes*," 8.

populations to the Germans once they were occupied. This sense of national guilt may help to explain the low restriction put upon Jewish Russian migrants getting long-term visas and citizenship within the Netherlands.

Asylum seekers rank among one of the higher motives for migrants emigrating out of the former Soviet Union by the mid-1990s. By 1997, the largest asylum seekers were Armenians, Georgians, and Chechens.[240] The Trans-Caucasus region had erupted into conflict not long after the Soviet Union dissolved, with the first Chechen War from 1994-1996, the Ossetian-Ingush conflict from 1989-1991 in Georgia, the Abkhazia war from 1992-1993 also in Georgia, and the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia which simmered down by 1994. Asylum seekers were relegated to shelters while waiting on the procedures for working and living visas, and there was some public fear about the level of criminality among asylum seekers.[241] In 1999, the number of Azerbaijani migrants with asylum seeker status was around 2,500; Armenian asylum seekers were around 1,250, while those of Russian citizenship were 1,000. These three groups made up two thirds of the total population of asylum seekers from the former Soviet sphere. Statistics from the Dutch Ministry of Justice in 2001 stated that 60% of all migrants from the former Soviet Union came as asylum seekers that year.[242]

As was the case with Germany and South Korea, predominately minority ethnic emigration from the former Soviet Union was replaced by labor migration from the early 2000s onward, and the ethnic makeup more Slavic Russian. Labor migrants from outside the European economic union must obtain a work permit from the National Employment

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[240] Siegel, "Russian *Biznes*," 71.

[241] Siegel, "Russian *Biznes*," 78.

[242] Alders and Nicolaas, "Immigration from former Soviet republics."

Services, or face deportation,[243] however despite this a significant portion of the Russian-speaking population in the Netherlands were illegal immigrants. In 2002 study by Statistics Netherlands, immigration from the Soviet Union increased steadily through the 1990s and shot up drastically from 1999 to 2000. Twenty-nine thousand immigrants from the former Soviet Union migrated to the Netherlands during the 1990s, although the number is most likely higher when considering illegal immigrants. The percentage of FSU immigrants from Russia in 2001 was 37%, followed by Azerbaijanis, Ukrainians, and Armenians.[244]

The enlargement of the European Union into the former Soviet region in the early 2000s increased the opportunity for Russian-speakers to migrate freely into Western Europe for better economic opportunities. In 2004, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were added as member states of the EU. The number of migrants from the Baltics increased from around 1,500 annually between 2000 and 2005 to around 4,500 annually between 2006-2010.[245] Immigration to the Netherlands from the Soviet countries has increased in greater annual numbers of incoming migrants than was seen in the 1990s, with two thirds of the current number of post-Soviet immigrants having come to the Netherlands after 2000.[246] Willett describes tension between Russian-speakers and the local Baltic ethnic groups as an incentive for Russians to migrate out of the Baltics into Western Europe or back to Russia.[247]

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243 Nicolaas and Sprangers, "Migration Motives," 5.
244 Alders and Nicolaas, "Immigration from former Soviet Republics."
245 Loozen et al, "Substantial Increase Immigration."
246 Loozen et al, "Substantial Increase Immigration."
247 Willett, "Crises of Self and Other," 98.

Despite an increase in labor migration in the 2000s, one of the largest motivations for Russians immigrating to the Netherlands is for family reunion or family formation.[248] These migrants are joining a family member that has already established residency in the Netherlands, or they are migrating in order to marry a partner who is Dutch or perhaps another Russian-speaker. A significant aspect of family formation, which is present in most parts of the Russian diaspora in the west, is Russian women migrating to marry a man of the local nationality, in this case a Dutch man. Of Russian migrants coming to the Netherlands for the reasons of family, three quarters of these are migrating to unite or marry their partner.[249] The representation of the Russian community in the Netherlands has increasingly been dominated by women. In 2002 the gender make-up of former Soviet migrants was 57% women,[250] this has increased to 63% women in 2012, with 31,000 women compared to 18,000 men from the former Soviet Union living in the Netherlands.[251] Willett describes how a western perception of Eastern European women as more sexualized and submissive creates a demand among Dutch men for Russian female partners, and several avenues have come into existence for finding Russian women such as the internet and personal ads in *Rus: Visa* magazine.[252] There is a neocolonial attitude among Dutch men described in Willett's study, which can be compared to the reverse colonial attitude among South Korean males, in which the males seek to assert masculinity by "conquering" the evocative Russian female through a sexual discourse.[253] This by no means entails that Russian women are consistently sexually

[248] Loozen et al, "Substantial Increase Immigration."
[249] Loozen et al, "Substantial Increase Immigration."
[250] Alders and Nicolaas, "Immigration from former Soviet republics."
[251] Loozen et al, "Substantial Increase Immigration."
[252] Willett, "Crises of Self and Other," 19-20.
[253] Kim and Fu, "International Women," 493, 511.

exploited by Dutch males, in fact Willett points out that the majority of her survey subject who were Russian women involved with Dutch partners led very healthy and happy lives, and did not feel exploited in their marriages or relationships.[254] However western perceptions have created a stereotype of the Russian or Eastern European woman which can be damaging and prevent assimilation into Dutch society.[255]

Russian Sex-Workers in the Netherlands

Another aspect, which was discussed in Kim and Fu's analysis of Russian women in Korea, is the prevalence of Russian-speaking women in the sex industry in the Netherlands. Whereas in South Korea the vast majority of Russian women in the sex industry are victims of sex-trafficking, this is not always the case in the Netherlands, although trafficking is a factor and a problem there. Prostitution is legal within the Netherlands, it is more institutionalized and sex-workers have greater protection from exploitation.[256] Sex trafficking laws are very strict and enforced in the country, and victims of sex trafficking have a lot of security within the state once their perpetrators are exposed and arrested. The B9 visa is open to victims of sex trafficking, where they are given housing, social services, and have the right to stay in the country while their perpetrators are on trial, who they must first agree to testify against. However not all victims of sex-trafficking are aware or informed about the B9 visa, and are simply deported by Dutch immigration officials.[257]

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254 Willett, "Crises of Self and Other," 20.
255 Willett, "Crises of Self and Other," 1.
256 Willett, "Crises of Self and Other," 3-4.
257 Willett, "Crises of Self and Other," 4, 133.

Despite the legality of prostitution in the Netherlands, illegal networks have been operating in the country, in which Eastern European women are actively trafficked into. Significant crackdowns on illegal rings since 2002 have driven these prostitution rings further underground making the stakes higher, and the women more exploitable to their human smugglers.[258] However Willett asserts that the conditions of Russian and Eastern European sex-workers in the Netherlands cannot make them wholly classified as sex-victims, and the image of Eastern European women as victims of sexual slavery, although a reality in many places in the western world, has been somewhat built up by western feminists activists in order to gain publicity and money for their NGOs or political projects.[259]

Prostitution in the Netherlands has become much more culturally institutionalized since it became officially legal in 1999, and has been on its way to becoming a 'real job' in the minds of many Dutch people.[260] Willett describes many Russian-speaking women who have migrated to the Netherlands and embraced the position of sex-worker rather than forced into it. Many of these women lead fully functioning and healthy lives, are able to assimilate into Dutch culture, learn the Dutch language, and get Dutch boyfriends. Some Russian women see sex-work in the West as glamorous, and a better alternative to the lower social and economic position they may find themselves in back in Russia.[261] Despite this sentiment among some Russian women active in the sex industry in the Netherlands, Eastern European women and women from former Soviet states are one of the most exploited and trafficked groups of women, and the trafficking of these women is

[258] Willett, "Crises of Self and Other," 4.
[259] Willett, "Crises of Self and Other," 139-140.
[260] Willett, "Crises of Self and Other," 143.
[261] Willett, "Crises of Self and Other," 149.

present in the Netherlands, just as it is in South Korea and Cambodia. However the difference is that trafficking of women is much more cracked down upon in the Netherlands. Brothels without a license or that hire illegal women, are subject to closure by the police and the brothel owners put in jail.[262] Sex-workers have much more rights in Holland, and the profession has become viewed as a legitimate job, in which the women pay taxes and are not exploited by pimps or organized criminal groups, as the case may be in Asia.

The Current State of the Russian Community in the Netherlands

In both Siegel and Willett's examinations of the Russian community in the Netherlands they note the absence of a Russian neighborhood or of any real defined community among immigrants from the former Soviet Union. Although there are nearly 50,000 former Soviet citizens residing in the Netherlands, this number is low compared to the major locales of more organized Russian communities in places such as Germany, Israel, the United States, France, and the United Kingdom. Russians and Eastern European migrants tend to blend in easier within Dutch culture, at least superficially, and do not stand out as compared to the more numerous migrants from Morocco, Turkey, Suriname, and Indonesia.[263] In my conversations with Dutch citizens in January 2015, they expressed views that the Russian community was practically invisible, and that one needed to go to Germany or England to see a more organized Russian diaspora. Siegel's work on the perception of Russian organized crime from Russian immigrants within the Netherlands pointed out that there was a genuine lack of any organized Russian mafia

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[262] Willett, "Crises of Self and Other," 145.
[263] Willett, "Crises of Self and Other," 85.

presence in the country, despite public scares that there would be a flood of Russian

gangsters pouring into the country immediately after the collapse of the Soviet Union.[264]

Despite a lack of any real organized Russian community or neighborhood in the

Netherlands, there has been some formation of an unspoken meeting place among many

Russian-speakers near Leidseplein and Rembrandtplein squares in Amsterdam; the

Russian Orthodox church used to be located near Rembrandtplein, although the church

has since relocated to the Jordaan neighborhood on the west side of the city.[265] A Czech-

Slovak bar in Rembrandtplein serves as an informal social meeting place for many

Eastern Europeans in the city, including Russians. Many of the street performers and

artists along Rembrandtplein square are temporary migrants from Russian and the

Baltics, who migrate to Amsterdam during the summer to participate and profit off the

city's tourism. Many of these artists and performers are able to obtain street performance

permits from the Dutch government which allows them to stay and work in the country

temporarily.[266] In Leidseplein, Russians can be found working in tourist bars and in

souvenir shops, servicing all variety of tourists. Russians working within the tourist

industry in the Netherlands is somewhat analogous to the Russians working within the

tourist industry in Sihanoukville and Siem Reap in Cambodia, although the Russians

there work more within servicing Russian tourism while the Russians in Amsterdam

benefit mostly off the general waves of summer tourists that come to the city. Russians

however, are frequently become a greater percentage of the tourist population in the

Netherlands, although comparatively less than the number of British, American, and

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[264] Siegel, "Russian *Biznes*," 92, 94.
[265] Willett, "Crises of Self and Other," 231.
[266] Willett, "Crises of Self and Other," 43-44.

Australian tourists. This has been met with some hostility by native Dutch people, as there is a perception among some that these tourists are a kind of new rich breed of Russians, with no manners or respect for Dutch culture or hospitality.

Many of the Russian-speakers that immigrate to the Netherlands are well educated and worked professional occupations back in Russia, despite working on the streets or taking positions in the Netherlands that may be below their technical qualifications.[267] Professional qualifications from academic institutes in former Soviet countries are seen as less competitive than those with degrees from Dutch universities, or from other European or North American colleges. Obtaining work visas in the Netherlands is hard for Russians, as they are non-EU citizens, however the opportunity for career advancement is seen as greater in Western Europe over Russia, and many Russian-speakers will work below their professional qualifications whilst taking courses once in the Netherlands in order to increase their competitiveness.[268]

Russian businessmen make up a large part of the part-time presence of Russians in the Netherlands. Hundreds of small Russian businesses were set up in the Netherlands in the mid-1990s, usually these companies imported Russian goods into the Netherlands, such as food, vodka, textiles, or exporting Dutch goods back to Russia.[269] With the transition to private enterprise beginning in the late 1980s in the Gorbachev era, many younger Russians saw private entrepreneurship as exciting, fashionable, and a path to riches. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the lifting of migration restrictions by 1992, Russian entrepreneurs entered western markets in order to profit off the selling

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[267] Willett, "Crises of Self and Other," 64-65.
[268] Siegel, "Russian *Biznes*," 89.
[269] Siegel, "Russian *Biznes*," 89, 104.

of cheap Russian goods abroad, or bringing back items that were previously rare or taboo in Soviet Russia.[270] Russian entrepreneurs were also an early part of the post-Soviet diaspora in South Korea and Cambodia in the 1990s, where Russian businessmen sought profits abroad at a time when Russia domestically was economically shaky and socially unstable. Both Siegel and Willett describe a western perception of Russian male businessmen as connected to organized criminal operations, which can stigmatize and hamper Russian businesses in conducting affairs in Holland. Although Siegel does concede that some Russian businesses are connected with Russian organized crime, these tend to be relegated to the oil, metal, diamond businesses, and with some high finance related criminal activities in Rotterdam. The image of the Russian businessman as connected to organized crime has faded somewhat in the 21st century, and Russian businesses are able to garner more trust from Dutch companies and banks.[271]

Siegel does describe that Russian-speakers in the Netherlands have very active social lives in conjunction with other Russian speakers, despite the absence of any political or significant social representation within Dutch society. The Russian Orthodox Church is noted as a central focal point of Russian-speakers in Amsterdam. Siegel describes how a third of the registered attendees are Russian, while the rest are Serbian, Georgians, Bulgarians, Armenians, and even occasionally some Jewish Russians who find nostalgia and comfort in the Orthodox customs and Russian-language used in services.[272] This is similar to the organization of the Eastern Orthodox churches in Cambodia, which would serve as a hub for Slavic and Eastern European migrants of

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[270] Siegel, "Russian *Biznes*," 101.
[271] Siegel, "Russian *Biznes*," 104-105.
[272] Siegel, "Russian *Biznes*," 91.

diverse ethnic and social backgrounds who would come together as a small loosely-knit community. However, Amsterdam may be a special case, as it is the largest city in the Netherlands and a hub of international migrants. In interviews with church leaders from Orthodox churches in smaller cities in the Netherland, they stressed that their churches were by no means a social club for Russian-speakers, and that services were held in both Dutch as well as Church Slavonic. In an interview, a member of an Orthodox church in Deventer, in the northwest of the country, stated that the overriding culture and language-used in their church was Dutch, despite a large number of the parishioners being Russian or from former Soviet states. The interviewee stated that their church was under the patriarch of Constantinople rather than Moscow, and their church bureaucracy stressed a de-emphasis of the ethnic elements of the church.[273]

Deventer is a smaller Dutch city, providing less opportunity for Russian-speakers to remain isolated from Dutch society, creating a greater incentive to assimilate into Dutch culture. In a larger cosmopolitan city like Amsterdam, the greater presence of Russian-speakers in the city allows for the retention and preservation of Russian culture and language. A member of the Russian Orthodox Church in Amsterdam, St. Nicholas of Myra, stated that church members have connections with the Skazka Russian school in Amsterdam, which provides education for both children and adults in Russian language and culture.[274] In my participation and observation of a Russian Orthodox service at the St. Nicholas church in Amsterdam, I noticed that the Church brought in between 50-70 members, and it did provide opportunities for much social interaction between parish members familiar and friendly with each other. Although the Russian church may not be

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[273] Russian female, email interview with author, December 12, 2014.
[274] Russian male, personal interview with author, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, January 11, 2015.

a social club for Russians in Holland, it does provide a weekly meeting place for Russians wanting to interact with other Russians, and engage in familiar Russian linguistic, cultural, and religious activities.

The category of Russian migrants who came for family formation, specifically marrying a Dutch man, are most vigorous in organizing events with fellow Russian-speakers.[275] Willett notes this as well, describing how her interactions with small Russian social groups involved hanging out at cafes, Russian restaurants, or with Russian street performers and peddlers. Her study concludes with remarking how the social consolidation among the Russian-speaking diaspora in the Netherlands has grown stronger as right-wing anti-immigration sentiment has grown amongst the Dutch populace in the 21st century.[276] In my conversations with Dutch citizens, nearly all of them talked about a noticeable shift in Dutch politics toward the right, most of this being directed at the tensions with immigrant groups in the country. This reflects the growing anti-immigration public attitudes that have developed within the European Union, in response towards non-European immigrants from the Middle-East, South Asia, and Africa, as well as towards Eastern European countries that have recently been admitted to the EU, such as Bulgaria, Romania, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. The renewed political tensions between Russia and the West have also added to hostile Dutch public perceptions of Russian residents. The shooting down of Malaysian Airlines Flight 17, made up of a majority of Dutch passengers, on July 17th 2014 by pro-Russian separatists in eastern Ukraine, has influenced Dutch attitudes towards Putin and Russian actions in

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[275] Siegel, "Russian *Biznes*," 89-90.
[276] Willett, "Crises of Self and Other," 197.

the Ukraine.[277] One Dutchman in Amsterdam stated that this incident has affected the behavior of both Dutch people and Russians, insinuating that the downing of MH 17 has created a new wedge between Russians and Dutch living in the Netherlands.[278] Vladimir Putin's daughter Mariya, who lived in Amsterdam and is married to a Dutchman, was rumored to have left back to Russia after growing anti-Russian hostility in the Netherlands after the MH 17 tragedy.

While Russian-speaking immigrants in the Netherlands generally have the ability of being more invisible within Dutch society than their counterparts from North African and the Middle East, stereotypes and generalizations of Eastern Europeans, pervasive throughout Western Europe, do make integration difficult for many Russian migrants who remain at the fringes of Dutch society.[279] In one circumstance recounted to me by a Russian in Amsterdam, she described her Russian-speaking friend in Switzerland who had been born in Switzerland but grew up in a Russian language household. When this girl had been broken up with by a Swiss man, she became dissatisfied with Swiss culture, and embraced a fervent Russian identity, learning old Russian songs and organizing Russian-only social clubs.[280] Although this happened in Switzerland, parallels could be made to any Western European society. Dissatisfaction with elements of the host culture oriented the Russian-speaker to embrace a strong Russian identity as a response to feelings of alienation.

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[277] Irene van der Linde, "Russians in the Netherlands Remain Loyal to Russia," *De Groene Amsterdammer*, September 3, 2014, accessed December 15, 2014, http://www.groene.nl/artikel/gekwetste-zielen--2.
[278] Dutch male, personal interview with author, The Hague, The Netherlands, January 8, 2015.
[279] Willett, "Crises of Self and Other," 227, 236.
[280] Russian female, personal interview with author, Amsterdam, the Netherlands, January 7, 2015.

However, many Russians often describe overwhelming positive aspects of Dutch society that make it a viable option for immigration, such as better career opportunities, more equality among the genders, and a stable political and economic environment. A Russian graduate student in Amsterdam asserted that men and women are more equal in the Netherlands, while in Russia men and women often socialize separately from each other, and there is an overarching element of male dominance in Russian relationship interactions. She stated that Holland fit her attitude more than any other place. In response to the question, "would you ever return to live in Russia?," she stated that she had been away from home too long, and that she would no longer be able to fit in back in Russia.[281]

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[281] Russian female, personal interview with author, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, January 7, 2015.

CHAPTER VI

Conclusions

Comparisons of Russian-Speakers in the East and the West

The examination of the Russian-speaking communities in South Korea, Cambodia, and the Netherlands are interesting case studies for exploring the larger Russian diaspora that has existed since the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. Although there are large differences in how the post-Soviet diaspora has played out in these three countries, there are some similarities which can create larger patterns for analyzing the history of Russian-speaking immigration since the end of the Soviet Union.

The diverse Russian diaspora branches all share some elements of a common push factor from Russia, or one of the successor Soviet states, beginning in the 1990s. The decrease in socio-economic standards for many Russians as the country entered the transition to capitalism and democracy created incentives for emigration. A lack of employment opportunities, especially for those educated Russians with advanced degrees unable to pursue their chosen professions, coupled with rising crime within Russia increased the push factor for many Russians choosing to migrate abroad. Some of the first Russian migrants to set up long term residence abroad were entrepreneurs and businessmen, attempting to take the opportunity of selling cheap Russian goods for higher prices internationally or bringing in new goods back into Russia. The initial wave of Russians who settled in Sihanoukville in Cambodia, in Dongdaemun market in Seoul, and in Amsterdam and Rotterdam were merchants and businessmen. Russian entrepreneurs were now getting the opportunity to pursue private enterprise and travel

abroad, thanks to the changing economic climate and the lifting of migration restrictions in Russia.

Increased ethnic conflict in much of the former Soviet sphere, immediately following the break-up of the Soviet Union, created newer incentives for migration for Russians-speakers. Civil wars sprung up in Chechnya, Moldova, Georgia, Ngorno-Karabakh, and parts of Central Asia in the wake of the absence of Soviet authority, when simmering ethnic conflicts with long histories of antagonism, now erupted into violence. Ethnic groups, which had long been repressed during the Soviet regime, such as the Jews, Germans, and Koreans, had opportunities to migrate to their ancestral homelands. A large part of the early emigration out of the former Soviet Union was composed of an ethnic motive. Hundreds of thousands of German Russians from within Russia and Central Asia took advantage of the newly united German government's promise of citizenship to Germans abroad who wished to return to the fatherland. Israel has long had an open door policy for Jewish citizens of other countries to migrate to and obtain Israeli citizenship upon arrival. Israel became the primary destination for Jewish Russians emigrating out of Russia in the early 1990s. Jewish migration was also a factor of early post-Soviet Russian migration to much of Western Europe, including the Netherlands. The element of ethnic repatriation, a part of the Russian-speaking diaspora in Germany and Israel, was also a part of the Russian migration to South Korea. The emigration Soviet Korean, mainly from Russia, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan, was not as numerous as the Jewish or German Russians fleeing former Soviet states in the 1990s. However, the ethnic Korean Russian migrant is an important part of the Russian diaspora in South Korea.

The historical foreign policy and economic interactions between Russia and these three case studies can also help to explain the demographic presence of Russians in those countries today. Russia had practically no economic or political action with either the Netherlands or South Korea for much of the 20th century, due to the separation of Communist and capitalist states during the Cold War. Russia began to move closer politically and economically to its former rivals during the Gorbachev era, and Yeltsin's regime during the 1990s was very Western capitalist oriented. New economic avenues were set up between Western Europe and the Russian Federation towards the end of the 1990s, and between Russia and the rising tigers of East Asia, such as Japan, Taiwan, China, and South Korea. The rise of Russia as an energy giant in the 21st century has expanded Russian presence in Western Europe and East Asia. The dissolution of the Soviet Union and Russia's increased economic activity with former rivals, helps to explain the sudden surge of Russians living and working in the Netherlands and South Korea since the 1990s. The Russian diaspora in the Netherlands and South Korea was virtually non-existent before 1991, and is a product of the post-Soviet environment.

The case of Russian interaction with Cambodia is a bit different, sharing more in common with Russian policy in Vietnam, rather than South Korea or the Netherlands. The Soviet Union was a major economic supporter of Cambodia during the late 1970s and all throughout the 1980s, which facilitated a small Russian demographic presence at the time, and this shared economic and political history during part of the Cold War still has a shadow overcasting onto the 21st century. Russian companies have utilized the connection between the former Soviet Union and Cambodia to set up business in the cheap and burgeoning Kingdom of Cambodia. Much of the Russian migration to

Cambodia since the 1990s has not been out of desperation or for political refuge, but connected to Russian or Central Asian business interests in the country.

Russian immigration into the Netherlands shares much in common with the Russian diaspora in its Western European neighbors. The economic wealth and opportunities in the Netherlands has led to an increase in labor migration to the country from the former Soviet Union, and the expansion of the European Union into the Baltics in the 21st century has created an accessible avenue for further migration into the West. The protection of property, wealth, and financial assets from government seizure in the Netherlands is a lure for those wealthy Russians that are afraid of the Russian government. Wealthier Russians have relaxed visa regulations when attempting to obtain residency in Holland.[282] The social liberalism of Dutch and Western European society is also a draw for those wishing to escape the corruption, crime, and social decay that pervaded throughout Russia during the 1990s. The Netherlands is internationally known for its tolerance of alternative lifestyles and open liberal public attitudes, attracting Russians which may not fit into the conservative society they come from. A recent example of this trend has been the Dutch government's acknowledgement of the oppression of homosexuals in Russia, and has granted those Russian citizens wishing to immigrate to the Netherlands, to escape this persecution, easier access to get political asylum status.[283] The Netherlands has recently made it mandatory for immigrants wishing to obtain long-term residency to take courses in acknowledging and respecting the

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[282] "New Immigration Rules," Juralink, last modified 2014, accessed December 8, 2014, http://www.juralink.nl/services/for-russian-clients/new-for-wealthy-immigrants/_200_____GB.

[283] Peter Cluskey, "Netherlands to scrap asylum hurdle for Russian gays," *Irish Times*, August 8, 2014, accessed December 8, 2014, http://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/europe/netherlands-to-scrap-asylum-hurdle-for-russian-gays-1.1890556.

alternative and non-traditional lifestyles active in the country, in an effort to acclimate new migrants to liberal Dutch society.[284] The openness and tolerance for non-traditionalism in Dutch culture, and to a greater extent in Western European culture, is very different from the traditional Asian cultures of Cambodia and South Korea, which have a much lower tolerance from alternative or non-traditional lifestyles.

The cases of South Korea and Cambodia represent a side of Russian immigration that has not been fully investigated, these immigrants move to Asia primarily for economic reasons over societal or cultural reasons. Labor migration is the main incentive for Russians coming to Asia since the end of the Soviet Union, but these Russians tend to represent a more fringe group within the global post-Soviet diaspora. Long-term residency in East Asia and Southeast Asia from a European country is rare, and the ability to integrate into an Asian culture is much more difficult than in a European society, creating fewer incentives for permanent residency. These Russian-speakers come to work temporary jobs, or seasonal jobs, and then will return back to their home country. The inability to acclimate fully into Cambodian or Korean society, due to superficial physical differences, as well as linguistic and cultural differences, reinforces the temporariness of Russian labor migrants in these countries.

In all three cases as well there is an element of Russian prostitution and sex-trafficking. Russian sex-workers in Western Europe and North America have been a tragic and unfortunate aftermath of the spread of capitalism within the former Soviet Union, as Russian women are one of the most exploited groups in the flesh trade. Russian

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[284] "Film exposes immigrants to Dutch liberalism," *Associated Press*, March 16, 2006, accessed December 20, 2014, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/11842116/ns/world_news-europe/t/film-exposes-immigrants-dutch-liberalism/#.VKAb8__AKB.

prostitution in Asia is a new phenomenon not yet fully analyzed, but the increase in economic wealth and social mobility within South Korea has led to the development of a market for South Korean men interested in the western woman. In Cambodia, Russian sex-workers are a much smaller number, and present mostly in the main Russian tourist area of Sihanoukville, in order to service the desires of wealthy Russian tourists vacationing in the country. The significant presence of Russian and former Soviet women as trafficked victims has much to do with the deteriorating economic and social situation in Russia in the 1990s, where women both voluntarily and non-voluntarily were pushed into prostitution for economic survival. With the stabilization of the Russian economy and the cleaning up of organized crime in the 21st century, the level of Russian women trafficked out of the country has gone down. However, the decreasing availability of economic opportunities in the Russian Far East continues to make Russian women in the region exploitable to human traffickers who lure vulnerable women into slavery with the promise of jobs as dancers, waitresses, or other legitimate service industry jobs abroad.

There are significant elements that are similar in the development of Russian immigration during the third wave period, which play out in each of these three specific case studies; the presence of female sex trafficking is an element, although more present in Holland, has become an increasing element of the Russian diaspora in Asia, as seen in South Korea and to a smaller extent in Cambodia. Technical and expert professionals, entrepreneurs, academics, and other members of the former Soviet intelligentsia represent the largest section of the Russian diaspora abroad. The presence of better paying jobs abroad which fulfill professional aspirations, has been an element of the so called 'brain drain' aspect of the third wave of Russian immigration. Although the Russian economy

has improved since the first decade of 21st century, opportunities abroad continue to create migration incentives for some educated professionals. The burgeoning economy of South Korea since the 1970s, and the emerging economy of Cambodia since the 1990s have opened up markets for aspiring merchants and entrepreneurs looking to create or expand businesses into fresh Asian markets. The growth of Russian energy business, as well as Russian financial and tech/telecommunications industries in the 21st century, has increased the width of the diaspora of Russian businessmen into countries, like those in Southeast Asia and East Asia, which have traditionally had little to no Russian demographic presence.

The ethnic element of Russian immigration, which dominated the third wave in the initial years of the 1990s, was mostly present in South Korea and the Netherlands, while almost non-existent in Cambodia. Ethnic repatriation of Soviet Koreans to South Korea, mostly from Central Asia and the Russian Far East, was an initial element of Russian-speaking migration into Korea. However, as compared to the migration of Russian Germans and Russian Jews to Germany and Israel respectively, the Korean numbers are far fewer. This can mostly be attributed to the lack of Korean state sponsorship of ethnic repatriates, as compared to the repatriation programs of Germany and Israel, and the greater adjustment of ethnic Koreans to Soviet life, giving them less of an incentive to emigrate. Although ethnic repatriation wasn't an aspect of Russian migration into the Netherlands, as there were practically no Dutch-Russians in the Soviet Union, immigration of a predominately ethnic character was present in the 1990s. The Dutch, like the Germans, opened their doors to Jewish Russians emigrating out of the former Soviet Union, in an effort to mend the relationship with European Jews and to

repopulate the Jewish community which had been annihilated during World War II. Also present in the Netherlands has been the draw of those former Soviet ethnic groups escaping civil conflicts, such as those in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Chechnya, Moldova, and Georgia, looking to gain asylum visas to live and work in the Netherlands. Cambodia as a land only recently shedding its layers of genocide and civil conflict does not harbor the same attraction for asylum-seekers or those Russian-speakers emigrating for a more stable peaceful environment.

One thing that is important to stress among these Russian immigrant groups is the temporary or seasonal nature of migration. Beyond the initial waves of ethnic emigration out of Russia, which overwhelmingly tend to be for permanent residency, the Russian migration of an economic nature tends to be more temporary. In South Korea and the Netherlands, many businessmen and merchants flocked into these countries following the lifting of migration restrictions and economic transitions in Russia, hoping to profit off the sale of Russian goods in Holland and Korea, or Dutch and Korean goods in Russia. These Russian businessmen often operated part of their time working in Russia and part of their time abroad.[285] Seasonal work is common among lower-pay Russian immigrants as well, as seen in the cases of dock workers and mariners spending half the year working in Vladivostok and half the year in the port of Busan. In Holland, Russian and former Soviet citizens partake in the service and entertainment industries in the high tourist season of summer, while returning to jobs or universities in Russia for the rest of the year. In Cambodia, those Russians engaged in the tourist industries in Siem Reap and Sihanoukville may have multiple estates both in Cambodia and Russia, spending time in

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[285] Siegel, "Russian *Biznes*," 88.

Russia in the offseason. Russian telecomm workers will sign contracts to work and live in Cambodia, usually for a year or two, and can opt to stay or pursue work elsewhere after the contract is completed.

Although many Russian speakers may stay in South Korea and Cambodia for long periods of time, permanent settlement in these countries is rare, especially when compared to the Netherlands, which has higher degrees of permanent resettlement among Russian migrants. As discussed throughout this thesis, the economic opportunities and stable social environment of Western Europe make it a viable option for immigration for Russians. Those Russians who settle long-term or even permanently in the East are far and few between, and the social and legal barriers to integration may be more difficult to overcome. In times of extreme need some Russians have chosen to immigrate to the East rather than the West, as was the case of Russians migrating into East Asia during the 1920s-1930s, and as demonstrated by Russians migrating to Asia right after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Substantial European migration to East Asia or Southeast Asia is rare, but the history of 20th century and early 21st century Russians have shown that Russians as a migrant group are different and more audacious in their willingness to migrate to uncommon destinations. The Russian diaspora since the end of the Soviet Union has truly become an international diaspora, Russians are everywhere. Although this diaspora is by no means uniform in characterization, there are some patterns which create some similarities in the Russian-speaking communities abroad, such as the Russian language and East Slavic-Soviet culture as unifying forces for social organization, the presence of the Russian Orthodox Church, a revolving make-up of temporary or seasonal labor migrants, the persistent presence of trafficked women from former Soviet states,

and common factors within post-Soviet economy and society which have contributed to emigration from Russia or other post-Soviet countries.

Russian Identity in Diaspora

The history of Russian immigration into South Korea, Cambodia, and the Netherlands are just snippets of a larger Russian diaspora which exists in varying sporadic pockets throughout nearly every existing country. This is not a cohesive contiguous diaspora, but one that varies dependent on the extremity of the location and the make-up of the 'Russian population.' The lack of consolidated Russian ethnic identity that has been developed since the expansion of the Russian empire in the 15th century has created large diversity of identification within the existing Russian diaspora today. It is easy to categorize Russian-speaking migrants or those coming from one of the fifteen former Soviet states as Russian, and they may even refer themselves as Russian, which demonstrates the all-encompassing potential of the Russian cultural identity.[286] Migrants from former Soviet states which have left their homeland since the Soviet Union dissolved in late 1991, have shown the ability to disregard post-Soviet boundaries and share in a community that may organize around a common Soviet social experience, Orthodox religious background, Russo-Slavic cultural identification, and the fluency or ability to communicate in the Russian language. The feelings of isolation and alienness of immigrants in a foreign country propels them to seek others in the same position and from the same homeland, in order to alleviate the stress of societal adjustment, to network and do business, to share in the experiences of this new home together, and to partake in shared cultural traditions which may remind them of their old home.

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[286] Zevelev, *Russia and its New Diasporas*, 32.

To many Russian immigrants abroad, the Soviet Union remained their symbolic homeland, especially as the social and economic situations deteriorated in many post-Soviet republics, creating disillusionment in people's attitudes toward the new successor governments. Some of the more permanent Russian immigrants of the third wave term themselves as 'émigrés',[287] creating an allusion to the Russian émigrés of the first wave who held on to the symbol of an older Russia amongst all the political, economic, and social changes which were occurring in their homeland. The shock of the breakdown in Soviet society in the 1990s and the renewed ethno-nationalism within the post-Soviet world has created new boundaries along cultural, religious, and linguistic lines among Soviet ethnic groups, of which the Soviet diaspora abroad has been influenced by as well. Within Russia the concept of Russian identity has taken on an increasing ethnic component rather than civic notion. Russian nationalism has increased in prominence within Russian political circles, and the idea of 'what is Russian?' has become increasingly exclusive rather than open and inclusive. For the past two hundred years and more, the idea of 'what is Russian?' has been less defined in terms of ethnicity, and more determined by an East Slavic cultural character. During the 19th century, at the height of Russian imperialism as well as the height of Russian culture, literature, and artistic expression, 'Russianness' took on elements of universalism, mysticism, and pan-Slavism. Writers like Dostoevsky, Uvarov, Danilevsky, Solovyov, and even Pushkin advanced the ideas of being Russian as an identity that encompassed what it meant to be European; or on even greater scale, being Russian was an expression of every aspect of the human condition. The idea of Russian identity in the golden age of Russian art and culture was less concerned about demarcated lines between Ukrainians, Belarusians, Russians, or any

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[287] Siegel, "Russian *Biznes*," 91.

other groups within the empire, rather being Russian was less concretely physical and more a cultural expression, as well as an expression of Orthodoxy Christianity.[288] The late 19th century was also the age of Pan-Slavism in Eastern Europe, and political expression within the Russian Empire was more concerned about uniting the Slavic peoples under a common cultural heritage and Orthodoxy religion, than expressing concrete differences in all the Slavic groups.[289]

Elements of this 19th century expression of Russian identity can be seen in the post-Soviet diasporas in South Korea, Cambodia, and the Netherlands. In Phnom Penh and Amsterdam, the Russian-speaking communities coalesce around the Orthodox Christian church. In Phnom Penh there is only one Orthodox church, as there is in Siem Reap and Sihanoukville, which services all Slavic and Eastern Orthodox peoples in the country, giving at least some unity to this community. In Amsterdam, the Orthodox Church in the Jordaan neighborhood provides weekly opportunities for large scale Russian-speaker gatherings, whereas predominately most Russians organize along small scale group socializing. Despite the lack of an organized community in each of these three diasporas, Russian-speakers were and are still active in maintaining contact and socializing with each other, and with other Eastern Europeans in the country. In experiences socializing with Russian-speakers in Phnom Penh, the group I interacted with would actively include and invite other Eastern Europeans who were visiting or working for the same companies, out to social gatherings. The medium of conversation was Russian for the most part, or English. In Amsterdam and the Hague, Russians would also include various other Slavic and Eastern European groups into their social activities. The

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[288] Zevelev, *Russia and its New Diasporas*, 42-43.
[289] Zevelez, *Russia and its New Diasporas*, 43.

Russian church in each of the three host countries includes Orthodox worshipers of Bulgarian, Serbian, Greek, and other denominations of the Eastern Orthodox faith. A prominent Czech-Slovak bar in Rembrandtplein provides a welcoming social setting for Russians and other Eastern European migrants in Amsterdam. Ethnic division amongst Slavic sub-groups in all diaspora case studies is minimal, instead these groups welcome each other, choosing to embrace comradery in the midst of living in a foreign host society.

The ethnic discourse of describing Russian identity that has been growing in Russia since the break-up of the Soviet Union, has been advocated among nationalist political parties in the Russian Federation mostly, such as the Eurasia party, Great Russia party, and the United Russia party which is currently governing Russia under Vladimir Putin. The Eurasia Party was developed in 2002 by the academic Aleksandr Dugin, an advocate of Eurasianist political philosophy and modern right-wing Russian nationalism, termed National Bolshevism. The idea of Eurasianism as a Russian political philosophy was developed during the early 20th century, and advocated that Russia was not simply a European nation, but was destined to expand outward and become hegemonic among both the European and Asian continents.[290] The Eurasian philosophy argues that Moscow is the "Third Rome", and the center of a new empire that will dominate Europe and Asia.[291] National Bolshevism is a throwback to the grandeur of the Soviet Union, the belief in the superiority of the Russian ethnicity and Russian Orthodox Church, as well as a rejection of western liberal democratic values and American political hegemony. Dugin's principal work *Foundations of Geopolitics*, published in 1997 and which is

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[290] Zevelev, *Russia and its New Diasporas*, 44-45.
[291] Crowley and Shuster, "Czars in His Eyes," 33.

currently taught in several Russian military academies, lays out the views of his party. The Eurasia Party advances Russia's ascension to hegemonic status in Eastern Europe and East Asia, and the annexation of Ukraine and other areas where Russia formerly governed such as Moldova, Belarus, the Caucasus, and Central Asia.[292] Although the Eurasia party and other right-wing nationalist parties do not have much voice in the Russian Duma, their notoriety can influence public ideas about domestic ethnic discourse and influence anti-immigration perceptions. The Soviet Union was at times a force to unify diverse ethnic groups, giving those from minority groups a chance to climb the latter through the Soviet-Slavic civic model;[293] the Soviet Union was eager to bring in students from Africa and Asia, and would publicly denounce European colonialism in the third world. Xenophobia and racism has now become widespread throughout the Russian Federation.[294]

The ethnic conflicts within the Russian nation, such as the troubles in Chechnya and Dagestan, have further increased divisions between certain ethnic groups within Russia, especially between Muslims from Central Asia and the Caucasus, and orthodoxy European Russians. In my own experiences living and working in Cherepovets and Vologda, in Russia, the social divide that separates these two groups is quite visible and tense. The big cities are different from this of course, Moscow and St. Petersburg have more integration of the diverse ethnic groups contained within Russia, however, gang violence between immigrants and European Russians is still quite common. Immigration from non-European sections of the former Soviet Union into Russia proper has been a

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[292] John B. Dunlop, "Russia's New- and Frightening- 'Isms'," *Hoover Institution*, July 30, 2004, http://www.hoover.org/research/russias-new-and-frightening-ism.
[293] Melvin, *Russians Beyond Russia*, 8.
[294] Wood, "Russia Vanishes," 7.

factor of the post-Soviet era as well as emigration from Russia, and this has created some

hostility amongst the diverse ethnic groups within Russia. Many of the blue-collar jobs in

European Russia are held by Tajiks, Georgians, Azeris, and Kazakhs.[295] There is also the

increase in Chinese immigration into the Russian Far East, which frightened many within

the Russian public that parts of Russia's eastern end would end up predominately

inhabited by Chinese and thus end up being annexed by China.[296]

On an international level, the Russian state has been projecting its ethnic

definition of Russianness in its near abroad, in an effort to capitalize on the 22 million

Russian-speakers which remain in the former Soviet states. Although managing the

Russian communities among the 14 non-Russia Soviet states became a central political

debate in the Russian Federation during the Yeltsin era,[297] it wasn't until the 2000s when

the Russian economy and domestic social situation had stabilized, that Russia has been

able to look outward to its former spheres of influence.[298] The United Russia party, which

is currently the party in power in Russia since its inception in 2001, has utilized the

ethnic Russian rhetoric when addressing the Russian diasporas abroad. Since rebuilding

the Russian economy with energy income, Russia under Putin and the United Russia

party has become more aggressive in reasserting itself in Central Asia, the Caucasus, and

Eastern Europe, areas formerly under the leadership of the Soviet Union, and the Russian

Empire before that. In 2008, Russia invaded the Republic of Georgia in order to defend

the breakaway status of Abkhazia and South Ossetia.[299] Russia began putting more

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[295] Wood, "Russia Vanishes," 7.
[296] Gordon G. Chang, "China and Russia: An Axis of Weak States," *World Affairs* 176, no. 6 (2014): 18-19.
[297] Melvin, *Russians Beyond Russia*, 5.
[298] Crowley and Shuster, "Czars in His Eyes," 32-33.
[299] Crowley and Shuster, "Czars in His Eyes," 33.

pressure on the Baltic countries of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, using energy supply and the threat of energy reductions as a tool to gain leverage. In February 2014, Russia began sending in covert military operations into Crimea and Eastern Ukraine in an effort to mobilize the pro-Russian militant forces against the newly installed pro-European government. The Crimea was then annexed by Russia in March 2014, after an internationally contested referendum election. Moscow has claimed it is answering the separatist calls of the ethnic Russians, which are the majority linguistic group in eastern Ukraine and Crimea. Utilizing protection of ethnic Russians in Russia's near abroad gives justification and legitimacy for Russian military action, at least in the domestic public eye. In May 2014, Putin's approval rating within Russia had reached a four-year level high of above 80%, despite widespread international disapproval of Russian action in the Ukraine.[300] Acknowledging the existence and connection between Russia and its international diaspora has helped to give a new definition to the Russian state, one based on ethnic nationalism rather than imperial loyalty, Slavic-Eastern Orthodoxy affiliation, or Marxist-Leninist ideals.[301]

The Russkiy Myr (Russian World) Foundation has been a tool of the Russian state to reach out and help remold the global Russian diaspora into something of a cohesive organized unit. The stated purpose of Russkiy Myr was to promote the Russian language and Russian Orthodox church outside of Russia, but the organization has been a facilitator of connecting Russian-speakers abroad to the Russian state and acts today as a promoter of Russian state activities internationally and domestically.[302] The Russkiy Myr

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[300] Crowley and Shuster, "Czars in His Eyes," 35.

[301] Melvin, *Russians Beyond Russia*, 23.

[302] Byford, "The Russian Diaspora in International Relations," 722.

Foundation is meant to act as a diaspora mobilizer, organizing Russian-speakers into a

Russian diaspora that identifies as Russian and views the Russian Federation as a state to

confess loyalty to. In that sense it can be flexible with how it views the Russian identity,

creating a more inclusive definition of 'Russian' in Russia's far abroad in order to build a

larger Russian diaspora farther from Russian sphere of influence, thereby building a

stronger pro-Russia lobby base. However in Russia's near abroad, Russkiy Myr may

promote a more narrow definition of 'Russian' in order to reorganize the Russian

population and reaffirm its loyalty to the Russian Federation rather than the local

government, thereby dividing the population base of those Soviet successor states which

rebel against Russia's influence in Eurasia.[303]

Accessing and restructuring the identity of the Russian diaspora in more distant

locations like South Korea, Cambodia, and the Netherlands may be more difficult and

less productive than diaspora mobilization in Russia's near abroad. The Russian presence

in places like Kazakhstan, the Ukraine, and Latvia is the result of redrawn political

boundaries, not recent migratory choices. Thus the difficulties that Russians face in

Cambodia or South Korea, issues involving isolation from host culture, may be generally

more accepted or viewed with less hostility by these Russians, as they have chosen to

migrate to these places. Those Russians in areas like Latvia for example, may be more

vocal and prone to political action against perceived hostilities by the host society due to

a belief that they have a justification for being there as much as 'native' Latvians. The

presence of any kind of organized groups of Russian-speakers in Cambodia and South

Korea is non-existent, other than Facebook pages, which tend to be for helping Russian-

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[303] Byford, "The Russian Diaspora in International Relations," 723.

speakers in country find housing and to socialize with fellow Russian-language speakers. The Russian diasporas in Asia are too far from Moscow's reach and too impractical in any geopolitical way to be of any use to the Russian government's aims at restoring its former world power status. Although the more lucrative business classes in places like China and Singapore have organized themselves into white-collar clubs, the majority of Russians in South Korea, Japan, Mongolia, and Southeast Asia, are mid-level technical professionals, private merchants and entrepreneurs, or blue-collar workers, without any real need to organize beyond loosely-knit social groups. The presence of official Russian groups is higher in the Netherlands as compared to South Korea and Cambodia, as the number of Russian-speakers is higher in the country, and many Russians represent a higher level of income-earning class than their compatriots in Asia. RussenBorrel and Russkiy Dom are prominent Russian social organizations and business-networking groups in the Netherlands, which promote online forums for interaction between Russian-speakers living in Holland, and organize social functions for their members.[304]

The identity of Russian-speaking migrants in South Korea, Cambodia, and the Netherlands tends to be more sporadic and less unified than the Russian diasporas in Central Asia or Eastern Europe. In Koltsø's analysis of the Russian diaspora in the fourteen non-Russia successor states of the Soviet Union, he describes three major options for cultural identification, what he calls self-understanding, for this Russian diaspora. Koltsø describes that Russians abroad could retain identification with Russian culture of their homeland, remaining outside the cultural habits of the host society. A second option is to identify with the dominant host culture, to shed their Russian culture

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[304] "Our Social Events," RussenBorrel, last modified 2014, accessed December 26, 2014, http://www.russenborrel.nl/our-social-events.html.

for a Kazakh, or Estonian, or Ukrainian culture. A third option is to create a new Russian identity, one that may embrace the host culture and lose some elements of the traditional Russian culture, but still retain a Russian self-understanding.[305] Although individual variance within this cultural framework is larger and more diverse the farther away the diaspora is located from the Russian homeland, this analysis can be applied to our case studies in Asia and Western Europe. Factors influencing the formation of this Russian identification include the host country's distance from Russia, the level of host culture difference from Russian culture, the size of the Russian community in the host country, the length of time the Russian diaspora has been present in the host culture, the absence or presence of large host national issues which affect the Russian community, the level of bilingualism or mono-lingualism among the Russian community, the identity development of the host culture ethnic group or of other ethnic groups within the host country, the level of intermarriage between Russians and members of the host culture, and the number of elites among the Russian community.[306]

In the case of South Korea, the distance to the Russian Far East is quite close, although the Korean culture is quite distant from East Slavic Russian culture. The size of the Russian community is modest, made up of at least 15,000 registered residents from post-Soviet states. The length of stay for the Russian diaspora in Korea is no more than twenty-five years in development; the level of bilingualism in being able to speak Korean among the Russian community is fairly non-existent, apart from ethnic Korean-Russians. The identity of the Korean ethnic group is very strong, and the amount of intermarriage with Russians is relatively small, although it has grown. The number of elites among the

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[305] Koltsø, "The New Russian Diaspora," 613.
[306] Koltsø, "The New Russian Diaspora," 618-620.

Russian community in South Korea is also almost non-existent, creating rather low levels of participation in Korean society, thus discouraging any social cohesiveness as a group for Russians in Korea.

In Cambodia, the distance to Russia is substantial, separated by most of mainland East Asia. The distance between Khmer culture and Russian culture is equally substantial, making integration of Russians into Khmer culture rather difficult. The size of the Russian community in Cambodia is very small, no more than a few thousand at most, and although the history of stay for the Russian community dates back to the early 1980s, it has been sporadic in volume due to consistent barriers to settlement from unstable Cambodia political crisis, although this has mostly been resolved by 1994. The level of Khmer-Russian bilingualism is also fairly non-existent, as English has become the main language of utility for foreigners residing in Cambodia for long-term periods. The Khmer ethnic group is dominant, and its culture unifying for the vast majority of Khmers, there is relatively little ethnic nationalism however, owning mostly to a societal reaction to Khmer Rouge atrocities in the 1970s. The level of inter-marriage between Russians and Khmer is infrequent although not unusual, as many male foreigners who reside long-term in Cambodia often end up finding Khmer wives. The number of elites within Cambodia is small, but more significant than in South Korea, and the wealthy Russians in Sihanoukville have formed somewhat into a leadership role for Russians living in Cambodia. This leadership has created some organizational structure to the Russians in Cambodia, mostly for the function of socializing, job networking, and providing for the increasing amounts of Russian tourists coming into the Southeast Asian country.

For the Netherlands, the physical distance is not as far as between Cambodia and Russia, although a vast majority of Central and Eastern Europe does separate Amsterdam from Moscow. The cultural distance between Dutch and Russian cultures is minimal in most respects as the countries are both rooted in Indo-European ethnic background and have a lengthier history, and the Dutch-Russian divide is far closer together than either Korean or Khmer to Russian. The size of the Russian community in the Netherlands, like its Western European neighbors, is sizeable and larger than those Russian communities present in East and Southeast Asia. The historical length of stay of Russians in Holland, like Korea, is relatively recent, going back mostly 25 years, since the end of the Cold War. The level of Dutch-Russian bilingualism is substantial, especially for those Russians residing in the Netherlands over the course of several years or permanent residents. The level of intermarriage is quite common as well, as there is relatively no taboo for intermarriage, a taboo which is present in South Korea for Korean-foreigner marriages. The number of elites in the Netherlands is also significant, thanks in part to the presence of Russian energy and business interests in Western Europe. The significant presence of wealthy Russian elites, and the sheer numbers of Russian-speakers in the Netherlands has led to the creation of a fairly well-organized and unifying diaspora, although not as politically active as those diasporas in the countries of France, Germany, the U.K., or in former Soviet States.

Koltsø's analysis provides a fairly decent framework for measuring a diaspora as a whole, understanding what factors shape the identity of the community. The history of the post-Soviet Russian diaspora however, as this thesis has described, comprises individuals and groups of diverse ethnic, social, and economic background, from the

more educated Jewish-Russians, rural German and Korean farmers in Central Asia, to blue-collar working-class Russians and exploited women from Russia's far corners hoping for a better future outside of the economically stagnant post-Soviet Russian society. The diversity of this Russian immigrant group creates wide ranges in self-identification, and the level of cultural, linguistic, ethnic, and economic differences in the host countries can widen this Russian identity. However, common factors such as the Russian language, Russian Orthodox church, and a shared understanding of East Slavic-Soviet customs create a basic force for socializing and communal identification as demonstrated in the post-Soviet histories of Russian migrants and diaspora groups in South Korea, Cambodia, and the Netherlands.

Concluding Thoughts

The history of post-Soviet immigration and diaspora formation of Russian-speakers in these three countries of South Korea, Cambodia, and the Netherlands allows for a greater examination of the complexity of the Russian migrant, demonstrating how there are unifying patterns among these migrant groups located in such diverse communities. Common patterns include the early presence of Russian entrepreneurs and merchants immediately after the soviet collapse, the growing presence of female Russian sex-workers trafficked out of Russia and other Soviet states, the early ethnic element of Russian-speakers migrating out of Russia, the formation of communities built around the usage of the Russian language for social organization and job networking, the presence of the Russian Orthodox church as a focal point for Russians abroad, and the temporary nature of Russian migrants in both Europe and Asia.

The study of these three migratory histories displays the differences between Russians in Western Europe and East and Southeast Asia, notably in the level of organization and class status of the communities. Russian groups in Cambodia and South Korea are far less organized politically, and gather generally in small circles for socializing and networking. Russians in the Netherlands, as in many other Western European countries, are more active in community involvement and have more representation in Dutch society, whereas Russians in Cambodia and South Korea have negligible representation in their respective host society. Russian migrants in Korea and Cambodia tend to be educated like their European compatriots, but their income levels in Asia are considerably lower than those working in Holland. Upward mobility within career and social status in Western Europe is achievable while in East Asia and Southeast Asia there is little opportunity to advance a professional career in these host countries for the long-term, and work in these countries is viewed as temporary.

The identity of Russian-speakers in South Korea and Cambodia, as in the Netherlands is diverse and not uniform. These groups do, however, tend to utilize and identify with major aspects of what it means to be Russian, such as the usage of the Russian language, connection to Soviet-Slavic culture, frequenting local 'Russian' bars and restaurants, attending Russian Orthodox churches, and generally identifying to outsiders as being Russian. In this aspect these migrants carry with them a Soviet mentality, where diverse ethnic groups unify under a common cultural-linguistic umbrella. Today these groups are referred to commonly as Russian or Russian-speakers, where previously they would be referred to as Soviet. Clinging to this 'Russian' identity among these migrants is generally not about clinging to an ethnic identity, as it may be

within Russia and within the Russian diaspora in the post-Soviet states, rather it is about finding a cultural and social identity to cling to amidst living in a foreign country, whether that country be the Netherlands, Cambodia, South Korea, Israel, Germany, or the United States.

The Russian state has entered a new era of resurgence in global politics, and its relationship with its international diaspora has changed from one of indifference to one of active public support. The collapse of the Soviet state ignited the emigration of over a million people from Russia, and thousands more from fellow ex-Soviet states, from 1991 to the early years of the 21st century. Although the Russian economy and society has substantially stabilized since the chaotic period of the 1990s, Russia still walks on fragile stilts. Emigration is still a constant, as Russians flee to the West for better economic opportunities and a more stable political environment, or move to the East to exploit new economic markets and live in a more foreign, warmer, exotic locale. Russia's military activities in Ukraine in 2014, and its sudden economic crises with the devaluation of the ruble, will only increase the incentives for emigrating out of Russia. Russia has a demographic crisis, which could threaten to destabilize and drastically reduce Russia's status as a great world power. Russia's aging population, due to lower than replacement fertility rate, emigration, and a lack of any sustainable immigration, will drastically reduce Russia's population, if left unchecked, causing Russia to become a shadow of its former self. Some statistics point to a population decline of around 100 million in 2050, from its current 142 million.[307] Although not all scholarly material projects such low

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[307] Graeme P. Herd and Grace Allen, "Russia's Demographic Crisis: The Threat to 'Sovereign Democracy'," *Global Dialogue* 11 (2009): 93.

drops in Russian population, there is a general consensus that Russia has an aging population concern.

Russia has come to see its diaspora abroad as a vital means of increasing its power internationally as well as domestically within Russia. However, efforts to politicize and shape the identity of Russia's diasporas abroad have proven difficult, especially in countries beyond the borders of the former Soviet Union. Russia's demographic scattering has truly spread to the far corners of the globe, and Russians can be found in exotic locals such as Venezuela, South Africa, and Vietnam. The histories and cultural self-identification of these communities can vary greatly depending on the political, social, and economic climate of the host country, but common linguistic and cultural factors are fairly consistent throughout the post-Soviet Russian diaspora abroad. Despite the socio-economic differences in Russian migrants in East Asia and Southeast Asia versus those in North America and Western Europe, these groups all tend to cling to a cultural-linguistic identification as Russian, not an ethnic concept of being Russian. The shadow of Soviet society still hangs over those Russians which emigrated out of the post-Soviet region these past twenty-five years, thus making it difficult for the modern Russian Federation to create an ethnically oriented diaspora which could act as a political representation of the Russian state in the 21st century. There is no doubt that Russian-speakers abroad do have a strong affinity for Russia and for the lamented Soviet Union, however, these migrants are not a tool of Putin's Russia. Like all immigrants, the Russian diaspora of the post-Soviet world have left their home in an effort to better themselves economically and socially; they are individuals in a foreign land separated from Mother Russia by thousands of miles in some cases, and this geographic aspect creates a new

Russian identity, one different from the Russian identity within the boundaries of the

current Russian nation-state.

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