

Ethnic Koreans from China: Korean Dream, Adaptation, and New Identity

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Introduction

The relationship between South Korea and Chosunjok¹ began in the late 1980s. The diplomatic normalization between the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Republic of Korea (ROK) in 1992 made it official and stimulated. They came to Korea to visit relatives, or through work permit, international marriage, repatriation, studying abroad, and so on. The excitement of two parties' meeting soon cooled down. The lack of mutual understanding and mistrust started to weaken through a kind of learning process. After almost two decades of meeting of the two parties, the presence of Chosunjok people in South Korea has become an everyday affair.

Koreans in China have the 'Korean dream' and try to fulfill it. As workers, they have contributed to the economic development of South Korea by working in the 3D (difficult, dangerous and dirty) industry since the early 1990s. Many of them have stayed in South Korea illegally without any work permit. They have formed Chosunjok towns in several outskirts of Seoul and live in their own communities. The population of Chosunjok in South Korea has reached about 219,000 in 2006, among whom about 35,000 are unregistered workers. Their lives in South Korea made them identify their differences from their South Korean 'compatriots'. They realized their identity as 'Chinese Chosunjok'. Their Chineseness progressed from a negative and passive way of self-identity to a positive characteristic. A new generation of Chosunjok youth studying in South Korea has realized their precious identity as South Korean brethren as well as Chinese citizens.

This article is designed to explain the appearance of Chosunjok community and their own identification in South Korea. It observes the process of Chosunjok's obtaining their own identity or 'ethnicity' through experiences in South Korea. It is based quantitatively on materials such as the 2002 data, the 2004 data, and the 2005 interview. The 2002 data is the 'voluntary reporting materials of foreign illegal workers' collected by the South Korean Ministry of Justice in March to May 2002.² The 2004 data

¹ The term Chosunjok used in this article refers to Korean Chinese. Literally, it means the ethnic group of Korean. Chosunjok(Chaoxianzu in Chinese pronunciation) was officially recognized as a group of ethnic minority by the Chinese Authority since the PRC was founded in 1949. In Korea, they are called as 'compatriots from China or in China'. The term Chosunjok was made official by the Chinese Authorities in the 1950s and has been in use since then. Before the foundation of the PRC, they were called as Chosunin(the people of Chosun). In Korea, Chosunjok is now accepted as the meaning of 'Korean Chinese'. The main theme of this article is 'Chosunjok in Korea'. I use Chosunjok as Korean Chinese in Korea, and Chaoxianzu as the Korean minority in China.

² The South Korean Ministry of Justice received voluntary reporting from 256,000 illegally staying foreign workers in the country from March 25th to May 29th in 2002. The materials included information such as their sex, age, Asia Culture Forum 2006 / 1

consists of surveys and interviews collected by Zheng Xinzhe in 2004.³ I myself have done some interviews with many Chosunjoks in Korea, which is shown as the 2005 interview in this article.

The Reality of Korean Dream and the Formation of Chosunjok

'Korean dream' symbolized the first encounter of Chosunjok with their grandfather's homeland. The Chosunjok's trips to South Korea started in full scale in 1989 in the form of visiting relatives.⁴ Having borrowed money at a high interest rate in China to buy Chinese medicines, the first visitors from China brought them to sell to South Koreans. It was not until the winter of 1990 that the Chosunjok medicine peddlers became a social problem in South Korea. Hundreds of them were found in the main streets of the major cities including Seoul. Some medicines were proven to be spurious. The situation was resolved when the South Korean Red Cross purchased all the medicines.⁵

Returning back to China after having sold out the medicine, the Chosunjok became peddling merchant by buying cheap Korean daily necessities and selling them in China. They returned back to China by ferry boats which connected Incheon of South Korea and Weihai, Tianjin, and Qingdao in China to become peddling merchants in the north-east China. Realizing that peddling Chinese medicines had become profitless and because some peddlers were ruined by the debts they incurred when they bought the medicines, Chosunjok began to find laboring jobs, especially in the construction site and in restaurants. A social study showed that 41.3 percent of the Chosunjok in South Korea were employed in the construction site as manual workers and 23.4 percent in restaurants as cooks or employees.⁶

For a certain period time, Chosunjok workers came to Korea without visa for working in construction sites, and the Korean Association of Housing Construction Business officially using them rapidly increased the number of illegal workers. As the demand for foreign workers was increasing in the labor market in South Korea, the government adopted an industrial trainee system in the end of 1991.

nationality, employment or profession, working place or company, and so on. They are one of the most extensive data on foreign illegal workers in South Korea. Liu Kilsang's study (2004) is based on this survey.

³ Zheng Xinzhe, a professor in the Center for ethnology and anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Science, while staying for one year in Korea, conducted a research with the topic "Chinese employment and adaptation in South Korea" in 2004. He collected and analyzed a questionnaire of 223 Chinese in South Korea, including 160 Chosunjoks. See Zheng's report(August 2004).

⁴ The parent of Cha Kyun-hee, Minister of Agriculture and Fishing Industry at that time, were recorded as the first official Korean repatriates in 1965 since the foundation of the PRC in 1949. In 1978, a family of four from China returned to Korea for good. From 1980 to 1983, 88 Korean Chinese came back, 206 in 1984, 378 in 1985, 663 in 1986, 780 in 1987. They came to South Korea as relative visit (The Seoul Daily, 15.01.1988).

⁵ The number of Chosunjok peddlers reached about 8,000 in 1990. After it having becoming a social problem, the Korean Red Cross bought Chinese medicine worth 1 million Won from each person from 2,000. The Green Cross Hospital purchased the medicines from 6,000.

⁶ The Institute of Labor Policy, 1995 Social Research on Foreign Workers. It is estimated that by 1996 more than 120,000 Korean Chinese had paid a visit to South Korea and about 60,000 stayed there, more than half of them considered to be illegal sojourners who had overstayed their lawful period of stay (*Dong-a Ilbo*, 29.11.1996).

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Around that period the number of Chosunjok staying illegal reached 19,000. In the early 1990s, there was a saying in the Chosunjok community in China that one could be well-off for life after one year's earning even though one may suffer from hard physical labor in South Korea. The main press overtly reported some stories of success of Korean dream.

It is said that the newly built major satellite towns around Seoul were newly built in the early 1990s mainly by Chosunjok workers. Their average monthly income was 830,000 won (equivalent to about 900 US dollars) in 1995 or about 20 times their revenue in China. Two years' working in South Korea without any trouble could earn them the equivalent of more than 20 years' revenue in China. According to statistics made in 2000, the proportion of illegal workers among Chosunjok sojourners was higher than in any other group of foreigners.⁷ Groups of brokers helping with invitation, entry into Korea, and job placement were targeting mainly Chosunjok. The entry cost to Korea that the Chosunjok paid was much higher than other group did. According to the 2002 data, the Chosunjok paid 8,240,000 won (equivalent to about 9,000 US dollars) on average for entering the country while other foreign workers paid 6,940,000 won (less than 7,700 US dollars). Some Chosunjoks paid between 10 and 15 million won (1,100 and 1,700 US dollars).

The Chosunjok workers have some specific characteristics in comparison with other group of foreigners. The proportion of legally-invited professional worker to all is very low (0.3%). Most of the Chosunjok workers were unskilled laborers or simple workers. 73.7% of the 57,348 Chosunjok sojourners were illegal workers in the end of 2000. The Chosunjok's possibility of becoming illegal sojourners was much higher than other group or foreign workers in Korea as a whole. 60.7% foreign workers were recorded as unregistered. The Chosunjok have more tendencies to stay longer than their legal length of visit and become illegal sojourners. Korean Authorities defined that the Chosunjok was 'a group of foreign origin having a tendency to become illegal workers.' The Chosunjoks are compatriots of Koreans, so their language and culture are similar to Korean's. There is no big distinction between Koreans and Chosunjoks. The Chosunjok men usually work as simple workers in construction sites. Chosunjok women are normally employed in restaurants, inns, and in other service areas such as housemaids or nursing the sick.

The 2002 data shows characteristics of the Chosunjok workers. According to this data, the proportions of unregistered foreign workers in the manufacturing industry by nationality are Filipinos(14.3%), Bangladeshis (12.9%), Han Chinese(11.5%), Chosunjok(9.5%), Vietnamese(8.5%), and Mogolians(8.0%). In comparison, 50.5% of workers in the non-manufacturing industry are Chosunjoks and 29.9% are Han Chinese, which means 80.4% of unregistered workers in the non-manufacturing industries are of Chinese nationality. Those workers of Chinese origin tend to find jobs in the service industry (Chosunjok 90.0%, Han Chinese 81.5%). Other foreign workers have tendencies to work in the manufacturing industry.⁸

The illegal stay of Chosunjok in Korea has a tendency of being prolonged. The 2004 data

⁷ Among 77,779 Chosunjok sojourners in December 2000, 73.7% (57,348) were recorded as unregistered workers. Industrial trainees composed 25.7% (19,967) of all. The Ministry of Justice, *The Statistic Yearbook of Immigration Control 2000*

⁸ Yu Kil-sang (2004), 43-4

shows that more than 60% of 160 Chosunjok interviewees had stayed over 5 years. The sojourning period of Han Chinese is found to be shorter than that of the Chosunjok. Among 63 Han Chinese interviewees, 14 (22%) came between 1998 and 2000, 40 (64%) between 2001 and 2004. Han Chinese entered Korea by tourism(41%), industrial training(29%), and on business(24%). The Chosunjok came to Korea to visit relatives(49%), on business(23%), and industrial training (13%). The 2004 data shows that the age of Chosunjok on average is much higher than that of the Han Chinese, which 79% of the Chosunjok interviewees are over 46 years old and 86% of Han Chinese under 45 years old. This is partially because most of the Chosunjok come to visit relatives and Han Chinese by tourism or training for the purpose of getting employed.

<Table 1> The Entering Year of the Chosunjok workers (numbers 160, parenthesis %)

Persons \ year of entry	Before 1992	1993-1997	1998-2000	2001-2004	No answer
160 (100)	5 (3.1)	31 (19.4)	62 (38.8)	54 (33.8)	8 (5.0)

Source: Zheng (2004), 31.

The Chosunjoks have tried to fulfill their Korean dream through visits to their relatives, as industrial trainees, studying in Korea, and so on. Entrance procedures which are becoming difficult make them use smugglers. The extent and increasing rate can be roughly measured by the statistics of confirmed number of smuggling offenses. According to the <table 2>, nearly 80% of the Chinese smugglers to Korea are Chosunjok. A far bigger number of smuggling cases than that disclosed may have taken place. They cannot be included in the governmental statistics of unregistered workers and the real scale of smuggling cannot be gripped without voluntary declaration. A research projects that the number of people smuggled is between 37,000 and 80,000.⁹ A statistics of the Korean immigration Bureau in July 2002 says that the number of unregistered Chosunjok workers is 79,527 and the number of voluntary declaration is 91,736. The difference between the two numbers, which is 12,209, may be that of people smuggled. The Han Chinese are said to be easier to smuggle, so the number of smuggled Chinese may be much more than expected.

<Table 2> Confirmed Number of Smuggling: 1994-2001(number of cases, persons)

Year	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	Total
number of cases	21	45	71	104	120	59	-	-	-
Numbers of persons	124	488	809	1,399	303	288	1,172	440	5,023
(Chosunjoks)	(72)	(441)	(764)	(864)	(158)	(210)	(1,045)	(427)	(3,981)

⁹ Jang(2002), 90-91.

Source: Seol (2002), 212.

A decisive way of achieving the Korean dream may be marriage. International marriage is prevalent between Chosunjok ladies and old bachelors in the Korean countryside.¹⁰ It is reported that the number of Chosunjok ladies marrying Korean men has reached 55,000 between 1990 and 2002. Since 2003 each year about 10,000 Chosunjok ladies are estimated to come to Korea for their marriage to South Koreans. It is estimated that about 100,000 Chosunjok ladies in their marriageable age has come to Korea since the normalization of the diplomatic relations between the two countries. In Chosunjok villages in China, they say that there are no more virgins for one to marry to. Roughly speaking half of the marriages between South Korean men and Chosunjok ladies are considered to be fake. A married Chosunjok lady divorces from her Chinese (Chosunjok) husband to get South Korean citizenship, and after getting it she invite her own family from China.¹¹

<Table 3> Registered Marriage between Korean Men and Chinese ladies, 1990-2002

Years	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	Total
Numbers of Marriage	88	106	429	1,851	2,043	8,450	9,271	7,362	4,688	2,883	3,586	7,001	7,041	54,799

Source 『Population Statistics of Korea: Marriage and Divorce, 2002』 (The Statistics Bureau, 2003), Kwon (2003), 88.

Adaptations: Example of Chosunjok Workers

Confronting the lack of cheap labor forces and meeting the demand of business circles, the South Korean government adopted a system of industrial and technical trainee for recruiting foreign workers in November of 1991. This system was called as ‘modern slavery’ by NGOs because foreign workers were exploited as substantial workers in the name of trainees. They were underpaid, and their human rights including rights to work were not recognized properly. To correct such shortcomings, Korean Authorities enacted a law of employing foreign workers in 2003 and have enforced the system of work permission since August 2004. For the Chosunjok the problem of this system was that it reduced the opportunities of them getting employed. Because more than half of the Chosunjok sojourners were unregistered, the system of work permission was not the best method for solving this problem. <Table 4> shows the statistics of illegal foreign workers in Korea from 2000 to 2004. According to it, about half of them are Chinese and half of the Chinese are Chosunjoks. The number decreased between 2002 and 2003 because the Korean Ministry of Justice granted them with a voluntary reporting period and gave them a grace period of one year sojourn for those who had stayed less than three years in Korea.

¹⁰ A foreigner who marry a Korean gets the Korean citizenship after a certain period and with some qualifications. If the wedding is proved to be disguised, the adoption of Korean nationality can be null and void. There have often been press reports that Chosunjok ladies run away from home after getting the Korean citizenship. Once they get Korean passports, they can invite their parents and close relatives.

¹¹ In the case of fake marriages, the spouse enters Korea by getting an entrance permit to Korea after having handed out her certificate of marriage issued by Chinese Authorities. After a certain period of time, having registered her marriage, she gets the Korean citizenship. She then files for a divorce. Some buy other peoples’ hukou (family register in China) and come to Korea in other people’s name.

<Table 4> Illegal Foreign Workers in South Korea since 2000

Date	Number of Foreign Workers	Chinese	Chosunjok (in Chinese)
Dec. 2000	188,995 (100.0)	95,648 (50.6)	57,348 (30.3)
Dec. 2001	255,206 (100.0)	130,291 (51.1)	72,332 (28.3)
Dec. 2002	289,239 (100.0)	149,436 (51.6)	79,737 (27.6)
Dec. 2003	138,056 (100.0)	62,058 (45.0)	33,546 (24.3)
Apr. 2004.	150,281 (100.0)	70,990 (47.2)	36,735 (24.4)

Source: Liu (2004-1), 36.

According to the 2002 data, the Chinese constituted 59.1% of all illegal foreign workers in Korea including 35.8% Chosunjoks, followed by Bangladeshis, Mogolians, Filipinos, Thais, Vietnamese, and Indonesians in the first half of 2002. The proportions of other nationalities except Chinese were less than 10 %. By the end of 2002, the number of Chinese sojourners in Korea was 223,410, among which 66.8% were illegal.

The phenomenon of illegal sojourners and its side effects has aggravated the issue of Chosunjok in Korea. The Korean government has failed to prepare a policy principle and legal institutions. Rhee Hye-sun, a Chosunjok writer who wrote two reportages on their life in South Korea, criticized with harsh words like this: “the human rights of Chosunjok are not properly protected, they become the prey of vicious entrepreneurs. If they become sick and die, there’s no place for them in Korean cemeteries. When their salaries are delayed, they have no where to go and report the matter. In case an accident happens while at work there’s no legal protection for them. If caught by the police or immigration officers they face the risk of being deported in debts. They have to endure discrimination. The wound of Chosunjok staying in Korea has been more aggravated.”¹² Rhee considers the Chosunjok issue as the problem of the Republic of Korea and asks a wise resolution from the Government. Chosunjok’s concrete and urgent demands are the following: firstly, lessening the burden of coming to Korea with plugging up the legal loophole so to decrease Chosunjok’s possibility to become illegal sojourners; secondly, enlarging the opportunities to work legally; finally grant the Chosunjok a free come-and-go right between the two countries or give them the right to return to their ancestral land.

Several years’ stay and direct experiences in South Korea do not necessarily give Korean Chinese a sense of integration with South Korean culture. Visits to their ancestral land give them opportunities to perceive their differences with Koreans on the peninsula, which can be called a “new revelation of Chosunjok’s self-identity.” They have maintained a strong ethnic identity throughout their migration history in China for more than a century. After visiting South Korea, they come to understand that South Korean culture is different from theirs and Koreans in the peninsula are different from them. They are discriminated against in South Korea and cannot adapt themselves well to South Korean society. Before coming, South Korea was their object of adoration and the way to make their Korean dream come true. But after being there and having experienced some kind of discrimination, they began to breed a

¹² Rhee Hye-sun, 『Korean Dream: Report of Wandering and Hope』 (2003), 277. Rhee’s first reportage, 『Korean Dream: Chosunjok in Korea』, was written in 2001. Her second one is a revised and enlarged edition of the first one.

negative perception of South Korea. At the same time, they strengthened their pride in being a Korean minority in China.

The fact that the Chosunjok in Korea have been relegated to the lower strata of South Korean society as illegal sojourners and manual laborers has made them understand the realities of 'heartless' capitalism. The Chosunjok tendency to adapt to South Korean culture through indirect experiences has been transformed to that of differentiation through direct contacts in South Korea. They have come to strengthen their ethnic identity, which has been distinct from that of the Han Chinese and other minorities, and is now distinguished from that of Koreans on the peninsula. After having experienced the differences from Koreans and understood the distinct ethnicity of their own, the Chosunjok tend to be marginalized in South Korean society.¹³ Among the different groups of foreign workers, the Chosunjok workers are the most sensitive in wage disparity and most of the Chosunjok are proved to think that they are discriminated in payment. They complain that they are not 'dognpo(compatriot)' but 'ddongpo(dung compatriot)'.¹⁴ The most painful experience of being discriminated is said to be the typical differentiation of the Korean society towards them, which regards them as miserable people from a poor country.¹⁵

The 2005 interview that the author did in the Seoul Chosunjok Church shows their strong sense of being discriminated. They point out the typical discrimination of the Korean society and government towards them. They complain about the followings, "South Korean government grants nationality and financial support to North Koreans defectors. Why not to Chosunjok?"; "Chinese can teach their language and be employed in big companies, but Chosunjoks are deprived of jobs and the right to work during the process of naturalization."; "Korean Americans and Koreans in Japan have the right to come-and-go freely between the two countries. Why not for Korean Chinese? Compatriots from rich countries are treated as such, but the ones from poor countries are discriminated as such."; "We do the same work as our Korean colleagues, and we are paid as half as they are. We suffer the unfairness of being discriminated and neglected in our parents' country.": "The system of work permission has many irrational points. We are in a more disadvantageous position to get job. Most illegal workers cannot benefit from this system."; "An applicant of the naturalization process cannot be employed while his application is being processed. How are they going to survive?"

The system of employment permission for foreign workers was put into effect in August 2004 for the purpose of protecting the human rights and guaranteeing safe working environments. This system is designed for the manufacturing industry of a certain scale. It is unrealistic to apply it to service jobs or construction sites where the Chosunjok workers are usually employed. After this system was enforced, Chosunjoks were in a more difficult situation. It is proved that the system might have no effect in solving the problem of Chosunjok in Korea.

The Appearance of a New Identity: the Chosunjok Students

Among the Chosunjoks in South Korea besides workers there are students too.¹⁶ This group of

¹³ Ryu Myung-kee(1995, 1997, and 2002).

¹⁴ Seol(1999), 266-9.

¹⁵ Ryu(2002), 84-5.

¹⁶ Among over 13,000 Chinese students in 2005, over 60% of them are known to be Chosunjok. The number of
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students is interesting to observe because they come to recognize their new identity. They are legal sojourners in Korea. It is observed that their perspective of Korea is quite positive. The generation of their grandparents and parents see the peninsula as their homeland with nostalgia and a sense of betrayal. The young age group of students perceives the country from a neutral, practical, and objective viewpoint. The new generation studying in Korea thinks about how to establish the new relationship between Korea and the Chosunjok.

In contrast to their grandparent or parents, they do not feel bad even in case of being called Chinese by Korean. The old generation professes that one of the most grieving experience in Korea is to be called as Chinese. A Chosunjok student witness the following: "Korean students have good relationship with Chinese students with no discrimination of Han Chinese and Chosunjok. They treat us with respect and etiquette. I speak frankly to them that I am Chosunjok and accept Chinese culture as mine. They accept that. We respect each other and recognize our differences. I feel at ease with Korean young people. They are more open-minded than the professors."¹⁷ Here we are able to find a hope that young generations can build a bridge of mutual understanding and reconciliation between Chosunjok and South Korean as well as between the two countries.

The young Chosunjok generation in Korea suffers from difficulties and troubles. Their foremost question to ask during their stay in Korea is who they are and what they should do. The following testimony shows a kind of discord between the two cultures; "What I learned and acquired was Chinese culture. Only my outer appearance is Korean. I have not thought in China that I am from a minority group. I had no conflict with Han Chinese friends, and have been in good terms with them. I have not found any distinction between us. Having come to Korea, I felt hard to adapt myself to and got negative attitude towards Korean culture. I hate the hierarchical order in Korean universities. The Chinese are rather egalitarian but Koreans are more authoritarian."¹⁸ This is the testimony of a young Chosunjok youth who was brought up in a big city surrounded by Han Chinese environment. Those young people are in the threshold of being assimilated with the loss of ability to speak Korean. Being in Korea, they began to ask who they are and think about their identity.

Meeting the root culture of Korea, those who were brought up and educated in Han Chinese society have suffered more than those from Chaoxianzu (Chosunjok) places like Yanbian; "On the first day we arrived in Korea did we had a strong quarrel with the college staff. We were upset that we're labeled Chinese since we have originally come from China. We did not have any concrete idea that we were emigrants in the peninsula. After that happening, we began to ask ourselves "who are we?" We still have to question our identity. We need more explication and elucidation on the historical question like the origin of the Korean Chinese, our history of migration, the beginning of our being called Chaoxianzu (Chosunjok), and so on."¹⁹

Chinese students are rapidly increasing from 3,221(2001), 5,607(2003), and 8,960(2004) to 13,091(2005). Among over 5,000 Chinese students in 2003, two-third (2/3) of them was estimated to be Chosunjok. Han Chinese students tend to learn Korean language. Chosunjok students continue to study their major in China. Many Chosunjok students in their graduate studies are majoring in management, economics, IT fields, and medical area. Rhee Hye-sun(2003), 296

¹⁷ Rhee Hye-sun(2003), 304

¹⁸ Ibid., 313.

¹⁹ Ibid., 316.

It is well known that the ethnic education in Korean Chinese (Chaoxianzu) community in China is not in its substance but in its forms. The instruction in the schools of Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture is conducted in Korean language, but the contents of the education are of the Chinese state-nationalism. The Chaoxianzu education has only followed the guidelines of the Chinese Communist Party, but has not tried to think over what kind of identity they will teach to the young generation. These must be some of the essential questions for the educational circles of the Korean Chinese community: how to see the country of your ancestors, how to balance between the political identity of being Chinese and the ethnic identity of being Chaoxianzu, and What is the position of being Chaoxianzu in the People's Republic of China, the unified multi-ethnic state.

In this sense, a Chosunjok student in Korea touches on the above questions: "In deciding the way for Chaoxianzu to go, It is important to establish the proper perspective on my nation (ethnicity) and my country. Firstly, I am a Chinese citizen. I will fulfill my responsibilities as a Chinese national. Secondly, I am proud of being Korean. I am the son of the Korean people. I will protect the integrity of being Korean, but I am against narrow-minded nationalism or chauvinistic attitude. Thirdly, I do my best in fostering my ability. I keep in mind that our task is to participate in the process of history. I always keep in my bosom that I am Chaoxianzu. National integrity cannot be intruded and touched. The key task is to bring up Chaoxianzu intellectuals. The Chaoxianzu community must promote the collective capability through personal self-principle."²⁰

Chosunjok students in Korea enter the stage of collective awakening after having had a serious worry on their identity. They organized Chosunjok students network in Korea and have held meeting and seminars. The leader of this network stress that "our own story should be told by ourselves, not by Chinese or Koreans through the network, which is subjective in the sense that we are doing by ourselves." He defines that "the world where we are to be thrown is that of being Chaoxianzu (Chosunjok)." Chosunjok students in Korea do not have to manage their lives as passive being but as positive one. The network demands strongly the endeavor of the Chosunjok youth by declaring that "we should throw ourselves again into the better world." What the young generation of Chosunjok must do is "to know ourselves by talking our past, to grope for our path to follow by foretelling our future, and to decide our action by discussing our today." The network is asking for Chosunjok students to "research and renew ourselves by talking about us."²¹

It is evident that the Korean minority in China has got a new identity through relationship with South Korea. As a member of Korean people, they ask to have a dialogue between equal partners in South Korea. From their perspective, they have something to learn from Korea, but they have something to teach as well. Korean minority in China have played an important role in bridging two countries. It is clear that they will continue to be the bridging role of the two countries. Chosunjoks perceive the fact that they do not have a bright future by wandering like "a wind flower"²² or "a floating weed" between China

²⁰ Ibid., 345-7.

²¹ Chosunjok Students Network in South Korea, 『Searching for the Development Strategy of Chosunjok Community』 (October 31, 2004), 1-2.

²² A female novelist, Chaoxianzu, used this term to describe the existence of Korean minority. Hoe Ryunsoon, 『Baramggot』 (Seoul, 1996), 7: "I am a wind flower, wandering from this place to place. I have come and gone here
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and Korea. They have reached a new understanding of both being excellent Chinese national and being Korean compatriots. They find that this double identity is the only way to follow.

Conclusion

This article argues that the Chosunjok community has been formulated in South Korea. The Korean minority in China came to Korea, flowing with the 'Korean wind' and dreaming the 'Korean dream', to visit relatives as well as through the industrial training system, international marriage, smuggling, and so on. They have settled down in the South Korean society through reinstatement of citizenship, reentering, illegal stay, and so on. They have built up their densely-populated district in Kuro-dong, Garibong-dong in Seoul, and Wongok-dong in Ansan-si, Kyunggi-do. Many Chosunjok churches in suburbs of Seoul hold service for Chosunjoks in Korea. However, they are not integrated or assimilated to Korean society. They are not treated rightly as Korean 'compatriot'. They have reinforced their dual identity as a Korean minority and as Chinese nationals. Their stay in Korea being prolonged, the being of Chosunjok and the community have been formulated in Korea.

To make a long story short, the first generation of returnees of Korean minority in China came back to Korea to regain their Korean citizenship. The second generation was smuggled into the country with the risk of losing their lives, followed the Korean dream, and has suffered from much discrimination as workers of a "class under a class." The encounter of Koreans and Chosunjok has been a series of trials and errors. For almost two decades, the two parties have grown up through the process of learning. The third generation of young Chosunjok stands up upon the sacrifices of the first and second generations. The young students can open a new dimension of perceiving self-identity and understanding Koreans.

Korean minority in China is not any more Chaoxianzu as it was before. They became Chosunjok in Korea and Josenzoku in Japan. There are over 200,000 Chosunjok and about 50,000 Josenzoku. It is estimated that there are about 60,000 Korean Chinese in Russia, over 50,000 in the USA, and about 40,000 in the Middle East. More than 400,000 Korean Chinese are living all over the world. Recently the World Chosunjok Network was created and held its first conference in Beijing. Korean minority in China is transforming itself into the Korean Chinese in East Asia and the world.²³ It is very interesting to observe the transformation of the Korean Chinese community throughout the world and their connection to other groups of people.

References

and there between two worlds where the wind flows and dies, I could not make my dwelling place anywhere. Without striking roots deep into the soil in one place, I have suffered from recollection and oblivion, nostalgia and rancor towards the other place, flying here and there without stopping. I have coexisted in two worlds and escaped from the two worlds. Who am I?"

See also Choi Woogill (2001), 133-134.

²³ On this issue, refer to the following book: The Society of Research on Korean Chinese, 『The Global Movement and International Network of Korean Chinese』 (The Asian Institute of Economy and Culture, 2006).

Note: Except Choi (2001, in English) and Zheng (2004, in Chinese), all books and articles are written in Korean.

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