

# Chosŏnjok and Marriage in Korea

Social Change in Asia May 1, 2020 Clark W. Sorensen

## The Peoples of Northeast China

- Historically Manchuria and northern Korea was inhabited by tribes speaking Mongolian and Tungusic languages
  - The Mongols tended to be pastoralists
  - The Tungusic people farmed sorghum and millet, kept domestic animals, and supplemented their diet by hunting and fishing
  - There were always a few ethnic Han in the area, but not large numbers because Chinese agricultural techniques were not well adapted to the far north until the 19<sup>th</sup> century
- Koryö Korea (918-1391) was gradually moving its boundary north absorbing Jurchen and sending Korean colonists north
- Jurchen Jin Dynasty ruled Manchuria and North China (1115-1234) from Yanjing with Southern Song in the South from Hangzhou
  - Jin (1234), Koryŏ (1258), and Southern Song (1279), conquered by Mongols who ruled c. 1279-1368 (Koryŏ treated as "in-law state" whose royal house intermarried with the Mongol imperial house, and was semi-independent)
- After the fall of the Mongols to Ming in 1368, the northeast wasn't fully incorporated into the empire and some Jurchen tribes paid tribute to the Koryo and from 1392 Chosŏn court and present northeast Korea was incorporated into Chosŏn in the 15th century

# The Creation of Qing

- The Jurchen ruler Nurhaci united the Jurchen in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century and moved the capital to Mukden (Shenyang)
- Nurhaci's son became Hong Taiji, renamed the Jurchen as Manchu, and established Qing
- In 1644 after a rebellion in Ming, the Manchu allied with a Chinese general to enter Beijing and establish Qing rule over all of China
  - Many Manchus moved to Beijing (the northern part of Beijing was known as the "Tartar City" because it was reserved for Manchus—these eventually became assimilated Chinese)
- Qing was not a nation state, but a multi-ethnic empire (like the Russian Empire or Ottoman Empire)
- Manchuria (the northeast) was reserved as a Manchu homeland and immigration of non-Manchu was not allowed

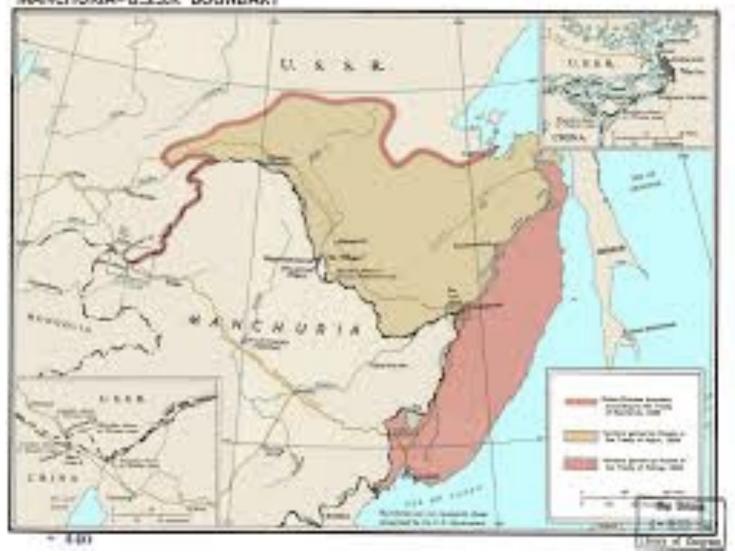
# + Qing Empire



## After the Taiping Rebellion 1850-1864

- Manchu garrisons were moved to China Proper to help put down the rebellion
- Following the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864) Han immigration into Manchuria was allowed out of concern for Russian encroachment in the Maritime Provinces (today's Primorsky Krai near Vladivostok)
  - Large numbers of Han Chinese immigrated from Shandong and other northern provinces, soon outnumbering the few remaining Manchu
  - In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Koreans also began moving across the border with China and Russia seeking land and freedom from taxation

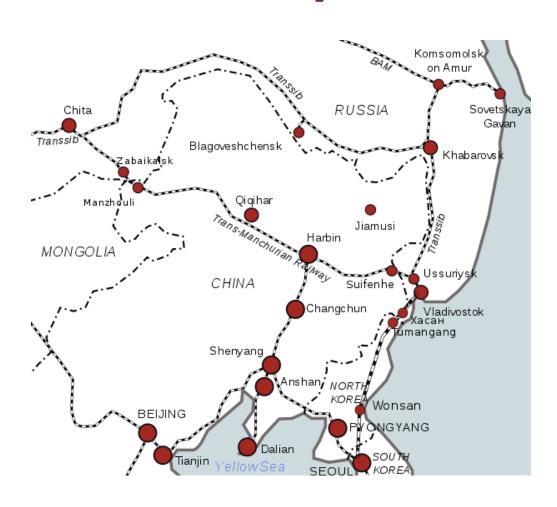
#### MANCHURIA-U.S.S.R. BOUNDARY



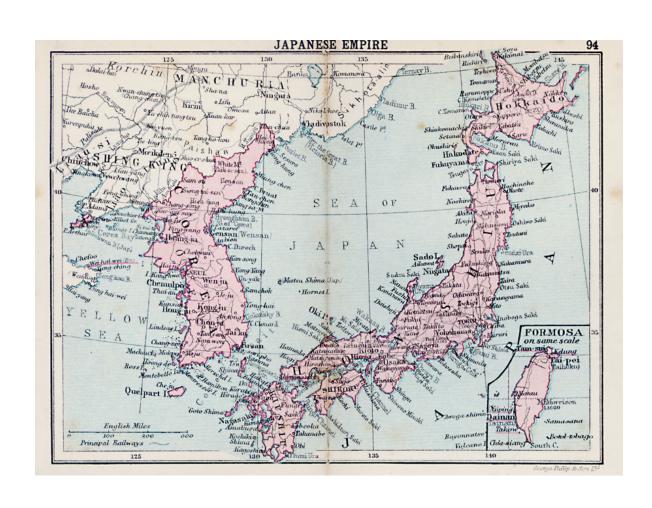
## Early 20th Century Manchuria

- By 1894 about 34,000 Koreans lived in areas of Manchuria near the Korean border
- At this time Russian had railways and a concession at Port Arthur (Dalian)
  - Japan defeated Russia during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 and took over Port Arthur (renamed it Dairen, now Dalian), and controlled the South Manchuria Railway (Dalian to Changchun)
  - Dairen developed as a modern, largely Japanese, city after this
- Japan also made Korea a protectorate in 1904, and as Japan's plans to take over became clear political refugees began pouring into Manchuria from Korea (there were 109,000 by 1910).
  - The immigration from Hamgyŏngdo into Kando (Jiandao) was especially prominent—these immigrants speak Hamgyŏng dialect

# Chinese Eastern Railway & South Manchurian Railway



## Japanese Empire 1910-1931



## Republican China

- Qing was overthrown in 1910
  - Sun Yatsen thought the entire Qing Empire should become a single multi-ethnic state
  - The center didn't hold, however, and from 1916 to 1928 warlords competed for power in various regions of China
  - Treaty Ports like Shanghai and Tientsin (Tianjin) were safe and controlled by Europeans with many Europeans and Japanese residing there
- In 1928 Chiang Kaishek (Jiang Jieshi) and the Kuomintang (Guomindang) united China except for Manchuria
  - The Japanese assassinated the Manchurian warlord Zhang Zuolin in 1928 to prevent incorporation of the Northeast into China
- Japan took over Manchuria in 1931 creating a "puppet state" nominally ruled by the last Manchu Emperor, but actually controlled by the Japanese Guandong Army
  - Nominally Manchukuo was supposed to be a "harmonious" multiethnic nation of Manchu, Japanese, Chinese, Mongols and Koreans (there were also more than 100,000 White Russians in Harbin)

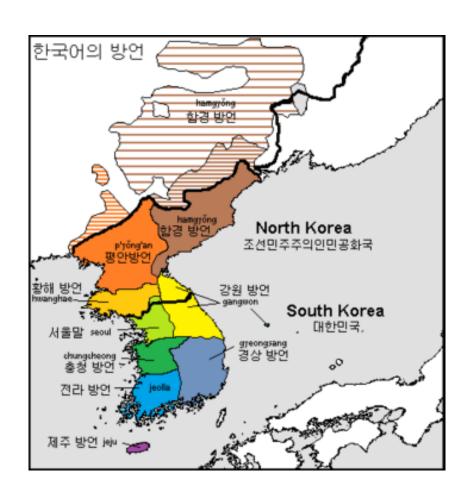
## Japanese Settlement Policy

- The Manchukuo population was over 90% ethnic Chinese
- Japanese settlement was encouraged, but only about 500,000 or so Japanese moved to Manchuria (the city of Dairen, however, had another half a million Japanese)
- The Japanese encouraged settlement of Koreans (people of the empire) in Manchukuo because Koreans were more likely to know Japanese, and because the Japanese wanted to dilute the Chinese population
  - Migration of northerners continued into today's Yanbian Korean Autonomous region (where they speak Hamgyŏng dialect), and across the Yalü River into Liaoning (where they speak P'yŏngan Dialect)
  - Japanese sponsored migration from the Southeast (Kyŏngsang Dialect) that went into interior Jilin, and southeast Heilungjiang (Mudanjiang and Wuchang)

## Liberation

- Many of the Koreans forcibly moved into Manchuria by the Japanese returned to Korea after 1945
- The Russians eventually repatriated the Japanese living in Manchuria (who suffered many hardships)
- Most of the White Russians fled and emigrated to the US, Canada, and Australia through China, Korea, and Japan
- About 1.5 million ethnic Koreans were left in China
  - Many were sympathetic to the communists and helped the Chinese Revolution succeed in Manchuria in 1947 before the communists succeeded in the rest of China (1948-50)

#### **Korean Settlement Patterns**

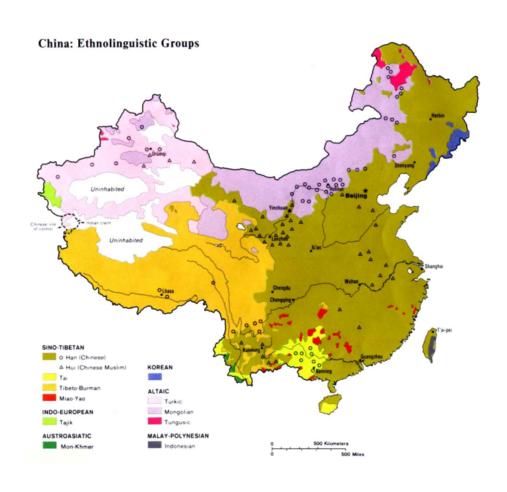




## Chosŏnjok Today

- About 1.8 million ethnic Korean Chinese are one of China's 55 official ethnic minorities 朝鮮族小數民族
- Yanbian Autonomous Region 延边 established in 1952 (Jilin)
  - Originally majority Korean, but because of out-migration to other parts of China it is now only about 30% Korean
- Changbai Autonomous County (Liaoning), and miscellaneous autonomous villages also exist, and, in these places, residents have a right to ethnic education
  - Many of these villages have hollowed out due to migration to cities in China or South Korea
- Many Chosŏnjok have gotten education and moved to cities such as Shenyang, Beijing, and Qingdao
  - Those who grew up in autonomous regions or villages got Korean language education, but others (especially youth) may only speak Chinese
- More than 700,000 are resident in South Korea, and almost 50,000 are in Japan on student visas

### Ethnicities in China



## Language of Chosŏnjok

- Yanji University was initially conceived as a Korean medium school, and in Yanbian they established a standard language different from both South and North Korean based on the Yanbian dialect—this is the "third Korean"
- Speakers of other dialects exist depending on their location and the availability of Korean schools, but North Korean spelling standards are used
- Standard South Korean (Han'gugŏ 韓國語) is starting to become known through Hallyu broadcasts, and also through language academies set up by the South Korean government and South Korean Christian missionaries, but this is considered distinct from Chosŏnŏ 朝鮮語, the language spoken in North Korea and China, and the form taught in Chinese "ethnic schools"
  - In the 1930s the Japanese settled Chosŏnjok in the Mudanjiang area from southeast Korea (current South Korea), so their language is less "different" from South Korean than that spoken in Yanbian (which is a variant of Hamgyŏng dialect)

## Labor Migration into South Korea

- Began in 1990s when the Great Labor Struggle of 1987-1989 led to a tripling of manufacturing wages ending Korea's role as a cheap labor country, but initially such migration was not from China
- Koreans didn't want to do the 3-D jobs (dirty, dangerous, and difficult)—parallel to Japanese 3-K (汚い、危険, きつい)
  - Trainee workers (연수생 研修生) brought in temporarily for low wages (mostly from Southeast Asia at first)
- 1992 South Korea and the PRC established diplomatic relations
  - Initial thought was to import ethnic Koreans from China to provide cheap labor while avoiding ethnic problems
  - Later thought to import brides as the rural bride shortage developed

# Caren Freeman *Making and Faking Kinship*

- Fieldwork done around 1998-9
- Thus done during the first decade of Chosŏnjok migration to South Korea when things had become routinized, but were still being worked out
- Internal migration began in the late 1980s in China
  - North/South Differences
    - Within China labor segregation between natives and migrants is most severe in Guangdong and Shanghai
    - Labor segregation is also found in North China, but it is less severe, and differences of dialect are minor compared to South China
  - Chosŏnjok relatively well-educated population, many have university degrees and for this reason hojŏk issues seem to be less of a problem for them (correspondence with Freeman)
  - State-owned enterprises were shedding workers in the Northeast in the early 2000s and there was lots of misery (unlike Guangdong that was booming)

#### Korean Fever

- 2000 Chosŏnjok village near Mudanjiang
  - Old greeting 你吃了吗 (Have you eaten?)
  - New greeting 你什吗时候去韩国? (When are you going to Korea?)
- Korea Wind (Han'guk ŭi param)
  - Cultural influence of South Korea blowing across China in the early 2000s
  - Would have included movies, music, dramas and the like introducing seemingly glamorous South Korean lifestyles to China
- Korean fever (Han'guk yŏl 韩国热)
  - More like "gold fever"
  - Fueled by examples of returnees from South Korea who have built big houses, stories of remittances received, stories of making 20 times as much in South Korea as the prevailing wage in Heilongjiang

## **Migration Strategies**

- Marriage migration (open primarily to unmarried Chosŏnjok)
  - Marriage to a South Korean citizen would allow them to acquire South Korean citizenship and thus live and work in Korea as long as they wanted
- Labor migration
  - Already married males and females as "guest workers" in South Korea (up to five years)
  - Often leaving family behind in China, and some might overstay their visa
- Sham marriage—already married men or women get false papers and marry into South Korea
- Visit an already-married daughter and overstay visa

## Gender and Agency

- Both labor migration and marriage migration tends to go from relatively poor countries to relatively rich
  - To Korea from China, Philippines, Vietnam, etc.
- Are women trafficked?
- Do women make choices?
- Who are the intermediaries?
- Women themselves as mediating figures between China and Korea?

## National Identity

- South Korea has identified the "Korean diaspora" as a national resource
- National law distinguishes overseas Koreans from wealthy countries (USA, Japan) from overseas Koreans from poor countries (China, Russia)
  - The former are allowed wide latitude to bring in skills and forge international ties
  - The latter restricted for fear of "mercenary motives"
- Influence on national identity
  - South Korea—sense of ethnic solidarity threatened by ethnically distinct migrants
  - Chosŏnjok—ambivalent relationship to both Korea and China

## New Kinship (constructed)

- How are kin ties related to national identity?
- South/North Korea—national identity is defined by ancestry: if you have Korean ancestors you are Korean
  - What do you do with co-ethnics who don't speak the language?
  - What do you do with co-ethnics who identify (to what degree?) with another nationality?
  - What do you do with international adoptees?
  - If their motivation is money, where is ethnic solidarity?

#### Chosŏnjok

- Feel discriminated against in South Korea
- Visa restrictions are discriminatory
- Don't necessarily accept the kinship definition of nationality, and so they use kinship instrumentally
  - "flexible kinship" (Aihwa Ong) is characteristic of transnational minorities

## Language

- 1962—Zhou En-lai made North Korean "cultured speech" 조선 문화어 朝鮮文化語 the standard in Chosŏnjok schools (한국 표준어 韓國標準語 is "Standard Korean" in South Korea)
  - This means that many of the foreign words used in South Korea were unknown to Chosŏnjok even if they are native Korean speakers
  - 일없어 (page 19) may be translated from Chinese 没事, but is a common North Korean expression as well
    - In South Korea it would mean "unnecessary or useless" (그런 일없어) "nobody does that"
    - In North Korea it means 괜찮다 "fine, not a big deal"
  - Tractor
    - South Korea: 경운기, 트랙터 (Sino-Japanese, English)
    - North Korea: 뜨락또르 (English through Russian)
  - Mobile phone
    - South Korea: 핸드폰, North Korea: 손전화

## Position of Ethnographer

- Contrast with Korean ethnographer (p20) is what one would expect
  - Chosŏnjok might well fear judgment from a Korean ethnographer while they might not fear a foreign one (though South Koreans do fear judgment from American ethnographers)
- Mudanjiang (Heilungjiang Province)
  - Most residents' ancestors are from the three southern provinces (especially Kyŏngsang) so their accent is more South Korean than migrants from Yanbian
- Korea fever (韩国热 Han'guk yŏl/Hanguo rè) washed over Chosŏnjok as they saw the Han Chinese doing better, and they needed a way to make more money
  - Historically the Koreans had been more prosperous famers because they could grow rice even in northern climates

# South Korean bachelors and Chosŏnjok wives

- In South Korea no agassi (maiden) wants to marry a farmer
  - Girls who migrate to the city to work don't return to get married, whereas at least one son (usually the eldest) is expected to remain home, farm, and take care of his parents
- If a man is over 34 and unmarried, he may go to China to find a wife
  - Eldest sons pressured to stay on the farm, inherit the land, and care for his parents with a patrilocal marriage
  - A man isn't a full adult until he marries regardless of chronological age
    - This is true in both urban and rural Korea, but in addition a single man can't run a rural house without female labor, and there are few girls to meet
- Lightning-like courtship in China
- Attitude toward rural people in Korea is less categorical than in China
  - Rural people are considered rubes (촌스럽다), but they are also considered more authentically Korean than urbanites with their cosmopolitan ways
  - Sint'o puri 身土不二 (body and soil are not two different things)
  - Rural family farm seen as the bedrock of Korean ethnicity, and Korean bodies should also properly eat food grown on Korean soil

## South Korean Government Programs to Help Rural Bachelors

- Marriage Aid Program 성혼돕기 프로그램 (private sector)
- Research Association for the Welfare of Korean Farm and Fishing Villages 농촌에서 아기 울음소리가 들리게 (private sector)
- Matchmaking tours to find "bride material" 색씨감을 찾아려는 맞선길 (N.B. the term "groom material" 신랑감 is also commonly used in South Korea)
  - These kinds of courtship betray an "instrumental" approach, or role-based marriage rather than companionate marriage
  - Similar to arranged marriages in the past, "Marry first, then fall in love."

### Attitudes and Images

- Initial storyline of restoring national unity
  - South Korean girls have "turned their back" on their ancestral land 고향땅에게 등을 돌렸다 versus pure and obedient Chosŏnjok girls 순진하고 순정한 조선족 아가씨 (NB. 순정=simple, pure 순종=1. unmixed, 2. submissive)
  - Restore the ethnic homogeneity of the nation 민족의 동질성도 회복할 수 있다 (share the same bloodline 한핏줄을 공유하다), reunite families divided by the vicissitudes of history (이산가족)
    - (Restoring ethnic homogeneity tends to mean "absorbing North Koreans and Chosŏnjok to South Korean linguistic and cultural norms")
  - Solve demographic problems and placate farmers unable to form families—"Farmers are people, too. Get married!" 농민도 사람이다. 장가가라!
- Later storyline of mercenary brides
  - Naïve 순박한 farmers swindled by concealed marriages 위장결혼
  - Mercenary marriage brokers
  - Runaway brides only looking for money
  - Burdensome Chosŏnjok relatives 부단서러운 조선 친척

#### + Fears

- Chunho (male South Korean)
  - Would communism make Yŏnghwa too strong?
  - Would she run away after gaining Korean citizenship?
- Yŏnghwa (female Chosŏnjok)
  - Found out many of the men coming to China were losers in the South Korean marriage market (old, poor, ugly, or divorced)
  - Many of the South Korean men's villages were remote and lacked cultural facilities
  - Didn't like been introduced as Chinese 중국사람 in Korea
  - Found they had to work harder in South Korea than China
  - Fate (因緣="cosmic connection") is the way many Korean women think about marriage, however, and many accept less than ideal situations

#### South Korean Gender Norms

- South Korean ideal of male breadwinner and stay-at-home mother 전업주부is strong
  - Korean men do not expect to engage in housework or cooking (spending time in the kitchen is considered emasculating)
  - If husband and wife work 맞벌이 the wife still has to do the housework and take care of her parents-in-law
  - Many traditional South Korean men fear that friends and neighbors will think him incapable of earning a living (i.e. being a full man) if he lets his wife work (무능한 남자, 생활능력없다)
- Koreans in China have assimilated the communist notion that modernity requires women to be full-fledged members of the work force, and thus assume they will work outside the home as a matter of course
- Koreans in China have also developed a more flexible gendered division of labor than is traditional in Korea



## Structure and Agency

- Yönghwa (South Kyöngsang) and Sumin somewhat discontented
  - Yönghwa's father found her Chunho in his native village through a cousin, but it was poor and remote
  - Yönghwa shocked by her poor, isolated island village
  - Both made rural marriages in the Southeast
- Hiju and Oksong experience upward mobility
  - Extremely poor in China, but urban working class in Korea
  - Oksong's mother had migrated to help her with childcare (this probably would not have been possible in a rural family)
- Minsŏn (Cheju) also sees opportuntiy;
  - Mother an "excess birth guerilla" in China who now is in Korea taking takes care of Minsŏn's kids (remitting the salary to her husband in China to care for her youngest children)
  - Minson ambitious to become Chinese interpreter for Cheju Island tourists
- Freeman—while gender hierarchies structure women's experiences women have the agency to respond in a variety of ways, so the hierarchies don't determine their position. (cf pp 148-9)

## Brokers

- Arranging weddings is considered auspicious and a social service (not trafficking) in South Korea
- Money and fake (disguised) marriages (위장결혼 伪装结婚)—this term probably refers to women's marriages to Chosŏnjok that they disguise to make new marriages in South Korea (fake marriages would be 위조결혼 伪造结婚)
- Discourse of naïve young South Korean bachelors (순박한 총각 淳朴的) spending money for a wife who runs away right after the wedding
- Although the initial goal was to match farmer bachelors, commercial agencies match anyone—widowers, divorced men, etc.
  - White collar men might be looking for "obedient maidens" 순종한 처녀顺从的处女

## Process

- Meet, date, meet parents, negotiate gifts—usually licensed agency, but can be freelance (illegal) maep'a
  - (traditional marriages in Korea used a go-between 중신에비 but this person was rarely a paid professional)
  - South Koreans married to Chosŏnjok, and Chosŏnjok married to South Koreans are also strategically situated
    - Make introductions for a tip (仝州비)
    - People may trust a neighbor over a professional
- Bride must obtain official marriage certificate from the South Korean consulate in Shenyang 결혼보증
  - Local permission (the city government permission required first)

## Runaway Brides

- Waiting period for citizenship
  - Was 6 months, now two years
  - Women have to meet periodically with the authorities to prove they are still married
  - Issue of the deceitful/violent husband
- Split obligations to marital and birth family
  - Demands of woman's natal family "burdensome" from the male point of view 부담스럽다
- Burden of "serving" in-laws (wife's side)
- Already-married Chosŏnjok women marrying in order to get a visa

## Citizenship Issues

- Basic principle *jus sanguinis* rather than *jus soli*
- However 1999 Overseas Korean Law 재외동포의 출입국 및 법적 지위에 관한 법률 (that allows easy 2 year visas for those of "Korean blood") limits that to those who had been South Korean before 1948
- This is a "past citizenship law" rather than jus sanguinis
- 2004 switch to past *hojŏk* but current hojŏk system only began in 1922
- 2007 "guest worker" system for Chosŏnjok freed up visas for them and greatly increased numbers followed
  - Admitted to Korea on a visitor's visa, given training, and then aided in finding work (pangmun ch'wiŏpche) reduced discrimination against ethnic Korean from China and the former Soviet Union
  - 2015—600,000+ Chinese Koreans in Korea plus 70,000+ who have acquired South Korean citizenship

## Gender Discourses

- Chinese gender equality versus Korean patriarchy?
  - 男女平等的 (Chinese: males and females are equal—ideological norm, but exaggeration of reality)
  - 남자는 하늘이고 여자는 땅이다 (Korean: Men are heaven and women earth—very old fashioned and exaggerated, but some truth)

#### Differences

- In China both men and women expect to work, whereas the ideal in South Korea is for a stay-at-home wife to serve her parents-in-law [however, this rarely happens in urban Korea anymore, and rural women always did farm labor]
- Expectations in Korea of Chosŏnjok wives:
  - Coresidence with –in-laws?
  - Restricted access to money?
  - Gendered assignment of household labor
  - Violent husbands?



# Discourses of Gender and Ethnicity

- Chosŏnjok discourses of South Korean patriarchy are used as markers of ethnic difference rather than accurate descriptions
  - What some describe as symptomatic of patriarchal power and privilege, others describe as a complementary and fair division of labor, or as a valued Chosŏnjok trait
- N.B. Hae Yoon Chae, for example, portrays North Korean women as victims of patriarchal oppression and South Korean women as free
- Industrialization allowed "housewifization" of women—assigned management of a nucleated domestic space symbolically separated from production and focused on consumption p124
  - Development of "wise mother, good wife" ideology from Japan with man the producer and woman the consumer and reproducer

#### **Dated discourses**

- Self-realization 자아실현 & 미시족 (1980s and 1990s)
- Now it's the "bean curd girl" 된장녀—the unmarried girl who works, but lives with her parents and spends her money on clothes and Starbucks
- Notice connection between beauty and fashion and "civilization and enlightenment"
- Difference
  - South Korea (Japan)—be a housewife for the good of the nation (and raise kids)—gendered division of labor for the good of the nation (but not threatened by sociocultural change)
    - Also men feared criticism of their ability 생활능력
    - Women working in a family business (or white collar?) would be OK
    - 간 큰 남자 "big-livered man" image of self-absorbed male
  - China—be a working mother to produce for the good of the nation—division of labor less gendered
    - But now stay-at-home mothers are becoming possible in China and this may now become a high-status ideal (i.e. housewifization = modernity)

# Forging Kinship Ties in China

- Korean immigration regulations favored married-in brides, and their parents for admission to the country, and also uniting separated families (isan kajok—heŏjin kajok)
  - Forging "paper ties" was considered perfectly legitimate by the Chosŏnjok
  - One year working in South Korea could yield \$12,000, five years could yield a house and retirement capital
- Forging papers for immigration to South Korea required resources—social, cultural, and pecuniary

# Economic Restructuring in Northeast China

- Before restructuring of the PRC economic beginning in the 1980s the Northeast was the industrial heartland of the PRC
  - Iron and steel industry near Shenyang, machine tools, petrochemicals
- Under Jiang Ze-ming (1993-2003) restructuring focused on luring FDI to SEZs (Guangdong, Fujian, and Shanghai)
  - Hope was that development of new foreign-invested factories would absorb labor let free from decollectivization in the countryside, and restructuring of state-owned enterprises who had too much labor
  - 1980 Liaoing No. 2 economic province, 1996 Liaoning No. 7 and Guangdong No. 1

### Restructuring SOEs

- SOE=state-owned enterprises
  - Restructuring of state-owned enterprises (as opposed to cooperative enterprises) was left to Hu Jin-tao (Pres. 2002-2012)
  - Freeman *xiagang* 下岗 (layoffs)—this "step down from post" implies retention by original unit but with partial or no pay
- By end of 1990s the Northeast was a rust belt
  - Large scale heavy industry suffered layoffs as outmoded, overstaffed plants were restructured
  - While Guangdong, Shanghai, and Beijing-Tianjin had foreign investment to take up much of the slack, the northeast lacked in foreign direct investment, and by the late 1990s there was a huge amount of unemployment and misery in the northeast
  - Heilungjiang has some South Korean investment, but PRC plans to promote cooperative development with North Korea have never panned out

## Korean Wind 한국 바람

- Working in South Korea seemed to be a solution for which Chosŏnjok had a competitive advantage over other Chinese
  - Ajumma—could have remarried as a widow, but her nunch'i told her not to so she wanted to purchase the identity of a South Korea married Chosŏnjok's mother
    - Her fake documents didn't work, but she needed money for subsistence
  - City Imo—a dispersed family member through her husband (isan kajok 離散家族)
    - Fake is realer than real (wijo 偽造= forged, counterfeit), but also had problems
    - Wanted to finance her children's education at home
- Shenyang as the center for getting South Korean entry permits
  - Minbak, kalbi chip



## Mother abroad, family at home

- Mother who goes to South Korea (because of ease of migration)
  - Fake divorces and marriages common
  - Not deemed essential that biological mothers care for children
  - Recognized that "living widows and widowers" 生寡婦/홀아비 have a hard time, and their marriages can fail
  - Husbands have to learn how to cope as stay-at-home husbands
- Husband and Wife Migrate together leaving the children with relatives
- Husband migrates leaving wife and children (less common)

# Other migration patterns

- China—"astronaut families" (whose members live in more than one country)—termed coined by Aihwa Ong (a lot of her examples are probably overseas Chinese from Hong Kong or Southeast Asia)
- Korea—wild geese families 기러기가족 in which one family members (usually the father) works in Korea and flies back and forth to see his wife and children studying abroad
- Philippines—"martyr mothers" who work abroad to support their families
  - Nurses, domestic help
- Taiwan—"parachute kids" sent to live in US or elsewhere under supervision of servant or nanny while parents live in Taiwan (motivation to spare their children from the cutthroat Taiwanese education system)

# • Changes

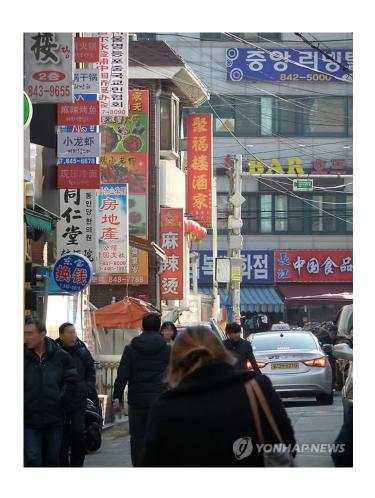
- Chosŏnjok now less likely to make rural marriages in South Korea, and some set their eyes on Japan
  - No longer identify as "one blood" with all Koreans
- South Korean bachelor farmers have to look farther afield for wives
  - Philippines
  - Vietnam
- "Multicultural South Korea"?
  - Abelmann and Kim suggest not, due to assimilationist attitudes
- With new economic development in the northeast, China is a more alluring prospect than in the past
  - Now there are South Korean migrants in the big cities of China



# Yŏnhap News 2015 (five articles on Chosŏnjok)

- 700,000 Chosŏnjok in Korea
- "The form and quality of life of Chosŏnjok compatriots has changed, but the consciousness toward our society among Chosŏnjok who have flocked to Korea is still like 20 years ago "dreaming the Korean dream." If the Chosŏnjok of the past entered to struggle to get their share, now there is a trend for them to return to China with first-rate Korean goods that Chinese are familiar with or to settle down in Korea from the get-go."
- Changes since 1992 (diplomatic relations with PRC)
  - Chinese economic growth
  - Increasing interaction between China and Korea
  - Big increase in Chinese tourism to Korea
  - Korea-China FTA (2014)
  - Many have taken root in Korea (ethnic enclaves) and the ethnic Korean population in Yanbian, Jilin, Heilungjiang and Liaoning has hollowed out with ethnic Korean schools closing
- Lately the trend is for Chosŏnjok to remain in Korea rather than return to China because the Korean government has opened a wider range of jobs to them than to non co-ethnic labor migrants
- Increase of study in Korea means bilingual students have opportunities as tour guides, workers at duty-free stores
  - Consequence of increase of Chinese tourism in Korea

# Chosŏnjok town at Daerim Station, Seoul (Kurodong)





## Labor Tensions

- Construction unions upset that overseas Koreans taking too many jobs from regular Koreans
  - Complain that quotas (on foreigners) are not enforced and illegal stayers are taking all the jobs (domestics against co-ethnics 内国人 vrs. 朝鲜族)
  - Sometimes violent confrontations
- Service industries hire Chosŏnjok to serve big-spending Chinese tourists
  - Department stores and restaurants
  - Coordinators for Chinese seeking medical treatment in Korea
  - However, many domestic Koreans have studied Chinese and compete for these positions, but Chinese interpretation pays much less than English, French or German

# Hollowing out of Korean community in China and schooling

- "So many compatriots being in Korea exacerbates the dissolution of current compatriot society [in China]. Ethnic Korean schools become fewer and as many children live separated from their families the youngsters Korean ability becomes inadequate."
  - Some who live with their parents in Korea hide at home rather than go to school
  - Even those who speak OK might not read or write well
- 2015 some 26,000 school age Chosŏnjok in Korea but fewer than 10,000 in school (many, perhaps, children of illegal immigrants)
- Movement to create special schools for Chosŏnjok children that will recognize their complicated identity and not force onesided South Korean identity on them



### New Korean Wind in Shenyang



#### Kim Chŏnghwa

- Studied herbal medicine in China, but then went to Korea to study to become a beauty stylist 부티스타일리스트 and opened her own salon and school in Shenyang where she specializes in Korean beauty skincare
  - "These days more and more Chinese are visiting Korea, and exchange of information on the internet is fast so they react sensitively to Korea's latest fashions."

#### Yang Kyönguk

- Visited coffee shops all over Ansan (suburb south of Seoul) to start her own
  - "In the past the majority of compatriots who wanted to work in Korea only wanted money, but now the monetary difference between Korea and China is less and the exchange rate unfavorable so the traditional goal of amassing a nest egg has faded . . . Instead learning management know how for the latest fashionable business types and conditions of Korea that is 10 years ahead of China in fashion, music, popular culture, consumption for compatriots to open up businesses can be equally remunerative."
- As Korea has progressively loosened visa requirements for tongp'o families have begun to stay



# Chosŏnjok League President Yu Pongsun

- Appreciates loosened visa requirements, but thinks Koreans still need help understanding the cultural duality 문화적 이중성 文化的二重性 of Chosŏnjok
- "Over the twenty years that Chosŏnjok have been coming to Korea Chosŏnjok society has to a degree overcome the difficult economic conditions of the past... But if we've gotten some things, we've also lost some things. Many became divorced and were hurt as dispersed families. There are many that sold their land and houses to come to Korea, but there are many who lost their home town (kohyang).
- Illegal immigrants are about 20,000 who are afraid to go home for fear of not being able to enter Korea again
- "Chosŏnjok brethren from long grandfather's grandfather's time lived in China without forgetting their motherland or language and living preserving their ethnic identity. But it's true that while living in China they got Chinese citizenship as well. Just like a married out daughter must become a good daughter-in-law to live well the Chosŏnjok in China had to become superior citizens. Because we have this cultural duality some people even ask us "are you for our side, or are you for China's side."
- "Anywhere people live there are criminals and murderers, but those people are a very small number, aren't they? Chinese brethren aren't the only ones who commit crimes. Of course coming here Chinese brethren should live model lives, but it's sad that the atmosphere puts the blame on all Chosŏnjok when one commits a crime. On the other hand a while back an incident happened when a Korean murdered a Chinese tongp'o in Ahyŏn-dong and it was on the news for a moment and that was it. That isn't fair.