

National Heterogeneity and Transnational Linkage to Homeland – The Case of Korean Migrants in China

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This article takes a closer look at overseas Korean community characterized by significant national heterogeneity and examines the internal differentiation of Korean migrants living in China with particular regard to transnational economic involvement. It investigates the orientation and the extent to which two subgroups of coethnic migrants - Korean Chinese and South Koreans - are involved in economic activities to homeland and reveals distinctive patterns of transnationalness between them. The analysis is based on the quantitative data collected for the purpose in *Wangjing* Korea town in Beijing. Instead of resorting to discourse on migration and homeland development nexus, which seems insufficient to explain transnational interests involving economic activities to homeland, double orientation is suggested. The result shows the differential effects of resource based factors depending on subgroups and the orientations in their transnational economic activities. Korean Chinese are more likely to seek homeland linkage for instrumental purpose than South Korean counterparts rather than for homeland development. Main findings unpack complex interplay of negotiating ethnicity when seeking alternative economic pathway through involving in transnational activities. Discussion signifies the theoretical significance of issues of national heterogeneity in ethnic community and in the field of transnationalism.

Keywords: transnational activities; overseas Koreans; China; homeland development; coethnic subgroup; economic adaptation

Introduction

In recent years, questions on transnational involvement of immigrants become central to ethnic and migration studies. Migration literature probing into immigrants' transnational involvement has increased for academic and practical reasons over two decades. A large number of home countries are adopting a range of policies to accommodate overseas nations to their homeland beyond the national territorial boundary and promote various linkages between immigrant and homeland (Portes *et al.*, 1999). As scholars in anthropology observed, individual immigrants have long been forged and sustained multi-stranded social relations that link together the societies of origin and settlement such widely termed as transnational activities (Basch *et al.*, 1994). This approach of transnationalism become useful to widen the scope of the conventional migration, of which primary interest has mainly focused on immigrant's assimilation or incorporation in the host society (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007) and thus given short shrift to immigrant's connectedness with the homeland (Schiller *et al.*, 1992; Basch *et al.*, 1994; Foner, 1997; Levitt, 1998; Portes, 1998).

Many empirical researches provide a convincing testimony to establish the phenomenon of transnationality proved immigrants' sustained linkages with homeland (Guarnizo, 1997; Itzigsohn *et al.*, 1999; Portes *et al.*, 1999; Levitt, 2001). Much attention is given to the transnationalism of immigrant either using quantitative or qualitative method over the past decade, which has predominantly focused the experience of the United States and Europe, however, few attempts have been made to see Asian context. (Portes *et al.*, 2002; Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002, 2005; Guarnizo *et al.*,

2003; Snel *et al.*, 2006; Bloch, 2008; Rusinovic, 2008; Vancluysen *et al.*, 2009).

Quantitative analysis, in particular, commonly seeks to identify whether transnational activities exist in diverse arena, and to further investigate the extent to which migrants are involved in transnational activities. This study also offers a quantitative examination of Korean migrants living in China where the largest population of ethnic Koreans are found among other Korean communities over the world. In doing so, it unfolds the theoretical implications of the issues of national heterogeneity in the study of transnationalism.

An unprecedented bilateral trade has increased, which in turn propelled a massive migration of Koreans to the cities invested in China, since 1992 the diplomatic relation between China and South Korea resumed under China's open policy. Those large-scale movements of goods, capitals and people, has brought tremendous social transformation in Korean community of China. The most significant change in the lives of Korean migrants being closely knitted to the urban ethnic communities in major cities of China has been aided by the rapidly developed homeland economy. Since then, the ever-growing personal and economic ties with South Korea has been witnessed and those changed conditions contributed to forging frequent transnational involvement that made much easier to Korean migrants with geographical proximity. The more distant from and the less dense the network with the country of origin, the set of transnational activities would be less intense due to the higher cost for the transnational journey (Portes *et al.*, 1999). Other things being equal, as Portes *et al.* (1999) hypothesized, Korean migrants in China should engage in a greater intensity of

transnational activities than any other Korean migrants in countries with longer distance. In this regard, Korean community in China would be the ideal site for the investigation of frequent and regular transnational involvement.

On the other hand, existing researches exclusively shed light on immigrant's linkage with homeland and compare their degree of transnationalness by the context of different ethnic origin. Unlike those attempts, the key concern of this paper is that the perspective of transnationalism continues to use co-ethnic as an analytical unit that tends to obscure the internal diversity (Al-Ali *et al.*, 2001; Schiller *et al.*, 2006; Yoon, 2012). Akin to subethnicity, this attempt highlights the presence of subgroups within coethnic migrants, particularly in overseas ethnic community characterized by significant national heterogeneity, which is applicable to other regions as well other than China as appeared in other scholarly works (Yim, 2011; Min and Kim 2012).

Korean successive migrations to China driven by the combinations of various factors took place in different periods with an extensive interval. Those historically varied periods of migration resulted in bifurcating overseas Koreans into subgroups of old - and new comers. This national heterogeneity in ethnic community of China needs to be highlighted, which reflects the reality of current Korean community overseas, more vividly than in the academic discussion. Due to long historical discontinuity with homeland, though sharing ethnicity, old comers Korean Chinese are vitally different from new comers South Koreans; not merely are differences in terms of legal status and political-economic background widely discussed but marked difference in group identification has also been observed (Kim G.I., 2001). Given this, it is necessary to

question the rigid boundary of analytical unit of coethnic group, as Brubaker (2004) already argued that the key part of ethnic group should not belong to our analytical toolkit, but to our empirical data. His insight is valuable in the analysis of overseas Korean migrants because an assumed homogeneous group of coethnic migrants is counter-intuitive to the empirical data drawn from the real experience of the lives of Korean migrants and interactions between old- and new-comer of Korean migrants living in China.

Ethnic maintenance and factors are believed to be important for intensity and variations in transnational activities, this paper pays particular attention to the issue of group identification. Considering a sense of belonging to the country of origin would gradually reduce for the second and subsequent generations, multiple identities may exist for of Korean Chinese whose ethnic borders and political borders do not coincide (Zolberg, 1989; Gans, 1992; Portes and Zhou, 1993), the extent of ethnic identification is a focal point in this analysis of their transnational involvement. Moreover, the time Korean Chinese migrated was pre- 1945 before the period of nation-state building of modern South Korea and thus the notion of homeland may also blur across the borders – China, North Korea and South Korea - for those diasporic natured population. Then, orientation in transnational involvement may be postulated not by strong ethnic identity or emotional attachment to their country of origin, but rather directed by practical reasons, i.e., seeking alternative resource to cope with economic transition faced in host country.

With this line of academic background and inquiry, this paper employs subgroup perspective to investigate transnational involvement by Korean Chinese and South Koreans. Among other transnational involvement, the bulk of this paper discusses economic involvement, which seems the most conspicuous activity of Korean migrants. Instead of resorting to common discourse of migration and homeland development nexus and those combined triads, it aims to unfold an alternative interpretation of their orientation embedded in transnational involvement.

Korean migrants in China: South Koreans and Korean Chinese

Korean migration to China dated back to the turn of the 19th century and the ensuing years of colonization, due to Cold War tensions, discontinued over half a century. The second wave of Korean migration to China could not resume until the early 1990s South Korea-China rapprochement. With those extensive intervals of Korean successive migration to China, bifurcated subgroups of Korean Chinese and South Koreans in Korean community have received tremendous attentions from scholars and policy makers.

The former narrates the experiences of old immigrants, who are uprooted to the north-eastern China from the mid-nineteenth. They were from lower classes pushed by poverty, wars, and oppressions in the homeland but relatively well preserved their collective identities and ethnic cultures in host society. This first wave of migration took place under Chosun (*chaoxian* 朝鮮) dynasty and those migrated have been officially addressed '*Chaioxianzu* (朝鮮族)' as one of ethnic minority groups by the

Chinese government since 1953. Those earlier Korean migrants gradually integrated into China as a Chinese national are now widely recognized as Korean Chinese.

The latter, new comer South Koreans, come from middle-class backgrounds starting from the 1990s are pulled by economic opportunities during the China's reform era, and travel frequently between the homeland and hostland while maintaining transnational household. This second wave of migration to China occurred concurrently with the explosive investments of large corporations and small-medium companies from South Korea which opened (in)formal channels and new avenues of migration.

This changing geo-political economy provided new economic milieu beyond the border and paved the way for massive China city-bound migration, not solely from South Korea but also triggered the internal migration of Korean Chinese to urban cities. In a geographical sense, both of them all were headed for major metropolises and *Shandong* (山東) coastal regions in which urban cities are relatively close to South Korea (Han and Kwon, 1993), but what's noteworthy is that, in terms of remittance transfer, whether monetary or non-monetary, the migration directions of each subgroup were opposite. The migration of Korean Chinese characterized as labor migration, however internal, directed from peripheral rural to semi-peripheral urban areas, corresponds to the traditional migration. Contrary to other internal migrants who failed to settle in urban cities, this internal migration of Korean Chinese and urban settlement were possible, because the number of South Korean companies increased and expanded business opportunities in major cities, especially in the service-sector, catering to South

Korean companies and their employees (Kim, 2003). Most of the Korean Chinese population (97.1%) in the early 1990s had concentrated to live together in *Jilin, Liaoning* and *Heilongjiang* provinces of *Dongbei* (東北) region, but their old residential places later shifted to urban spaces where new forms of settlement were created for newly migrated Korean Chinese and South Koreans. The emergence and presence of Korean companies in major cities of host country, in the meanwhile, substantially contributed to a change of the existing geography of old Korean community in rural China.

In contrast, the direction South Koreans migrated to China was reversed to the traditional one, considered as migration from semi-periphery to periphery during the 1990s and the early 2000s did not correspond to the traditional 'South-North' migration. Migration directions becoming ever more intricate in parallel with neoliberal restructured capital and global production, and the reversed migration often occurs heading for former communist countries, which were being inserted into the global economy in the post-Cold War era. South Korean migration for China-bound was also led by a large number of homeland companies seeking for overseas markets and global production timely interlocked with China's open policy.

The large size of this reversed migration could be facilitated by material and institutional support of the relocation package and employment-sponsorship from homeland companies. Individual migrants could also ease their lives in a peripheral environment benefiting from currency differentials and low-priced goods. These institutional support is unique to this reversed wave of migration because those support had little given to the old comer migrants in earlier years, particularly who

took the traditional direction of migration.

The issue at stake in those opposite migration routes is their contribution to developing certain ways of employment structure for Korean migrants in the urban settlement. Korean Chinese were absorbed into the labor market as a low-skilled worker or at times personally hired by South Koreans such as a housekeeper, driver or translator. Their relation between Korean Chinese and South Korean was enmeshed with these employment structures in the ethnic economy. A large number of researchers has noted the evidence on this unequal Korean co-ethnic symbiosis (Kim, 1999; Kim, 2008; 朴盛镇, 2010; 刘莎, 2011; Jeong, 2013; Lee and Yoon, 2013).

Despite being called 'co-ethnic symbiosis', their relation, in fact, was stratified through the successive migration and the process of settlement in urban cities (Lee, 2014). With the structural imparity Korean Chinese experienced, negative perception against homeland and South Koreans was infiltrated to Korean Chinese (Jeon, 2008; Seol and skrenty, 2010), even though this co-ethnic symbiosis, which served as a very important pull factor for Korean Chinese to migrate to urban areas, enabled them to overcome institutional constraints enforced by *hukou* (户口) system. As embodied in their unequal relation, transnational activities are expected to reveal a discrepancy between Korean Chinese and South Korean migrants in their orientations and transnational interests of economic involvement, which needs to be sought.

Transnational Economic Activities and Homeland Economy

The prime impetus for transnational migration is based on migrant's economic consideration. At variance with the tradition of migration, typically directed towards a

set of migrants' adaptation process, transnational perspective addresses alternative adaptation forms of migrants who seek resource and greater potential paths relying on cross-border linkages to home country. Korean migrants in China demonstrate the ways they utilize economic linkage to homeland in pre- and post-migration process as strategies of economic adaptation and these experiences of transnational economic activities grew to have distinctive features.

One of the most distinctive features of this transnational linkage is a growing role of homeland economy in host society. As one of Asia's tiger, rapidly developed homeland economy could provide an alternative economic milieu for Korean migrants in host society through the invested homeland capital. As a radical increase is shown, the number of local subsidiaries in China reached to twenty thousand, not even including South Korean-owned small business, and their invested amount to China jumped to 4.31 billion in 2013 that was only ten thousand dollars in 1988 (Statistics on foreign direct investment, 2013). The influence of Korean corporations clustered in many urban cities of China has expanded in varieties of ways; creating jobs, linking ethnic small part productions by ethnic subcontracts and collaborations with big Korean corporations and reinvigorating consumption market for ethnic goods and services.

Since Korean capital played a key role in boosting ethnic economy generating various resources for ethnic economic adaptation, the role and the presence of those homeland economy has drawn attention as a crucial component of the new economic opportunity structure in host country. Previous researches reported that homeland

transnational corporations and Korean entrepreneurs have been indispensable for those Korean Chinese's survival and the following economic prosperity in Beijing (Park, 2007; Ye, 2009; Jeong, 2013; Lee, 2014).

Remittance transfer has also been spectacular and have influenced the livelihood of the family left behind in *Dongbei* region. The large numbers of them depend on money transferred from Korean Chinese migrants, either internal migration to urban areas or labor migration to South Korea (Park, 2008). In the available literature, instances of transnational economic activities have focused on remittance transfer 'from North to South' (Guarnizo, 2003) and places migrants as a significant agent of homeland development as owing to their crucial role of remittance-sender (Portes *et al*, 1999; Suro *et al.*, 2002; Faist, 2010).

However, even though witnessing remittance transfer between countries of origin and settlement, the great amount of remittance has been transferred into *Dongbei* region, rather than to homeland. Transferred remittance helped revitalize old ethnic community for those families of Korean Chinese migrants and returnees in *Dongbei* region. In this regard, the role of remittance sender of a diasporic population may not be crucial to homeland development but rather have little relevance. Therefore, it seems insufficient to explain with the common expectation of combined triads of migrants, transnational involvement, and homeland development.

Then, what are the characteristics of transnational economic activities and their orientation in which Korean Chinese are involved, compared with South Korean counterparts? In consideration of Korean Chinese's long dependency both on

homeland economy and Korean capital-fed economy in most metropolises of China, it would be proper to postulate from a resource based view for the analysis identifying the nature of transnational economic activities. Resource-based theories have done much to advance the debate over the required precondition of frequent and the regular transnational activities.

This paper tests the two existing alternative and opposite positions of resource based view; whether migrants those with transnational capacities, who engage in professional work, obtain citizenship in the host country and are in middle class with higher education, confer a greater likelihood in realizing their transnational aspirations, or migrants who do not possess such necessary precondition are more likely to involve frequent transnational activities as a means of economic adaptation. Along with this line of dispute, this paper investigates the evidence of these arguments using data collected for the purpose.

Research Design

This article draws on a survey and interview of Korean Chinese and South Koreans living in Beijing (北京). This capital city became a locality that dramatically restructured into a global city attracting massive migrants of Korean Chinese and South Koreans. Newly established ethnic community in Beijing, known as *Wangjing* (望京) Korea town located in north-eastern part of the city, has been preferred residential neighborhood to Korean migrants for a close ethnic network and co-ethnic symbiosis. This survey data is part of the larger project that examines socio-cultural, political and economic transnational activities of Korean migrants in Beijing with regard to group

identification. During the field work in the Korean ethnic community of *Wangjing*, questionnaires for each subgroup were designed based upon observant participation in various ethnic institutions.

Due to absence of ethnic Korean population information in Beijing¹, snowball sampling was employed for recruiting respondents, which is the non-probability technique to reach a target population. Efforts made in obtaining an even proportion of age and sex. Respondents in the survey were recruited to diversify respondents using extensive social network through referrals among peoples encountered in commercial and residential neighborhoods in *Wangjing*, and also through ethnic organizations such as churches, reunions, clubs, restaurants, business networks and open public spaces in the neighborhood. Research participants were limited to Korean migrants who reside or work in *Wangjing* and those aged 20 and above. Survey and personal interview carried out in 2012 - 2013 and collected 301 usable questionnaires. The questionnaire was written in Korean and Chinese version was also provided to some Korean Chinese, who could not read Hangul (Korean characters) although they were able to communicate in Korean.

The survey consisted of structured questions on transnational economic activities,

¹ According to the 6th population census data of Chinese government (2010), *Chaioxianzu* in Beijing reached to 37,380 and South Koreans in *Wangjing* reached to 17,000. These official statistics are underestimated, which number only count the peoples who registered their residency at the district administrative office, fall below its actual population size of floating population (*liudongrenkou*, 流动人口) and foreign residents. A more realistic population size of Korean migrants in Beijing, estimated from various sources such as ethnic associations and surveys from ethnic newspapers, amounted up to 293,000 - Korean Chinese are 186,900 and South Koreans are 106,929 (Statistics on Overseas Korean, 2013).

group identification; ethnic/national identity, in-group favoritism and out-group relation. As transnational economic involvement that can take various forms and literature on transnationalism have analyzed transnational economic involvement with empirically found typology (Al-Ali *et al.*, 2001; Portes *et al.*, 2002; Snel *et al.*, 2006; Vancluyse *et al.*, 2009), survey questions focus on the economic activities drawing on the previous works (Portes *et al.* 2002; Snel *et al.* 2006) such as monetary transfer, contribution to charities, invest in home companies, conduct trades with home country, business trip and send goods to home country. The structured survey questions analyzed in this paper are presented in Table 1.

Insert Table 1

Transnational Economic Activities and Subgroup Difference of Coethnic Migrants

Transnational activity shows how migrants experience transnationalism in their daily life as actual practices that embody imagined and abstract ideology of transnationalism. This section provides a descriptive information on overall patterns in order to map transnational activities of Korean migrants in China. This analysis does not intend to focus on the extent itself or to delineate its newness with a range of typology as earlier works did, but it does intend to look into the extent in involving transnational economic activities to explore the issue of internal difference of subgroups.

The results displayed in Table 2 presents frequency and typological distributions of transnational economic activities by subgroup. The distinction between 'regular' and 'occasional' transnational activities questions why one subgroup of migrants is involved more in certain activities and less in other activities, compared to the other subgroup, rather than merely describes the patterns of different involvement by subgroup. It also questions whether key components of transnational economic activities are distinguishable one group from the other or commonly shared.

The result of each subgroups' involvement shows a large degree of variation and the extent to how they involve differently in regular economic activities. As shown in Table 3, although South Koreans are showing higher frequency in overall economic activities, in some economic activities, such as trade, sending goods, business trip to home country, Korean Chinese shows stronger regularities. Since involving in those cross-border activities is to seek economic resources through homeland economy, these activities are related to economic adaptation that mobilize resources from homeland linkage (Portes *et al.*, 2002). On the other hand, in some activities such as remittance, charity, and invest, South Koreans showed much stronger frequencies and regularities than those of Korean Chinese. Those latter activities are widely cited as activities of homeland development in the literature of transnationalism (Ostergaard-Nielsen, 2001; Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Sauced, 2002). The former activities of economic adaptation are greater than the latter for Korean Chinese respondents, similarly to their utilization of homeland resource for their economic survival during the urban settlement.

Insert Table 2

To identify whether there are statistical subgroup differences in each transnational economic activity, a series of analysis of variance was performed. As presented in Table 3, such activities as remittance, charity and investment yield a statistically significant distinction, while the rest of other activities –trade, business trip and sending goods are statistically non-significant, suggesting that subgroup difference appeared in the economic activities of homeland development, not in the activities of the economic adaptation. Among other activities, Korean Chinese are most unlikely to involve in the activities of contribution to charity to homeland, contrary to South Koreans who show a greater likelihood of those activities. Then why do Korean Chinese show such a weaker intensity in some activities associated with homeland development than their South Koreans counterparts do?

Insert Table 3

Transnational economic Involvement and Group Identification

As transnationalism connotes ideological orientation as in other-ism, indicating migrant's orientation toward homeland, those statistical differences between Korean Chinese and South Koreans brings the issues of ethnic identification. Transnational activities are said to be closely linked with ethnic ties, a sense of belonging to homeland, sharing ethnic value, and feeling closeness to homeland (Snel *et al*, 2006;

Passche and Fangen 2012). As in social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978), the notion of group identification describes how people tend to categorize themselves into an ingroup while demarcating boundaries from other groups as a part of building their identity. In-group consciousness would be greater against the existence of a relevant outgroup. A relevant outgroup is usually derived from the majority group or groups of other ethnic origins in host society, but it is also possibly derived from co-ethnic group to Korean migrants, i.e., native- versus foreign-born Korean migrants living in ethnic community, who they daily encounter.

Group identification refers to how people identify with a particular group and define themselves in relation to out-groups. In this analysis, the concept of group identification was operationalized based on both aspects of distinction and relatedness; how Korean Chinese distinguish themselves from outgroups and to what extent Korean Chinese feel related with outgroups. To see how economic activities related to in-group favoritism of Korean Chinese and their out-group relation with South Korean, correlation analysis was conducted. Variables used in this correlation analysis are variables of group identification with variables of economic adaptation and of homeland development. Variables of out-group relation are perception towards South Koreans, sharing value, feeling closeness and social relation with South Koreans. The variables for in-group favoritism are the sense of belonging to China, sharing value, feeling closeness and social relation with Korean Chinese.

The result of correlation demonstrates that there is a strong and positive empirical relationship between the degree of transnational activities and group identification.

This suggests that Korean Chinese with positive perception toward homeland is more likely to involve in transnational economic activities, particularly associated with activities of homeland development. Among other variables, ethnic affinity, feeling closeness to South Koreans shows the strongest correlation with homeland development activities. The rest of correlations with in-group variables, though not reaching statistical significance, some are negative indicating a tendency to involve more in economic activities, for the less identified as Chinese national and the less favored in-group value among Korean Chinese.

While in-group favoritism may strengthen a highly exclusive in-groupness, it may hamper initiating or sustaining transnational economic involvement. Table 4 makes clear that Korean Chinese are likely to involve more typically in activities of homeland development when there is a positive sense of relatedness with South Korean, native-born or coethnic migrants. This finding reveals that not only geographical proximity is necessary requirement to intense transnational involvement, such homeland factors as socio-psychological proximity, may also confirm its significant influence on the degree of transnational activities.

Insert Table 4

The host society factors are also considered to be significant in transnational activities, and in the assimilation process into host society. Assimilation becomes remarkably more effective in both conditions of negative or absent influence of the

country of origin and an affinity or loyalty to the host society (Gans, 1992; Alba and Nee, 2003). The assimilation process of Korean Chinese became heavily intermeshed in those external environments. When Korean Chinese assimilated into Chinese society in Cold War era, the influence of home country over Korean Chinese had been absent. As being a diasporic nation, Korean Chinese have been a favored ethnic minority in China and received a preferential treatment from the Chinese government (Huang, 2013). However, in post-reform era, they were also excluded from the economic development by dual-track urbanization, like other peasants in rural areas (Shen, 2006).

In need of economic adaptation, within those structural barriers given in host society, homeland economy has served as an alternative resource. Although Korean Chinese utilize their ethnicity strategy for utility maximization, Korean Chinese exhibit exclusively strong sense of belonging to host country. As displayed in Table 5, 92.5% of Korean Chinese strongly agreed their belonging to China but only 10.3% of them agreed their belonging to the country of origin. It contrasts with the result of South Koreans. The national and ethnic identity coincide to a similar extent to which they feel belonging to the both countries of origin and host country. The extent of being ethnic Korean that is much lower than being Chinese national for Korean Chinese may imply a detached belonging to the country of origin, despite sharing ethnic similarity.

As mentioned earlier, it is noteworthy that diasporic ethnicity and ethnic nationalism are rooted in and indebted to political and cultural legacies before modern nation-state of South Korea. Most interviewees unanimously agreed on common ancestor, shared cultural norms, custom, language but their memories traced back to

the past ancestral root, which is not identical with a present territorial nation-state of homeland. South Korea is an ancestrally related country to the second and subsequent generation, decoupled ethnic borders from political and territorial borders, and those evocations of such memory, image, and emotion towards homeland may not be so appealing to them.

Moreover, some interviewees of Korean Chinese even explicitly blamed for government policies of South Korea, and the labor market, which have treated them as a low-waged foreign worker, rather than treated them as a coethnic nation. Ethnic and socioeconomic marginalization of Korean Chinese in South Korea, which frequently reported in ethnic return migration (Tsuda, 2003), caused profound changes in their ethnic affinity, emotion, belief, ethnic identity as Korean Chinese. Due to this experienced discriminatory nationhood in the country of origin, Korean Chinese consistently showed a distrust and negative judgement against homeland government, society and South Koreans. However, most interviewees tended to answer in an ethically right way for questions regarding group relation with co-ethnic counterparts, despite being tacit knowledge of struggles and conflicts between them.

Insert Table 5

Dominant national belonging over ethnic belonging persistently appeared in the course of the personal interview. For a clear example, many of Korean Chinese

respondents raised an objection to the usage of *zaizhongtongbao* (在中同胞) that is a term of hyphenated Korean. The term, Korean-Chinese, is an official way of designating overseas Korean of China and commonly used in daily life in South Korea. Nonetheless, Korean Chinese perceive that the hyphenated label reflects a homeland-centered attempt of nationalist towards overseas diaspora in the form of trans-nationalism. They expressed that non-hyphenated national label, '*Chaioxianzu*' is relevant to them indicating their status of China as one of the ethnic minority groups. This self-designation reveals how perceptions differ and are diverse between homeland and overseas diaspora than could be otherwise.

To evaluate relative perceptions towards coethnic group, Han Chinese group were included in the questionnaire as well, as another reference out-group, who are co-national group to Korean Chinese and as well as a majority group while they are the majority group to South Koreans. Table 6 shows the result of relatedness toward in-group and two outgroups (coethnic and conational or major group) by subgroup in two aspects of identification – emotional aspect (feeling closeness) and normative aspect (sharing value). The sense of relatedness toward in-group are more salient than towards two other reference outgroups, showing more intense ingroupness for Korean Chinese and less for South Koreans. What's interesting here is that the sense of relatedness toward coethnic group is much lower than toward co-national group or toward the majority group. Korean Chinese are less likely to identify with South Korean emotionally and normatively than with Han Chinese. South Koreans also shows a low likelihood in the sense of relatedness with Korean Chinese. The result

demonstrates that there seems more socio-psychological distance exists between co-ethnic subgroups than between co-national subgroups or between migrant group-majority group.

Insert Table 6

Determinant on transnational economic activities: Resource based effects

Research questions move to elaborate transnational economic activities associated with resource based effects at an individual level. How do personal traits of socioeconomic status correspond with the transnational economic activities by subgroup of Korean migrants? With particular attention to Korean Chinese, what determinants explain subgroup difference in their transnational economic involvement? A research tradition of resource-based theory well documented that demographic characteristics as indicators of socioeconomic resource have the strong effect on transnational activities in economic and also in other socio-cultural and political field.

However, the socioeconomic resource has been controversial in its application on transnational activities. There exist two alternative but opposite positions concerning resource based effect. These two positions are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Both concerns about how, in what conditions, resource contributes to an increase or a decrease of transnational activities. The first highlights the condition of resource sufficiency, migrants with a higher resource of enough time, work experience, education, money, and stability, has a greater likelihood of involving transnational

activities because they are able to afford transnational journey (Portes, 2002). In contrast, the second highlights the condition of resource deficiency. The less incorporated into host society or experienced downward mobility tends to be more motivated to take part in transnational activities utilizing ethnicity as a means of seeking an alternative resource.

Based on such debates over the resource based effect, subgroup difference and variations are to be taken into account. These different contexts and experiences of migration to China come to hypothesize different determinants on transnational economic activities for each subgroup. I hypothesize that the determinants of transnational involvement may vary depending on different orientation in transnational interest of economic involvement. Noting that transnational involvements have assisted the process of economic survival and adaptation of Korean Chinese, thus, transnational economic activities of Korean Chinese tend to take the latter form. The lesser the amount of economic resources will lead Korean Chinese to involve in transnational economic activities. However, their involvement in transnational activities seem different from reactive transnationalism since transnational activities do not emerge as a result of negative experience from the interactions with the majority group in host society. In contrast, the hypothesis on South Koreans whose migration is characterized as reversed migration, they tend to take the former stance, those with transnational capabilities will involve more in transnational economic activities.

On the other hand, the effect of resource may also vary depending on the orientations— economic adaptation and homeland development. In activities of homeland development, individuals with transnational capabilities may also contribute to engaging activities of homeland development such as philanthropic projects and to expanding business investment in the country of origin. Thus, the greater the amount of economic resource, South Koreans will involve more in the activities of homeland development whereas Korean Chinese will involve less in activities of homeland development.

Besides, homeland ties and factors are also proposed to examine their involvement in transnational activities for both of subgroups, perhaps for South Korean migrants, who are predominantly first generation and are in migrant status, the effect of these homeland variable will be of great significance than Korean Chinese counterparts. Their transnational involvement may take, what Itzigsohn and Saucedo (2002) termed, linear transnationalism, simply a continuation of the ties that connect the family members in the country of origin. The stronger the ongoing ties with homeland, the more Korean migrants will involve in the transnational economic activities.

Separate multiple regressions were performed to see the effects of hypothesized determinants by subgroup and its orientation. Two orientations of transnational economic activities used as dependent variables. Predictor variables used in the analysis fall under three categories (1) individual demographic traits, including age, sex, and marital status (2) resource indicators, including job, education, length of stay, and class consciousness (3) variables associated with homeland ties and factors,

including whether or not there is family member, job, house, and education in South Korea.

Multiple regressions conducted in two steps for South Koreans. Model I used each orientation of transnational activities as dependent variables and assesses resource effects of a series of socioeconomic variables. Model II inserted homeland variables to see whether there is homeland based effect on transnational activities.

The results summarized in Table 7 confirmed each effect on transnational economic activities. The effect of job variable is significant for both subgroups, but in different orientations, indicating that better resource in relation to job stability increases the probability of activities of homeland development for South Koreans whereas unstable status in labor market lead Korean Chinese to seek activities for economic adaptation. This result presents the resource based effects on transnational involvement, albeit supporting both positions of resource sufficiency and resource deficiency, confirming that the effect may vary depending on the economic orientation of transnational activities.

The effect of socioeconomic resource can be referred as transnational capacities (Ali-Ali *et al.*, 2001). The former with transnational capabilities increases the probability of double engagement for both host society and home country while the latter essentially lacks those capabilities, particularly in those activities of homeland development. It reveals the sharp subgroup contrast among co-ethnics who live in the same host country embedded in unequal economic contexts. On the other hand, the effect of homeland based variables, when introduced into the regression, all of the homeland

indicators has no significant effect on both orientations for Korean Chinese., Contrary to expectation for South Koreans, only education experience in homeland positively affects transnational economic activities.

Insert Table 7

Conclusion

I have investigated the heterogeneous transnational involvement of economic activities by subgroup of Korean migrants living in China. Given that transnational linkages have tremendously affected economic lives of Korean migrants and assisted their economic adaptation, delving into transnational economic activities comes to opportune and important research questions among other activities. Key questions in this analysis are how the difference between subgroups of Korean migrants is embodied in their transnational involvement and identify whether the degree of involvement, orientation and determinants varies by subgroup. The overall conclusion indicates that there exists salient coethnic divergence of participation in transnational involvement, the issue of group identification and resource predictors shows the nature of transnationalism of Korean migrants in China and suggest possible avenues of future research.

Main findings uncover the significance of co-ethnic differentiation that has not been sought by prior studies, which predominantly have focused on ethnic-origin diversity. First, double orientations are suggested to explain transnational interests of Korean

migrants, instead of resorting to exclusive and typical discourse on migrant and homeland development nexus in South- North migration. Dominant orientation of economic adaptation was shown apparently over orientation of homeland development for those non-Korean national, of whose tendency in transnational activities are much more instrumentally directed and less directed towards homeland development, unlike South Korean migrants who show an even involvement. Such diverged double orientations explain why subgroup migrants forge different transnational linkage. Personal interviews with Korean Chinese supplement the evidence of their dominating orientation of economic adaptation in seeking transnational linkage with homeland. Respondents sometimes overtly clarified their goal in pursuing economic pathway to homeland, which is to build an affluent ethnic community in China for Korean Chinese, separate community apart from South Korean and the country of origin.

In a similar vein, group identification is considered as a significant factor in transnational activities. Outgroup relatedness, rather than in-group favoritism is likely to increase transnational engagement. In-group favoritism seems to be intense, not against majority and co-national Han Chinese but against co-ethnic South Korean perhaps as a reactive ethnicity. Although discussions on reactive ethnicity have developed by lines of hostile discrimination predominantly by native whites or sometimes other ethnic groups in the host society (Portes, 1999), however, this case study suggests that reactive ethnicity may develop against co-ethnic group of native-born South Koreans as a mechanism of self-defense and collective reaffirmation in

response to discriminatory nationhood faced in homeland. This finding of group identification suggests the potency of transnational involvement of Korean Chinese could precipitously be more reduced if subgroup conflict continues to be irreconcilable.

Third, the result of regression reaffirms diverged orientations and resource based effect on transnational activities. There shows a tendency for the more in need of economic resource among Korean Chinese to involve in transnational activities for economic adaptation. Those transnational involvements can hardly be characterized as reactive transnationalism because seeking homeland linkage is not a reaction to a negative experience of discriminatory or forced incorporation. It is rather characterized as an alternative avenue for economic survival and further social upward mobility. In this regard, transnational economic activities can be relevant to view as resource dependent transnationalism. On the contrary, in transnational activities for homeland development, those with transnational capabilities show a greater likelihood to engage for South Korean only, while Korean Chinese do not show any significance in all economic variables, supporting the hypothesis on Korean Chinese's less involvement in homeland development. This finding has a possible limitation of generalization but the data and subgroup analysis used in this study may be largely applicable to other investigations when a strong ingroup homogeneity is predictable as in Korean migrants living in China. The within-group homogeneity and between-groups difference seems to help heighten its reliability expecting repetitive results with random sampling. Main findings tell us complex interplay of negotiating ethnicity

when seeking alternative economic adaptation in involving transnational economic activities.

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Table 1. Variables used for the analysis

classification	Variables
Sociodemographic Variables	Gender, Age, Marital status, Income, Job, Education, Length of stay, House
Homeland Variables	Family members, Job, Education, House in homeland
Transnational Activity	Remittance, Charity, Invest, Trade, Business trip, send goods.

Group Identification	Ethnic/ national identity, Ingroup favoritism, Outgroup relatedness.
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Table 2. Intensity level of transnational economic activities by co-ethnic subgroup (%)

Transnational Economic Activity	South Korean			Korean Chinese		
	Regularly involved	Occasionally involved	A+B	Regularly involved	Occasionally involved	A+B
	(A)	(B)		(A)	(B)	
Remittance	19.0	19.0	38.0	8.4	21.4	29.8
charity	10.0	28.0	38.0	4.8	5.4	10.7
Sending goods	9.0	28.0	37.0	9.6	24.9	34.5
Investment	10.0	12.0	22.0	2.4	8.3	10.7
Business trip	12.0	27.0	39.0	14.3	21.4	35.7
Trade	15.0	11.0	26.0	15.5	13.9	29.4

Table 3. Subgroup difference in transnational economic activities

Economic Activity	t
Trade	.380
Business trip	.031

Sending goods	.473
Remittance	1.690*
Charity	3.610***
Investment	2.110*

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 4. Correlation between Transnational activities and Group identification

	Economic adaptation	Homeland development
Transnational activities		
Activities of economic adaptation	1	
Activities of homeland development	.053	1
Group identification		
Perception towards South Korean	.128	.273*
Sharing value with South Korean	.111	.289*
Feeling closeness to South Korean	.288*	.523**
Social relation with South Korean	.113	.431**
National Identity	-.135	.029
Sharing value with Korean Chinese	-.107	.097
Closeness to Korean Chinese	.028	.191
Social relation-Korean Chinese	.069	.382*

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 5. Subgroup difference on sense of belonging (%)

	South Korean	Korean Chinese	t
Belonging to host country	80.0	92.5	1.292
belonging to country of origin	82.0	10.3	15.816***

*** $p < .001$

Table 6. Group identification: ingroup, co-ethnic group, and co-national group(%)

	South Korean		Korean Chinese	
	closeness	value	closeness	value
Ingroup (with South Korean)	59.0	71.0	Ingroup (with Korean Chinese)	75.3 73.8
Co-ethnic in China (with Korean Chinese)	12.0	10.0	Co-ethnic in China (with South Korean)	21.3 13.0
Majority group (with Han Chinese)	25.0	27.0	Co-national group (with Han Chinese)	50.6 48.3

Table 7. Determinants on transnational economic activities

	South Korean		Korean Chinese	
	Economic Adaptation	Homeland Development	Economic Adaptation	Homeland Development

	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II
Demographic indicator								
Sex_Female	.319***	.281***	.131	.105	-.165	-.303	-.087	-.321
Marital Status_Single	.026	-.012	-.025	.063	.097	.173	.168	.198
Age(years)	-.071	-.063	.020	.068	.143	.253	-.131	-.222
Resource indicator								
Job_Self-employed								
Chinese company	-.038	-.027	.258**	.229*	.187	.141	-.012	-.025
Foreign company	-.102	-.081	.292**	.280**	-.056	-.075	.089	.079
Unemployed	-.105	-.103	-.107	-.008	.471*	.468**	.121	.132
Education(years)	.030	.020	.014	.125	.288	.337*	.276*	.290*
Length of Stay(years)	.014	.116	.161	-.096	.210	.232	-.012	-.050
Class consciousness_Upper								
Upper-middle	.068	.085	-.047	-.043	.231	.188	.655*	.680*
Middle	.180	-.052	.144	-.141	.113	.021	.198	.148
Lower	-.227*	-.210	-.138	-.145	.262	.245	-.106	-.189
Homeland indicator								
Family in Korea		.017		.038		-.097		.162
House in Korea		-.012		.102		-.318		.321
Job in Korea		.093		.073		.343		-.020
Education in Korea		.169*		.283*		-.089		-.189
F	9.381**	9.789***	7.062***	8.933***	9.287*	9.888**	7.230*	10.372
							*	*
Adj R ²	.170	.192	.156	.169	.132	.216	.173	.184

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$