

# ***Chinese Koreans (Chosunjok) in Buenos Aires: their ethnic identity and ties with the Korean community and Argentinean society***

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## **INDEX**

### **Introduction**

Chosunjok, a short story	p.4
The arrival to Argentina	p.8
Features of the Chosunjok immigration	p.12
Life in Argentina	p.13

### **Interethnic ties: Chosunjok, Korean, Chinese and Argentinean**

<i>Links between Chosunjok and Argentinean Korean community</i>	<i>p.14</i>
<i>a. Regarding the work place</i>	<i>p.15</i>
<i>b. Regarding social relations (not labor)</i>	<i>p.16</i>
<i>c. Regarding ethnical churches</i>	<i>p.17</i>
<i>The construction of distance between Chosunjok and Korean people</i>	<i>p.18</i>
<i>Ties between Chosunjok and Chinese community</i>	<i>p.20</i>
<i>Ties between Chosunjok people and the Argentinean society</i>	<i>p.21</i>
<i>Regarding intra and inter group communication</i>	<i>p.22</i>
<i>The construction of identity</i>	<i>p.23</i>
<i>Chosunjok vision</i>	<i>p.23</i>
<i>Korean perception on Chosunjok identity</i>	<i>p.24</i>
<i>The perception of the Chinese community on the Chosunjok identity</i>	<i>p.27</i>
<i>The perception of the Argentinean community on the Chosunjok identity</i>	<i>p.27</i>
Final considerations	p.27
References	p.29
Annexe	

## Introduction

In the middle '90's, **Chinese citizens of Korean origin** known as **chosunjok**<sup>1</sup>, started to arrive in Argentina through the connection with South-Korean residents already established in this country<sup>2</sup>. In particular, they began working in the textile industry – which is currently much extended among this community, as well as in certain areas connected to the former.

We would like to point out that we face a migrant with a particular complexity with respect to the double cultural and identitarian feature. Their most important ties have led them to become a part of the transnational Korean community, whereas their national reference is China, their country of origin<sup>3</sup>.

This double feature has to be dealt with and solved in the relationship -in this scenario- held with the Argentinean people, the Korean community and the Chinese one. None of them has a frequent interaction among them and both have a strong structure. There will not be a total identification with either of them and, in addition, they will only partially recognize them as a part of the particular group of belonging.

According to information provided by the Embassy of the People's Republic of China, there would be 2,000 individuals established in the Federal District and Great Buenos Aires "living relatively near with the Korean people along Carabobo Street in the "Korean

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1 In China, the Korean ethnic minority is identified as Chaoxiang while in their ID, there is a letterhead of "Chosonjok" (Changzoo Song, 2005:16). In South Korea, they are identified as Chosunjok, which is also used both in the European and American academic discourse, although in the latter they might as well be referred as Chinese Korean (Cfr Changzoo Song, 2005) or Korean Chinese (Cfr Jaeum Kim, 2007). In Argentina, some of the Korean interviewees consider as discriminatory the term Chosunjok, taking into account the association of this mark with negative connotations, using it in a pejorative way. Within the Korean discourse, we can observe that, depending on what wants to be emphasized, the expression "Chinese-Korean" is used as much as "Korean-Chinese". Immigrants are self-defined as "Korean people from China" allocating the civic feature beneath the ethnic one.

2 The Korean migration toward Argentina is formally initiated around 1965 (diplomatically speaking in 1962). The major flux was produced between 1984 and 1988. During the '90, it decreased due to –at a great extent- the economic, social and political transformations and crises that the country was going through. In the last few years, even though many Korean people have migrated, others have come back and new migrants have arrived (Cfr Bialogorski, Mirta 2004; 2005, 2006; Mera, Carolina 1998; Mera, Carolina, Liliana Palacios de Cosiansi y Carmen González, 2005).

3 The emergence of transnational communities is a post-national phenomenon. Migrants do not establish a relationship with a "mythic" territorial state, but with a State-Nation with a specific territory from which they come from. In the case of China, this state has a federal structure and is political and culturally homogeneous and, consequently, the identity chosen –linguistic, religious, regional-, constitutes the basis for the transnational organization (Cfr.R.Kastoryano, 2000:58).

Neighborhood” and with its own integral association of fellows”<sup>4</sup>

The Korean community appears as the agent that articulates Chosunjok immigrants within Argentinean society having set, from one to the other, solidarity networks based on the linguistic and ethnic-cultural proximity. However, these bonds have changed and, even though they persist, they have been weakened along time due to the fact that what was thought as a short, effective and transitory migration, for the Chosunjok –mostly unwanted-, turned out to be a longer stay and even perceived as a definitive one.

The primary bond with the Korean people of Argentina based on the need for emotional and financial support became an interaction with some obstacles and difficulties. Moreover, some questioning about ethnic and national identity emerged from the community and it triggered the rising of self-determination discourses regarding their own identity.

It is important to mention that, at the time when we initiated our research, the information about the Chosunjok group was almost nonexistent. Official information registers them as a part of Chinese immigration, with no specification of their ethnic belonging. Argentinean people do not recognize them as a community differentiated from others from Asia and, within the Korean community –with the exception of communitarian leaders- we find a mix of misinformation. But, above all, there is certain reticence to speak about this group whose presence had an impact at the initial stage.

In this way, the present research aims at making a diagnosis of the current situation in order to describe the characteristics of the Chosunjok presence in Argentina and their relationship with both the receiving society and the Korean community. We also consider it important to make reference to the link between the Chinese Embassy and the Chinese community in Buenos Aires, since everything leads toward the processes of group identity and network construction.

For this purpose, we have done fieldwork that consisted of ethnographic interviews (recorded and type scripted) to different actors (Chosunjok, Korean, Argentinean and Chinese)<sup>5</sup>. A Korean interpreter<sup>6</sup> assisted us to communicate with the

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4 Li Liang, attaché for consular affairs of the Chinese Embassy in Argentina.

5 We would like to thank Lic. Celeste Castiglione for her collaboration in this fieldwork, in the search for bibliographic references and in the review of this paper.

6 We would like to thank Joo So Mee for her participation in this Project. Law student from the

people from the Chosunjok community who, to a great extent, were not able to speak Spanish<sup>7</sup>. We also made a questionnaire, which was translated into Korean aiming at obtaining more information referred to the sociological profile of this group<sup>8</sup>.

In this paper, we make a brief reference to the historical conformation of the Korean ethnic minority in China and its current situation, which includes the migration toward South Korea and other places -such as Europe. We then focus on Argentina, emphasizing the construction of identity images and on the links inside and outside the community -which result from the contrast between the discourses of the different actors involved<sup>9</sup>.

Finally, we reflect on the encounter between Chosunjok and the Korean-Argentinean community in terms of identity processes, arguing -as a hypothesis- that in the latter there has been a raise of discourses that reinforce their identification with their country of origin concerning values, ideology and “national pride” that deepens the distance with Korean immigrants who come from China.

### **Chosunjok, a short story**

The Chosunjok, Chinese citizens with a Korean origin, constitute one of the 55 ethnic minorities recognized by the Peoples Republic of China's Government. According to demographic data from the census of 2000, there are 1,923,800 people located in the North-east region of China, principally in the provinces of Jiling, Liaoning and Heilong Jiang as well as in the interior of Mongolia. In addition, a small group can be found in some of the central plains (Can, Wang, 2004)<sup>10</sup>. The main

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University of Buenos Aires, who was the interpreter within the ethnographic interviews and translated into Korean a questionnaire used in the Chosunjok community.

<sup>7</sup> Unless we were allowed to, the interviewed people's identity was not revealed.

<sup>8</sup> The questionnaires were handed in Korean churches where we knew that Chosunjok migrants attended services. Furthermore, we gave to the interviewees some to spare so they could extend them to their friends and acquaintances. Finally, to Mr. Ahn Sun ki: the President of the Association in Argentina of Korean Peoples in China.

<sup>9</sup> This method corresponds to the approach to study the migratory phenomenon (Cfr Bialogorski, 2002) which is based on Semiotics (Cfr Magariños de Morentin, 1996, 2008). It is also based on the French School of Discourse Analysis originated in the linguistic work of Michel Pecheux (1969, 1975) and on the reflections on epistemology of history and discourse critique of Michael Foucault (1969, 1971). These are continued by linguists, sociologists and political scientists linked to *Langages* magazine.

<sup>10</sup> Notice that 61% of the Korean peoples in China live in Jilin, the 23% in Heilongjiang and the 12% in Liaoning. There is a compacted population located in the North part on Jilin, next to the

concentration is situated in the Korean autonomous prefecture of Yanbian.

The ancestors of this minority migrated from the Korean Peninsula at the end of the XVIIIth century, although the number of people was not considerable until the XIXth century. At that moment, they were forced to abandon their lands due to devastating famines, such as the one occurred in 1869, making many Korean farmers move toward the other side of the frontier<sup>11</sup>.

In the XX century, taking into account the Japanese occupancy (1910-1945) and the Korean War (1950-1953), the forced mobilizations to China, Japan and to Russia were intensified. This originated the called "Korean Diaspora"<sup>12</sup>, which some authors tend to differentiate from the voluntary migratory movements that took place afterwards (from the decade of 1960 on). These were identified as "transnational", and allowed an important quantity of Korean citizens to establish in Western countries (Hwa-Seo, 2006:49).

The situation of this minority in China follows the political rules implemented by the Government that concerns national minorities. On the one hand, the members have Chinese citizenship and, on the other hand, they are encouraged to preserve their languages, culture and traditions<sup>13</sup>.

Regarding formal education, children and young Chosunjok attend to

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Norkorean frontier, in the autonomous prefecture of Yanbian, where the 840,000 "Chaioxianzu" established there represent the 38% of the population (See Rafael Poch, 2000, [http://www.socialismo-o-barbarie.org/asia\\_pacifico/061203\\_a\\_chinacoreafronteradesorpresas.htm](http://www.socialismo-o-barbarie.org/asia_pacifico/061203_a_chinacoreafronteradesorpresas.htm), and also <http://www.thinkquest.org/library/>

11 According to Chagzoo Song (2005:2), even though the migrations to Siberia and Manchuria were an important part of the global migration process of the XIX and the beginnings of the XXth, they were unattended by the historians of migrations. He quoted Adam Mc Keown "Global Migration, 1846-1940" *Journal of World History* 15/2 (june 2004):155-89. See also (<http://www.thinkquest.org/library/>).

12 The diaspora, according to Ha-Seo (2006), is the involuntary moving abroad under pressing circumstances, such as political, economic or environmental crises. These peoples maintain strong feelings of belonging toward their country of origin and are attached to their ethnic identity, culture or religion and have preserved their mother tongue. See White, Paul, Park Hwa-Seo and Frank N. Pieke. "Las diásporas de Asia Oriental en Europa Occidental" Ed. Joaquín Beltrán Antolín. Documentos CIDOB N° 13- Noviembre de 2006. [www.doc.asia.13.pdf](http://www.doc.asia.13.pdf) For the Korean Diaspora in Latin America, see Mera, Carolina (2005).

13 The Chinese regional ethnic autonomy is a political system through which, under the unified state direction, specific governmental organs are instituted within minority ethnic communitarian localities so they can practice their own autonomy (Cfr. Wang Can, 2004 y *Autonomía Regional Étnica* (2006). Officially, Chinese politics oppose to a forced assimilation and allow the different ethnics to maintain their own cultural characteristics (<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/shao-2-korean.htm>).

communitarian schools which have their own curricula and the contents are given in Korean language, including the official language as an additional subject (Can W., 2004; Hwa-Seo, op.cit.)<sup>14</sup>. Furthermore, since 1949, they have had the Ethnic University of Yanbian.

The separation between North and South Korea after the Japanese empire collapsed in 1945, left the Korean people from China connected only with North Korea, due the fact that there were no diplomatic relationships with the South until 1980. Since then, Chosunjok started to migrate constituting, during the 90's, the biggest "foreigner" group established in the country. They arrived looking for the "Korean dream", to accomplish better life standards, an economic progress and, in some cases, to return to their country.

Employed as nonqualified workers –the men mainly within the construction sector and the women in domestic labour as well as in "difficult, dangerous and dirty" jobs-, they soon experimented marginalization and discrimination owing to the cultural differences and to their economic situation just as other foreigner migrants (Cfr Park Hwa-Seo, op.cit.; Changzoo Song, 2005).

A bibliographic revision shows that there are many researchers who started to approach this phenomenon from the late 80's considering fundamental aspects of the bond between South Korean people and Chosunjok based on notions like identity, nationalism, citizenship, migratory politics among others<sup>15</sup>. This is connected to the fact that this presence shocked Korean society both in a material and in a symbolic level originating different discourses that began to construct and to give meaning to this phenomenon.

Thus, South Korean entrepreneurs -given the economic expansion in the global market and the need for new investments-, were interested in the possible role of Korean-Chinese in the diffusion of their business in China.

From a romantic point of view, others have seen in them the keepers of the tradition that South Korean people themselves have lost with the pace of modernization. There were even some that emphasized the possible role of this community in the

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14 Some of the Chosunjok migrants interviewed in Argentina have mentioned this fact.

15 For example, see the reference quoted in Changzoo Song (2005, 2006); Jaceun Kim (2007); Park Hwa-Seo (2006).

reunification of the two Koreas (Changzoo Song, *op.cit*:9).

Certainly, to migrate to South Korea, although considered the “ethnic homeland”, is not simple because to obtain a visa is a complicated arrangement. Currently, members of this ethnic minority migrate to other industrialized countries, such as United States of America, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, United Kingdom, Germany, France, etc. and to Latin America, in particular Mexico, Brazil and Argentina. This is possible thanks to transnational migration networks organized by South Korean people, not by their equivalents in China. According to Park Hwa-Seo, there are approximately 400,000 Chosunjok out of the autonomous districts of China. Most 140,000 Chosunjok are in South Korea and 100,000 are out of Korea and out of China<sup>16</sup>.

In Europe, many firms run by South Korean people (Korean food restaurants, painting companies, cleaning, etc.) have Chosunjok employees that arrive through transnational migration networks organized by South Korean people, Chosunjok and Korean people with the citizenship of residence permission in a great variety of European countries.

While the Chosunjok provide cheap work force within the Korean community, they feel secure by the way of hiring and job conditions at the same time that they are benefited by the information that quickly flows throughout the transnational network. Both parts of the relation complement satisfactorily.

Park Hwa-Seo (*op.cit*:43) points out that to hire individuals that know their consume habits, places of interest or foods is absolutely profitable for the Korean community. Thus, “Korean cultural islands” are formed and kept by the cooperation between Korean people and Chosunjok abroad.

In Europe, the most part of the South Korean and Chosunjok people are temporary residents and have an egalitarian status, despite their economic situation and the kind of visa they hold. The collaboration among them shows collective Korean ethnic identity beyond circumstantial aspects like nationality, occupation or the residence status. In contrast, in the United States, where a considerable part of the South

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16 The “Chosunjok associations abroad” are everywhere: New York, Los Angeles, Toronto, Mexico, Sydney, Auckland, France, Netherlands, Germany, etc. and they connect with Korean communities abroad and diplomatic missions (*Park Hwa-Seo, op.cit*:62).

Korean community are citizens or have a permanent residence, the Chosunjok depend on the former to get their visas, job opportunities and emotional support (Ibid: 43).

With respect to the complementary and symmetric relation that Hwa-Seo finds in Europe, this is not found -as we shall see- in Argentina given the history and the characteristics of the Korean migration which has a strong communitarian grounds developed in the country and certain values that operate within it.

### **The arrival to Argentina**

We have begun to trace the history of Chosunjok migrants in Argentina from the information obtained by interviewing representative community members like the President of the Korean Immigrants Association in China, Mr. Ahn Sun ki and many migrants as well. Furthermore, we have interviewed leaders of the Korean community and other of its members<sup>17</sup>. Moreover, as they are also Chinese citizens, we have contacted the Embassy of this country and members of the Chinese community in Argentina<sup>18</sup>.

It is important to mention that given this unexplored group in this context, we have found different kinds of difficulties, such as the lack of statistical data and qualitative studies<sup>19</sup>. The Department of Immigration informed us that there are no

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17 We have interviewed, among others, Lee Yung Soo, the President of the Korean Association in Argentina; Suh Sung-Chul Korean Republic Embassy Press Attaché; Chung Hoon Keh, journalist of the *Diario Central*; Kim Pan Suk, Priest of the Chung An Church ; Javier Jo, co-Priest of the Presbyterian Church Che-il; Kon Young Park, minister of the Christian Evangelical Church Paz-Hoz of Christ; Stella Kim (Theology student from the Korean Presbyterian Church Sung Mun Holy Door); Mi Hee Kim, representative of the KOWIN which depends on the women Ministry.

18 We have interviewed Zheng Ji Cong, vice-president of the Self-service and Supermarkets Chamber property of Chinese Residents R.A (CASRECH); Miguel A. Calvete, Secretary of the Selfservice and Supermarkets Chamber property of Chinese Residents R.A (CASRECH); and people from the Chinese community, owners of supermarkets and restaurants in Belgrano -a neighborhood in Buenos Aires city.

19 Argentinean specialists in Korean and Chinese studies from different national universities were consulted and they confirmed the lack of papers concerning the Chosunjok in Argentina. We would like

differentiated records regarding this particular migratory population<sup>20</sup>. There is no identification either within the discourses of other public organisms such as the Census and Statistics National Institute (INDEC), the National Institute against Discrimination, Xenophobia and Racism (INADI) and the Ombudsman of Buenos Aires city<sup>21</sup>.

We have also reviewed material from the national press, the Korean community press and even publications of the Chinese community.

Among Argentinean people, the play of “confusing” identities regarding Korean migration in general and Chosunjoks in particular are still in force. This can be seen within social discourses -especially in the media and in everyday life-, in which Asian, Oriental or just “Chinese” are mentioned indistinctively.

Another difficulty we had to deal with was the reticence of many of Chosunjok community members to give interviews or to contact us with other Chosunjok acquaintances, or even to answer the surveys (previous to the translation into Korean language) that we handed out to other people of the Korean community so they could reach them. This is an understandable attitude in migrants recently inserted in a cultural alien context, sometimes hostile, within which they had to overcome situations of rejection produced by both the Argentinean society for being oriental migrants and by the Korean community for being Chosunjok.

In addition, as they are already divided into subgroups of reference, formal and informal channels were interrupted so the possibility of access to new interviews was frequently halted.

Anyway, and in spite of all these obstacles, we have maintained long meetings

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to thank Dr. Jorge Malena (University of El Salvador), Dr. Jorge Di Masi (National University of La Plata), Dr. Laura Bogado (National University of La Plata), Dr. Carolina Mera (University of Buenos Aires), Prof. Maria Soledad Grillo and Mg. Carmen González (both from the National University of Córdoba). We thank as well Dr. Suh, Sung-Chul, the Korean Republic Embassy Press Attaché, for his guidance and contact with Mr. Ahn, President of the Korean in China Association of Argentina.

20 Information provided by a letter from Mr. Martin Arias Duval, National Director of Migrations (Ministry of Interior), and a report prepared by Lic. Enrique Ashieri on Chinese migration in Argentina dated on April 23rd 2008 (Department of Immigration).

21 Interview to Dr. Mario Ganora, Buenos Aires Ombudsman. We started the contact due to certain registered reports about clandestine textile work places that involved Korean community members and, in one particular case, a member of the Chosunjok community.

with members of the group that happily accepted the proposal and took us in their homes, work places or even met us in cafés. Currently, we have fifteen interviews and, thus, we have accomplished a sample that shows characteristic features of this migration and displays certain tendencies of this group. This sample has been enriched by the different points of view of the actors involved in this complex situation of cultural encounter.

The migration of Chinese citizens of Korean origin in Argentina, explains Mr. Li Liang (Attaché for consular affaires of the Chinese Embassy in Argentina), has been developing from the beginnings of the 90's coming principally from Yanbian region, Jilin province. There is a record of the two first migrants that arrived on September 13th 1992<sup>22</sup>. Recently, that day has been established as "Migration Day" for the Chosunjok community<sup>23</sup>.

It is worth mentioning the testimony of one of the pioneers about how he came to Argentina. He tells that the arrangement was made through a South Korean entrepreneur who owns a textile industry in San Luis Province -Argentina. In a convention in Germany, this man agreed with a Korean entrepreneur -owner of a similar factory in South Korea and with different headquarters one of which was in China-, to send him five technicians to care for certain machinery<sup>24</sup>. "There were five applicants but three desisted because they realized that Argentina was far away. I came with a three-year contract. I left my family there. I did not think about staying or leaving. But being here I realized that this was a great place to live in and, when the contract ended I decided to move from San Luis to Buenos Aires to look for a job on my own"<sup>25</sup>.

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22 These two migrants are Han Tae Ryong and Kim In Kwan.

23 In 2007, at the 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Chosunjok presence in Argentina, there were celebrations where, among others, the Ambassador of the People's Republic of China, its consul and its First Minister attended as well as the President of the Korean Argentinean Association. This event was documented by the *Diario Central* through an article written by the journalist Chung Hoon Keh. This celebration was hold on September 30th 2007 within a sports field placed in "Koreatown", in Buenos Aires. Anthems from China and Korea were sung and a football match was played.

24 "The economic liberalism has favoured "ethnic business". The expansion beyond local emplacements is the result of migrant's dispersion that comes from similar regional or national places along the continent or worldwide". (Riva Kastoryano, 2000:60).

25 Interview to the first Chosunjok migrant in Argentina.

But not every migrant had a similar experience. Many Chosunjok knew about Argentina through the contact with Korean entrepreneurs who were living in the country and travelled to China for business -importing supplies for the textile and clothing sector. Some arrived with job contracts, others with job and documentation promises neither of which have happened.

This occurred especially in 1995, when the mayor entrance of Chinese migrants of Korean origin was produced under the management of two members of the Korean community in Argentina who constituted a kind of migration company in China. They promoted Argentina as a place where jobs could be easily found with great salaries and with a strong relationship -regarding labor opportunities- with a community such as the Korean which was already established in the country, having the aggregated value of sharing a common language and a common heritage. According to testimonies, 500 people arrived and were not absorbed by the communitarian labor system.

The collecting of money was a regular practice (the equivalent to the price of two houses in China): those who were interested had to pay expenses in advance, or to settle their debt once established in Argentina.

The new migrants that arrived without any money and as a nonqualified cheap work force, worked as employees or as managers in the clothing industry -factories and workshops- or supermarkets. Furthermore, they worked as waitresses, cooks, dishwashers or at ethnic restaurants. Those who were not able to get a job in these sectors were hired for maintenance services or for the cleaning of houses, farm houses or Korean community churches.

In this sense, according to Korean testimonies, they were placed in a socioeconomic and cultural position beneath the level reached by most of the Korean community in Argentina.

During the 15 years of Chosunjok permanence in Argentina, however, there were those who accomplished autonomy and economic progress. Currently, some of the clothing workplaces, businesses and restaurants are run by chosunjok owners, who also offer other services to Argentinean society beyond communitarian limits, such as car wash and garages, employing their fellow countrymen, Argentinean and Bolivian people (especially within textile workshops).

## **Features of the Chosunjok immigration**

Contrary to the South Korean migration that included the moving of nuclear families, Chosunjok migrants who came to Argentina were single adult men and women around 30 or 40 years old, married couples without children and very few families. In all the cases, they arrived without any capital.

Regarding educational levels, our interviewees have shown diversity: elementary school, high school -most of them-, and exceptionally tertiary level and university graduates. Some of the activities mentioned as their occupations in the country of origin are connected to labor in rural areas, textile jobs, trade, teaching and as sailors on Korean or Chinese ships.

Most of them arrived to Argentina from their country of origin. There were those who had job contracts and work visas. On the other hand, some came illegally, as the case of the fishing ships sailors who, for violent situations or mistreatment on board have decided to stay on land. Others arrived from neighbouring countries like Brazil or Uruguay.

The principal reasons to migrate have been mainly economic: to obtain fast progress, to generate a capital in order to go back later to the country of origin, or to get a better life standard trying their luck in different contexts.

In fact, we were informed that during the deep economic crisis that Argentina went through in 2001, there were people who re-emigrated to China, Japan or Brazil.

The choice that Argentina represented was very advantageous due to, according to the interviewees, the exchange rate, the presence of a Korean community already inserted and the legal facilities to enter the country compared to other eligible destinations such as South Korea or the United States.

With respect to the country of origin we registered, on the one hand, the wish to return home. And, on the other hand, the wish to settle in Argentina and bring the family<sup>26</sup>, which is already happening and the main difficulty they have to deal with is the documentation process.

Except for isolated cases, few immigrants have traveled to China for visits since

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26 In effect, many interviewees especially asked our interpreter about the likelihood for their children of studying in Argentinean universities.

they do not have enough resources to do it or they have not regularized their legal situation. Communication among parents, children or friends is based on phone calls more than on virtual means. Mail was also mentioned as one of the traditional ways of sending money to the families, which was also covered by giving it to traveller friends. Currently, these operations are made through bank transferences.

### **Life in Argentina**

Nowadays, Chinese immigrants of Korean origin group form a community separated from both the Korean and the Chinese one. It has its own associations and institutions, such as “Kiopo Association” that is formally recognized by the Embassy of Peoples Republic of China and identified by the Argentinean Korean Association and the Korean Immigrant Association in China<sup>27</sup>.

This association was created five years ago aiming to give support to the immigrants –to get them jobs, a place to live, assist them in cases of illness or decease and to take care of legal issues connected to labor and immigration process. It has to be considered that for a while now, many of them have brought their families. The associated members -more than the half of these migrants- pay a small fee of membership.

Mr. Ahn Sun-Ki, the current president, says that he has recently decided to especially defend the rights and interests of the group members and to work in order to improve Chosunjok image and the bonds with the Korean community, as we shall see below.

Other associations stem from the main Chosunjok Association in Argentina, such as the Women Association -of 150 members<sup>28</sup>, - and the Elders Association - whose members share the same activity and, therefore, their chances to meet (for example, textile workers or businessmen). In addition, there is an association of Young people recently created<sup>29</sup>.

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27 From the Interview to Mr. Ahn Sun-Ki, President of the Korean Immigrant Association in China.

28 Its President is Mrs. Kim Yon Hwa (information provided by Chung Hoon Keh).

29 The Young People Association requested this year its incorporation to the Korean Immigrant

The Football Association deserves a separate consideration. The community has four teams. On weekends, there are games to which women and families also attend and non competitive tournaments are organized with teams from the Korean community.

It is important to point out that in China, this sport is highly popular among men and the Yanbian area is known as the “football land” (cfr Can, Wang, 2004).

Other social events that gather the community at an inter-group level are the family celebrations (births and 60<sup>th</sup> birthdays) and communitarian ones -Lunar New Year, Women Day, sport events and “Chinese Korean Immigrant in Argentina Day”. The latter, was only celebrated at the 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the immigration and is planned to be celebrated again in five years time. This may show that there is somehow a life project to stay in the country.

Korean interviewees emphasize the social and friendship bonds among the Chosunjok to be particularly endogamous. Moreover, they say they have their own communication means, a newspaper and a magazine. Nevertheless, we have no record of any of these.

In addition, members of the Chinese community in Argentina referred as well to the Chosunjok intra-communitarian social life, away from their own but closer to the Korean community. Actually, their place of residence is a neighborhood called “Koreatown” where Korean migration has initially concentrated.

### **Interethnic ties: Chosunjok, Korean, Chinese and Argentinean.**

#### *Ties between Chosunjok and Argentinean Korean community*

It happens to be impossible to talk about the insertion of the Chosunjok within the Argentinean scenario without taking into account the fundamental role played by the Korean community which has become its main articulator. We will see, based on the discourse of different actors, different issues that members of both communities have mentioned in terms of link construction and mutual images.

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Association in China located in Argentina, according to its current President. They use to gather for sport practices like football o fishing.

*a. Regarding the workplace*

*"I knew I was going to work for Korean people"*

It is important to bear in mind that most of Chosunjok immigrants arrive to this country through transnational migration networks implemented by South Korean entrepreneurs. "I knew I was going to work for Korean people", states Han Tae Ryoung, one of the pioneers who, as we have seen, was hired as a technician to join a Korean textile factory in the Argentinean province of San Luis.

Precisely, the main link between both groups has developed at the workplace. "More than 50% of the Chosunjok work for Korean people", states the President of the Korean Association of Argentina. In fact, many admit that they would rather hire Chosunjok individuals in textile workshops than workers of a different nationality - Bolivian or Argentinean. One of the reasons exposed is the possibility of communication in Korean language and the sharing of certain ethical communitarian norms. Moreover, they are given a higher position than the others, for example business supervisors.

However, contrary to what was discussed for the European context as regards the complementary and egalitarian relationship among Chosunjok and Korean people (cfr Park Hwa-Seo, op. cit.) in Argentina, as far as we have confirmed, that characteristic would not be present.

The structure of these ties, regardless of the initial and necessary dependency, is remarkably asymmetric and many times prevents both groups from valuing the relationship in terms of mutual benefits. Furthermore, among the workshop employees and Korean clothing makers, an attitude of not willing to hire Chosunjok people is admitted. This is justified by two main reasons: certain personality features ("not very sociable", "very conflictive"), and by the irregular situation within which some residents of this minority find themselves.

At the same time, Chosunjok people attribute themselves a search for economic and labor independence that does not go along with a communitarian project involving the Korean community. "When we first came to Argentina, we performed as employees of the Korean people. After that, those who managed to earn some money, started to

perform within their own activities and business<sup>30</sup>.

They recognized that to work three or four years for a Korean person in a certain sector (sewing workshop or restaurant) has given them the tools to manage independently in that sphere, including not only the technical knowledge but also the know-how of the activity itself and the Argentinean context for it.

Anyway, the ties exist and, as the President of the Korean immigrant Association in China explains, when the Chosunjok people need to turn to a professional for labor matter (lawyers, accountants) or for health matters (physicians, dentists, etc.), they frequently do it within the Korean community.

Moreover, they interact with secular institutions (Argentinean Korean Association of Entrepreneurs in Argentina -ACEAR-, Korean means of communications, etc.), and, as we shall see, religious ones (ethnic churches).

#### ***b. Regarding social relations (not labor)***

*“We are like water and oil”*

Korean and Chosunjok testimonies agreed on the fact that even though there are contacts between both groups, the interrelationship in certain scenarios is scarce and difficulties arise within interpersonal links. A Korean interviewee points out the situation as the following “We are like water and oil. We coexist but do not integrate”.

Concrete evidence is the distance observed not only in adult individuals but also among young people, even in a Church context.

With respect to marital unions, Korean interviewees indicate the lack of mixed marriages, and only admit the emergence of romantic relations in working places that particularly involve Chosunjok women and Korean men. As such relations are associated with adulterous relationships almost exclusively; they have a reproachable and conflictive character which has produced concern and rejection within the Korean community, generating a debased image of Chosunjok women<sup>31</sup>.

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<sup>30</sup> Interview to Ahn, Sun Ki

<sup>31</sup> It is interesting to notice how, within the present South Korean society; Korean ethnic women coming from China and Uzbekistan are valued. In the mass media culture, they appear as leading characters on films and soap operas representing values like purity, honesty and strength. They are seen as the holders of lost Korean tradition in the industrialized South Korea. On the other hand, many Korean men marry Chosunjok women. These unions constitute 70% of the international marriages that, in South

Nonetheless, at an institutional level, the attitude of communitarian leaders shows the will to get closer. Representatives of the Korean community have been especially invited to events organized by the Chosunjok community. The president of the Argentinean Korean Association has argued the importance of this presence due to the need of contributing toward a better understanding of these new immigrants that the Korean community lives with<sup>32</sup>.

Another approach occurs within the sport scenario, where football championships are organized including both Korean and Chosunjok teams.

*c. Regarding ethnical churches.*

*“We treat them with mercy, poor people and they take advantage of it...”*

It is important to highlight the role of Korean churches, Evangelical in particular and the vision that Korean and Chosunjok people have created around the bond that was originated within these places.

When the migrants arrived and contacted the Korean community, the main churches tried to absorb them, even when most of them did not practice that religious denomination. According to testimonies, this incorporation was massive at the beginning. The immigrants received support to get jobs, accommodation and food especially those who were defrauded by certain people. After a while, participation and attendance decreased, raising reproaches. A Korean minister comments that, “to help them (the Chosunjok) live here (in Argentina), we tried to give them a hand, but the majority, 99% took advantage of the whole church system to progress and then left”.

This attitude has been interpreted by the Korean community more as a survival strategy than a “selfish” or “interested” attitude of the group. The approach was not produced by a religious conviction (“the majority is atheist“, “they are Taoists”, “they are Buddhists”) nor for the need of affection, but as a way of pursuing material benefits.

However, although many Chosunjok abandoned large churches, others opted for approach to the smaller ones where, contrary to the former, the treatment was not discriminatory.

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Korea, are estimated to be 12% (Cfr Changzoo Song, 2006).

32 Interview to Dr. Lee, President of the Argentinean Korean Association.

Notice that for most of the Chosunjok immigrants, church did not represent a place of emotional support nor a place to develop social relations -contrary to what happened to Korean immigrants. It is true that many are not believers: an interviewee explains “(In China) there is little Evangelism, most of them are atheists, Buddhists, they believe in the Moon more than anything else, in the Sun and those kinds of things. But when they come here (Argentina), they feel the need to go to church. People who were lucky and were blessed by the Holly Spirit, like myself, still attend”<sup>33</sup>.

Besides, something else to bear in mind is that the bonds with the Korean community have been hostile, have been limited to the workplace and, as we shall see bellow, the construction of a distance between “them” and “us” has prevailed especially within the Korean discourse.

#### *The construction of distance between Chosunjok and Korean people*

*“It is as if they were our brothers, but you can feel the difference between us”*

In fact, the repercussion of the Chosunjok arrival on the Korean community was particularly negative. Suspicions, mistrust and uncertainty were arisen. The problem was that Korean people did not want their image with the Argentinean society to get altered.

Even nowadays, many admit that they are not warmly welcomed by the established community, because they mistrust their Koreanhood as well as the fact that they are not highly considered due to “their not wealthy condition”. They are rejected for being in the poorest level of the community and for the low educational level that Koreans attribute to them.

According to a Chosunjok interviewee “currently, (the Korean people) can not look down on those ones who have their own business. That is what happened before, because if you were a Korean Chinese person, you were in a lower class”.

Distance also appears associated to the ideology that refers to the economic and political regime of the place of origin: “they were raised under Socialism”, cultural “they are more liberal”, “they have more sexual freedom”, “they are ineffective regarding labor”. In this last comment, there is a reference to the friction that took place

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<sup>33</sup> Interview by the author to a Chosunjok immigrant

during the initial steps of the contact between Korean employers and Chosunjok employees. This friction resulted from the differential predisposition for work of the two groups. The Koreans attributed this difference to the work culture of the Chinese society where the Chosunjok came from.

The status of the country of origin within the worldwide consensus is another element linked to the mentioned negative attitude. However, Chosunjok interviewees state that as China is in a process of transformation, it is going to positively impact on the immigrant image.

Testimonies also make reference to certain behaviors and values that come up against Korean culture principles, such as single women immigration or a liberal attitude which is considered closer to the Chinese society than to the Korean one.

The formation of new couples and families (in spite of having their own in China) either within the same group or with the Bolivian community -more common for single men-, has been another reason for distancing<sup>34</sup>.

Others features that emerge from the Korean discourse are related to conflictive social behaviors awarded to the Chosunjok people like “heavy drinkers”, “antisocial”, “indomitable”, “troublemakers at work” and even to participate in criminal acts.

In addition, they are defined as “temporary immigrants”<sup>35</sup> and, thus, criticized. This attitude is interpreted as not committed to receptive societies to which they are incorporated (including South Korea). It is seen as based exclusively on the search for their interests and benefits although this sometimes implies to permanently move through different contexts.

Although we know that this is a specific characteristic of transnationalism, the “temporary immigrants” metaphor has been also mentioned by Chosunjok interviewees but without any connotation. Among Korean community members, this feature seems to enforce the idea of a bond based on living together and not on feeling of brotherhood.

We noticed the marks of this distancing within the Korean discourse by the constant use of the pronoun “they” -in contrast to “us”- in order to make reference to Chosunjok immigrants. Also present is a strong consideration of a behavioral image

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34 It is interesting to point out that along the fieldwork we have seen young Bolivian people entering a Korean church to which, we were told they frequently attend as well as many Chosunjok members. Unfortunately, we were not allowed to enter or to interview their minister.

35 In Spanish the expression would refer to Swallows due to the fact that this is a migrant bird and, therefore, stay temporarily in the places it goes by (N. T).

that constantly moves away from the norm (duplicated family life, illegitimate children, atheism, moral values).

Among the consulted Chosunjok people, we have not registered yet a negative construction of the Korean community image nor of the bond with them, except in a very subtle way. This might be the result of the kind of relationship that still exists and of the interview situation within which there was as well a Korean interpreter.

Regarding the positive features that Korean people attribute to Chosunjok people, they are said to be good people and, above all, Koreans emphasize the behavior within the workplace that has been changing and adapting to the Korean modality and rhythm (“now they work more than us”). They also compliment the effort, the independence and the economic success achieved by some Chosunjok people in a relatively short time.

#### *Ties between Chosunjok and Chinese community*

*“There is a relationship between us, but it is not fluid...”*

Although Chosunjok immigrants go to the Chinese Neighborhood in Buenos Aires<sup>36</sup> -meeting in restaurants and shopping to acquire typical products-, **they** as well as **Chinese residents** admit that there is no social or work life in common. In this sense, the latter see the Chosunjok people as a group more orientated toward the Korean community and to itself. They are distinctively distinguished because “they dress differently” and even have different physical features.

Almost no Chosunjok individuals work in Chinese supermarkets, the main economic activity of this community in the country. Mixed marriages have not been registered; there are no friendship relations -except among some young Chinese and Chosunjok people who tend to meet, according to testimonies, in the Chinese neighborhood. Both groups claim that they are not discriminated within the Chinese community.

They are officially recognized by the Peoples Republic of China Embassy since 2007 and they are invited to official and unofficial events.

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36 For more information about Chinese migration to Argentina, see Bogado Bordazar, Laura (2003). See also Aschieri, Enrique (2008).

According to **Korean testimonies**, the Chinese community has not shown any interest for the Chosunjok community, nor has it been a bridge for their insertion within the Argentinean context -just as in China.

Anyway, they affirm, the Chosunjok have the advantage and the possibility of double bond -with the Korean and Chinese communities, emphasizing that the Chosunjok are more accepted by the Chinese community than the Koreans.

### ***Ties between Chosunjok people and the Argentinean society***

*“(The Argentinean people) are very warm...”*

Along with the obtained information, Chosunjok immigrants have scarce contact with Argentinean people and there is also a lack of interpersonal relationships at a social level.

At a working level, the connection goes through professional relations since some businessmen, manufacturers and even the Korean Immigrants Association in China have Argentinean lawyers and accountants which is seen as advantageous.

On the other hand, in the tailoring workshops, textile factories and in other kind of shops (such as carwash) they usually hire Argentinean workers. However, while for some people the relationship is positive, for others it tends to be conflictive. Complaints spin around the Argentinean tax system and the relations with government officials and labor laws as these give place to constant trials originated by the employees.

One of the collected images was Argentinean people as very kind and well mannered. A remarked feature is, for instance, that people greet the costumers when entering a shop: “in China, people enter (a shop) and nothing, but here, you notice them, they greet, they are very warm”.

They consider Argentina as an advanced country -comparatively speaking with the rest of Latin America- and in general terms, they think there has been a good adaptation. Even though they claim that there is no discrimination by Argentinean people especially directed toward their family group, they do mention the difficulties

and the looking down on them for being oriental immigrants.

***Regarding intra and inter group communication***

*“They just speak in Chinese, they just speak in Korean, they do not speak in Spanish”*

With respect to the language used by Chosunjok people to communicate with each other and with other actors in the Argentinean context, we will see that diverse and contradictory images crossover depending on who is the speaker.

With regards to Spanish, Korean-Chinese people claim that only the younger members use it fluently. Elders do it in a rudimentary way despite the time that has passed.

About Korean language, they assume it as their mother tongue and is it the one that is used to communicate with acquaintances, family and friends (both in China and in Argentina).

At the same time, Chosunjok people have had formal education in Chinese and the Korean language is partially used<sup>37</sup> due to the fact that they have lived away from Korean centers of their country of origin.

In this immigration context, they admit to speaking in Mandarin Chinese among friends, especially the youngest members that have incorporated it in school. The use of this language allows them to communicate with the Chinese community when they visit their neighborhood in Buenos Aires city. This is possible except when the Chinese people use regional Chinese dialects they can not understand. We have to consider that the Chinese community in Argentina is composed of Taiwanese and continental immigrants that come from several regions that are not the same as where the Chosunjok people come from<sup>38</sup>.

According to Chinese testimonies, the Chosunjok are distinguished because they speak Korean and not so much Chinese. In contrast, for some Korean interviewees, this group rather communicates between each other in Chinese. They say the Chosunjok

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37 During the research, one of the Chosunjok immigrants had difficulties in fulfilling the questionnaire we handed in because, even though he was able to speak this language, he was not able to write or read it since he had gone to a Chinese school.

38 Continental Chinese migrants that arrive to Argentina, come particularly from the Fujian province, a different region from which the Korean ethnic group comes -Jilin, Yanbian region.

people only speak Korean as a strategic way to approach to the Korean community.

### *The construction of identity*

Well, how do Chosunjok people in Argentina define themselves? How are they identified by other actors with whom they interact in this society? How are the respective discourses built?

Precisely, we do not aim at essential identities but at identification processes that shape multiple and contradictory identities through discourses as social practices (Foucault, 1973, 1985; Fairclough, 1992). In addition, we argue about distinct individual positions that are, hence, relational and differential (Bialogorski, 2002).

### *Chosunjok vision*

*"I'm Chinese; I'm Korean; I'm from China"*

According to our interviewees - since **Argentines** do not understand when they say "we are Korean people coming from China", Chosunjok tend to choose one of the two alternatives.

Ethnicity and ethnical communities are social and discursive constructions that should be analyzed depending on power relations (Foucault, 1973, 1985), and on inclusion and exclusion social processes originated within receiving societies. When they assume themselves as **Koreans**, it is because that attitude responds to an indisputable ethnic-cultural self-determination and, in addition, because in that society they perceive the Chinese **immigrant** as being undervalued and more discriminated than the Korean people. For this same reason, they add, they define themselves as textile workshop owners and as **Korean** migrants before **Argentinean** and **Bolivian** employees<sup>39</sup>.

Thus, an identification strategy is mentioned according to the construction of an existing social prejudice to which they contribute. For a Chinese resident, exactly the opposite happens: nowadays, for them, their community is absolutely accepted by the

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39 As Mr. Guillermo Mamani explained, Bolivian people do not differentiate between Korean and Chinese people with a Korean origin. Within the textile environment, they are often called "Korean people" (journalist of *Revista Renacer* from the Bolivian community).

Argentinean society.

In other daily life situations, the Chinese-Korean immigrants take the role of **Chinese citizens**, basing on the citizenship that they have.

However, we think that there is a stronger identification than the formal one. There are affective and commitment bonds that, probably, will appear in the discourse as long as the community feels less connected to the Korean community or, as many interviewees argue, as long as China obtains a worldwide consensus of a powerful country. This could be observed when the research goes into depth. In effect, due to the serious situation that China is facing after the recent Sichuan province earthquake, the Korean Immigrant Association in China of Argentina has run a support campaign through the Embassy of the Peoples Republic of China<sup>40</sup>.

#### *Korean perception on Chosunjok identity*

*“When they arrived (the Chosunjok) there was a great discussion within the Korean community: who do they identify with? Do they identify with the Chinese or Korean community?”*

What cannot be denied is that Chosunjok presence has questioned Korean community members from within their Koreanhood originating different and contradictory identity images.

Among the interviewees, there are some that deepen the differences and consider Chosunjok as “Totally **Chinese**”. On the contrary, others, emphasizing regular elements (not only but principally biological), see them as “**Koreans**”. And there are those who assign them a **differential category –Chosunjok-** with (cultural, biological) features that fundamentally present an accentuated uniqueness of their own in this context. This is because they have a migration history in common marked not only by the presence of the Argentinean society, but also by other social actors with whom Chosunjok immigrants interact -such as Bolivian people<sup>41</sup>.

Anyway, there cannot be a dual vision of the group. They are Koreans and also

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40 In the Diario Central of June 28<sup>th</sup> 2008, edited by the Korean community, Mr. Ahn, President of the Association, published a thank you letter to those who have helped in the campaign including a list of names and their contributions.

41 Links between Chosunjok and Bolivian migrants are established within the workplace (textile workshops) and there were some references regarding the conformation of family groups.

Chinese and they are a particular minority in their country of origin, in Argentina and even more in the heart of the community that has embraced them.

Those who identify the Chosunjok as “Koreans” base this statement especially on the common ancestors, racial homogeneity and the maintaining of the language and traditions. This claim was held especially by the testimonies of the religious interviewees. Nonetheless, from this essentialist vision, some Korean interviewees question that “Korean identity” as they say that “throughout generations a “blood mix” has occurred which has weakened them (“they are less Korean”)<sup>42</sup>.

This critical stand is reproduced regarding the notion (also essentialized) of culture, focusing on the use of Korean language, cooking and traditional celebrations. Thus, they refer to the fact that Chosunjok people “speak a different language, with a different intonation<sup>43</sup>,” that they have made a “fusion” with traditional cooking (mentioned as “*Koreanized Chinese*”); and that they do celebrations with a “Chinese style”.

Other mentioned factors that weaken their *Koreanhood* are related to the fact of being born and/or raised in China or claiming that citizenship and using it in official processes. But, above all, the point is that they have an affective attitude and loyalty toward the “civic homeland” above ethnic bonds and “homeland”. The testimony of one of the interviewees clearly shows it: “I asked an immigrant (Chosunjok): ‘What would happen to you if something happened to Korea?’ -”Nothing”, he replied. “And if something happened to China?” “Oh! China is **my homeland**”.

The stay in China for more than two or three generations, to share historical experiences and common ideas, in addition to the miscommunication with South Korea and the tough life in North Korea, are elements that contribute to the questioning of

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42 Interestingly, the present tendency of the Korean society shows it as a multiracial and multicultural group and, thus, is no longer valid to appeal to the homogeneity myth to stipulate national identity and pride. Since the mid 90's, almost 100 thousand foreigner wives inhabit South Korea (Cfr. Kiseon Cheng and Hydun Choe (2008). According to information provided by the Ministry of Justice of the Korean Republic, the total amount of foreigners who live there -including illegal immigrant workers-, rose up to 1,018,036 in September 2007. Ethnic Chinese people represent 45,5% (463,215); there are also Americans (115,204); Vietnamese (67,117); Philippines (51,052); Thailand (43,945), Japanese (37,254), Mongolic (31,713) and Indonesian (25,969). (*Corea Hoy*, February 7<sup>th</sup> 2008).

43 Interviewees have associated the way the Chosunjok speak with the way used in North Korea. But still, they have pointed some differences regarding the language that the North Korean immigrants spoke when they arrived to Argentina in the 60's.

Chosunjok as real Koreans<sup>44</sup>. "(...) If they were isolated for years, if they are the third or fifth generation, if they did not have any contact with Korea, even though they eat kimchi and rice and have my traditions or speak my language, it is logical that they identify themselves as Chinese<sup>45</sup>".

However, this attitude is not well accepted by everyone. Especially when emphasizing the proximity to Koreans is displayed as a strategy to obtain benefits -as we have already seen. This image is also used when the Chosunjok try to emigrate toward South Korea, claiming that they are Korean descendants<sup>46</sup>. In this sense, the link with the "ethnic homeland" is seen as diffused and limited to a mere instrumental circumstance. "When they (the Chosunjok) go to Korea, they do it in the same way as they came here: "temporarily". They do not go because it is their **homeland** or because they identify with it, but because it is easy to demand their rights, although once there, this feeling can change<sup>47</sup>".

Nonetheless, some authors argue that Korean Chinese immigrants, due to their experience in South Korea full of discrimination and xenophobia, have enforced their identity as Chinese. There, they constituted as a subordinate group as a result of being foreigner immigrants, an ethnical minority and also identified with a low social class - they have been within the lowest status of the population<sup>48</sup>.

With all this in mind, it is necessary to observe how this operates within the Argentinean context. The multiple discourses Chosunjok immigrants face and according to which they build their own interpretations (acceptance, rejection or transformation) will form their identity and their relational and differential subjectivity. As far as we

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44 However, a generational study is needed about the differences within the national conscience among the Chinese with a Korean ethnicity. For instance, Im Kye-Sun (1994:357, quoted by Changzoo Song, 2005:11) argues that the second and third generation that was born and raised in China do not have issues in seeing themselves as Chinese. He also claims that the Chinese identity is going to be enforced when China becomes a powerful country.

45 Information collected from the interview to Kim Pan Suk.

46 This is also referred by Changzoo Song (2005:16) when explaining that many Korean Chinese people that demand for their rights to come back to South Korea, include themselves into the colonial Diaspora that fought for national independence pointing out that they are the descendants of those strugglers (Cfr Changzoo Song, 2005:16).

47 Author's interview to Kim Pan Suk

48 From the beginning of the 90's, thousands of Chinese-Koreans migrated in the search of the "Korean dream", being discriminated as foreigner workers (not ethnic) (Cfr Changzoo Son, 2005; Jaeun Kim, 2007). Currently, according to an article of the journal "*Corea Hoy*" of February 7<sup>th</sup> 2008 there is in Seoul a neighborhood called "Yanbian" ("Yanbian Town", name of the ethnically Korean prefecture in China), one of the neighborhood "with considerable agglomerations of foreigner citizens".

could see, they show an indentitarian flexibility based on an ethnic-national duality as well as a tendency toward an alternative construction whose modality should be explored (and contrasted).

***The perception of the Chinese community on the Chosunjok identity***

*"(the Chosunjok) are Chinese people that speak a Korean language"*

The Chinese community in Argentina names the Chosunjok as "Chaoxian". For our interviewees they are, basically, "Chinese people that speak Korean language". Furthermore, they argue that they are "totally Chinese" and, even though they have Korean traditions and culture", they consider them as compatriots<sup>49</sup>.

***The perception of the Argentinean community on the Chosunjok identity***

*"We have no idea of the difference"*

To a large extent, the Argentinean society does not acknowledge the presence of this particular group, and therefore, they do not notice any difference between them and other oriental people. Regular people ("*here we have no idea of the difference*", says a taxi driver who lives in Flores neighborhood), certain public institutions (Department of Immigration, or the INDEC) and the mass media, see them indistinctively as Koreans or Chinese (according to circumstances) "by the passport".

**Final considerations**

In this paper we proposed to approach the phenomenon of Chosunjok migration to Argentina, one of the modalities that the transnational Korean movement in Latin America adopts and its impact on the local Korean community.

We have made a brief reference to the history of conformation of this Korean minority in China and its spread during the 90's toward other contexts -besides Argentina-, through South Korean networks that characterized the insertion of this

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49 Interview with Mr. Zheng ji Cong, vice-president of the Self-service and Supermarkets Chamber property of Chinese Residents R.A (CASRECH).

group within them all.

Then, we have explained the bond construction with the Argentinean society and with the Korean and Chinese communities as well as the identitarian configurations that come from the discursive constructions of different actors.

As we mentioned at the beginning, this group brings from the origin two strong identitarian marks which are competitive (Chinese and Korean). At the moment, the Chosunjok discourse highlights primordial links and, in consequence, the proximity to the Korean community, while the identification with the Chinese culture and the civic homeland is in shadows.

On the contrary, what we have registered so far within the Korean-Argentinean community -regarding the Chosunjok arrival-, is the emergence of discourses that emphasize their differential civic identity. Simultaneously, they reinforce their own identification with South Korea as a national reference with respect to values, ideology and a special pride for their country of origin, focusing on aspects related to socio-economic, scientific, educational, technological spheres as well as its worldwide status. Chosunjok people are not considered as compatriots. Therefore, "civic aspects" are separated and the national issue operates as one of the fundamental marks of distancing beyond the shared ethnicity<sup>50</sup>.

But the construction of distance is also connected to other factors, such as the socio-economic position in which this group is placed within the Korean community, the lower educational level, the ideology, certain behaviours and values that their members are supposed to have and that are conflicting in regards to those of the Chinese culture and society.

The identification to Argentina as reception country, although it is mentioned in some cases, is set aside.

It is important to point out that we are in the first phase of the research and, hence, the results should be taken provisionally.

A monitoring of this migration phenomenon is needed at a local level regarding the ties given within the group and toward the outside (among Chosunjok,

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50 "Nationalism moves people from the emotions, which is not a small detail. It provides a sense of location inside an enormous and complex world and within a huge historical extension (...) Nationalism is a positive source of sense -and sometimes inspiration-, and of mutual comitment among large goups of people" (Cfr Calhoun, Craigh (2007:205).

Argentines, Koreans and other minority groups) and in the resulting identitarian processes.

To accede to the modality that the Chosunjak migratory movement adopts in the Argentinean society and to contrast the features that shape it in other receiving contexts would enable us to understand the dynamic form of this migration from the perspective of transnational processes.

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## ANNEX

In this section we present a set of diagrams. They are the result of the analysis of the ethnographic interviews that show different aspects of the Chosunjok migratory experience in Argentina according to the vision of distinct actors which were developed throughout the article. We identify with the term “Enunciator” the group of origin to which the interviewees belong (Chosunjok, Korean, Argentinean and Chinese).

**Enunciator: ARGENTINEAN GROUP**

**KOREAN CHINESE IN ARGENTINA**

**1. IMMIGRATION TO ARGENTINA**

<b>Modality of admission</b>	Arrived through paying associations
<b>Number of immigrants</b>	Less than 1% of the Chinese

<b>Economic Insertion</b>	They are not slave work force within clandestine textile workshops Employees in textile workshops They are not in Chinese supermarkets Car wash places
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**2. LINKS BETWEEN CHINESE-KOREAN IN ARGENTINA**

<b>Social Relations</b>	Unknown
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**3. LINKS BETWEEN THE CHOSUNJOK AND THE KOREAN COLLECTIVITY IN ARGENTINA**

<b>Social Relations</b>	Unknown
<b>Language/ communication/ image</b>	They speak Korean Different physical features regarding other Chinese people Educational level is superior to the rest of the Chinese people

**4. CHOSUNJOK IDENTITY**

<b>Identity</b>	<p>There is no distinction regarding nationality when they are involved in a crime  They are Chinese  They are Koreans  They can not differentiate between Chinese or Koreans</p>
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**5. LINKS BETWEEN CHINESE-KOREANS AND THE CHINESE COMMUNITY IN ARGENTINA**

<b>Social Relations</b>	Unknown
<b>Language/ communication</b>	Unknown

**6. CHINESE-KOREANS IN SOUTH KOREA**

**7. CHINESE-KOREANS IN CHINA**

	<p>They are in the Jilin Province  They speak Korean  They have Korean cooking  They have family in North Korea</p>
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**Enunciator: CHINESE GROUP**

**KOREAN CHINESE IN ARGENTINA**

**1. KOREAN CHINESE IMMIGRATION TO ARGENTINA**

<b>Number of immigrants</b>	900-1000 individuals Less than 2000 individuals
<b>Arrival date</b>	Beginning of the 90's
<b>Kind of Immigration</b>	Through the Koreans from the Korean Neighborhood. They pay in China to come here
<b>Reasons for migrate</b>	Unknown
<b>Modality of admission</b>	Unknown
<b>Remigration</b>	Unknown

**2. LINKS BETWEEN CHINESE-KOREAN IN ARGENTINA**

<b>Social Relations</b>	They have their own association
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<b>Language/ communication</b>	They speak in Korean among them
<b>Economic Insertion</b>	Textile industry Cloths saling They do not have supermarkets (which diferenciates with other Chinese migrants)

### 3. LINKS BETWEEN THE CHOSUNJOK AND THE KOREAN COLLECTIVITY IN ARGENTINA

<b>Social Relations</b>	They live in the Korean Neighborhood
<b>Language/ communication</b>	They speak Korean, they do not speak Chinese Elders: speak Korean and Chinese Young people: speak Spanish
<b>Economic Insertion</b>	Employees in: Korean clothing business Korean collectivity restaurants
<b>Cultural Proximity</b>	There is no difference between Korean and Chinese food within the Chao-xian restaurants
<b>Institutional relations</b>	Presence of the President of the Argentinean-Korean Association in events organized by teh Chao-xian

### 4. CHOSUNJOK IDENTITY

<b>Identity</b>	They are identified as Chao-xian They are Chinese with a Korean origin They are totally Chinese They are Chinese who speak Korean They are Chinese with Korean traditions, costumes and food.
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**5. LINKS BETWEEN CHINESE-KOREANS AND THE CHINESE COMMUNITY IN ARGENTINA**

<b>Social Relations</b>	<p>There are not social links between the elders</p> <p>vs.</p> <p>There are social links between the youngs meetings in the Korean Neighborhood</p> <p>The relations are not fluid Scarse marital relations between the different groups One or two cases (the Chao-xian) go to the Chinese Neighborhood</p>
<b>Institutional relations</b>	<p>They are officially included in the Chinese community in 2007</p> <p>They are recognized by the Chinese Embassy</p> <p>They are invited by the Chinese Embassy to certain events</p> <p>New Year celebration</p> <p>There are Chinese community representatives of the different associations in communitarian events (of Chao-xian)</p> <p>Korean-Chinese Immigration Day</p>
<b>Work Relations</b>	<p>There are no labor links</p> <p>They do not work in Chinese supermarkets</p>
<b>Discrimination</b>	<p>Lack of discrimination they are accepted</p> <p>They are treated as regular Chinese</p>
<b>Language/ communication</b>	<p>They speak Korean the elders</p> <p>They speak Chinese and Korean the young</p>

<b>Language/ communication</b>	The second generation (Koreans) learn Chinese at school Elders did not learn any Chinese
<b>Cultural Differences</b>	They have more Korean traditions than Chinese ones They have the same traditions as in Korea They are more related to North Korean culture
<b>Geographical location</b>	The Chao-xian are located in the North East territory
<b>Emigration</b>	Many young people emigrate to South Korea University Job opportunities

**Enunciator: Chinese Korean Group**

Chinese Korean in Argentina

**1. IMMIGRATION TO ARGENTINA**

<b>Number of immigrants</b>	500 to 1000 individuals 300 families
<b>Arrival date</b>	September 23rd 1992 The two first immigrants 1995 400-500 individuals
<b>Kind of immigration</b>	No family Single men With no intention of settling In order to make money in short time Single Women Friends Married couples with no children Small quantity of young people Small percentage of families 100 families Calling to relatives (once here)
<b>Reasons for migrate</b>	No particular motivations Economic reasons Economic progress Quick Exchange rate Legal facilities to enter the country Managers Knowing the existence of a Korean community Job possibilities with accommodation and food
<b>Modality of admission</b>	<b>Legally</b> Job contract 3 years 5 years Technological exchange with China Technicians for textile factories With work visa Through Korean managers already settled in Argentina Through an immigration company The cost to migrate: 10,000 dollars  <b>Illegally</b> With no documents

	Coming form other contexts Brazil
<b>Remigration</b>	Wish to come back to China Vs Wish of staying in Argentina
<b>Within 2001-2002</b>	Emigration from Argentina to China Japan Brazil
<b>From 2002</b>	China Mexico Japan

Wish to come back to China  
Vs  
Wish of staying in Argentina

Emigration from Argentina to

<b>Remigration</b>	Wish to come back to China Vs Wish of staying in Argentina
<b>Within 2001-2002</b>	Emigration from Argentina to China Japan Brazil
<b>From 2002</b>	China Mexico Japan
<b>Previous Knowledge of Argentina</b>	Because of football (Armando Maradona) Because of managers
<b>Image of Argentina</b>	(+)Country more advanced and civilized Regarding Brazil Easy Pacific Good environment  Within San Luis Province Favorable conditions to live in  (-)

<p><b>Image of the Argentinean</b></p>	<p>Labor laws do not favor the employees</p> <p>(+)  kind  Good manners  Friendly  Cleaner (that the Brazilian people)  Share expenses with their friends      For coffee      For barbecue</p> <p>(-)  Disloyal with Argentinean employees</p>
<p><b>Ties with the Argentinean people</b></p>	<p>Scarce contact  Lack of interpersonal relationships</p> <p>Vs.</p> <p>Contact regarding work with Argentinean      With professionals (lawyers, accountants)      With textile employees      As employees in the same factory      In San Luis</p> <p>Good labor relations  Vs.  Labor conflicts with Argentinean employees</p>
<p><b>Language/ communication with the Argentinean</b></p>	<p>Elders do not speak Spanish  Young people learn Spanish  Limited knowledge of Spanish      Dealing with employees</p>
<p><b>Economic Insertion in Argentina</b></p>	<p>Independent:  Korean Chinese restaurant  Car wash  Garages  Workshops      Argentinean employees      Bolivian employees</p> <p>Dependent of Korean collectivity  Textile sector:  Retail business (Buenos Aires, Greater Buenos Aires, Mar del Plata, Córdoba)  Workshops  Textile factories</p>

<p><b>Getting used to live in Argentina</b></p>	<p>(+)</p> <p>Quickly Easy Tasteful food (Argentinean) Security in public places Possibility of economic growth</p> <p>(-)</p> <p>Rejection to the Argentinean labor system Difficulties to invest (in Argentina) It's difficult because of the:     Language     Distance to family     Nostalgia</p>
<p><b>Discrimination</b></p>	<p>It's not noticeable Vs</p> <p>There is a noticeable discrimination     To immigrants in general</p>

Enunciator: Chinese Korean Group

**2. LINKS BETWEEN CHINESE-KOREAN IN ARGENTINA**

<p><b>Social Relations</b></p> <p><b>Institutions:</b></p> <p><b>Celebrations</b></p>	<p>Associations of: Women Elders Football Workshop employees Businessmen</p> <p>Family Sportive     weekly football practice Communitarian     New Year     Korean-Chinese Immigrant Day in Argentina</p>
<p><b>RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN</b></p> <p>Communication with family and friends</p> <p>Sending of Money</p>	<p>Weekly communication by phone with the family Contact through mail</p> <p>Through post office Bank transferences Through friends who travel to China Visit trips to China</p>
<p><b>Cultural changes</b></p>	<p>Change into Christian religion     In Argentina</p> <p>Vs Atheism or Buddhism     In China</p>

**3. LINKS BETWEEN THE CHOSUNJOK AND THE KOREAN COLLECTIVITY IN ARGENTINA**

<p align="center"><b>Social Relations</b></p>	<p>At the beginning: help provided by churches to get accommodation</p> <p>vs</p> <p>No possibility of a manager to offer a job getting Argentinean ID (DNI) to many immigrants</p> <p>Currently: Little links of friendship (With the Koreans) Sportive environment Football (Championships with Korean people)</p> <p>Religious environment Attendance to Korean churches Helped by the churches</p> <p>Difficulties for the integration of the young people</p> <p>Lack of mixed marriages (with Argentinean Koreans)</p>
<p align="center"><b>Labor Relations</b></p>	<p>Employees in Korean collectivity restaurants Korean clothing business Korean supermarkets</p> <p>Contact with ACEAR ( Argentinean Korean Association of Entrepreneurs in Argentina)</p> <p>Links with Korean professionals (Lawyers and accountants)</p>

<p><b>Cultural differences</b></p>	<p>Little difference in traditions</p> <p>Lack of difference in culture way of thinking</p> <p>vs</p> <p>Ideological differences Communism vs. Capitalism</p>
<p><b>Language/ communication</b></p>	<p>They speak Korean</p>
<p><b>Religious environment</b></p> <p><b>Motivations</b></p> <p><b>Religious orientations</b></p>	<p>Attendance to Korean churches</p> <p>out of necessity out of believes</p> <p>Church evangelical presbyterian</p>
<p><b>Discrimination</b></p> <p><b>They are rejected by:</b></p>	<p>They feel rejection within the churches (motivated for some Korean people)</p> <p>The Koreans reject mixed marriages</p> <p>Vs</p> <p>There is no rejection</p> <p>There is less discrimination (among the Koreans of Argentina) than in South Korea.</p> <p>An ancestral attitude The "Korean pride" For occupying a lower socio-economic status (within the Korean collectivity) The status of the country of origin (China) Communist ideology</p>

**4. CHOSUNJOK IDENTITY**

<p><b>The Koreans in Argentina identify them as:</b></p>	<p>Chinese the Embassy of Korea the Koreans</p> <p>Koreans, for having: Korean blood Korean education</p>
<p>The Chosunjok self-define as:</p>	<p><b>Koreans</b> In front of Bolivian employees</p> <p><b>Chinese or Koreans</b> In front of the Argentinean</p> <p><b>Korean Chinese (Chosunjok)</b></p>
<p><b>The argentinean</b></p>	<p>Do not understand the double adscription (Korean-chinese)</p>
<p><b>Chinese from Argentina identify them as:</b></p>	<p>Koreans</p> <p>Chinese citizens</p> <hr/>
<p>In China they are identified by the Chinese as</p> <p>In South Korea they are identified by the Koreans as</p> <p>They self-define as:</p>	<p>Korean ethnic minority</p>

**Enunciator:** Chinese Korean Group

**5. LINKS BETWEEN CHOSUNJOK AND THE CHINESE COMMUNITY IN ARGENTINA**

<b>Social Relations</b>	There is no shared social life There is no friendship Vs. There is friendship Birthday parties family celebrations
<b>Institutional relations</b>	Frequent visits to the Chinese Neighborhood (of Buenos Aires) restaurants supermarkets  Participation in events Organized by the Chinese Embassy
<b>Language/ communication</b>	They only communicate in official Chinese It's hard to communicate because of the regional pieces of vocabulary
<b>Discrimination</b>	Lack of Chosunjok discrimination within the Chinese community They are accepted

**6. CHINESE-KOREANS IN SOUTH KOREA**

<b>Relationship with Korea</b>	Wish to emigrate to Korea Disappointment for being treated as foreigners Restrictions toward Chinese-Korean immigration Demand their rights as Korean descendants They are admitted for scientific purposes
<b>Discrimination</b>	Non-existent It existed some time ago
<b>Kind of migration</b>	No capital students

**7. KOREANS IN CHINA**

<b>Place of residence</b>	North East region Kil-lip Kang-Miong -Sung, Hung-Miong- Kang-Sung. Yanbian (more than 50% are Koreans) Jilin
<b>Identity</b>	The Chosunjok Are one of the 56 ethnical minorities Feel Koreans Have Korean blood
<b>Image of the Chinese-Korean in China</b>	Are seen as Koreans Are seen as working people (by the Chinese)
<b>Formal Education</b>	Preference for Korean Schools  Learning a language Chinese (in Korean schools)  Attending to schools Korean Chinese  Attending to Universities Korean Chinese
<b>Image</b>	They are more educated (than the rest of the minorities) Men and Women  They have a more advanced culture
<b>Labor Insertion</b>	There is not an especific activity Diversification of activities
<b>Language/ communication</b>	Chinese as an official language Korean (among the Koreans)
<b>Marriages between Korean and Chinese people in China</b>	There are mixed marriages vs Mixed marriages are not usual Preference for marriages with Koreans
<b>Discrimination</b>	There is no discrimination in China against the Koreans  there is discrimination toward the Northkoreans
<b>Links between China and North Korea</b>	There are frequent exchanges Visa is not needed

**Enunciator: KOREAN GROUP**

**1. CHOSUNJOK IMMIGRATION TO ARGENTINA**

<b>Number of immigrants</b>	300 families
<b>Arrival date</b>	Since 1992
<b>Kind of Immigration</b>	No family Single men Women Single Left their families in China Over 40 With no capital Get a loan (in China) for the ticket Calling to relatives (once here)
<b>Reasons for migrate</b>	Economic reasons Economic progress Knowing the existence of a Chinese and Korean community
<b>Modality of admission</b>	<b>Legally</b> Through Korean managers already settled in Argentina  Slow entrance of immigrants  <b>Illegally</b> Sailors that abandoned Chinese ships coming from Uruguay coming from Mar del Plata  There is no legal treaty for the migration between China and Argentina
<b>Remigration</b>	Wish to come back to China Vs Wish of staying in Argentina Emigration from Argentina to Brazil Japan China
<b>Previous Knowledge of Argentina</b>	By contact (in China) with businessmen and Korean textile manufacturers
<b>Language/ communication with the Argentinean</b>	There is no communication (the Chosunjok) do not speak Spanish
	Korean supermarkets

<b>Chosunjok Economic Insertion in Argentina</b>	(Korean) textile factories and manufacturer workshops independent comercial inniciatives Scarce labor relationships with the Argentinean
<b>Relationship with China</b>	Sending money to their relatives

**Enunciator: KOREAN GROUP**

**2. LINKS BETWEEN CHINESE-KOREAN IN ARGENTINA**

<p><b>Social Relations</b></p>	<p>They have their own community (apart from the Korean collectivity)</p> <p>They have their own institutions: Korean Association in China of Argentina Church football association</p> <p>Means of communication Journal Magazine</p> <p>They meet on Sundays (pic-nic)</p> <p>They do intracommunitarian events Celebrate the Lunar New Year Sportive events</p> <p>They help each other They gather for business purposes</p> <p>Marital links internal couples (just between Korean-Chinese) Formation of new families in Argentina</p> <p>They do not share a social life (with the Koreans in Argentina)</p>
<p><b>Laboral Insertion (independent)</b></p> <p><b>Laboral Insertion (dependent)</b></p>	<p>Owners clothing shops in Av. Avellaneda typical restaurants other shops (carwash, garages)</p> <p>Employees of Korean owners (textile sector, reataurants)</p>

**Enunciator: KOREAN GROUP**

**3. LINKS BETWEEN CHOSUNJOK AND THE KOREAN COMMUNITY IN ARGENTINA**

<b>Social Relations</b>	<p>The Chosunjok:          Are not apart from the Korean collectivity          They are related to the Korean collectivity</p> <p>Vs</p> <p>They do not mix up (with the Koreans)          There are some difficulties in living with the Koreans and in the personal relationships</p> <p>The link with the Koreans is based on the living together</p> <p>There are not marriages (between the Chosunjok and the Koreans)          There are extramarital relations (between the Chosunjok and the Koreans)</p> <p>Chosunjok and Korean young people gather          Chosunjok and Korean adults do not gather</p> <p>Korean parents prefer that their children were not related to young Chosunjok</p> <p>The Relationship with Koreans institutions (in Argentina)          Korean Association in Argentina          Presence in Chosunjok community events          Singing contests          Football competitions</p> <p>Participation in football competitions (Koreans and Chosunjok)</p>
<b>Work relations</b>	<p>Employees and supervisors          In textile workshops (Korean collectivity)          Korean restaurants          The 50% of Chosunjok people work for Koreans</p> <p>Koreans prefer Chosunjok employees rather working with other nationalities (Peruvian or Bolivian for workshop occupations)</p> <p>(Korean employers) give the Chosunjok a better status than the employees of other nationalities.</p> <p>vs</p> <p>The Koreans do not hire them</p>

	(The Chosunjok) go to korean professionals (dentist, lawyers, economist)
<b>Cultural differences</b>	<p>The Chosunjok are different from the Koreans because of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The way they dress</li> <li>Family life</li> <li>Food (spices)</li> <li>speaking Korean language with other intonation and accent</li> <li>speaking a Korean language similar to the one spoken in North Korea</li> <li>Ideology (Communism, Socialism)</li> <li>Way of thinking</li> <li>Broader sexual freedom</li> <li>Working culture</li> </ul>
<b>Language/ communication</b>	<p>The Chosunjok:  Speak perfectly Korean  Vs  Speak korean very bad</p> <p>Speak Chinese among them  Do not speak Spanish  There is communication (with the Koreans)  They speak Korean in church in order to socialize</p>
<b>Religious Environment</b>	<p>Greater attendance to small Korean churches  Less attendance to large churches</p> <p>They have support for:  obtaining accommodation, jobs, food</p> <p>They attend to church  Evangelical  Presbyterian</p> <p>They attend to church in the search for support  They do not attend for religious believes  They drift apart from the church (when they do not need help)</p>
<b>Motivaciones</b>	<p>They are Buddhists  They are Taoists  They are atheists</p>
<b>Orientaciones religiosas</b>	
	<p>Lack of discrimination for ideological reasons in the Korean churches</p> <p>Vs</p>

<p><b>Discrimination</b></p> <p><b>They are rejected for:</b></p>	<p>They are rejected in the churches (by some Korean people)</p> <p>They are named with a particular term (Chosunjok) to differentiate them from the Korean people originally from South Korea.</p> <p>Occupying a lower socio-economic status (in the Korean collectivity)  Low educational level  The country of residence (China)  Marginality  Illegal conditions of living</p>
<p><b>Cultural proximities</b></p>	<p>(the Chosunjok) celebrate the first day of the year “in a Korean way”  They mix Korean and Chinese food</p> <p>They have ancestors in common with the Koreans  Vs  There might be a Chinese blood mix in the ancestors in common</p>
<p><b>Impact within the Korean collectivity when they arrived to Argentina</b></p>	<p>It appeared in the communitarian newspapers</p> <p>Distancing because  Mistrust  Alteration of the Korean image in the Argentinean society  Uncertainty  Rejection</p> <p>Vs  Acceptancy and interest  Ancestors in common</p> <p>Indifference</p>
<p><b>Chosunjok image according to the Koreans</b></p>	<p>Unkown group</p> <p>Group known through communitarian means</p> <p><b>Positive images:</b>  They seem to be nice people  They seem to be healthier  They are not naughty like the porteños  Some work like crazy (in Argentina)  They do the same effort as the Koreans  They work harder (than the Koreans)  Some are economically successfull</p> <p><b>Negative images</b>  Some people say they have antisocial and conflictive behaviors  Affaires with Koreans  Connection with the mafia</p>

	<p><b>Criminal acts</b> They are temporary migrants They look for benefits in different contexts They are not sociable They are trouble makers at work They drink a lot They are indomitable (inside churches) They have a duplicated family life (in Argentina) They establish a link for convenience only (with the Korean collectivity) They seem robots They have no feeling for the people (Koreans)</p>
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5. CHOSUNJOK IDENTITY

<p><b>In Argentina, Chosunjok are identified by the Koreans as:</b></p>	<p><b>Koreans</b> for having     "Korean blood"     Korean traditions     Language</p> <p><b>vs</b> the koreanhood is questioned they are less Koreans because:     "mixed boold" ..... do not speak Korean     Difference in the practice of certain common traditions</p>
<p><b>The Chosunjok, sef-define in Argentina as:</b></p>	<p><b>Chinese because of the</b>     mentality     citizenship     origin homeland     patriotic feeling .....for being the third to fifth generation of Koreans born in China</p> <p><b>Korean-Chinese</b> for forming another category for not being Chinese nor Koreans</p> <p><b>Chinese</b> for patriotic feeling for the place of origin</p> <p><b>Koreans</b> for the positive value of a broader context</p> <p><b>Chosunjok</b> for the shared migratory experience</p> <p>there are a manipulation of the identity They do not have identity issues</p>
<p><b>For the Argentineans</b></p>	<p>There is no difference They can be <b>Chinese or Koreans</b> They are <b>Chinese</b> because of the citizenship They are <b>Chinese</b></p>

<p><b>For the Chinese of Argentina</b></p> <p><b>In Argentina</b></p> <p><b>In China they are identified by the Chinese as:</b></p> <p><b>In South Korea they are identified by the Koreans as:</b></p> <p>They self-define as:</p>	<p>They are accepted by the Chinese community the Korean community</p> <p><b>Koreans</b> Chinese 100%</p> <p>they are self-identified as <b>Chinese</b> for the citizenship for the patriotic feeling</p> <p>They have a double identity (Chinese-Korean)</p> <p><b>Foreigners</b> immigrants <b>Chinese</b> for nationality <b>Koreans</b> for having ancestors in common</p> <p><b>Koreans</b> for having ancestors in common</p>
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**Enunciator: KOREAN GROUP**

**5. LINKS BETWEEN THE CHOSUNJOK AND THE CHINESE COLLECTIVITY IN ARGENTINA**

<b>Social Relations</b>	Chinese community is not interested in them
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	(the Chosunjok) are accepted by the Chinese community
<b>Institutional relations</b>	They are recognized by the Chinese Embassy They go to the Embassy when difficulties arise

**Enunciator: KOREAN GROUP**

### 6. CHINESE-KOREANS IN SOUTH KOREA

<b>Relationship with Korea</b>	Wish to emigrate to Korea Disappointment for being treated as foreigners Restrictions to Korean- Chinese immigration They migrate for being convenient Demand their rights as Korean descendants
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**Enunciator: KOREAN GROUP**

### 7. CHINESE-KOREANS IN CHINA

<b>Relationship with China</b>	They conform a provincial state in China They are one of the 55 ethnic minorities
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