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**Master's Thesis of International Studies**

**From Ethnic Koreatown to Global  
Community**

**– Changes in Wangjing Shequ, Beijing**

한인타운에서 국제화 지역사회로  
– 왕징 지역사회의 변화

**August 2018**

**Graduate School of International Studies  
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# **From Ethnic Koreatown to Global Community**

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Thesis by

**Hong Yong Ki**

Graduate Program in International Area Studies  
In Fulfillment of the Requirements  
For the Degree of Master of International Studies

**August 2018**

**Graduate School of International Studies  
Seoul National University  
Seoul, Republic of Korea**

## **Abstract**

# **From Ethnic Koreatown to Global Community**

## **– Changes in Wangjing Shequ, Beijing**

**Hong Yong Ki**

International Area Studies

Seoul National University

The thesis aims to expand on the previous study of Wangjing to find its uniqueness, by exploring Wangjing Koreatown formation and transformation and comparing Wangjing's characteristics with Koreatowns in Shanghai, Qingdao, and Shenyang. Wangjing is located in one of the core districts in Beijing, Chaoyang District, and is a globalized community with three main groups: Korean, ethnic Korean Chinese (Chaoxianzu), and Han Chinese.

Wangjing underwent remarkable transformation from agrarian region to one of Beijing's largest commercial and technological community with contribution by Korean people. The urban development and globalization of Wangjing were on the smooth path and provided prosperity to Wangjing community, while bringing benefits to the Koreans and Chaoxianzus who sought economic opportunities in the region. However, the 2008 Global Financial Crisis and the 2016 THAAD incident heavily influenced local

Korean residents, as their lives became arduous to overcome economic and social challenges thrown upon themselves. Fortunately, sustenance of Wangjing Koreatown and the continued efforts of local Chinese government bring hope to construction of the global community in the region.

**Key Words:** China, Wangjing, Koreatown, Chaoxianzu, Globalization

**Student Number:** 2016-29402

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Research Background and Significance

Since the establishment of the diplomatic ties between Korea and China in 1992, two countries have engaged in active economic activities. Especially the trades in 2017 indicate that Korea acknowledge China as one of the most important trade partner as Korean export to China reached 142.1 billion US dollars, ranked 1<sup>st</sup> in Korean exports. On the other hand, Chinese export to Korea is about 102.9 billion US dollars, ranked 4<sup>th</sup> important trade partner after the United States, Hong Kong, and Japan and 3<sup>rd</sup> if we exclude Hong Kong.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the Korean Oversea Direct Investment to China in 2017 is about 3.7 billion US dollars in reported amount and about 3 billion US dollars actual investment, which ranks China as the 3<sup>rd</sup> investment country after the United States and Cayman Island and 2<sup>nd</sup> if Hong Kong is included in China, at about 7.2 billion US dollars in reported amount and 5.9 billion US dollar in actual investment.<sup>2</sup> As so, China is an essential economic partner in Korea today.

As China became one of the most important economic partner of Korea, many Koreans moved to China since the early days of 1992 diplomatic tie. As more Koreans moved to China, they started to build the community of their own from North to South in various cities in China (Table 1). Brettell (2000)

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<sup>1</sup> For the trade data, refer to the Korean International Trade Association, <http://stat.kita.net/stat/world/major/ChinaStats08.screen> for China to Korea exports and <http://stat.kita.net/stat/kts/ctr/CtrTotalImpExpList.screen> for Korea to China exports.

<sup>2</sup> Refer to the Export-Import Bank of Korea, <https://stats.koreaexim.go.kr/odisas.html>.

mentioned that the society where ethnicities of migrants are manipulated to their own benefits by coethnic elites and leaders, their ethnic identities are expressed through their activities in the community. However, the premise of her argument is that the migrants are the targets of class exploitation in the hostile and racist host societies. Indeed, Korean diaspora (*Zainichi*) and their ethnic community in Osaka, Japan was the result of the class differentiation and they “were more severely discriminated against than Euro-Americans in Japan’s job market”<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, Koreatowns in China often had different backgrounds as Korean migrants were often wealthier than local Chinese residents and also were beneficiaries of China-Korea economic partnership.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, in the previous study of diaspora, Yoon (2005) solely focused on the movement and settlement of Chaoxianzu who are currently considered minority “racial groups in China whose country exists just outside the border (跨界民族)” and victims of discrimination in Chinese society, as he fails to mention about the “new comer” Koreans in China who moved to China from the 1990s to 2000s and enjoyed flourishing economic opportunities in China. The study of Wangjing Koreatown in China is extremely significant from Korean and Western scholars’ perspectives in that it shows the new forms of “transnational space” to the scholars of classical migration theories. On the other hand, from Chinese perspective, it is the

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<sup>3</sup> Ryang, Sonia. 2005. “Koreans in Japan.” In Melvin Ember, Carol R. Ember, and Ian Skoggard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Diasporas: Immigrant and Refugee Cultures around the World II*. New York: Springer Science+Business Media, Inc. pp. 977.

<sup>4</sup> In 1992, the GDP Per Capita of China was 412 US dollars (current value), while Korea was 7,982 US dollars (current value). Refer to UN Data, <http://data.un.org/Data.aspx?d=SNAAMA&f=grID%3A101%3BcurrID%3AUSD%3BpcFlag%3A1>.

largest foreigner-based community that need to be managed and even have a possibility to evolve into globalized community.

Province	City	Region
Beijing (北京)	Beijing (北京)	Wangjing, Chaoyang District (朝阳区 - 望京)
		Wudaokou, Haidian District (海淀区 - 五道口)
Shanghai (上海)	Shanghai (上海)	Gubei, Changning District (长宁区 - 古北)
Liaoning (辽宁)	Shenyang (沈阳)	Xita, Heping Distict (和平区 - 西塔)
		Hunnan District (浑南新区)
Shandong (山东)	Qingdao (青岛)	Chengyang District (城阳区)
Guangdong (广东)	Shenzhen (深圳)	Taoyuanju, Bao'an District (宝安区 - 桃源居)
Heilongjiang (黑龙江)	Ha'erbin (哈尔滨)	Xiangfang District (香坊区)
Jilin (吉林)	Changchun (长春)	Guilin Avenue & Mudan Street, Chaoyang District (朝阳区 - 桂林路, 牡丹街)

**Table 1. Koreatowns in China<sup>5</sup>**

## 1.2 Research Question and Methodology

One of the most notable Korean ethnic community is Wangjing in Beijing. Wangjing refers to the 10.36 km<sup>2</sup> landmass around the Wangjing Subdistrict (望京街道), located at the northeast of Chaoyang district in Beijing. Wangjing is placed in an ideal location and is often regarded as the transportation centre,

<sup>5</sup> The chart of Koreatown only include the region occupied and influenced by Korean migrants and excluded traditional Chaoxianzu community such as Yanbian Chaoxianzu Self-Governed Territory (延边朝鲜族自治州) and other Chaoxianzu Towns in Shenyang and Qingdao. Moreover, the Table 1 in Shin (2011) and Table 3 in Song (2017) divide Longbai (龙柏) and Hongquan Avenue (虹泉路) in the tables, however, these regions are also referred to as 'Gubei' community in general.

as it is neighbouring Beijing Fifth Ring Road to the North; Beijing Fourth Ring Road to the South; Airport Highway which leads to Beijing Capital International Airport to the East; and Beijing-Chengde Highway to the West. The total population is estimated to be around 260,000 in 2017, in which approximately 50,000 are the floating population. Of the floating population, approximately 30,000 are considered as foreigners from 84 different countries. Among them, nearly 84% are South Koreans.<sup>6</sup> Currently, Wangjing is known as one of the most renowned Koreatowns and the largest ethnic community by foreigners in China, as well as one of the most globalized community not only within Chaoyang district, but in the entire city of Beijing. What kind of transformation has Wangjing gone through since the establishment of Korea-China diplomatic tie in 1992? How is this history related to the formation of Koreatown in Wangjing area? How did the expansion of Wangjing Koreatown influence the community as a whole? How is Wangjing different from other Koreatowns? The thesis will explore the answers for these questions in the following aspects.

First, the urban development of Wangjing community and the formation of Koreatown will be observed in various perspectives. This paper aims to fully narrate the changes in Wangjing community, lives of Korean people in the region, and local Chaoxianzu, Han-Chinese, and government relations, in order to observe the current state of Wangjing Koreatown. Second, the comparative studies of the Koreatown will evaluate the characteristics of each

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<sup>6</sup> Refer to 朝阳望京街道. “望京街道简介”.  
<http://wjjd.bjchy.gov.cn/sub/news/63935/3241.htm>. (Accessed: 2017.10.04.)

Koreatown in China through the examination of the history and formation of Koreatowns in Shanghai, Qingdao, and Shenyang. Although the population table below indicates that the order of Koreans from most to least are Beijing, Guangdong, Shanghai, Qingdao, Liaoning, Jilin, and Heilongjiang, the candidates were chosen not only from the population aspect, but also their unique background. Through the comparison, we will observe the characteristics of Wangjing Koreans in different environment, their dependency on Chaoxianzu people, and their development progress. This comparison will differentiate Wangjing from other Koreatowns and will explain the status of Wangjing community today.

Cities	Korean Population			Total Korean Population	Chaoxianzu Population
	Permanent Residents	Long-term Residents	Students		
Beijing		48,833	17,746	66,579	50,463
Shanghai	58	21,439	11,233	32,730	45,822
Liaoning (Reference for Shenyang)		23,206	4,694	27,900	239,537
Qingdao		31,100	610	31,710	130,428
Guangdong (Reference for Shenzhen)		51,350	2,220	53,570	110,000
Heilongjiang (Reference for Ha'erbin)		5,169	1,031	6,200	327,806
Jilin (Reference for Changchun)		7,889	1,411	9,300	1,040,167

**Table 2. Korean Population in various cities in China<sup>7</sup>**

<sup>7</sup> 2017 재외동포현황, 외교부.

To observe the transformation and characteristics of Wangjing Koreatown, this study mainly utilizes various primary and secondary sources. Initially, various secondary sources such as journal articles based on Beijing Wangjing Koreatown, Shanghai Gubei Koreatown, Qingdao Chengyang Koreatown, and Shenyang Xita Koreatown were utilized to gain general knowledge of Korean “enclaves” in these cities. To fill the gap between the previous studies with the present day Koreatowns, recent studies on Shanghai Koreatown, together with information provided by Chinese government website, were also analyzed. Apart from these secondary resources, the study conducted one-month fieldwork on Wangjing from January 8 to February 1 of 2018. During the fieldwork, the author observed everyday life of residents in Wangjing and engaged in interviews with them.

### **1.3 Literature Review**

As a growing globalizing community, Wangjing was studied by numerous scholars. Overall, the Wangjing studies can roughly be divided into two categories. The first studies focus on the cultural conflicts between Korean and local Chinese residents and the second studies focus more about Korean and Chaoxianzu relations and its contribution to the Koreatown formation.

First, Chinese scholars mostly focus on the practical studies such as population composition in Wangjing and the related policy suggestions for the management of foreigners and alleviation of foreigner-local tensions existing in Wangjing area. Among the pre-2010 studies, Ma (马晓燕, 2008) focused

on the interviews with residents in Wangjing. On the other hand, He (何波, 2008) and Zhang *et al.* (张丽娜 · 朴盛镇 · 郑信哲, 2009) more focused on numerical studies in terms of the population composition and the concentrated Korean community. While Ma and He suggest policies on how to resolve conflicts between local Chinese people and Korean people, Zhang *et al.* asserts that globalization education and understanding of other culture are more important. Kang (강진석, 2007) observed how the perspectives of local Chinese and Korean people differ and how these differences in the perspective often lead to conflict between the two ethnic groups. Moreover, Tan and Cai (谭玉 · 蔡志琼, 2014) introduced three different models of foreigner management policies – U.S., Japanese Model where the regional NGO and community plays the main role; Singapore Model where the government and regional community participate simultaneously; and the British Model where government, regional community, and regional firms all participate for the regional development – and compare them with existing management model in China – Beijing, Guangzhou, and Shanghai model. They suggest that the Chinese government should choose one firm stance from “Service Provider”, “Rule Setter”, “Surveillance”, “Encourager”, or “Mediator”. Zhao and Sun (赵峰 · 孙震, 2016) emphasized the importance of reduction of hierarchy between government and the foreigners and communication and participation of both parties.

On the other hand, Korean scholars focus more on sociological, academic studies such as Korean-Chaoxianzu relations and its contribution to the

Koreatown formation. Lee and Yoon (이윤경 · 윤인진, 2013) studied on the cultural and possibly ethnical differences Korean and Chaoxianzu people possess based on the large-scale survey. Lee and Yoon (이윤경 · 윤인진, 2015) also asserts that Korean and Chaoxianzu ethnical ties are not as formidable as in the past and remain separated to this day. Seo (2007) observed Korean residents in Wangjing and asserts that Korean enforced Koreanness in the area by not interacting with the locals and enjoyed prosperous lives based on ascension of social status. In other words, the study shows why Korean people did not come back to Korea and how they enjoyed their lives in the heyday, which is opposite of the present.

However, there are limitations to these studies, one of which is that the studies only focuses on the occurrence in the contemporaries without comparing the data with the Wangjing's urbanization processes. Wangjing's development is closely related to the history of Beijing's urbanization history itself. Without considering such circumstances, the data collected can easily become obsolete and insignificant as it becomes a static study in the past, rather than the continuous study. Moreover, another limitation is that these studies consider whole Korean community as a unit without concentration on how each group of Korean people differ from the other, or what type of lifestyle or career Korean people maintain based on their professional background, income, and the external circumstances that can inflict their survival in the region. This means that the studies about Koreans become significantly narrow and limited due to the generalization that all Korean residents in Wangjing are similar in various aspects.

Despite the existence of such limitations, there are a few studies which overcame these weakness through the thorough analysis of the Koreatown in various ways. Jeong (정종호, 2013) introduced the new paradigm of how the study of Koreatown in China should be conducted and is often quoted by numerous scholars, both Chinese and Korean. Vertically, he specifies the timeline and historical course as he explains Wangjing Koreatown formation with the urbanization process of the Chinese community. Horizontally, he classified different social strata of Korean people in Wangjing community, widening the spectrum of the Korean studies in Wangjing. In his other work (Jeong, 2014), he explains Chaoxianzus' interaction with Koreans and Wangjing community through comparative analysis with Wenzhou people in Zhejiangcun. This study revealed clearly how the ethnical advantage of Chaoxianzu people worked in their favour to penetrate into Korean society and built their own living space and symbiosis, in which benefits both parties to survive in ever-changing Chinese society. Both studies covered the weakness of the previous Wangjing studies through the thorough research framework that presents the timeline of metamorphosis and the diversification of in-land and outside-of-the-country foreigners (in the perspective of people whose roots came from outside of Beijing) who reside in the unique society in Beijing. However, this study also has its limitations, in that the data from the studies are from 2010, which can be considered obsolete, considering that Wangjing faced another magnificent change after the period.

Zhou *et al.* (周雯婷 · 刘云刚 · 全志英, 2016) utilized Jeong's social strata model and Koreatown formation history and attempted to update and

expand on Jeong's studies. They discussed the spatial characteristics, history of Wangjing Koreatown, and the policy suggestions on management of Koreans in Wangjing. However, they assume that 2009 and onward as the decline of Koreatown and Wangjing and conjectures that it is the on-going phase. Conversely, both the population data and Korean cultural contents data in the 2010s betrays the increasing trend of Korean influence in Wangjing. Based on the studies of the past observers, Wangjing is now confronting new challenges to transcend its name as 'a mere region with many Koreans'.

The thesis aims to expand further on the study of the Wangjing Koreatown by observing changes triggered by various internal and external influences after 2010. While some of the statistics tables and data were utilized by previous studies, the most recent data from external sources such as Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Korea and news articles were extracted to support the narration and arguments. Moreover, the interviews conducted during the one-month fieldwork (January of 2018) delineate the current situation of Wangjing as well. Furthermore, in order to find the uniqueness of Wangjing, the thesis will compare the post-2010 Wangjing Koreatown with Koreatowns in other cities. The newly supported evidences will reduce some of the limitations of the past observation of Wangjing.

## 2. Wangjing

### 2.1 Wangjing: Transformation and Koreatown Formation

In the 1980s, Wangjing area was no more than an undeveloped *Chengzhongcun* (城中村; village within the city), in which most of the land was utilized for agricultural purpose and filled with one-story houses resided by both urban collectives and rural “illegal” residents.<sup>8</sup> However, the neighbourhood underwent a remarkable transformation from the poor pastoral landmass to one of the most urbanized regional community (社区) in Wangjing. The developmental history of Wangjing can be distinguished into two sequences: the first step is residential urbanization and the second step is commercialization, along with the influx of Koreans in the community as a milestone to the globalization of Wangjing Community.

First, Wangjing first became an urban area around the mid-1990s as its development into residential area took place. In 1993, under the Beijing municipal government’s ‘Beijing Collective Urban Planning’ (《北京城市总体规划》), Wangjing Town (望京城) went under rapid construction.<sup>9</sup> In the following year, the newly built high-rise apartments were purchased by

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<sup>8</sup> Numerous migrants were most active in Chengzhongcun areas as migrants settled and formed their own community based on their native-place ties and specialized industries. Refer to Ma, Laurence J. C. and Biao Xiang. 1998. “Native Place, Migration and the Emergence of Peasant Enclaves in Beijing.” *China Quarterly*, 155: pp. 546-581.

<sup>9</sup> 王国强. 1995. ““望京城”在改革中的崛起”. 『中国房地信息』. 第 114 期. pp. 30.

wealthy Beijing *hukou* holders. In the meantime, foreigners, especially Koreans, moved into the region as it was considered cheap and affordable by Korean standards. The development of Wangjing at that time was heavily contributed by the massive influx of Koreans in the region. After the diplomatic relation between Korea and China has been normalized in 1992, numerous Korean government bureaucrats, expatriates from large Korean firms, and media-related personnel entered Beijing.<sup>10</sup> As these Koreans sought for places with cheaper accommodation, they moved to Wangjing area. Since 1999, while numerous Korean firms retreated from China due to the East Asian Financial Crisis that inflicted ginormous damage to the Korean economy, many ordinary Koreans continuously moved to Beijing to seek for new opportunities. As more Korean people entered this area, Korean society began to enlarge in size and gained more influence in this region. Consequently, many Korean people flowed into Wangjing New Town, as the largest apartment complexes in the area – Wangjing Xiyuan No. 1, Wangjing Xiyuan No. 2, Wangjing Xiyuan No. 3 and Wangjing Xiyuan No. 4 – were completed.<sup>11</sup> Wangjing Xiyuan No. 3 and No. 4 became the centre of the Korean ethnic economy as many Koreans invested and opened businesses mostly in this particular area (See Table 3). As the centre of Koreatown formation moved to Wangjing New Town, the community was officially named as Wangjing and Wangjing Subdistrict was established on June of 2000.

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<sup>10</sup> 周雯婷·刘云刚·全志英. 2016. 「全球化背景下在华韩国人族裔聚居区的形成与发展演变—以北京望京为例」. 『地理学报』. 第 71 卷 第 4 期. pp. 655.

<sup>11</sup> Although several more complexes were built after the initial construction, it is estimated that every Xiyuan complexes were completed initially in 1999, except for Xiyuan No. 3, which was completed in 2000. See <https://beijing.anjuke.com/>.

Neighbourhood/Community	Total
Xiyuan No. 4 (望京西园四区)	*238
Xiyuan No. 3 (望京西园三区)	*172
Huadingshijia (华鼎世家)	52
Baoxinghuating (宝星华庭)	21
Heshengqilinshe (合生麒麟社)	36

**Table 3. Number of Korean Businesses in Wangjing (March of 2015)<sup>12</sup>**

The year 2003 can be termed as the second phase, commercialization of Wangjing, as it faced significant changes and developed into one of the largest commercialized district in Beijing. Up until then, Wangjing was dearth of transportation modes and the commercial facility that could satisfy the needs of its residents. However, Beijing subway line 13 opened in 2002, connecting northwestern and northeastern region of Beijing from *Xizhimen*, *Shangdi*, and *Wudaokou* stations to Wangjing West and *Dongzhimen* stations (in 2013, subway line 14 opened connecting directly from Wudaokou to Wangjing West, Wangjing, and Wangjing East stations). Moreover, many large shopping centres, both Chinese and foreign, were built in the area. Most renowned shopping malls in Wangjing include Beijing Hualian Mall (华联商厦), Boya International Centre (博雅国际中心), Fangheng International Centre (方恒国际中心), Dongfangyinzuo Department Store (东方银座百货), Shanghai New World (新世界商业), Wal-Mart, Carrefour, and Ito Yokado.<sup>13</sup> Wangjing

<sup>12</sup> 周雯婷·刘云刚·全志英.

2016. 「全球化背景下在华韩国人族裔聚居区的形成与发展演变——以北京望京为例」. 『地理学报』. 第 71 卷 第 4 期. pp. 658.

<sup>13</sup> 정종호. 2013. 「왕징모델: 베이징 왕징 코리아타운의 형성과 분화」. 『중국학연구』. 제 65 집. pp. 441.

became one of the most prosperous community in Beijing thanks to its transformation from a mere residential area to a commercial district.

The commercialization in Wangjing drew more Korean investors and businessmen. The cheap rent of Wangjing area allowed *Hanshang* (韩商), to open business that could cater and fulfill Korean residents' needs and helped to preserve Korean way of life within Beijing.<sup>14</sup> Ultimately, the ethnic economy led Wangjing to emerge as a Koreatown and the diversification of business sector as the Korean businessmen penetrated into diverse neighbourhood in the area. Most of the Korean commercial and residential centre were moved to Wangjing New Town, creating a Korean ethnic society within the newly commercialized sector of Wangjing. Accordingly, the commercialization phase accelerated the development of Koreatown in Wangjing. Commercialization of the region enhanced the regional economy and increasing capitals flowed into Wangjing area. Moreover, during this period, the *Hallyu* wave also contributed to the booming of Wangjing area. Countless Korean residents opened business in the area by taking advantage of the burgeoning regional area. Furthermore, foreign firms, including large-size Korean firms, initiated active investment in Wangjing region, which led

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<sup>14</sup> Jeong grouped social strata of Korean residents in Wangjing into 6 categories: Hangan (韩干, high personnel), Hanshang (韩商, Korean business people), Hansheng (韩生, Korean oversea students), Hantai (韩太, Korean housewives), Hangong (韩工, Korean labourers), and Hanwu (韩无, Korean jobless people). This stratification appeared over the historical course of Wangjing Koreatown, as the Koreatown formation underwent demographical and social changes that altered the characteristic of the neighbourhood. For example, Hangong and Hanwu people emerged during the decline of Wangjing Koreatown. Refer to 정종호. 2013. 「왕징모델: 베이징 왕징 코리아타운의 형성과 분화」. 『중국학연구』. 제 65 집. pp. 442-451.

to globalization of Wangjing Subdistrict. Most notably, LG electronics built a large research centre called ‘Science and Technology Centre Wangjing Branch’ (望京落户科技园). Soon after, around 20 foreign firms such as Mercedes Benz, Microsoft, Siemens, Sony, Caterpillar, and Ikea established their China Headquarters in Wangjing Subdistrict.<sup>15</sup>

As large Korean firms and small, mid-sized firms settled in Wangjing area, further social stratification emerged in Wangjing. As mentioned above, many people started to open business in Wangjing Subdistrict, dividing the class of business owners according to their capitals and wealth. To be specific, the *Hanshang* groups were now divided into ‘big-players’ (*Hangan*; *Dahanshang*, 大韩商) and ‘small-timers’ (*Xiaohanshang*, 小韩商).<sup>16</sup> These stratification deepened as the different social status enabled different lifestyle. Unlike permanent *Hanshang* residents, the expatriates from Korean state-owned companies only reside in Wangjing for 3 to 4 years. Moreover, their search for relationship with other people and related activities are limited due to 9 to 6 full work hours and most of the *Hanshangs* and *Hangans* from private companies come to encounter them. Their lifestyles in Wangjing also differ by their industry, family background, and their activeness. For example, the expatriate from Korean IT related state-owned company, J, engage in Wangjing Korean network via various ways. He attends Idea Sharing meeting that is hosted by Korean Embassy in Beijing along with other expatriates sent

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<sup>15</sup> 朝阳望京街道. “望京街道简介”.

<http://wjjd.bjchy.gov.cn/sub/news/63935/3241.htm>. (Accessed: 2017.10.04.)

<sup>16</sup> Refer to 정중호. 2013. 「왕징모텔: 베이징 왕징 코리아타운의 형성과 분화」. 『중국학연구』. 제 65 집. pp. 442-451.

from the same branch. Moreover, he is involved in religious activities in a protestant church ran by Korean people and also in a school network with local Chinese people as his kids attend local Chinese school. However, when there is no such circumstances, the activities of these expatriates are highly limited.<sup>17</sup> In the case of S, who is an expatriate sent from Korean food related state owned company, it is observed that although he is a member of the Korea Chamber of Commerce in China<sup>18</sup> for the nature of his work, he does not engage in any activities in the group. Individually, he does not seek to create personal friends in Wangjing and his network formation is mostly professional and work related.<sup>19</sup> J claims that there is little or absence of motivation for the expatriates to be a part of Wangjing society due to their short stay in the region and their need to create relationship with local Korean and Chinese people are at the minimal level.<sup>20</sup>

Furthermore, as new and luxurious apartment complexes were constructed in the region, the gentrification of Korean residents are more visible by the houses they inhabit. For example, *Hangans*, who were better funded for the residences and education fee of their *Hansheng* children<sup>21</sup>, and *Dahanshangs* resided in the high-end complexes such as *Huadingshijia* (华鼎

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<sup>17</sup> Interview with J, Beijing, 10 January 2018

<sup>18</sup> For the information about Korea Chamber of Commerce in China, refer to 정종호. 2013. 「왕징모델: 베이징 왕징 코리아타운의 형성과 분화」. 『중국학연구』. 제 65 집. pp. 448; the organization website <http://www.korcham-china.net/html/introduce/greeting.asp>.

<sup>19</sup> Interview with S, Beijing, 10 January 2018

<sup>20</sup> Interview with J, Beijing, 10 January 2018

<sup>21</sup> 이윤경 · 윤인진. 2015. 「중국 내 한인의 초국가적 이주와 종족공동체의 형성 및 변화: 베이징 코리아타운 사례 연구」. 『중국학논총』. 제 47 집. pp. 278.

世家), Atlantic City (大西洋新城), *Baoxinghuating* (宝星华庭), Class (果岭里), and Olive City (融科橄榄城). On the other hand, *Xiaohanshangs* settled in mid-end apartments such as *Baoxingyuan* (宝星园) and Wangjing Xiyuan No. 3. Through the gated-communities of high and mid-end apartment complexes, Wangjing Korean community could identify oneself by knowing which house he/she lives in. Also, *Huajiadi* still remained as a ‘refugee camp’ for relatively poor *Hanshengs* and lost its significance as a centre of Koreatown.<sup>22</sup>

In 2009, Wangjing was swept by tremendous changes, as the Korean economy, both at local and international level, was damaged by 2008 Financial Crisis. The Financial Crisis in 2008 crippled most of the Koreatowns in China. Not only did the crisis damage the Korean economic influence, the largest threat stemmed from the exchange rate of Korean Won and Chinese Yuan. Initially, 1 Chinese Yuan was equivalent to 120 Korean Won from January to October of 2007. However, the value of Chinese Yuan was exponentially appreciated, reaching its peak at 230.08 Won per Yuan in March 2, 2009. The drastic depreciation of Korean Won in 2009 increased the

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<sup>22</sup> This specific division in social status is more significant in today’s Wangjing. The difference among welfare of these three groups shows the different lifestyle in Wangjing as the Koreatown faced economic hardship. The interviews during the fieldwork revealed that as more big-players leave Wangjing region, especially the *Dahangans* from Hyundai Motors who moved back to Korea due to the political struggle between Korea and China that affected Hyundai’s stance in China and the downsizing of the factories in *Shunyi* District, small-timers who were dependent on the consumptions of big-players are more prone to economic downfall. Refer to 정종호. 2013. 「왕징모델: 베이징 왕징 코리아타운의 형성과 분화」. 『중국학연구』. 제 65 집. pp. 443-448.

economic burden of Korean middle class residing in China.<sup>23</sup> As a result, the population of Koreans in Beijing plummeted to under 700,000 people in 2009. As 30% of the Korean population and 60% of the Korean firms retreated from Wangjing community, Wangjing Koreatown became more dependent on Chinese capital and economy and lost its characteristic as an exclusive sector of Korean ethnic economy and community. To exacerbate the circumstances, the New Labour Contract Law by Chinese Government (《中华人民共和国劳动合同法》) was enforced from January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2008 and deeply involved in the decline of Koreatown in all regions of China by hurting many Korean business owners across the country. The new law forced Korean business owners to pay for all labourers to register for insurances and increased the burden of these owners by raising the income of the labourers.<sup>24</sup>

Upon the reduction of Korean influence in Wangjing, in terms of population and the capital, new Korean social strata emerged in Wangjing - *Hanwu* (韩无; laid-off workers, bankrupt businessmen, and jobless) and

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<sup>23</sup> Refer to the Chinese Yuan-Korean Won graph in Shinhan Bank Website: Exchange Rate of Chinese Yuan, in terms of Korean Won (2007~2010) in 신한은행, <https://bank.shinhan.com/index.jsp#020501010400>

<sup>24</sup> To be specific, the New Labour Contract Law by Chinese Government (中华人民共和国劳动合同法) was the 65<sup>th</sup> command by Hu Jintao, the president of Republic of China in the contemporary, himself. The article 4 and 17 mentions about the mandatory responsibility of the firms in China to follow labourers' rights to receive fair amount of wage (劳动报酬) and insurance-welfare (保险福利). Article 74 states that the local government keep the rigorous surveillance for the firms that fail to keep the law. Refer to 中华人民共和国中央人民政府. “《中华人民共和国劳动合同法》”, [http://www.gov.cn/flfg/2007-06/29/content\\_669394.htm](http://www.gov.cn/flfg/2007-06/29/content_669394.htm). (Accessed: 2018.04.22.)

*Hangong* (韩工, small-waged *Hanwu* labourers).<sup>25</sup> These *Hanwus* mostly are continuously failed *Xiaohanshang* businessmen in China and those fled Korea with failed business and debts. Some of them became *Hangong* labourers working in Korean restaurants or menial labourer in local Chinese firms. The reasons for their continued habitation in Wangjing can be narrowed down to the higher standard of living than residing in Korea; less need of caring about others' judgement on one's social status; and ethnic pride over Chinese and Chaoxianzu people.<sup>26</sup> Although Xiyuan No. 3 and No. 4 still represented itself as the core of Wangjing Koreatown and still accommodated most of the Koreans within the region, the limited economic condition of the new *Hanwus* and *Hangongs* drove these people into cheaper communities such as *Nanhuzhongyuan* (南湖中园), *Nanhudongyuan* (南湖东园), and illegally modified room in the basements of Xiyuan complexes.<sup>27</sup> While these people mostly came from failed businessmen, there are also *Hangan* expatriates who fall to this status. After their retirement, these people apply for jobs in Chinese firm as a *Hangong* to pay off children's education fee and their daily expenses in Beijing as their retirement fund cannot cover all the payment. In other cases, some of ex-*Hangan* group returned and attained jobs in Korea to complete the same task as a 'goose father'.<sup>28</sup> In extreme cases, the retired *Hangan* could

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<sup>25</sup> Refer to 정종호. 2013. 「왕징모델: 베이징 왕징 코리아타운의 형성과 분화」. 『중국학연구』. 제 65 집. pp. 442-451.

<sup>26</sup> 정종호. 2013. 「왕징모델: 베이징 왕징 코리아타운의 형성과 분화」. 『중국학연구』. 제 65 집. pp. 451.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. pp. 450

<sup>28</sup> From the early 2000s in Korea, it was very popular to live in this fashion where one spouse stays in the home country to pay the living expense and education fee

not enter the job market in China and became a jobless *Hanwu*, forcing the spouse to run into job market to feed the family.<sup>29</sup> The significance behind the emergence of new social strata is that while Koreans maintained higher social status than local Chinese and Chaoxianzu people during 1990s and 2000s, their status slowly declined from ‘ethnic gentrification’ and aligned with the comparative status of local medium-income Chinese household.

As of 2010, Korea had recovered from the U.S. Financial Crisis and the exchange rate between Chinese Yuan and Korean Won was stabilized. Korean students and housewives enjoyed prosperous life in Beijing as their economic condition came back to normal. In 2009, the Korean people diminished to less than 70,000, as one-third of the people left Beijing during the depression period. However, from the 2010s, Korean people returned to Beijing, reaching to 77,600. Throughout the urban development of Wangjing, Korean residents entered Wangjing area with the development of residential area, and Koreans embraced flourishing economic opportunities with the commercialization in Wangjing Community. Although the Global Financial Crisis damaged Koreatown in the late 2000s, the Korean community still remained by countless Koreans who already fully integrated and occupied in the stabilized Wangjing Community. The formation of Koreatown and the urban development that coincided with the sustenance of foreigner-based ethnic community became a stepping stone to the globalization in Wangjing.

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for the other spouse and children living in different country. This type of lifestyle is called ‘wild goose family (기러기가족)’.

<sup>29</sup> Interview with L, Beijing, 9 January 2018.

## 2.2 Wangjing: Globalized Community

Today's Wangjing can be summarized as a community with rapid development because the community went through comprehensive development stage of science and technology region, as well as the globalization process which is still an ongoing process in the present. Wangjing's transformation became more significant as the scientific and the technological development brought further changes to Wangjing Subdistrict. Since the Hu Jintao administration, the development of science and technology has been one of the top agenda. Therefore, the municipal government body of Beijing initiated the scientific and technological advancement project in several regions such as Zhongguancun (中关村) in Haidian District (海淀区) and a number of communities in Chaoyang district including Wangjing. In 2011, Wangjing Science and Technology Innovation District (大望京科技商务创新区) was announced in Beijing 10.25 Policy (北京市“十二五”规划). The region has been designated as High-End Globalized Urban Cluster of Science, Technology, Commerce, and Innovation (高端国际化科技商务创新城市综合体) with the investment of 30 billion RMB (\$4.5 billion). As of the year 2014, in Wangjing International Business District (望京国际商务区), Alibaba, one of the Chinese top IT firms today, entered the development region in the east of *Olive City* and built a high rise building named 'Greenland Centre (绿地中心)'. Subsequently, more IT firms such as Dianping.com (大众点评), 360 Security Centre (奇虎 360 科技有限

公司), Momo Dating Application (陌陌), C-Trip Travel Application (携程), Chukong Technologies (触控科技), and Shengyao Interactive (圣耀互动) started to emerge and gather in eastern Wangjing area. In the same year, the construction of SOHO, the symbolic building for Chinese IT firms, was completed in the midst of luxurious apartment complexes *Baoxinghuating*, *Olive City* (1<sup>st</sup>~3<sup>rd</sup> Complex), and *Atlantic City* (A~F). About 64.5% of the incoming companies are newly emerged IT firms and just in the 3<sup>rd</sup> tower alone, approximately 90% are IT firms.<sup>30</sup>

Together with the development and proliferation of internet technology, the revival of *Hallyu* wave was also the reason for Koreatown recovery. The sales of cultural contents have expanded over the years. It is observed that the cultural contents sales have increased dramatic during the 2010 to 2013 span. In 2013, although sales in publishing and games have decreased and other sales remain stagnant, the music (K-Pop) and the TV show (K-dramas and game shows) increased at exponential rates. According to the reports by Korea Creative Contents Agency (한국콘텐츠진흥원), the sales in 2013 (recorded as 2014) was achieved at the great measure thanks to the K-drama ‘You from the Star (별에서 온 그대)’ which was broadcasted from the December of 2013 to the February of 2014.

As the economy recovered in Wangjing area, thanks to the increasing number of Korean residents and the influence of 2<sup>nd</sup> *Hallyu* Wave, Wangjing met its second peak. According to C, a researcher who now works in a Korean

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<sup>30</sup> 凤凰资讯. “望京已不再是那个遍地韩国人的望京”, [http://news.ifeng.com/a/20170805/51569554\\_0.shtml](http://news.ifeng.com/a/20170805/51569554_0.shtml). (Accessed: 2017.10.07.)

consulting firm in Wangjing, claimed that the K-Drama played, in fact, the main role in *Hallyu* wave influx in Beijing, and following the big hit K-dramas such as ‘You from the Star’, ‘The Inheritors (상속자들)’, and ‘City Hunter (시티헌터)’, ‘The Descendent of the Sun (태양의 후예)’ which was broadcasted from February to April of 2016 was the main star of K-Drama in the contemporary for two reasons: 1) Chinese government was extremely lenient about Korean TV shows and cultural contents and placed minimal restriction on import of these subjects via internet. Young Chinese students and ‘Korea Fan (韩国米)’ were able to reach these contents through many underground internet websites that enabled Korean entertainment industries and become a main hub for these contents; 2) witnessing the potential of Korean entertainment market in China, numerous Chinese firms invested in Korean entertainment contents and ‘The Descendent of the Sun’ was one of these examples.<sup>31</sup> In other word, the sales of Korean cultural contents were enabled through the internet media and the K-drama was created with the combination of the firms involved in Korean entertainment industry and the Chinese investors’ capitals in its market potential to draw Chinese consumers.

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<sup>31</sup> Interview with C, Beijing, 22 January 2018

Categories	2012	2013	2014	2015	Avg Annual Growth
Music	8,806	10,186	52,798	89,761	68.08%
Movies	2,008	3,966	10,961	11,221	32.34%
TV Programs	13,162.02	35,025	109,629	63,702	28.82%
Comics (Webtoons)	829	986	1,241	1,492	19.37%
Characters	86,347	96,587	102,233	118,563	15.37%
Games	1,018,676	1,048,144	957,331	1,057,119	13.60%

**Table 4. Korean Contents Exports to China from KOCCA (한국콘텐츠진흥원)<sup>32</sup> (Top 6 Average Annual Growth rate)**

Simultaneously, the growth of Chinese IT firms and the influx of foreign firms in Wangjing evolved the neighbourhood into the next stage as a ‘Region with Developing Technology and Science’. As mentioned above, Wangjing was filled with new IT firms and start-up companies that brought more prosperity to the neighbourhood. To fulfill the needs of workers in such firms, on December 28<sup>th</sup>, 2014, the subway line 15, that connects from Qinghuadongluxikou (清华东路西口) station, which is in the vicinity of Wudaokou (五道口) station in Haidian District, to Wangjing, Wangjing West, and Wangjing East station, was launched. The convenience in traffic allowed some of the Korean international students who attended school in Haidian District (Peking University, Tsinghua University, People’s University of China, People’s University of China Secondary School, etc.) to reside in Wangjing. Moreover, the numerical growth of Chinese IT firms enabled both Korean and Chinese business owners to seek for new opportunities. According to J

<sup>32</sup> 2016 년 콘텐츠산업 통계조사, 한국콘텐츠진흥원.  
<http://www.kocca.kr/cop/bbs/view/B0000148/1832231.do?menuNo=200907>

(mentioned above), numerous Korean IT firms was stationed in Wangjing and its vicinity for the ethnic characteristic of the community and the rise of IT firms in China. For example, K, a graduate from a university in Shanghai, opened an online shopping venue in Wangjing as the information technology firms spread through Wangjing area like a wild fire. During the scientific and technology development period, he became a beneficiary of the development Wangjing community. He is currently enjoying continuous success in online “procurement service (代购)” of Korean product, which is an extremely popular oversea shopping business in Beijing.<sup>33</sup> Wangjing community now also have several networks such as Korean Information and Communication Companies Association Beijing Branch (베이징 한국 IT 기업협의회)<sup>34</sup> and Beijing Korean Promising Companies Association (베이징 한국중소기업협회)<sup>35</sup> for the small and mid-size IT companies.

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<sup>33</sup> Interview with K, Beijing, 21 January 2018.

<sup>34</sup> Korean Information and Communication Companies Association Beijing Branch (베이징 한국 IT 기업협의회) is the group of Beijing branches of Korean global firms. The Beijing branch managers now holds the president position of the network and the group has Beijing branches of SK Telecom, Samsung SDS, LG CNS, Lotte Information & Communication, T-Max, etc. as its members. Interview with J, Beijing, 10 January 2018.

<sup>35</sup> Beijing Korean Promising Companies Association (베이징 한국중소기업협회) is a group of small to mid-size local Korean firms in Beijing. The organization engage in activities that can help the business of the members in China by providing information sharing, various seminars and forum, and the friendly activities and trips. The current organization has the total of 162 members and is divided into 4 subgroups: 23 membership in the IT/Distribution department; 52 members in the Service department; 53 members in Food; and 34 in Manufacturing. In 2017, the organization participated in the market trend and the risk management briefing session, four information sharing seminars, investigation for potential investment area with Korean Embassy in China, inspection of research and development of China’s electronic car and parts industry, and 4<sup>th</sup> Bazaar event in Korean International School in Beijing to encourage local Chinese-Korean friendship. Interview with K, Beijing, 17 January 2018.; Interview with L, Beijing, 23 January 2018.

These network groups have written agreement (MOU) with Internet Society of China and have communication channels with Chinese internet firms directly and with Chinese government indirectly.<sup>36</sup> The technological development of Wangjing was not only beneficial for the Korean global firms, but was also advantageous to individual *Hanshangs* as well. The Korean graduates from Chinese University such as Y sought new business opportunity with Chinese partners who wished to start information and communication companies that can develop a new smartphone application to be part of the technological trend in China today.<sup>37</sup> Wangjing was one of the most appealing region for the joint business as it was ethnically mixed community of Korean contents and potential Chinese consumers.

However, the technological advancement of the region also wrought new hardship to local Korean residents in Wangjing. As the eastern outskirts of Wangjing behind Olive City was developed into Grand Wangjing Area (大望京) and the development of transportation, the housing cost of Wangjing skyrocketed at exponential rate. As C - a *Chaioxianzu* staff from Korean consulting firm in Wangjing - claimed, the rent fee in Wangjing is close to unbearable and the increment each year is extreme. When he first moved into Europark (悠乐汇) in 2015, the rent for 56 m<sup>2</sup> apartment cost 4,300 Chinese Yuan per month. However, he decided to move when the rent rose up to 6,800 Yuan in April of 2017.<sup>38</sup> According to the real estate website (Anjuke, 安居

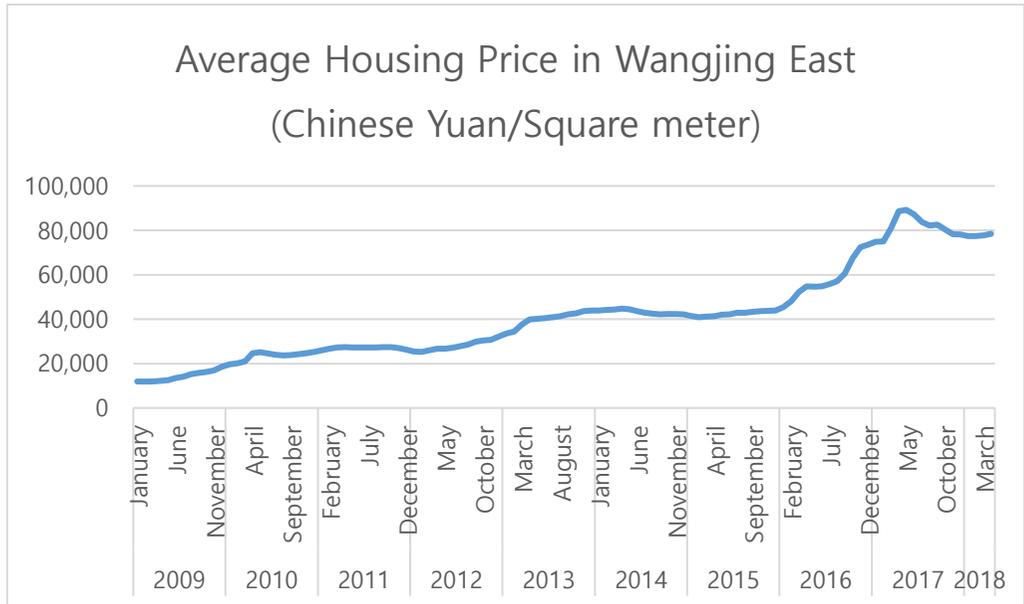
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<sup>36</sup> Interview with J, Beijing, 10 January 2018.

<sup>37</sup> Interview with Y, Beijing, 8 January 2018.

<sup>38</sup> Interview with C, Beijing, 22 January 2018.

客), the rent cost for one bedroom apartment in Europark is 6,853 Yuan per month.<sup>39</sup> As Figure 1 shows, the increment of housing prices and the rent cost each year became a threat to local Korean and Chinese residents in Wangjing and a main reason for the residents drifted from the area.



**Figure 1. Average Housing Price in Wangjing East (Chinese Yuan/Square meter)<sup>40</sup>**

Followed by the technological advancement, Beijing Municipal Government (北京市政府) constantly attempted to proceed with the globalization project in Wangjing. In order to meet the standard, more global human resources were in demand to boost the competitiveness of Chinese industries. From 2013, Chaoyang District Office and the overseas Chinese associations from every corner of the world have been hosting Oversea

<sup>39</sup> The rent cost of Europark in Wangjing (retrieved 18 April 2018). [https://bj.zu.anjuke.com/fangyuan/fx1/?kw=%E6%82%A0%E4%B9%90%E6%B1%87&k\\_comm\\_id=168514&cw=%E6%82%A0%E4%B9%90%E6%B1%87](https://bj.zu.anjuke.com/fangyuan/fx1/?kw=%E6%82%A0%E4%B9%90%E6%B1%87&k_comm_id=168514&cw=%E6%82%A0%E4%B9%90%E6%B1%87).

<sup>40</sup> 望京东历史房价 (retrieved 18 April 2018). <https://www.anjuke.com/fangjia/beijing/wangjingdong/>.

Talented Entrepreneurship Conference (OTEC, 北京朝阳海外学人创业大会). During the 4 years of conference, over 12,000 entrepreneurs from 20 different countries such as the United States, Britain, Netherlands, and Israel were invited. To improve the start-up level and environment, Chaoyang District offered spaces to incoming foreign firms in Central Business District (CBD, 国际人才创新创业港). As a result, over 60% of the district are companies by homecoming oversea Chinese or foreigners.<sup>41</sup> Wangjing was the most ideal to proceed with such a grand globalization project in Beijing since it is a home to over 20 global firms such Mercedes Benz, Daimler, Microsoft, Siemens, Sony, Caterpillar, and Ikea.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, Hyundai Motors manufacturing factory was located in *Shunyi* District, which is adjacent to Wangjing region. Therefore, most of its Korean expatriates reside in Wangjing. For these reasons, Wangjing was regarded as one of the most globalized town in Beijing as it is the only foreigner-based ethnic community accepted by the Chinese government.

However in 2016, Korea-China relations was cooled down by THAAD incident and inflicted a huge damage to the Korean community in the region as well. As the struggle between the two countries intensified, Chinese people's anger toward Korean people reached to another level. In the past, the conflict between two ethnic groups were solely based on the different lifestyle of local Chinese and Korean residents. To elaborate, Chinese people feel

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<sup>41</sup> 中国日报. “北京朝阳区打造望京国际人才社区”.  
[http://cnews.chinadaily.com.cn/baiduMip/2017-05/29/cd\\_29542882.html](http://cnews.chinadaily.com.cn/baiduMip/2017-05/29/cd_29542882.html).  
(Accessed: 2017.10.04.)

<sup>42</sup> 朝阳望京街道. “望京街道简介”.  
<http://wjjd.bjchy.gov.cn/sub/news/63935/3241.htm>. (Accessed: 2017.10.04.)

frustrated to see ill-mannered Korean individuals such as those who make noise during the nighttime with drinking and motorcycles, while Korean people is more judgmental about the less-civilized Chinese society such as disorganized traffic and underdeveloped regional community.<sup>43</sup> The dissatisfaction of Korean and Chinese local residents toward each other was merely social and these problems were often kept introverted. However through the THAAD incident, the conflict between two ethnic groups became political and the long kept anger became extroverted. In Wangjing, the rages of Chinese people became visible in two different ways.

At personal level, some Chinese people picked a fight with Korean people and threatened to hurt them. Moreover, they consorted to hindrance of Korean business in Wangjing such as boycott of Korean products in Korean shops, constant sudden cancellation of reservation in Korean restaurants, and interference with any sort of Korean business. During this period, Korean people were more cautious of speaking Korean in the neighbourhood as it could induce unnecessary fight with Chinese people. The conflict was also visible, although regional, at the governmental level as well. Most notable case was changing the name of Wangjing Koreatown landmark building from ‘City of Korean Delicacies (韩国美食城)’ into ‘City of Delicacies (美食城)’ by removing two letters ‘Korean (韩国)’.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> 강진석. 2007. 「베이징 ‘왕징[望京]’ 코리아타운 지역의 韩-中 ‘이문화 (异文化)’ 갈등요소와 해소방안 연구」. 『국제지역연구』. 제 11 권 제 1 호. pp. 19~21.

<sup>44</sup> 한겨레. [한-중 수교 25 돌] 베이징 ‘코리아타운’의 눈물. <http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/international/china/807545.html>. (Accessed: 2017.10.12.)



**Figure 2. From ‘City of Korean Delicacies (韩国美食城)’ to ‘City of Delicacies (美食城)’<sup>45</sup>**

The THAAD incident retaliation appeared in every section of Wangjing region. As a representative of the cases with the least damage, J was ignored by numerous Chinese subcontractor during this period. He could feel that the Chinese partners were trying to maintain aloofness and did not answer to his phone calls. In reminiscence, he said that these partners called him back after the atmosphere lightened up.<sup>46</sup> Although he had his hardship completing tasks in China, since he was an expatriate from Korean state-owned company who was about to return within a few months, his career was not at stake. On the other hand, *Hanshangs* were the most desperate with the influence of the THAAD incident and the clout by Chinese government against Korea. Y is a Korean businessman in Wangjing who launched a firm with Chinese partner. Their firm mostly dealt with hosting Korean entertainment content, especially

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid. The picture was taken from the article.

<sup>46</sup> Interview with J, Beijing, 10 January 2018.

K-Pop, in China. However, China State Administration of Radio and Television (国家广播电视总局) released unofficial policy to every regional broadcast system to restrict Korean entertainers and entertainment contents in August of 2018.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, starting from July of 2018, the Chinese government cancelled the issue of ‘visa for repetitive visits’<sup>48</sup> to all the Koreans, including businessman and Korean entertainers.<sup>49</sup> As the entrance of Korean entertainers to China were banned, his business was put on hold as it could not proceed in the contemporary circumstances and he engages in his secondary job as a marketing broker between Chinese and Korean firms. He informed that the entrepreneurs in the similar business sector, whether Korean or Chinese, closed down as long as the firm was related with anything Korean.<sup>50</sup> In the case of Z, a Chinese staff in a local Korean consulting firm, she used to work on a project regarding the advertisement of Korean food in Beijing. When the THAAD incident became public, the broadcast system decided to cancel the TV commercial on the subject.<sup>51</sup>

The influence of THAAD incident can also be seen outside of Korean entertainment sector. Y also mentioned that a huge local Chaioxianzu distribution buyer in Wangjing signed an agreement to manage the sale of

<sup>47</sup> 여성동아. THAAD! 직격탄 맞은 한류의 위기.

[http://www.edaily.co.kr/news/news\\_detail.asp?newsId=01849926615860368&mediaCodeNo=257&OutLnkChk=Y](http://www.edaily.co.kr/news/news_detail.asp?newsId=01849926615860368&mediaCodeNo=257&OutLnkChk=Y). (Accessed: 2018.04.02.)

<sup>48</sup> ‘Visa for repetitive visits (复数签证)’ is a type of visa that allows entrance to China more than once within a given period, usually within a year. The visa was often used by businessmen who take casual business trip to China, family members of Korean family who reside in China, and the Korean entertainers.

<sup>49</sup> 이데일리. [中 사드보복] 비자발급부터 금한령까지...韓 관광 제재일지. [http://www.edaily.co.kr/news/news\\_detail.asp?newsId=01849926615860368&mediaCodeNo=257&OutLnkChk=Y](http://www.edaily.co.kr/news/news_detail.asp?newsId=01849926615860368&mediaCodeNo=257&OutLnkChk=Y). (Accessed: 2018.05.03.)

<sup>50</sup> Interview with Y, Beijing, 8 January 2018.

<sup>51</sup> Interview with Z, Beijing, 22 January 2018.

Korean product from a large Korean firm. However, the import of the Korean product was put on hold due to the THAAD incident and the buyer was deciding to exit the market with a huge loss, according to the words on the market.<sup>52</sup> In other case, K is a *Hanshang* who runs a *Makgulli* bar in Wangjing Xiyuan No. 4 complex. He was selected as one of the beneficiary for the education regarding oversea employment through Human Resources Development Service of Korea (한국산업인력공단). After studying 3 years of Chinese language, he was dispatched in a trade company, where he worked 3 years before he opened the bar. His business was a success until the THAAD incident surfaced and swept Wangjing Koreatown community. He summarized his business jeopardy into three main factors. First, Chinese people started to turn away from Korean restaurants and shops. Consequentially, the Korean bars also became victims for the incident. Second, as the delivery service via smartphone application became the norm in Chinese society, people were ordering more through online application which resulted in plummet of sales in bars which normally rely on offline services. Lastly, the recession in Chinese economy and the decrease of Korean people's outdoor activities during the THAAD period also contributed to the decrease of sales in shops in Wangjing. To overcome these challenges, K implemented the delivery services by registering into Eleme (饿了么) and Maituan (美团) application and became cooperative to the business ran by Korean state-owned companies in advertising Korean food to Chinese public

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<sup>52</sup> Interview with Y, Beijing, 8 January 2018. Continued from the interview above.

and use the advertisement to his own benefit.<sup>53</sup> For other restaurants and Korean shops had no choice but to use only Chinese sign instead Chinese and Korean signs as precaution to prevent any trouble they may face during the THAAD incident.<sup>54</sup> While many *Hanshangs* left Wangjing during the THAAD incident, those who remain in the area found ways to cope with the current circumstances and survived the horrific incident that also could have affected themselves.

The THAAD conflict inflicted damage to small in-China firms or individuals greatly, however, it also affected large Korean global firms as well. Among the Korean conglomerate companies, Lotte was the largest victim in the Chinese industry. LotteMart became the main target for the THAAD incident as the company was closely related with Seongju THAAD deployment. The quantitative study by Ma and Kim (2017) revealed that the boycott and the brand image of Lotte was affected by consumer ethnocentrism which led to consumer animosity. In truth, the videos uploaded in the internet that show footages of hate speeches and damaging the goods in LotteMart in national scale.<sup>55</sup> Lotte was planning to retreat from Chinese market with CJ and E-Mart, including the branch in Wangjing, however as their buy-out is

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<sup>53</sup> Interview with K, Beijing, 17 January 2018.

<sup>54</sup> 연합뉴스. [한중수교 25년] 중국 최대 교민촌 음식점 상가 간판이 바뀌 이유. <http://www.yonhapnews.co.kr/bulletin/2017/08/16/0200000000AKR20170816140100051.HTML?input=1195m>. (Accessed: 2017.10.12.)

<sup>55</sup> ytnnews24. *YouTube*, YouTube, 13 Mar. 2017, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=CgxGY\\_xUqEo](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CgxGY_xUqEo).; ytnnews24. *YouTube*, YouTube, 14 Mar. 2017, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=WtrnsdPouBA](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WtrnsdPouBA).

still in progress and delaying China exit to this day.<sup>56</sup> K from Beijing Korean Promising Companies Association (베이징 한국중소기업협회) was an employee of Lotte Liquor in Beijing branch until Lotte group proceeded with massive lay-off with the ‘China-Exit’ process during the THAAD Incident. He claimed that the Chinese government initiated the retaliation to close LotteMart and related business through the fire regulation law.<sup>57</sup>

Some local Korean residents claimed that Beijing-Hyundai Motors were also the victim of the THAAD incident. While there are analyses that criticize the lack of research and development in electronic cars and the failed brand image construction as the main culprit of plummeting sales of Hyundai Motors in China,<sup>58</sup> other analyses blamed the THAAD business chauvinistic marketing of Chinese car companies for encouraging anti-Korean sentiment. For example, one company claimed to reward consumers who cancel the purchase of Hyundai car with ‘gift of patriotism’ and Chinese branches of Volkswagen offered 3,000~16,000 Yuan discount to consumers who re-sell the

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<sup>56</sup> 아시아경제. [中사드 보복 1년③]롯데, 끝나지 않은 악몽...유통업계 ‘차이나 엑시트’.

<http://view.asiae.co.kr/news/view.htm?idxno=2018031117100438526>. (Accessed: 2018.05.06.)

<sup>57</sup> Interview with K, Beijing, 17 January 2018.

<sup>58</sup> Regarding the failed image making argument, the author stated that cars such as Sonata is considered B-rated automobile. Also, from the first half of 2016 to that of 2017, Hyundai lost its competitiveness to Chinese brands such as Gili, Changan, and Changcheng, and Japanese brands. Refer to 青年参考. “萨德”不是韩系车的遮盖布”.

<http://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1574219893950963&wfr=spider&for=pc>.

(Accessed: 2018.05.06.); Regarding the electronic car development, China invested about 1.026 trillion Chinese Yuan since 2015 to June of 2017 in over 200 projects, but Hyundai was not able to produce any electronic car. Refer to 조선비즈. 현대차 중국 공장 여름휴가 일주일 전면중단...진출 15년만에 처음. [http://biz.chosun.com/site/data/html\\_dir/2017/07/30/2017073000711.html](http://biz.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2017/07/30/2017073000711.html). (Accessed: 2018.04.03.)

Korean car to purchase their own car.<sup>59</sup> In any case, due to the downsizing of Beijing-Hyundai branch and factories, countless Chinese labourers lost work and Hyundai expatriate *Hangans* – who were the members of the exclusive group in the economic hierarchy in Wangjing – returned to Korea. Moreover, due to the costly housing prices in Wangjing, Hyundai Motors is moving its expatriates' residence to *Yanjiao* region (河北省三河市燕郊真), which is located in *Sanhe* city in *Hebei* Province, where housing prices are more affordable than the downtown Wangjing.

Region	Distinction	Complexes	Average Prices (Chinese Yuan / m <sup>2</sup> )
Wangjing	High-end	Atlantic City F (大西洋新城 F 区)	103,643
		Baoxinghuating (宝星华庭)	81,943
		Olive City 1 <sup>st</sup> Complex (融科橄榄城 (一期))	102,122
		Olive City 2 <sup>nd</sup> Complex (融科橄榄城 (二期))	102,391
		Olive City 3 <sup>rd</sup> Complex (融科橄榄城 (三期))	98,879
	Mid-end	Xiyuan No. 3 (望京西园三区)	69,557
		Xiyuan No. 4 (望京西园四区)	66,688
Yanjiao	High-end	Huifuyuerongwan (汇福悦榕湾)	20,000
	Mid-end	Sweet Seoul City (首尔甜城)	17,833
		Yanjiao Peacock City (燕郊孔雀城)	17,833

**Table 5. House Prices in Wangjing and Yanjiao (April 2018)**  
(<https://beijing.anjike.com/>)

As the family members (*Hantais* and *Hanshengs*, housewives and students) left Wangjing area, many Korean shops and restaurants who relied

<sup>59</sup> 조선일보. 중국의 '사드 쇼비니즘'... 현대차 매장, 손님 끊겼다.  
[http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html\\_dir/2017/04/04/2017040403032.html](http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2017/04/04/2017040403032.html).  
(Accessed: 2018.04.03).

on the consumption of this exclusive groups closed down and moved out of Wangjing as well.<sup>60</sup> Moreover, the decrease in the number of students resulted in the shortage of applicants in Korean International School in Beijing.<sup>61</sup> As of the data in 2017 (Population in the end of 2016), the Korean population in Beijing is 66,579<sup>62</sup> and around 25,000 in Wangjing according to the interviews conducted during the fieldwork.

The adverse interstate relations was narrowed down to the local relations among Koreans and Chinese individuals and government in Wangjing. As the largest foreign ethnic group in Wangjing, Koreans are the largest beneficiaries to the pro-globalization policies in the area. However, THAAD incident brought to an instant halt to Chinese government's leniency toward promoting Korean economic activities, which can be seen from the cases of banning Korean entertainment contents imports. In 2017, as the tension of THAAD incident was relieved, Chaoyang District Office is pushing further for the globalization in the area through "The Policy for Construction of Globalized Human Resources Community in Wangjing, Chaoyang" (朝阳望京国际人才社区建设实施方案), which include following goals: 1) the enhancement of globalization level of human resources and work procedures to promote regional development; 2) the creation of innovative and development ecosystem to optimize the resource distribution; 3) the

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<sup>60</sup> Interview with L, Beijing, 9 January 2018; Interview with S, Beijing, 10 January 2018; Interview with J, Beijing, 10 January 2018; Interview with K, Beijing, 15 January 2018; Interview with K, Beijing, 17 January 2018; Interview with L, Beijing, 23 January 2018

<sup>61</sup> Interview with J, Beijing, 26 January 2018.

<sup>62</sup> 2017 재외동포현황. 외교부.

enhancement of facilities to meet the demand of human resources; 4) the enhancement of globalized service in the regional community to follow the modern advancement.<sup>63</sup> As observed, Wangjing gave birth to copious technology firms and is working toward globalization of the city and bring more prosperity to the growing community.

	Total	International Students	Residents
2003	43,000	13,000	30,000
2005	60,000	10,000	50,000
2007	100,000	30,000	70,000
2009	67,173	21,109	46,064
2011	77,600	20,000	57,600
2013	74,025	19,373	54,652
2015	68,788	17,231	51,557
2017	66,579	17,746	48,833

**Table 6. The Korean Population in Beijing based on the numbers presented by Korean Embassy in China in the reports of Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs (해외동포현황)<sup>64</sup>**

To summarize, the formation of Wangjing Koreatown has gone through many turbulent stages. Since the Korean people's settlement in Wangjing, the Korean society once reached its peak in 2006 with 100,000 Korean residents and another peak in 2010s with more than 70,000 residents. On the other hand, there were two recessions in Wangjing Koreatown, one was related to economic crisis (2008 Global Financial Crisis), and the other was related to political struggle (THAAD incident). The optimistic view is that when the crisis was exclusively economic-related, population close to 70,000 still remained in Wangjing. In other words, only about 30% of the Korean

<sup>63</sup> 北京组工. “朝阳区统筹推进望京国际人才社区建设 助力朝阳国际化发展”, <http://www.bjdj.gov.cn/news/2017825/n031323026.html>. (Accessed: 2017.10.05.)

<sup>64</sup> 2003~2017 년 재외동포현황. 외교부. [http://www.mofa.go.kr/www/brd/m\\_3454/list.do](http://www.mofa.go.kr/www/brd/m_3454/list.do)

residents were tied to Wangjing solely in economic aspect and 70% of the population were closely tied to Wangjing as a second hometown, which led to the sustenance of Koreatown to this day.

On the other hand, the political incident brought a vital blow to the region. The retaliation by the Chinese government could be summarized: 1) embedding anti-Korean sentiment and driving Lotte and Hyundai to the brink in Chinese market; 2) sudden fire regulation check-ups in Korean community and rendered Korean business to close down; and 3) restriction in issuing the visa to Korean people by setting up new regulations. Although the local government-Korean community relations was at stake with the THAAD incident, the issues relating with THAAD has slowly relieved. Moreover, Chaoyang District's endeavor to develop Wangjing into Globalized Community through OTEC and the government policy can be viewed as an optimistic news to another stage of prosperous Koreatown in Wangjing and may even bring the Korean community to another level in the "International Subdistrict of Wangjing".

## **2.3 Korean-Local Relations**

### **2.3.1 Relations with Chaoxianzu**

Chaoxianzusu are one of the ethnic groups that contributed to the development of Wangjing. The increase of Korean expatriates and diplomats induced the increase of Chaoxianzu people in Wangjing area. Their innate language skills allowed themselves to delve into Korean community in

Wangjing and penetrate into every corner of the social space created by Koreans in the region. In other words, Chaoxianzu people were able to move into Wangjing (Beijing) as they were hired by Korean firms or individuals. Since 2000, many Chaoxianzu people become a mediator or manager between Korean employers and Chinese local employees, or became housekeepers or drivers that could cater the needs of Korean residents' demand in the area. To be specific, Chaoxianzu people in Wangjing can range from high class white collar workers to blue collar workers by utilizing their ethnical advantage over Han Chinese and became essential members of the Wangjing Koreatown formation.<sup>65</sup>

The first Chaoxianzu people mostly resided in the neighbourhood with lower rents and separated from initial Korean migrants in Wangjing such as Nanhudongyuan and Nanhuzhongyuan, and even in the underground rooms in Wangjing Xiyuan No. 3 and No. 4. However, as the housing prices in Wangjing rose rapidly, since 2009, over 63,000 Chaoxianzu people have moved to *Yanjiao* in Hebei Province, which is adjacent to *Sunyi* District of Beijing.<sup>66</sup> In the present, many Korean people moved and reside in *Yanjiao* area as well.

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<sup>65</sup> Jeong, Jong-Ho. 2014. "Transplanted Wenzhou Model and Transnational Ethnic Economy: experiences of Zhejiangcun's Wenzhou migrants and Wangjing's Chaoxianzu (ethnic Korean Chinese) migrants in Beijing." *Journal of Contemporary China*, 23(86): pp. 348-349.; 이윤경 · 윤인진. 2015. 「중국 내 한인의 초국가적 이주와 종족공동체의 형성 및 변화: 베이징 코리아타운 사례 연구」. 『중국학논총』. 제 47 집. pp. 286.

<sup>66</sup> 선봉규. 2017. 「초국적 공간에서 중국조선족의 커뮤니티 활동과 기능 - 베이징 왕징지역을 중심으로」. 『동북아 문화연구』. 제 52 집. pp. 250.

Some Chaoxianzu people created their own business and investment models by learning the business models and investment methods from Korean firms and business owners.<sup>67</sup> The most notable phenomenon was Chaoxianzus' investment in Wangjing real-estates and business after Koreans have retreated from Koreatown during the Financial Crisis. As the Chaoxianzu people engaged in business sectors that overlaps with the business run by Korean people, such as restaurant, real-estate agent, travel agent, home stay, and others, the conflict between Korean and Chaoxianzu became tenser. According to Lee and Yoon (2013), as Chaoxianzu people faced social prejudice and mistreatment from Koreans, Chaoxianzu people became more aloof and even feel animosity. The unequal social circumstances created the ethnic enclosure and legitimized Chaoxianzus to create their own community that divide themselves from the Koreans.<sup>68</sup> Chaoxianzu and Korean people are divided into two different groups in Wangjing today, despite the language and cultural similarity. On the other hand, as Chaoxianzu influence grew in Wangjing community, they created a social economic structure that could more benefit Chaoxianzu people. L argued that as Chaoxianzu people claimed and owned more commercial buildings in the area, for example the one in Wangjing Xiyuan No. 4, they evicted many Korean business owners, and instead, let their fellow Chaoxianzu "friends" to operate

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<sup>67</sup> Jeong, Jong-Ho. 2014. "Transplanted Wenzhou Model and Transnational Ethnic Economy: experiences of Zhejiangcun's Wenzhou migrants and Wangjing's Chaoxianzu (ethnic Korean Chinese) migrants in Beijing." *Journal of Contemporary China*, 23(86): pp. 348

<sup>68</sup> 이윤경 · 윤인진. 2013. 「왕징 코리아타운 내 조선족과 한국인 간의 상호인식과 사회관계: 다자적 동족집단모델의 도입」. 『한국학연구』. 제 47 집. pp. 336-341.

restaurants and shopping business.<sup>69</sup> The tension between Korean and Chaoxianzu people are still present in Wangjing today.

However, it is also true that the animosity between two ethnic groups are decreasing. The first factor of decreasing trend of conflict between two groups is more diversified job opportunities for better educated Chaoxianzu generation. The first generation of Chaoxianzu people were less educated and survived in Wangjing through adaptation and adoption of business sectors set up by Korean people, which they continued in their new community *Yanjiao*. Conversely, the second generation of Chaoxianzu people were better educated in Beijing and sought opportunities in the new job markets benefited from globalization. C mentioned that the new generation of Chaoxianzu ethnic groups became trilingual groups who can speak Korean, Mandarin Chinese, and other languages that can benefit their cause. Numerous Chaoxianzu people now became high skilled labourers with the language advantage and work in Korean, Japanese, American, and European companies.<sup>70</sup> P, a Chaoxianzu resident in Beijing who is most active in Wangjing Chaoxianzu community and work in Wangjing, mentioned about her daughter who now works in a drone related start-up company created by her seniors from her college, Beihang University (北京航空航天大学), which excels and specializes in the aviation department.<sup>71</sup> C also worked in Chinese construction company, MediHeal, before he came to work in a Korean

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<sup>69</sup> Interview with L, Beijing, 9 January 2018.

<sup>70</sup> Interview with C, Beijing, 22 January 2018.

<sup>71</sup> Interview with P, Beijing, 19 January 2018.

consulting firm in Wangjing.<sup>72</sup> As such, the new generation of Chaoxianzusu's engagement in different professions is also another factor that contributes to reduction of Korean-Chaoxianzu conflict in Wangjing.

Moreover, more Korean people and Chaoxianzu people are seeking for modes to cooperate with each other. Since the THAAD deployment, as Korea-China relationship became adverse, the decreasing Korean population inflicted numerous Chaoxianzu business that catered to Korean residents' needs such as grocery stores, restaurants, travel agencies, and more. With the reducing population of *Hangans*, who were the most formidable members economically; *Hanshangs*, who moved back to Korea; *Hantais*, their wives; and *Hanshengs*, their children, the Chaoxianzu business faced economic downturn. Furthermore, Chaoxianzu business sectors that were related to various Korean firms closed down due to the limitation of visa distribution to the stars and imports of Korean entertainment products. Therefore, Chaoxianzu also share the desperate need to enhance the relations with local Koreans. P, who is the member of Chaoxianzu Women Network (北京爱心女性联) and Badminton Association, claimed that the Chaoxianzu organizations, that were inactive with local Koreans, had already collapsed. The major organizations such as Chaoxianzu Entrepreneur Association, Women Network, and OKTA<sup>73</sup> already engage in joint events and programs with Korean

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<sup>72</sup> Interview with C, Beijing, 22 January 2018.

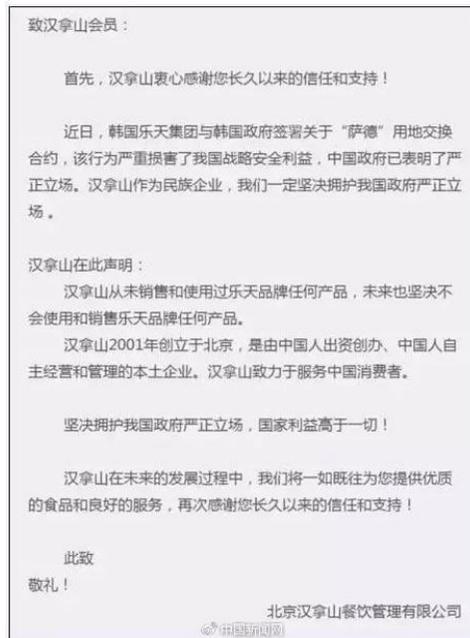
<sup>73</sup> Chaoxianzu Entrepreneur Association was organized in June of 2011 and is the group of Chaoxianzu entrepreneurs. They often host joint events with Korean Society of Beijing (재북경한국인회) and their main goal is to raise China-Korea experts; Chaoxianzu Women Network (北京爱心女性联) was organized in May of 2007 and organized many volunteer work and cultural network with Korean

members.<sup>74</sup> Also, in Korean University Students Soccer League, several Chaoxianzu teams play soccer with Korean international students' teams. In the business sector, a Chaoxianzu conglomerate, Hannashan (汉拿山) once appealed to the Chinese public during the THAAD incident, claiming that the company is a bona fide Chinese company that supports the political view of China (Figure 3). However, after the conflict has relieved, the company currently works with Korean state owned firms to advertise *Toekpoggi* (떡볶이) to the Chinese public. In this sense, Chaoxianzu individuals, businessmen, and even large conglomerate firms are still in need of Korean cooperation as the Koreans need them. Although the social prejudice between Korea-China still exist in Wangjing today, the two ethnic groups are aware of the importance of cooperation with each other.

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international students in China; OKTA (세계한인무역협회) is the organization with numerous Korean and Chaoxianzu trade firms as members. Refer to 선봉규. 2017. 「초국적 공간에서 중국조선족의 커뮤니티 활동과 기능 - 베이징 왕징지역을 중심으로」. 『동북아 문화연구』. 제 52 집. pp. 252-253.

<sup>74</sup> Interview with Mrs. P, Beijing, 19 January 2018.



**Figure 3. The Statement by Hannashan Group during the THAAD incident<sup>75</sup>**

### **2.3.2 Relations with Chinese People**

Korean people contributed in many ways to boost the economic stature of Wangjing. However, the Korean-Chinese relations, whether it is with local individuals or government level, still are the challenge for the Wangjing community. The individual struggle between local Chinese and Koreans emerged from cultural differences. From the Chinese people’s perspective, Koreans are viewed as ‘the disrupter of peace’ in Wangjing community. One of the problems that hinders Korean-Chinese relations is that Korean people are blamed for the inflations in Wangjing community during the 2000s, in both housing prices and local market itself.<sup>76</sup> As Korean people entered into

<sup>75</sup> Image taken from “汉拿山、权金城纷纷发声明：我们百分百是中国人的”，环球网, 2017.03.09. <http://world.huanqiu.com/article/2017-03/10283396.html>.

<sup>76</sup> Interview with Z, Beijing, 22 January 2018.

Wangjing community, the demand for luxurious houses and mid-end houses in the contemporaries increased and many of these houses were occupied by Korean *Hangans*, *Hanshangs*, and their family members. Many of the houses in Xiyuan No. 3 and No. 4 complexes were taken by Korean business owners and workers, whereas, luxurious houses such as Olive City and Atlandtic City were occupied by Korean expatriates whose housing prices and education fees were provided by the Korean firms. Chinese middle class people believe that increasing demand by “foreigners” are the main reason for skyrocketing housing prices. Moreover, they also believe that Koreans are the reason for increasing prices of food products in Wangjing. Therefore, they had to face searching for markets in a distance to buy the food products.<sup>77</sup> While the influx of Korean people in the community had contributed enormously in development of Wangjing Shequ, Korean people are also criticized for forcing increase of living costs by Wangjing Chinese residents.

There are also problems regarding the difference expectation of both ethnic groups. Kang (2007) conducted interviews on how lifestyle of Chinese and Koreans caused inconvenience to each other. From most of Chinese people’s perspective, Korean people are ‘rule breakers’ that goes against their habit and way of life. According to the studies, Chinese people are frustrated about Korean people in several aspects such as driving illegal vehicles,<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> 강진석. 2007. 「베이징 ‘왕징[望京]’ 코리아타운 지역의 韓-中 ‘이문화(異文化)’ 갈등요소와 해소방안 연구」. 『국제지역연구』. 제 11 권 제 1 호. pp. 20.

<sup>78</sup> Most of international students buy and drive illegal motorcycles or illegally modified electric bike in Beijing for mode of transportation and often cause social problems such as traffic accidents, drinking-and-driving, speeding, and even hit-

noisy nightlife, hierarchy system in workplace, and extravagant lifestyle. From most of Korean perspective, Chinese people appears as “uncivilized” people. Korean people disdain Chinese people’s lack of hygiene, law-abiding spirit (especially, traffic), and security of neighbourhood.<sup>79</sup> While Wangjing is a living space of different ethnic groups, the capacity of understanding each other is lacking due to their different way of thinking and interests that arouses from lack of communications.

Another main problem in Wangjing community is the separation of Korean and local Chinese people, as the Wangjing Koreans lack in their communication with the locals. Aside from economic activities, Korean people rarely engage in social interactions with the local Chinese in Wangjing as Koreans created an ethnic community of their own. Therefore, the separation and lack of communication create aggravation that accumulates from everyday lifestyle of both ethnic groups. Zhang *et al.* (2009) pointed out the four major issues that hinder integration of the major ethnic groups (Han Chinese, Chaoxianzu, and Korean people) in Wangjing, which are: 1) the three groups’ tendencies to exclude one another from their own community, which resulted in lack of understanding of each other; 2) lack of frequency of engagement and communication; 3) lack of communication channel such cultural centre or any means of gathering of three groups; and lastly, 4) the

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and-run cases. Beijing Municipal Government attempted to stop the proliferation of illegally modified bikes by enforcing obligation to acquire license plates from local police stations in 2013, however, failed. Based on author’s experience in Beijing from July of 2010 to July of 2016, there is at least 1 student each year involved in traffic accidents with these bikes.

<sup>79</sup> 강진석. 2007. 「베이징 ‘왕징[望京]’ 코리아타운 지역의 韓-中 ‘이문화(異文化)’ 갈등요소와 해소방안 연구」. 『국제지역연구』. 제 11 권 제 1 호. pp. 19-20.

foreigner (especially inland) policy that failed to catch up with current day Wangjing. Putting the issue of Chaoxianzu and Han Chinese aside, according to the interview, the issues generally stem from language and cultural barrier. Z pointed out two main causes of the communication and interaction obstacles from the perspective of Korean and local Chinese residents. For Koreans, as these migrants entered Wangjing with Chaoxianzu people as the catalyst to mediate or translate between themselves and Chinese counterparts, Korean people's dependency toward Chaoxianzu people was extremely high. Consequently, Korean people did not find a dire need to learn Chinese and built a 'wall' with Chinese people, even though the Koreatown in Wangjing grew in size and interaction with Chinese people became more frequent. On the other hand, Chinese people were also passive in engaging in social interaction with the 'foreigners' in Wangjing. In fact, as Wangjing community became more developed, even the social interaction among Chinese community and neighbours also decreased. Naturally, Chinese-Chinese communication gap also contributed to the aloofness in Chinese-foreigner interactions as well.<sup>80</sup> Furthermore, a Korean *Hantai*, J, commented that Korean people in Wangjing enjoy the closed society among themselves and maintain Korean way and lifestyle in the community. She criticized Korean people are effortless in learning and understanding Chinese culture, as she explained her experience of learning tea culture. After sending her *Hansheng* son to school, she used to visit tea shops in *Maliandao* (马连道) and communicate with various Chinese people in Beijing, and later she acquired

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<sup>80</sup> Interview with Z, Beijing, 22 January 2018.

Mid-class Tea Expert License. She still keeps in touch with the tea expert (tea shop owner), who provides her affluent supplies of teas for her sale.<sup>81</sup> As so, she was able to integrate into Chinese society by learning about a Chinese culture that Chinese people are fond of and using it as a catalyst to befriend them. Indeed, Korean people's little motivation to learn Chinese language and culture can be seen as one of the major issues that can be threatening to Korean and local relations in Wangjing. If Koreans maintain such stance in Chinese ground, there will be a high chance of social isolation and more social conflict.

### **2.3.3 Relations with Government**

The local government and Korean residents relation is an important aspect of maintenance of Koreatown in Wangjing. Tan and Cai (2017) stated that Beijing model of maintenance of foreign ethnic community as traditional top-down model, in which Subdistrict Office, as a branch of municipal government, is in charge of establishing and managing service centre for foreigners. Shanghai and Guangzhou use different management models which are semi self-management model which encourages residents' involvement and multi management model which involves different bodies such as police (公安) and floating population management office (流动人口管理处) all take part in foreigner management, respectively. However, these models still show hard characteristics, in which government is still the leading role in foreigner management.

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<sup>81</sup> Interview with J, Beijing, 15 January 2018.

Recently, Wangjing Shequ became an experimental zone to provide active service oriented management such as Foreigner Service Centre, and thereby, build a new model that promotes globalization of the community.<sup>82</sup> Furthermore, Chaoyang District Office also pushed policies intending to create global community in Wangjing through continued host of Oversea Talented Entrepreneurship Conference since 2013 and “The New Policies for Construction of Globalized Human Resources Community in Wangjing, Chaoyang” in 2017 (optimization of work procedures, promotion of start-up companies by globalized human resources, enhancement of medical and education system, and education of services that suits global standard). Through these measures, both Chaoyang District Office and Wangjing Subdistrict Office attempt to invited globalized talents and build a high-level globalized community in Wangjing. The globalization policies in Beijing is expected to benefit Koreans, who built the basis of globalized community, in Wangjing.

At the same time, Chinese government still has concerns toward Korean management in Wangjing. Government management measures often induce aggravations for Korean residents in the area. One of the factors that Chinese government were afraid of was the gathering, especially ones by the foreigners. One of the main case was in the end of 2009, in which Chinese government shut down Sungsam Church which once had a great number of followers in Wangjing. The local government closed down the church and

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<sup>82</sup> 선봉규. 2017. 「초국적 공간에서 중국조선족의 커뮤니티 활동과 기능 - 베이징 왕징지역을 중심으로」. 『동북아 문화연구』. 제 52 집. pp. 243-260.

expelled the pastor of the church for fire regulation and building code violations. However, the local residents conjectured the main cause of pastor's expulsion as missionary activity to Chaoxianzu people, and thereby, creating a gathering based on religion that create agitation of Chinese government.<sup>83</sup> In another case in November of 2017, during the Bazaar event hosted by Beijing Korean Promising Companies Association and Korean International School in Beijing to promote Chinese-Korean relations, Wangjing Police (公安局) intervened to end the event earlier than scheduled, as the number of people joined in the event exceeded the number expected.<sup>84</sup> These two cases can be interpreted as the fear of Chinese government toward the gatherings of Korean in Wangjing area as it can cause disturbance in the management of both Chinese and foreigners.

The conflict between Chinese government and Korean residents exacerbated with the THAAD incident. Many of the Korean firms and business were evicted from Wangjing through the fire regulation check-up as a card that government used when necessary, as mentioned in LotteMart case and Sungsam Church. The private business were also damaged by abrupt fire regulation check-ups. As the interviews suggest, Chinese government was lenient on fire regulation in the business sectors in Wangjing. However, during

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<sup>83</sup> 백권호 · 장수현 · 김윤태 · 정중호 · 설동훈. 2010. 『2010 년 대중국 종합연구 재증 한인사회 연구: ‘코리아타운’을 중심으로』. 세종: 경제 · 인문사회연구회. pp. 26.

<sup>84</sup> As the host of the event, both members of Beijing Korean Promising Companies Association mentioned about the abrupt dispersion of the Bazaar Event. Originally, the planned dismissal time was 6 P.M., however, the police came by and drove the people out around 2 P.M. Interview with K, Beijing, 2018.01.17.; Interview with L, Beijing, 2018.01.23.

the THAAD issues, the government used the regulation to strike many Korean restaurants and business around Xiyuan No. 4.<sup>85</sup> Korean businessmen who were not prepared for the check-up were forced to close down for a period of time. Many of them could not maintain the shops and left Wangjing. Moreover, even the Chinese shops and restaurants, which were located adjacent to the Korean business, were also ambushed by the check-up and became ‘scapegoats’ for the THAAD retaliation in Wangjing.<sup>86</sup> L, a journalist in a local newspaper, mentioned about one of the interviews with the member of Chinese police force (公安局) in Beijing, quoted, “Whenever there is a problem between Korea and China, Chinese government has no choice but to strike down Korean community (in China), because it is the most direct and quickest way to show that there is a problem.”<sup>87</sup> Although Korean business benefited from the leniency of Chinese government on certain extents (in terms of policies that the government overlook) during the heyday, remaining unprepared for these policies can backfire during the period in which Chinese and Korean relations, whether political or social, are not in good terms.

Another frustration that Korean people have against Chinese government is the visa issues. As Paik *et al.* (2010) suggest, inconsistency in visa policies and the shortening of visa issues from 3 months to 1 month in 2008 has brought inconvenience to Korean people in Wangjing. The changes in Chinese visa policies bring about an enormous turbulence in Korean society in Wangjing. During the THAAD incidents, when Chinese government

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<sup>85</sup> Interview with K, Beijing, 15 January 2018.

<sup>86</sup> Interview with K, Beijing, 17 January 2018.

<sup>87</sup> Interview with L, Beijing, 20 January 2018.

prohibited issue of visa to entertainers, the government also ordered new visa policy on September 27 of 2016, as they combined Work Permit for Foreign Experts (外国专家来华工作许可证) and Employment Permit for Foreigners (外国人就业许可证) into one category, namely Work Permit for Foreigners in China (外国人来华工作许可证). The new work visa policy divided foreigners into 3 categories: A-level for Foreign High-Level Human Resources (外国高级人才) for scientists, science and technology experts, global businessmen, and foreign special human resources that contribute to the Chinese economic and social development; B-level for Foreign Specialist Human Resources (外国专门人才) for graduates of master's degree from Chinese universities or world's top 100 universities, and foreign language professors; and C-level for Foreign Regular Workers (外国普通人员) for regular foreign workers in China.<sup>88</sup> Most of the people who reside in Wangjing, even including expatriates *Hangans*, belong to the C-level workers. Moreover, these C-level workers can be sent to China under certain quota. Therefore, Korean residents in Wangjing complain about the new policy, as it requires either education in the higher level institution or accumulation of wealth and earnings.<sup>89</sup> With the new visa policy in issue, L have mentioned about the rejection of visa issuance of a 60 year-old couple who were Korean

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<sup>88</sup> 조선비즈. [실전 비즈니스 중국법] 외국인 중국 근무허가제도 바뀐다. [http://biz.chosun.com/site/data/html\\_dir/2017/01/17/2017011700711.html](http://biz.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2017/01/17/2017011700711.html). (Accessed: 2018.05.02.); 한국무역신문. 중국, 외국인 근무 허가제 개정안 실행. <http://weeklytrade.co.kr/news/view.html?section=1&category=136&item=&no=26743>. (Accessed: 2018.05.02.)

<sup>89</sup> Interview with K, Beijing, 21 January 2018.

residents in Wangjing for around 20 years.<sup>90</sup> In other words, the changes in visa policy by the Chinese government heavily influence the Korean community in Wangjing and is also one of the major factors that cause anxiety of Korean residents.

To summarize, Chinese government, from the municipal level to the Subdistrict level, is interested in creating a globalized community in Wangjing, but at the same time need to hold a leverage to control the foreigners within their precinct. During the times of adverse interstate relation or general social conflict between local Koreans and the local government, Chinese government is not hesitant to use these leverages such as fire regulation and visa. However, when times are good, Chinese government finds its need to develop Wangjing community to more prosperous community by providing better environment for foreigners in the region. As long as Chinese government feels the needs to search and produce global human resources, although halted by the THAAD incident, the globalization process of Wangjing seems to continue and this mode of urban development will definitely be a boon to Koreatown, as it will likely face another evolutionary stage.

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<sup>90</sup> Interview with L, Beijing, 23 January 2018.

### 3. Comparison of Koreatowns in China with Wangjing Koreatown

#### 3.1 Shanghai Koreatown

Korean residents in Shanghai mostly inhabit in Gubei (古北), Longbai (龙柏), and Hongquan Avenue (虹泉路), the central landmark of Shanghai Koreatown. Shanghai Korean community and residence in these areas are deeply related with the history of market and economic reform.<sup>91</sup> The formation of Koreatown in Shanghai can be distinguished into three main phases in accordance with the development of Shanghai city: that is, emergence of Hongqiao Special Economic Zone, the new residential area in Gubei region of the city, and the decline of Korean influence in the area due to the Global Financial Crisis.

The first phase can be referred as the development to the international village. Korean people initially resided in Hongqiao Special Economic Zone. Since the opening of 14 coastal cities in 1984, the Economic and Technological Development Zone was constructed in Hongqiao, Shanghai. In the August of 1986, the formal approval of the State Council induced massive influx of foreigners in the area, however, only a handful of Korea patriates, especially those from huge firms, were allowed in Hongqiao area until the diplomatic normalization between Korea and China. The number of Korean

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<sup>91</sup> 백권호 · 장수현 · 김윤태 · 정중호 · 실동훈. 2010. 『2010 년 대중국 종합연구 재중 한인사회 연구: ‘코리아타운’을 중심으로』. 세종: 경제 · 인문사회연구회. pp. 35.

visitors exploded since the normalization in 1992, and massive number of firms advanced to China. The area was already occupied by other foreigners and Koreatown was miniscule in Hongqiao area as it only had 10 Korean restaurants, 1 beauty salon, and 1 after-school academy named Chunghae (청해학원) as of the year 1999.<sup>92</sup> To elaborate, Korean migrants to Hongqiao SEZ during the 1980s to 90s created the community after the foreigners from other countries formed settlements in the area.

The second phase of Shanghai Koreatown formation was the annulment of the policy on foreigner designated residential area and Korean residents' movement to Gubei region. To be specific, the lifting of foreigner residential area policy allowed Koreans and other foreigners to search for cheaper rents. Therefore, Korean residents moved to newly developed Gubei New Town. With emerging local community among the same ethnic group, Korean residents began to operate various business based on personal service, from *hangwon* (after-school program), hair salon, and real estate agent to Korean bars and KTV. As the trade between Korea and China became more active, intermediary firms, service providers, even large-size firms built business that catered Korean residents. At the same time, increasing number of Koreans entered Hongquan Avenue in Gubei area. This allowed the growth of ethnic business sector, and the new Koreatown emerged in the area. In 2003, the construction of Jinxiujiangnan (锦绣江南) with the sales price about 50

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid. pp. 35-36.

million Korean Won (per 99.17m<sup>2</sup>) boosted the popularity of the region.<sup>93</sup> In 2006, the opening of a grand Korean supermarket ‘Angel Mart’ became the central landmark of the Koreatown. The Koreatown initiated from Gubei New Town and Longbai region, and expanded to the southern region of Hongquan Avenue. Korean residents in the area refer the whole region as ‘Gubei’.

The third phase was the weakening of the Koreatown due to the economic threats. In 2008, the U.S. Financial Crisis shook the whole world and Korea was heavily influenced, especially with the appreciation of Yuan. The living expenses in Hongquan Avenue naturally increased, therefore numerous Koreans moved out to the suburbs or returned to Korea. Internally, the migration of Korean society in Shanghai is deeply related with housing prices in Gubei. From 2003 to 2007, Korean people rushed into the area to buy houses and the influx of Korean restaurants, marts, KTV, and other commodities caused prices to skyrocket. The house price of Changning district (长宁区), where Gubei area is located, reached to 67,646 yuan per square meter as of April of 2018 and became a huge burden for the Koreans in the region.<sup>94</sup> One of the interviewee, K, is a member of Beijing Korean Medium-Small Companies Association and resided in Gubei as an international student and a businessman from 1996 and to 2005, before he moved to Wangjing. According to K, after the financial crisis, the appreciation of Chinese Yuan and the skyrocketing housing prices made the living cost in

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<sup>93</sup> 아주경제. [仁차이나 프리즘] 상하이 교민사회, 사드 사태에도 평온한 까닭. <http://www.ajunews.com/view/20170906151723914>. (Accessed: 2017.10.20.)

<sup>94</sup> Refer to <https://shanghai.anjuke.com/market/changning/>

Gubei unaffordable to many Koreans. Since then, Korean residents in Gubei moved to the outskirts of the region and slowly integrated into the Chaoxianzu residential area to a more affordable accommodation.<sup>95</sup> According to the demographic statistics provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Korea, the number of Korean people in Shanghai decreased from 53,502 in 2006 to 20,412 in 2012.<sup>96</sup> Ironically, the outflow of Korean residents from Gubei area since 2009 improved the quality of the neighbourhood as night culture that entertained Korean people such as KTVs have dramatically decreased. As Korean people were driven out of the area, the tension between local Chinese and Koreans has reduced as well.

Throughout the 2010s, the revival of *Hallyu* wave of K-dramas such as ‘You Who Came from the Stars’ and ‘Descendants of the Sun’ recovered the liveliness of markets in Gubei Koreatown. However, Korean residents never became the main player in Koreatown. Instead, the local Chinese and Chaoxianzu took advantage of the vacancy of Korean people and purchased commercial supremacy with their affluent capital.<sup>97</sup> In 2017, the main Korean mart, Angel Mart underwent bankruptcy, and denotes the decreasing Korean influence in the region as it was the landmark of Gubei Koreatown. As of July, the debt reached to about 6.6 billion Korean Won.<sup>98</sup> Although the Koreatown itself may have been diminished, the ethnic society remains secure. In fact,

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<sup>95</sup> Interview with K, Beijing, 21 January 2018.

<sup>96</sup> 2007년 재외동포현황; 2013년 재외동포현황. 외교부.  
[http://www.mofa.go.kr/www/brd/m\\_3454/list.do](http://www.mofa.go.kr/www/brd/m_3454/list.do)

<sup>97</sup> 아주경제. [仁차이나 프리즘] 상하이 교민사회, 사드 사태에도 평온한 까닭. <http://www.ajunews.com/view/20170906151723914>. (Accessed: 2017.10.20.)

<sup>98</sup> *ibid.*

the Korean community in Shanghai was not deeply involved in China-Korea THAAD incident. Moreover the population trends show the decrease Korean residents in Beijing, but the increase in Shanghai, which reached 32,730 in 2016 in official record<sup>99</sup> and approximated as 70,000 in unofficial record.

### 3.2 Qingdao Koreatown

Koreatown in Qingdao is located in Chengyang (城阳区) and Licang District (李沧区), located in the vicinity of Qingdao Liuting International Airport (青岛流亭国际机场).<sup>100</sup> Shandong Province (山东省) became one of the places where many Korean people resided and formed manufacturing clusters with its location advantage. Shandong was close to Incheon - one of the largest port cities in South Korea – which made everyday procurement and shipment possible for factories with Korean capital and investment to settle in various cities in the province such as Qingdao, Yantai, and Weihai, the port cities where the port that outgoing and incoming ships from Incheon (See Table 7). The geographical characteristic allowed Qingdao Koreatown to become one of the key area for Koreans to form an ethnic community.

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<sup>99</sup> 2017 년 재외동포현황. 외교부.

[http://www.mofa.go.kr/www/brd/m\\_3454/list.do](http://www.mofa.go.kr/www/brd/m_3454/list.do)

<sup>100</sup> In the past, Shinan District (市南区) was also the centre of Koreatown in Qingdao. Shinan District is the central Business District in the city with Qingdao City Hall, trade centre, and countless financial institutions. Until 2008, Shinan Koreatown was filled Korean residential area (Mingrenguangchang) with countless expatriates and private entrepreneurs. However, during the author's visit to Qingdao in June of 2016, there was no sign of Koreatown in Shinan District. Refer to 구지영. 2013. 「동북아시아 이주와 장소구성에 관한 사례연구 - 중국 청도 한인 집거지를 통해」. 『동북아 문화연구』. 제 37 집. pp. 276-285.

The development of Qingdao Korean community can be divided into three phases, which are China-Korea economic pact in late 1980s, Korean settlements in the 1990s, and global financial crisis in 2008.

	Ports	Total
Shandong Province (山东省)	Qingdao (青岛) Weihai (威海) Yantai (烟台)	3
Liaoning Province (辽宁省)	Dalian (大连) Dandong (丹东) Yingkou (营口)	3
Hebei Province (河北省)	Tianjin (天津)* Qinhuangdao (秦皇岛)	2
Jiangsu Province (江苏省)	Lianyungang (连云港)	1
Hainan Province (海南省)	Shidao (石岛)	1

**Table 7. Number of Destinations from Incheon Port International Passengers Terminal<sup>101</sup> (\*Tianjin is technically a Central Direct-controlled municipality, but included in Hebei due to its geographical location)**

The first phase of Koreatown formation in Qingdao can be traced back to Shangdong economic window. The opening of Korea-China Economic Trade Window of Liaoning and Shandong with the 1988 Seoul Summer Olympics offered new opportunities for Korean investors and businessmen to engage and build business in Qingdao, as Chinese government sought for China-Korea economic cooperation by sending economic mission to South Korea.<sup>102</sup> The actual trade and economic activities surfaced with K.Tone electronics

<sup>101</sup> The number are tallied from the Incheon Port International Passengers Terminal website. Refer to

<http://www.icferry.or.kr/content/view.do?menuKey=24&contentKey=6>.

<sup>102</sup> 백권호 · 장수현 · 김윤탈 · 정중호 · 설동훈. 2010. 『2010 년 대중국 종합연구 재중 한인사회 연구: ‘코리아타운’을 중심으로』. 세종: 경제 · 인문사회연구회. pp. 57.

(토프톤전기) becoming the first Korean firm to enter into Qingdao.<sup>103</sup> Until the 1992, of the 71 Korean firms located in Qingdao, 65 firms settled in Chengyang District which was chosen for its cheap land cost and living cost as it was one of the poorest region in Qingdao. Most of these firms focused on manufacturing labour-intensive goods such as garments, shoes, bags, packaging, and food processing with investment less than 3 million US dollars.<sup>104</sup> Opening of Shandong-Incheon port in 1989, Korea-China diplomatic tie in 1992, and the establishment of Qingdao Korean Embassy in 1994 accelerated influx of Korean firms and businessmen into Qingdao area.

The second phase can be defined as Koreatown development from 1990s to 2007. As many Korean firms settled in Chengyang District, both Qingdao government and Chengyang district office were aware of the importance of Korean investment in the area and created policies that favoured the Korean firms as the entrance of Korean firms correlated with the economic development of Chengyang District.<sup>105</sup> In 1997, East Asian Economic Crisis paused Korean firms' growth in Qingdao, however, the influx of Koreans increased for mainly two purposes; seeking for new business and investment opportunities for the laid-off workers and for the education of children. The number of Korean migrants significantly increased during 2000s. These

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<sup>103</sup> 장수현. 2012. 「중국 청도 한국인 교민사회에 대한 연구 - 지구화 시대 초국적 이주의 구조적 유동성」. 『중국학연구』. pp. 340.

<sup>104</sup> 위군. 2011. 「청도 코리아타운에 관한 연구」. 『글로벌문화콘텐츠』. 제 7 호. pp. 55.; 구지영. 2013. 「동북아시아 이주와 장소구성에 관한 사례연구 - 중국 청도 한인 집거지를 통해」. 『동북아 문화연구』. 제 37 집. pp. 272.

<sup>105</sup> 위군. 2011. 「청도 코리아타운에 관한 연구」. 『글로벌문화콘텐츠』. 제 7 호. pp. 56.

movements caused local Chinese to contact with Korean entertainment contents such as K-Pop and K-drama, which allowed economic interaction between local Koreans and Chaoxianzu migrants - who came into the area to meet the demands of Korean businessmen in both their workplace and service sector that could cater to their everyday needs.<sup>106</sup> Moreover, continuing influx of Korean people caused lack of lands to develop into industrial town, therefore the labour-intensive manufacturers were moved to the outskirts, while the factories in Qingdao focused more on technology-based industries.<sup>107</sup> With the growth of Koreatown, some large sized Korean firms settled in Qingdao such as POSCO, Kiswire (고려제강), GS Caltex, Sindoh, LG Electronics, Hyundai Corporation.<sup>108</sup> As of the year 2002, Koreatown became official as the shopping centre called “Koreatown (韩国城)” was built in Chengyang District. In the end of 2006, Korean population in Qingdao reached 85,000, in which 5,000 were international students studying in Qingdao, and 140,000 Chaoxianzus.<sup>109</sup> During this period, Korean migrants resided in the Chengyang District, Licang District, and Shinan District (市南区, the central business district). The accommodations in the area were state-of-art apartment complexes with luxurious heating system and satisfied Korean

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<sup>106</sup> 구지영. 2013. 「동북아시아 이주와 장소구성에 관한 사례연구 - 중국 청도 한인 집거지를 통해」. 『동북아 문화연구』. 제 37 집. pp. 272.

<sup>107</sup> 위군. 2011. 「청도 코리아타운에 관한 연구」. 『글로벌문화콘텐츠』. 제 7 호. pp. 58.

<sup>108</sup> 장수현. 2012. 「중국 청도 한국인 교민사회에 대한 연구 - 지구화 시대 초국적 이주의 구조적 유동성」. 『중국학연구』. pp. 341.

<sup>109</sup> 2007 년 재외동포현황. 외교부.

residents' demand. The influence of Korean people were still growing in the area both culturally and economically.

The third phase was the threat to the Koreatown which initiated since the Global Financial Crisis in 2008. Initially, although there were some global companies settled in the area, the majority of Korean firms in Chengyang District were small to mid-sized firms. Therefore, the Korean population and their business in the region were easily swayed by threats. Prior to the Financial Crisis, 'Run Away (야반도주)' incident shows the perfect example of the phenomenon. The Korean firms largely benefitted from the tax reduction and loose regulation by the municipal government. Consequently, the active investment of Korean people enabled the economic boost in Chengyang District. However, with the management aggravation in labour-intensive sector, out of 8,344 Korean firms that entered Qingdao from 2000 to 2007, 206 firms exited the market without paying the dues.<sup>110</sup> Although firms of this type only accounted for 2.5% of the all Korean companies in Qingdao, this led to economic and diplomatic complications including distrust of local Chinese people and banks toward Korean firms. From 2008, Hu Jin Tao administration issued New Labour Contract Law (新劳动合同法) regarding environmental regulations, processing trade, sudden tax investigation, land

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<sup>110</sup> Korean firms escaped from China, mainly Qingdao, without paying the dues. This phenomenon was termed as 야반도주. Refer to 한겨레. 칭다오 한국기업 206 곳 '야반도주'. [http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/economy/economy\\_general/269076.html](http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/economy/economy_general/269076.html). (검색일 2018.04.08.)

supply, and labourer issues.<sup>111</sup> Furthermore, appreciation of Yuan due to 2008 Global Financial Crisis and increased pressure from the Chinese government led to increasing operation cost and living cost in Qingdao. As many Koreans in Qingdao were small-time entrepreneurs, they were extremely sensitive to the economic circumstances, even bear the loss of money to move out of the city.<sup>112</sup> Following events had led to rapid outflow of Korean residents in Qingdao. In the end of 2008, the Korean population in Qingdao fell to 66,650.<sup>113</sup> Qingdao, the city that was once called ‘Investment Utopia (투자천국)’ and ‘The Second Hometown (제 2 의 고향)’ to numerous Korean migrants faced dormancy in economic activities.

After the economic crisis, Qingdao benefitted from K-Wave that struck China during 2010s. Export of entertainment contents, especially K-dramas, led to profits in many sectors of Korean companies in Qingdao. The most notable growth was shown in Korean food. According to the Qingdao headquarter of aT (Korea Agro-Fisheries & Food Trade Corporation), Chinese people started to shop in Korean marts for food product as they gained guarantee for safe food product.<sup>114</sup> However, with the decreasing competitiveness of Korean goods and 2016 THAAD incident, many Korean companies started to decrease its investment in the area. Table 8 shows that

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<sup>111</sup> 매일경제. 중국진출 중소기업 ‘야반도주’ 왜?.

<http://news.mk.co.kr/newsRead.php?year=2007&no=46119>. (검색일 2018.04.08.)

<sup>112</sup> 연합뉴스. 中칭다오, ‘韓流도시’서 ‘寒流도시’로.

<http://news.naver.com/main/read.nhn?mode=LSD&mid=sec&sid1=101&oid=001&aid=0002414841>. (검색일 2018.04.08.)

<sup>113</sup> 2009 년 재외동포현황. 외교부.

<sup>114</sup> 아주경제. <산동성은 지금>칭다오 aT 물류 농수산식품 중국 수출경쟁력 높인다 [성광돈 법인장 인터뷰].

<http://www.ajunews.com/view/20151229194431898>. (검색일 2018.04.10)

the number of investment project reached 717 with declared value of 820 million US Dollars and actual value of 725 million US in 2010. However, the numbers decreased to 302 investments with declared value of 406 million US dollars and actual value of 265 million dollars in 2017. The Korean population in Qingdao also shows the decreasing trend from 48,200 in 2010 to 31,710 in 2016. The correlation between two data shows the diminishing Koreatown influence in Qingdao City.

Year	Korean Population		Number of Declared Investment	Number of New Registered Companies	Declared Value (Million US Dollars)	Actual Value (Million US Dollars)
	Shandong Province	Qingdao City				
2008	112,330	66,650	666	174	598	448
2009	N/A		717	247	820	725
2010	88,800	48,200	652	196	710	610
2011	N/A		544	154	584	587
2012	83,617	45,321	502	197	376	296
2013	N/A		391	156	358	289
2014	82,417	N/A	360	144	482	393
2015	N/A		341	123	466	318
2016	65,718	31,710	302	87	406	265

**Table 8. Korean firms' investment in Shandong Province<sup>115</sup>**

<sup>115</sup> Population data were collected from biannual *제외동포현황* reports from 2009 to 2017 (Qingdao City population data from 2015 report excluded as it was removed from 외교부 website); Investment data were collected from 해외투자통계 from The Export-Import Bank of Korea (한국수출입은행).

### 3.3 Shenyang Koreatown

Koreatown in Shenyang is located in Xita (西塔). Xita refers to the 1 km part of Xita Avenue (西塔街) with a series of Korean and Chaoxianzu business and residences.<sup>116</sup> Xita has been the residential area of Chaoxianzu people for more than 100 years. As of the year 1989, the opening of China-Korea Economic Trade Window of Liaoning and Shandong province initiated the first trade activities between two countries followed by the 1988 Seoul Olympic. Liaoning Province has three ports with incoming ship from Incheon, in Dalian, Dandong, and Yingkou. During 1980s, Shenyang was a city with huge regional economic dependency in the heavy industry, the distribution industry based on SOEs, and the late adoption of market economy that slowed the actual trade with the outside world. This factor rendered numerous Korean firms reluctant to enter the area, compared to the Southern cities.<sup>117</sup> The history of Koreatown formation in Xita can be divided into three main phases, which are Korean people's entrance into the region, China exit since 2006, and development stage from 2012.

The first phase is appearance of Koreans in the region. As mentioned above, Liaoning Province was one of economic trade window with Shandong Province. Although Shenyang does not have a direct port and is also a second-class city (二线城市), Xita was a neighbourhood with many numerous

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<sup>116</sup> 임영상. 2014. 「심양 서탑 코리아타운의 변화와 민족문화축제」. 『중국학연구』. 제 70 집. pp. 354.

<sup>117</sup> 백권호 · 장수현 · 김윤태 · 정중호 · 설동훈. 2010. 『2010 년 대중국 종합연구 재중 한인사회 연구: ‘코리아타운’을 중심으로』. 세종: 경제 · 인문사회연구회. pp. 94.

Chaoxianzus, therefore, for the Koreans who faced obstacles integrating into local Chinese society, Xita appeared as an attractive community where the language barrier was not an issue.<sup>118</sup> In 1994, the complete construction of Baekjaewon (백제원) indicated the establishment of the first Koreatown landmark in the area with traditional Korean restaurants, sauna, and karaoke. In 1996, Silla City (新罗城) moved from Tiexi District (铁西区) to Xita region and in 1997, the establishment of a Korean restaurant named Gyeonghoeru (경회루) denoted the official milestone of Koreatown formation in the region.<sup>119</sup> In the mid-1990s, Shenyang Municipal Government permitted LG Electronics and Sambo Computer to enter Shenyang and assist the development of technology industry in the area, however, failed due to Sambo Computer's massive layoffs during East Asian Economic Crisis.<sup>120</sup> However, Korean individuals who sought opportunities in China rushed into Shenyang with great hopes of 'China Dream'. Moreover, the widespread of Korean satellite channels since 1998 in Shenyang built the basis of first *Hallyu* wave to Chaoxianzu and local Chinese people and induced more Korean private business people to enter into Xita

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<sup>118</sup> 신춘호. 2011. 「심양 코리아타운 '서탑'과 한국문화: 심양한국주간과 2010 중국글로벌한상대회의 경우」. 『재외한인연구』. 제 24 호. pp. 189.

<sup>119</sup> 임영상. 2014. 「심양 서탑 코리아타운의 변화와 민족문화축제」. 『중국학연구』. 제 70 집. pp. 438.; 조민홍. 2014. 『심양 서탑 코리아타운과 문화공간: 아리랑예술촌의 구상과 관련하여』. 서울: 한국외국어대학교 [석사학위논문]. pp. 25.

<sup>120</sup> 백권호 · 장수현 · 김윤태 · 정종호 · 설동훈. 2010. 『2010 년 대중국 종합연구 재중 한인사회 연구: '코리아타운'을 중심으로』. 세종: 경제 · 인문사회연구회. pp. 94.

neighbourhood.<sup>121</sup> As the Korean information technology has grown to the global level, Shenyang municipal government needed the help of Korean firms to solve the unemployment issue. Therefore, Shenyang government authorized the host of Shenyang Korean Week Event (심양한국주) and encouraged Korean global firms to build their branches in the city.

	Date	Event	Name of the Event
2001			Liaoning Korean Week
2002	July 2	1 <sup>st</sup>	Shenyang Korean Week
2003	July 19-25	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Shenyang Korean Week
2004	May 19-25	3 <sup>rd</sup>	Shenyang Korean Week
2005	May 15-21	4 <sup>th</sup>	Shenyang Korean Week
2006	July 16-22	5 <sup>th</sup>	Shenyang Korean Week
2007	May 20-26	6 <sup>th</sup>	Shenyang Korean Week
2008	May 17-23	7 <sup>th</sup>	Shenyang Korean Week
2009	September 13-18	8 <sup>th</sup>	Shenyang Korean Week
2010	July 5-8	9 <sup>th</sup>	Shenyang Korean Week
2011	July 13-17	10 <sup>th</sup>	Shenyang Korean Week
2012	August 24-28	11 <sup>th</sup>	Shenyang Korean Week 1 <sup>st</sup> Korean Delicacy Event

<sup>121</sup> 임영상. 2014. 「심양 서탑 코리아타운의 변화와 민족문화축제」. 『중국학연구』. 제 70 집. pp. 439-440.

2013	July 5-9	12 <sup>th</sup>	Shenyang Korean Week 2 <sup>nd</sup> Korean Delicacy Event
2014	July 18-22	13 <sup>th</sup>	Shenyang Korean Week
2015	September 9-15	14 <sup>th</sup>	Shenyang Korean Week
2016	October 22-23		Shenyang Korean Day
2017	December 15		Shenyang Korean Night

**Table 9. Shenyang Korean Week Events from 2001 to the present<sup>122</sup>**

The second phase of Xita Koreatown formation can be distinguished as the decline of Koreatown. Although Shenyang government attempted to host Korean global firms in the city, only a handful number of firms such as LG electronics, SK Networks, LotteMart and construction, and Nongshim was active in Shenyang. In other words, Koreans in Shenyang mostly were small time businessmen who opened small to mid-size firms in manufacturing industries and service industries such as travel agencies, restaurants, and business consultant office. As in Qingdao, these clustered small businesses were exposed to the threat of changing business environment (increase in wage and insurance of labourers) and 2008 Global Financial Crisis.<sup>123</sup> As many Korean firms closed down and moved out of Shenyang, both Shenyang

<sup>122</sup> The author updated the table of Korean Week events from 임영상. 2014. 「심양 서탑 코리아타운의 변화와 민족문화축제」. 『중국학연구』. 제 70 집. pp. 456-457.

<sup>123</sup> 백권호 · 장수현 · 김윤태 · 정중호 · 설동훈. 2010. 『2010 년 대중국 종합연구 재중 한인사회 연구: ‘코리아타운’을 중심으로』. 세종: 경제 · 인문사회연구회. pp. 94-95.

municipal government and Xita Subdistrict Office needed find a way to create a desirable business district for Koreans and Chaoxianzuz in the city.

The third phase was the development of Xita community. From 2012, renovation of Xita Chaoxianzu-Koreantown was initiated as a new development project with the support from Xita Subdistrict office. The development was to promote the Koreatown renovation that preserve Chaoxianzu and Korean cultures. The municipal government constructed Xita Chaoxianzu Ethnic Cultural Street Gallery (西塔朝鲜族文化主题街) with Korean traditional roof in 2012. Moreover, the market has been removed the sketchy appearances and renovated into a modernized market. The renovation of Xita community had two purposes. First, in the perspective of city construction, the renovation can clean up outmoded streets, improve the image of Xita community, and increase the sales by doing so. Ultimately, the community can evolve into new modernized neighbourhood in the city. Second, in the perspective of culture, the construction of the Cultural Street can contribute to the enhanced Korean-Chaoxianzu relations and further into globalized community. This effort was visible during 11<sup>th</sup> Shenyang Korean Week Event (제11회 심양한국주) in 2012. Xita Subdistrict Office hosted “First Chaoxianzu Delicacy and Cultural Event (조선족미식문화절)” to promote the Korean-Chaoxianzu cultural celebration by inviting the restaurant around the Cultural Street to join the event for 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the

establishment of China-Korea diplomatic tie.<sup>124</sup> The construction of Xita Seoul Plaza was initiated in 2013 to accommodate increasing demand of commercial and residential area. Xita Subdistrict office also installed Korean art venues such as China-Korea Art Street, Ethnic Cultural Mural Street, and Arirang Art Village in 2014 to increase Korean-Chaoxianzu atmosphere in the region. Moreover, They also proposed the goal to promote commercialization of the city by proposing the construction of Shengjing Bank Headquarter (盛京银行) and a shopping centre in 2016.<sup>125</sup> The current population (2016) of Koreans are estimated to be 27,900 in Shenyang.<sup>126</sup>

### 3.4 Overall Comparison

As observed above, the establishment of the Korea-China diplomatic ties in 1992 have opened a new opportunities for Koreans to migrate in different regions of China and created an ethnic community of their own. Koreatowns in China all have distinct characteristics based on the history of Koreatown formation in each city. To elaborate, the Koreatowns must studied in comparison with each other in order to distinguish the factors that contributed to the growth model of each Koreatown. These factors include differences in first Korean migrants who settled into each city, Korean people's relations with Chaoxianzu, the different stages of urban development, and the local

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<sup>124</sup> 임영상 (2015), “코리아타운 축제와 스토리텔링”, 글로벌문화콘텐츠 제 20 호, pp. 218-219.

<sup>125</sup> 조민홍 (2014), “심양 서탑 코리아타운과 문화공간: 아리랑예술촌의 구상과 관련하여”, 한국외국어 대학교 대학원 석사학위논문, 미간행, pp. 57-58.

<sup>126</sup> 2017 년 재외동포현황. 외교부.

governments' policies toward globalization and prosperity of the cities. Through this comparative analysis, the paper reveals the specific characteristics of Wangjing Koreatown.

The Koreatowns in China are all affected by numerous variables. For example, Shenyang Xita Koreatown shows the most unique form of Koreatown that differs from other Koreatowns. Opposed to Wangjing (Beijing) and Qingdao Korean communities – where Koreans provided habitats for Chaoxianzu in the early period – Xita is a Koreatown where “small-timer” Korean businessmen and investors entered into the area inhabited by Chaoxianzu community.<sup>127</sup> The Korean business in Shenyang, which were mostly manufacturing and trade centred companies, initially aimed for low wage labourers and supplementation of lacking China experts with language ability by interacting with local Chaoxianzu community. The Korean companies during the developmental period of Shenyang contributed greatly toward economic sectors in Shenyang. The proof of the economic contribution by Koreans can be seen in the continued Korean Week Events since 2002, which was co-hosted by Shenyang Municipal Office and Korean Chambers of Commerce Shenyang branch to invite more Korean enterprises into the area. However, because Koreatown was clustered by small to medium-sized firms, the economic and political turmoil during 2008 Global Financial Crisis and 2016 THAAD incident brought great damage to the Korean business in the area.

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<sup>127</sup> 백권호 · 장수현 · 김윤태 · 정종호 · 설동훈. 2010. 『2010 년 대중국 종합연구 재중 한인사회 연구: ‘코리아타운’을 중심으로』. 세종: 경제 · 인문사회연구회. pp. 35.

At the same time, Xita has another characteristic which is the close ‘friendship’ between Korean and Chaoxianzu people, namely the ‘Shenyang Effect (심양효과)’.<sup>128</sup> The Korean Week Events highly contributed to the close relations between Koreans and local Chaoxianzus. In the case of 2008, when many Korean firms closed due to increasing wages and appreciation of Chinese Yuan during the Global Financial Crisis, the representative of Shenyang Chaoxianzu Association (沈阳朝鲜族联谊会), Ji Jingjia (吉京甲) initiated to support coexistence and cooperation between Korean and Chaoxianzu community. With the following successful cooperation between the two communities, Korean and Chaoxianzu societies have the relations with mutual benefit, along with close relations with each other. Although Shenyang municipal government did not support Korean Week Event in 2016 and 2017 due to adverse Korea-China relation, Korean Chamber of Commerce Shenyang branch has hosted Korean Day in 2016 and Korean Night in 2017, in which representatives of China Chaoxianzu Entrepreneur Association (中国朝鲜族企业家协会), Liaoning Chaoxianzu Entrepreneur Association and Shenyang Chaoxianzu Association attended.<sup>129</sup> The peaceful coexistence between Korean and Chaoxianzu can be described as the most distinguished characteristic of Shenyang Xita Korean Community.

Qingdao also shares similar characteristic with Shenyang, in that both

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<sup>128</sup> 송해운. 2017. 『서탑 코리아타운과 심양한국주 축제의 지식맵 연구』. 서울: 한국의국어대학교 [박사학위논문]. pp. 55~56.

<sup>129</sup> 재외동포신문. 선양한국인회, “2017 선양한국인의 밤” 성료. <http://www.dongponews.net/news/articleView.html?idxno=35814> (Accessed: 2018.01.17.)

cities are “New First Class City (新一线城市, First-Class Prospects, or High Second-Class City)”, and most of the Korean migrants were businessmen of small and medium-sized firms. In terms of social stratum among Korean people in the community, although the expatriates from global firms such as Samsung C&T, POSCO, and SK Chemical inhabit in Qingdao area, the barrier between ‘rich and poor’ is much lower than that of Shanghai and Wangjing (Beijing).<sup>130</sup> Upon the Korean-Chaoxianzu relations, the entrance of Korean business in the 1990s became an initial factor of Chaoxianzu in Qingdao, which created a habitat for Chaoxianzu residents in Licang District which is adjacent to Chengyang District where Korean people gathered. However, the migrant pattern of Chaoxianzu after 2000s greatly differ from Chaoxianzu migrants in the 1990s, who had sole purpose of being hired by Koreans in Qingdao. After 2000s, majority of in-Qingdao Chaoxianzu people did not directly entered the area from their hometown. Instead, they moved to other cities in China or even countries including the Unites States, Japan, and mostly Korea before they settled in Qingdao. Most of them used migration as a means to search for a better academic career or jobs.<sup>131</sup> Therefore, the migrants during the period were mostly self-employed or specialists. As the means of migration pattern changed, Chaoxianzu people became more

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<sup>130</sup> 백권호 · 장수현 · 김운태 · 정종호 · 설동훈. 2010. 『2010 년 대중국 종합연구 재증 한인사회 연구: ‘코리아타운’을 중심으로』. 세종: 경제 · 인문사회연구회. pp. 53.

<sup>131</sup> 문정환 · 이채문. 2015. 「디아스포라의 재이주와 정착 전략 - 중국 칭다오의 전문직에 종사하는 조선족을 중심으로」. 『대한정치학회보』. 제 23 집 제 1 호. pp. 139-166.; 박경용. 2015. 「중국 칭다오 조선족의 정착 애로와 딜레마 - 자영업자들에 대한 구술 자료를 중심으로」. 『로컬리티인문학』. 제 13 집. pp. 211-262.

independent from Korean community. The main problem of Qingdao City is that Qingdao Koreatown is diminishing as its weak economic basis mainly composed of small and mid-sized companies, decreasing Korean population, and increasing housing and living costs.

Gubei Koreatown in Shanghai has undergone totally different path with other two Koreatowns mentioned above. Shanghai was already an international city since 1920s and the creation of Pudong Special Economic Zone in the early 1990s boosted the status of Shanghai into “Economic Capital City of China”. Because of this uniqueness, the first Korean migrants who were mostly expatriates from Korean global firms entered into the global town which was already occupied by Japanese and Taiwanese. After the policy on foreigner designated residential area was nullified, the foreigners in Pudong area all moved to Changning District, where Gubei Koreatown is located.<sup>132</sup> In other words, the Koreatown in Shanghai was constructed in the already globalized city and Koreans entered into the area which was already inhabited by foreigners. In fact in 2016, the foreign population of Changning District is estimated as 69,000 from 78 different countries, which accounts for 1/4 of all the foreign population in Shanghai and closed to 10% of the population in Changning District (770,000).<sup>133</sup> In addition, Yu *et al.* (2016) conducted a study to observe the usage of languages in signs of shops in

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<sup>132</sup> 김관수. 2017. 「변화된 경제 환경에 ‘조화 되기’: 2000년대 중반 이후 상하이 진출 한국경제인의 자기 규율」. 『중소연구』. 제 40 권 제 4 호. pp. 74.

<sup>133</sup> 新浪上海. “上海1/4外籍人士居住长宁 不想离开理由惊人一致”, <http://sh.sina.com.cn/news/b/2016-03-14/detail-afxqhmvc2408060.shtml>. (Accessed: 2018.04.11.).

Wangjing and Gubei Koreatown as it can determine the level of urban globalization.

As observed in the table 10, English is mainly used as a supplementary to other two languages Chinese and Korean. Except for the comparative main language in “English & Korean” signs, the signs with English as a main language is higher in Gubei than in Wangjing. This indicates that there are more use of English in Gubei Koreatown than in Wangjing because these shops are more open to foreigners other than Koreans and Gubei is indeed more globalized than Wangjing, considering that English is internationally more commonly used language.

Languages on the signs	Places	Number of Signs	Main Language for the Sign		
			Chinese	English	Korean
Chinese & English	Wangjing	68	95.6%	4.4%	N/A
	Gubei	108	85.2%	14.8%	N/A
Chinese & Korean	Wangjing	87	66.7%	N/A	33.3%
	Gubei	87	50.6%	N/A	49.4%
Chinese, English & Korean	Wangjing	27	88.9%	3.7%	7.4%
	Gubei	55	45.5%	10.9%	43.6%
English & Korean	Wangjing	6	N/A	50%	50%
	Gubei	13	N/A	30.8%	69.2%
Total	Wangjing	188	78.2%	3.7%	18.1%
	Gubei	264	61.4%	9.8%	28.8%

**Table 10. Comparing usage of Main Language for the Multi-language signs in Wangjing and Gubei Koreatown<sup>134</sup>**

In terms of Korean-Chaoxianzu relations in Shanghai during Putong Development period in the early 1990s was not as frequent as other cities. It is because Chaoxianzu people were hesitant in entering Shanghai for two reasons. The first reason was the exclusivity of Shanghai people toward

<sup>134</sup> 俞玮奇·王婷婷·孙亚楠. 2016. 「国际化大都市外侨聚居区的多语景观实态-以北京望京与上海古北为例」. 『语言文字应用』. 第 1 期. pp. 39.

people outside of Shanghai.<sup>135</sup> The other reason was the high housing prices and living cost. Because of the circumstances that obstructed Chaoxianzu entrance into Shanghai, Korean people were less dependent to Chaoxianzu relations than Koreans in other cities and instead was more active in creating relationship with local Chinese people.<sup>136</sup> In terms of social strata, the gentrification in Shanghai is drastic in that the social status was visible by the region of residence and education of the children. Regionally, social strata is divided into three main areas: 1) Gubei area was occupied by high income group whose occupations are expatriates from a Korean global firms or successful businessmen in Shanghai and they mostly sent their children to high-end international school to learn both English and Chinese, as the children of expatriates were funded by the enterprises and local businessmen could afford the costly tuition; 2) Hongquan Avenue was inhabited by businessmen in small and medium-sized enterprises and their children were educated in normal international schools, local Korean international schools, or local schools depending on their affordability; and 3) Longbai area in the Pudong Special Economic Zone period was illegally inhabited by Koreans who could not afford the high living cost in the designated residential area and

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<sup>135</sup> 김관수. 2017. 「변화된 경제 환경에 ‘조화 되기’: 2000년대 중반 이후 상하이 진출 한국경제인의 자기 규율」. 『중소연구』. 제 40권 제 4호. pp. 75.

<sup>136</sup> 백권호 · 장수현 · 김윤태 · 정종호 · 설동훈. 2010. 『2010년 대중국 종합연구 재중 한인사회 연구: ‘코리아타운’을 중심으로』. 세종: 경제 · 인문사회연구회. pp. 48.

had comparatively poor education condition.<sup>137</sup> The firm division and high barrier among the ‘rich and poor’ weakened the communication and networks between different social classes, which is similar to that of Wangjing (Beijing) Koreatown.

In comparison with other Koreatowns in China, Wangjing Community shares many aspects but in different patterns. As the table 11 shows, the characteristics in Wangjing share characteristics of other Koreatowns in different cities. However, the different combination of the factors created a unique community of Wangjing. Beijing is not only the first-class city, but the capital of China as well. Therefore, after diplomatic ties between China and Korea was established, Koreans preferred to move to Beijing because of two reasons: the concentration of top-notch university in Beijing (such as Peking University, Tsinghua University, and People’s University of China) and their desire to move to the capital than other areas.<sup>138</sup> Hence, the first members of Wangjing Koreatown are originally expatriates and diplomats who resided in designated area in Asian Games Village before moved into the newly developing residential area that was once only an agrarian *Chengzhongcun* in the late 1990s. As the *Hangans* and later *Dahanshangs* (Big-player businessmen) became the main economic leaders in the area, the Wangjing Koreatown was comparatively stable than Qingdao and Shenyang, where the

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<sup>137</sup> 김관수. 2017. 「변화된 경제 환경에 ‘조화 되기’: 2000년대 중반 이후 상하이 진출 한국경제인의 자기 규율」. 『중소연구』. 제 40권 제 4호. pp. 76-77.

<sup>138</sup> 김관수. 2017. 「변화된 경제 환경에 ‘조화 되기’: 2000년대 중반 이후 상하이 진출 한국경제인의 자기 규율」. 『중소연구』. 제 40권 제 4호. pp. 75.

numbers of small-time businessmen were easily influenced by internal and external changes that affected their business.

Throughout the urban development in Wangjing, Korean individuals in the area contributed to development of Wangjing community greatly, as the influx of Korean capital and markets brought prosperity to the local Chinese people and Chaoxianzu migrants. Consequently, the development created more needs to evolve Wangjing into commercialized and modernized urban sector. This is quite different from ‘New Gubei Town’ which was created to provide living space for all foreigners with a nickname ‘small UN’.<sup>139</sup> On the other hand, Wangjing was originally developed as a residential town developed for Chinese with Beijing Hukou, but discovered by Koreans as an ideal place to live.<sup>140</sup> To elaborate, the globalized Shanghai Gubei Koreatown was abled in a ‘top-down’ manner in which the government built a space for Koreans to integrate with other foreigners in the city, whereas, Beijing Wangjing can be viewed as a ‘bottom-up’ approach where Koreans built a separate ethnic community away from government designated area. This indicates that the Korean migrants in Wangjing played the most active role in the development of Wangjing, while Gubei Koreans can be viewed as ‘supporters’ rather than ‘main players’.

Another factor was the emergence of Central Business District (CBD) in the district. Central Business District is in the centre of Chaoyang District where Chinese branch headquarters of 83 global firms and other 10,000

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid. pp. 79.

<sup>140</sup> 정종호. 2013. 「왕징모델: 베이징 왕징 코리아타운의 형성과 분화」. 『중국학연구』. 제 65 집. pp. 439.

foreign business are located. Number of these companies only take up 4 out of 10,000 in CBD.<sup>141</sup> On the other hand, the amount of tax collected from such a small groups of foreign global firm may be one of the reason for Chaoyang Municipal Office to push globalization policy in the district. Fortunately, Wangjing is a Subdistrict which is located within Chaoyang district along with CBD. Moreover, urban development of Wangjing with IT development since 2014 and advancement of both Chinese global and domestic IT firms and foreign global firms in Greater Wangjing Town (大望京) have appealed Chaoyang Municipal Government to engage in globalization policy in Wangjing area with CBD as well. Hence, it would be safe to argue that Chaoyang government's implementation of service-oriented policies such as Foreigner Service and Management Centre (外籍人服务管理站)<sup>142</sup> in 2010 and "The Policy for Construction of Globalized Human Resources Community in Wangjing, Chaoyang (朝阳望京国际人才社区建设实施方案)" in 2017 are to promote globalization in Wangjing community.

All in all, Wangjing's uniqueness can be summarized into: 1) an area discovered by Koreans in the major city; 2) initially occupied by

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<sup>141</sup> 초이스경제. 베이징 CBD 에 외국기업 1 만개가 진출한 사연은?. <http://www.choicenews.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=41111>. (Accessed: 2018.04.30.)

<sup>142</sup> Since November of 2010, Chaoyang District Office built two Foreigner Service and Management Centres (外籍人服务管理站) by dispatching 10 foreign language proficient personnel and 2 police assistants in each. The service centre provides advisory and systematic services to foreigners in household registration (or address registration, 住所登记), school enrollment, hospital uses, employment, law, and more. Refer to 朝阳区社会建设工作办公室. "望京外籍人服务管理站开始试运行", <http://www.bjchy.gov.cn/dynamic/dynamicwork/8a24f09a2c1b718d012c34b19414014a.html>. (Accessed: 2018.03.10.)

economically formidable members of Koreans (later diversified into different strata); 3) great dynamics in relations between Korean and Chaoxianzu; 4) deep involvement of Wangjing Koreatown formation in the transformation of Wangjing community; and 5) globalization policies based on the needs of District government itself. These are the main factors that created social and cultural construct of Wangjing Koreatown today.



	Beijing (Wangjing)	Shanghai (Gubei)	Qingdao (Chengyang and Licang District)	Shenyang (Xita)
Classification of the Cities <sup>143</sup>	First-Class	First-Class	New First-Class (High Second-Class)	New First-Class (High Second-Class)
First Korean migrants	Expatriates from global enterprises	Expatriates from global enterprises	Small and Medium-sized enterprises (Export and Manufacturing firms)	Small and Medium-sized enterprises (Export and Manufacturing firms)
Chaoxianzu Relations	Provided living space for Chaoxianzus -Employer (Korean) – Employee (Chaoxianzu) -Business rivalry -Partnership	Non-existent during the early Putong SEZ development period -Independent groups	Provided living space for Chaoxianzus -Employer (Korean) – Employee (Chaoxianzu) -Independent groups	Entered into Chaoxianzu ethnic communities -Partnership (Shenyang Effect*)
Koreatown Location	Subdistrict level -Wangjing	Subdistrict level -Gubei -Longbai -Hongquan Avenue	District level -Chengyang District -Licang District (Bordered with Chengyang District)	Subdistrict level -Xita

<sup>143</sup> The class of the city are determined through the size of GDP, population, concentration of market and business etc. The 15 cities (Chengdu, Hangzhou, Wuhan, Chongqing, Nanjing, Tianjin, Suzhou, Xi'an, Changsha, Shenyang, Qingdao, Zhengzhou, Dalian, Dongguan, and Ningbo) are classified as New First Class Cities or High Second Class depending on different sources. Refer to “2017 城市商业魅力排行榜：15个“新一线”城市，你的家乡上榜了吗？”，凤凰资讯，2017.05.26., [http://news.ifeng.com/a/20170526/51165315\\_0.shtml](http://news.ifeng.com/a/20170526/51165315_0.shtml).

Visual Representation of Social Strata	Divided by gate communities (Apartment Complexes)		Divided by region		Low Barrier between social classes	Not Available				
	High	-Huadingshijia -Olive City -Atlantic City	High	Gubei						
	Mid	-Xiyuan Complex No. 3 -Xiyuan Complex No. 4	Mid	Hongquan Ave.						
			Low	Longbai						
Urban/Koreatown Development Stages	First Phase	Residential Area	First Phase	Globalization (Hongqiao SEZ)	First Phase	Economic Window with Korea	First Phase	Economic Window with Korea		
	Second Phase	Commercial Area			Second Phase	Koreatown Development	Second Phase	Koreatown Development		
	Third Phase	Science and Technology Development			Third Phase	Residential Area	Third Phase	Global Economic Crisis	Third Phase	Global Economic Crisis
	Ongoing Phase	Globalization			Fourth Phase	Commercial Area	Ongoing Phase	Science and Technology Development	Fourth Phase	Community development
					Ongoing Phase		Ongoing Phase		Ongoing Phase	Commercial Area

**Table 11. Comparative Characteristics of Koreatowns in Beijing, Shanghai, Qingdao, and Shenyang**

## Conclusion

As one of the most commercially and technologically developed community in Beijing, Wangjing has one of the largest Koreatown in China. This was possible with the urban transformation in Wangjing and the influx of Korean migrants into the area. To summarize, Wangjing community was first built to provide housings for Beijing-hukou Chinese people. Later Koreans found Wangjing an ideal habitat due to its education resources, proximity to the Capital Airport, and most important of all, cheaper housing prices compared to the previous residences. To meet the needs of the growing community, subway line 13 that connected Wangjing Station to other sectors of Beijing was built and various renowned shopping malls entered the area in order to supplement for the lack of traffic and commercial convenience in Wangjing. More Korean people entered Wangjing and the growing local economy brought *Hallyu wave*, which was greatly influential especially in Koreatowns.

The Koreatown was once dwindled due to 2008 Global Financial Crisis, however after the recovery, Koreatown was met with scientific and technological development. While the new type of development based on technology benefitted the Korean businesses and the urban development of Wangjing as various IT firms settled in the region with the online services based on cell phone applications, there was also a side effect which was the skyrocketing housing prices that made local residents suffer. Then, the THAAD incident crippled Korean society in Wangjing. Due to the conflict

between Korea and China, local Koreans were once antagonized by Chinese society. As the tension of the incident mitigated in 2017, Chaoyang government once again is focusing on the policy to invite global talents who can benefit the development of Wangjing community. It is very likely that Koreatown will evolve into global community with the government measure that benefits foreigners in the region.

Through the analysis, the paper aimed to find the distinctive characteristics of Wangjing Koreatown in Beijing through comparisons with Shanghai's Gubei, Shenyang's Xita, and Qingdao's Chengyang Koreatowns. The factors of Wangjing developmental Model was summarized as the following. First, Wangjing is a 'bottom-up' built community established by Koreans in the first-class city of Beijing. This phenomenon differs from Shanghai Koreatown in that Gubei area was a 'top-down' built community by the government. Hence, the role of Koreans in Wangjing contributed more to the development of the neighbourhood compared to the Koreans in Gubei whose community was provided by the government.

Second, Wangjing was further developed by Korean expatriates from global firms. This characteristic shows the distinctiveness of Wangjing compared to other Koreatowns in that the economic basis of Koreatowns in Qingdao and Shenyang were built by Korean small-time businessmen and investors. The weakness in the economic infrastructure based on small and medium sized companies was exposed during the economic crisis and after the passage of the New Labour Contract Law. Therefore, apart from the owners of small and medium-sized businesses, Wangjing was able to sustain a

firm social structure of Koreatown with the economic leaders still intact. Third, Korean-Chaoxianzu relations display more dynamism in Wangjing. Throughout the course of development, Korean and Chaoxianzu relations changed from employer-employee relationship to economic rivalry, then to cooperative bodies. Fourth, as previously mentioned, the development of Koreatown is deeply correlated with the development of Wangjing community itself. Finally, the globalization of local community with the needs of the government by witnessing the successful cases of Korean entrance in the area can be viewed as another trait of the Wangjing community. These characteristics of Wangjing Koreatown contributed to the development of Wangjing as it is today.

The thesis shows the development and transformation of the Wangjing community with the formation of Koreatown and its uniqueness. However, limitations of the study still exist, one of which is some primary sources and interview was unavailable due to author's lack of acquaintances in the government or administrative bodies. Many of the population data had to depend on Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs because many of the data are unexposed to the public in Chinese websites, especially the data of foreign population in Wangjing and other local areas. Other limitation to the study is that the field research was only performed in Wangjing community. Therefore, the study of Wangjing was done in a highly thorough manner, while the studies of other Koreatown was limited to the literature analysis and official data provided by the government and previous studies. In most cases, the current data was not able to fully portray the current situation of Koreatowns

in other regions. This indicates that the actual fieldwork of other Koreatowns may be needed in order to perform more concrete comparison.

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## Interviewees

1. Mr. Y (2018.01.08. Interview)  
30s, Male, Freelancer businessman
2. Mrs. L (2018.01.09. Interview)  
50s, Female, Housewife
3. Mr. S (2018.01.10. Interview)  
50s, Male, Expatriates from Korean Public Enterprise (Korean Food)
4. Mr. J (2018.01.10. Interview)  
40s, Male, Expatriates from Korean Public Enterprise (IT)
5. Mrs. J (2018.01.11. Interview)  
40s, Female, Catholic, Housewife
6. Mr. K (2018.01.15. Interview)  
30s, Male, Related personnel in 재북경한국인회
7. Mr. K (2018.01.17. Interview)  
20s, Male, Related personnel in 북경중소기업협회
8. Mr. K (2018.01.17. Interview)  
30s, Male, Restaurant owner in Wangjing
9. Ms. P (2018.01.19. Interview)  
40s, Female, Chaoxianzu, Related personnel in 조선족애심회
10. Mr. L (2018.01.20. Interview)  
40s, Male, Related personnel in 재북경한국인회 and 베이징저널
11. Mr. K (2018.01.21. Interview)  
40s, Male, Related personnel in 북경중소기업협회
12. Mr. C (2018.01.22. Interview)  
40s, Male, Chaoxianzu, Researcher in a Korean consulting firm in Wangjing
13. Mr. C (2018.01.22. Interview)  
30s, Male, Chaoxianzu, employee in a Korean consulting firm in Wangjing
14. Ms. Z (2018.01.22. Interview)  
30s, Female, Han Chinese, employee in a Korean consulting firm in Wangjing

15. Mr. L (2018.01.23. Interview)  
50s, Male, Related personnel in 북경중소기업협회

16. Ms. J (2018.01.26. Interview)  
40s, Female, Korean students consultant in China

# 국문초록

## 한인타운에서 국제화 지역사회로

### - 왕징 지역사회의 변화

본 논문은 왕징 한인타운의 형성과 변화를 분석하고, 상하이, 칭다오, 그리고 선양의 한인타운과 비교함으로써 왕징의 특징을 부각시키는 것을 목적으로 한다. 왕징은 베이징의 중심지구인 차오양구에 위치하고 있으며 한인, 조선족 및 한족 등 주로 3 가지 집단으로 구성된 국제적 지역사회이다.

왕징은 한국인 이주자들의 영향 속에서 기존의 농업지역에서 현재 베이징에서 가장 거대한 상업지구이자 과학기술발전지향의 지역사회로 변모하였다. 왕징 지역의 지속적인 도시발전과 국제화는 왕징 지역의 번영에 크게 기여하였다. 한편으로, 왕징의 성장과 발전은 왕징지역에서 경제적 기회를 모색하던 한국인과 조선족에게도 많은 혜택을 제공해 주었다. 하지만 2008 년 발생한 국제 금융위기와 2016 년 한국과 중국의 사드분쟁은 왕징에 거주하던 한인들에게 큰 타격을 주었고, 한인거주자들은 경제적, 사회적 난관에 봉착하게 되었다. 왕징의 한인타운은 현재까지 지속되고 있으며 중국정부의 끊임없는 노력을 통해 국제적 지역사회로 발전할 수 있는 잠재력을 가지고 있다.

제시어: 중국, 왕징, 한인타운, 조선족, 국제화