

Belongingness in Question: A Study of Life Stories of Korean Chinese in Taiwan

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ABSTRACT

Since the South Korean President Park Chung-Hee took office in the 1960s, the South Korean government had issued many policies and decrees that excluded Overseas Chinese in South Korea. The South Korea government even did not admit their national identity. Due to the restrict of their identity, the Overseas Chinese could only have the permanent residence permit.

My research focused on those Korean Chinese immigrating to Taiwan. It was a narrative study that investigated 7 Korean Chinese with aged over 60. According to their life stories between Korea and Taiwan, my research revealed some insight into how they adapted a new culture, what they suffered from the Chinese exclusion by Koreans, how they lived as a Non-Registered Nationals and how they coped with new lives after moving to Taiwan. The study showed the bitter and difficult years experienced by the Korean Chinese, which believed that all governments have to take foreigners seriously by offering better treatment and more inclusive policies.

Keywords: Korean Chinese, Chinese Exclusion Act, Non-Registered Nationals, Immigrant, Identity

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INTRODUCTION

Background

My mother is a Korean Overseas Chinese who was born and grew up in South Korea. I heard a lot about her life story and tough experiences in South Korea dating back to her childhood and beyond. However, whenever I mentioned to others that my mother is a Korean Overseas Chinese, most people would doubt what an Overseas Chinese is. There were few people in Taiwan understand how Overseas Chinese settled in different places and constantly faced difficulties in terms of cultural shock.

This research focused on Korean Chinese who were born in South Korea, but their nationality was the Republic of China (ROC),¹ which was a democratic government that had been separated from the Mainland Chinese Communist government. They also took as foreigners in South Korea, which was a personal policy country. The national consciousness of the Koreans was very strong, additional with the misunderstanding between Korean farmer and Chinese farmer in the Wanbaoshan incident,² they were full of hatred and discrimination against Chinese. Koreans were hoping to drive them out of the country. Moreover, sometimes they were even bullied by Koreans, like not paid the bill after finished the meal in the Chinese restaurant. Unfairly. They could not fight back because they were foreigners, the government would not stand for their side. Under the restrictions of identity, Korean Chinese forgot what a dream was.

¹ "Republic of China," in *The Free Dictionary* (WordNet 3.0: Farlex clipart collection. S.v.).

² 崔喜兰, "万宝山事件之研究" (延边大学, 2006).

When the Chinese Exclusion Act emerged in 1961,³ many people could not endure the restriction of property. They began to emigrate to other countries, such as Taiwan, the United States and Japan, those countries had developed better at the time. In 1970, my mother was one of the Korean Chinese who moved to Taiwan to find a job. At that time, people who had the passport of Republic of China and settled down in Taiwan for three months could apply the identity card easily. However, in 1991, the ROC government formulated the “Short-term Stay and Long-term Registration and The Main Point of Household Registration” that Overseas Chinese could only have the Visitor Visa or Register Visa.⁴ Therefore, Korean Chinese held the status of the Republic of China, but they could enjoy the treatment as the nationals in Taiwan. They were called non-registered nationals.

Start from 2009, Taiwan’s passports had rapidly increased hundreds of visa-free treatments to different countries,⁵ it became convenient for people to travel or work on business. Unlike nationals in Taiwan, the Non-Registration Nationals do not enjoy hundreds of visa-free treatments. Thus, it made them quite inconvenient in enter a country. As a result, many people gave up their nationality of Republic of China and naturalization in Korea or other countries.

To sum up, their identity was neither recognized by the Republic of China and South Korea. Given the status crisis, I would use narrative analysis to complete the research, through my interviewees’ narrative, I wondered how did they overcome such unequal treatments and the loss of human rights? How did they adjust with such pressures? How did they define themselves?

³ 張璉瑰 曹中屏, *当代韩国史: 1945-2000* (南开大学出版社, 2005).

⁴ 龔允倩, "冷戰下的移民與難民—以台灣為例," *文化研究*, no. 17 (2013).

⁵ 曾翔, "旅行證照制度與我國簽證待遇研究" (政治大學, 2018).

Motivation

In addition to the Korean Chinese in Taiwan, less Taiwanese today know about the history of Korean Chinese. Of course, less Taiwanese noticed the problems of Non-Registered Nationals, either. Human rights are valued by everyone in modern times, but the Visa-free problem make Korean Chinese like inferior nationals. Moreover, this is a little-known history of struggle and a life story of my mother and her family. I want to dig into the sinister experiences that are unknown, and let the public understand their efforts of fighting for life and the bitterness experiences.

Research Purpose

My research purpose is to explore Overseas Chinese's explanations, experiences and feeling relating to their stories across different countries. The Korea government has corrected the law of the resident permit for Korean Chinese in 2002. However, Taiwan still did not correct the law for the Non-Registered Nationals who has passport of R.O.C. There is still space for improvement in the current norms. Exploring their struggle stories during this tough time is the main idea of my research. I will use narrative analysis to analyze their experiences and current situations. Moreover, I would describe their feelings of the difference sections at the time without adding my own thoughts.

Research Question

1. How was the grow process of Korean Chinese in South Korea?
2. What happened to Korean Chinese after the Chinese Exclusion Act released in South Korea?
3. How did Korean Chinese adapt to new lives after moving to Taiwan?

Contribution

The contribution of my research is to let public know more information about Korean Chinese and Non-Registered National. Seldom people noticed this issue in Taiwan. However, under the globalization generation, it clearly values human rights, but the Non-Registered Nationals were treated as inferior nationals, they cannot have the same interests as the nationals who has registered. I hope that through my paper, there will be opportunities of change and implement human rights equality.

Limits

Due to a lack of interview experiences and English writing skill, my paper is nothing but a learning process. I also found that it is far from easy to collect samples and some interviewees cannot cooperate with the time or do not want to talk about it.

Delimits

The interviewees cannot fully revoke the whole event or situations in relation to their life story. Besides, Korean Chinese has heavy accent, interviewing the old generations of them is never easy.

LITERATURE REVIEW

My literature review was made up by three parts. First, I interpreted the migration of Overseas Chinese. Second, it was culture conflict cases around world. Finally, I elaborated culture adaptation. The first part explained the history of migration of Overseas Chinese and the growth process of them. The second part had cited the real cases of anti-Chinese from three different countries and analyzed the reason of the against. The last part explained the cultural adaptation theory and the stress coping strategies.

The Histories of Overseas Chinese Migrated in Korea

The reason of migration has a great possibility that people think moving to a new environment can have a better life. Under the influence of globalization, the mobility of human in international is getting higher. There are many reasons of migration. The following would chronicle Chinese migration according to different motivations.

Firstly, the earliest Chinese migration history showed that the last years of the Shang Dynasty was destroyed by Zhou Dynasty. A large number soldiers and merchants escaped from war by boat over the sea. Some scholars said that the fugitives escaped to the Central and South America,⁶ and others escaped to North Korea.⁷ Moreover, China's geographical location was easy for migrants to cross the borders between Northeast China (e.g., the Tumen River and the Ap Lei River) and North Korea.

⁶ Michael D Coe, *America's First Civilization: Discovering the Olmec* (1968).

⁷ 楊昭全、孫玉梅, *朝鮮華僑史* (北京: 中國華僑出版公司, 1991).

Furthermore, Southern China was linked to Myanmar, the border between two countries was not clear. Ancient people developed barter trade activities and coped with differences in geography and climate. Some people also migrated into Myanmar.⁸

In modern times, take DPRK (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) for example. In 1882, the Qing Dynasty and the DPRK signed the "China–Korea Treaty", restricted Seoul only be opened to the Qing Dynasty, then Chinese businessmen began to enter Seoul for commercial activities.⁹ At that time, the DPRK government did not classify specific Chinese residences, they also allowed the Chinese to buy land, settle down and open a shop in the city, which caused a large number of Chinese moved into Korea for trading. However, after the Recovery of Korea in 1945,¹⁰ there were poured in a group of Chinese who were in order to avoid the China Civil War.

After the development of aircraft and shipping, people began to emigrate to the whole world to pursue a better life. According to the Global Overseas Chinese Distribution Investigation in 2014, there are 42.5 million Overseas Chinese around the world. The top 5 countries with the largest number of Overseas Chinese are Indonesia (8.36 million), Thailand (7 million), Malaysia (6.58 million), the United States (4.55 million) and Singapore (2.87 million).¹¹ Although mostly distributed in Southeast Asia, there are also a large number of Overseas Chinese in the European region.

⁸ 王世宗、湯熙勇, *高中選修歷史(下)* (三民書局 2010).

⁹ 王恩美, "首爾城中的「法外之地」—中國人居留地的形成與中國人的活動 (1882-1894)," *台灣師大歷史學報* 44 (2012).

¹⁰ 曹中屏, *當代韓國史: 1945-2000*.

¹¹ Dudley L Poston Jr and Juyin Helen Wong, "The Chinese Diaspora: The Current Distribution of the Overseas Chinese population," *Chinese Journal of Sociology* 2(3) (2016).

According to the above analysis, it showed that most of the reasons for the former Chinese people moving out were caused by wars or trading. When the country got stabilized, the reasons for the shifting have increased factors such as schooling, work, and marriage.

The Growth Process of Korean Chinese

Korean Chinese immigrants to South Korea can be divided into six periods, each with different characteristics and growth process. I would use Table 1. to elaborate.

Table 1 The Chronicles of Korean Chinese Growth Process

Periods	Characteristics	Growth Process
1882-1895	After signed China–Korea Treaty of 1882	Settlement period
1910-1921	Japan colonized Korea	Development period
1930-1945	Second Sino-Japanese War, Wanbaoshan Incident (The origin of Chinese exclusion), Chinese Civil War	Confusion period
1945-1960	Korea Liberation, Korea split into North and South	Stagnation period
1961-1992	Chinese Exclusion Act release, Korea broke off with Taiwan	Recession period
After 1993	Relaxing restrictions on Korean Chinese	New hope period

According to the Settlement period, due to the China–Korea Treaty was signed, about 40 Chinese businessmen went to Korea for treaty. It could be said the 40 of them were the beginning of the Korean Chinese. In 1882, there were a variety of business types, most Chinese sold cotton material imported from China.¹²

In the development period, Korea was colonized by Japan. Most Korean Chinese settled in North Korea and Engaged in farming. To avoid the population of Chinese getting higher, Japanese government increased the trade tax to against Chinese.¹³ However, the number of migrated people did not decrease, they were growing even faster than the settlement period. According to the population statistical data, after the merger of Japan and South Korea, the population of Overseas Chinese in South Korea was 13,000 in 1910, 15,909 in 1912, and 17,976 in 1916. The population increased gradually.¹⁴

The third period was a chaotic period. Under the Second Sino-Japanese War, Japanese government wanted to expel the Chinese people from Korea. Japanese government provoked the relationship between Korean society and Korean Chinese society through the Wanbaoshan incident in 1931. It caused a misunderstanding between Chinese farmers and Korean farmers in Jilin Province in China.¹⁵ Therefore, the Wanbaoshan incident had become the starting point for Koreans to anti-Chinese.

The fourth period was the stagnation period. From 1945 to 1960, Japan was defeated, Korea took back the power of govern. South and North Korea split after the Korean War.

¹² 劉家斌, "韓國華僑諸問題的分析與研究," (2015).

¹³ 楊昭全、孫玉梅, *朝鮮華僑史*.

¹⁴ 王思美, "華僑學校在韓國的法律地位變化與生存策略," (2010).

¹⁵ 孫洪玉 et al., "万宝山事件浅析," *理論觀察*, no. 2013年08 (2013).

As the world fell into Cold War, China interrupted the returns of Overseas Chinese. After the Korea war, South Korea begin to implement anti-communist system, and the nationality of Korean Chinese changed into Republic of China.¹⁶

From 1961 to 1992, the growth process turned into recession period. In 1961, South Korean President Park Chung-hee proposed the Chinese Exclusion Act, made Korean Chinese felt difficult to survive. They began to emigrate to other countries. According to the language and their nationality, most of them chose Taiwan. The population of Overseas Chinese in Korea had begun to decrease rapidly.

From 1993 to nowadays is the new hope period. The Chinese Exclusion Act was abolished in 1993, and the Korean government's policy on foreigners had also been relaxed.¹⁷ Due to the dual language ability that was trust by foreign business companies, Korean government started to relax the restrictions of Korean Chinese's identity and urged them to stay.

Culture Conflict: Anti-Chinese Cases in Indonesia, United State and Korea

Culture conflict is the conflict of behavior patterns and values that results when different cultures are incompletely assimilated.¹⁸ Most of them are presented by violent incidents, such as ethnicity massacre. Culture conflict could be elaborated by many different formals. I would use anti-Chinese events by different countries to point out the motivation of this act and the consequence that it made.

¹⁶ 劉家斌, "韓國華僑諸問題的分析與研究."

¹⁷ Hye-Kyung Lee, "The Korean Diaspora and Its Impact on Korea's Development," *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 14, no. 1-2 (2005).

¹⁸ "Culture Conflict," in *Merriam Webster*.

In 1985, most of Indonesian riots were attributed to economic factors, because Indonesian Chinese accounted for only 3% of the total population. They controlled more than 50% of the country's economy.¹⁹ Secondly, the differences of culture and religion also contributes to the anti-China sentiment of Indonesians, especially that Indonesia were 87% Muslim country.²⁰ However, most Chinese did not convert to Islam. This was the reason that Indonesians regarded Chinese were prided outsiders. They thought Chinese did not respect their belief and just want to make money from them. In addition, the Indonesian government seems intend to pass on the dissatisfaction of government from the mass to Chinese, which use the anti-Chinese campaign as a scapegoat.²¹ Disregard by the government, the Chinese campaign became exaggerated. In 1988, a large-scale anti-Chinese riot had caused the Chinese to fight with Indonesians with many casualties. The property, life and family were threatened. More than 1,200 people were killed, it made ten thousand Overseas Chinese fled from Indonesia.²²

The American Chinese's exclusion Act was also famous in history. Since 1849, the rises of California's gold rush had attracted amount of Chinese immigrants to the United States to exchange labor for meagre funds.²³ At that time, the Chinese had become the most populous ethnic group in the United States.²⁴ At the end of 1860, American activist started to against Chinese workers, they believed that the low wages of Chinese workers caused European workers were forced to lose their salaries

¹⁹ 金榮勇, "印尼的族群衝突危機," [Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia.] *問題與研究* 40, no. 4 (2001).

²⁰ Amy L. Freedman, "Political Participation and Ethnic Minorities : Chinese Overseas in Malaysia, Indonesia, and the United States," (2000).

²¹ Jemma Purdey, *Anti-Chinese Violence in Indonesia: 1996-99* (University of Hawaii Press, 2006).

²² 郭秀玲, 華僑大學公共管理學院, and 河南開封 華僑大學公共管理學院, 362021, "身份認同視角下的“黑色五月暴動”原因探析," *湖北科技學院學報*, no. 2015年06 (2015).

²³ Henry Kittredge Norton, *The Story of California from the Earliest Days to the Present* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1913).

²⁴ Benson Tong, *The Chinese Americans* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2003).

or to lose their jobs.²⁵ After 1877, several squad gathered and the violent activities were launched across the United States to drive away Chinese workers. The Chinese workers were shaped into negative images, it made the citizens emerged the basis consciousness of anti-Chinese.²⁶ Furthermore, White Supremacy had caused a racist ideology that advocated the white ethnicity was superior to other ethnic groups. The Chinese with yellow skin were regarded as a lower status, they could not enjoy the treatment of ordinary citizens does in United State.²⁷ In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act was formally established, and it was also the first ethnic group restricted to immigrate in United States. Under the restrictions of laws, many Chinese chose to relocate or return to China.²⁸

Responding the research topic to my thesis, I would talk about the Chinese Exclusion Act in Korea. Korea was connected to the territory of China, as a result Chinese people had immigrated to Korea long time ago²⁹. Later, some of Chinese fled to Korea to avoid wars. At that time, Korea had not developed completely, those Chinese businessmen had almost occupied the economic flow of Korea. In 1931, Korea was still colonized by Japan. In order to occupy the northeast of China, Japanese army shot the Chinese farmer and claimed it was aimed to protect Korean farmers at Wanbaoshan³⁰. Afterwards, Japanese made a rumor in Korea that Chinese people were excluding Koreans in China. It made Koreans outrageous and fought back with Chinese in Korea. Wanbaoshan incident was the beginning of Korean anti-

²⁵ Mark Kanazawa, "Immigration, Exclusion, and Taxation: Anti-Chinese Legislation in Gold Rush California," *The Journal of Economic History* 65, no. 3 (2005).

²⁶ Norton, *The Story of California from the Earliest Days to the Present*.

²⁷ 劉伯驥, *美國華僑史* (黎明文化事業, 1982).

²⁸ 沈美麗, "One Mile, One Hundred Years: An Introduction to Chinese Immigrants on the West Coast of the United States in the 19th Century," [十九世紀美西華人移民概論.] *人文社會科學研究* 13, no. 1 (2019).

²⁹ 楊昭全、孫玉梅, *朝鮮華僑史*.

³⁰ 孫洪玉 et al., "万宝山事件浅析."

Chinese. With the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, Korea split into South and North.³¹ However, China and North Korea are allied as communist systems. The anti-communist system made South Koreans growing opposition to the existence of Korean Chinese.³² Until 1961, the South Korea government established the Chinese Exclusion Act, which deprived Korean Chinese's rights, recycled their funds and limited their estate.³³ To have no way out, most of Korean Chinese began to re-migrate.

Synthesized the Chinese exclusion events that have occurred in the above countries. It could be seen the common reason is that Overseas Chinese occupied the mainstream economy, they made local people poorer. After the residents protested and rebounded to the government, their solution was to deprive the Overseas Chinese's rights. A part of Overseas Chinese who could not take over the pressure had leave the country, the others stay and led a tough life. The Chinese Exclusion Act was effective for expelling foreigners, but it was also a violation of human rights.

Acculturation

This part will elaborate the integrative communicative theory and cultural adaptation theory introduced by William B. Gudykunst and Young Yun Kim. The theory has point out the adaptation process of a different cultural ethic integrative into a new host society, which can explain the basic knowledge of my research problem. Cultural adaptation itself is a complex process. Different issue can bring out different

³¹ 曹中屏, *当代韩国史: 1945-2000*.

³² 王思美, "冷戰體制下韓國華僑的「雙重」反共問題(1950-1970年代)," [The Dual Anti-Communist Constraint on Overseas Chinese in South Korea under the Cold War System (1950s to 1970s).] *國史館館刊*, no. 54 (2017).

³³ 劉家斌, "韓國華僑諸問題的分析與研究."

result and all problems can repeat the same process but in different situation³⁴.

Therefore, I will do my best to understand each case and clarify each problem.

Young Yun Kim said that,

The ability to travel the world in search of new homes has been a boon to emigrants. But many are forced to leave their culture and take up residence in a new land within a new culture. This results in more opportunity, but adds the challenge of adapting to a new culture with new rules, norms and expectations. Perhaps one of the most significant and painful separations of all can be experienced by an immigrant who grew up in one culture and has moved to another culture.³⁵

Base on Gudykunst and Kim's theory, there are three important steps of adaptation process. First is stress, second is adaptation, and the last is growth. These three steps will repeat the cycle in each of the different adaptation events or new feelings³⁶. As a result, it can be said that cultural adaptation cannot have a final answer.

When we talk about stress, it comes from new society most of the time. It base on whether one's would stay permanently or not³⁷. People in a new society will resist the stress, but for people who want to stay, the stress becomes irresistible. Language is a source of stress. Higher language skills in the host country will have lower levels pressure of cultural adaptation, while stronger preference for mother tongue will increase the pressure of cultural adaptation³⁸. Then we go to the next step, adaptation, which requires stress coping strategies.

³⁴ Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, and Melville J Herskovits, "Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation," *American anthropologist* 38, no. 1 (1936).

³⁵ Y.Y. Kim and W.B. Gudykunst, *Cross-Cultural Adaptation: Current Approaches* (Sage Publications, 1988).

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Alberto L Leon, "Immigration and Stress: The Relationship between Parents' Acculturative Stress and Young Children's Anxiety Symptoms," *Inquiries Journal* 6, no. 03 (2014).

³⁸ Kerstin Lueck and Machel Wilson, "Acculturative Stress in Latino Immigrants: The Impact of Social, Socio-Psychological and Migration-Related Factors," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 35, no. 2 (2011).

Berry proposed four key strategies to address cross-cultural relationships; Assimilation, Separation, Integration and Marginalization³⁹. In Assimilation, people worked hard to interact with other cultures and ignored their own one. Separation is the opposite, people maintained their own culture and rejected other cultures. Next, Integration would be the best option, it accepted other cultures and preserved their own culture, made the two sides balanced. The last one is Marginalization, people who neither identify with their own culture nor with the new culture, it is failed to retain any culture. Berry regarded that Integration and Assimilation strategies promote cultural adaptation and lead to healthier psychological adjustments⁴⁰. However, Segregation and Marginalization are associated with conflict aspect, leading acculturation to stress and psychopathology⁴¹. If people could progress or balance from the cultural adaptation level, one's would move to the next level, growth.

³⁹ Tam Truong Donnelly, "Contextual Analysis of Coping: Implications for Immigrants' mental Health Care," *Issues in Mental Health Nursing* 23, no. 7 (2002).

⁴⁰ John W. Berry, "Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation," (1997).

⁴¹ Donnelly, "Contextual Analysis of Coping: Implications for Immigrants' mental Health Care."

Methodology

Research Design

My research design was narrative analysis. Narrative analysis was a type of analytic frames whereby researchers interpret stories that were told within the context of research. These studies usually focus on the lives of individuals as orated through their own stories. The emphasis in such approaches is on the story, typically both what and how is narrated. One of the shortcomings of narrative study was that the text was by its own nature linguistically subjective. It was difficult to quantitatively access in an objective manner. Especially the life story was illustrated by first person perspective. The research was a narrative study trough restated the memories by my interviewees to reveal the unknow experience that they had in Korea and Taiwan. These stories would be orated by the interviewees and presented through my interpretation. Through stories, narrative became a tool to construct and communicate meaning and impart knowledge. Stories told within their cultural contexts to promote certain values and beliefs could contribute to the construction of individual identity or concept of community. The research was designed to dig out the Korean Chinese's life story and experiences.

Research Process

For the study, I visited 7 qualify Korean Chinese which had lived in Taipei now. Each of them had experienced the tough time throw back the days in Korea. In order to make the interview questions closer to the interviewees themselves, my interviewees were over the age of 60, because they have to go through some events so the answer could be more reliable.

Due to my mother is a Korean Chinese, the interviewees were my family members, my mother's friends and some Korean Chinese that I found through the internet. The Overseas Chinese were cohesive, some of them introduced their friends to me to help me found enough interviewees.

Data Collection

Data for this research would be collected through narrative study with 7 qualified interviewees. They would be given the rights to choose time and place for the interview. First of all, I would let my interviewees check the questions on the Appendix in advance, so the interviewees could be completely prepared and not spent too much time on thinking during the visitation. Second, the skill of interview was to discuss each event by the times and explore the memories in an interactive way, in order to keep the interviewees relaxed. It was necessary to think from their side and not to add new ideas. Third, I would pay attention to the silence, interruption, or contradiction in the story. The interviewer was not only asking questions, but to encourage the interviewees to fill the gaps in the story and to completely understand the contradictory feelings. After collected all data, I would go to the next part for analyzed the data.

Tools for Data Analysis

This section was the most important part, I had to through editing and analyzing data to finish the work. A numbers of data collection methods could be used, as the researcher and the interviewees worked together in this collaborative dialogic relationship. I took notes and recorded each interview.

Writing down the key words helped me be more efficient in organizing. Moreover, the transcript could help me to sort out my data. Each interview had similarity and differences, I had to compare them and found out the key points. After summing up the study, the research of my findings would show up in the end.

DATA ANALYSIS

In this research, I interviewed 7 Korean Chinese who live in Taiwan now. Each of them had a number code to clarify easily and had a different life story. I added table to show their basic demographic background, including birthyear, hometown, age of Chinses Exclusive Act released and interview time.

The Table 2 below showed that every interviewee came from Shandong province in China, because of the geographic location of Shandong was close to Korea. According to the table, the interviewees were born between 1948 to 1954, because the requirement of the experience before and after the Chinese Exclusive Act in 1961. Most of the interviews spent an hour, except KC 3. Because his father was the chairman of the local Overseas Chinese Association, he had more experiences on dealing with the problems of Overseas Chinese.

Table 2 The Introduction of Interviewees

Number	Birthyear	Hometown	Age of Chinses Exclusion Act Released	Interview Time
KC1	1949	Shandong	12	24 minutes
KC2	1952	Shandong	9	20 minutes
KC3	1951	Shandong	10	90minutes
KC4	1954	Shandong	6	19 minutes
KC5	1953	Shandong	8	56 minutes
KC6	1948	Shandong	13	44 minutes
KC7	1949	Shandong	12	31 minutes

Overseas Chinese are a group of people with ambiguous identities. They are all over the world. Due to the differences in language and culture, they sometimes will not be accepted by the host country. There have been incidents of Chinese exclusion in many countries, and South Korea has no exception. Here I hope to develop into some moments: What did Overseas Chinese experience during the period of Chinese exclusion? What kind of stories have happened in their lives? My research consists of three periods, each of which contains different events. The following are the three major discussions.

1. Life in Korea
2. After Chinese Exclusion
3. Moved to Taiwan

Life in Korea

Most of Korea Chinese were forced to leave China, because the original life was so tough for them to cope with, so many people moved out from Korea to a new place in order to look for opportunities starting a new life.

Background of The Migration

All my interviewees said that their families were came from Shandong. Under the generation that many wars broke out, due to the geographical environment, they chose to escape by boat to the neighboring country Korea as refuges. At that time, Korea was still colonized by Japan, some of them migrated to avoid wars; some of them had settled in Korea because of their long-term business. Unfortunately, the war lasted for many years, they could not go home, so they have to make a living in a new environment.

Like KC 6 I interviewed said,

My grandfather took refuge in Korea during Second Sino-Japanese War. After the end, they wanted to go back to China, they did not intend to stay in Korea. However, the Chinese civil war broke out then, they could not go back.

KC 5 said,

My family used to do agricultural business, we have a vegetable garden in North Korea. Later, when the Korea War broke out, Chinese had to return to China, but the parents did not want to go back, if they returned, young people would be forced to serve in the army and join fighting in the war. As a result, they fled to South Korea.

KC 5's family moved to Korea when there was colonized by Japanese. Subsequently, as Table 1 I made in Chapter 2, you can see the end of Second Sino-China War and Chinese Civil War happened in the same year, 1945. They could not go back to China. Later, when Korea War broke out in 1950, China send soldiers helped North Korea, because they were both communist. KC 5 referred that their family had to give up their vegetable garden and retreated to South Korea, or they had to join the army. However, under the generation, South Korea against communist system. It caused a bad relationship between China and Korea.

Wars forced Chinese to seek a new livelihood to keep the family alive. With the restriction of careers, most of them operated a Chinese restaurant. However, according to the influence of Wanbaoshang incident which had a misunderstanding between Korean farmer and Chinese farmer. Koreans have a bad impression of Chinese since then and have a sense of repulsive to them. In order to integrate into the local culture, Korean Chinese must adapt the culture. KC 5 said "My father worked in

a Chinese restaurant that operated by an old Chinese man. He taught my father how to speak in their tone and cook Chinese food with Korean flavor. Later, all Chinese people operated this type of Chinese restaurant.” As shown in the extract, the combination of Chinese cuisine and Korean flavor was acceptable to Koreans, so most Korean Chinese have developed restaurant. Like I mentioned in chapter 2, the part of stress coping strategies. It was called Integration step. They have to accept new culture but also preserve their own one, made the two sides balanced. Moreover, in my 7 interviewees, there were 5 interviewees’ families used to operate a Chinese restaurant in Korea.

Childhood Memories

After the Korea war, the country was split into North and South. North Korea was communist system and South Korea was anti-communist system where the Korean Chinese lived. Moreover, the Republic of China was also anti-communist system which made them have the dual anti-communist ideology. KC 1 has mentioned, “Every region has Chinese schools, it was set up by the earlier Overseas Chinese. In fact, our education was the same as Taiwan. The difference is only we were in a foreign country.” Moreover, Korean Chinese was a weak ethnic in Korea, so they would help each other. KC 7 said,

My father used to be the chairman of the Regional Overseas Chinese Association. He was dedicated to help local Korean Chinese to deal with problems. In order to help Chinese children study in school, he established Overseas Chinese primary school in the local area, and use his own money to buy stationery and textbooks for those cannot afford.

In Korea, there was no restriction that Chinese could not go to the Korean school. However, nearly all Korean Chinese went to Overseas Chinese school to study Chinese culture. All my interviewees were studied in Overseas Chinese school, some of them said because they were Chinese, so they wanted to preserve their origin. In their childhood period was more like the Separation step like I mentioned in chapter 2, the part of stress coping strategies. They keep their own culture and not learning the new one. Because they are too little to contact with the Koreans yet. Furthermore, KC 6 said “I kept faith that ex-president Chiang Kai-shek could lead us defeat the mainland, so I learned Chinese to retain the original culture, I believed that there would be a day to go home.” This showed that even though they migrated to a new country, they still preserved their original culture.

As a result, they learned mandarin at school and spoke Shandong dialects in daily conversation. Until junior high school, there were additional Korean language classes to help them learned Korean. Therefore, before junior high school, the children of Overseas Chinese were often made fun by Korean children when they passed by the streets. They were targeted by them because of different accent and language. KC 5 said “Some Koreans saw us wearing hats with Republic of China’s flag on the street would yell at us and took off our hats.”

The Identity as A Foreigner

The biggest difference between Korean Overseas Chinese and Overseas Chinese in other regions was that they still retained the nationality of the Republic of China. In another words, they lived in Korea as a “foreigner”. KC 2 said, “We have no identity in Korea. No matter how long we have lived in Korea, the government did not admit us as a national of Korea. We only have permanent residence, no identity card, no

election rights, so it was inconvenient for living.” In KC 2’s case, Korean foreigners' residence permits were divided into five grades, among three grades were held by ordinary Korean Chinese. They were F-5 permanent residency, F-2 extended residency, and F-1 temporary residency. she used to have the F-5 permanent residency, it has to report once in ten years. However, she missed the permit when she came to Taiwan. Although she has some properties in Korea, she has to declare the F-1 temporary residency for the purpose of visiting relatives, which is only can stay for two years. She would not be able to get back to F5 again unless staying for five years of residence. As you saw, the process was troublesome and their identity had no guarantee.

After the Chinese Exclusion Act

The Chinese exclusion was released in 1961 under the Park Chung-Hee government. Under the protection of public power, unequal treatment becomes "normal".

The Unfair Policy

The most restrictive of the Chinese Exclusion Act that troubled Korean Chinese is the qualification to buy a house. In 1961, the policy was just promulgated. Overseas Chinese was restricted not to own any estate. Owning no house would be hard to do business or to have a safety living place. Therefore, some of Korean Chinese asked their Korean friends to borrow their names to buy a house. Unexpectedly, after they paid the house payments, the Koreans betrayed them and took the houses away.

KC 3 said,

At that time, many Overseas Chinese were betrayed by Koreans, and the Chinese surname was easily recognized. However, my mother's surname is Ma, it was not easy to recognize as a Chinese name. Therefore, my mother helped dozens of Overseas Chinese to assume their name buying a house.

KC 5 said,

Under the pressure of the policy, our original house was confiscated. My parents rent a room from Korean friend. Six of my siblings slept in one room, and we only had one pot of rice and dollarfish to eat every day.

Until 1968, the policy changed. Each Overseas Chinese family can have one estate.

Thus, KC 3 told me that he helped his mother copied dozens of documents of the estates, to give back those houses that she assumed for the Korean Chinese then. This behavior was risky, but it could also spread out the spirit of "Friends in need are friends indeed".

Obviously, the main reason of excluding Chinese is the government does not want Overseas Chinese to infiltrate the Korean economy. Therefore, in the year after the promulgation of the Chinese Exclusion Act, the government carried out monetary reforms and gave Overseas Chinese a higher tax that made the Overseas Chinese hardly be rich. Moreover, restaurants were a few of the professions they could do, but the government stipulated that rice could not be sold for a couple years in order not to let their economy growth again. KC 2 said, "There was a while, Chinese restaurants were not allowed to sell rice. Other restaurants like Japanese or American restaurants did not face such a restriction." It can be seen in that period where Chinese was to be directed against by Koreans.

Additionally, there was an event happened in 1963 to Korean Chinese. The former Ambassador to Korea Liang Xuzhao was indicated by ex-president Chiang Kai-shek, to sold-off one thousand footage land behind the Myeongdong Embassy secretly, to alleviate the financial storm of ROC government. The region included Overseas Chinese schools and the Embassy of ROC. It was the essence location for Korean Chinese. After the news was exposed, many Korean Chinese were outraged and collectively protested in front of the Embassy. KC 7 said,

I was in the second year of high school. Almost all the Overseas Chinese students went to protest. Later, the Korean government send out riot police and carted off a part of protesters to stockade.

KC 7 referred that the event caused a sense of distrustful for Overseas Chinese to the government of Republic of China. Therefore, the students who graduated from high school that year rarely went to Taiwan for college, as they were afraid it would leave a record because of the protest. This shows that the human rights of Korean Chinese at that time were undervalued, and even the Republic of China did not take them seriously.

Treatment from Koreans

Koreans naturally took Korean Chinese as foreigners. In the time that the education level was not high, neither did the Koreans distinguish between the Overseas Chinese and the mainland Chinese, nor did they know the differences between Republic of China and China. They only knew that Overseas Chinese have affected their economy, so they hoped Korean Chinese could leave South Korea. As a result, Koreans often said bad words or made trouble to Korean Chinese, because the Korean government would not stand on the side of Overseas Chinese.

Like KC 5 said,

When I was working in a Chinese restaurant, there were disability soldiers retired from Vietnam war often came for dining. But they did not pay for the meal, they usually got drunk and created disturbance. Since the government does not took care of them plus they have trained for nothing, they vented angers on Korean Chinese.

Due to numbers of Korean Chinese operated Chinese restaurant, Koreans usually called them “Sauce dog”, because the signature cuisine was jajangmyun, and it made with a lot of sauce. Sometimes they were also called by “China slave” or “communist lackey”, both were insinuated China Communist Party. Moreover, Korea has been called as “the most country that Overseas Chinese could not develop”. If there was a class level of the Korean society, Korean Chinese would be the lowest order.

Moved to Taiwan

Under the pressure of Chinese Exclusion, many Korean Chinese decided to move from South Korea to other places. Most Korean Chinese chose to move to Taiwan because of the language advantage and they were still nationals of Republic of China. Others chose to go to the United State or other well-developed countries. However, there were also part of Korean Chinese still stay in Korea. In KC 3 case, his father’s last word requested him to stay for dealing with problems for other Korean Chinese in need.

Life in Taiwan

According to my interview, some of Korean Chinese came to Taiwan for the first time was pursuing college. KC 4 told me that the education gap between Taiwan and Korean Chinese students was large. Sometimes they could not catch up with the class would feel frustrated. However, after the investigation, I found out all of my interviewees future work did not relation with the major of the university but related to the Korean culture and the languages talent. In KC 4 case, he used to work in aviation industry before retirement. Base on the superiority of dual language, the talent exactly fit with the recruitment. Moreover, KC 1 and KC 2 were operating a South Korea importing wholesaler, KC 3, KC 5 and KC 6 operated Korean restaurants, and the last one KC 7, he was working at travel agency. As you can see, they all made good use on their talents.

Ambiguous Identity

The identity of Korean Chinese had always been a worth discussing issue. However, the public in Taiwan nearly did not know what the definition of Korean Chinese was. They thought Korean Chinese is Korean or mainland Chinese because of their accent. KC 5 said, “My parent was from mainland Chinese, but I belong to Republic of China. I regarded myself as a Taiwanese, but my accent caused me a sense of rejection.” He said, every time when he spoke with new people, they always asked which province of China were you from? This question showed a clear sense of repulsion.

Additionally, most of their passports was handled by Korean Embassy, which without a household registration card number. It was inconvenience on entry and exit a country, also could not enjoy the right as a national. That is, they were just nominally the nationals of Republic of China but could not enjoy the benefits as Taiwan citizens. In addition, Like KC 6 has mentioned,

My passport was issued by the Korean Embassy, so I did not have the identity number of the Republic of China. Therefore, I did not enjoy the visa-free of being a national. In comparison, the landing time was shorter and the price was more expensive. I used to go to a small country for business, I was stopped by the customs officer. Because they could not recognize my identity, so they did not let me enter the country.

They also told me they were lucky to arrive here in the period that was easy to get the identity card. Because after 1991, the New Korean Chinese could not get the household registration. Those who had a passport of ROC but with no household registration was formally named as Non-Registration National then. Due to this problem, it made many New Korean Chinese choose to abandon the identity of ROC rather naturalized to Korea citizen.

Furthermore, I asked my interviewees what made them thought they were Taiwanese. KC 5 said, "I think we are more patriotic than Taiwanese, some of Taiwanese not even regard Taiwan is a country, but to us, it was the only home that accepted us, it is my country." They showed strong patriotism toward Republic of China. KC 3 also said, "I have four sisters, they all have pretty faces and were well-knowing in my hometown. A lot of Korean admirers wanted to marry them, but I said no." The reason that KC 3 refused has two reasons. First, Korea was under patriarchal society, if his sisters married to a Korean guy, they would have a hard time, not to

mention they were Korean Chinese. Second, he hoped they could preserve the culture of Republic of China. If they married to Korean, the children would follow father's national. As a result, all of his sisters married to Taiwanese and Korean Chinese. However, in order not to become a Non-Registered National, most of Korean Chinese set up a household registration in Taiwan, to avoid their children lead the same unfair life liked them used to suffer.

The Feelings of Being Korean Chinese

“I could not understand what the real life feels like until I moved to Taiwan.” Said by KC 4. He described the life they suffered in Korea as refugees. He used to worry if their house would be taken by government every day in Korea, after moved to Taiwan, he finally could live as a national and do things he like. Additionally, most of them did not blame the fate, KC 3 told me they regarded the tough experiences made them cherish what they have today. People sometimes have a high education but useless in the reality, however, they helped their parent worked and took care the siblings since they were little. They were always ready to enter a workplace. Although being Korean Chinese brought a lot of inconvenience, but they also learned skills from experiences.

Summary of Data Analysis

In the part of Life in Korea showed that it was because of the wars that my interviewees families moved to Korea. At that time, they were under dual anti-communist system by Korea and Republic of China. Moreover, their education inherited the Chinese culture, until junior high school that the school added Korean lecture for social integration. I also found that the identity of foreigner living in Korea has no guarantee. In the part of After the Chinese Exclusion showed that they were restricted on their career, and the diet has also integrated the culture. The policies made them lost their house and sometimes vented anger by Koreans, but Korean Chinese helped each other to pass the difficulties. The last part was moved to Taiwan, this part shows the Korean Chinese usually found job related to their talent. Plus, they showed a huge patriotic to Republic of China, they thought Taiwan is their home. Although being Korean Chinese had to face many difficulties, it was tough but worthful for their future prospect.

Table 3. Summary of Data Analysis showed the three Periods, Question for Interview and Findings. The table shows findings to support my research questions. The reviewers could view easily through Table 3.

Table 3 Summary of Data Analysis

Period	Questions for Interview	Findings
Life in Korea	1. Why did Korean Chinese move to Korea?	1. Because of wars
	2. What did Korean Chinese experience in their childhood?	2. Foreign identity has no guarantee
	3. What kind of experience did Korean Chinese has with the foreigner identity?	3. Inherited Chinese culture 4. Dual anti-communist system
After the Chinese Exclusion Policy	1. What did Korean Chinese experience under the unfair policy?	1. Occupied the mainstream economy
	2. How did Korean Chinese treat them?	2. No estate ownership 3. United ethnic 4. Restricted career 5. Integrated cultures 6. Koreans vented anger on them
Moved to Taiwan	1. What kind of life after Korean Chinese live in Taiwan?	1. They find job related to their talent
	2. How did Korean Chinese define their identity?	2. Hard to be identified 3. Strong patriotic to ROC
	3. What is the feeling of being Korean Chinese?	4. New Korean Chinese abandoned the identity of ROC 5. Tough but worthwhile

CONCLUSION

Life in Korea

Findings:

- (1) The migrated was because of wars
- (2) Foreign identity has no guarantee
- (3) They inherited Chinese culture
- (4) They lived under dual anti-communist system
- (5) They were in Separation step before junior high school

According to the history review, I found that the most reason cause people moving was because of the wars then. To my interviewees' families, they moved to Korea in about 1930, the year that Second Sino-Japanese War exploded. It was in the confusion period of Korean Chinese's growth process. However, they thought the war would end soon, but it lasted for 15 years. When the Second Sino-Japanese War finally ended, they tried to return to China, but the China Civil War exploded.

Because the continuous wars, the short-term stay became to a long-term resident. Overseas Chinese have to start a new live in Korea, but no matter how long they lived, their identity was still foreigner. It made their identity has no guarantee. Moreover, to inherit Chinese culture, I found that they studied Chinese with the textbook from Taiwan. According to the anti-communist system in Korea and Taiwan, Korean Chinese were educated as dual anti-communist. I also found that children before junior high school were in the Separation step of Acculturation stress coping strategy. Because when they were little, they did not have to contact with Korea society, so they preserved their own culture more.

After the Chinese Exclusion Act

Findings:

- (1) They occupied the mainstream economy
- (2) No estate ownership
- (3) They were united ethnic
- (4) They were restricted career
- (5) Integration step appeared in the workplace
- (6) Koreans vented anger on them

According to the history review, it could be seen the anti-Chinese incident was not the first time. The most reason that caused the incident was Overseas Chinese occupied the mainstream economy of the host country. It made the citizens felt dissatisfied and the government also worried about the power of Overseas Chinese would get strong. Korea was also then, plus the Wanbaoshan incident that provoked by Japanese government, which led to misunderstanding between Korean farmer and Chinese farmer. It became the beginning of the Chinese Exclusion Act.

After the Chinese Exclusion Act released in Korea, my interviewees told me they experienced many unequal treatments. Restricting not to own a house was the most tough one to overcome. It made lots of Korean Chinese become homeless and hard to maintain the restaurant business. Fortunately, they told me although Korean Chinese was a small ethnic in the society, they help each other to solve problems, even it was risky. Under the policy, the career was also limited. Therefore, most of Korean Chinese operated a Chinese restaurant, the flavor has to change into the taste that Korean liked. They showed the Integration step of Acculturation stress coping strategy in this part. They combined two different cultures together and adapted it.

In addition, Korean Chinese used to be bullied by Koreans often. There are two reasons. Firstly, the two culture has a bad relationship. Secondly, Korean Chinese has a low society status. Due to the policy was set up, Koreans were further intensified, they vented anger on Korean Chinese often. It made them hard to keep the whole family alive, so they decided to move to other well-developing countries.

Moved to Taiwan

Findings:

- (1) Their jobs were related to Korean culture od dual languages skill
- (2) Their accent made them hard to be identified by Taiwanese
- (3) They have strong patriotic to ROC
- (4) New Korean Chinese abandoned the identity of ROC rather naturalized to Korea
- (5) Being a Korean Chinese was tough but worthful

My interviewees were those who migrated to Taiwan and has settle down. Most of them found a job related to Korean culture or dual language skill. All of them were in a good operation. However, the tough part they have to overcome was the identification by Taiwan nationals. Their accent made them hard to immerse the society. They did not be recognized as Taiwan nationals. It made them upset. However, they have a strong patriotic to ROC, all my interviewees married to Korean Chinese or Taiwanese in order to preserve the Chinese culture.

Additionally, they told me they were lucky to arrive here in the period that was easy to get the identity card. Because I found that the new generation of Korean Chinese could not get the household registration after 1991.

Those who has a passport of ROC but with no household registration was formally named as Non-Registration National then. Due to this problem, it made many new Korean Chinese chose to abandon the identity of ROC rather naturalized to Korea citizen.

Finally, after many hardships, I wanted to know how they felt about being a Korean Chinese. One of my interviewees described “I could not understand what the real life feels like until I moved to Taiwan”. They think the life in Korea was hard, and Taiwan was more like a home. Even though Taiwanese might not regard them as part of Taiwan, they still maintained a better life in here. Furthermore, the tough experience made them more independent, as well as the dual languages talent also became a useful tool on their jobs.

Through my findings, I hope more people can know about what Korean Chinese had faced before. Moreover, I hope the government can take more serious on Non-Registration National and figure a better way to fair their rights.

APENDIX

The Interview Schedule

I. Opening

您好，我是文藻外語大學的學生，我叫馮致柔。我的研究題目是以韓國華僑人生故事為主的海外華人身份認同研究。經由各位韓國華僑的口述，能協助我完成這項研究。訪談時需要問一些問題，包括您的成長背景、人生經歷和身份認同等問題，若有任何難說出口的部分，您可以拒絕回答。我希望透過訪問能更了解韓國華僑這個群體，以及曾經在人生裡奮鬥打拚的故事，也讓世人更加了解這個群體。這次訪問會占用您大約 1 小時的時間，若對訪談有任何問題都可以直接提出。

II. Body

A. 在韓國的成長背景是如何

1. 您的家族原籍在中國的哪裡？
2. 為什麼要移民到韓國？
3. 何時移民到韓國的？
4. 讀書時的生活是如何的？
5. 家裡如何維持生計？

B. 南韓政府在 1961 年頒發排華政策後對韓國華僑的影響

1. 對原本的生計有何影響?
2. 韓國人對華僑的態度有什麼轉變?
3. 在政府的不支持下受到什麼委屈?

C. 韓國華僑在身份上的影響

1. 身為無戶籍國民曾因此面臨什麼不便嗎?
2. 如何選擇自己往後的國籍? (台灣?韓國?中國?)
3. 覺得哪裡才是自己真正的家? 為什麼?

D. 移民台灣後的生活如何

1. 為何來台灣?
2. 來台灣時就決定在台灣展開婚姻嗎?
3. 來台灣後的工作如何選擇?
4. 文化間差異最無法接受的事是什麼?
5. 移民台灣後最想念小時候的什麼?

III. Closing

感謝您的幫助以及抽空參加訪談。

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The Transcripts

受訪者：張振瑀 (KC1)

原籍：山東

出生年：1949

問：當時為何去韓國？

答：當初是老家在中國為了避難到韓國，我爺爺避難的。

問：那是什麼時候的事呢？

答：應該是1945年吧。

問：那去韓國是怎麼維持生計呢？

答：我爺爺從中國帶布料擺地攤賣阿。

問：布料是？

答：中國當時很多布料。

問：是當初比較多紡織業嗎？還是看準當時是一個商機？

答：當時韓國很窮嘛，也缺什麼布料阿都很缺，所以拿去韓國販賣阿，慢慢賺了點錢就開了個餐館，開的就是中華料理。

問：那當時是在韓國讀書嗎？

答：對呀，我在韓國出生的，在韓國讀小學中學高中，都是讀華僑學校

問：那有上大學嗎？

答：沒有。

問：那為何都是讀華僑學校而不是韓國小學？

答：每個地區都有華僑學校，華僑成立的，讓我們讀中華民國的教材。

問：是勺勺門嗎？

答：對呀就是跟你們學的都一樣的啊。我們的生活其實都一樣，只是我們在外國而已。

問：哦~當初1961年頒發排華政策的時候對你們有什麼明顯的影響嗎？

答：華僑在那邊不可以買地啊，餐廳也受到壓制不可以賣米飯啊。

問：為什麼不可以賣米飯啊？

答：那時候米很缺啊。規定華僑一個禮拜只能賣三天的米這類的。

問：所以韓國人的餐館就不會有這種限制嗎？

答：對對對

問：那一般的韓國人對待華僑有什麼改變嗎？

答：他們瞧不起我們啊，認為我們是外國人啊，很排斥華人。但是跟韓國人接觸的很少，畢竟讀的是華僑學校，比較少跟韓國人做朋友，當時也不會想啦，語言也不能溝通。

問：為什麼不能溝通？你們不是都會韓文嗎？

答：那時候還小怎麼會，都是初中高中才有開始教韓文的。

問：那當時在那邊的證件是什麼。

答：華僑居留證啊，就是每兩年要延一次期，我們那時候拿不到韓國永居權。沒有身分證的，也沒有投票權選舉權。

問：那中華民國的護照是怎麼拿到的？

答：像我們高中畢業之後很多人會出國讀書，要去中華民國大使館申請護照。

問：像你們這樣是無戶籍國民吧，有沒有帶來什麼困擾？

答：很多啊，像出國的福利我們沒有。

問：那你是什麼時候結婚的呢？

答：在韓國的時候一個老師介紹的華僑，後來結了婚一起來台灣

問：為什麼不去中國而是台灣？

答：那時候中國不開放也不歡迎，而且覺得自己是中華民國人，台灣才是家，台灣方便，語言通，所以來台灣。

問：那當時出國就是來移民到台灣嗎？

答：對那時候先來看看，覺得還不錯後來民國 67 年來台，開了韓國貿易小公司一直做到現在。那時候我們來這邊沒什限制，至少比韓國少，後來限制才變多。

問：限制是什麼樣的限制？

答：以前我們領身分證很容易，現在好像規定比較多。

問：那來台灣之後還會思念韓國嗎？

答：對父母有鄉愁，會想念食物，畢竟土生土長覺得韓國是第二故鄉。

受訪者：王蕙娟 (KC2)

原籍：山東

出生年：1952

問：你知道以前為什麼要移民到韓國嗎？

答：我爺爺逃難到韓國，那時候山東一直打仗。

問：那去了那邊怎麼維持生計的？

答：就是開小餐館啊，大多人都這樣的。

問：那麼排華有什麼明顯的限制嗎？

答：就是他管制的比較嚴格，可能吃飯啦要用米的，不讓你用米做，或這個不能賣。因為韓華都是很多做餐廳的，中餐館不准許賣米飯，日食、洋食、韓食可賣。但限制賣米飯的政策很快解除。他們有點像故意找碴的樣子。

問：那是怎麼被排斥？

答：我們在韓國就是沒有身分啊，不管我們住多久，政府不承認我們。沒有身分證，沒有選舉權。生活上很不方便的。但是現在制度好像又改了。

以前好幾個階段 F1, F2... 現在好像只剩兩個，F2 跟 F5 的樣子。

住在韓國的華僑幾乎都是拿 F5。以前是拿 F5 像我在韓國都有房產，但是我的證件弄丟了，重辦就是 F1，因為我現在在台灣嘛。除非我到韓國再住一陣子，規定的幾年，就能再拿 F5

問：所以這是有入韓籍的意思嗎？

答：沒有，我們是居留證啊，如果我們今天是韓國人就是韓國人啊，沒有居留證的。入韓國及太麻煩了，要有身分，還要找韓國人當保證，還要有財產。

啊對！以前有一個規定，一個人只能有一個房產，所以我以前做生意的時候沒有房產。以前說 ”一家口，一棟房” 這就非常不方便啊。現在是可以買了，有放寬，但我那時候往台灣的時候也沒人幫我看著房產所以就不買了。

問：你是什麼時候來台灣的？

答：我是中間走來走去，我女兒那時候要考中學。

問：他們是韓國出生的嗎？

對啊，我兩個女兒他們在那邊念小學的，後來就都在台灣了，我就隨著來。

所以我的條件跟他們是不一樣的，我是那邊房產有，本來是 F2，外國人要拿到韓國的居留證一開始是 F1，那我是在韓國居住以前有個 F2。在韓國居留久的是

F5 啦。現在好像又變了，法務部的轉變太多了，因為中國人的關係，中國人在韓國做壞事的太多了，但是他把華僑跟中國人是混再一起了。所以又改制度。

問：那外國人的限制呢？

答：其實你要在韓國做生意幹嘛的，就是買不動產限制很多，那時候我們不能買，我們名字不能，只能請韓國人朋友幫忙買，最後都被騙走了。也不讓華僑到大公司上班，他沒有那些學歷啊，他們不會用你。除非你從國外回來讀很好的大學，他們才會用你，不然華僑在韓國只能做一些小工作。所以想待在那的，比較有錢的都入韓國籍了，或者是父母有一方是韓國籍的，就會入韓國籍，為了發展，因為韓國也越來越好嘛。

問：那無戶籍的身分呢？

答：協會也會去領事館跟他們談，台灣領事館沒有大陸那麼有力嘛，台灣人感覺也不太在乎這些事。韓國也不是把你當韓國人，我們就是在中間一個一點優惠都拿不到，這種的不便吧。

問：當初出國啊，無戶籍的護照會遇到麻煩嗎？

答：我們護照有兩種啊，一個人字加簽，是在台灣辦的有身分證的護照，一個權字加簽，是在韓國領事館辦的，就比較麻煩了，到台灣來還要線出入境證，因為這裡面沒有身分證號碼啊。後來就很多華僑在抗議。

問：在台灣怎麼選擇工作的呢？

答：我做過很多工作啊，現在跟姊姊在做韓國貿易的。以前來台灣還開過玩具店，台北永和那邊有一條街住了很多韓國華僑，來來往往的那時候。後來因為孩子要讀書就完全移民過來嘛，老公在外面做生意，我就專心在家顧孩子了。

問：那你跟老公怎認識的呢？

答：以前都是互相介紹相親啊，華僑跟華僑之間的，華僑向心力重啊，也會怕嫁到韓國人家裡被欺負什麼的。

受訪者：王先榮 (KC3)

原籍：山東

出生年：1951

問：當時為什麼去韓國？

答：日治時期爺爺為了謀生去韓國開餐館做生意，當時只有爺爺過去而已。1949 年全部家人才一起去找爺爺，也是經營餐館。做一做韓戰就開打了。

問：是在哪裡你還記得嗎？

答：原本是開在北朝鮮但是後來撤退到大邱，就在大邱定下來。

問：那還記得在韓國的童年回憶？

答：小時候家裡的餐館是路邊攤搭起來的，因為沒什麼錢，後來到了 1959 年才正式有房子蓋起來。爸爸以前是地區華僑協會的會長，善於交際，跟韓國人也處的很好，專門幫當地的華僑處理問題。

問：是會長喔？

答：對阿，也是校長。為了幫華僑讀書，自費幫沒錢上學的華僑買文具教課書，只希望中華文化能被傳承下去。我還記得以前還很小，就跟著爸爸漆油漆啊，修牆壁啊，到處跑。

問：那你大學在韓國讀的嗎？

答：高中畢業後就去台灣讀大學，因為除了在韓國讀中西醫以外沒有什麼出路。

問：那政策後對你們造成什麼影響？

答：排華就是不讓經濟滲入嘛，對有成就的華人鼓勵不動產低價賣出，有些人會找韓國的朋友幫忙頂名，但最後房子都被騙走了。然後還有經歷過幣值改革，擁有大量貨幣華人去換新幣時，課重稅，就是為了讓有錢的華人把錢拿出來。1961年有段時間是不允許華人有房產的，那時候諸中國人的姓氏很容易被認出來，但是媽媽姓馬，比較不會一眼就知道是中國人，所以當時媽媽名下幫好幾十個華僑頂名房產。等到1968年政府允許一棟房產，媽媽陸續把房子在轉回那些人名下。我還記得我幫忙一張一張抄寫轉移的文件。

問：也太特別了吧。那你們家除了華僑協回還有做其他工作嗎？

答：有啊，家裡一直開著餐館，然後那時候越戰打仗回來的傷殘兵會來吃霸王餐，我們也制裁不了他們。

問：為什麼？但這樣不是犯法的嗎？

答：那時候韓國人對我們的感覺就有點像是，仗著法律欺負華人。政府肯定不戰在我們這一邊啊。他們都不喜歡華僑的。

問：所以你們就受不了所以去台灣嗎？

答：大學畢業後幾乎大家都會因為受不了政策去新的國家生活，但是我讀完大學就回來了。當初爸爸過世前對我的期許是希望我可以回來繼續為韓國華僑進一份力，所以我就留在韓國生活，邊經營餐館邊處理協會大小事，其他兄弟姊妹都到台灣了。

答：爸爸真的是一個很成功的華僑，你知道在韓國，華僑的地位很低，但是當時爸爸過世時還有人準備遊行，也有很多韓國人來悼念。有點像風光大葬的感覺。

問：因為他幫忙處理很多華僑與韓國人之間的事嗎？

答：對啊，交際手腕很好。

問：那你真正移民過來是什麼時候？

答：女兒們上大學也是來台灣上的，後來他們結婚了有了事業，我的腳出了一些毛病不方便行走，所以就把韓國那邊的事整理整理也來台灣跟女兒住。有點像是來台灣過著退休生活吧。

問：那你覺得身為華僑有什麼感覺？

答：雖然現代跟以前有差異，但是身為華僑，我對於我們語言上的優勢感到很有利。我們從小做什麼都要靠自己，年紀大的要照顧弟弟妹妹，所以應該說是從小就很有擔當吧。

問：但以華僑身分在台灣會有排斥感嗎？

答：我覺得台灣人很熱情啊，不像韓國人那麼冷漠，因為他們國家意識感很重，比較不喜歡外面來的人。但我覺得自己是台灣人，雖然我的口音會讓台灣人覺得我們不屬於這裡。但我還是覺得自己住的舒服重要，比較不會管別人怎麼想。

受訪者：王先耀 (KC4)

原籍：山東

出生年：1954

問：為什麼家庭會去韓國？

答：爺爺為了生活到韓國，山東太苦。

答：A跟B大題你要問我哥哥(KC3)，他那時候跟著爸爸做了很多事，我那時候

太小了沒什麼印象。

問：那你有隊小時候最有印象的事嗎？

答：我只記得他們會對我們說難聽的話叫我們共產走狗，大國奴或是醬狗。

問：那我直接跳到來台灣之後的事囉。無戶籍的身分上有什麼不方便的地方？

答：以前還好，是來就給身分證，有身分證就要當民因為你就是國民了嘛，但是以前可以選擇不當兵，所以我沒有當。

問：那現在的情況你知道嗎？

答：現在是有戶籍才給身分證，但是戶籍很難得到，政策改變了。所以新華僑很多現在都入籍韓國了，韓國現在發展也好，也看中韓國華僑的外語能力。

問：那你是什麼時候來台的

答：就是滿 18 來讀大學，大學在台大讀的。

問：哪一所啊？

答：台大啊。

問：這麼厲害，那當初會進航空業跟大學讀的有關嘛？

答：沒有。因為我們華僑嘛，優勢在於我們中文韓文都會嘛，語言是很重要的謀財工具。我們那時候也沒有航空相關科系，那個行業是誰都可以來，從頭開始學，但我們有語言優勢所以就很好上。那時候招人也不挑科系的啊，最主要看語文。

問：那怎麼會想一名到台灣來？

答：整個移民過來是因為唸完大學剛好找到工作了，就定下來。

問：那結婚對象是怎麼認識的？

答：就是來台灣之後工作認識的。

問：那你覺得台灣跟韓國生活最大的差異是什麼？

答：說實話，我們在韓國等於沒有生活，來台灣才真正體會到生活。因為我在韓國的期間都是小孩，讀書時住在宿舍裡，真正開始懂事，開始生存都在台灣發生，以我來講。我們華僑小孩子，走在路上會被韓國小孩嘲笑，因為我們努力保有我們自己的中華文化，平常在學校也是跟其他華僑相處，但韓國人就會覺得我們講不一樣的話很怪，就欺負我們。

答：我們可以說是國際難民吧。

問：那覺得自己是屬於哪裡人？

答：中華民國人啊，絕對不是韓國人啊，韓國只是出生而已啊，讀的也是華僑學校，一直是以中華文化為主的。

問：那你有想過要去中國嗎？

答：沒有，我們反共的啊。

問：因為那時候就被教育的嗎？

答：因為南韓也反共嘛，中華民國也反共啊。在那時候我們覺得共產是很不好的東西。

問：那在台灣生活會想念韓國嗎？

答：剛來的時候每天都想吃泡菜，那時候還沒那麼國際化，所以台灣都沒有泡菜。也會想還在韓國的家人。

問：來台後有遇到挫折的地方嗎？

答：剛來讀大學的時候程度差很多，因為華僑學校的師資很差，資源很缺，所以有時候上課也跟不上。

問：你們對反共抱持什麼態度？

答：那時候被教育的都是痛恨共產黨，所以當時也不會想去中國。華僑很愛中華民國的。

受訪者：張景凱 (KC5)

原籍：山東

出生年：1953

問：為什麼會去韓國？

答：以前家人去做生意，農業，以前在北朝鮮，有一片菜園。後來韓戰爆發就退到南韓。

問：那本來就想要在韓國定居嗎？

答：原本日本戰敗後山東人必須回中國，但父母不希望回去，因為回被抓去打仗，所以就逃去南韓。

問：那你還記得兒時回憶嗎？

答：我在在南部廣州出生，從小就要自力更生，因為我們不是韓國人，只是外國人，沒有保障。

問：教育上呢？

答：所有教科書都是用台灣的教材，因為我們是中華門國人嘛。

問：你們家以前是怎麼維持生計的？

答：我父母什麼都做過，只要能討生活就去試。韓戰的時候賣麻花捲，在路上推個推車叫賣。後來父親在其他更早來的華人開的餐廳打工學藝，才學到韓國的中華料理，那是針對韓國人吃的，後來演變下來，全部華人都是開這種類型的中華餐館。

問：政策實施後的生活如何？

答：當初會有這些政策是因為這些華人很刻苦耐勞，為了討生活從早做到晚，很會做事。但政府看到錢都被華僑賺走了，就開始有排華政策。一個人只能有一棟房產，不管你有沒有要做生意。有段時間有錢的華人，經過政府這樣打壓，那時候有錢的都去美國了，偷偷走的。

問：為什麼要偷偷的？

答：因為被發現的話財產都被扣著嘛，所以通常是父母討輪好也沒跟孩子講，隔天就偷偷的帶孩子跟一些值錢的東西離開了，去發展比較好的國家生活。

問：那一般韓國人對你們呢？

答：小時候會被欺負，他們排華，那時候水準都很低，大家沒讀過書，那時候看到我們都叫我們”大國奴”，就是大國的奴隸的意思，常常就打架或吵架。

答：還有韓國的軍人之前去越南打仗的那種殘廢的兵，會來中華料理吃飯，但他們都不付錢。因為政府也不照料他們，他們傷殘了也沒什麼一技之長，會拿華人出氣，來搗亂之類的。

問：喔喔我有廳前面的人講過這一段。那你有沒有特別難忘的日子。

答：我國中的時候家裡很困難，因為政策嘛，原本住的房子被收走了。父母只好跟朋友借住房間，我們六個兄弟姐妹塞在一間，每天只吃一鍋飯配小魚干過的。

問：當初為什麼來台灣？

答：我當初高中畢業事先去日本闖了七年，雖然蠻喜歡日本的，但是那邊也沒有身分，不能買房什麼的，就來台灣看看，後來覺得很喜歡。當初我妹妹在台灣讀師大，覺得台灣特別好。

問：來的時候身分還是無戶籍國民，有遇到什麼狀況嗎？

答：台灣人去香港或是澳門可以停留的時間比我們長，因為我們是韓國華僑當初是在韓國權字加簽，所以證件上寫的不一樣，我們去哪裡都要簽證，沒有那種免簽的福利，然後去比較偏遠的國家出差他們還不給進。

問：來台灣之後靠什麼生活？

答：來台灣後就開了個餃子館，然後就做到現在了。

問：去了那麼多地方，覺得哪裡是家？

答：在台灣住了也有 20 年，覺得台灣才是家，說真的韓國華僑是比台灣人還愛國的，這裡是唯一一個接納我們的地方，對我來說也是我的國家。但是我們因為口音的關係，不會被當成台灣人，我們華僑比台灣人還愛國的。這種排斥感是很深的，而且大家不知道什麼是韓國華僑，所以台灣人都覺得我們是韓國人，不然就是說你大陸哪裡的，不認同感是很深的。

受訪人：邱元智 (KC6)

原籍：山東

出生年：1948

問：當初家人為什麼去韓國？

答：祖父八年抗戰的時候逃難到韓國，後來要回國的時候又碰上國共內戰，所以沒有辦法回中國就留在韓國生活了。

問：那在韓國是什麼職業？

答：爸爸在韓國大使館工作維持生活。

問：那教育上是怎麼樣的？

答：首爾、釜山、仁川有華僑初中高中，其他小學就是各個小區域的自己成立的，到了中學就要到這個地區去上學住在宿舍。

問：為什麼都念華僑學校？

答：念中國學校的原因是相信老蔣能反攻大陸，所以學中文保有原有文化，相信總有天能回家。

問：那在讀書時期有沒有什麼印象深刻的事？

答：有有有！高中民國 54 年的時候，駐韓大使館的大使梁序昭，勾結在日本的韓裔日本人，偷偷把華僑的精華地段賣掉，因分贓不均這件事就被爆出來，廣大的華僑都很生氣。當時高中生就在大使館前示威反對，韓國動員了鎮暴警察，全部被抓去警局關在地下室。那天晚上警局隔壁的華僑餐館就做了全部高中生人份的炸醬麵到警局給我們吃。隔天全部人寫悔過書，才放出來。從那時候對中華民國大使館的印象改觀，變得不太信任，而且怕會有黑名單的問題，所以那年畢業後去台灣的很少都往美國或日本去了。

問：政策實施後對原本的工作有什麼影響嗎？

答：小時候因為爸爸在大使館上班所以全家都住在大使館裡面，算是公務員，所以政策的時候家裡的影響比較沒那麼大。

問：那你也是移民台灣嗎？

答：我 1983 年受不了壓迫去了美國，移民過去先打工學語言也要適應文化，後來創業開了中華料理餐廳但是美式中餐。就像在韓國的料理也會變成韓式中華料理，要符合當地人口味。

問：那你去美國的時候出入境什麼的應該很不方便吧？

答：是啊，韓國華僑拿著大使館發的護照式權字的，沒有中華民國的編號，所以沒有享有中華民國人的免簽，落地時間也短，有的國家根本不承認，所以就不給你入境。我之前去外地出差的時候就這樣。

問：那你現在的身分是入籍美國了嗎？

答：現在身分是雙重國籍，有中華民國(權字)護照也有美國護照。這其實是不可以的。但是因為如國用中華民國的護照，我還是無戶籍國民。很不便利的。

問：那你覺得你是哪裡人？

答：對我來說我當然是中華民國人啊，但在美國我就要說自己是美國人。如果是家感覺的話，我覺得韓國有家的感覺，因為童年都在那裏長大，之後就去了美國，一個完全不同文化的地方，我想念的就會是韓國。但台灣是之後才來的，生活起來沒有違和感，語言也聽得懂，有種落葉歸跟的感覺。

問：在台灣生活會覺得被疏離嗎？

答：其他人不會覺得你是台灣人，還是有一點排斥感的。台灣人覺得我們韓國人，韓國人覺得我們是中國人，中國人不給我們國籍，因為我們拿的是中華民國的護照。

問：那對於身為韓國華僑是什麼感覺？

答：雖然韓國政府對我們很苛刻，但是跟家人在那邊有太多回憶，也有個革命情感。從小就學了很多事，因為隨時需要你來幫忙家裡，很獨立吧。

受訪人：王德贊 (KC7)

原籍：山東

出生年：1949

問：家人為什麼去韓國？

答：日治時代，為了避難討生活。

問：他們當時做的工作是？

答：工作不依定，有機會就打零工。

問：你以前讀的是什麼學校？

答：漢城讀華僑學校，那時候沒有明文規定，但華僑都會讀華僑學校，不會讀韓國小學。

問：定居後的工作有變動嗎？

答：小時候家裡開雜貨店，生活很苦，但還小不懂事，其實那時候覺得雖然苦但是很能自得其樂，窮人家的快樂。

問：政策後有什麼變化嗎？

答：高中時我們華僑覺得朴正熙比較獨裁，規定很多不公平的事情。那時候華僑都住在一個像眷村一樣的地方，韓國的小朋友會來嘲笑我們，然後就打起來。初中開始都會穿制服，規定帶有國徽的帽子，如果韓國人看到會打掉要你不准帶，然後辱罵我們。

問：以什麼限制是最難熬的？

答：不能買房子是比較困難的點，因為做生意也比較難。

問：那是怎麼決定要移民的？

答：我們在韓國沒什麼出路，大多都做餐館，當華僑學校的老師。所以高中畢業幾乎都出去外面讀大學或是去別的國家找新工作。

問：可是入韓籍不是會有比較好得生活不是嗎？

答：不會想入籍韓國，我們很愛中華民國的。

問：那你是怎麼移民的？

答：要來台灣前偷偷的在韓國把房子賣了，拿了錢之後偷地走。

問：為什麼要偷偷的？

答：那等於說是違法啊。你把房子賣了要換成美金拿到台灣來嘛。那時候韓國還有外匯管制，你不可能說很光明正大地把錢拿走。那時候台灣大使館有幫忙，當時給我們開了個單子，我們就塞點錢給他們，他們就幫忙我們在不需要被扣家當的情況下去了台灣，都是偷偷的。我記得當時我賣了房子拿了尾款，下午的飛機就直接飛了。當時我三年都不敢回去韓國，怕被追款。

問：移民到台灣後的工作是什麼？

答：1976年來台灣做旅行社到現在，中間有換過公司但都是做旅行社，就是興趣。

問：那是什麼原因讓你想留在台灣？

答：有朋友在台灣，我覺得有朋友的地方就會有依靠，就決定留下。

問：那會有不被認同的感覺嗎？

答：因為我們的口音，台灣人覺得我們是韓國人，韓國人當我們是中國人，這樣我們是哪裡人，我們裡外不是人啊。沒有一個國家認同我們的。

問：你覺得自己是哪裡人？

答：以前共產黨想跟韓國建交的時候說過，如國說服的了韓國華僑，那全世界的華僑他們都有辦法說服。韓國華僑愛中華民國的心是根深蒂固的。現在不管是台灣的哪個政府，民進黨也好國民黨也好，他們要是把韓國華僑拋棄的話，我覺得就太不應該了。我覺得全世界最愛國(中華民國)的就是韓國華僑了。

問：那你覺得身為華僑的感覺是什麼？

答：過程很艱辛拉，但是我還是覺得華僑挺好的，很團結啊。