



CLASS, DEMOGRAPHY, GENDER AND MIGRATION

MODERN KOREAN SOCIETY
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LABOR MIGRATION INTO SOUTH KOREA

- Began in 1990s when the Great Labor Struggle of 1987-1989 led to a tripling of manufacturing wages ending Korea's role as a cheap labor country
 - Unemployment rates have been low (below 5% except during the Asian financial crisis)
 - Shortages appeared especially in less well-paid small and medium industries (that were also less well capitalized)
 - With rising living standards Koreans didn't want to do the 3-D jobs (dirty, dangerous, and difficult) any more
 - parallel to Japanese 3-K concept (汚い、危険、きつい) that had appeared a decade before
- Trainee workers (연수생 研修生) were brought in temporarily for low wages from the early 1990s, but undocumented workers (generally those who overstayed their visas) appeared in greater numbers
 - In 2002 about 12% of the foreign workers were trainees while 79% of the foreign workers were working without a work permit (the rest are various professionals and teachers)

ETHNIC STRATIFICATION OF THE FOREIGN LABOR MARKET

- Those foreign workers who are legal and are professionals generally come from developed countries (US, Japan, Europe)
 - A large proportion of these are English teachers as South Korea has emphasized “globalization” (seggyehwa) since the 1990s
- “Entertainers” came originally from the Philippines or Thailand, but recently Russian and Mongolian women have also come
- The trainees are limited to a small number of occupations with worker shortages, and come from the “global south”
 - China (most of whom are ethnic Korean), Indonesia, Bangladesh, the Philippines, Pakistan, Vietnam, Nepal
 - Textiles, plastics, assembly in small auto parts subcontractors
- Undocumented workers often work in small restaurants and enterprises with fewer than 10 employees
 - Some overstay a tourist visa, but probably the majority are trainees who leave their legal job for better paying work

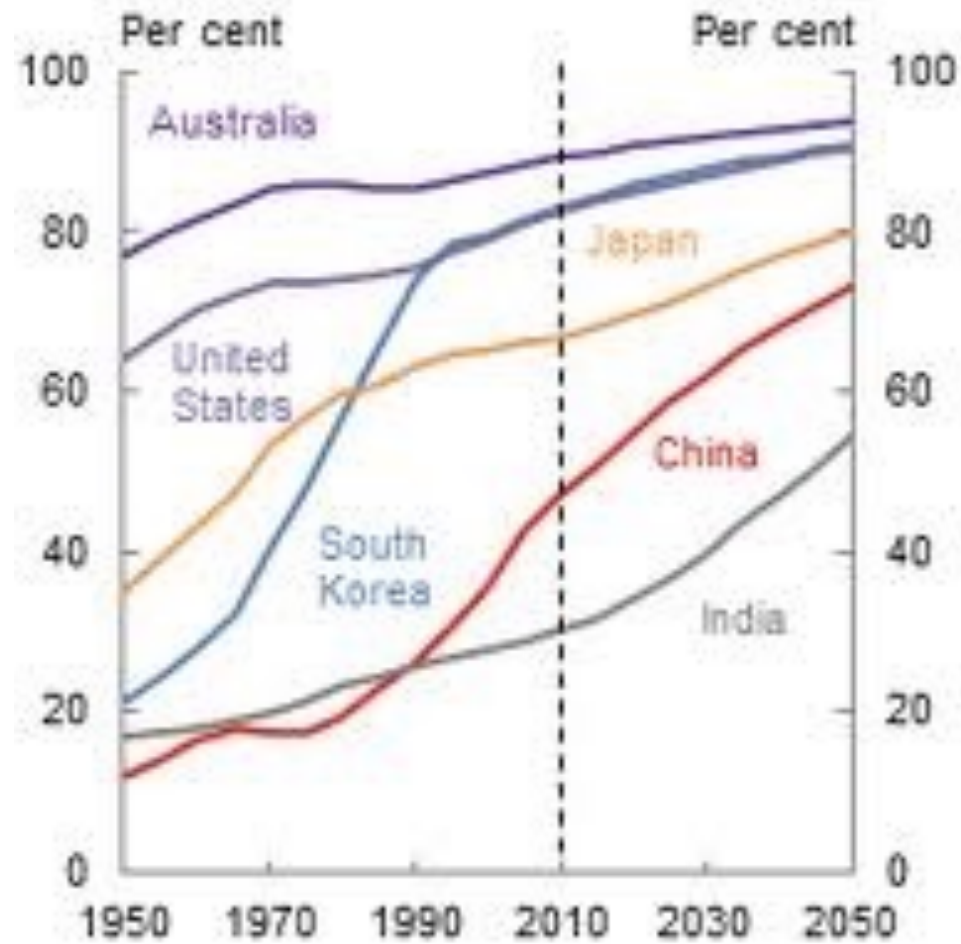
CHOSŎNJOK (ETHNIC KOREAN CHINESE)

- 1992 South Korea and the PRC established diplomatic relations
 - Initial thought was to import ethnic Koreans from China to provide cheap labor while avoiding ethnic problems
 - Later thought to import brides as the rural bride shortage developed
- Marriage migration (open primarily to unmarried Chosŏnjok)
 - Marriage to a South Korean citizen would allow them to acquire South Korean citizenship and thus live and work in Korea as long as they wanted
- Labor migration
 - Already married males and females as “guest workers” in South Korea (up to five years)
 - Often leaving family behind in China, and some might overstay their visa
- Sham marriage—already married men or women get false papers and marry into South Korea
- Visit an already-married daughter and overstay visa

CHANGES IN KOREAN FAMILY

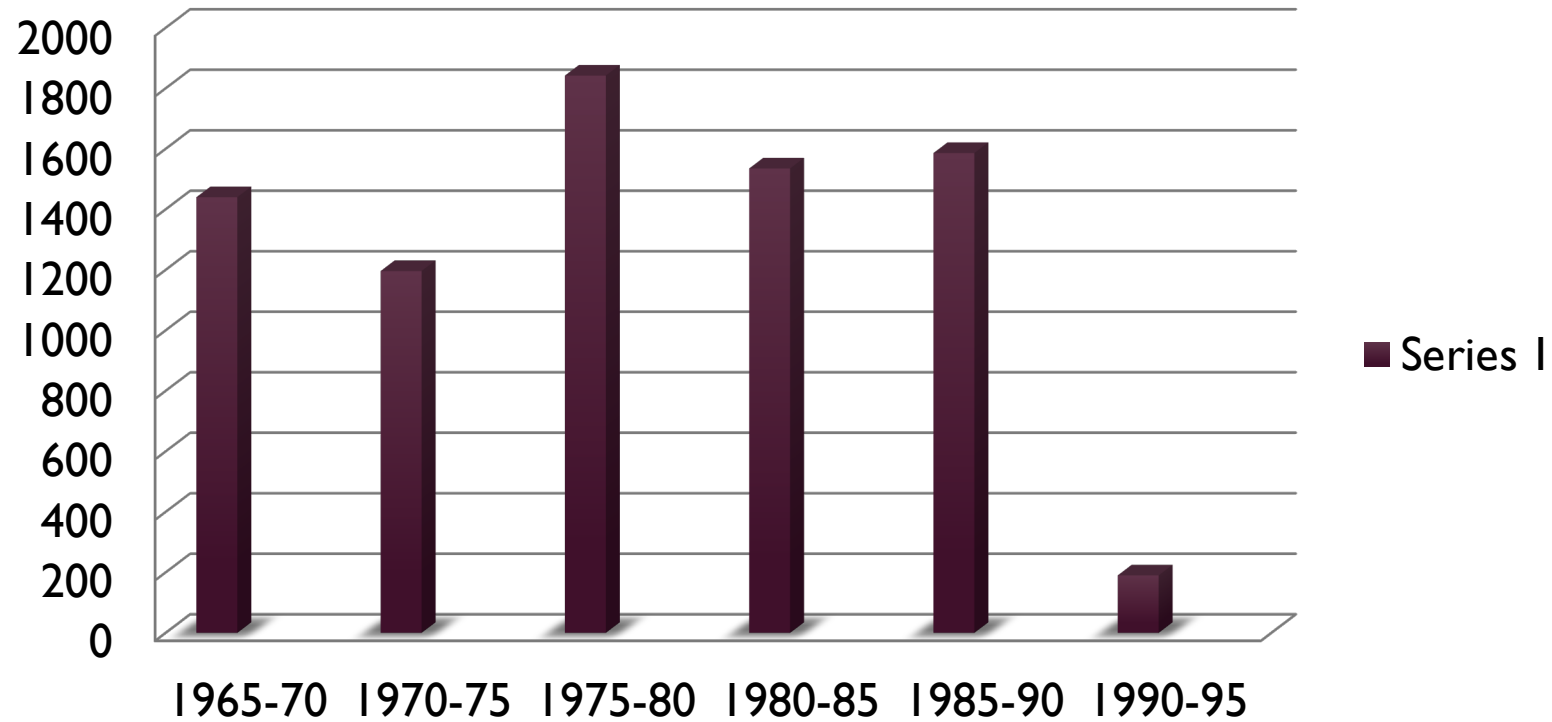
- In 1990s big changes in Korean family law
 - Marriage among people with the same name and clan origin allowed
 - Patriarchal house head system abolished
 - Eldest sons allowed to partition from parents' family
 - Inheritance equalized for all children
 - Household registration system abolished in principle, though not given up entirely
- However, sense of family line, and children's responsibility to care for parents still strong—especially in rural Korea where co-residential stem families and eldest son succession are still preferred

URBANIZATION

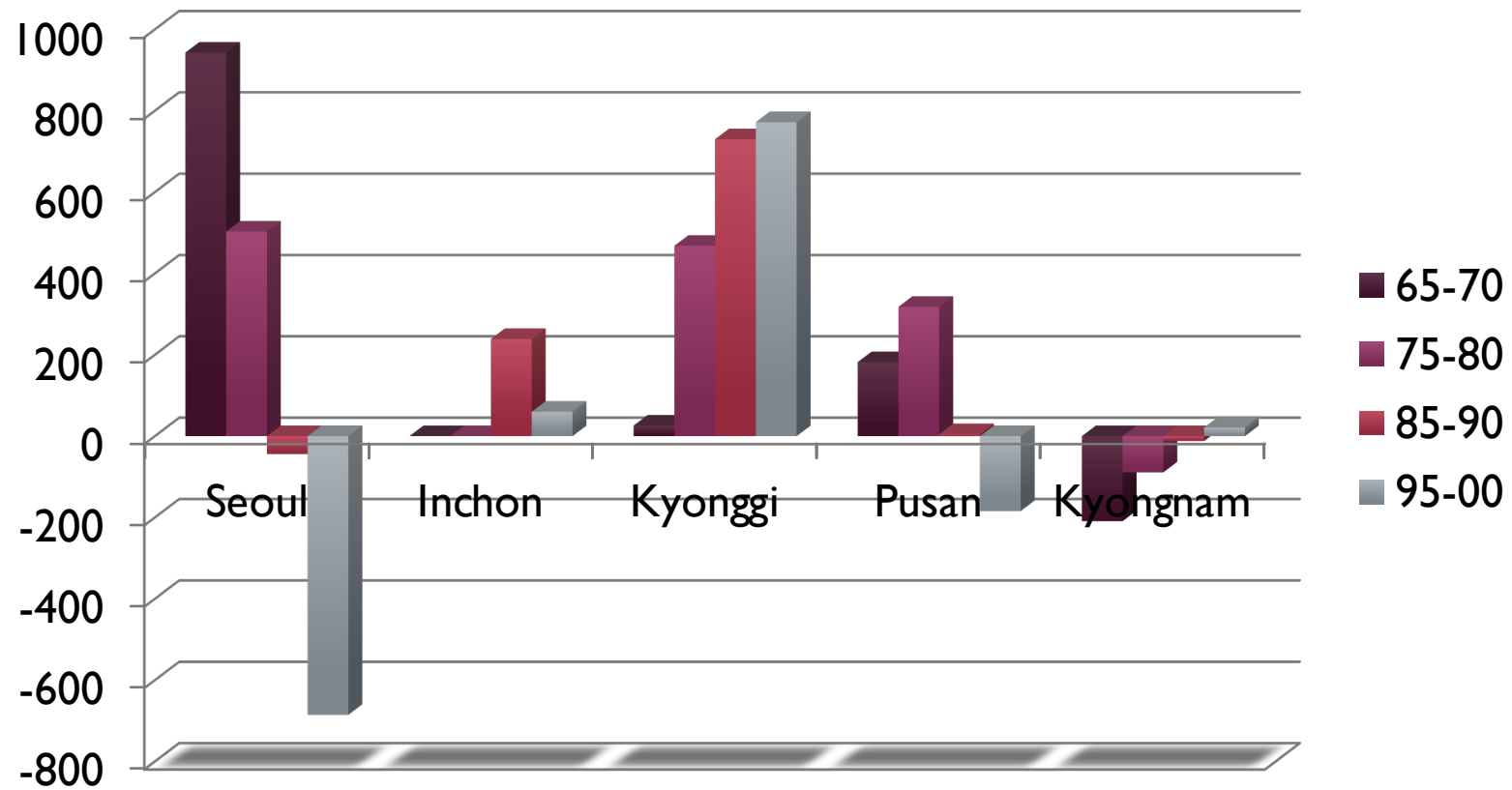


RURAL TO URBAN MIGRANTS IN SOUTH KOREA

Chart Title

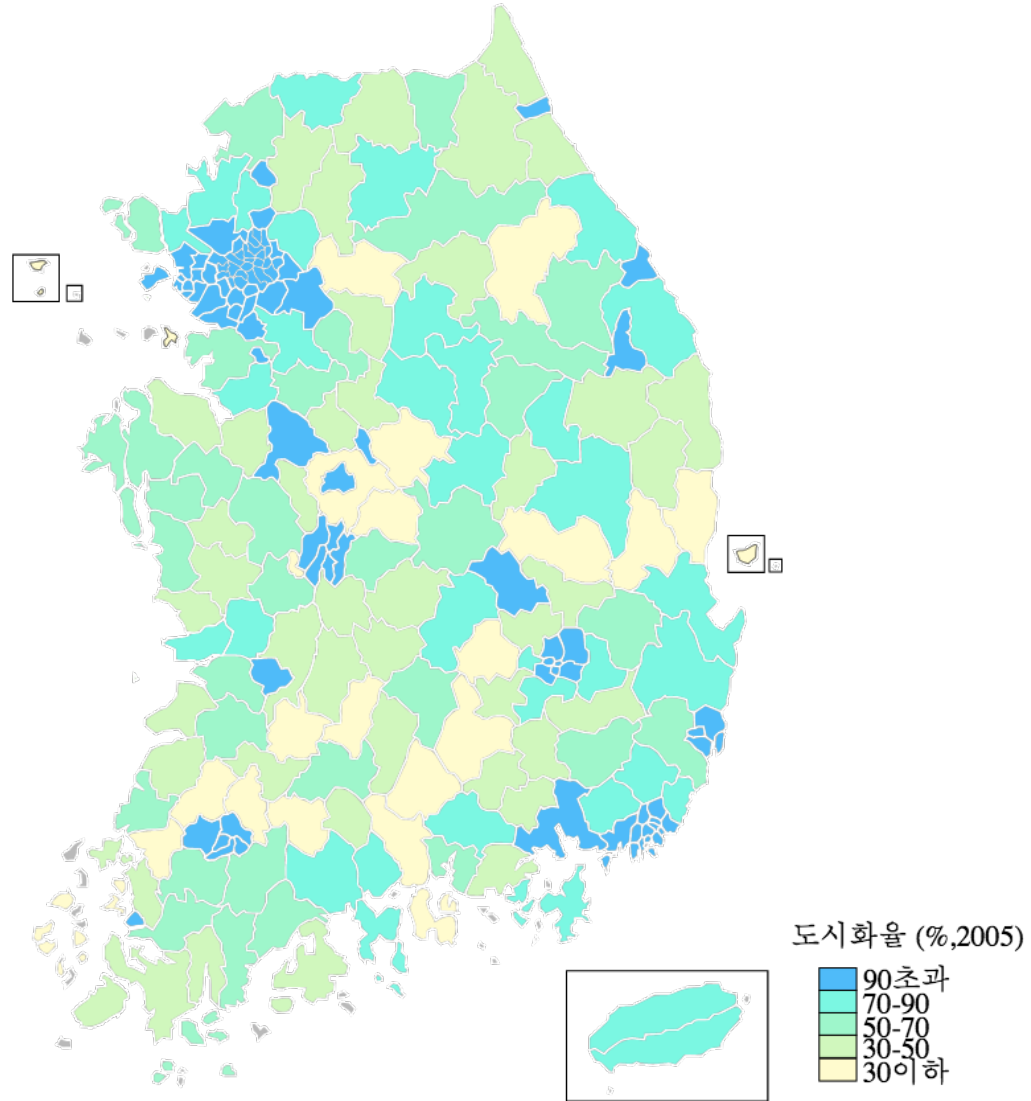


URBAN CONCENTRATION

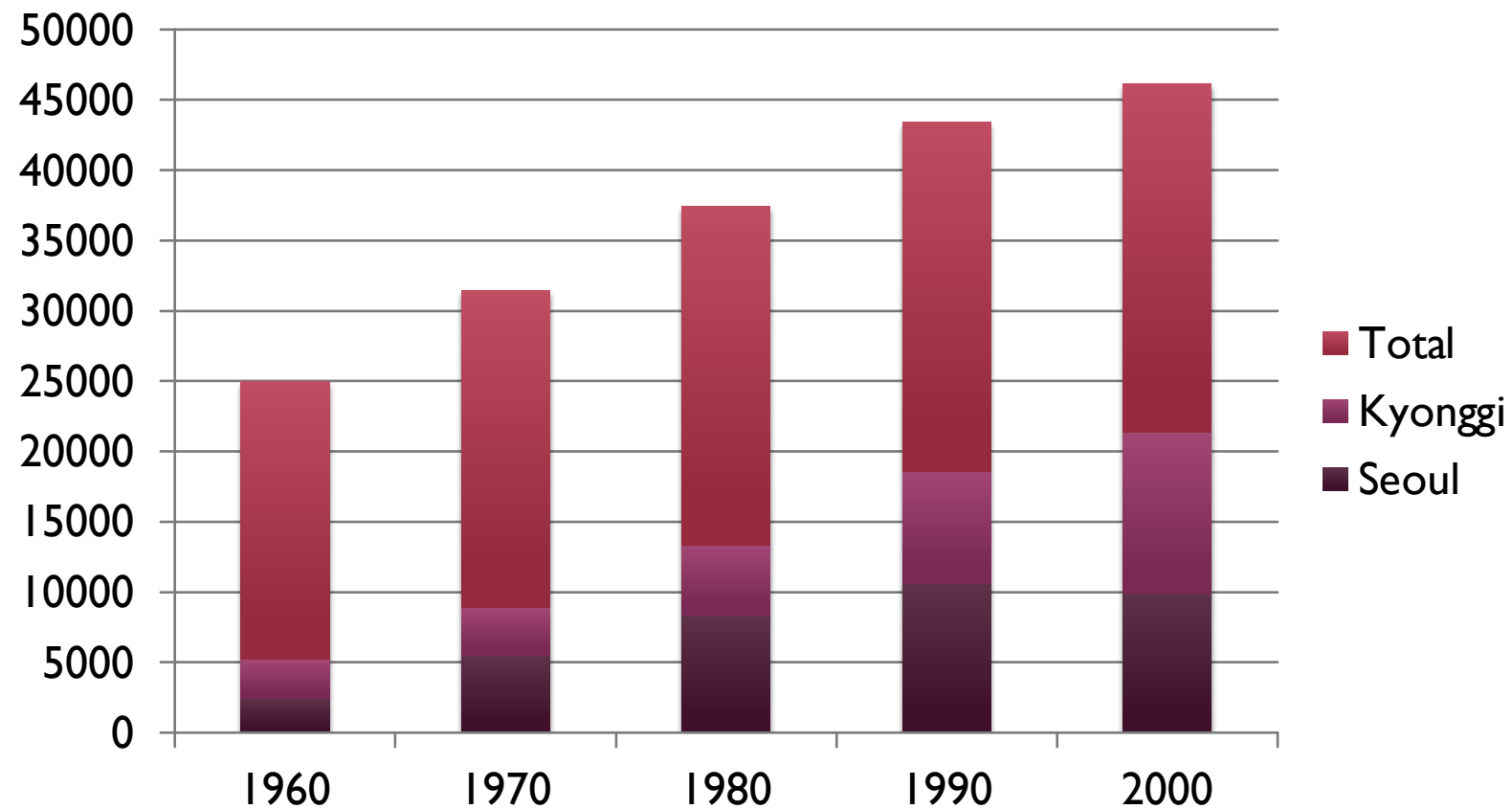


대한민국의 도시화율

국가지도집, 2005년



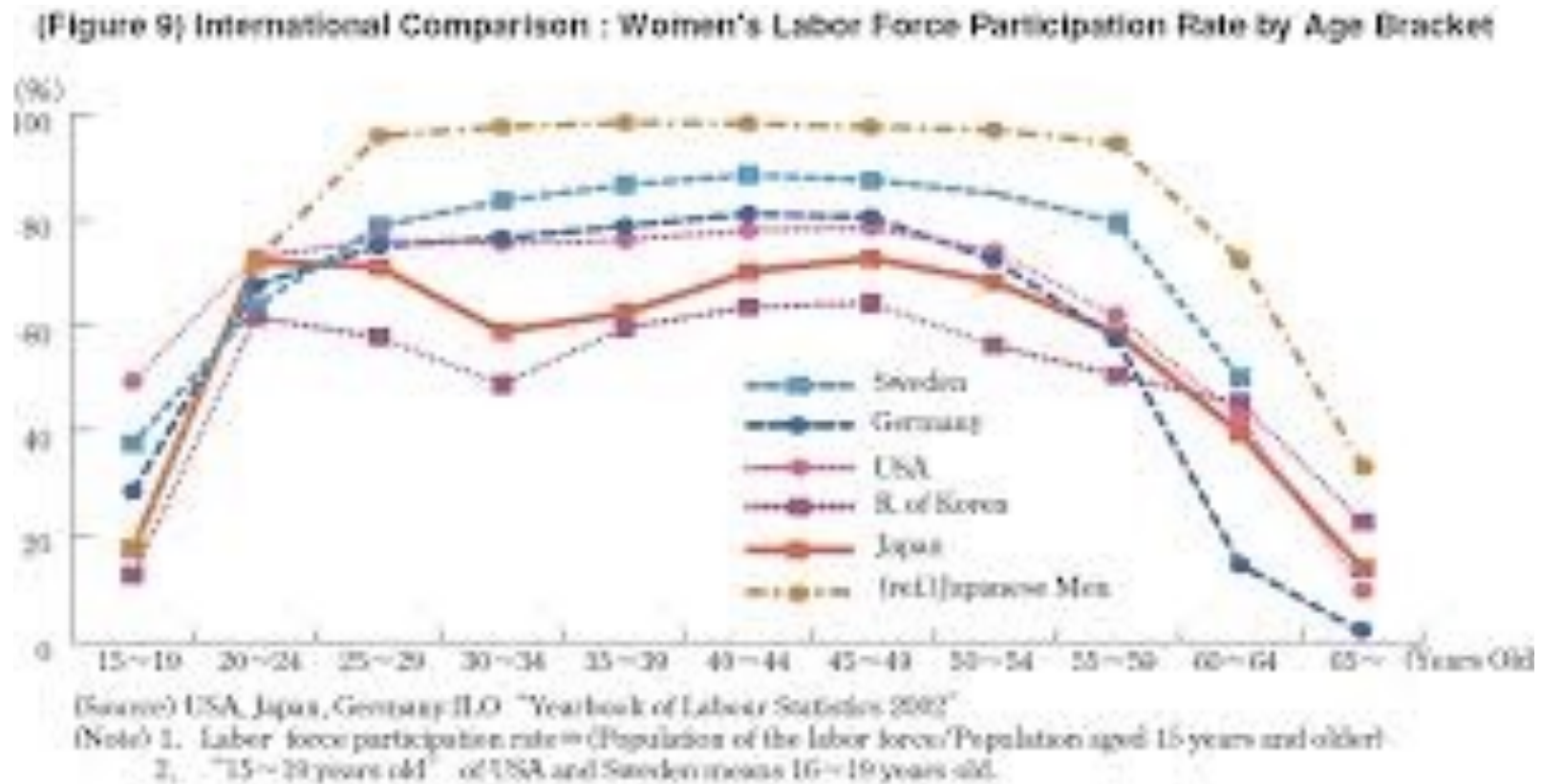
CAPITAL REGION AS PROPORTION OF POPULATION



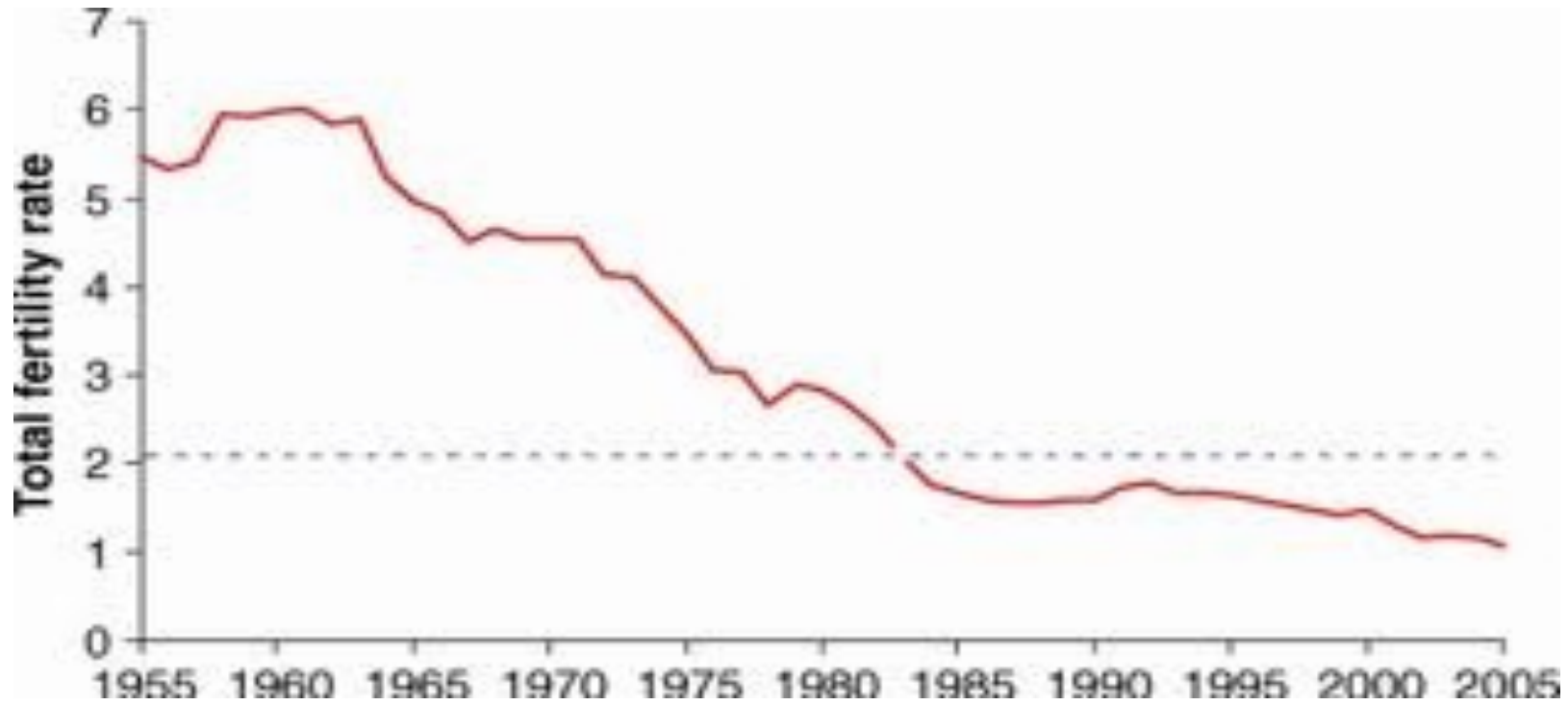
GENDER NORMS A LEGACY OF “MILITARIZED MODERNITY”

- Strong commitment to the man as “family breadwinner”
- Continued idealization of the “stay-at-home mother” 전업 주부 pattern, with women responsible for family consumption
- Modernization = later marriage
 - Large-scale population control program in the 1970s made “let’s have only two and raise them well” 둘만 낳면 잘 기르자 the norm with modern “housewifization” women’s contribution to modernity
 - Women now marry in their late twenties, and men in their late twenties/early thirties, and have low fertility
 - Young women work, and some older women reenter the work force as their children get older, but many leave the work force in early marriage (M-shaped curve)
 - Rural women work in the informal sector all their life

KOREA AND JAPAN HAVE “M” SHAPED FEMALE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION CURVE



FALLING SOUTH KOREAN TFR (TOTAL FERTILITY RATE)



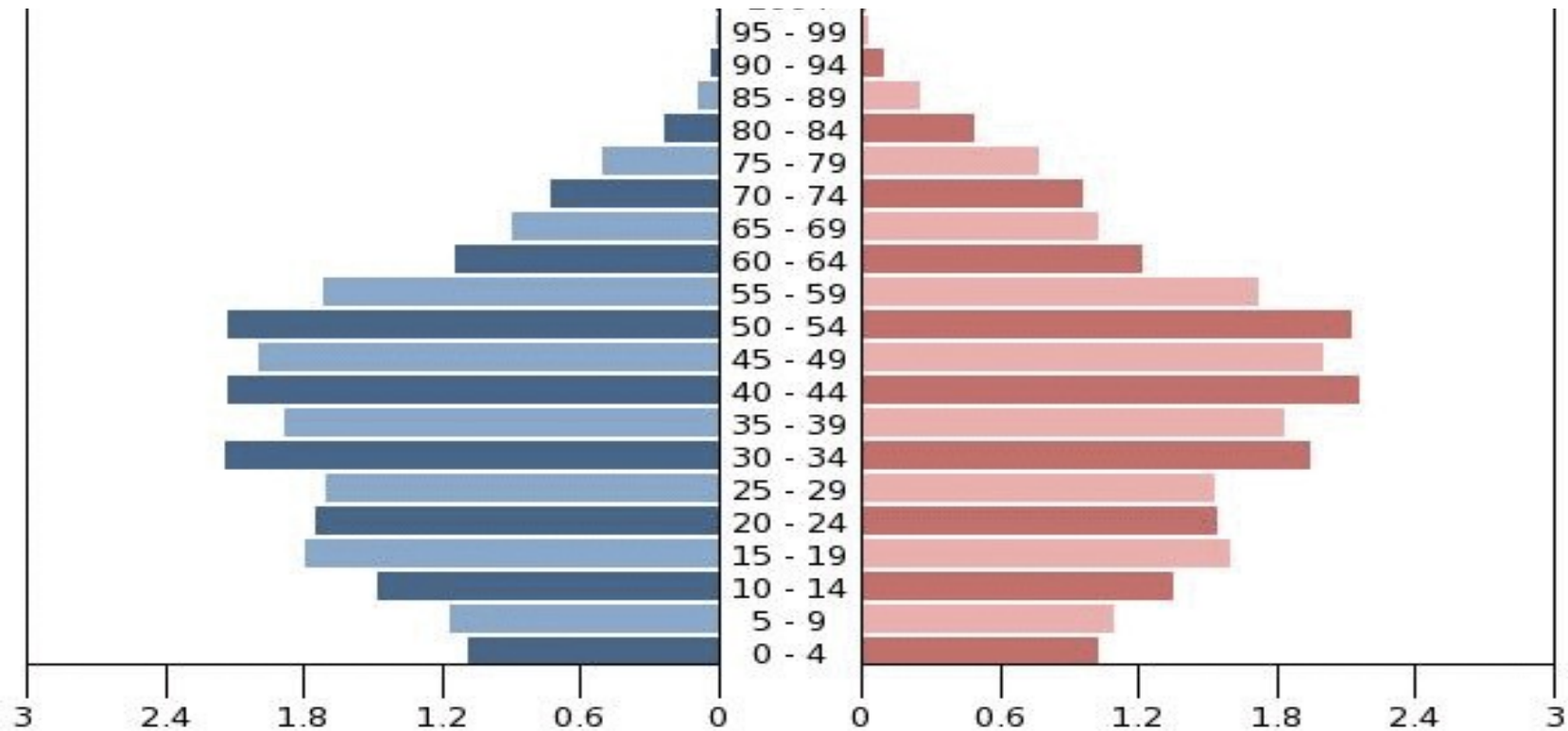
SEX SELECTIVE ABORTION

Table 3.5 Parity-Specific Sex Ratios at Birth, 1985-2000

Year	SRBs	1st Birth	2nd Birth	3rd Birth	4th or higher
1985	109.5	106.0	107.8	129.0	146.8
1986	111.7	107.3	111.2	129.0	149.8
1987	108.8	104.1	109.1	138.5	148.0
1988	113.3	107.2	113.2	134.7	182.0
1989	111.7	104.1	112.5	164.5	198.0
1990	116.5	108.5	117.0	188.9	209.3
1991	112.4	105.7	112.5	179.8	194.6
1992	113.6	106.2	112.5	192.0	213.1
1993	115.3	108.5	117.0	189.2	235.8
1994	115.2	106.5	114.7	202.6	224.9
1995	113.2	105.8	111.7	177.5	204.3
1996	111.6	105.3	109.8	164.2	185.1
1997	108.2	105.1	106.3	133.6	153.9
1998	110.1	106.0	108.1	145.0	153.5
1999	109.6	105.6	107.6	142.1	154.7
2000	110.2	106.2	107.4	141.7	154.9

Source: KNSO (*Vital Statistics Report* (2003a, KOSIS), various years).

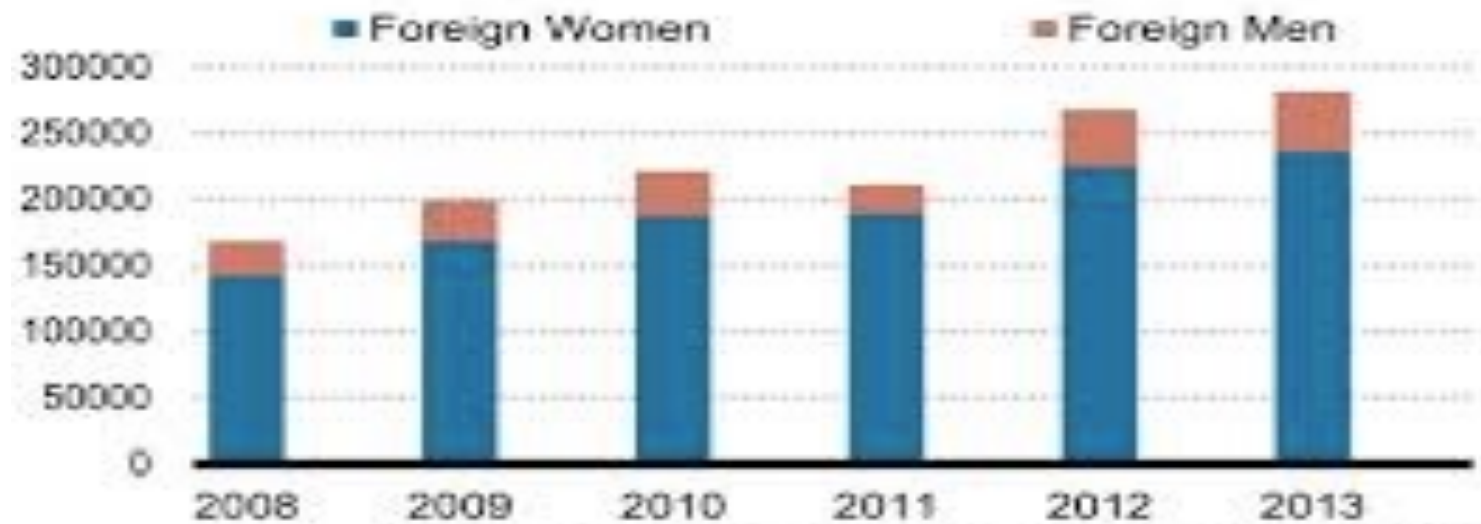
2013 SOUTH KOREAN AGE PYRAMID SHOWS DWINDLING MARRIAGEABLE GROUP



MARRIAGE MIGRATION AS A SOLUTION TO BRIDE SHORTAGES?

Foreign Spouses

Number of Foreigners Married to Korean Citizens



Source: Ministry of Security and Public Administration | WSJ.com

GENDER AND CLASS DIFFERENCES IN MULTICULTURAL MARRIAGES

- Women married to foreigners are more likely to urban with foreign professional spouses from developed countries
- Men married to foreigners are more likely to be rural with spouses from less developed countries

Table 2. Foreign Residents by Country (Top 15), 2008

	Male	Female	Total	% of Total
China (total)	280,829	275,688	556,517	48.0
<i>Korean-Chinese*</i>	<i>188,649*</i>	<i>187,914*</i>	<i>376,563*</i>	<i>32.5*</i>
Vietnam	48,322	36,441	84,763	7.3
Japan	21,080	30,683	51,763	4.5
Philippines	27,872	19,022	46,894	4.0
Thailand	31,088	14,110	45,198	3.9
Mongolia	18,726	13,480	32,206	2.8
Indonesia	26,312	3,601	29,913	2.6
Taiwan	13,714	13,263	26,977	2.3
Uzbekistan	17,102	4,467	21,569	1.9
Sri Lanka	14,914	803	15,717	1.4
Bangladesh	11,643	522	12,165	1.0
Pakistan	9,577	491	10,068	0.9
Cambodia	4,147	3,431	7,578	0.7
Nepal	5,700	1,037	6,737	0.6
India	5,373	1,359	6,732	0.6
Total (Top 15)	536,399	418,398	954,797	82.4
Other Countries	123,622	80,447	204,069	17.6
Grand Total	660,021	498,845	1,158,856	100.0

* These figures include in total for China

Source: *KIS Statistics 2008*, "Short-term Illegal Residents Citizenship and Residence of Foreigners by Period and Status." Available online <http://www.inmigration.go.kr/HP/COM/bbs_03/ListShowData.do>

JAPAN SHOWS SIMILAR PATTERNS FOR SIMILAR REASONS

- This is one strain of a broader process that is going on throughout East Asia as women from poorer countries are marrying into rural areas of richer countries
 - 2006 6% of marriages in Japan were international marriages
 - 2013 3% of marriages in Japan were international marriages
 - 40.4% Chinese
 - 20.1% Filipino
 - 17.7% Korean
 - 6.3% Thai
 - Japanese women prefer Koreans (mostly born in Japan), Americans, & Chinese
 - Marriages to Filipinas peaked in 2006, but has since declined after 2005 changes to visa requirements
 - 1989 visa law opened skilled labor visas (Filipinas came on “skilled entertainer” visas) while keeping unskilled labor closed except for trainees (kenshūsei 研修生), and ethnic Japanese from abroad (Nikkeijin 日系人) most of whom were Brazilians
 - 2005 and after stricter screening of foreign residents and of entertainer visas has reduced the number of Filipinas marrying in Japan

KOREA HAS HAD “ETHNONATIONAL” IDENTITY

- In “ethnonational identity” the nation is conceived as a single ethnic group of relatives into which one is born
 - Physical appearance, language, and nationality are thought to coincide
- South Korea has identified the “Korean diaspora” as an (ethno)national resource
- National law distinguishes overseas Koreans from wealthy countries (USA, Japan) from overseas Koreans from poor countries (China, Russia)
 - The former are allowed wide latitude to bring in skills and forge international ties
 - The latter are restricted for fear of “mercenary motives”
- Influence on national identity of diasporic migrants
 - South Korea—sense of ethnic solidarity threatened by ethnically distinct migrants
 - Chosŏnjok—ambivalent relationship to both Korea and China

SOUTH KOREAN NATIONALITY LAW

- 1997—Nationality Law amended to allow citizenship based on mother in addition to father
 - Under old law, citizenship followed father but not mother
- 1999—Overseas Koreans Act 재외교포 (在外僑胞)
 - Allows dual citizenships for emigrants who left after 1948
 - Excludes ethnic Koreans in China and Soviet Union (because most left before 1948)
 - Ethnic Koreans born in China after 1949 considered Chinese citizens with no special rights in South Korea
 - This was done in deference to Chinese citizenship law
- 2010 Law
 - Excludes overseas Chinese residents, but includes foreign-born spouses

SOUTH KOREAN BACHELORS AND CHOSŎNJOK WIVES

- In South Korea few agassi (maidens) wants to marry a farmer
 - Girls who migrate to the city to work don't return to get married, whereas at least one son (usually the eldest) is expected to remain home, farm, and take care of his parents
- If a man is over 34 and unmarried, he may go to China, the Philippines or Vietnam to find a wife
 - Eldest sons pressured to stay on the farm, inherit the land, and care for his parents with a patrilocal marriage
 - A man isn't a full adult until he marries regardless of chronological age
 - This is true in both urban and rural Korea, but in addition a single man can't run a rural house without female labor, and there are few girls to meet
- Lightning-like courtship in China, the Philippines or Vietnam
 - men meet a bunch of eligible women over a week or so of a marriage tour, and then the two decide
- Attitude toward rural people in Korea is less categorical than in China
 - Rural people are considered rubes (촌스럽다), but they are also considered more authentically Korean than urbanites with their cosmopolitan ways
 - Sint'o puri 身土不二 (body and soil are not two different things)
 - Rural family farm seen as the bedrock of Korean ethnicity, and Korean bodies should also properly eat food grown on Korean soil

SOUTH KOREAN PRIVATE AND GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS TO HELP RURAL BACHELORS FROM THE 1990S

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

DECENTERING CITIZENSHIP BY HAEYEON CHOO

- Foreign nationals married to Koreans are eligible for citizenship, but migrant workers are eligible only for temporary visas
 - They are supposed to offer their labor, but nothing else to Korean society
- Choo's book compares three groups of Filipinas (5th largest ethnic minority in Korea after Chosŏnjok, other Chinese, Vietnamese, and Japanese)
 - Legal female migrant workers (factory workers)
 - Marriage migrants (Filipinas married to Koreans who have rights to citizenship)
 - These used to be known as “international marriages” (kukche kyŏrhon), a term that reinscribes Korean ethnicity, so now they are termed “multicultural families” (tamunhwa kajok), a term that still reinscribes Korean ethnonational identity
 - Migrant hostesses in “camptown” clubs (hostesses)

COMPETING DISCOURSES OF CITIZENSHIP IN CONTEMPORARY WORLD

- Traditional citizenship—rights and provisions belong equally to all citizens as a member of a nation-state
 - Jus soli—US, everybody born on US soil is a US citizen
 - Jus sanguinis—citizenship is inherited from one's parents
 - (many countries use a combination of heredity and birth—for example, any ethnic Chinese born in Hong Kong has a right to permanent residence, but non-ethnic Chinese born in Hong Kong don't have that right and neither do ethnic Chinese born outside of Hong Kong)
- “postnational citizenship”—rights previously limited to citizens are extended to noncitizen residents based on ideas of universal personhood and human rights
- “flexible citizenship”—the market rules so that citizenship becomes like a commodity that can be purchased (one can get a Green Card in the US for investment \$1 million in a way that employs 10 US citizens), while some native-born citizens may not receive protection because they are deemed “unworthy”

“MARGINS OF CITIZENSHIP”

- Spaces that “defy a simple binary of inclusion and exclusion, occupying an uncertain and indeterminate edge” p6
 - In principle “citizenship” involves both inclusion and exclusion (without exclusion there can be no inclusion)
 - Full and equal membership in a polity is a “work in progress” rather than something that has been actually achieved anywhere
- Here Choo wants to look at interpersonal relations of inclusion and exclusion, rather than simply at legal definitions of citizenship
 - Think about the process of democratization in South Korea as people moved from being “duty-bound nationals” (kungmin) to becoming “rights bearing citizens” (kwöllli poyuhan simin) even though their “nationality” (kukchök) didn’t change
- Citizenship as contested territory
 - Migrants as the new *minjung* (oppressed)?
 - Migrants as allies against global capitalism?
 - What about domestic workers or marriage migrants?

ANSAN FILIPINO DISTRICT VERSUS OSAN CAMPTOWN



FACTORY TOWN VERSUS BASE TOWN

- Factory town
 - Mostly furniture factories with about 30% of the labor force female
 - Churches for Filipino community-building (Catholic, Protestant, Unification)
 - NGOs with Korean volunteers, activists, journalists and teachers (Peace Center)
 - Community activities—life cycle rituals (birthdays, baptisms), Christmas and New Years Parties, basketball leagues
- Base town
 - Entertainment district attached to US military base patrolled by US military police
 - Migrant Mission of the Catholic Church, Jehovah's Witness Korean missionaries, Sisterhood Center
 - Some Filipinas become married to Americans
 - South Korea women stopped working in such places in the 1990s, and being a South Korean woman in the area was unusual during Choo's fieldwork
 - 90% of the hostesses were Filipina, and others were from the former Soviet Union