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**Migration System Establishment and Korean  
Immigrant Association Development  
in Germany and the United Kingdom**

**by  
Yong Chan Kim**

**A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the  
Department of Politics, Faculty of Law, Business, and Social Science,  
University of Glasgow**

**March 2006**

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# Abstract

This study is about how different establishments of migration systems can cause dissimilar levels of development of Korean immigrant associations in Germany and the United Kingdom. The hypothesis of this research is that an “established” migration system between Germany and Korea causes “developed” Korean immigrant associations in Germany, while an “establishing” migration system between Korea and the United Kingdom results in “developing” Korean immigrant associations.

The established migration system between Germany and Korea has allowed for a long period over forty years for the permanent settlement of Korean immigrants and a relatively large number of Korean immigrants living in Germany. Consequently, there are a relatively large number of Korean immigrant associations in various areas such as the federation of Korean immigrant associations and political, professional, and social associations in Germany. These associations have had comparatively many members and have been structured organizations that have the articles of associations and have been managed through the decision of members. The associations also have organized many and diverse activities for their members and for Korean immigrant communities in Germany.

The establishing migration system between Britain and Korea has offered a relatively shorter duration of Korean immigrations over twenty years and small Korean immigrant population in the United Kingdom. Smaller Korean immigrant population and shorter immigration periods have resulted in a comparatively late formation of Korean immigrant community and associations and have led to less organization and activities of Korean immigrant associations. There has been an increase of Korean immigrant associations in the United Kingdom since the 1990s. The members of these associations have been increasing in recent times and the associations have been as semi-structured organizations that have not fully had the articles of associations and adequate decision system by members. The activities of these associations have been increasing and diversifying in the 2000s.

This research confirms the hypothesis that the different phases of migration system establishment between Korea and both destination countries result in the dissimilar stages of Korean immigrant association development. Subsequently, the generalizable argument can be presented as follows: different stages of migration system establishment between origin and destination countries can result in different phases of immigrant association development in receiving countries.



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## Acknowledgements

This thesis is a result of essential supports from many individuals. I am greatly indebted to my supervisor, Professor Brian Girvin, for his guidance, patience, and encouragement. His probing questions and critical reviews led me to see accurately my research and its process. My appreciation for him knows no bounds. I had a great help from Professor William L. Miller. His comments and encouragements of first parts of this thesis enabled me to develop other parts.

This research reflects my experiences of studies regarding international migration and immigrants in the Korea Research Center of Ethnology. Especially, Professor Chung Nam Cho, who is a director of the Center, provoked me to have a concern for ethnic nationalism, international migration, and immigrants. Professor Byung Kon Kim, Dr. Doo Jin Kim, Dr. Woong Hyun Lee in Politics and International Relations in Korea University provided kind guidance of postgraduate study in Britain and encourage my doctoral study. I have deep appreciations for these scholars.

I have my appreciation to the department of Politics in University of Glasgow. The considerations and facilities from the department supplied excellent place for my academic work. In particular, the kind guidance of Professor Christopher J. Berry, as a director of graduate study in department, in regard to Doctoral study was quite helpful for my stable study in Glasgow. I would like to thank my colleagues, Dr. Ron H. Culley, Jack Gallagher, Guohui Wang, and Ariel Ko. They shared my difficulties in thesis process and took valuable their times to discuss my thesis and polish my writing.

I had a great help from my interviewees in Germany and the United Kingdom. They offered long times for interviews and even accommodations and transports for me. If there were no their enthusiasms and supports of interview, this thesis could not be completed on time. I show my appreciations for them.

There is my greatest gratitude for my wife and daughter, Hee Kyung and Min Seon. My wife's continuous support, patience, and encouragement provided me the strength to endure the hard times throughout the years and led me to complete my thesis.

Yong Chan Kim  
Glasgow, March 2006



# Chapter 1. Introduction

## 1. Research question

International migration and migrants have manifested themselves as important themes in various disciplines, particularly as the rate of international migration has increased rapidly and migrants have come to represent significant members of most receiving countries since 1945.

International migration has grown more common among many countries in volume and includes diverse sending and receiving countries. 'New migrants'<sup>1</sup> also differ in characteristics from migrants before 1945. They are composed of migrants of various status and origin such as labour migrants, migrants for permanent resident, refugees and asylum-seekers, overseas service migrants, tourists, and students. In the meantime, the formation of immigrant associations in many countries has increased remarkably after 1945 with the growth of international migrations and migrants.

Despite the formation of various immigrant associations, however, each immigrant association have had differences from the stages of development in aspects of organization and activity.<sup>2</sup> Why have immigrant associations developed differently in

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<sup>1</sup> The occurrences of 'new migrants' in international migrations have mainly originated from the recruitment of foreign workers in European countries until the mid 1970s, imports of labour in Middle Eastern states, the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet bloc, and globalization with the revolution in technology and information since 1945.

<sup>2</sup> The development of immigrant associations as a dependent variable in this research is estimated by the degree of organization and activity of immigrant associations in immigrant community. Many associations in community and many members of the associations, structured organization, and many activities of the associations can be characterized as developed immigrant associations, while a few associations in community and a few members of the associations, unstructured organization, and a few activities in the associations can be characterized as underdeveloped immigrant associations. The developing associations refer to increasing associations in community and increasing members of the associations, semi-structured organization, and increasing activities in the associations. The details of definitions in regard to the development of immigrant associations are indicated in chapter 2.

the degree of organization and activity? Specifically, why have Korean immigrant associations in Germany and the United Kingdom developed differently in organization and activity? To provide satisfactory answers to these questions, the establishment of migration systems<sup>3</sup> are presented as an independent variable to explain the differences in the development of immigrant associations.

The hypothesis of this research is as follows: an “established” migration system between Germany and Korea causes “developed” Korean immigrant associations in Germany, while an “establishing” migration system between Korea and the United Kingdom results in “developing” Korean immigrant associations.

## **2. Research method**

### **Qualitative interview**

This research applies qualitative interviewing to generate qualitative data. Qualitative interview is different from questionnaires. Questionnaires lack the sensitivity to explore differences, inconsistencies, and meaning to an individual's circumstances. Qualitative interviewing provides answers to the ‘why’ questions rather than just the ‘how many’ or the ‘how often’ questions. (Stroh, 2000: 197-198)

Social scientist may use three types of interviews: structured interview<sup>4</sup>, semi-structured interview, and unstructured interview. A Structured interview has a uniform structure, which is based upon the rule of the standardization of explanations, leaves

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<sup>3</sup> Migration system establishment refers to the formation and continuity of a migration system and is classified in three stages; “established,” “establishing,” and “non-established”. An established migration system points out a migration system that was formed a relatively long time ago and that has been continued to recent times. By contrast, non-establishment of a migration system indicates that only few migration flows or temporary migration has occurred. An establishing migration system refers that a migration system has been formed a comparatively short period ago but continues to function.

<sup>4</sup> Structured interviews have been mainly used for survey research. Its purpose is not to generate qualitative data but to collect and gather quantitative data.



little room for deviation from the schedule or for interpreting meanings. A semi-structured interview contains questions that are specified prior to the interview, but an interviewer is able to explore the research questions more freely. An unstructured interview has no specified questions, but it can provide a qualitative depth by allowing an interviewer to talk about various questions freely. (May, 1997: 110-114)

The semi-structured interviews applied to this research for generating qualitative data. It is based on an epistemological assumption that the interaction between the researcher and the interviewee is important. (Mason, 2002: 65) Specifically, the semi-structured interviews were needed to understand the political, economic, and social contexts of immigration to Germany and the United Kingdom and emigration from Korea and to acquire information in relation to the growth of Korean immigrant communities and the development of Korean immigrant associations in both receiving countries. Structured interviews with fixed questions would have a difficulty in exploring the various contexts of Korean migrants' immigration and the development of Korean immigrant communities and associations.

Unfortunately, a wide variety of documentary sources concerning the associations of Korean immigrants in Germany and the United Kingdom, mainly resources in regard to Korean immigrant community and associations in Britain, do not exist. Therefore, generating data for research through the semi-structured interviewing was necessary in the situation where much information could not otherwise be gathered.

The process of preparation for interviewing included the selection of interviewees, the specification of questions, and contact interviewees. In relation to the selection of interviewees from samples, the criteria for selection were established with the following conditions: Interviewees would have to be first generation Korean immigrants who have

been permanent residents since immigrating to Germany or the United Kingdom. They would have firsthand experiences of organization and activity of various associations, such as the federation of Korean immigrant associations, regional Korean immigrant associations, political, economic and professional, cultural and educational, and social associations, of Korean communities in Germany and Britain. In regard to experiences in associations, this research required interviewees to be past or current core members, such as presidents, vice-presidents, or members of the executives, of various associations in Korean communities. All interviewees, therefore, are important actors in associations as advisers, presidents, and members of board or the executives at recent times.

After the lists of advisers and core members in various Korean immigrant associations, such as “Bundesverband der Koreaner in Deutschland e. v.” (the Federation of Korean Immigrant Associations in Germany) and “Korean Immigrant Association in the United Kingdom”, were checked on the basis of the criteria of selecting, contacts for interviews were processed and the plans of interviews scheduled. Interviews for 17 interviewees in Germany and 12 interviewees in the United Kingdom were confirmed through the process of sampling and contacts. Twenty-nine interviewees with support of some documents were enough for acquiring of information in regard to Korean immigration and associations in Germany and the United Kingdom because they were or are leaders of Korean immigrant communities and various associations in both countries.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Stroh suggested that interviews between thirty and forty can become “a realistic maximum” because qualitative interviewing, mainly semi-structured and unstructured interview, can require long time of process concerning transcription and analysis as well as interviewing. (Stroh, 2000: 201)



This research received the informed consent of interviewees after explanations for the purpose of interviews, the use of information, the keeping of the data, and the principle of anonymity through the process of previous contacts.

Table 1.1 Characteristic of interviewees in Germany and the United Kingdom

	Number	Location	Status in Immigration	Years in Immigration
Germany	17	Frankfurt Cologne Mainz Berlin	Miner (8) Nurse (7) Student (2)	1960s (12) 1970s (5)
United Kingdom	12	London New Malden in Surrey	Self-employer (2) Service worker (5) Staff of overseas business (4) Student (1)	1970s (6) 1980s (6)

Interviews proceeded from October 2003 to January 2004 and April 2005 in Germany and the United Kingdom. The time duration for each interview varied and ranged from an hour and ten minutes to four hours. Some interviews and group interviews required more time as particular interviewees and group interviews were giving so much information.<sup>6</sup> Interviews took place in various settings such as offices, restaurants, homes of interviewees, and so forth.

To analyze the interviews, after transcription, data were sorted and managed to determine what was appropriate for this research and any irrelevant data was discarded. Then, the data were classified into specific categories in relation to interview questions and data was linked together on the basis of these categories. The application of the data

<sup>6</sup> Interviews in the United Kingdom had progressed by way of individual interviewing, while those in Germany included group interviewing as well as individual interviewing. Group interviews in Germany were required to cross-examine the accuracy of certain information and get more data on specific associations on the basis of information from some documents.



to this research is accompanied with comparing notes, written by researcher in interviews, to check the accuracy of information.

### **Comparative analysis**

This research also required the use of comparative analysis. Comparative method can be defined as one of the basic method of establishing general empirical propositions and is regarded as a method for discovering empirical relationships among variables. (Lijphart, 1971: 682-683) Despite various methods in social science research, for example experimental, statistical, and single case study method, which have been applied to the examination of relationships among variables, comparative method has been perceived as the most prominent method for the maximization of explanation of relationship between independent and dependent variables.

Comparative method includes the study of cross-area, cross-national, or cross-history analysis. As Przeworski and Tuene point out, comparative research generally refers to social scientific research to go beyond the boundaries of one country. (Przeworski and Tuene, 1966: 552) Historians have also regarded comparative method as a more scientific method that can develop historical explanations from descriptive practices to explanatory ones by method of cross-history. (Lesile Page Moch, 1997: 58-61)

The comparative cross-national analysis applies to this research. This research required relevant cases to examine the relationship between migration system establishment and immigrant association development.

Though various associations of Korean communities in the United States, which has more than 2 million Korean immigrants, have been formed and developed by a

migration system, they cannot be compared to Korean immigrant associations in other receiving countries because Korean immigrant communities in the United States have an exceptionally large population of Korean immigrants and many Korean immigrant associations within major cities such as Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago. Therefore, the studies of Korean immigrants in the United States have mainly focused on not the overall Korean immigrants in the United States but in individual cities.

The migration system with Korea and Korean immigrant associations in Germany and the United Kingdom are compared in this research to explain the relationship between two variables, migration system establishment and Korean immigrant association development. Korean immigrant associations in Germany, though Korean immigrants in Germany are comparatively smaller than that of the United States, has been formed and developed by migration system establishment in a similar way to Korean immigrant associations in individual big cities of Canada and the United States. Relevant population of Korean immigrants in Germany is also able to help to acquire detailed information of the associations on the basis of national level and to compare to other migration systems between Korea and destination countries.

Meanwhile, Korean immigrant associations in the United Kingdom show the characteristics of developing stage in the process of Korean immigrant association development by influence of establishing migration system like Korean immigrant associations in Australia. Relatively short immigration periods for 20 years and small immigrant population as properties of establishing migration system have caused developing associations in Korean community that have characters such as increasing associations in community, increasing members of the associations, semi-structured organization, increasing activities of the associations since the mid 1990s.



Therefore, the comparison or comparative study in relation to differences of migration system establishment with Korea and Korean immigrant association development in Germany and the United Kingdom can provide useful explanations of relationship between two variables as independent variable and dependent variable and generalizable argument in regard to relationship between migration system establishment and immigrant association development.<sup>7</sup>

### **3. Review of literature**

The study of international migration and migrants has an interdisciplinary character. Though each discipline is different from the principal objective of the research such as policy, economy, and ethnicity, many disciplinary studies have shared and applied various theories and information in the interdisciplinary spheres. Therefore, if researchers had decided on a specific research question about international migration and migrants, they need to examine theories and data in the literature of all disciplines in relation to the research question.

This research focuses on the themes of migration system and immigrant associations in regard to international migration and migrants. Therefore, this study required a review of literature in regard to a migration systems approach and immigration policy of both Germany and the United Kingdom. It also called for the analysis of literature concerning Korean immigrant associations and communities. The literature on immigration policy in various receiving countries and Korean immigrant communities and associations in a certain country like the United States was vast, but only a small

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<sup>7</sup> In chapter 4, the analysis of immigration and formation of Korean immigrant communities and associations in Australia, Canada, and the United States on the basis of documentary sources provides the implications of similarities in relation to migration system establishment and Korean immigrant association development in Germany and the United Kingdom with above three countries.

percentage of literature could be directly relevant to explaining a migration systems approach and Korean immigrant associations in Germany and the United Kingdom due to scarcity of these works. This section concentrates on the most important works like those of Kritz, Tomas Hammar, Ill Soo Kim, and some others in relation to themes in this research and case countries.

Mary M. Kritz, Lin Lean Lim, and Hania Zlotnik with co-researchers in their work, *International Migration Systems: A Global Approach*, introduced a migration system approach and explained migration systems in regional levels, linkages between origin and destination countries, and policies related to international migration.<sup>8</sup> According to Kritz and Zlotnik, the international contexts of migration at recent times have differed significantly from those of permanent immigration periods from Europe to Americas at the turn of the twentieth century. However, established fragmentary concepts, theories, and approaches to international migration did not reflect these changes. They indicated that the change such as the continuity of permanent migration in various countries, the increase of temporary migration, and linkage between migration policies and other nation-state objectives in international migration require new dynamic and comprehensive approaches. (Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992: 1) They provided the justification for a migration systems approach by indicating problems of fragmentary or unilateral approach as cited below:

*“Consideration of the causes or impacts of international migration from either a sending- or a receiving-country perspective often fails to convey the dynamics*

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<sup>8</sup> The other details of a migration systems approach and those problems are discussed again in Chapter 2, so only overall review and problems of those work is provided in this section.



*associated with the evolution of the flow, from its origins, through the shifts in its composition and volume as it matures, taking account of return migration and remittances, and of the policy and structural conditions at origin and destination that shape migration". (Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992: 2)*

Kritz and Zlotnik suggested that a migration systems approach as a dynamic perspective or a unified perspective that could explain the changing tendencies of migrations and various contexts between origin and destination countries needs to give attention to "the role of institutional and migrant networks", to consider "whole spectrum of population movement", and to analyze migration policies. (Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992: 15-16)

In respect to the necessity of "a comprehensive explanatory framework"<sup>9</sup> of international migration, Fawcett and Arnold proposed "a migration systems paradigm" before Kritz and Zlotnik's suggestion. To solve the problem of the "fragmentary nature" of international migration studies, they suggested "a migration systems paradigm" that can offer attention to both ends of migration flows, explain various linkages between countries, and check the changes of dynamic in migration processes. They also presented structural and contextual factors such as state-to-state relations and comparisons, mass culture connections, family and social networks and social-psychological paradigm as relevant causes of migration flows or criteria of explanation for international migrations. (Fawcett and Arnold, 1987: 453-472)

Although a migration systems approach can provide the possibility of comprehensive and interdisciplinary explanations for international migration, the

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<sup>9</sup> Castles introduced a migration systems theory as an approach that pursue to "integrate the contributions" from various disciplines and approaches with growing cross-disciplinary and international discussions of international migration. (Castles, 2000: 23-24)

criteria for the selection of national or individual contexts and established other linkages that can take into account the occurrence and continuity of international migration are more or less arbitrary and unclear. The psychological context<sup>10</sup>, for example, is important to Fawcett and Arnold as a determinant that can have an influence on migration flows, while the same context in Kritz and Zlotnik's approach is not considered at all. In the meantime, most cases of migration systems in their works were limited in certain regional areas that have similar historical or cultural backgrounds on the basis of geographic proximity such as the Asian Pacific region and European countries, so the practical research of a migration system between countries that have no established linkages such as historical or cultural connections was not considered importantly.

The first substantial comparative study on immigration policy in European countries was Tomas Hammar's *European Immigration Policy: Comparative Study*.<sup>11</sup> Hammar selected six countries, Britain, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland, for a comparative analysis of immigration policy. The research countries had been selected due to their relatively large immigrant populations and "a high degree of variation" in immigration policy. There were two major patterns in immigration regulation. Germany and Switzerland opted for "guestworker" programmes or a rotation

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<sup>10</sup> Fawcett and Arnold indicated that psychological perspective could provide the explanation of immigration process on the micro-level basis. The immigrants' decision stage of immigration and adaptation stage could be accounted for through the analysis of psychological events in the process of immigration. (Fawcett and Arnold, 1987: 467-471)

<sup>11</sup> Hammar provided 'the classical definition' of immigration policy. Immigration policy in Hammar's work included immigration regulation and aliens control and immigrant policy. Specifically, the policy comprised "1. Immigration regulation and aliens control (a) "strict" or "liberal" control of the admission and residence of foreign citizens (b) guarantees of "permanent status"; legal security versus vulnerability to arbitrary expulsion, 2. Immigrant policy (a) indirect: immigrants' inclusion in the general allocation of benefits; "equal" versus "discriminatory" distribution (b) direct: special measures on behalf of immigrants; "affirmative action" and the removal of legal discrimination". (Hammar, 1985: 7-10)



system of labour, while the immigration regulation in Britain and Sweden had been a permanent immigration system. (Hammar, 1985: 1-2)

Hammar pointed out that although guestworker programmes in Germany had been proceeded by temporary employment of immigrant workers from the 1950s, ideal rotation or guestworker system from the 1970s had not been realized due to the longer stay of immigrant labourers by various reasons such as wage increase in Germany and dire economic conditions in their origin countries. Meanwhile, permanent immigration in Britain had not meant an unlimited immigration policy over open border, but “the granting a guarantee to immigrants who have been admitted that they will not be forced to leave the country again”. (Hammar, 1985: 250-251) He also weighted briefly factors such as historical, economic, and psychological conditions that could explain differences in immigration policies between the permanent system and the guestworker system. Colonial ties, for instance, made important roles in the increase of more permanent migration than other kinds of migration. (Hammar, 1985: 258-262)

Finally, he argued that immigration policy in six countries had converged towards more restrictive immigration policy and specified immigrant policy for integration to a considerable immigrant population.<sup>12</sup> This trend was from the periods when the recruitment of foreign workers was stopped in the early or mid 1970s and many immigrants and their families had resided permanently in the research countries, but he

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<sup>12</sup> The convergence of immigration policy in Hammar's work was started by “turning point” from the early 1970s. Hammar indicated “turning point” as first break with previous relatively unrestricted policies and beginning of immigrant policy. The turning point of immigration policy in Germany was began by stop of foreign worker recruitment in 1973, while in Britain this process did not take place at a particular time but progressed gradually. (Hammar, 1985: 6, 303) Freeman, however, indicated that there were clear distinctions in immigration policy and race relation problems between Britain and France, though policy for a controlled immigration had converged in the 1970s. He argued that Britain had been more negative in the recruitment of immigrant workers and immigrant policies in Britain focused on race relation matters affected by “fear” over immigration and racial conflict, but France was more positive about the immigration of foreign workers and depended on criminal law to prevent racial violence in relation to race problem. (Freeman, 1979: 308-310)



emphasized that immigrant policy was more divergent than immigration regulation<sup>13</sup> in six countries. (Hammar, 1985: 292-304)

The comparative study on immigration policy of six European countries in Hammar's work encouraged the research concerning immigration policy and immigrant's integration in European countries by providing the definition of concepts and comparability of individual countries. After Hammar's study, the research on immigration policy in European countries have focused more on individual cases, mainly on larger countries such as Germany, France, and the United Kingdom, and on comparative studies of only two or three countries. (Cornelius, Martin, and Hollifield, 1994; Hollifield, 1997; Spencer, 1997; Joppke, 1999)

The cases for comparative analysis require the similarity in differences or vice versa with regard to specific subjects, but the six countries in Hammar's work were not ideal selections for comparative analysis. The reason for this is that immigration pattern and immigrant's influence and integration in case countries had been various and different. These differences resulted in a less sophisticated comparative study and could only offer limited analytical explanations about the countries that appear in his work. Specifically, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland retained a relatively small immigrant population in comparison to other research countries and had a diverse range of historical and socioeconomic backgrounds of immigration.

Therefore, comparative analysis of immigration in European countries in recent times has focused on Germany, France, and the United Kingdom. That is why these countries have had different immigration patterns and policies such as foreign worker

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<sup>13</sup> In Hammar's definition, immigration regulation refers to "the rules and procedures governing the selection and admission of foreign citizens and regulations to control foreign citizens", while immigration policy includes immigration regulation and immigrant policy that influenced "the condition of resident immigrants" such as work conditions and social services. (Hammar, 1985: 7-9)

system and colonial immigration, though they similarly have established restricted immigration policy and have relatively large immigrant volumes and massive asylum seekers' immigration. For example, although Germany and the United Kingdom have recently made similar restriction over controls to immigration and asylum, the different immigration patterns and policies have had an influence on dissimilar settlement and integration of immigrant groups.

In regard to the concept of the immigration policy in Hammar's work, the immigrant policy concept in European countries was diverse, so there has been a tendency where settlement policy for immigrant has been included into immigration policy in the research of immigration policy and immigrants, while various immigrant policies that Hammar suggested have been considered in the areas of integration of immigrant.

Despite some convergences or "turning points"<sup>14</sup> in the perspective of restricted immigration regulation, various migrant worker or guestworker programme have continued in Germany in the 1990s and massive immigration from Hong Kong in the United Kingdom indicate the remains of colonial immigration even in recent times. Unlike Hammar's explanation, the continuity of these migrations into Germany and the United Kingdom demonstrates dependence of initial immigration patterns and influences of immigration policy.

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<sup>14</sup> Hammar indicated Britain had no "turning point" in immigration policy, but Spencer has argued that the change of immigration policy and immigrant volume had been caused by a particular policy. The "failed" Commonwealth Immigrant Act in 1962 permitted massive family reunification, and Britain has become a multi-racial society since then. Immigration policy and legislations have restricted and controlled immigration from ex-colonial countries after this huge family immigration. (Spencer, 1997)



The formation and development of Korean community in New York and new Korean immigrants were researched, *New Urban Immigrants: The Korean Community in New York*, by Il Soo Kim. Main concerns in Kim's study were the various contexts of Korean migration to New York and the influence of a large-scale new Korean immigration on organizations, institutions, and sentiments in the Korean community in New York. According to his view, the new immigrants in the 1960s and the 1970s, generally speaking, were significantly different from older immigrants to the United States. They were composed of "urban middle-class professionals" and "skilled blue-collar workers" and came largely from Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean Islands. The emigration and settlement of these immigrants reflected social and economic changes in both the United States and sending countries. (Kim, 1981: 3-6) The new Korean immigrants had been from the middle classes or upper middle class of Korean society and had professional and skilled jobs such as medicine in contrast to old Korean immigrants who were from lower classes of Korea. (Kim, 1981: 30-47)

Push and pull factors in his research were considered to account for Korean migration to the United States. Demographic factors, internal politics related to the policies of the Korean government, and international relations of Korea including economic relations as push factors were explained. More importantly, he emphasized pull factors of Korean immigration to New York, and examined specifically the American immigration policy, for example the United States Immigration Act in 1965 and its revision in 1976, as pull factors. The Acts permitted immigration to people who were close families of permanent residents and had specific skills. As a result of these laws, Korean family reunion became frequent in the United States and the United States saw a massive number of skilled and professional Korean immigrants flooding into the

country. (Kim, 1981: 9-10, 17-98) Kim argued, finally, that the immigration of new Koreans to New York through the immigration policy of the United States and emigration circumstances in Korea had changed the character of the Korean community and caused the growth of Korean community in New York.

An analytical framework, which was based on a theory or approach, for the explanation of Korean immigrant community did not be presented and generalizable propositions on the basis of case study of Korean community in New York did not be suggested in Kim's work. His work emphasized the influence of the composition of new Korean immigrants who were "descendants of urbanites" and had intentions to construct "urban ethnic communities" in New York.<sup>15</sup> It is difficult, however, to say that the changes of character in the Korean community could be simply reduced to differences of member composition without considering various political, economic, and social contexts. Although new Korean immigrants from middle class and urbanites were more literate and adaptive than older immigrants in New York, this difference could not significantly affect the growth of Korean community. In practice, it was the rapid increase of overall Korean immigrant population and the political and economic factors both in Korea and the United States that had importantly influenced the formation and growth of the Korean community in New York.

It should be indicated that there are no available works that examines the relationship between migration systems and immigrant associations. Specifically, the study of the relationship between migration systems and Korean immigrant associations has not been explained nor has any work provided the analytical or theoretical

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<sup>15</sup> Kim argued that new Korean immigrants in New York were similar to older immigrants such as European settlers. (Kim, 1981: 305-306)



explanations of Korean immigrant associations in European countries<sup>16</sup> or even non-European countries. Therefore, there is a need to explain the relationship between migration systems and immigrant associations through the explanation of specific case studies and comparative studies such as the research of migration systems and Korean immigrant associations in Germany and the United Kingdom.

#### **4. Importance of research**

Firstly, in aspect of analytical framework, this research will contribute to the modifications of a migration systems approach in several ways. This study indicates that migration systems without past linkages, for example historical, cultural, and colonial linkages, can be established as a migration system between Germany and Korea. This analysis points out that the character of migration system between countries can be altered through transitions in political, economic, or social contexts. More importantly, this research provides a migration systems approach with the issues of immigrants and immigrant associations and community as new research themes. It will also contribute to the theorization of migration system and immigrant association by presenting an argument that the establishment of migration system among countries can cause the development of immigrant associations.

Secondly, as the review of literature indicates, most studies on immigrant tend to be reduced to a description of overall immigrant community rather than providing an analytical explanation based on an analytical framework. This study in contrast to other works presents causal and analytical explanations of immigrant associations and

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<sup>16</sup> The overall description of Korean communities in Europe was presented in Gyu Gwang Lee's work, *Overseas Koreans in the World: Europe*. His research included information of Korean communities in Europe in the mid 1990s, but the research showed only the descriptive details of Korean communities.

community on the basis of the framework. In addition, this research provides comparative analysis to migration systems and immigrant associations in Germany and the United Kingdom. It will support the increase in comparative analyses about migration systems and immigrant associations in other cases. For example, new research themes and issues such as comparative analysis to Korean immigrant associations in Europe and United States or migration systems in Europe and Asian-Pacific region can be suggested.

Thirdly, Korean communities in Germany and Britain, unlike Indian or Turkish in both countries, have relatively small populations. Therefore, there is little research available concerning Korean immigrants in both countries, but Korean immigrants and associations in Korean communities have increased and activities for Korean immigrants have also experienced a growth. Under these circumstances, this research will provide governments in Germany and the United Kingdom with the implications of policies in relation to small immigrant communities such as Korean communities.

Fourthly, the interests of overseas Koreans in Korea have risen rapidly at recent times, and as a result the Korean government has been keen to establish the organization; Foundation for Overseas Koreans, which supports Koreans living abroad. This research will offer information for policies in relation to overseas Koreans to the Korean government.

## **5. Aim and structure**

The first goal of this research is to explain the political, economic, and social contexts that occurred and changed migration systems in Germany, the United Kingdom, and



Korea. Immigration of Koreans to Germany and Britain and Koreans' emigration from Korea since 1945 is considered under those contexts.

The second goal is to expound the influence of migration system establishment on the development of Korean immigrant associations in Germany and Britain. The formation and development of Korean immigrant communities and associations in Germany and Britain are discussed on the basis of different migration system establishment phases. The third goal is to account for the practical organizations and activities of Korean immigrant associations comparatively and for formation and development of Korean immigrant associations historically in Germany and the United Kingdom.

The fourth goal is to demonstrate the hypothesis of this research and to provide a generalizable argument in relation to the development of immigrant associations, to present suggestions for further study, and to explain the prospects of migration systems and Korean immigrant associations in Germany and the United Kingdom.

This thesis is structured as follows: Chapter 2 discusses some of the theories and concepts related to the explanations for international migration and immigrants. It emphasizes the need to apply the framework of migration system to studying international migration and immigrant. The established migration system approach is also modified for effective explanation of migration system in this research.

Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 analyze foreign immigrants', who originated from various countries, overall immigration to Germany and the United Kingdom and Koreans' emigrations from Korea to diverse destination countries on the basis of political, economic, social contexts concerning the migrations. Specifically, Chapter 3 is



concerned with immigration to Germany and the United Kingdom since 1945. It shows the processes and causes of immigration in both countries and discusses the formation and practices of immigration policy. It also compares the differences of immigration pattern and immigration policy with regards to the political and economic contexts in Germany and Britain. Chapter 4 considers the processes and diverse patterns of Koreans' overall emigrations under the considerations of political, economic, social contexts in Korea and destination countries and linkages between Korea and receiving countries since 1945, and then it also briefly accounts for Koreans' migrations and migration systems to Australia, Canada, and the United States, which showed similarities in migration system establishment and Korean immigrant association development with Germany and the United Kingdom, and the developments of Korean immigrant communities and associations.

Chapter 5 and 6 explains the establishment of migration system and the influence of migration system establishment on the formation of Korean communities and the development of Korean immigrant associations in Germany and the United Kingdom. The former shows the establishment and change of migration system between Germany and Korea since the 1960s by mainly labour migration, and the latter examines establishing phase of migration system between Korea and the United Kingdom since the 1980s by the immigration of Korean staff in overseas businesses and Korean students.

Chapter 7 examines the development of Korean immigrant associations in Germany and the United Kingdom in aspects of organization and activity. It explains the formation of Korean immigrant associations and the details of organizations and activities of Korean immigrant associations in Germany and the United Kingdom. It

also compares the different development of Korean immigrant associations in relation to organizations and activities in both countries. Chapter 8 presents the results of this research and the argument that demonstrates the hypothesis of this study, and then it provides theoretical considerations and the suggestions for further study. It also explains the prospects of Korean immigrant associations and migration systems in Germany and Britain.

## **Chapter 2. Theories of International Migration and Immigrant and Analytical Framework of Migration System**

There are four major issues in regard to the theoretical interest of international migration and migrants that have been presented in various disciplines. They are as follows: “the origins of migrant labour”, “the determinants of their stability”, “the uses of immigrant labour”, and “the adaptation of immigrants to the host society”. (Portes, 1987) These issues have mainly focused on the cause and effect, the process of migration, the incorporation of immigrant within nation-states, and the globalization theme that explains the influence of globalization on international migration and migrants beyond the boundary of nation-states has emerged at recent times. (Soysal, 1994; Castles, 2000)

The theories or approaches of international migration and immigrant are vast, so the review of international migration and immigrant theories in this chapter concentrates on the theories or approaches that are relatively related to the research question. The theories or approaches in regard to the origin of international migration and the determinants of migration stability are examined in the first section and the integration theories of immigrants are also explained in the second section. Then, the framework for the analysis of migration system and the definitions of the concepts in the research question are presented in the following section.

### **1. International migration theories**



An introduction to all of the various approaches or theories regarding international migration across disciplines is not possible here, but three theories of international migration, each distinct from each other, can be presented as follows: “economic theory”, “the historical-structural approach”, and “migration system theory”. (Castles & Miller, 2003: 21-30) The “economic theory” and “the historical-structural approach” are reviewed in this section, while a migration systems approach, which provides basic implications for the analytical framework of migration systems between Korea and Germany and Britain, is considered in the section of analytical framework.

### **Economic theory**

The economic theory of international migration is composed of two pillars. At the macro-level, there is the “push-pull” approach, which is most widely held position, regards labour flows as “an outcome of poverty and backwardness” in the sending areas. They appear “self-evident” on the surface because the labourers immigrate into Germany from Turkey and not vice versa. (Portes & Borocz, 1989: 607-608) This approach provides an argument that migration is caused by “existing disequilibrium” between or within sending and receiving countries, and then migration can re-establish equilibrium. The factors of disequilibrium indicate the push and pull factors. The most important variables in these factors are economic factors such as income difference and job shortages, or socioeconomics such as the prospects of social mobility, or social-psychological variables such as frustration of expectation in the origin country. (Heisler, 1992: 625)

At the micro-level, the “rational actor approach”, which is based on a set of neo-classical principles in economics, emphasizes the individual decision to migrate after

the consideration of “costs and benefits” of remaining or migration. Borjas indicated that individuals in neo-classical principles are premised as maximizing utility, so individuals can choose the country of residence that maximizes their social well being. The search of country for residence is limited by the individual’s financial resources and by regulation in receiving and sending countries. (Borjas, 1989: 457-461)

### *Limitations of economic theory*

The “push and pull” approach has an inability to explain why similar movements do not occur in other underdeveloped countries or why incentives for emigration tend to be directed at certain regions and not in others and does not take into account for why emigrants from underdeveloped countries have a tendency to immigrate to specific receiving country and not immigrate to other countries that have similar economic and socioeconomic conditions. For example, despite the similar economic and social condition in South East Asian countries and Korea, the only significant emigration in the 1960s was from Korea. Emigration from Korea in the 1960s was also more commonly directed towards countries such as Germany and the United States, not similar developed countries such as France and the United Kingdom.

The political context such as the immigration policy in the United States and the agreement of labour migration between the German and the Korea government as well as the historical linkage such as the military alliance between Korea and United States in the 1950s cannot be explained in the push-pull approach. These examples can serve to indicate the limitations of explanation on international migration by the push-pull theory, so the various contexts such as political circumstances and historical linkages in



economic and social disequilibrium are required to account for the origin and stability of international migration.

Another factor, which must be considered, is that empirical studies based on the push and pull approach have focused on receiving countries alone. The area of study includes major destination countries such as Australia, Canada, the United States, and West European countries. These trends tend to regard sending countries as simply constant variable that always has the characteristics of underdeveloped countries, so it is difficult to gain a full understanding of international migration process, specific contexts of emigration from sending countries, and changes in migration flow and character. The study of limited countries in push and pull approach also can result in research that provides little explanation about international migration in Middle Eastern areas since the 1970s and East Asia at recent times.

Although the “rational actor approach” can provide explanations on the individuals’ role in the initial stages of emigration, it is insufficient to fully explain the origin and sustainability of international migration. It’s insufficient to explain international migration originated from the limited role played by individuals as rational actors in the international migration process. Other political or social factors, such as the immigration policy of nation-states, are able to control and influence the international migration flow and the choice of individuals. There is historical evidence that migration flow has been stopped not by individual choice but by political or social causes despite continuous economic differences between receiving and sending countries. In the mid 1970s, the German government stopped the immigration of guestworkers from



underdeveloped countries, and then permitted the reunification of guestworkers' family members. This shows that migration cannot be simplified to individual choice.

This approach also has difficulty in explaining the massive return of migrants to home countries even when the countries remain unchanged in regards to poor economic and social circumstance and is also insufficient to account for involuntary massive migration such as labourer migration by governmental contract and refugees' migration during civil war.

### **The historical-structural approach**

The historical-structural approach emerged as an alternative explanation of international migration from the 1970s. This approach is based on Marxist political economy philosophy and emphasizes the "inequality and domination" of economic and political power in the world economy system. (Heisler, 1992: 627)

This approach indicated that migration is a major method of recruiting cheap labour for capital. For example, Castles and Kosack argued that immigration of Third World labourers into West Europe was borne out of the intention to solve the problems of West European capitalism such as cyclical development of capitalist economy and immigrant formed a "latent surplus-population" or "reserve army". The employment of immigrant labour, in addition to economic function as reserve army, has an important "socio-political function" for capitalism. Immigrant workers employment could create a split between immigrant and native labourers by offering national and racial consciousness in indigenous workers and by providing better status and condition to native workers. (Castles & Kosack, 1972: 3-7)

Migration in “world system theory” is created by the “penetration of capitalist economic relations” into non-capitalist or pre-capitalist societies. World system theory argues that international migration or labour migration follows the penetration of global economies such as the flow of goods and capital to peripheral regions and also that the international migration should be considered a phenomenon between past colonial countries and their former colonies. It points out that the role of nation-state in influencing international migration tends to be confined in controlling overseas investment and international flows of capital and goods, and the governments of capitalist countries sometimes protect investments abroad and support foreign governments that agreed the expansion of global economy by political and military methods. Therefore, international migration originated from the “dynamics of market creation and the political structure of the global economy”. (Massey, 2002: 34-41)

### **Limitations of the historical-structural approach**

While economic theory stressed the individual or group choice for migration, the historical-structural approach had an emphasis on labour migration or mass migration. Because the historical-structural approach has mainly concerned about labour migration or mass immigration, migration of other patterns such as individual or group migration, for example students and businessmen, has rarely been explained in the approach. Therefore, it does not fully account for the complexities of contemporary international migration as economic theory, but it can explain only one aspect of international migration such as labour migration or massive immigration.

In the meantime, this approach tends to disregard the role of nation-state and migrants in international migration. A nation-state in traditional Marxist theory or world

system theory is only an agent for capitalism, so its activity in relation to international migration is restricted in recruiting immigrant workers as “reserve army” or protecting the flow of capital and goods on the behalf of capitalism. Therefore, this approach has a difficulty in accounting for why nation-states stopped the labour immigration, as Germany did in the mid 1970s, despite assumption of the historical-structural approach that nation-state or enterprise for capital ‘always’ recruits the reserve army or why nation-states changed the policy of immigration from guestworker programme to permanent settlement. The practice and history of international migration show that nation-state or political contexts in nation-states have significantly influenced the flow of migrants.

Meanwhile, this approach does not take into account the role of migrants themselves in international migration. Immigrants and potential emigrants share the information of migration policy such as entry and exit regulation and the circumstances of receiving countries for settlement. The agent, associations, and immigrants themselves have helped the immigration and the incorporation of new comers. For example, family reunification and recruitment of home country labourers in immigrant owned companies reveal the important role of migrants themselves in no regard to request of capital and global economy.

## **2. Immigrant theories**

The established theories of immigrant incorporation are “assimilation theory” and “multiculturalism”. These theories have relied on different perspectives and assumptions over immigrant incorporation. They have not commonly explained external factors beyond nation-state and internal factors in nation-state, such as emigration



policy of sending countries and the role of immigrant themselves and immigrant associations that influences immigrant incorporation.

### **Assimilation theory**

Assimilation theory defines the situation of immigrants in receiving country as “a clash” between conflicting cultural values and norms. In this theory, immigrants, who take the culture of origin country, absorb gradually the values and norms of native majority culture, and then they come closer to the majority. Its basic premise is that contact between immigrant and native majority will lead to “an eventual merging of values, symbols, and identities” through a series of phases. This perspective regards an assimilation process as a restoration of equilibrium that is disrupted by massive immigration with foreign culture. (Portes, 1987: 63-64)

As a classical assimilation theorist, Milton Gordon emphasized an acculturation, the immigrants’ acceptance of the “cultural patterns” of the majority society, as a precondition for assimilation. The beginning of assimilation stage is from “structural assimilation” which means the entrance of a minority group into a primary group such as social clubs and institutions. In his argument, if the structural assimilation has occurred, the other stages of assimilation such as “amalgamation, attitudinal assimilation, and behavioural assimilation”, will naturally follow. (Gordon, 1964: 72-81)

### **Limitations of assimilation theory**

Gordon’s theory influenced development of the models and concepts in later assimilation theories. However, the assimilation theories can be criticized for the

excessive emphasis on specific factors, such as culture or economic, and its limitation to explain foreign immigrant's immigration and incorporation since 1945. The definition of culture in Gordon's theory is "static and homogenous". Unlike Gordon's optimistic view of American culture homogeneity, American culture varies in locale and social class. (Alba and Nee, 1997: 833-834) The definition of acculturation can be also ambiguous, so it can impair assimilation theories from offering possible explanations.

After the classical assimilation theory, recent assimilation theories such as "segmented assimilation and residential assimilation"<sup>17</sup> tend to focus on one factor; economic cause, as the classical theory concentrated on the culture. This tendency can result in an inability to explain the overall process of immigrant assimilation. To understand the assimilation process or non-assimilation of specific immigrants, the political, social, demographic, and economic contexts in sending and receiving countries in regard to assimilation or non-assimilation need to be considered on the basis of historical examination. For instance, the difference of assimilation degree between the European immigrants before 1945 and Asian immigrants after 1945 in the United States can be expounded by those various contexts.

A further problem is that, while the classical theory concentrated mainly on the new immigrant adaptation to native majority society, the theory does not explain the influence of new immigrant's culture on the majority's culture or the reaction of the

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<sup>17</sup> In recent times, new perspectives such as "segmented assimilation" and "spatial assimilation or residential assimilation" in assimilation theories through critical review of the classical theory have been presented. While the classical theory primarily concentrated on culture of assimilation process, these perspectives mainly focused on the aspects of socioeconomic assimilation and other dimension of assimilation. The "segmented assimilation" indicates that many labour immigrants, such as Mexicans in the United States, may occupy "the lower rungs of the stratification order" in labour markets. The "residential or spatial assimilation" perspective assumes that residential mobility is an intermediate stage on the way to structural assimilation and explained the residential mobility by leaving the immigrant resident area and purchasing residence in majority residence area as the process of assimilation to native majority society. (Alba and Nee, 1997: 836-837)

majority to the inflow of the new minority cultures. The assimilation theories also did not consider the maintenance of immigrant culture and identity in practice.

If immigrant culture has been preserved in receiving country, the arguments of assimilation theory would be damaged by empirical evidence. Unfortunately for assimilation theory, the history of immigrant settlement and incorporation has showed the influence of immigrant culture on native majority culture and the maintenance of immigrant culture and identity in destination countries.

Various immigrant cultural aspects, for example art, religion, and food culture of Asian and Middle Eastern immigrants, have existed and had influences on the majority society in Western European countries and the United States rather than their cultures disappearing. In particular, the restaurants of foreign immigrant have become the favourite place for dinner during the weekends in many of those countries.

The assimilation theory has a tendency to primarily explain assimilation of European immigrants, who have identical religions or languages with white majority, into United States before 1945, or of successful and established immigrant members or of the second generation of immigrants for demonstration of the argument. However, the settlement and incorporation of mainly Asians, as 'coloured immigrants', had been different from those of European immigrants in aspects of immigrant cultures and identity maintenance. They had formed their community and associations in specific area in the United States. For example, Korean immigrants over six hundred thousand in Los Angeles constructed "Korea Town" where Korean immigrant stores and houses are clustered and formed various associations such as the federation of Korean immigrant associations, political, and social associations.



These communities and associations themselves have played an important role in migration and settlement of immigrants and in the diffusion of immigrant cultures and preservation of their cultures and identity. Moreover, the governments of origin countries have often influenced and controlled the immigrant associations in receiving countries for political and economic reasons. For instance, the remittances and political activities of Korean miners and nurses in Germany had been observed and controlled in part by an embassy and a department of the Korean government.

### **Multiculturalism**

The effects of multiculturalism and multicultural society have been felt at the level of ideology, social policy, and the structure of society in Europe and North America. In contrast to assimilation theories, the definition of multiculturalism and multicultural society concept remains somewhat vague and only a few theoretical models have been specifically presented because various actors such as intellectuals and policy makers have understood multiculturalism under different contexts.

In Britain, multiculturalism originated from discussions of immigrant incorporation. Roy Jenkins, Labour ex-Home Secretary, defined integration “not as a flattening process of uniformity, but of cultural diversity, coupled with equality of opportunity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance”. This definition indicated the democratic concept of multiculturalism combines the notion of “cultural diversity” with that of “equality of opportunity” and suggested that the emphasis on equality does not prevent the encouragement of diverse cultural forms. (Rex, 1996: 55-56) Jenkins’s argument provided not only the logical basis for immigrant incorporation policy on the basis of

multiculturalism but also the beginning of discussions in regard to multiculturalism and multicultural society.

In the meantime, John Rex presented “equality of opportunity in the public domain with multiculturalism in the private domain”<sup>18</sup> as the ideal of multicultural society. While individuals in Rex’s multicultural society would have equal political, social, and economic rights, they would also have the right to retain the private rights in matters such as religion and family arrangements on the basis of “the customs of a separated ethnic community”. (Rex, 1986: 119-121) On the basis of typology about multicultural society, Rex also introduced the ideal of multiculturalism as follows: “One might envisage a society which is unitary in the public domain but which encourages diversity in what are thought of as private or communal matters”. (Rex, 1996: 15-16) In spite of suggestions of the framework for analysis and classification of multiculturalism and multicultural society on the basis of the ideal, problems about denotation or distinction of concepts such as the public and private spheres remain.

Meanwhile, the multiculturalism in Canada and Australia was a response to the “perceived failure of previous assimilation”. Specifically, the government in Canada took the multiculturalism as ideology and policy that respond to increasing ethnic groups and growing separatist movements in Quebec. In 1971, Prime Minister Trudeau declared Canada a bilingual and multicultural nation. This policy of government focused on supporting ethnic organizations, making use of the ethnic press as an important means of government communication, and encouraging the activities of institutions and organization in regard to human rights and racism. (Heisler, 1992: 633-

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<sup>18</sup> The distinction between the public and the private domain is very difficult to explain theoretically or empirically because of interdependence of activities and a number of institutions in both the private and the public domain. In spite of these difficulties, Rex had tried to distinguish the boundaries between the public and private sphere. See Rex, 1986: chapter 7 about the detailed discussions of the distinction.



634) In Australia, explicit multicultural policies were introduced in 1973 by the Australian Labour Party government. In its early stage, the multiculturalism was based on the refusal of assimilation and policies of improving social circumstances for European labourer immigrants. The Liberal and Country Party government from 1975 to 1982 continued multicultural policies and emphasized the role of ethnic group. The ALP government from 1983 to 1996 again redefined the multiculturalism to respond to the new immigration from Asia. The government presented “a citizenship model of multiculturalism” that emphasized the rights and freedoms with obligations such as commitment to the nation, a duty to accept the constitution and the rule of law, and the acceptance of basic principles such as tolerance and equality. (Castles, 2000: 145-146)

As indicated above, multiculturalism has been suggested in response to theoretical and empirical failure of assimilation theory and policy. The discussion of multiculturalism has been presented in various levels including ideology and governmental policy, and the definitions of multiculturalism are more or less different between intellectual's and policy maker's ones in emphasis points. Despite some differences in definition and aim, multiculturalism has stressed on the recognition of ethnic and cultural diversities in nation-states.

### **Limitations of multiculturalism**

The limitations of multiculturalism can be presented in a theoretical aspect. Firstly, multiculturalism has disregarded the role of immigrant group or associations in the process toward multicultural society.<sup>19</sup> For the formation of multicultural society, it is

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<sup>19</sup> Rex argued the formation of multicultural society must require “the elements of voluntarism”. Immigrants who want to assimilate or retain ethnic culture should be allowed to do so. (Rex, 1986: 134) His argument pointed out the importance of immigrant voluntary choice and participation in the process of multicultural society creation as well as top down policy of nation-state government.



necessary that immigrants make an effort to obey the basic rules of nation-state in addition to retaining their ethnic cultures and customs. The reason is that if the immigrants did not observe the rules, sectarianism in society can be extended, endangering the stability of the nation-state.

Secondly, multiculturalism has not dealt with external factor such as the policies of the origin countries in regard to overseas immigrant associations in foreign countries as assimilation theory. Many sending countries have supported the activities of immigrant associations and encouraged the preservation of immigrant's ethnic culture and identity. For example, the Korean government has provided the fund and material for Saturday schools where second generation Korean immigrants take lessons of Korean language and culture and it has also invited Korean immigrant students to Korea for studying of Korean language and culture. Korean embassies in foreign countries have supported various cultural events of Korean immigrant associations. These policies have in part contributed to the maintenance of Korean identity and culture in many destination countries with efforts of Korean immigrant.

### **3. Analytical framework of migration system**

The economic theory disregarded historical causes of migration and the role of nation-state in international migration, while the historical-structural theory regarded only the interests of capitalism as the determinant of migration and neglected the consideration of the motivation and action of migrants and migrant groups. (Castles & Miller, 2003: 26) The emphasis on certain factors, such as economic theory and the historical-structural approach, in explanations of international migration has led to limited

analysis of the various international migrations since 1945 and of the diverse national contexts that influence migration between receiving and sending countries.

It can also be argued that the assimilation theory and multiculturalism commonly downplay the role of immigrants and the influence of external causes, such as the policy of origin country and global organization, on progress of immigrant incorporation. They also do not account for the maintenance of immigrant communities and sustaining of immigrant identity.

The dissatisfaction in established theories of international migration had caused attempts to integrate them into a single approach, to understand international migration as a totality, to include nation-states and immigrants through levels of analysis, and to explain international migration through considering various national contexts such as political, economic, social, and demographic conditions. These attempts resulted in a migration systems approach. A Migration systems approach is a framework and approach for analysis of international migration rather than a theory to propose hypotheses and generalizable propositions.<sup>20</sup>

Meanwhile, recent theories of immigrant incorporation have had a tendency to be specified within established theories rather than presenting new theories or approaches to explain the immigrant incorporation as a whole and to analyze the process of incorporation through considering various contexts.

This study requires the perspective of a migration systems approach in order to explain Korean immigration in such a way that includes the immigration of Korean

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<sup>20</sup> Fawcett and Arnold regarded a migration systems paradigm not as a theory but as a “heuristic device” and “conceptual framework”. (Fawcett and Arnold, 1987: 456) Meanwhile, Kritz and Zlotnik presented a migration systems approach to explain international migration on the basis of migration systems and indicated the importance of a systems approach to international migration. (Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992: 1-3)

workers, staff of overseas branch, and students to Germany and the United Kingdom. The reason for this is that Korean immigration to both countries has been based on not economic factor or requests of capitalism but political, economic, and social contexts in Korea and both receiving countries. For instance, though Korean workers' immigration to Germany could be explained by the historical-structural approach, the following migration of Korean staff and students are not able to accounted for by the approach, while massive immigration of Korean workers to Germany in the 1960s and the 1970s cannot be analysed by the economic theory.

Assimilation theory and multiculturalism are also not taken into consideration when explaining Korean immigrant association development as Korean immigrant association development cannot be examined through immigrant incorporation theories. That is why Korean immigrants have made efforts to organize their associations and to arrange activities in Korean communities through the influences of long migration periods and increased Korean immigrants under migration systems in contrast to assumptions of incorporation theories as above indicated. The development of Korean immigrant associations has been influenced not through incorporation policies of receiving countries but through the formation and continuity of migration systems between Korea and Germany and Britain.

The main concern of this research is not an explanation of international migration and immigrant incorporation on the basis of a migration systems approach and immigrant incorporation theory. This study only requires the analysis of migration system establishment and changes of migration systems between Korea and Germany and Britain through an analytical framework that is modified from the established



migration systems approach for the explanation of Korean immigrations to Germany and Britain.

In this section, after a short review of a migration systems approach, the analytical framework for examination of migration system establishment between Germany and Korea and between Korea and the United Kingdom is presented. The framework is applied as a way to provide the explanations for causes and effects of migration system establishment, for detailed changes to migration systems, and for the influences of migration system establishment on Korean immigrant association development.

### **A migration systems approach**

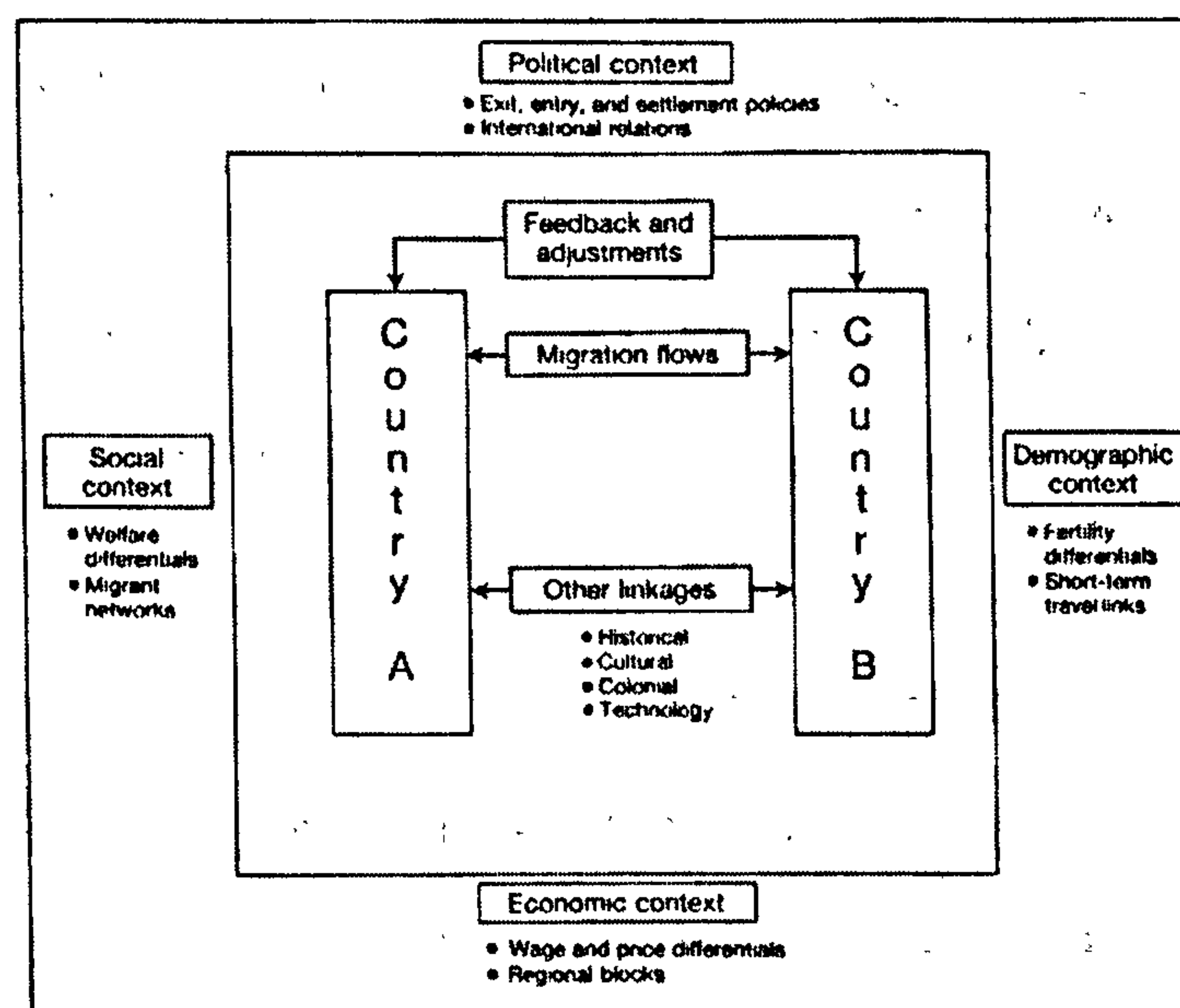
The migration systems approach emphasizes on international relations, political economy, collective action and institutional factors. It suggests that migration can be explained as the result of interaction between “macrostructure” and “microstructure” in receiving and sending countries. Macrostructure means large-scale institutional factors: the political economy of world market, interstate relationship, laws, structures and practices established by nation-states. Meanwhile, microstructure refers to “the networks, practices, and beliefs of migrants”. Specifically, informal social network for international migration have been developed by migrants themselves. (Castles & Miller, 2003: 26-29)

The established economic theory or the historical-structural approach emphasized one factor or aspect, such as individual choice or economic structure, of international migration, while the migration systems approach focuses on macro and micro structure of specific international migration. Subsequently, the migration systems approach is able to account for various international migrations such as labour force migration and

chain migration in the world since 1945. For example, the failure of the policy that aimed at the return of guestworkers to home countries in Germany in the mid 1970s could be explained by various aspects combined such as the consideration of independent court decision in macrostructure and political movements of immigrants for permanent residency in microstructure through the migration systems approach.

In Fawcett and Arnold's study, these structures were specified as "state-to-state relations and comparisons", "mass culture connections", and "family and social networks", while Kritz and Zlotnik regarded the structures as "national contexts" that include political, economic, social, and demographic contexts and "linkages" including historical, cultural, colonial, and technological linkages. (Fawcett and Arnold, 1987: 456-467; Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992: 3-4)

Figure 2.1 A systems framework of international migration<sup>21</sup>



<sup>21</sup> This figure is cited as it is original a systems framework of international migration in Kritz and Zlotnik's work. (Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992: 2)



Kritz and Zlotnik presented the above framework for explanations of international migration on the basis of migration systems. In the framework, migration flows and other flows connect countries together and these flows occur within national contexts of political, economic, social, and demographic dimensions and in part by feedback and adjustments that occur in the flows themselves. They also indicated that other linkages continued to shape international migration. Previous colonial linkage, for instance, had influenced immigrations to France and the United Kingdom from ex-colonial nations. Meanwhile, the number of countries can be included in migration systems and one country usually makes a role as receiving countries. Receiving countries are characterized by “higher wages” and “better welfare conditions”. (Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992: 2-5)

In their study, most research on migration systems by co-researchers, however, are limited to explanations for specific aspects in regional migration systems such as established linkages between sending and receiving countries and policy issues rather than analysis based on a systems framework. The reason is that it is difficult to consider all variables in regional migration systems that include a number of countries in diversified circumstances. This indicates that a systems framework will be more ideal for explaining international migration, if the framework is applied for analysis of migration between relatively few countries as case studies.

The “other linkages” in Kritz and Zlotnik’s argument are explained as preconditions of migration flows. (Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992: 3-6) In fact, colonial ties or cultural linkages have influenced immigration patterns in France and the United Kingdom. However, as with the case of the guestworker programme in Germany, a migration system did not always accompany previous linkages with migration flows or require

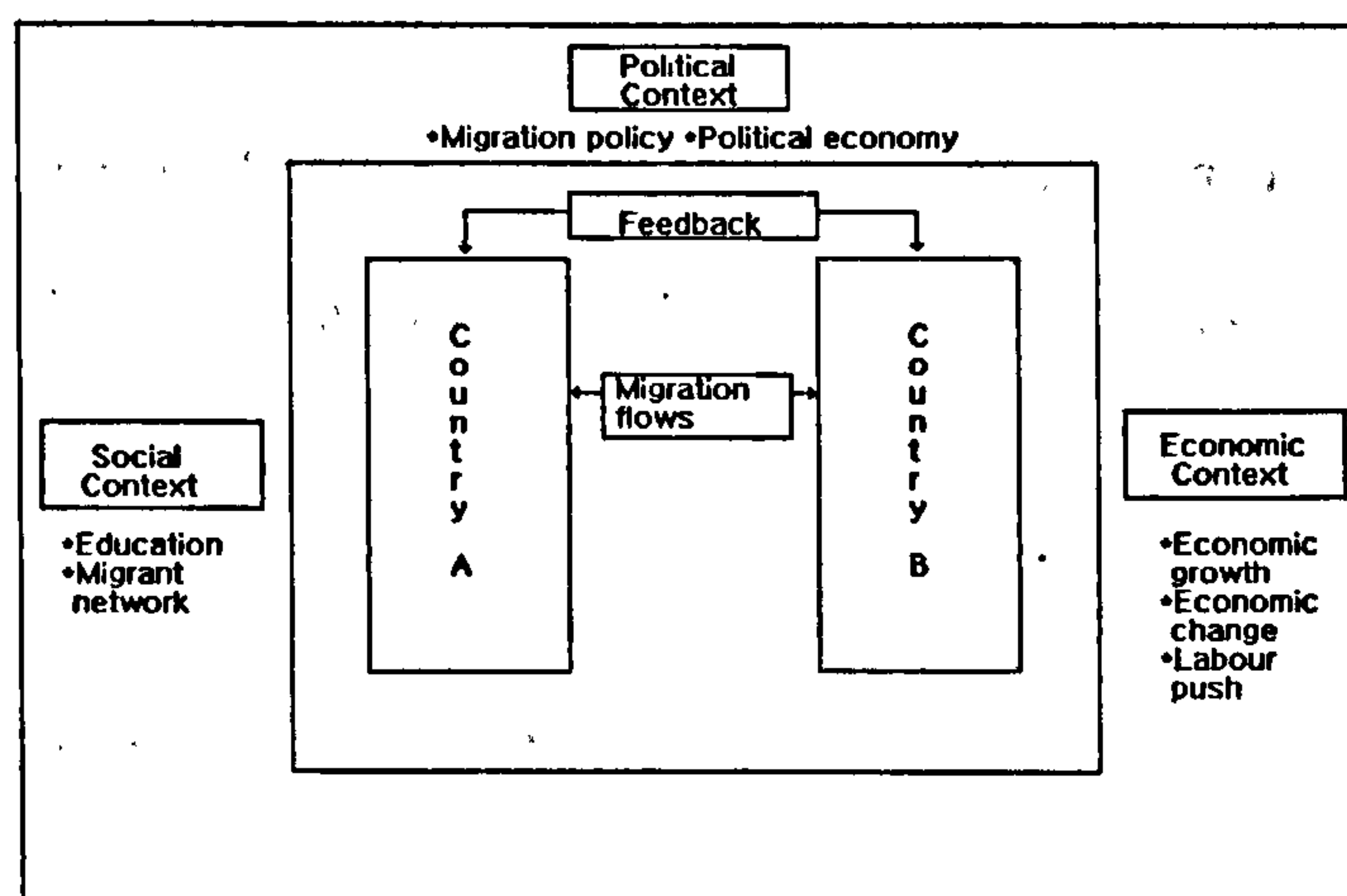


historical ties. Consequently, the study of international migration on the basis of a migration systems approach has been limited as regional approach by the stress of “other linkages”. The migration flows outside region or beyond proximity of historical and cultural backgrounds have rapidly increased since 1945 and their flows need to be analyzed by revisions of the framework.

### Modified analytical framework of migration system

The modified analytical framework of migration system has a function as a tool for analysis of formations and changes of migration systems between Germany and Korea and between Korea and the United Kingdom. The national contexts in the modified framework are considered importantly for the explanation of causes and circumstances of migration system establishment concerning Koreans’ immigration and permanent settlement in both countries.

Figure 2.2 Analytical framework of migration system



The analytical framework resulted from the modification of the framework of the

established migration systems approach of international migration for specific explanations of migration systems between Germany and Korea and between Korea and the United Kingdom. This framework allows for a proper analysis of migration systems by ruling out some unnecessary points for the explanation of migration systems in case countries and specifying certain national contexts, which have influenced immigration and settlement of Koreans in both countries.

The modifications of the established framework of international migration in a migration systems approach proceed as follows: The previous linkages, such as historical, cultural, colonial, or technological, had not existed between Germany and Korea and between Korea and the United Kingdom, so this analytical framework does not consider “other linkages”.

Secondly, though massive Korean immigration to the United States in the 1960s had been facilitated by the rapid increase of population, demographic matters had little influence on Koreans’ immigration to Germany and the United Kingdom, so the demographic context is not considered for analysis of migration systems.<sup>22</sup> The meaning of feedback and adjustments that stem from migration flow itself were not clear in Kritz and Zlotnik’s work. The process of feedback in this research means changes and adjustments of national contexts in sending or receiving countries by the influence of immigration and settlement.

Thirdly, there are specifications of national contexts and their detailed points. Migration policy in political context includes the emigration policy of Korea regarding

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<sup>22</sup> The rapid increase of Korean population in the 1960s influenced massive Koreans’ permanent immigration to the United States, but there was little influence on Korean workers’ immigration to Germany and Koreans’ movement into Britain. The rise of population in Korea affected the growth of unemployment in the 1960s, so demographic factor is considered in partial in political economy of political context about migration system establishment between Germany and Korea.



mainly exit and immigration policy, including entry and settlement policies, to Koreans in receiving countries. The intervention and control of governments in relation to economic growth in Germany and Korea had caused migrations of Korean workers from the 1960s. Subsequently, political economy, instead of international relations, is presented as important factor to shape and explain migration systems. In regard to economic context, the explanation for immigration of Korean workers and Korean staff of overseas business requires the analysis of economic growth and change in Germany and Korea. For instance, Korean staff could move into Germany and Britain with the Korean economy growth through the rise of exports in Korea from the 1970s. The examination of labour push factor such as unemployment that influenced the emigration of Korean miners in Korea is also needed in economic context. Meanwhile, some Korean immigrants decided on immigration and permanent settlement for their children's education in both receiving countries and a few among Korean overseas students became immigrants in Germany and the United Kingdom, so education matters in social context have to be considered. Migrant networks in Korea or destination countries have affected the immigration and settlement of Koreans in Germany and the United Kingdom. For example, Korean migrant informal network between Korean miners and nurses had caused many marriages between Korean workers, and then their marriages had resulted in permanent settlement of Korean workers in Germany. The migrant networks, therefore, are accounted for the analysis of migration and settlement by social context.

#### **4. Definition of concepts**



This research has no intention to simply explain a particular phenomena of migration and immigrant on the basis of established theories, but it aims to analyze the changes of specific facts and various circumstances in relation to migration system establishment and Korean immigrant association development through a modified analytical framework and concepts that are more or less altered from established theories and concepts. The reason for this is that there is little research regarding the establishment and development of immigrant associations and there is also no study of relationship between migration systems and immigrant associations. Therefore, this research is obligated to modify the existing concepts and to introduce a new definition of concepts for relevant explanation of the migration system and immigrant associations.

### **Migration system establishment**

The concept of migration system has been applied in a migration systems approach or paradigm. A migration system was defined as “a set of places linked by flows and counter-flows of people” in Fawcett and Arnold’s study. (Fawcett and Arnold, 1987: 456) In the perspective of international migration, Kritz and Zlotnik indicated that “a migration system is constituted by a group of countries that exchange relatively large numbers of migrants with each year”. (Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992: 2) While Fawcett and Arnold’s definition pointed out general meaning of a migration system in nation-state or out of nation-state, Kritz and Zlotnik defined specifically a migration system in the perspective of relationship between nation-states in an international context.

In Kritz and Zlotnik’s view, a migration system includes “other linkages” connecting countries, such as historical, cultural, colonial, and technological linkages, as well as migration flow. National contexts, whose political, economic, demographic,

and social spheres are changing, also shape and influence the formation and continuity of migration flow and other flows. (Kritz and Arnold, 1992: 3-6) In the same way, Fawcett and Arnold introduced contextual factors, such as state-to-state relations and comparisons, mass culture connections, and family and social networks, which form migration flows. (Fawcett and Arnold, 1987: 457-472)

In both definitions of migration system, the emphasis of “counter-flow” and “exchange” in a migration system cannot be relied upon to fully explain migration systems at recent times. The population of most receiving states, such as the United States and Australia, have not immigrated in large numbers to sending countries, but migrants from sending countries have continuously immigrated into such receiving countries. Most migration flows between sending and receiving countries are caused by immigration to receiving country and immigrants’ return to sending country. Therefore, the formation of a relationship between sending and receiving countries to be established by continuous immigration to receiving country can mean a migration system formation without “counter-flow” or “exchange”.

A migration system in this research can be defined as a set of countries that have been connected by the process of sending or receiving migrants. Its definition means to recognize the existence of origin and destination states in international migration beyond established definitions to focus on “exchange” of migrants between sending country and receiving country. If the relationship of sending and receiving countries in regard to migration is formed, it can be regarded as a migration system without exchange of migrants between origin and destination countries, though the exchange of migrants naturally occurs and increases. Although existing linkages in receiving and sending countries can influence migration flows, their ties are not considered in this



research. The reason is that historical ties and linkages or cultural proximity between Germany and Korea or Korea and United Kingdom were not established directly. More important, the national contexts, which form a migration system and exercise a continuous influence on a migration system, are explained for the analysis of migration systems in this research.

Meanwhile, the concept of the ‘establishment’ of migration system that is used in this study means the formation and continuity of a migration system for relatively long period and the increase of permanent resident immigrants. It is relation to time dimension of migration system and permanent settlement of immigrants. The emphasis of ‘relatively long time’ and ‘continuity’ indicates that temporary migration flows and the dissolution of migration system after short period, just for several years, cannot be considered as the establishment of migration system. For example, the return migration of Germans, who had lived in Russia, to Germany cannot be regarded as migration system establishment. ‘The increase of permanent resident immigrants’ points out the rise of immigrants and the growth of second generation.

An “established” migration system refers to a migration system that was formed comparatively long time ago<sup>23</sup> and has continued to exist till certain times or recent times. Consequently, this phase can ensure the stable migration system between receiving and origin countries and contains a relatively large immigrant population. On the contrary, the “non-establishment” of a migration system can mean a few migration flows, such as individual migration, or temporary migration streams. The “establishing”

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<sup>23</sup> In relation to the period of migration system, ‘relatively long time’ in this research means longer period than 30 years. The migration flow of longer period than 30 years can cause increase of numbers of immigrants and growth of second generation in immigrant community. In the meantime, the increase of immigrants and growth of second generation can influence directly on organization and activity of associations in immigrant community.



of migration system can refer to a situation where a migration system has been formed a relatively short period ago and continued to exist and has comparatively small and increasing immigrant population.

The different stages of migration system establishment can influence immigrant association development in receiving countries. While an established migration system can create more organized and active immigrant associations in receiving countries, the non-establishment of a migration system can result in a few organization and activities in immigrant associations.

### **Immigrant association development**

In Tommas Hammar's definition of an immigrant, the term points out people "who migrate to a country and then actually resides there longer than a short period of time, i.e. for more than three months". The term of "immigrant" in Hammar's study was regarded as a concept that "lies somewhere in between the broad sense of migrant and the narrow sense of settler". While a migrant means a person "who moves from one country to another," a settler can be described as a person "who migrates to a country with the intention of taking up permanent residence". (Hammar, 1985: 11) Though Hammar's definitions of immigrants, migrants, and settlers can be useful in categorizing people who immigrate into a country a short period ago, the definitions cannot be applied to explain people who immigrate into a country a long time ago and have lived there for long period.

The application of immigrant concept in studies of migration and migrants have not been limited to the explanation for residential intention of people who enter just a

foreign country but extended the meaning to people who have lived for a long period.<sup>24</sup> For example, immigrants in Germany have largely been people who entered as guestworkers in Germany and have resided there, while ones in the United Kingdom have been people who were emigrated from ex-colonial countries such as India, West India, and Asia after the World War.

In this research, immigrants are defined as people who immigrated into a receiving country a relatively long time ago i.e. before more than ten years and then have resided continuously there after gaining of permanent residency.<sup>25</sup> Most receiving countries, includes Germany and the United Kingdom, have given permanent residence permits or citizenship to people who have stayed continuously for more than ten years. Specifically, immigrants in this study, in regard to residence period and qualification, mean people who have resided in a receiving country by acquirement of a permanent residence permit or citizenship. The entrance qualifications of immigrants do not need to be considered since the target of research is on immigrants who have already received permanent residence permits unlike migrant workers, students, or businessmen who migrated to receiving countries at recent times and stayed temporarily.

The definition of association started from Tonnies's well-known distinction between community<sup>26</sup> and association. In community where "the real will is involved", the

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<sup>24</sup> In relation to studies of immigrant incorporation or adaptation, the term of immigrants means mainly people who entered a country and then have lived continuously there for relevantly long period. In these studies, immigrants have been regarded as not present people who immigrated into a receiving country at recent times but historic beings who have resided there.

<sup>25</sup> In similar way, Schmitter applied immigration as "semipermanent or permanent settlement of immigrants or migrant workers, no matter what the original intent of the person migrating to another country". (Schmitter, 1980: 179)

<sup>26</sup> Robert MacIver indicated that "the mark of a community is that one's life may be lived wholly within it", and suggested "a territorial base and a community sentiment" are necessary for community. (Fitzpatrick, 1966: 7) However, MacIver's classical assumption that the individual could live his whole life in a community cannot entirely apply to real individual lives. For instance, immigrants must live and work within a majority society and subject to its regulations in receiving country. (Rex, Joly, and Wilpert, 1987: 18) In the meantime, MacIver's suggestion of the necessary conditions for community can provide



individual has a “sense of belonging” and perceives that “his group membership defines his self”. In contrast to community, association depends on an “artificial will” and the pursuit of specific aims. Meanwhile, Durkheim indicated that more immediate and smaller groups such as occupational groups could play “a special role” rather than relatively “amorphous community”. These groups may socialize the individual to “perform a specialized role”. (Rex, Joly, and Wilpert, 1987: 15-17)

The definition of association in this research needs to be considered not in a view of classical contrast and distinction between community and association but in relation to immigrant and community concepts. The definition of immigrant association does not simply mean the combination of two separate concepts of immigrant and association. It indicates a necessity for considering immigrant association on the basis of the context of relationship with immigrant community and establishment in it.<sup>27</sup> An immigrant community is more inclusive and indefinite than immigrant association because it depends not on specific aims but on identities or sentiments such as a sense of moral bond and belongings. Immigrant association in an established immigrant community could be formed and developed for maintaining immigrant identities or sentiments, dealing with the problems of members, and strengthening their relationships to both sending and receiving countries.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, the concept of immigrant association in this study can be defined as a organization that is formed and developed in immigrant

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a useful explanation of inclusiveness of community in contrast to association in regard to immigrant. Specifically, the emphasis of “sentiment” can indicate that community depends on immigrant or minority identity.

<sup>27</sup> In relation to association, Jenkins includes both “voluntary organizations of immigrants and groups of refugees” as “ethnic associations”. The association in Jenkins’ study can be defined as an organization to be formed by individuals with ethnic identities and regarded as “part of an ethnic community”. The association also may be existed for a various purposes: “social, recreational, political, cultural, professional, business, service, or a combination of some or all of the above”. (Jenkins, 1988: 10-11)

<sup>28</sup> Rex emphasized that immigrant associations, as special agencies in an immigrant community, have functions to organize conflict with the society of residence and to maintain links with the society of origin. (Rex, Joly, and Wilpert, 1987: 19)



community by immigrants, who have continuously resided in receiving country and have common identities due to the same origin country, to achieve specific goals or aims such as maintaining of identity, managing the problems of members, and reinforcing links with the society of settlement and homeland.

Specifically, Korean immigrant association in this research include the federation of Korean immigrant associations, regional Korean immigrant associations, political associations, economic and professional associations, cultural and educational associations, and social associations for friendship in Germany and the United Kingdom.<sup>29</sup> However, religious associations and social clubs such as Korean churches and sport clubs are not recognized as target areas for this research. The reason is that the explanations and evaluations for development of these organizations are difficult due to amorphous and individualistic characters of these associations. The societies of overseas students in British and German universities and associations of Korean staff in overseas companies are not also considered as immigrant associations because most of students and staff have to return to sending countries in contrast to Korean immigrants.

Immigrant association development in this research can be evaluated through the analysis of organization and activity of immigrant associations in immigrant community, and proceed to have three stages of development; “developed”, “developing”, and “underdeveloped.” Organization can indicate to the formation of the articles of association, in regard to aims, memberships, managements, and funds of association, and the establishment of decision and administration system by members in aspect of structure and the increase of members in associations and associations in immigrant

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<sup>29</sup> For example, Korean immigrant associations such as Bundesverband der Koreaner in Deutschland e. v. (the Federation of Korean Immigrant Associations in Germany), Korean Immigrant Association in the United Kingdom, Korean Miners Association, Korean Nurses Association, Korean Business Association, Korean language schools, and so forth are included as the objects of explanations in this research.

community. The development of association structure in this research indicates three stages as follows; structured associations have the articles of association and members of the associations have made the decision and administration of the associations,<sup>30</sup> while unstructured associations have no specified rules of the associations and have been managed by some individuals. The semi-structured associations have some regulations of aim, membership, management, or fund and have been administered by some individuals or members, though they have no the articles of association and issues of the associations have not been in full determined by members. Activities in relation to dynamics of associations can mean collective and individual activities to be organized by immigrant associations or individuals of immigrant associations for common goals of associations or immigrant communities.

The developed immigrant associations can mean many associations in immigrant community, many members of the associations, structured organization, and many activities in immigrant community, while the underdeveloped immigrant associations can indicate to only a few associations in the community, a few members of the associations, unstructured organization, and a few activities in the community. The developing immigrant associations can include increasing associations in the community, increasing members of the associations, semi-structured organization, and increasing activities in the community.

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<sup>30</sup> Most of Korean immigrant associations, registered as a corporation in Germany, can be regarded as structured organizations. The reason is that the registration offices of German courts have required the articles of association and decision and administration system by members for registration as a corporation.



# **Chapter 3. Immigration to Germany and the United Kingdom since 1945**

## **1. Introduction**

Significant migration flows in Western Europe have occurred since the 1950s when several countries, such as Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, and Switzerland, imported foreign workers from other European countries or Third world countries. These countries required the large-scale use of foreign workers to relieve labour shortages during periods of economic expansion. In the mid 1970s, however, this inflow of foreign workers was stopped or limited by these governments in response to periodic economic recessions and concerns about the social 'costs' associated with the residence of foreign workers. Immigration countries of foreign labours intended to control the immigration of the foreign population through family reunification and encourage the return of labour immigrants to their countries of origin. (Zlotnik, 1992: 31-32) Immigration to the United Kingdom had taken place since the 1950s similar to the six countries above, but immigrants had been mainly originated from New Commonwealth countries, ex-colonial countries including West India and South Asia countries. The regulation and restriction of New Commonwealth immigration did not depend on the changes of economic circumstances but considerably rely on political and historical considerations in Britain.

The different characteristics of immigration in Germany and the United Kingdom emerged from dissimilar patterns of immigration such as the 'guestworker programme'



and 'New Commonwealth immigration'. These distinctions have been influenced by various national contexts in Germany and the United Kingdom respectively.

This chapter explains the practices and changes of immigration in Germany and the United Kingdom since the Second World War and analyzes various national contexts, such as political and economic contexts, and linkage that caused these immigrations and changes, and then compares and accounts for the differences in immigration patterns and the causes for the different results of restricted immigration policy in Germany and the United Kingdom. Specifically, the explanations for immigration in both countries focus on foreign worker immigration in Germany and New Commonwealth immigration in the United Kingdom, while this chapter does not include the immigrations from EC and EU countries and the immigrations of refugees and asylum-seekers<sup>31</sup> in both territories. The reason is that immigration from European Union countries and the immigration of asylum-seekers and refugees have hardly influenced the formation and establishment of Korean communities in Germany and the United Kingdom.

## **2. Practices and changes of immigration to Germany and the United Kingdom**

### **Immigration to Germany since 1945**

#### **Present foreign population including immigrants in Germany**

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<sup>31</sup> For instance, Germany has had the experience of various immigrations from European countries in relation to asylum and refugee. Ethnic Germans from East Germany and East European countries and refugees from civil war regions such as Bosnia have immigrated and settled in West Germany after the Second World War.

The number of foreign nationals<sup>32</sup> residing in the Federal Republic of Germany in 2000 was around 7.3 million and made up approximately 9 percent of a total of 82 million German populations. Turkish nationals formed the largest group of foreigner communities in Germany and accounted for more than 28 percent of all resident foreigners. The immigration of people from Yugoslavia and Eastern European countries has increased rapidly in recent years.<sup>33</sup> (German Embassy a)

Table 3.1 Foreign population in Germany

Selected national groups of the foreigners in Germany as of December 2000	
Nationality	Persons
Turkish	1,998,534
Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro)	662,495
Bosnia Herzegovina	156,294
Poland	301,366
Croatia	216,827
Russia	115,856
Iran	107,927
Romania	90,094
Ukraine	89,282
Vietnam	89,138
Morocco	80,226
Afghanistan	72,199
Iraq	60,913
Sri Lanka	50,579
Hungary	54,437
Lebanon	51,375
China	50,885
Tunisia	24,316
Total Number of Foreigners In Germany	7,296,817 (Korean 30,492 in 2001)

(Source: Federal Office for questions of immigration and foreigners December 2000, recite from 'Foreigners in Germany and Europe compared' in German Embassy and Ministry of Foreign Affairs and

<sup>32</sup> The terms 'foreign nationals' or 'foreigners' in German Embassy documents reflected the official position to relate to immigrants in Germany. The German government has indicated that "Germany is not an immigration country", so despite foreign nationals more than 70 percent have permanent resident permits, they have not been regarded as 'immigrants' in official governmental statements.

<sup>33</sup> The rising immigration from Yugoslavia has been caused by the increase of asylum seekers from Kosovo in the late 1990s. A number of Bosnians and Iraqis also have immigrated into Germany with asylum-seekers status.

Nationals from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia held the position for the second largest foreigner community with 727,204 (10.1 percent) followed by Italians with 608,500 (8.4 percent) and Greeks with 363,000 (4.9 percent). Roughly 25 percent of all foreigners living in Germany came from countries belonging to the European Union. While 4.7 percent of all children born in Germany were foreign nationals in 1967, a total of 1.6 million or 21.7 percent of resident foreigners were born in Germany in 2002. In relation to the length of residence, 30 percent of all foreigners in Germany in late 1996 had been residents for at least 20 years already and more than 40 percent had been in Germany for over ten years. In particular, the length of residency among foreign nationals from Southern Europe was even longer than average. For instance, approximately 82 percent of the Spanish and 71 percent of Italians who are living in Germany had been residents for more than ten years. (German Embassy b)

The foreign population in Germany is the largest in Europe and two times of the foreign population in the United Kingdom. Germany also has the largest foreign labour force, 3,429 thousand and 8.8 percent of the total labour force, in European countries in 2000. (OECD, 2003: 40, 59) The policies of labour recruitment and family reunification and the governmental plans of asylum-seekers and refugees in Germany have resulted in the largest immigrant populations and immigrant labour forces amongst European countries.

Most immigrant communities in Germany, such as Turkish, Italians, Spanish, and Greeks, had been formed by recruitment of foreign workers and family reunification since the 1950s, consequently most immigrants' duration of residence in these



communities were over than ten years and they received permanent residence permits or citizenship. The immigrant communities of asylum-seekers and refugees from Eastern European and Middle East countries; Yugoslavians, Bosnians, or Iraqis also have been established, in particular, since the 1990s.

*Immigration to Germany<sup>34</sup> through recruitment of foreign workers and family reunification*

Labour shortages in the mid 1950s encouraged the immigration of foreign workers into Germany. There was a foreign labour force of eighty thousand in July 1955. By 1960, the number of foreign workers increased to 280 thousand in which the 44 percent came from Italy. The serial labour recruitment agreements of the German government with Spain and Greece in 1960, Turkey in 1961, Portugal in 1964 also served to employ guestworkers. The peak years of foreign labour recruitment were from 1968 to 1972. During these periods, the migrant labour forces rose from 1 million to 2.6 million and from 5 percent to 12 percent of the entire German workforce. (Martin, 1994: 198-201)

Table 3.2 Proportion of foreigners in total population

	1960	1970	1980	1990
Foreign population (thousand)	686.2	2976.5	4453.3	5342.5
TP	1.2	4.9	7.2	8.4

TP: percent in the Total Population

<sup>34</sup> Zimmerman explained the four stages of immigration inflows in West Germany after 1945 as follows: “(a) the War Adjustment Phase from 1950 to 13 August 1961, the day of the building of the Berlin wall, (b) the Manpower Recruitment Phase from August 1961 to November 1973, (c) the Consolidation Phase from 1974 to 1988, and (d) the German-German Migration Phase from 1989”. (Zimmerman, 1994: 47-48) These distinctions were suggested by the basis of important events and policies that influenced immigration flows, but it is important to point out certain immigration inflows such as ethnic German and foreign worker immigrations have continued since the Second World War though their characters and volumes have been changed.

(Source: Martin, 1994: 191)

The number of foreign workers decreased from 1973 to 1978. It amounted to 1.8 million and 9.1 percent of labour force population in 1978, but the employment of guestworkers rose in 1979 and the number in the labour force increased to 2 million in 1980. In the following years, the number of foreign workers fluctuated between 1.8 million and 1.9 million. From 1984 until 1989, the employment rate fell and the number rose and fell to around 1.6 million. The number of foreign labour force began increasing again. (Mehrländer, 1994: 4)

The prolonged stays and family reunification of foreign workers caused the increase of the number of foreign residents in Germany. In 1973, there were 4 million foreign residents and 2.6 million foreign workers. After the stop of recruitment in 1973, the foreign resident population rather rapidly rose due to the family reunification of foreign workers though the number of foreign workers decreased. The number of foreign labourers in the West Germany was 1.8 million in 1990 and the foreign residents increased up to 5.2 million. (Martin, 1994: 201)

The inflows of guestworkers have continued in the 1990s with several migrant worker programmes of the German government. These programmes aimed to prevent permanent settlement of foreign labour forces. The number of foreign workers hired through subcontracting agreements between German and foreign firms grew from 6,600 at the beginning of 1990 to ten thousand in 1992. The largest immigration of foreign workers has been the inflows by the seasonal worker programme that begun in 1991. Foreign labourers, over 128,000 by the end of 1991, had worked in Germany for specific periods of the year as seasonal workers. The number of seasonal workers in

Germany was approximately 200 thousand each year in 1992 and 1993. (Martin, 1994: 217-220)

**Immigration to the United Kingdom since 1945**

**Present foreign population including immigrants in the United Kingdom**

The stock of foreign nationals in the United Kingdom in the 1990s peaked and fell back to around 2 million. Foreigner population increased to over 2.2 million in 1998 and then over 2.34 million in 1999. Irish were the largest national group in 2000, but the number decreased to 17 percent of total foreign population as compared to 25 percent in 1992. Indian and U.S. nationals held second and third places. A number of Pakistan and Bangladesh citizens were also residents in Britain. The number of Africans have continued to increase since 1997 and rose by 300,000 in 2000.<sup>35</sup> (OECD, 2001: 257)

**Table 3.3 Foreign population in the United Kingdom**

Thousands		Percent of total population	
1988	1998	1988	1998
1821	2207	3.2	3.8

(Source: Coppel, Dumont, and Visco, 2001: 10)

The ethnic minority population, most are “British-born people of non-European ancestry” and mainly originating from the New Commonwealth, was 4 million and 7.1 percent of total population in 2000. Approximately half of them originated from the subcontinent of India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, 13 percent from Caribbean and 11 percent in Africa. Ethnic immigrant workers from the New Commonwealth had been

<sup>35</sup> Castles and Miller showed the specific figures of foreign population in 2000. The largest groups were the Irish (404,000), Indians (153,000), US citizens (114,000), Italians (95,000), Pakistanis (94,000), West Africans (85,000), French (85,000), and Australians (75,000). (Castles & Miller, 2003: 230)



employed mainly for unskilled work and in “the least desirable jobs” from the 1950s and the 1960s. Many Pakistanis and Bangladeshis remained in semi-skilled manual work and had high unemployment rates, while Indians were considerably employed in professional, managerial, and other non-manual occupations and had high rates of self-employment. Caribbean male workers had not been so successful in access to non-manual works. (Castles & Miller, 2003: 230)

### *Immigration to the United Kingdom from New Commonwealth countries*

After the Second World War, ‘European Voluntary Workers’ were recruited in areas such as hospital work, agricultural jobs, and mining. They immigrated into Britain by obtaining short-term work permits for 12 months and their total number rose to 100,875. Voluntary workers in Britain were mainly from Lithuania, Ukraine, Latvian, and Yugoslavia. Family reunifications were not permitted to these East European workers after 1947 due to concerns over the British government having to provide housing and social services.

The citizens of the British Commonwealth did not require the work permit that applied to European workers. Instead, they were allowed to immigrate into Britain freely, to get jobs, and to bring their families as granted by the British Nationality Act in 1948. Commonwealth citizens were mainly from former British colonies and dependencies. Immigrants from the Caribbean and Guyana first arrived at Britain, then India and Pakistan, as well as other countries including Hong Kong. Between the census years in 1951<sup>36</sup> and 1971, the population of West Indian origin increased from 15,200 to

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<sup>36</sup> In 1951, there were 256,000 people residing in Britain who were originated from the New Commonwealth and Pakistan. (Booth, 1992: 15)

299,580, that of Indian origin from 30,800 to 274,580, that of Pakistan from 5,000 to 131,885. (Rees, 1993: 94-97)

In addition to immigration from the West Indies and Indian sub-continent, there has also been the immigration of Asian refugees from East Africa. These East African Asians were mostly holders of Britain passports with a right of entry to Britain. Despite the British government's "Special Voucher Scheme", which was aimed to manage East Africa Asians through an annual quota scheme and their intention to control inflows of East African Asians, its functions were corrupted by the expulsion over 28,000 Asians from Uganda and their immigration to Britain. (Juss, 1993: 39-40)

Before 1962, West Indians who were usually poorly educated and unskilled had immigrated into Britain in mass numbers from the 1950s. As a result of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1962, 'the voucher system' had had a relatively successful effect on the control over the movement of workers from West India, India, and Pakistan. The number of West Indians fell from 2,077 in 1963 to only 61 in 1972, Indians from 8,366 to 225, and Pakistanis from 13,526 to 62. (Freeman, 1979: 21-24)

Table 3.4 Dependents admitted from 1 July 1962 to December 1972

Year	West Indies	India	Pakistan	Total
1962	3,730	1,565	505	5,800
1963	7,896	6,616	3,304	17,816
1964	11,461	8,770	7,046	27,277
1965	11,147	12,798	6,763	30,708
1966	9,878	13,357	9,319	32,554
1967	11,211	15,822	17,506	44,539
1968	3,346	9,411	7,393	20,150
1969	3,161	8,286	11,880	23,327
1970	2,761	5,406	9,190	17,357
1971	539	5,077	6,287	11,703
1972	467	5,886	4,956	11,309

(Source: Freeman, 1979: 25)

The effect of the Act of 1962 was the change in “the balance of black migrants” from foreign workers to dependents. Until 1966 and 1967, the ratio of dependents from the New Commonwealth increased sharply due to a “backlog” of children joining their parents before further restriction policies were implemented. (Hall, 1988: 280) The total number of immigrants from New Commonwealth countries rapidly rose before 1973 because of the entrance of immigrants’ families. The number of voucher holders dropped dramatically from 1962 to 1972, while the number of families’ entrance remained relatively high during the ten years. (Freeman, 1979: 24-25)

### **3. National contexts of immigration to Germany and the United Kingdom**

#### **National contexts in Germany**

##### **Political context: immigration policies**

As the declaration that “Germany is not a country of immigration”<sup>37</sup> by political leaders showed, the German government had persisted the restriction policy of immigration and return policy of foreigners to sending countries from the 1970s to the 1980s. However, the emergence of practical restriction or immigration policy was too late, as compared to other Western European states such as France and Britain, despite long history of

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<sup>37</sup> Joppke indicated “the Federal Republic defined itself as a vicarious, incomplete nation-state, home for all Germans in the communist diaspora” after the Second World War. With established ethnocultural mode of German nationhood, the division of Germany influenced that West Germany was the “homeland of all Germans” and it permitted the immigration of ethnic Germans firstly and automatic citizenship to ethnic German refugees under the Basic Law. In these circumstances after the Second World War, West Germany repeated the principle that “Germany is not a country of immigration”. (Joppke, 1999: 62-63)



immigration in Germany. Immigration policy in Germany had also produced results that are quite different from the original aims.

The Grand coalition government in the recession of 1966 rotated some Turkish and other guestworkers, and returned them to their countries of origin. As a result of this, while the employment of guestworkers fell by 25 percent from 1966 to 1967, German employment fell only 3 percent. (Martin, 1994: 190) The recovery of the German economy from 1969, however, brought foreign workers back into Germany. During the period of guestworker programmes, permanent immigration had not been continuously allowed or encouraged, but the recruitment of foreign workers for economic interests was only permitted.

The concerns<sup>38</sup> of Germany about “over-foreignization” and the changes of economic situations<sup>39</sup> produced the recruitment ban on foreign workers in 1973. The recruitment ban was adopted on the grounds of an anticipated economic recession and the reaction towards the OPEC oil embargo. The German government announced a “tripling of the employer-paid recruitment fee” to decrease the employers’ request of foreign labour before the ban. The stop in recruitment included new measures as follows: Firstly, the German government did not force out unemployed immigrants and continued to permit the immigration of spouses and dependents of those who had valid work and residence permits and proof of suitable housing. Secondly, unemployed immigrants were

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<sup>38</sup> From the beginning of foreign worker programme, the response of the German people in relation to guestworkers was negative. Opinion polls in the 1960s indicated that 50 percent to 80 percent of respondents had negative attitude towards foreign labourers and wanted for them to leave. (Castles, 1984: 39) An opinion poll in 1981 also pointed out that one half of respondents were hostile to foreigners. 58 percent of respondents wanted to reduce or limit the number of foreigners and 62 percent of them objected to family immigration of foreign workers. (Mehrländer, 1993: 192)

<sup>39</sup> In regard to economic circumstances of foreign workers immigration, the opinions that inflows of “cheap labour” had caused the interruptions of German economy transition toward “capital-intensive industries” had also influenced restricted measures of foreign labourer immigration in 1973. (Tapinos, 1993: 133-134)

encouraged to return home voluntarily and family members of immigrants had to wait one or two years for employment. (Martin, 1994: 202-203)

Immigration policy in the 1980s had also maintained the principles of reducing immigration, encouraging voluntary returns, and integrating immigrants who choose to remain. In 1981, the bill was presented to support the naturalization of foreigners who had been born and raised in Germany, but the bill was not enacted because of the principle of not being 'an immigration country'. The federal government in February 1982 presented the basic principles of foreigners' immigration as follows: "limit effectively further immigration of foreigners, strengthen the desire of foreigners to return to their native countries, and improve the economic and social integration of foreigners who have lived in Germany for many years and define their rights of residence more precisely". The immigration policy of the Christian-Democrats and the Liberals Government was to provide the financial motives for foreigners to repatriate. This law set to come into effect in November of 1983 was to support and assist workers from countries such as Turkey, Yugoslavia, Spain, and Korea if they returned to their country of origin with their entire family. The precondition was that they had been unemployed or had worked short time for at least half a year. The government also arranged the plan that provided pension insurance immediately to the Turkish and Portuguese if they returned to the countries of origin. (Mehrländer, 1993: 189-190)

However, the programme, during nine-month of its operation, had quite a little influence on the return of immigrant workers and their family to origin countries. For instance, the foreign population decreased from 4.7 million in 1982 to 4.4 million in 1984 and 1985, only to increase again to 4.5 million in 1986. (Martin, 1994: 204)

### *Economic context*

After the 1949 Currency Reform, West Germany had reconstructed her industry. There was no request for foreign workers from other European countries by the early 1950s. The reason was that seven million expellees from the former Eastern regions of the Reich and three million refugees from East Germany had provided as “excellent industrial reserve army”. In the mid 1950s<sup>40</sup>, labour shortages in specific industries such as agriculture and construction emerged. The ‘economic miracle’ in Germany from the 1950s had functioned as the basis for many foreign worker importations by the 1960s<sup>41</sup>. The increasing need for labour in various industries, such as engineering and chemistry in addition to farm industry and building, encouraged the expansion of recruitment countries extending the conditions to Turkey and Yugoslavia. (Castle and Kosack, 1972: 8-9)

Martin indicated the other economic reasons of foreign labourer importation in Germany in the 1960s. Firstly, there were no alternatives beyond the importation of foreign labourers. The “fragile economic recovery” at that time could not afford to consider the “risky mechanization and rationalization alternatives”. Secondly, in regard to economic development, Germany in the 1960s had a ‘undervalued currency’ in a world of fixed exchanges rates, so foreign capital for export markets was invested in Germany. (Martin, 1994: 199) In the midst of continuous immigrant inflows, however,

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<sup>40</sup> The unemployment in Germany had declined from 9.5 percent to 5.6 percent and job vacancies increased from 110,000 to 200,000 from 1952 until 1955, so German companies made efforts for recruitment of foreign workers due to increasing demand for labour. The unemployment rate continued also to fall and the number of vacancies rose from 1955 to 1960. (Mehrländer, 1994: 1-2)

<sup>41</sup> The German government in the early 1960s began to recruit actively a number of guestworkers for overcoming of labour shortages because the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961 prevented the immigration from Eastern and Central European countries. The federal government had the initiatives of foreign worker programmes and preserved more strict control over these programmes such as contracts by offices for work. (Hollifield, 1992: 218-219)



the temporary recession of the German economy in 1966 and 1967<sup>42</sup> had caused the decrease in the number of foreign labour forces. After the recession, the imports of guestworkers had continued by stop of foreign worker immigration in 1973.

There had been a close relationship between immigration of foreign workers and economic circumstances and interests in Germany from the mid 1950s to the 1970s. The rapid growth of German economy had resulted in labour shortages in many industrial areas from the mid 1950s, so the importation of many foreign labour forces had been allowed to compensate for labour shortages. The period of recession in the German economy such as in 1966 and in 1973, however, had caused the formation of policies concerning the cease and limitation of guestworker recruitment and immigration.

## **National contexts in the United Kingdom**

### **Political context: immigration policies**

Britain has had a long history in relation to the restriction of immigration. The Government and Parliament had restricted immigrations based on “traditional colonial commitments and practices” and they had continued strict border control. (Hammar, 1985: 278-279)

In 1905, Alien Act for the control of “undesirable and destitute aliens” was passed, but the new Liberal Government administered the new act in a non-oppressive way. The Act in 1914 provided the Home Secretary with powers to restrict immigrants from landing and to banish immigrants who had landed. The Act forced all aliens to register

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<sup>42</sup> German employers in periods of recession in 1966 and 1967 reduced overtime work and dismissed both German and immigrant employees. Many foreign workers returned to their origin countries and there was no further recruitment of guestworkers, but an economic uprising after the short recession resulted in the increase of recruitment of foreign labour force again. (Mehrländer, 1994: 3)

with the police. (Rees, 1993: 91-92) In comparison to other European countries, from early the British government and immigration officers in Britain acquired the powers to control immigration of foreigners and the British parliament responded sensitively to the issues regarding foreigner immigration. The main provisions of the Aliens Restriction Act in 1919 influenced the Immigration Act in 1971 and imposed police registration of foreigners to be emigrated from certain countries.

The periods from 1945 to 1962 could be described as the “laissez-faire years” in terms of control of immigration from the Commonwealth. Both the Labour Party and the Conservative Party did not disagree regarding the Commonwealth citizens’ right to enter Britain in the 1950s. For example, the British Nationality Act in 1948 created the circumstances that encouraged immigration of New Commonwealth citizens to Britain. This bill depended on six categories of citizenship. The category of “Citizens of the Independent Commonwealth countries” included all British subjects who were citizens of independent members of the Commonwealth and could apply specifically to citizens of Canada, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, Newfoundland, India, Pakistan, Southern Rhodesia, and Ceylon. These citizens were allowed to immigrate freely into Britain and to find works. (Hansen, 2000: 45-46, 244-247)

The Britain government’s immigration policy, however, turned to the limitation of immigration of Asian and Black people from the New Commonwealth. After ‘coloured’ immigrants had immigrated into the United Kingdom in the 1950s, the government started implementing restriction and control measures in relation to immigration of Asian and Black people.

The control over New Commonwealth immigration was considered at cabinet level in the early 1950s and the first restricted legislation was presented in 1962. The

Commonwealth Immigrant Act in 1962 made an entry voucher system, which stated that Commonwealth immigrant subjects had to possess the vouchers unless they were born in Britain or held a passport issued by the British government. These vouchers were categorized as follows: “Category A for those migrants with a specific job to go to, Category B for those with special skills in short supply, and Category C for all other intending migrants who would be dealt with in order of application, with priority to those with war service”. The new Labour Government in 1965 provided a quota of 8,500 in a year to New Commonwealth immigrant workers and immigrants of ‘Category C’ for more restricted immigration control. The Commonwealth Immigrant Act in 1968 was enforced for control of immigrants who British passport holders not having a close linkages with Great Britain. (Layton-Henry, 1994: 284)

The Act in 1962, contradicting its original intention, encouraged the growth of the Asian and black immigrant population in several ways. First of all, the anticipation and concerns of its enactment resulted in the rapid doubling of the Asian and black immigrants between the middle 1960s and mid in 1962. Second, the Act stimulated those, who had resided temporarily, to remain permanently in Britain. Third, it allowed the families of immigrants to enter in Britain. (Spencer, 1997: 130-133) As Table 3.4 shows, the entrances of immigrants’ dependents had risen rapidly from application of the Act at the end of 1962.

The speech of Enoch Powell, with warning of “rivers of blood” against immigration, was the beginning of political pressure for reformation of immigration policy. The Conservative Government decided on the passage of the Immigration Act in 1971 in response to these political movements. (Hollifield, 1997: 50) The Immigration Act in 1971 aimed to reduce the number of immigrants entering Britain by introducing a



“partials”<sup>43</sup> concept. According to the Act, only partials had the right of residence and free entry in and to the United Kingdom. The Act made an effect on the control over the immigration of non-white Commonwealth immigrants. Non-white Commonwealth immigrants were “non-belongers” who had no “special ties of blood and kinship”, so their immigration had been restricted under this Act whether they had British passports or not. (Juss, 1993: 46-47)

The British Nationality Act in 1981<sup>44</sup> was based on the immigration policy of the Conservative Party. The Conservative Party proclaimed in the Party policy document in March 1980 as follows: “Future immigration policies, if they are to be sensible, realistic and fair, must be founded on a separate citizenship of the UK and it is therefore essential that a reformed law of nationality should for the first time make it clear who are the citizens of the UK”. (Layton-Henry, 1994: 288) The Labour government<sup>45</sup> as well as the Tory Party in the 1970s had also suggested the request for change of British nationality legislations for a “critical break” with Britain’s colonial legacies and obligations. The Nationality Act in 1981 was made through a consensus of further immigration restriction by political elites and due to public concerns over increasing black immigrants who emigrated from the New Commonwealth in the 1970s.

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<sup>43</sup> Patrial concept was explained as “British or Commonwealth citizens who were born or naturalised in the United Kingdom or who had a parent (or grandparent in the case of British citizens) who had been born or naturalised in the United Kingdom”. This definition also included “British and Commonwealth citizens who had been settled in the United Kingdom for five years and had registered or had applied to register as a British citizen”. (Spencer, 1997: 143)

<sup>44</sup> The British Nationality Act provided three forms about citizenship: “British Citizenship,” “Citizenship of the Dependent Territories,” and “British Overseas Citizenship”. The Act granted the rights of entry and settlement in the UK to Australians, South Africans, New Zealanders, and Canadians, while the law restricted immigrants from ‘New Commonwealth’ countries of the Indian subcontinent and Caribbean. (Hollifield 1997, 50-52)

<sup>45</sup> In a Green Paper of 1977, “British Nationality Law: Discussions of Possible Changes”, the Labour government suggested the reform of nationality law. This indicated that only two forms of British citizenship should be considered: “the first, the UK citizenship for those with close connections with the UK, and the second, British overseas citizenship for those who were citizens of UK colonies”. These proposals influenced the modification of nationality legislation by the subsequent Conservative government. (Layton-Henry, 1992: 157)

The expiry of Britain's lease of Hong Kong in 1997 forced Britain to form another immigration policy in relation to Hong Kong. After the suppression in Tiananmen Square in 1989 by the Chinese government, many Hong Kong peoples left Hong Kong to immigrate into other countries. Britain government established the British Nationality (Hong Kong) Act in 1990 under this circumstance. This act bestowed upon some people, who were important people for maintaining Hong Kong, an "automatic right" of residence in Britain to prevent their emigration from Hong Kong. (Juss, 1993: 56-57)

### Colonial linkage

The Commonwealth had resulted from the British colonial policy that was based on self-government of colonial countries under the symbolic governing of 'the Crown'. The central purpose of British colonial policy after the Second World War, as indicated in the statement of policy issued by the Labour Government in 1948, was the guidance of Britain for the self-government of colonial territories within the Commonwealth. The rule of Britain over colonial countries also did not aim for the assimilation or integration of native people for being British. Meanwhile, the United Kingdom, as "mother country", had refused to form the controls of immigration of other Commonwealth citizens before 1962. (Freeman, 1979: 33-37)



The establishment of the New Commonwealth<sup>46</sup> and the experience of Britain as an imperial state had influenced policies of immigration and race relations before 1962. Specifically, the colonial linkage and self-image as “centre of Commonwealth” of Britain had influenced a series of immigration acts and nationality bill, such as the British Nationality Act of 1948, concerning citizenship and immigration of persons in newly independent countries in the New Commonwealth. However, the United Kingdom as the mother country of New Commonwealth countries faced the problems of worker movements and massive migration from ex-colonial regions such as Caribbean, India, and Pakistan. Subsequently, the British government had presented series of restrictions on immigration from the New Commonwealth after the abolishment of “laissez-faire” policy in the 1950s.

The colonial linkages had also influenced the emigration of New Commonwealth immigrants from their origin countries. New Commonwealth immigrants regarded Britain as the “mother country” and themselves as the subjects of ‘the Crown’s reign’ under a “colonial education system” and “imperial relationship”, caused by “benign or beneficial” policies with exploitation, between the “mother country” and the colonized people. (Juss, 1993: 75-77) Early West Indian immigrants, for example, entered Britain with images of the “mother country” out of economic necessity. West Indian ex-servicemen, who participated in the Second World War as subjects of the Commonwealth, informed their people of “the attractions of a life in Britain-mother

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<sup>46</sup> Relations with the new countries, which liberated from Britain colonial dominance, were important to Britain international relations. The reason was that the successful joining of new members to the Commonwealth could demonstrate the “utility and attractiveness” of the Commonwealth in the process of decolonisation. The relationship between Britain and New Commonwealth countries had also been formed on the grounds of ‘new’ Commonwealth’s idea of “freedom, self-determination, and racial equality”. (Spencer, 1997: 66) The emphasis of racial equality has influenced the serial race relation legislations for equality of coloured immigrants and establishment of the Commission for Racial Equality in Britain.



country". Thus many immigrants from the West Indies arrived in Britain as "committed settlers" rather than a sheer mass of immigrants for new jobs. (Jones, 1977: 128)

### *Economic context*

The economic circumstances had much less influence on immigration to Britain than that of other European countries after the 1950s. The serial legislations of restriction in regard to immigration from the New Commonwealth since 1962 have been established for political considerations rather than economic factors.

After the Second World War, Britain immediately encouraged immigration of foreign labour for economic recovery and as a solution for labour shortages in her industries. Polish forces and Ukrainian prisoners of war could settle permanently in Britain to fill vacancies in many industries and services. In addition to permanent settlement programmes, the plans for temporary recruitment had proceeded for foreign labourers from European countries such as Germany, Austria, and Italy. Despite the contribution of foreign labour force in British economy, the British government and the leaders of both parties did not react positively to the immigration of foreigners including foreign workers. The temporary recruitment and permanent settlement were not repeated for economic growth in Britain. Therefore, the immigration of citizens from the New Commonwealth was never considered as a means for economic development and was not on the whole explained in terms of economy. (Freeman, 1979: 179-183)

Certain individual firms stimulated the foreign worker immigration from the New Commonwealth for cheap labour forces in the 1950s and 1960s. Several industries began more active recruitments in New Commonwealth countries. For instance, the

British Hotels and Restaurant Association, the Regional Hospital Boards and individual representatives from the textile industry applied agents or took up campaigns to recruit foreign labour in these countries. (Juss, 1993: 73)

In the early 1960s, however, increasing unemployment and public pressure forced the British government to take measures to control foreign worker immigration from the New Commonwealth. The massive immigration of foreign workers from non-European countries as well as New Commonwealth countries into Britain by serial rules since the Voucher system in Act of 1962 have been restricted and controlled.

#### **4. Comparative analysis of immigration to Germany and the United Kingdom**

##### **Different immigration patterns in Germany and the United Kingdom**

##### **Foreign labour immigration pattern VS Permanent immigration pattern from ex-colonial countries**

Immigration to the United Kingdom had represented the pattern of permanent immigration to be based on immigration from the New Commonwealth since the Second World War,<sup>47</sup> while immigration to Germany had been characterized as foreign labour immigration pattern. Though permanent immigration and foreign labour immigration patterns had not functioned all the time in both countries, it is true that the both patterns were of important influence on the emergences of massive immigration,

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<sup>47</sup> Hammar indicated that permanent immigration pattern in Britain as Sweden has meant not a policy of "unlimited immigration over open borders", but it has been defined by guaranteeing permanent residence and no repatriation to immigrants who have been admitted. (Hammar, 1985: 251)

the changes of immigration policy, and the settlements of immigrants in Germany and Britain.

The permanent immigration pattern in Britain had been based on “colonial linkage”. Many immigrants from the New Commonwealth were subjects of ‘the Crown’ in Britain during colonial periods and had British passports, so citizens from the New Commonwealth could enter freely and reside permanently in Britain before 1962. However, the British government had persistently controlled immigration from the New Commonwealth and settlement for permanent residency after 1962. On the other hand, foreign labourer immigration mainly depended on ‘guestworker programmes’ since the 1950s in Germany.<sup>48</sup> The guestworker programmes or rotation policies of foreign workers were mainly based on economic interests, so the changes of economic circumstance had influenced the immigration flows of foreign workers.

### *Foreign labour immigration*

The distinctive characteristic of mass immigration in Germany originated from the immigration of guestworkers from 1955 to 1973.<sup>49</sup> In the mid 1950s, labour shortages emerged in agricultural and building industries. The recruitment of foreign workers on a

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<sup>48</sup> Rotation or guestworker programme of foreign workers began as early as 1945 in Switzerland. The important character of these policies was the principle of rotation. (Hollifield, 1997: 36) Guestworker programmes are not limited to Western European countries but are widespread in other countries and regions of the world. The Gulf region countries have received guestworkers from other Middle Eastern countries and Asian countries such as Egypt, Palestine, the Philippines, and Korea. The United States also had exchanged guestworkers with Mexico during the Bracero programme. The flows of guestworker immigration have continued in Africa, Latin America, and Eastern European countries. (Soysal, 1994: 20-21) As other guestworker programme countries, Germany’s recruitment efforts for foreign workers were based on measures to compensate disadvantage resulting from her unavailability of former colonial labour forces. (Portes, 1989: 609)

<sup>49</sup> Freeman indicated that the politics of immigration in Western European countries had been influenced by “the mistakes, failure, and unforeseen consequences of the guestworker era” and the legacy of foreign worker immigration will result in the transition of temporary worker programmes to “permanent migration processes” and permanent residence of many immigrants from non European countries in receiving countries. (Freeman, 1995: 890)



seasonal basis began. The rotation policy of the foreign labour force was encouraged and continued during those times in Germany. (Castles & Kosack, 1972: 7-6) The rotation contract in the guestworker programme had been intended for unmarried male workers who could be brought into the labour market for a contractual period and returned to the sending countries at the end of this period. (Hollifield, 1997: 36)

The guestworker programme in Germany was considerably organized. Employers requested local employment offices for workers, and then the offices sent employers' requests of foreign labour to German recruitment offices<sup>50</sup> in Istanbul, Belgrade, or Rome. The German recruitment offices examined the health and skills of guestworkers and then offered one-year work and residence permits. (Martin, 1997: 200) The work permits were often limited to specific jobs or employers and the family reunification of foreign workers in principle was discouraged. The housing and education of immigrants were not important issues in some Länder in Germany such as Bavaria, so local schools taught immigrant students their origin languages in certain Länder because they assumed the return of immigrants and their family not to be permanent residents. (Hammar, 1985: 250, 270)

The recruitment of foreign workers had been proceeding under "government to government agreements" between Germany and Spain, Greece, Portugal, and Turkey during the 1960s.<sup>51</sup> In 1972, the number of guestworkers reached 2.6 millions and 12

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<sup>50</sup> Nearly four hundred recruitment offices were established in foreign worker recruitment countries. After receiving requests of guestworkers for specific job vacancies in firms and organisations in Germany, German recruitment offices interviewed "would-be foreign workers", screened for criminal and political records, examined medical problems, and then issued contract papers and arranged transport and accommodation for foreign labour forces. (Booth, 1992: 110)

<sup>51</sup> In addition to European countries, other countries also went into bilateral agreements for labour recruitment. For example, the German government procured labour agreements with Japan in 1956 for miners only, with Morocco in 1963, Tunisia in 1965, and Korea in 1970 for miners only. Under these agreements, the number of foreign workers was relatively small. (Booth, 1992: 110) However, Booth's indication in relation to Korean foreign workers was not correct because the bilateral agreements between the German government and Korean government for miners and nurses' immigration were made in the

percent of the total labour force. (Cornelius, Martin & Hollifield, 1994: 18) Though the scale of immigration was smaller than that of European, Asian labour forces, such as Korean labourers, had immigrated into Germany in addition to European guestworkers since the 1960s. The immigration of Asian workers was also based on the agreements between governments. For example, the immigration of Korean miners and nurses to Germany as guestworkers was started by agreements between the German and Korean government in the mid 1960s.

However, the rotation policy in Germany had not been successfully performed due to economic interests of immigrants and employers, although there are several other causes for the failure of the rotation policy that are explained in next section. Migrant workers wanted to stay for higher wage than that of sending states, and employers did not disagree on family unification and the remaining of experienced migrant workers as they saved the cost of recruitment and training new migrants. Therefore, despite ban on foreign workers' recruitment in 1973, the immigration and settlement of foreign workers through the acquirement of resident permit and family reunification continued in the 1970s.

After the temporary stop of guestworker programme in 1973, the non-EEC foreign workers and migrants also immigrated into Germany, though there was the very limited number of these exceptional immigrations. Foreign workers, who were required by certain professions such as dentistry, could enter into Germany and staff in foreign enterprises had settled down in Germany after the ban in 1973. (Booth, 1992: 120) For instance, Korean nurses had been recruited continuously by the early 1990s.

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mid 1960s.

The immigration of guestworkers from various countries turned Germany into “a multi-ethnic society”. Despite expellees and refugees over 11 millions from GDR before guestworker programmes, they were ethnic Germans and immediately became citizens of FRG. (Castles & Miller, 1998: 188) The permanent settlement of foreign workers and family reunification after guestworker programmes has caused the race and ethnic problems in Germany and various large or small immigrant communities had been established in diverse cities of her territories.

### *Permanent immigration from ex-colonial countries*

The permanent immigration pattern in Britain had been persisted by New Commonwealth immigration that retained a close connection with the United Kingdom as ex-colonial countries. The immigration to Britain after the Second World War mainly occurred by immigrants from ex-colonial states: India, Pakistan, West India, and Hong Kong.

After the Act in 1962, the first restrictive policy of immigration from the New Commonwealth, individuals could enter the Britain if they held work voucher from the Ministry of Labour or if they were the dependent of someone who possessed it. The voucher system was effective in controlling the immigration of workers from three areas: West India, India, and Pakistan. Specifically, the number of Caribbean nationals to acquire work voucher rapidly decreased. (Freeman, 1979: 24-25)

However, the Act stimulated rather than decreased the growth of Asian and black immigrant communities in the 1960s, specifically India and Pakistan. Expectation or concerns for the new Act brought about an increase of newcomer immigration and temporary residents in the United Kingdom also applied for permanent residency



before the establishment of new Act. After enacting the new Act in 1962, the reunification of family was carried out and the number of dependents of immigrants increased rapidly.

Meanwhile, ethnic and national criteria that were necessary for the entrance and residency of immigrants had been applied in the British Nationality Act of 1981. The core principles of the act were the abandonment of imperial legacy and the reinforcement of control to immigration from the New Commonwealth, but as the Act in 1991 provided 50,000 key persons of Hong Kong with the rights to migrate and settle in Britain, the possibility of change of restricted policy have been remained by political considerations of colonial linkages. (Layton-Henry, 1994: 280)

Britain had never implemented a full-scale foreign worker programme to the likes of Germany, because of the immigration of the New Commonwealth and Irish labourers, and because economic growth in Britain was never high enough to justify guestworkers. (Hollifield, 1997: 38)

Accordingly, massive immigration from various countries for long periods had not occurred in Britain in contrast to Germany and certain large ethnic communities such as Caribbean, Indian, and Pakistan had been formed in major cities such as London and Birmingham in Britain.

### **Causes of different results of restrictive immigration policies in Germany and the United Kingdom**

The United Kingdom and Germany have not been formally immigration states. In relation to immigration, both countries have strived for restriction policy and border control against mass immigration, but the results of these policies in each state are

seemingly different. Britain has been recognized alone as a country having the capacity to deal with the immigration and to control borders among the largest states in Western Europe. (Hollifield, 1997: 28-29)

Despite the continuity of the restriction policy, the German government had often admitted the gap between policy and its outcome or the failure of various efforts for restriction of immigration and the return of immigrants. The German government, for instance, encouraged the voluntary return of foreign workers to their origin countries under legislation in 1983 by providing economic motives of return, but these efforts have hardly forced the return of foreign workers and their families.

The immigration policy in Germany has held fast to the goals<sup>52</sup> announced in 1981, but there are “flawed policies” that have caused different outcomes to the desired effect. Martin argued that the failed or “flawed” policies of guestworkers in regard to restriction and return of foreign labour forces resulted in the largest population of immigrants in European countries. For example, many foreign workers from Southern Europe remained in their jobs because of their intention for permanent stay with their families and German employers’ request for foreign labour force. (Martin, 1994: 190-192)

The different results of restricted immigration policy originated from several factors such as the process of immigration policy establishment, economic condition, legal system, and historical experience of immigration in both countries. Firstly, in relation to immigration policy, “turning point” in Western European countries, which meant the ban on mainly foreign work force recruitment, took place during the period from 1970

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<sup>52</sup> The goals of the German government in relation to immigration including foreign workers and asylum seekers’ entry and settlement officially proclaimed in 1981 as follows: “reducing immigration, promoting voluntary returns, and integrating the foreigners who choose to remain”. (Martin, 1994, 190)



to 1974, but Britain had no experience of “turning point” in immigration policy and have ‘gradually’ proceeded the elimination of the immigration rights of New Commonwealth citizens from the early 1960s in contrast to other Western European countries including Germany. (Hammar, 1985: 6) On the other hand, though Germany had many foreigners in the early twentieth century, the chance of establishment of restriction immigration policy in Germany had been lost because of World War and Nazism. The regulation in 1973 for ban of foreign labourer recruitment was, in practice, first policy for restriction of mass immigration.

Secondly, the rotation policy of guestworker in Germany had been not related to the interests of German employers.<sup>53</sup> German employers wanted to retain trained and experienced migrant workers with their families, as it was a way of saving cost in recruitment and training. For German employers, the families of foreign workers were other important sources for worker recruitments. (Martin, 1994: 201)

Thirdly, the massive repatriation of foreign workers and their families to origin countries in Germany never occurred due to the influence of German laws including protection of individual rights. The German Basic Law indicated the individual rights could limit state sovereignty. Article 1 of the Basic Law expressed emphatically “the dignity of the individual is untouchable” and introduced “the principle of limited sovereignty” of state. In context of immigration, the Basic Law had influenced the legislations and rules of foreign workers and their families’ reunification.<sup>54</sup>

There was no “a prerogative” of the political branch of government in regard to

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<sup>53</sup> Freeman pointed out that organized opinion of employers in Western European countries through business associations or individual firms was strongly “pro-immigration” early and employers had direct interests in migration. Employers recruited foreign workers by various ways and pressed government to arrange labour agreements with sending countries. (Freeman, 1995: 891)

<sup>54</sup> For example, the Foreigner Act in 1965 allowed foreigners to get a residence permit if they did not harm the interests of Germany and to enjoy all basic rights. A decree issued in 1973 permitted the issue of residence permit of foreign worker’s family members without work permits. (Collinson, 1994: 98-99)



foreigners in Germany unlike the United States and Britain on the basis of German legal tradition. The limited sovereignty of the federal government concerning foreigners resulted in local foreigner offices in Land had having a major role in control foreigner's inflow and settlement. For example, southern states of Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg have strived for a "restriction line" of foreigner and family reunification, while Hesse and Bremen have followed a relatively "liberal line" that had permitted more foreign family reunification than recommended by the federal government. The serial rules of the Constitutional Court on the basis of the Basic Law also limited the choice of state to "deport foreigners or deny them a renewed residence permit" in so-called Arab and Indian Cases in the 1970s. (Joppke, 1999: 68-75) On the other hand, there has been little "blockading of the political branches of government by recalcitrant courts" and little constitutional protections for immigrants in Britain. (Joppke, 1999: 103-104) The British government branches, mainly the Home Office, could obtain the right of immigration control and could implement restricted immigration policies to immigrants from the New Commonwealth.

Federal fragmentation and human rights guarantee in regard to foreigners and immigration influenced by the German Basic Law and legal system have allowed foreign workers to settle down and reside permanently in Germany and foreign immigrants to bring in their families without many restrictions.

Fourthly, in the view of historical experiences, Britain permitted the entrance of Irish as a source of labourer in nineteenth century, so the United Kingdom needed to establish various laws and policies to deal with them. This historical experience had influenced the formation of racial laws and policy as well as immigration policy, so the laws and policies of foreigner entrance were established in the beginning of twentieth

century. The series of policies and laws from the period have successfully coped with issues of mass immigration as compared to other Western European states. Britain had significant problems of immigrant control during the Post World War as a result of decolonisation, but the accumulation of experience and policy had caused for government and parliament to be easily affected public opinion against immigration and to response immigration from the New Commonwealth. Therefore, the British government without a hesitation restricted the rights of settlement and immigration of former colonial subjects. Contrary to Britain, Germany had little experience and a short history with immigration and foreigner policy. This has caused German immigration policy to be ineffective. (Cornelius, Martin & Hollifield, 1994: 17-18, 21-22)

## 5. Conclusion

Britain has been often perceived as the foremost “would-be zero immigration country”<sup>55</sup> among Western developed countries, while despite declaration that “Germany is not an immigration country”, Germany has experienced massive immigration of foreigners and ethnic Germans and has the largest immigrants population in European countries. These situations in regard to immigration and immigrants have been caused by differences in immigration patterns, such as guestworker programme and permanent immigration from ex-colonial countries, and from dissimilarities of several contexts such as political, economic, legal, and historical background.

Permanent immigration pattern from ex-colonial countries in Britain resulted in the establishment of considerable larger immigrant communities and convergence of

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<sup>55</sup> In period of New Commonwealth immigration between 1951 and 1961, net migration balance in Britain was barely positive due to British’s emigration and these emigrations between 1961 and 1981 had been greater than immigration by more than one million. (Joppke, 1999: 100)



immigrants in certain major cities by immigrants who emigrated from several New Commonwealth countries as 'subjects' of the British Empire.<sup>56</sup> It has also controlled immigration of foreign labour force and immigration of migrants from other countries without colonial linkages. Accordingly, various immigrant communities, who were from non-New Commonwealth, could hardly be established due to their difficulty in entrance and settlement in Britain unlike citizens of the New Commonwealth. On the other hand, foreign labour immigration in Germany encouraged the German government and employers recruited guestworkers from diverse regional countries such as Southern Europe, the Middle East, and Asian countries, so various large and small immigrant communities were formed and established in Germany as compared to Britain. It is also evident that immigrants from various countries have more easily immigrated and settled in Germany by her immigration policy, legal circumstance, and economic demand than Britain<sup>57</sup> which allowed only certain immigrants from ex-colonial countries to enter and be residents by her immigration policy and historical experiences to be based on imperial legacy.

These differences of immigration between Germany and the United Kingdom have influenced Koreans' immigrations and formation of Korean communities in both countries. Korean immigrants who had immigrated and settled as foreign workers since the 1960s by guestworker programme and policies could establish their communities in

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<sup>56</sup> In France as receiving country of immigrants from former colony, Algerians, Moroccans, and Tunisians constituted 34.4 percent of foreign born population in 1981, while other southern Mediterranean littoral or other African immigrants from equally poor countries like former colonial countries amounted to about 5.5 percent. (Portes, 1989: 609) Western European countries as Britain and France, which had linked colonial ties with certain countries, have considerable immigrant populations from their ex-colony in their territory.

<sup>57</sup> Britain could be regarded as nation-state to deal with migration crisis and to control immigration. Hollifield indicated the capacity of Britain to control immigration was resulted from not only "the willingness of government to enact discriminatory legislation" but also from historical importance of Irish workers immigration. (Hollifield, 1997: 29-30)



many cities of Germany earlier and with far more ease than those in Britain where there had been no historical and colonial linkages with Korea.

# Chapter 4. Emigration from Korea since 1945

## 1. Introduction

The massive emigration of Koreans in modern times originated from Korean farmers moving abroad to the Maritime Province in Russia, in order to overcome famine in Korea in the 1860s. (Lee, 2000: 13-15) Emigration periods of Koreans from the 1860s can be classified in the following way: Firstly, there were emigrations of farmers and labourers to China, Hawaii, and Russia from the 1860s to the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910. Secondly, farmers and workers, who were deprived of land and means of production, left their country for Manchuria of China and Japan. Korean activists, who led the independence movement against the Japanese rule, also immigrated into China, Russia, and the United States from 1910 till the liberation from the Japanese regime in 1945. Thirdly, Korean women married servicemen of the United States, Korean children who lost their parents during the Korean War and were adopted from 1950 to 1953, and Korean students emigrated to the United States and Canada from 1945 to 1962. Fourthly, Koreans began to move overseas into various regions, such as America, Western Europe, the Middle East, and the Asian Pacific, beyond neighbouring countries through diverse means such as group migration and contract migration from the formation of the Korean government's emigration policy in 1962 to the present time. (Yoon, 2004: 8-10) Through the series of emigrations from the 1860s, more than five and half million Korean emigrants<sup>58</sup> are resident in a variety of countries.

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<sup>58</sup> The Korean government, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, officially defined Korean emigrants as the "Chae Dongpo" (Overseas Koreans) includes "Korean Nationals residing abroad" and "Foreign Koreans". The former have the nationality of Korea and stay for a long period or acquire permanent resident permit in a foreign country, while the latter have the ancestry of the Korean, irrespective of their nationality, and reside and make a living in a foreign country. (Rhee, 2004: 177) In this chapter, the data

These emigration flows have occurred due to the influences of political, economic, and social contexts in Korea and receiving countries and linkages between Korea and destination countries as indicated in a migration systems approach of international migrations. The establishment of migration system between Korea and major receiving countries through Korean's emigrations have resulted in the development, though there have been different stages of the development, of Korean immigrant communities and associations in Australia, Canada, and the United States.

This chapter explains the situation of Korean emigrants today, and then accounts for the practice of emigration from Korea<sup>59</sup> to receiving countries since 1945 under the considerations of various national contexts in Korea and historical linkages between Korea and receiving countries on the basis of a migration systems approach concerning international migration as detailed in Chapter 2. It also examines the causes and contexts of emigration, the presence of Korean immigrants, the characteristics of Korean immigration and immigrants, and organizations and activities in Korean communities in Australia, Canada, and the United States.<sup>60</sup>

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and information of Korean emigrants mainly depends on official those of "Chae Dongpo" from Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade or various other researchers.

<sup>59</sup> Koreans emigration to Germany and the United Kingdom and the various contexts of these emigrations are not explained in this chapter, but they are examined on the basis of migration system framework between Germany and Korea and between Korea and the United Kingdom in following chapters.

<sup>60</sup> Migration systems between Korea and these countries and development stages of Korean immigrant communities and associations in these countries have largely shared the characteristics of migration systems between Korea and Germany and Britain and the developments of Korean immigrant communities and associations in Germany and the United Kingdom. In aspects of established migration systems and developed Korean immigrant associations, there have been similarities in Korean immigrant communities and associations in Canada, Germany, and the United States, while Korean immigrant communities and associations in Australia and the United Kingdom have both been developing under the establishing migration systems.



## 2. Present Korean emigrants in the world

Korean emigrants, more than 5.5 million in recent times, live in different corners of the world, but most of Korean emigrants are concentrated in several countries such as the United States (2.1 million), China (1.8 million), Japan (640 thousand), and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) (521 thousand) as Table 4.1 indicates. The Korean emigrant population makes up approximately 12.5 percent of the entire South Korean population.

Table 4.1 Korean emigrants in 2000

Region/Country	Total Residents	Citizenship	Residence Permit	B + C	(D/A) * 100	Percent of A
	A	B	C	D	E	F
Asia Pacific	2,670,723	1,756,825	582,530	2,339,355	87.6	47.2
Japan	640,234		551,942	551,942	86.2	11.3
China	1,887,558	1,738,200	1,696	1,739,896	92.2	33.4
Oceania	65,565	18,383	27,099	45,482	69.4	1.0
Others	77,366	242	1,793	2,035	2.6	1.4
North America	2,264,063	710,200	1,179,526	1,889,726	83.5	40.1
US	2,123,167	638,873	1,125,198	1,764,071	83.1	37.6
Canada	140,896	71,327	54,328	125,655	89.2	2.5
South America	110,460	10,717	76,997	87,714	79.4	2.0
Europe	595,073	517,363	18,911	536,274	90.1	10.5
CIS	521,694	508,076	4,110	512,186	98.2	9.2
Germany	30,492	6,747	7,918	14,665	48.1	0.5
Others	42,887	2,540	6,883	9,423	22.0	0.8
Middle East	7,208	37	326	363	5.0	0.1
Africa	5,256	91	817	908	17.3	0.1
Total	5,652,783	2,995,233	1,895,107	4,854,340	85.9	100.0

(Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Korea, 2002)

With the exception of Korean emigrants in the United States, Korean migrants, who reside in China, Japan, and CIS countries, emigrated from Korea from the 1860s until the independence of Korea from the Japanese government in 1945 in search of places

for farming<sup>61</sup> and for bases for independence movements. Their emigration to these countries was caused by the influences of political, economic, and geographic backgrounds in Korea, specifically colonization, poverty, close territory, and colonial linkage between Korea and Japan, but there have been few Korean migrants moving to these countries since 1945. Most Korean emigrants in China, Japan, and CIS have permanent residence permits and citizenship in the receiving countries. In particular, the percent of those who succeeded in obtaining citizenship in China and CIS region are very much higher than any other destination countries due to difficulties in moving abroad during the Cold War. The percent of citizenship acquirement by Korean migrants, who emigrated to Canada, Australia, Brazil, and European Countries since 1945, are relatively lower than those in China, Japan, and CIS countries. The exception to this is the United States. That is why these differences are from several circumstances such as the dissimilarities of migration patterns, the existences of continuous migration flows, and immigration policies of receiving countries.

### **3. Practices, contexts, and linkages of emigration from Korea since 1945**

Korean emigrations to China, Japan, and Russia before 1945 were a result of migrations by several push factors; severe economic conditions and the colonization of Korea by Japan,<sup>62</sup> while Koreans moving abroad after the liberation of Korea in 1945 have been

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<sup>61</sup> Korean people suffered from bad harvests due to droughts in the 1860s, so some Korean farmers migrated to the Maritime Province of Russia for farming. The migration for farming at those times began as seasonal migration for agricultural affairs because Korean government banned the emigration of Koreans. (Lee, 1997: 18)

<sup>62</sup> Korean emigrations for the Manchuria in China and the Maritime Province of Russia from the mid 1860s had brought about the residence of many Korean emigrants in those regions. There were Korean migrants more than 200,000 in the Manchuria in China in 1910 and 188,480 in Russia in 1926. After the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910, moving overseas of Korean for China and Japan had been rapidly increased. For example, Korean migrants in the China rose about from 200,000 in 1910 to 1,659,000 in



caused by the autonomous choices of Korean emigrants, the national contexts for emigration in Korean, historical linkage between Korea and destination countries as well as the circumstances in receiving countries.

Many Korean emigrants returned to Korea after the independence of Korea from Japan in 1945. For instance, there were about 1,500,000 Korean returnees from Japan and 800,000 from China from 1945 before the Korean War in 1950. (Kwon, 2002: 160-161) After the end of the Korean War in 1953, the emigration of Koreans started again. Most Korean emigrants left from Korea for the United States in the 1950s. They were composed of students, wives of American servicemen, or adopted children most of whom lost their parents in the Korean War. About three-quarters of these emigrants for the United States were dependents of American citizens, so they could move into the United States without any restrictions. (Patterson and Kim, 1977: 48) More than 6,000 Korean women immigrated to the United States as wives of American servicemen from 1950 to 1964 and about 5,000 children moved to the same country as they were adopted children or half Korean and American children during the same timeframe, while 6,000 Korean students also moved abroad for acquirement of certain degrees in the United States. (Yoon, 2002: 8-10)

Korean emigration for diverse destination countries had begun since the 1960s caused by the influences of several contexts in Korea and receiving countries. Koreans emigrated from Korea for permanent residence, education, and work to many foreign countries such as Australia, Brazil, Canada, Germany, New Zealand, and the United States. The Korean government encouraged the emigration of Koreans through

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1920. The Korean worker emigrations for Japan had increased rapidly from 1920s. Korean labourers more than 692,000, especially, immigrated into Japan by labour mobilization of the Japanese government for war against China and the United States from 1939 to 1944. There were 1,882,500 Korean emigrants in Japan in 1943. (Kwon, 2002: 154-159)



migration policies, such as the enforcement of “Haeoe Iju Beob” (the Overseas Migration Act) in 1962, as a way of solving economic and demographic problems, while several countries such as the United States and Canada opened their borders as a result of the changes in immigration policy that reflected their own necessity.

## **Emigration through historical linkage**

### **International marriage**

The occurrence of the Korean War caused the arrival of many American soldiers. Some American servicemen got married to Korean women, most were employees in bars in the proximity of American Army bases and not very well educated.<sup>63</sup> The United States government permitted the entrance and the acquirement of citizenship to these women with the War Brides Act in 1945 and the GI Fiances Act as its basis. The number of living Korean-American women increased from 10 in 1950 to 6,423 in 1964 in the United States. (Lee, 2000: 74)

These women could live in all the regions of the United States by joining to their American families in various areas, which is a marked difference to the first emigrant generation who were concentrated around some large cities. Korean women who got married to American soldiers and then immigrated into the United States by 2000 amounted to 100,000. They have played important roles in the ‘chain migration’ to the United States through invitation of their families after the passage of the Immigration Act in 1965. (Yoon, 2002: 9-10) These Korean women contributed to the increase of

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<sup>63</sup> Many Korean women were working in nightclubs and bars where mushroomed around the American military camps as the tasks of American military changed for peacekeeping of South Korea and established on a permanent basis after the end of the Korean War. The near area of American military bases was labelled as “Ki-Ji-Chon” (a village of military base). Some women could immigrate into the United States through international marriage with American servicemen. (Choi, 2002: 604-605)

Korean immigrants and formation of Korean community in diverse cities or towns over the United States through their own immigration and reunification with their families through invitations to their parents and siblings.

### Adoption

More than 140,000 Korean children of “mixed parentage and pure blood” had been adopted by American and European families from 1959 to 1999. “Inter-country adoption” began in the mid 1950s with bi-racial children, fathered by American soldiers. After the end of the Korean War, the increase of orphan population precipitated adoptions of these children for a better life among American and European families. The high demand for adoptable children among American and European families at those times also encouraged the trend of trans-national adoptions. Currently, there are 2,000 to 2,500 overseas adoptions of Korean children per year.<sup>64</sup> Three quarters of the adopted children immigrated into the United States. (Choi, 2002: 609-611) The Korean government established the policy of overseas adoption with the intention to reduce the flows of inter-country adoptions before the Seoul Olympics in 1988, so numbers of adopted children for overseas have decreased continuously. (Agency for National Security Planning in Korea, 1999: 36-37)

In the United States, the parents of the adopted children created Culture Camps, summer day camp lasting five days, for their children to learn Korean culture through the Korean governmental agencies and Korean immigrant associations. They also organized “Visit Korea” programmes for tours in Korea. National conferences for

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<sup>64</sup> In spite of the decrease of inter-country adoptions of Korean children since the mid 1980s, the flows of overseas adoption have continued. Koreans regard familial blood ties as highly due to their Confucian tradition, so they have not favoured adoptions of other children.



adopted people have been held and various associations have been established for friendship and to share information throughout the United States. (Choi, 2002: 614-615)

In the meantime, adopted Koreans by European families mainly in places such as Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden have contributed to the increase of Korean immigrants in these countries. The Korean governmental agencies and Korean immigrant associations in European countries have supported the activities of adopted Koreans and have held various events. (Lee, 1996: 201-202)

## **Emigration in economic context**

### **Overseas works**

The origin of Korean emigrations for overseas employment in modern times could be traced to Korean labourers' emigration to Hawaii in 1902 and Mexico in 1905. Korean workers immigrated into Hawaii and Mexico to work in farms under the conditions of labour by contract<sup>65</sup>, though the United States government banned contract labour immigration at that time.

During the Japanese colonial periods, Korean workers also immigrated into Japan. They had mainly entered Japan as temporary labourers in unskilled jobs for one or two years since the 1920s. The Japanese government had drafted Korean workers to overcome labour shortages in military industries at the beginning of the Chinese-

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<sup>65</sup> The advertisement for recruitment of Korean farm workers in the early 1905 introduced nine terms of contract for Korean immigrants. One of them was related to condition of work as follows: "Workers will have a nine-hour working day for \$1.30". However, Korean labourers had to work twelve hours a day for a wage of just thirty to thirty-five cents. These working conditions were totally different from the original contract. (Yun, 1977: 40-42) In Hawaii, Korean workers about 1,300 returned to Korea from 1903 to 1910 despite control of Korea by Japan at those periods. (Kim, 2002: 41) Their returns indicated that Korean workers had suffered from worse labour conditions and American employers did not observe conditions of original contract.



Japanese War in 1937. The conditions of Korean workers in mine at those times were similar to those of prisoners in concentration camps. (Lee, 1996: 105-108)

The Korean emigration for overseas works began again in the form of contract labour migration from the 1960s. Firstly, Korean miners had immigrated into Western Germany since 1963 on the contract basis between the Korean government and the German Coal-Mine Association. In addition, Korean nurses had moved into Germany through similar means since 1969.<sup>66</sup>

Secondly, during the Vietnam War, many Korean workers became residents by working in Korean construction companies and companies belonging to the United States. In November 1965, 12 Korean workers, who were handlers of heavy construction equipment, were the first employed in Vietnam. (The Korea Development Bank, 1970: 29) Some of them migrated again to other countries; for example South East Asian countries, Middle Eastern countries, and Australia after the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, and they subsequently established Korean communities in these countries. (Lee, 2000: 97-98)

Table 4. 2 Koreans' employment in Vietnam

Before 1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	Total
93	10,097	5,328	6,046	2,131	554	24,249

(Source: The Korea Development Bank, 1970: 29. Note: The figure of 1970 shows the employments by the end of May in 1970)

Thirdly, after the oil price rise in 1973, immigration to the Middle East from Asian countries increased greatly. Immigrant workers were recruited firstly from India and Pakistan, then from the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand and Korea, and later from

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<sup>66</sup> The specific details of Korean workers' immigration into Germany are explained in chapter 5.

Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. There were 3.2 million Asian labourers in the Gulf countries by 1985 with over 2 million workers in Saudi Arabia alone at that time. (Castles and Miller, 2003: 159) Since 1970, several thousand Korean labourers, who had worked in Vietnam, started working for American companies in Iran. These employments were the first wave of massive immigration of Korean workers to Middle East regions. Korean construction companies, such as Hyundai Construction, established their bases in Middle Eastern countries in the early 1970s and they required many Korean workers in construction industries, so Korean labour forces, numbering more than 150,000, worked there in the mid 1970s. As Korean workers in the Middle East contracted with firms for definite periods, most of them had to return to Korea and small number of them re-migrated into other countries or remained in the Middle East. (Lee, 1997: 23)

Fourthly, there were shortages of doctors in the United States from the 1960s. The American government recruited many doctors from India, the Philippines, and Korea. After several examinations, Korean doctors were able to work in hospitals in the United States. There were about 4,200 Korean doctors in the U.S. by the mid 1980s. Many Korean pharmacists also moved into the United States for employment. They worked in pharmaceutical companies and hospitals after the passing of two examinations. In the meantime, the employment of Korean nurses, including Korean nurses from Germany, rose during the same period. (Lee, 2000: 78)

Table 4.3 Korean medical professionals in the United States, 1965-1973

	Doctors	Nurses	Pharmacists	Dentists
1965	11	2	0	0
1966	35	19	0	0
1967	70	26	4	5
1968	63	60	10	4
1969	128	102	17	7
1970	228	254	38	3
1971	965	526	81	20



1972	768	738	257	26
1973	598	744	346	30
Total (6,185)	2,866	2,471	753	95

(Source : Kim, 1981 : 148)

As Table 4.3 indicates, there were immigrations of approximately 2,866 Korean doctors, 2,471 nurses, 753 pharmacists, and 95 dentists into the United States from 1965 to 1973. They graduated from the best universities in Korea and made a better living than middle-class Koreans. Their immigration changed the social composition of Korean communities in certain cities such as New York.

Fifthly, there has been emigration of Korean workers, with simple skills, since the 1960s. They were mainly workers of various fields with simple skills such as welders. Through agents or firms concerning emigration of skilled labourers, the workers prepared their immigration and some Koreans learned the skills for the specific purpose of immigration to certain countries. (Lee, 2000: 79) The labourers immigrated into at first the United States, then Canada, and later to Australia and New Zealand.

Sixth, with the rapid growth of the Korean economy from the 1980s, many Korean companies, including “Chaebeol” (big company groups), have dispatched Korean staff to their overseas branches. These staff, called “Haeoe Jujaeweon” by the Korean public, immigrated largely to the developed countries including Japan, the United States, and many European countries. Most of them had to return to Korea after working 3 or 4 years, while some of them stayed permanently in destination countries for their businesses and the education of their children. (Lee, 2000: 94-95)

Table 4.4 Number of Korean emigrants for employment, 1990-2000

1990	2,737
1992	3,193
1994	5,311
1996	4,291
1997	3,287



1998	3,805
1999	5,267
2000	8,369

(Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Korea, 1990-2000)

Seventh, a large number of young, highly educated middle class Koreans, mostly in their thirties, emigrated to Australia, Canada, and New Zealand after the foreign currency crisis in 1997 looking for new employment prospects in their specialized and professional sectors. They wanted to escape from the unstable employment status caused by changed economic circumstances and the excessive competition in their children's education system in Korea. (Yoon, 2004: 3) As Table 4.4 shows, the migration flows for employment in foreign countries have developed since 1997.

### **Farming**

Korean emigration for farming commenced with the immigration of 92 Koreans into Brazil in 1962 arranged through a private Korean agency. This agency, Hanbaek Jinheung Jusik Hoesa (Korea and Brazil Promotion Company), had been established on the basis of aims for Koreans to move into Brazil for the agricultural industry. The Korean emigrants had originally intended to buy farmland and then to build and manage their own farms. However, several conditions concerning farmlands and housing were primarily different from plans of Korean emigrants, so most of them had to look for other jobs. There was subsequent immigration of Koreans for farming into Brazil in 1964 and 1965. (Jeon, 1996: 53-57) Meanwhile, 78 Koreans arrived in Buenos Aires in Argentina in 1965 for employment in the agricultural industry, but they suffered from consecutive failures of farming causing Koreans to move into other areas and jobs. In 1972, though several Koreans immigrated into Argentina again, but they also faced the

same difficulties that previous Korean farmers had. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Korea went ahead with plans in 1978 and bought farmlands itself, called as "Saemaeul Nongjang" (New Village Farmland), in Argentina and managed them on the basis of large Korean migrations, but the plans were terminated due to the unsuitableness of the farmlands. (Jeon, 1996: 63-65)

The Korean governments invested 10 million US dollars for the establishment of five farmlands in South American countries in the 1970s and the 1980s. Subsequently, the government encouraged Korean migration for farming into Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Paraguay. Agricultural emigration by the initiative of the government, however, failed continuously due to several conditions such as lack of understanding in regards to agricultural circumstances in the destination countries and a lack of support by the Korean government in welfare facilities and schools for Korean immigrants. (Kim, 1987: 78) Therefore, most farmers moved into inner cities for new jobs such as cleaners and repairers and moved abroad to other South American countries or the United States.

### *Permanent investment or business in receiving countries*

Korean emigration for permanent investment or business in foreign countries has been precipitated by the economic growth of Korea and the changes of immigration policies in several receiving countries such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and some South American countries.

In the 1970s, the Canadian government permitted permanent residence for foreigners for the purpose of investment or business in Canada, in addition to the establishment of the Point System or Merit System that evaluated the quality for permanent immigration by various standards. As a result of the change of immigration



policy, foreigners' permanent residence for investment or business rose 1 percent to 6 percent during this time. (Yoon, 2004: 267) The number of Korean migrants for business or investment in Canada increased from 1987. These increases of migration flows were caused by changes of policies in the mid 1980s. The Canadian government encouraged business immigration again in 1986 and then it extended the quota of pure investment immigration in 1987. (Yoon, 2004: 276)

An agreement of immigration was concluded between Korean and Argentina and it came into force in 1985. The agreement included the conditions of investment immigration. According to the treaty, if Koreans deposited 30 thousand US dollars in the Central Bank of Argentina, the Argentine government would permit investment immigration without any other limitations and Korean immigrants could get back the deposit after two years. Following the immigration agreement, Korean families immigrated into Argentina leading to 723 Korean households in 1985, 1,159 in 1986, and 1,500 in 1987, but the recession of the Argentine economy caused re-migration to other countries or return to Korea for some of the Korean immigrants since 1988. (Jeon, 1996: 67)

Korean emigrants for investment or business have moved into Australia since the mid 1980s. There were about 400 households of Korean immigrants for investment or business in Australia and almost 300 Korean households lived in Sydney in 1995. 10 percent of the Korean households, who emigrated for invest immigration, went back to Korea and just 35 percent of them had started businesses such as retail shops, supermarkets, or restaurants. (Han, 1996: 240-245)

During the same period as Korean immigration into Australia, some Korean emigrants also moved into New Zealand for investment or business. Some of these



people have managed small or self-owned businesses such as travel agents, markets, or restaurants with the increase of Korean tourism. After the foreign currency crisis in 1997, considerable amounts of Korean families emigrated to Canada, Australia, and New Zealand through forms of investment or business immigration. Most of them were interested in better living conditions and education in these countries rather than immediate investment or business, so they spent a year or so enjoying their new life abroad and then they slowly began looking for new jobs or business.

### **Emigration in social context**

#### **Education**

Korean student emigration began with overseas study in Japan in the early Twentieth century. There were around five hundred Korean students in Japan in 1910. Some of them returned to Korea after the annexation of Korea by Japan, and then they led the movements for independence of Korea and for the enlightenment of Koreans. To escape from the colonial rule of Japan, more than 830 Korean students had migrated to the United States from 1910 to 1940. They were composed of leaders of movements for independence of Korea in China and students from Korea recognized by the colonial government of Japan. (Lee, 2000: 51, 60)

After the liberation of Korea from the Japanese rule, the relationship between Korea and the United States encouraged the emigration of Korean students for their overseas study in American universities. About 6,000 Korean students emigrated from Korea to be admitted to universities in the United States, and a considerable amount of these Korean students remained as permanent residents after obtaining their degrees.<sup>67</sup> They

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<sup>67</sup> In 1967, the statistics of Ministry of Education in Korea showed that only 6 percent of Korean overseas

could acquire permanent residence permits by modification of the immigration law in 1965, and then they invited their families to the United States from 1965 to 1970. (Yoon, 2004: 208-209)

Overseas study of Korean students in Western European countries started at around the same time, from the 1950s, to emigration for degree in universities in the United States. Most of Korean students in Western European countries had resided in France, Germany, and the United Kingdom. Some of them have stayed in their studying countries, while most of them returned to Korea in contrast to Korean students in the United States. Korean students remained in Western European countries became the founding members of Korean communities. (Lee, 2000: 93-94)

The volume of Korean overseas students has rapidly grown since the 1980s as Table 4.5 indicates. Korean overseas students are mostly concentrated in several English-speaking countries such as Australia, Canada, and the United States. For example, there were 53,888 Korean students in Canada, 42,890 in the United States, and 9,526 in Australia in 1999. (Lee, 2002: 293)

Table 4.5 Korean overseas students

Year	Number	Study Country
1971	7,632	41
1980	13,302	35
1985	24,315	46
1993	84,765	61
1999	154,219	

(Source: Ministry of Education in Korea, 2000)

Korean undergraduate students, who wanted to learn English for short periods such as six months or one year, have massively immigrated into English speaking countries

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students in the United States returned to Korea. (Lee, 2000: 75)



since the 1990s. In particular, they have favoured English learning programmes in Australia and Canada due to moderate costs of the programmes and better living conditions. Many Korean students have also moved into the United Kingdom for the purpose of English learning since the mid 1990s. From the mid 1990s, a considerable number of students<sup>68</sup> in primary and secondary school in Korea have emigrated to enter schools in foreign countries, mainly English speaking nations with better educational conditions, or for English learning with their mothers or by themselves.

The increase of Korean overseas students has contributed to the growth of volume of Korean population in foreign countries. Quite a number of Korean students remained in destination countries, especially in the United States, and supported the formation of Korean communities. Meanwhile, the emigration of all family members or partial members for education of children<sup>69</sup> have risen in recent times, so these migration flows led to the increase of the Korean population and a change in Korean immigrant composition in certain countries such as Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom.

### **Immigrant network**

#### ***Family reunification through invitation***

The flow of Korean families' emigration through invitation of Korean immigrants, who already settled down and acquired permanent residence permits in receiving countries, had mostly been in the United States after the change of immigration policy in 1965.

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<sup>68</sup> 1,650 students of primary or secondary schools moved abroad for entrance into overseas schools in 1999. The numbers of those rose to 3,728 in 2000, and then they increased to 7,378 in 2001. (Lee, 2002: 293)

<sup>69</sup> According to survey in November 2000, half of Korean parents wanted their children to enter into overseas schools if possible. Specifically, the more youthful the parent was, the more they favoured overseas study of their children. (Yoon, 2001: 6)



Amendments in 1965 to the McCarran-Walter Act in 1952, which liberalized controls for Asians' immigration and established quotas for immigrants from the Asia-Pacific region, caused radical changes in immigration flows into the United States. They included the abolishment of "national-origins quota system" and ended the restricted controls of Asian immigration. (Arnold, Minocha, and Fawcett, 1987: 111)

The new immigration law in 1965, named the "Hart-Celler Act", formed immigration regulations on the basis of three criteria which are as follows: First, "having occupational skills useful for employment in the United States (occupational immigrants)". Second, "having relatives already settled in the United States (family union)". Third, "the vulnerability to political persecution (refugees and asylum seekers)". The Act established a quota system of 20,000 immigrations per country in each year, but the volume of immigrations from sending countries had been more than 20,000 immigrants per year since many families of citizens in the United States could enter as legal immigrants in addition to the national quota limitation. (Min, 1990: 3)

These changes had influenced Korean immigration flows and establishment of Korean communities in the United States. Many Korean doctors, nurses, and pharmacists moved into the United States after 1965, and then they could invite their families. Settled Korean women, married to American soldiers, and Korean students, who acquired permanent residency, could also request for the reunifications of families in Korea with enforcement of the new immigration law in 1968. These Korean immigrants led the massive immigration of Korean families by the way of invitations from 1965 to 1970.

There were subsequent increase of Korean immigration between 1965 and 1970. 2,139 Koreans in 1965, 3,956 in 1967, 6,045 in 1969, and 9,314 in 1970 moved into the

United States. (Yu, 2002: 133) They entered as family members of Korean immigrants or employees of specific sectors such as doctors and nurses. The increase of Korean holders of permanent residency and the U.S. citizenship resulted in rapid growth of Korean immigration as the pattern of chain migration through the invitation of their Korean families. The considerable numbers of U.S. citizens in Table 4.6 were Korean immigrants, while Korean immigration by the invitation of residence permit holders was even larger than those by Korean American citizens. For example, most Koreans, who applied for immigration visas to the United States in 1984, were spouses and non-married children of holders of permanent resident permit or brothers or sisters of holders of U. S. citizenship. (Mangiafico, 1988: 86)

Table 4.6 Immediate relatives of the U.S. citizens issued visas in Seoul: FY 1984

	Number	Percentage
Spouses of U.S. Citizens	3,235	27.4
Children or Stepchildren of U. S. Citizens	650	5.5
Parents of U.S. Citizens	2,672	22.6

(Source: Mangiafico, 1988: 87)

The number of Korean immigrants greatly increased in the 1970s and the 1980s by the way of chain migration of family reunification. For instance, 32,320 Koreans in 1987 migrated to the United States. 267,637 Koreans moved into the United States from 1971 to 1980 and 337,746 Koreans between 1981 and 1990. (Yu, 2002: 133)

Table 4.7 Korean emigration through invitation in the 1990s

1990	15,772
1992	8,823
1994	5,629
1996	5,139
1998	6,638
1999	3,342



(Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Korea, 1990-1999)

In recent times, Korean emigration by invitation has decreased continually since 1990. For instance, 46 percent of Korean emigrants moved abroad by invitations of their family in 1997, while only 26 percent of those emigrated by the same status in 1999. (Yoon, 2001: 117)

### *For a better life in foreign countries*

The recent Korean emigrations after the 1997 economic crisis have been different from past emigrations in several aspects. The main purposes of these emigrations have been in search of 'higher quality of living condition' in foreign countries and the escape from unstable labour market, competitive educational system, and less developed social welfare in Korea.<sup>70</sup> Specifically, Korean emigrants in recent times have favoured to migrate into Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, which has better educational, environmental, and social welfare circumstances than Korea.

The immigration policies and higher qualities of living conditions<sup>71</sup> in receiving countries contributed to the emigrations of younger middle-class people in their thirties or forties in Korea. The governments of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand set up immigration policies, such as the Point System or Merit System<sup>72</sup>, which aimed to

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<sup>70</sup> According to survey in January 2001, 44.5 percent of respondents in fifties wanted to emigrate if they had a chance, while 62 percent of respondents in twenties favoured to move abroad for permanent residence in foreign countries. (Yoon, 2001: 120)

<sup>71</sup> Most respondents of Korean immigrants in Canada indicated education of children, higher quality of life in Canada, and irregularities and corruptions in Korea as motives of emigration. These emigrants moved into Canada for better living conditions rather than simply living difficulties in Korea. (Yoon, 2004: 298)

<sup>72</sup> In Canada, Point System or Merit System were introduced for encouragement of immigrations of high skilled labour forces by examination of worker's quality. Officials checked education, working skill, fluency of English or French, age, and so forth of prospective immigrants, and then the permission of immigrants depends on achievements of high score in these areas. (Yoon, 2004: 266)



develop their economy and raise employment by the encouragement of immigration of highly educated and professional workers and investors. These immigration policies have functioned as pull factors of middle-class in Korea as well as the better living conditions. (Yoon, 2001: 121-122)

**4. Korean migration and Korean communities in Australia, Canada, and the United States**

**Australia**

**Present Korean immigrants in Australia**

There were 47,227 Korean emigrants in Australia in 2001 as table 4.8 shows. The majority, 34,142 Korean immigrants, lived in the New South Wales State which includes Sydney. 22,870 of the Korean immigrants, who resided in the New South Wales province, had citizenship or permanent resident permits in 2001. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Korea, 2001: 78)

**Table 4.8 Koreans in Australia**

1995	1997	1999	2001
36,973	43,396	44,833	47,227

(Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Korea, 2001)

In 1985, around 10,000 Koreans were residents in Australia and 70 percent of them had permanent residence permits or citizenships. (Yu, 1987: 68) Meanwhile, massive Korean immigration to Australia has occurred during the 1990s.

### *Characteristic of Korean immigrants and immigration*

The history of Korean emigration to Australia is not long in comparison to that of Canada and the United States. The restrictive immigration policies of the Australian governments had prevented Koreans from immigrating till the 1970s. Some Korean immigrants, who re-migrated from various countries such as Vietnam, South America, and Middle Eastern countries, had immigrated into Australia between the 1960s and the 1970s. A considerable number of them had stayed under illegal status, but two pardons in 1976 and 1980 provided permanent residence permits and permitted family reunifications of Korean immigrants. There were around 4,500 Korean immigrants in 1981. (Yu, 1987: 67-68) According to statistics in 1991, 63 percent of Korean immigrants had migrated into Australia after 1985 and Koreans more than 50 percent had resided in Australia less than ten years in 1995. (Han, 1996: 222-225)

In the 1990s, a sizable volume of Korean emigrants moved as students with the intentions to learn English or enter schools or universities in Australia.<sup>73</sup> Many Korean students, mainly in primary or secondary schools, have immigrated with their mothers. Fathers of these students live alone and work in Korea and send tuition fees and living costs to their families in Australia. The immigrations of such families for education of children have rapidly increased since the 1990s due to the necessity of learning English, high private tuition fees in Korea, and a competitive education system.

A majority of Korean immigrants, emigrated from Korea after 1997, have been from white-collar workers or labourers in professional jobs such as IT technicians, branch managers of bank, pharmacists, or doctors. They have chosen permanent immigrations

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<sup>73</sup> For example, more than 19,000 of a total 34,142 Korean immigrants were universities' students or primary or secondary schools' students in the New South Wales state in 2001. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Korea, 2001: 78)

to Australia for benefits from educational and medical systems and more spare time in their works. For immigration, they learned English and skills or knowledge for specific jobs such as welders and IT technicians. Although most of them have been employed in self-owned businesses or semi or skilled works, considerable Korean immigrants are satisfied with their lives in Australia because of more free time, progress of their children, and various social welfare benefits. (Yoon, 2005: 565-577)

### *Organizations in Korean community*

Korean immigrant associations in Australia in the 1980s have not been developed due to small number of Koreans and a rather short history in immigration. In spite of the formation of the Korean immigrant association, it did not receive support from Korean immigrants and only several people controlled the management of the organization by the mid 1980s. Most Korean immigrants have participated in private friendly groups. (Yu, 1987: 71)

With the growth of Korean population, Korean immigrant associations included 'new' Korean immigrants settled down in Australia in the 1990s. Most Korean immigrant associations were concentrated around Sydney. In particular, Korean veterans founded their association in 1986 and took part in various events such as "Welcome Home Parade" for Australian veterans. (Han, 1996: 229)

However, compared with Canada or the United States, there were not many Korean immigrant associations and only a few developed associations in the 1990s. The reason was that though Korean immigrations had increased since the 1990s, a majority of Koreans and Korean immigrants in Australia had limited experiences in Korean immigrant organizations due to a relatively short settlement period. Therefore, they



depended on private relationships such as alumni clubs rather than various associations. As various associations have begun to develop through continuous inflows of Koreans since the 1990s, there can be more developed Korean immigrant associations in Australia.

**Canada**

**Present Korean immigrants in Canada**

The number of Korean emigrants to Canada has increased since the 1970s. In the census in 1981, there were 10,165 Korean immigrants in Canada. (Kubat, 1987: 238) According to the census in 2001, the number of Korean immigrants amounted to 101,715, but specialists of Korean communities in Canada indicated that there are more than 150,000 Korean immigrants. (Yoon, 2004: 277)

**Table 4.9 Increase of Korean immigrants in Canada**

1995	1997	1999	2001
73,032	110,126	111,041	140,896

(Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Korea, 2001)

The emigration of Koreans to Canada, especially, has rapidly increased since the mid 1990s as table 4.9 demonstrates. In the meantime, most Korean emigrants live in the Toronto and Vancouver areas according to the survey in 2001. 84,525 Koreans are resident in Toronto, while 52,288 Korean immigrants reside in Vancouver. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Korea, 2001: 116-118)

### *Characteristic of Korean immigrants and immigration*

The emigration of Koreans to Canada began in the late 1960s. A few Korean workers from Germany, Vietnam, Brazil, Argentina, and so on re-migrated into Canada for permanent residence in the late 1960s, and Korean emigrants from Korea had increased until the Canadian government's ban on immigrants' relative immigration in 1976. After the mid 1980s, the Canadian government encouraged investment and business immigration, so more than 2,000 Koreans moved into Canada from 1987 per year. They emigrated from Korea with their considerable funds for their business and investment in Canada. The immigration of Koreans<sup>74</sup> in their thirties from the middle class of Korean society and Korean students, who wanted to learn English or enter secondary school in Canada, have contributed the rapid growth of Korean population in Korean communities since 1997. (Yoon, 2004: 263, 276)

About 36.7 percent of Korean immigrants worked in self-managed businesses, though a majority of them had professional and special jobs in Korea, while 61 percent of Korean employees in the survey in 1996 were employed in retail shops, restaurants, and in other service sectors. (Yoon, 2004: 302-303) The jobs and employments of Korean immigrants in Canada are similar to those of Korean immigrants in the United States. Korean immigrants moved into major cities in Canada, such as Toronto, and to the United States, and thereafter many of them ran retail shops, restaurants, or groceries and they employed Korean employees in their self-owned shops.

Korean immigration to Canada in the 1990s, especially after Korea's economic crisis in 1997, was different from past immigrations for permanent residence during the

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<sup>74</sup> Half of Korean immigrants in Toronto have migrated since 1990. Most of them graduated from universities in Korea and from the middle class of Korea society that had professional jobs and white-collar works. (Yoon, 2004: 264)

1960s and the 1970s. These new Korean immigrants mostly in their thirties or forties decided to migrate for employments to Canada and prepared for their emigrations for a long time through gathering information, learning English, and saving money to live on. (Yoon, 2004: 278)

Despite the growth of the Korea economy, Korean emigrants, drawn from the middle class of Korea society, were not satisfied with the unstable status of employment, excessive competitions in their firms, and educational systems in Korea. The immigration of these Koreans into Canada have contributed to the rapid increase of Koreans since the mid of 1990s. For example, there were two times amount of Koreans in 2001 than that in 1995.

The new Korean immigrants have made efforts to get jobs in Canadian companies or professional jobs as those in Korea, but they have had difficulties in employment in Canada due to language problems and lack of experiences. As a result, most of them have been employed in established small Korean companies or run their own business. (Yoon, 2001: 10)

### *Organizations in Korean community*

In spite of smaller number of Koreans in Canada than those of the United States, the organizations and activities of Korean communities in Canada have been styled from those of the United States. For instance, there have been the formation of Korean immigrant associations that have various purposes such as political, economic, cultural, educational aims and the development of Korean immigrant associations in diverse areas like major cities in Canada.



Korean immigrant associations were established in major cities such as Toronto, Vancouver, and Ottawa. In the case of Toronto, regional Korean association was founded in 1966 and Korean immigrants bought the Korean Assembly hall in 1977. There are also associations for Korean elderly people, associations for Korean women, and various associations for Korean businessmen and retailers or shopkeepers. (Park, 1996: 242-244)

In addition to these associations, various political associations were formed for the democratization and reunification of Korea. “Hankuk Minjusahoe Keonseol Hyeopuihoe” (Conference for Establishment of Democratic Society in Korea) had played roles in movements against the authoritarian governments in Korea during the 1970s and the 1980s. 68 Korean language schools had been established around Canada by 1995. There were five hundred teachers and 5,000 Korean students in these schools. (Park, 1996: 253-256)

## United States

### *Present Korean immigrants in the United States*

According to population census in the United States in 2000<sup>75</sup>, there were around 1.23 million Korean descendents. While 1.08 million of them were homogeneous blood Korean immigrants, 150 thousand of them were mixed blood Koreans. The former were

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<sup>75</sup> There were differences of Korean emigrants' population in the United States between data of Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Korea and American population census. The official data of Korean government in 2000 showed that 1,764,071 Korean emigrants, who had citizenships or permanent residence permits, lived in the United States, while information of Korean immigrants in American population census in 2000 indicated the existences of 1,230,000 Korean immigrants. It is not evident what caused these differences. However, it is obvious that there are many Korean immigrants who are not included in the population census of the U.S. government. The data of ministry in Korea have been dependent on sources from Korean embassies and Korean communities around the United States. Most researchers, especially researchers in Korea, have considered together two different figures of Korean emigrants in the United States at recent times.

consisted of 701 thousand foreign born Koreans (65 percent) and 379 thousand American born Koreans (35 percent). 720 thousand Korean immigrants had U.S. citizenships. (Yu, 2002. 131)

Table 4.10 Increase of Korean immigrants in the U. S. population census

Year	Population
1970	70,000
1980	355,000
1990	799,000
2000	1,077,000

(Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000)

The number of Korean immigrants was 0.38 percent of the total population in the United States in 2000. They placed fifth of total Asian origin immigrants next to Vietnam people of 1,122,528. There were 2,435,585 Chinese, 1,805,314 Philippines, and 1,678,765 Indians in 2000. (Yu, 2002: 134)

Table 4.11 Number of Korean immigrants in 11 States in 2000

States	Population	Percent
California	345,882	32.12
New York	119,846	11.13
New Jersey	65,349	6.07
Illinois	51,453	4.78
Washington	46,880	4.35
Texas	45,571	4.23
Virginia	45,279	4.20
Maryland	39,155	3.64
Pennsylvania	31,612	2.94
Georgia	28,745	2.67
Hawaii	23,537	2.19
Total	1,076,872	100.00

(Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000)

Korean emigrants immigrated mostly into Hawaii and California before the enforcement of the new immigration law in 1968, while many Korean emigrants from

middle class, including Korean doctors, nurses, and pharmacists, moved to the New York and New Jersey area after 1965. 49.32 percent of total Korean immigrants lived in three states; California, New York, and New Jersey, but Korean emigrants were dispersed in comparison to other Asian immigrants. The chain migrations by family invitation have contributed to consecutive immigrations of Korean emigrants to California. The dispersion of Korean emigrants around the United States have been caused by the immigration of Korean women married with American soldiers, adopted children, Korean students, and Korean medical professionals for various areas.

### *Historical linkages between Korea and the United States*

The “dramatic” growth of Korean emigration to the United States has been influenced by close linkages, such as political, military, and economic ties, between Korea and the United States from the Korean War in 1950. (Teitelbaum, 1987: 75)

After the independence of Korea from the Japanese rule in 1945, the Korean peninsular was divided into North and South Korea by a boundary of thirty-eight degrees north. The military administration of the United States had governed South Korea between 1945 and 1948. With the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, the U.S. government began to intervene and controlled political, economic, educational fields in South Korea. About 40,000 American soldiers were stationed against the expansion of communist countries despite of the end of the Korean War in 1953. (Yoon, 1997: 135)

The American military forces in Korea had contributed to “kinship-centred immigration” through marriages between Korean women and the U.S. servicemen. Between 1962 and 1983, 80,748 Korean women immigrated into the United States on the basis of international marriage. Another factor is that the U.S. forces had transferred



"American mass culture" to South Korea. American materials, movies, popular songs influenced South Korean people and the "American consumption ideal" had also effected on the propensity of consumptions in Korea. Learning American English had also become an important way for obtaining quick promotions and higher salary in white-collar classes or public officials. This cultural influence had strengthened a desire of prospective Korean emigrants for immigration to the United States. (Kim, 1987: 334-335)

As a consequence of historical ties, a majority of Korean students, who wanted to study overseas, have immigrated to the United States to learn American English and acquire degrees in the United States' universities. The degrees from the U.S. universities have been favoured for various jobs in companies and universities in Korea than those of any other country, so the emigration of Korean students has continued since the 1950s. Some of these students have been residing permanently in the United States.<sup>76</sup>

In the 1960s, Korean overseas students and Korean women<sup>77</sup> who got married to American soldiers, especially after 1965, had led chain migrations by the way of family reunifications to the United States.

Historical linkages between Korea and the United States after the U.S. military administration and the Korean War caused the emigrations of Korean women, Korean students, and adopted children to the United States in the 1950s and white collar Koreans' immigrations in the 1960s. These emigrations and close relationship between

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<sup>76</sup> Many Korean overseas students in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s decided to stay permanently in their destination country because there were a few job opportunities for Korean overseas students in Korea. At those times, South Korea was ruined completely by the Korean War and the recovery of South Korean economy had slowly proceeded, so many Korean students remained in the United States after obtaining their degrees by the 1960s.

<sup>77</sup> In particular, many Korean women, married with U.S. soldiers, invited their Korean brothers or sisters to the United States for a desire to provide compensations to their families in Korea. (Lee, 2000: 185)

Korea and the United States had also contributed to massive chain migrations of Korean families to their receiving country in the 1970s and the 1980s.

### *Characteristic of Korean immigrants and immigration*

The Korean emigrations into the United States have continued since 1945. In particular, more than 30,000 Korean emigrants in the 1970s and the 1980s per year had entered into and settled down in various areas in the United States through benefits from the changes of immigration policies in 1965. However, the number of Korean emigrants has decreased since 1987 with just 12,301 Koreans moving into the United States in 1999. In recent times, between 7,000 and 8,000 Korean emigrants per year immigrated into the United States for permanent residence. (Yoon, 2004: 209)

The decrease of Korean immigration<sup>78</sup> and return of some Korean immigrants to Korea in the 1990s was influenced by development of the Korean economy, the reduction of pull factors in the United States, increased emigration to other countries such as Canada and Australia, and conflicts<sup>79</sup> between Korean immigrants and the black minority in Los Angeles in 1992. Although the number of Korean immigrants has reduced since the 1990s, the huge migration flows of Korean emigrants into the United States have lasted more than fifty years. These continuous immigration flows have contributed to the growth of entire Korean immigrant population, the dispersion of Korean immigrants, and the establishment of Korean communities in diverse areas

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<sup>78</sup> The emigration of Korean for the United States has decreased since the Seoul Olympic in 1988. The reason was that political stability and economic development from the 1980s in Korea resulted in the reduction of emigration for America and the problems of Korean immigrants' lives in the United States have been introduced by various Korean media after African-Americans' riots in 1992. (Min, 1994: 65-66)

<sup>79</sup> The many Korean shops in African-American areas and the Korea town were destroyed and looted by African-Americans from 30<sup>th</sup> April to 1<sup>st</sup> May in 1992. More than 2,300 Korean shops were damaged by the riots. (Min, 1994: 72)

around the United States. These flows also have played a part in the development of established Korean immigrant associations by the inflows of new members and the formations of new associations by new Korean immigrants.<sup>80</sup>

The social and economic backgrounds of Korean emigrants from Korea have also changed by the alteration of immigration policies in the United States and conditions in Korea. After amendments in 1965, many Korean emigrants, most were from the middle-class of Korean society and white-collar workers, could immigrate into the United States through employment in specific jobs such as those found in the medical sector.

These Korean immigrants in the 1960s and the 1970s experienced urbanization in Korea before their entrance into the United States. Many of them had been drawn from urban middle-class of Korean society and had been professionals such as the medical professionals. A majority of Korean emigrants were highly educated in Korea. (Kim, 1981: 38) For example, the U.S. population census in 1980 shows that 32 percent of Korean immigrants, who immigrated between 1970 and 1980, finished their courses for four years of university in Korea, while only 6 percent of Korean adults in Korea and 16.2 percent of U.S. native born people in the United States completed college education in the same period. (Min, 1990: 4)

The emigration of Koreans, who were blue-collar workers and poorly educated as compared to Korean emigrants in the 1960s and the 1970s, has increased since the early 1980s. These changes resulted from the restriction of foreign professional workers' immigration by the government of the United States, the establishment of large Korean

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<sup>80</sup> Korean immigrations resulted in the establishment of 'Korea towns' in big cities of the United States. These Korea towns have made important roles for protection of new Korean immigrants. Korean immigrants have had a tendency to depend on lives in the Korea towns for their housings, jobs, religion, and so forth. Many of them have looked for their works in various Korean shops and companies and have gone to Korean churches. (Yoon, 2004: 213) Korean identity of those could be preserved and strengthened by processes of these immigration and settlements to Korean communities. These Korean immigrants have participated in organizations and activities in Korean communities.



communities, and change of middle class Koreans' perception of emigration in the 1980s. (Yoon, 1997: 139-140)

Despite differences in socioeconomic circumstances between Korean immigrants of the 1960s and the 1970s and Korean immigrants of the 1980s and the 1990s, a majority of them have been engaged in self-management works such as restaurants, greengroceries, supermarkets, and so on. For instance, 53 percent Korean households in Los Angeles in the early 1990s worked in self-supported shops or independents enterprises.<sup>81</sup> (Choi, 1996: 95-96)

#### *Organizations and activities in Korean community*

Between 1946 and 1965, there had been no important establishment of Korean immigrant associations in the United States. Most of the early Korean immigrants died during this period and there were no need for political associations after Korea's independence, so a few Korean immigrants, most were second generation Korean immigrants, were interested in organizational activities. However, the formation and development of Korean immigrant associations began again through the large influx of 'new' Korean immigrants into the United States after 1965. (Kim, 1977: 73-74)

Korean immigrant associations in the United States after the immigration act in 1965 sharply contrast with those of older immigrants who immigrated into Hawaii to work in farms. The older immigrants mainly maintained their ethnic identity through "primary group togetherness". This togetherness depended on Korean immigrants' local and regional ties in Korea. By contrast, Korean immigrants in Korean community of New York established various associations not to be based on family or regional

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<sup>81</sup> For instance, 61 percent of Korean married male respondents and 49 percent of Korean married female respondents worked in self-owned business in New York in 1988. (Min, 2002: 318)

linkages in the home country. According to Kim's research, Korean immigrant associations in seven types had been established in New York in the 1970s as follows: religious associations, political associations, business associations, professional associations, recreational associations, veterans' associations, and social and civic associations and organizations.<sup>82</sup> (Kim, 1981: 208-210) Meanwhile, there were also more than 100 Korean immigrant associations and church groups and establishment of the Korean Association of Southern California in Southern California in the mid 1970s. (Patterson and Kim, 1977: 50)

The massive inflows of new Korean immigrants to the New York areas had provided the basis for formation of Korean immigrant associations, which had specific purposes, in the 1970s, while the intervention or support, including help of finance, of the Korean general embassy for political control had contributed to the development of various Korean immigrant associations as compared to associations of the older Korean immigrants.

There were about 1,000 Korean immigrant associations in 1997. The associations of Korean pharmacists, artists, and Taekweondo instructors were closely connected with American majority society. In particular, the association of Korean pharmacists in New York had functioned as a branch for Korean pharmacists of the U.S. Pharmacist Association. It worked actively for interests of Korean pharmacists such as claims against discriminatory policies of Korean pharmacists in other states. Korean immigrant associations for business had been established as several forms such as the Korean-American Chamber of Commerce, associations of Korean companies, and associations

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<sup>82</sup> He examined the Korean immigrant associations, which had been founded for representation of all Korean immigrants, in separate chapter of politics in the Korean community in New York. (Kim, 1981: 227-261)



of Korean merchants. These associations aimed at achievements of common interests and friendship among members. (Agency for National Security Planning in Korea, 1999: 60-61)

More than 125 regional Korean immigrant associations, called “Jiyeok Haninhoe” representing all Korean immigrants in specific regions, were established in the United States. These associations were founded in most cities where many Korean immigrants had been resident. The federation of Korean immigrant associations had also been formed through union of regional Korean immigrant associations in each city. The president of Korean immigrant associations’ federation has been elected by the presidents of regional Korean immigrant associations. The president used to represent the opinions of all Korean immigrants in the United States and deliver their suggestions to the Korean government or the U.S. government. While regional Korean immigrant associations are quite different in size, for example regional Korean immigrant associations in Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago are far larger than any other associations, the organizations and activities of regional Korean immigrant associations are similar to each other. Most associations have the articles of association and decision and administration system by member. The presidents of the associations are elected in general meeting. There have been executive secretaries for finance and administration and a board of directors for supervision of regional Korean immigrant associations. Regional Korean immigrant associations have cooperated with several Korean immigrant associations such as Korean chamber of commerce, association of Korean women, Korean language schools, and so forth.

These regional Korean immigrant associations have held memorial events on 1<sup>st</sup> March and on 15<sup>th</sup> August to commemorate Korean liberation movement against the



Japanese rule on 1<sup>st</sup> March 1919 and Independence Day on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1945 from the Japanese rule. Regional Korean immigrant associations have arranged various events for friendship in Koreans' New Years Day and Thanks Giving Day. In particular, regional Korean immigrant associations in Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago have held cultural events and "Korean Parades" in Korea Day per year. (Lee, 2000: 173-175)

Various Korean immigrants' political associations have been formed for democratization of South Korea and reunification of North and South Korea. In 1973, Mr. Dae Jung Kim, former president of South Korea, and Korean immigrants organized "Hankuk Minjuhoebok Tongilchokjin Kukminhoeui" (the National Assembly for Democracy Restoration and Unification Facilitation of South Korea) in Washington, while "Kyopo Munje Yeonkuso" (the Institute for Korean Immigrant' Matters) was formed to protect Korean immigrants' rights and democratization of South Korea. After the formation of these associations, diverse Korean political associations against the authoritarian regime of South Korea had also been organized and had held political assemblies and movements in Los Angeles and New York. From the mid 1980s, Korean immigrant associations for unification of Korea have been established by young Korean immigrants. These young Korean immigrants and students organized "Jami Hankuk Cheongnyeon Yeonhap"<sup>83</sup> (Young Korean Immigrant United) in 1984 and "Hankyeore" (Korean Immigrant Federation for One Nation Movement) in 1987. These associations of young Korean immigrants have led various movements and events, such as assemblies and conferences, for the unification of North and South Korea since the 1980s. (Yu, 2002: 277-282, 285-286)

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<sup>83</sup> This organization received the ideology and strategy of social movement groups in Korea and was founded for unification and democratization of Korea. It had campaigned for reformation of political problems in Korea, such as human rights and working conditions of labourers, and made efforts to help North Korean peoples through raising money. (Kim, 2002: 47-48)

## 5. Conclusion

The emigration of Koreans after the independence of Korea from the Japanese rule in 1945 progressed under political, economic, and social contexts of migrations in Korea and receiving countries and linkages between Korea and destination countries. Many Korean women and adopted children left Korea, a nation ruined by the Korean War that lasted three years, for the United States and European countries in the 1950s to join their new families. In the 1960s, Korean white-collar or blue-collar workers, including doctors, nurses, miners, farmers, engineers, and unskilled labourers, also emigrated for new employment prospects and jobs in foreign countries; the United States, Germany, Brazil, Vietnam, and so forth. The emigration of certain elements of Korean labour forces had continued until the 1970s. The immigration of these Korean emigrants to destination countries had contributed to the formation and growth of Korean communities in receiving countries through a way of new inflows of immigrants, and then re-migration of these Korean workers to some countries such as Canada and Australia had also encouraged the formation of Korean communities.

Many Korean labour forces moved into Middle Eastern countries in the 1970s and the 1980s for construction jobs in Korean companies, but most of them returned to Korea and a few Korean workers re-migrated into other countries. The most important means for Korean emigration was family reunifications by invitation of family members in receiving countries such as the United States and Canada in the 1970s and the 1980s. There had been huge amount of emigration by Koreans to the United States by way of family reunifications. From the 1980s, the growth of the Korean economy has played a part in emigrations of Korean staff in overseas branches of Korean companies. Quite a



few of these staff remained in destination countries and joined Korean communities.

In the 1990s, the emigrations of middle class began due to the desire for better education for their children, their employment, and better lives in foreign countries. These emigrants have favoured Canada, Australia, and New Zealand rather than the United States. The emigration of Korean students for primary or secondary education in foreign countries has also continuously grown. After the economy crisis in 1997, Koreans in the thirties or forties immigrated into Canada, Australia, and New Zealand with their families for their own employment and the education of their children.

Korean immigration to the United States has been encouraged by several factors such as historical ties between Korea and the United States, the change of immigration policy by the United States governments, and chain migration by family reunifications. The formation and establishment of migration system after 1965 had caused massive immigration of Koreans to the United States. With continuous inflows and settlements of Korean immigrants, many and various Korean immigrant associations in the United States had been formed and developed in Korean communities in contrast to underdevelopment of Korean immigrant associations in the 1950s and the 1960s.

Korean immigration to Australia has been increasing since the 1990s by migration system between Australia and Korea. Middle class Korean emigrants from Korean society have moved to Australia for better lives, for educations of their children, and for their own employment. Young Korean students also have immigrated into Australia for entrance to schools or universities. The increasing intakes of new Korean immigrants have contributed to the growth of Korean population in Australia, and then they encouraged the formation and increase of organizations and various activities in Korean communities.



The influences of established migration system between Korea and the United States, which has caused continuous Korean inflows for long durations and many Korean immigrants in the United States, on development of Korean immigrant associations in the United States are similar to those of established migration system between Germany and Korea on developed Korean immigrant associations in Germany, though the volume of Korean immigrants is greatly different from each other. On the other hand, establishing migration system from the 1990s between Australia and Korea and developing Korean immigrant associations in Australia in Korean communities have shared likenesses to migration system establishment between Korea and the United Kingdom from the 1980s and Korean immigrant association development in Britain from the mid 1990s.

# **Chapter 5. Migration System Establishment between Germany and Korea**

## **1. Introduction**

Migration flows between Germany and Korea occurred in the 1960s through the migration of Korean guestworkers to Germany. Before the 1960s, there were only a limited number of Korean overseas students and officials working in the Korean embassy in Germany. The agreements made between the German and Korean governments in the 1960s, established by political, economic, social circumstances in both countries, and individual contracts provided the opportunities for a large number of Korean miners and nurses to immigrate into Germany during the 1960s and the 1970s.

As a result of the German government's ban on foreign temporary workers' immigration in the mid 1970s, Korean immigrant workers could no longer move into Germany in large numbers from the end 1970s, but a considerable number of Korean staff, who have worked in overseas branches of Korean companies in Germany, have migrated into Germany since the 1980s. The immigration and return of Korean overseas students have also caused continuous migration flows between Germany and Korea from the 1950s.

Many Korean miners and nurses did not return to Korea but instead chose to settle down permanently in Germany through various means, such as extension of contract and marriage between Korean miners and nurses, from the 1960s to the 1980s. In addition, a considerable number of Korean staff from Korean companies and Korean students has integrated themselves into Korean communities in Germany as permanent

residents in the 1980s and the 1990s. These Korean immigrants, such as Korean blue or white-collar workers and students, are spread all over the cities in Germany despite the fact that a large percent of Korean immigrant population is concentrated in large cities such as Berlin and Frankfurt am Main. They have also formed Korean communities and organized various Korean immigrant associations in their areas of residence.

The formation and continuity of migration system between Germany and Korea from the 1960s under various national contexts resulted in a relatively long period of immigration and led to large numbers of Korean immigrants in Germany. The established migration system between Germany and Korea has contributed to the formation of Korean communities and the development of Korean immigrant associations in various German cities through the increase of Korean immigrants and the growth of second generation Korean immigrants under the migration system.

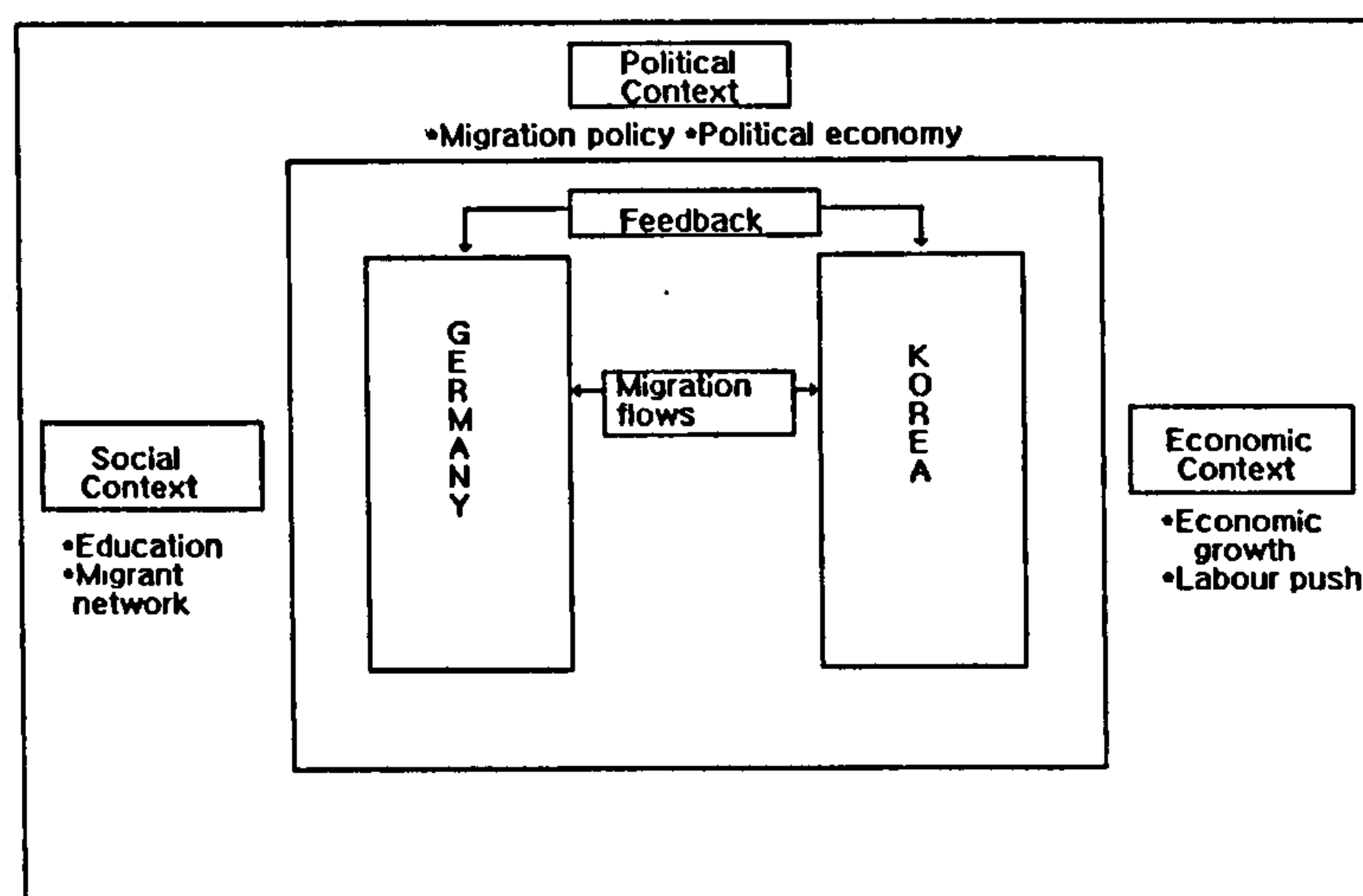
This chapter analyses the political, economic, and social contexts, which have influenced the establishment of migration system between Germany and Korea since the 1960s, by the modified analytical framework of this research. It explains the practices of Korean migration flows from the 1960s and the formations and changes in the migration system between Germany and Korea. It also examines the influence of established migration system between Germany and Korea on the settlement of Korean immigrants, formations of Korean communities, and the development of Korean immigrant associations in Germany.

## **2. Political, economic, and social contexts of migration system establishment between Germany and Korea**



The political, economic, social circumstances in Germany and Korea, such as the recruitment policies of foreign workers and ban on recruitment in Germany, dispatches of Korean staff for foreign trades with Korean economic development, and Koreans' endeavours for better education in Germany, have formed and changed migration system between both countries since the 1960s. In this section, details and changes of political, economic, and social contexts from the 1960s in Germany and Korea are explained under the analytical framework of migration system establishment between both countries.

Figure 5.1 Analytical framework of migration system between Germany and Korea



### Political context in migration system establishment

#### Political economy in Korea in the 1950s and the 1960s

##### *The Rhee government*

After Korea's independence from the Japanese rule in 1945, Korea experienced a division into North and South Korea arranged by the United States Army and the Soviets troops. The division meant the cessation of economic supplies such as electric

power and chemical fertilizer from North Korea. These shortages led to a massive reduction of production in agriculture and in light industry. There was also severe inflation of the Korean currency, so paper money became practically worthless. More than 1.5 million Koreans living abroad in North Korea, Manchuria, China, and Japan returned to Korea and caused a rapid population growth from 1945 to 1948 and aggravated the economic conditions in South Korea. (Oh, 1999: 24-25)

The new independent Korean government in South Korea was established by the presidency of Syngman Rhee in 1948. The Rhee government showed large indifference to the economic turmoil that most Korean faced and only depended on American aid programmes for government expenditures. For instance, the financial support from the United States accounted for more than one-third of the governmental budget before the Korean War in 1950. (Oh, 1999: 33-34)

Table 5.1 Economic and military assistance to South Korea from the United States

	1946-52	1953-61	1962-69	1970-76	Total
Economic Assistance	666.8	2,579.2	1,658.2	963.6	5,745.4
Military Assistance	12.3	1,560.7	2,501.3	2,797.4	6,847.3
Total	679.1	4,139.9	4,159.5	3,761.0	12,592.7

(Source: Cole, 1980: 12) (Millions of U.S. Dollars for U.S. Fiscal Years)

With the end of the Korean War in 1953, the main aim of the Korean government in the 1950s was the reconstruction of a “war-shattered economy”. The Rhee administration received economic assistance from the United States for the reconstruction of the South Korean economy. However, not all of administration’s objectives regarding the Korean economy were fulfilled under President Rhee due to political problems his autocracy created. Despite inflation that averaged over 20 percent



annually in the 1950s, the considerations of the Rhee government failed to fully concentrate its efforts for economic recovery.<sup>84</sup> (Kuznets, 1994: 24-25)

Poor economic policy resulted in various economic problems such as inflation, an overvalued currency, inadequate tax collection, unrealistically low bank interest rates, and heavy trade deficits in the 1950s.<sup>85</sup> Unsettled political circumstances from the late 1950s with inept economic policies of the Rhee government caused “virtual economic stagnation” from 1959 to 1963. (Kuznets, 1980: 63)

Table 5.2 Key indicators of the South Korean economy, 1954-1961

	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1954-1961 (average)
GNP growth rate (%)	5.1	4.5	-1.4	7.6	5.5	3.8	1.1	5.6	4.0
Per capita GNP (US\$)	70	65	66	74	80	81	79	82	-
Exports (US\$ million)	24	18	25	22	17	20	33	41	200
Imports (US\$ million)	243	341	386	442	378	304	344	316	2754

(Source: Hwang, 1993: 76)

<sup>84</sup> There was no comprehensive economic development plan drawn up by the Rhee government in the 1950s. The Ministry of Reconstruction presented a drafted three-year economic development proposal in 1957, but the Rhee cabinet did not accept it until the cabinet council in 15<sup>th</sup> April 1960. It included the main aims of the Rhee government's economic policy for maximization of foreign aid. (Oh, 1999: 34-35) The programme did not make a progress because of collapse of the Rhee government as a result of the student movements for democratization in 1960. The Rhee government steadfastly continued the policy of dependence on the United States aid without a specific economic plan.

<sup>85</sup> The South Korean economy in the 1950s showed the character of “the vicious circle of poverty”. Low incomes had resulted in low savings, low investment, and low production, and then low production led again to low incomes. In addition to political and economic situations, the rapid growth in population, urbanization, and unemployment had aggravated South Korea's economic problems. Population in South Korea reached about 3% per year after the baby boom period when started in 1954. The Korean migration from the North during the Korean War amounted to several millions and the migration made worse now existing socio-economic problems including the shortages of goods and house, increased unemployment, and low capital formation. (Hwang, 1993: 74)



As Table 5.2 indicates, South Korea's per capita GNP in the 1950s and the early 1960s had been one of the lowest per capita GNP in the world due to the influences of the Korean War and political and economic circumstances experienced after the War. Exports had been exceeded by imports as a result of the Korean economy's dependency on external aids from mainly the United States and the United Nations.

These worst-case scenario economic situations and political corruptions of the Rhee government led to massive demonstrations of South Korea citizens, named the 19<sup>th</sup> April revolution, for democratization in April 1960.<sup>86</sup> The movements for democratization caused the ousting of the president Rhee, the overthrow of his government, and the formation of new government. After the 19<sup>th</sup> April revolution, a new government led by the former vice president Chang was established by national election in July 1960. Though the Chang government presented the policy of "Economic Development First" and carried out swift punishments for corrupt bureaucrats and business people, confusions by the lack of internal or external support that resulted from the disintegration of Chang's own party, the various requests of reformation and Korea Unification from civil society brought about the military coup in 1961. (Lie, 1998: 44-45)

### ***The Park government***

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<sup>86</sup> The occurrence of the 19<sup>th</sup> April revolution in South Korea was a result of the growth of urban middle class and cultural changes influenced the inflow of American culture. In 1960, about 30 percent of South Koreans resided in cities over 50,000 people and 70 percent of the people were literate. With the continuous growth of the urbanites and the educated middle class initiated cultural changes on the basis of egalitarianism and materialism. These changes in cultural propensity of Korean middle class including university students encouraged the movement against the Rhee government that depended on conservative and Confucian traditional ideology. (Lie, 1998: 39-42)

The new government could not process its political and economic objectives due to a military coup in 16 May 1961 led by General Park Chung-Hee. The military government emphasized the importance of economic development in South Korea. The true motive for their emphasis was to justify the 'unlawful' coup d'etat. Since, they had to portray themselves as the sole means of national salvation.

*The president Park declared "most Asian countries, including Korea, have to resort to undemocratic and extraordinary measures in order to improve the living conditions of the masses. ... The purpose of this revolution is to reconstruct the nation and establish a self-sustaining economy, and its essential purpose is to restore to all the people the political and economic systems which had become the possession of a few privileged classes". (Oh, 1999: 51-52)*

The Park government prepared plans for economic development to overcome "the incessant vicious circle of poverty" soon after the military coup. The plan, now referred to as the first five-year plan 1962-1966, aimed at "the promotion of industrialization and modernization of the economy through the efficient allocation of resources and a balanced industrial structure". Therefore, the Park government got involved directly in the allocation of resources and influenced the market. (Hwang, 1993: 78-79)

More important, the Park government emphasized the importance of exports<sup>87</sup> for the development of Korean economy and nation-state, so it was fully committed to the increase of exports including both goods and labours. The Korean government also regarded exports of material and manpower as a means of obtaining massive intakes of

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<sup>87</sup> The South Korean economic structure had been modified toward "the development of an export-oriented economy" since 1961. The first five-year economic plans, finished in 1971, set up the industrial base for an exported-oriented economy. Exports had grown from 41 million U.S. dollars in 1961 to 10 billion U.S. dollars in 1977. (Kim, 1981: 81) The export-drive policy concentrated on growth of the labour-intensive industries that applied the relatively well-educated and abundant labour forces. (Jwa, 2001: 5)



foreign currencies that could support the industrialization and modernization of the Korean economy. Specifically, the exporting of workers had been processed as a method for acquiring foreign currency between the 1960s and the 1980s. Remittances from migrant workers to sending country contributed to the economies of certain countries. For example, remittances to Pakistan in 1982 were 11.5 percent of the GDP and 53.6 percent of imports. In South Korea, remittances from mainly workers in the Middle East reached to 107.2 percent of the visible trade deficit in 1984. (Arnold, 1992: 206-207)

Meanwhile, the population in South Korea had rapidly increased since 1955. The rate of population growth reached 2.8 percent in 1960, 2.6 percent in 1966, and 1.8 percent in 1970, so the Park government launched the policy of birth control called as “Kajok Kyeoihoek Saeop” (the policy of family planning) in 1962. (Lee, 1997: 216-217) The “population explosion” since the mid 1950s had influenced directly the shortages of consumption goods and the growth of unemployment that was prevalent in graduate students from Korean universities. Specifically, the rate of unemployment in the 1960s was more than 6 percent and it reached 7.9 percent in 1960 and 7.3 percent in 1965. (Jwa, 2001: 3) Because South Korea had no social welfare system at the time, unemployment problems were especially serious to the Korean people, particularly to the highly educated. Therefore, the Park government had to establish the policy of restrictions on population growth and unemployment in the early 1960s.

### **Migration policy in the Park government**

To solve the problems of foreign currency shortages and population explosion, the Park government considered overseas emigration of workers and the establishment of



emigration policies. Specifically, the emigration policies aimed at the reducing of entire Korean population through the emigration of Korean people and the acquirement of foreign capital by securing remittances<sup>88</sup> from Korean emigrants abroad. (Kim, 1981: 52)

The "Haeoe Ijubeob" (the emigration law) was declared in March 1962 by the Park government. The law stated its aims as follows: "this law is established for control of population policy, stability of the national economy, and enhancement of the national prestige through encouraging people to immigrate to foreign countries". The law categorized emigration patterns as group, contract, and special emigration. According to the law, the emigration of the Korean people had to be permitted by the health and society minister in the government to exclude non-qualifying emigrants such as ex-convicts, psychotics or draft evaders. The law admitted for only corporate body to recruit emigrants and manage the emigration process. (Asia Bureau in Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1968: 463-464)

The establishment of the emigration policy encouraged the formation of agents for emigration. These agents contributed to Korean emigration to European countries, South America, South Vietnam, and the United States in the 1960s by sending Korean workers, the adoption of Korean children, and emigration for permanent residence.

For example, "Jusik Hoesa Hanbaek Jinheung" (Korea and Brazil Promotion Company) received applications for emigration to Brazil and sent 91 Korean emigrants in December 1962 after acquiring the Korean government's final permission. "Hankuk

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<sup>88</sup> The South Korean Manpower Administration indicated the aim of labour force's emigration as follows: "Overseas contracts and ordinary emigration provide us with the two ways by which we could earn foreign currencies and ameliorate the worsening unemployment problem. However, overseas contracts differ from ordinary emigration in the following points. First, because overseas contract labourers remit to their families the money they earn in foreign countries, they greatly contribute to the balance of payments as well as to the creation of national industrial capital". (Kim, 1981: 52)

Haeoe Kaebal Kongsas” (The Korean Overseas Development Corporation), founded in 1965 by the Park government, managed the emigration of Korean workers to South Vietnam, and then it administered the additional emigration of more than 10,000 Korean workers to the country. (Lee, 1997: 221, 229-230)

Specific political economy and migration policies in Korea regarding to Korean workers’ migration to Germany

The emigrations of Korean workers to Germany began due to the Korean government’s efforts to obtain foreign capital from Germany. After the military coup on 16<sup>th</sup> May 1961, the Park government faced criticisms and grave threats from the Kennedy government in the United States for overthrow of civil government in Korea. The American government showed no intention to recognize the military junta in South Korea as the ruling body and took action to cease temporarily economic supports for South Korea.

Table 5.3 Relative share (percent) of imported foreign capital, 1959-1975<sup>89</sup>

	Public Loan	Private Loan	Direct Investment
U.S.A.	36.6	38.9	22.7
Japan	19.1	18.4	63.8
Germany	4.0	6.1	1.1

(Source: Lim, 1980: 34)

The Park government, therefore, had to obtain loans from other countries. Although the West German government showed an intention to provide foreign capital for South

<sup>89</sup> Korea had historical linkages with Japan and the United States by colonial experiences or alliances in the Korean War, while there was no linkage between Germany and Korea. Despite no close relationship between German and Korea, Germany had provided South Korea, though they were even smaller than those of Japan and the United States, with loans, so it seemed that the offering of German loans were influenced by the immigration of Korean labour force.



Korea in August 1961, there were significant problems involving a loan. It was necessary that the Korean government could acquire the guarantee of a loan by the bank of other countries. However, the Korean government could not acquire these guarantees due to the dire political and economic situations in Korea at that time. (Interview)

The government, therefore, requested the loan to the German government under several conditions as follow: the Korean government will dispatch Korean workers of 5,000 miners and 2,000 nurses to West Germany and Korean workers' salaries as a guarantee of a loan will be deposited to the Commerz Bank (Commercial Bank) in Germany. The German government agreed to the suggestion made by the Korean government and consequently provided the Park government with a commercial loan of nearly 40 million U.S. dollars. As the guarantee of the commercial loan contract, Korean miners were able to immigrate to West Germany in the end 1963. (Interview)

Table 5.4 Remittances from Germany to South Korea, 1965-1970 (thousand dollars)

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	Total
Germany	2,734	4,779	5,791	2,417	1,246	933	17,900

(Source: The Korean Development Bank, 1970: 25, Note: Remittance in 1970 was by the end of May)

The Korean government in the 1960s and the 1970s had managed the emigration of Korean nurses to West Germany as well as Korean miners through a branch of the government and the Korea Overseas Development Corporation founded by the government. In addition to Korean miners and nurses, the Korean government sent a considerable number of technicians and skilled workers in various areas for training and to obtain new skills to West Germany from the 1960s. (Interview)



### *Political economy and immigration policies in Germany*

The economic miracle that Germany enjoyed for three decades after the Second World War displayed models of outstanding economic performance in areas such as economic growth, employment, monetary stability and fiscal balance. Exports in German economy had played an important role as “a major driving force of economic growth”. The growth of the German economy was the result of a traditional “infrastructure of knowledge and skill” for quality production and the coexistence between market and “institutionalized networks” of cooperation. (Padgett, 2003: 123-124)

Table 5.5 Average annual percent changes in real economic growth indicators

	GNRP	Industrial Production	Real Gross Capital Formation	Productivity
1951-1960	8.0	9.6	10.9	5.8
1961-1970	4.7	5.4	7.6	4.5
1971-1980	2.9	2.2	3.1	3.2

(Source: Smith, 1983: 33)

With the internal structure of the German economy, it is evident that the contribution of immigrant workers to the German economy growth has to be rightfully considered. Between 1945 and the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961, 11 million German nationals immigrated to West Germany, and then around 9.5 million non-German nationals moved into Germany, most of them were guestworkers having immigrated during the periods between 1954 and 1973 from Southern European and Asian countries. Approximately 4 million of these remained in the country after the ban on foreign workers’ recruitment in 1973. (Green, 2003: 227-228) The German nationals from Eastern Germany were skilled workers, such as craftsmen, doctors, technicians, and scientists and an important sector for “keeping wage-growth slow”, so they provided the foundation for an “economic miracle” and compensated for the losses to the

German labour force during the two world wars and the Great Depression. (Castle and Kosack, 1972: 8) (Smith, 1983: 31)

After the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961, East German workers could no longer immigrate to the West Germany. Subsequently, the German government and industry had to consider other alternatives for new recruitment of labour forces. As a solution to the labour shortage, the German government had made 'government to government agreements' with several countries such as Turkey, Tunisia, and Korea in regard to the recruitment of guestworkers in the 1960s.

The German government through temporary recruitment of foreign workers intended to obtain several gains. For instance, in the case with recruiting nurses, the government could save training fees of nurses for several years by importing qualified foreign nurses and various other social security costs. The government could also weaken the activities of the German nurses union such as the movement supporting salary raises, through the recruitment of foreign nurses. (Choi, 2003: 140)

### *Specific political economy and immigration policies in Germany regarding to the immigration of Korean workers*

In the early 1960s, the German mining industry and hospitals<sup>90</sup> experienced shortages of labour because German workers, more skilled and educated than in the 1950s, avoided working in the poor conditions in mines and hospitals. At those times, workers in German mines were already composed of foreign workers mainly from Turkey or East European countries, while most of nurses were under-educated labourers and only

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<sup>90</sup> In the 1960s, there was an extreme shortage of nurses in hospitals and homes for the old aged in the West Germany. For example, the hospitals and the homes needed nurses more than 30,000 in 1965. Nursing jobs were not popular one in West Germany at those times because of hard working conditions and its low salaries. (Choi, 2003: 139)



managed to gain simple work such as cleaning and bathing. In addition, the request for foreign capital in South Korea also contributed directly to Korean miners and nurses moving into Germany with the necessity of German mine industry and hospitals.

(Interview)

The German government permitted the immigration of Korean miners and nurses as a status of guestworkers like any other foreign workers, so Korean workers in principle had to return to Korea at the end of their three year contract. After the arrivals of Korean miners, German employers in mines had to apply residence permits to immigration offices for Korean miners and give a notice to local labour offices within three days.

(Interview)

*I arrived at a German mine in 1964 as a miner. I knew correctly that I had to return to Korea at the end of three-year contract when I came to German mine. We even could not invite or visit my family in Korea. (Interview)*

German employers in mines and hospitals had to provide Korean workers with housing facilities, most of which were dormitories, and some foods. For contract periods, it was difficult for Korean miners and nurses to invite their families to Germany for reunification or for them to visit their home country.<sup>91</sup>

The immigration of Korean miners from the end of 1963 had been controlled by cooperation between regional mines' offices such as Ruhr Region Mine Association (Unternehmensverband Ruhrbergbau), German Mine Association, and agents in South

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<sup>91</sup> Although Korean miners and nurses could not invite their families in principle, a few Korean workers managed to have their families, mainly their children and wives, come to Germany with the help of lawyers in Korea after the acquirement of permanent residence permits. However, there were few cases of family reunifications because most Korean workers were not married and they had no wives or husbands or children in Korea. Most Korean immigrants in Germany got married in Germany with Korean workers or the indigenous German. (Interview)



Korea such as the Korea Overseas Development Corporation and labour office founded by the Korean government. In comparison, the immigration of Korean nurses had been dependent on various actors' activities such as individual agents, religious associations, and governmental agents in Germany and Korea.

The immigration policy in Germany had been different in individual states, named as Länder<sup>92</sup>, or cities. Though the federal government hold fast to the principle that "Germany is not an immigration country", the views and responses of the Länder governments or city councils in relation to the immigration of foreign nationals have been more or less dissimilar with each other.

*I came to Germany in 1963, and then I got a Master Degree in 1969. After my wife passed the examination of national doctor qualification, she entered the institute for professional doctors' training. We lived in Munich of the Barvaria Land. There were restricted policies concerning immigrants' immigration and permanent residence. The immigration office there gave us a notice that we needed to return to Korea because we should contribute to our country's development after finish of our study, so we moved into the Hessen Land governed by Social Democratic Party for long periods for permanent settlement in Germany. The immigration policy of the Hessen Land government was more liberal and generous than that of the Barvaria Land. After all, we got the German citizenships in 1979. (Interview)*

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<sup>92</sup> The Länder in Germany have functions to "implement most laws" made at federal level. The federal government has only "administrative authorities" in the certain fields such as foreign affairs, defense, and internal market, while the Länder are responsible for the practice of the policy "in their own right". For instance, it was evident that the Länder was in search for "greater policy autonomy" from the 1980s in the regional economic policy, higher education, rural policy, and labour market policy. (Jeffery, 2003: 41, 51) Meanwhile, the Länder obtain their financial resources from various taxes and grants. Certain taxes pertained like motor vehicle taxes and inheritance tax to the Länder. In 1996, the total tax product was allotted as follows: the federal government gained 47 percent; the Länder gained 37 percent; local government gained 16 percent. (Roberts, 2000: 102-103) The autonomy of labour market policy or regional economic policy in Länder has caused the differences of foreign labour recruitment or settlement policy on the their economic situations.

The Berlin Land government had made efforts for people to settle in West Berlin who had no relations with nationals during the Cold War, so the government provided better benefits, such as social security and tax breaks to immigrants and residents. The government permitted the immigrations and reunifications of immigrants' families and encouraged also overseas students' study and had easy admittance to allow for the extension of the stay period. The city supported the activities of immigrants' organizations and associations. For example, Berlin city council offered subsidies for various activities and offices to immigrant communities and associations in Berlin. (Interview)

Another example is that of hospitals in West Berlin which actively recruited many foreign nurses including Korean nurses and offered about 100 Mark extra moneys to foreign nurses. (Jeong, 2002: 12) The reason was that West Berlin had been not favoured by German workers due to its regional characteristic of confrontation to East Germany before the Unification of the West and East Germany. In the meantime, Frankfurt am Main has been the centre of business and commerce in Germany, so the city has experienced the inflows of immigrants for a long time. Therefore, the city council comparatively had been far more generous to foreign nationals' immigration and residence than any other cities in the Southern Länder. (Interview)

In regard to stay permit of immigrants, the German government has provided the permanent residence permit of two categories. First, there has been an "Unbefristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis" (unlimited stay permit). After immigrants have to work in certain job more than 5 years, they can acquire the residence permit of "Unbefristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis". This resident permit has confined for immigrants to run their own businesses and change their jobs and could be cancelled when immigrants



committed crimes. Temporary stay permit or "Unbefristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis" holders unlike "Aufenthalts berechtigung" should register with police station when they changed their residence area or immigrated.

"Aufenthalts berechtigung" (permanent residence permit) is like a practical permanent resident permit in other countries. Immigrants could obtain the permit after a residence period of more than 8 years. On the basis of acquirement of the permit, immigrants could be employed in their own businesses and be engaged in any other jobs and could not be repatriated by any criminals except for political crimes. Most Korean immigrants gained "Unbefristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis", and then they changed their residence permit to "Aufenthalts berechtigung". After the acquirement of permanent residence permit, some Korean immigrants could manage their own business such as retail shops and Korean restaurants. (Interview)

#### Cooperation between Germany and Korea in regard to Korean workers' migration

The agreements between Germany and Korea in the early 1960s, such as the "Protocol concerning Economic and Technical Cooperation between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany" in 13<sup>th</sup> December 1961, formed the basis of Korean migrants' emigration to Germany. The protocol included the dispatch of German economic experts as advisers to the Korean government in regard to economic development, German experts for investigation of the economic and technical possibilities in Korea's coal mining. More important, the German government in the protocol had an intention to provide long-term development loans up to an amount of 75 million DM. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1961)



The protocol contributed to the formation of formal exchange<sup>93</sup> of technology and manpower between the Daihan Coal Corporation and German Mine Association and to the inflows of German loans to Korea. The formation of relation between German and Korean mine industry influenced the export policy of the Korean government concerning Korean miners' immigration to Germany in 1963.

The German and Korean government agreed to the employment of Korean miners in the German mine industry on 16<sup>th</sup> December 1963. According to the agreement, the agent of the Korean government had to recruit Korean miners who had more than one year's experience of mining and submit prospective candidates lists to Ruhr Regional Mine Association, while German employers had to notice details of Korean immigrants and apply to work permit and residence permit of Korean miners to various governmental offices after the immigration of Korean workers. The German mine company also had to provide Korean miners with opportunities to learn the German language for six weeks and training for underground works for two months. (Korean Miners Association in Germany, 1997: 12-15)

*In 1965, I was selected as a Korean miner for employment in German coal mine and then was dispatched. There was very high competition for emigration to Germany as a miner. To pass screening process, I forged a document of job experiences in coalmines and offered a bribe to officers in branch of the Korean government. I participated in*

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<sup>93</sup> Before the protocol, there was an agreement of Korean miners' employment in coal mining industry of Germany between the German and Korean's coal mining corporation. The president of the Daihan Coal Corporation in Korea, who visited to Germany, saw the employment of foreign workers in German mines and then he planned for Korean miners to immigrate to German for increase of overseas employment and training of advanced mining technology. In 11<sup>th</sup> April 1961, the SIMENS in Germany and the Daihan Coal Corporation in Korea exchanged the notes in relation to the dispatch of Korean miners. (The Daihan Coal Corporation, 2001: 153-154) However, the Korean government had controlled the process concerning preparation of Korean miners' dispatch for solving guarantee problem of the loans and the Korean Overseas Development Corporate founded by the government played crucial roles in exports of Korean miners from 1965.

*training of coalmines in Korea for preparation of mine working in Germany, but the training was not relevantly practiced and extremely was inefficient. (Interview)*

The agent, initially labour office and then later the Korea Overseas Development Corporation, of the Korea government admitted the recruitment of Korean workers who had no experience in mine unlike its original aim as acquirement of mine technology from Germany and the request of the German government that wanted recruitment of ex-miners. The selection of Korean miners in early stages depended on private connections of candidates and briberies to officer and staff in the Corporation because many high-educated and middle class people, suffered from unemployment in the 1960s, applied for the examination.<sup>94</sup> (Interview)

The Korean government through the formation of the Korea Overseas Development Corporation had entirely administered immigration affairs, such as recruitment and sending, of Korean miners from 1965.<sup>95</sup> The Korea Overseas Development Corporation, as official recruitment agency of the Korean government, recruited candidates of Korean miners. (Interview)

The agreement about the employment of qualified Korean nurses and Korean assistant nurses in German hospitals was concluded by the cooperation between the German Hospital Society and the Korea Overseas Development Corporation in 1970. (Lee, 2000: 90) After the formal agreement, many Korean nurses could immigrate to Germany through organized recruitment by a governmental agent. Before the agreement,

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<sup>94</sup> The numbers of applicants for miners rapidly were increased, so the Corporation required the pass of additional examination such as English test and the general information test as well as a physical examination and an aptitude test. (Lee, 1996: 158)

<sup>95</sup> In addition to recruitment, the corporation dispatched Korean officers to Germany for investigation working conditions of Korean miners in German coalmines and guide for Korean miners. The Corporation also opened the office in Germany for Korean miners in July 1970. (Lee, 1997: 218)



the recruitment of Korean nurses relied on private or individual agents or religious organizations.<sup>96</sup>

*I worked in city hospital of West Seoul as a nurse. The German language institute in central Seoul recruited 40 Korean nurses for emigration to Germany. Because some candidates had no qualification of nursing and only assistant nurses, the recruitment through the language institute was ceased. However, I could immigrate to German as a nurse through the institute in 1966. I only learned the German language at the institute and did not receive any other educations. (Interview)*

In the 1970s, there were the programmes of German language learning and anti-communism education for Korean nurses for two months by the Korea Overseas Development Corporation. The Corporation also played a major role in recruitment of Korean nurses at the same time.

Most Korean nurses arrived at airports in Germany, and then were dispersed to individual German hospitals. Their working conditions had been dependent on specific hospitals' situations and regulations. Particularly, hospitals in Berlin provided Korean nurses with German language learning programmes and special allowances in contrast to many other regional hospitals. In regard to residency of Korean nurses, for a contract period of three years, German employers of Korean immigrant workers in hospitals had to apply for extensions of foreign labourers' work permits per year or two. (Interview)

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<sup>96</sup> There were already recruitments and advertisements concerning the recruitment of Korean nurses by the Korea Overseas Development Corporation before 1970. Although the Corporation recruited Korean nurses and offered German language learning programme to Korean nurses before 1970, other agents were also active in the recruitments at those times. The agreement in 1970 signaled the restart of recruitment that was temporarily ceased in 1968 and the return to major role of the government in regard to the emigration of Korean nurses.



## **Economic context in migration system establishment**

### **Push factors of Korean workers emigration in Korea**

Many Korean workers immigrated to Germany due to economic situations in Korea in the 1960s and the 1970s. Specifically, most Korean miners moved to Germany for better economic gains and to escape from high unemployment in Korea.

*I could not find a job after obtaining my university degree. I was forced to return to my rural village, where my families lived, with miserable and unemployed status. Nobody could understand the suffering from unemployment, so I applied for an overseas labour contract for three years in West Germany. For the duration of my contract, I remitted all my salary to my family for them to make a living in my home country. (Kim, 1981: 77)*

Most Korean miners who migrated to Germany had suffered from long unemployment in Korea, especially in the 1960s.<sup>97</sup> The unemployment rate of university and college graduates was more serious. Many highly educated workers from Korean universities could not be employed in relevant jobs due to the breakdown of the Korean economy in the early 1960s. To avoid unemployment, many Korean graduates applied to work in mines of Germany. (Interview)

In the meantime, many Korean nurses opted to immigrate to Germany for economic benefits and better working and living conditions. They did not experience massive unemployment as there had been many vacancies for nursing jobs in Korea, but they had been offered relatively lower salaries and far worse working conditions such as long

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<sup>97</sup> In 1960, the official rate of unemployment in Korea was 7.9 percent, while the average rate of unemployment in the 1960s was 6.6 percent. (Jwa, 2001: 3) However, the rate of unemployment reached to 23 percent before the military coup in 16<sup>th</sup> May 1961. (Baek, 2002: 14) The unemployment with unstable political situations provided serious troubles to young male job seekers.

working time and frequent night shifts. Korean nurses, therefore, wanted better economic gaining and more leisure times for their study and hobbies after work in Germany than those of Korea. In fact, a considerable number of Korean nurses enrolled in various courses at German universities while working in hospitals. (Interview)

**Establishment of Korean companies' branches in Germany with the growth of the Korean economy**

The Korean economy has experienced rapid growth during the 1970s through export-driving plans. The oil shock in 1973 had made Japan and West Germany light industrial goods less competitive in world market and “cash-rich” Middle Eastern countries demanded more in relation to light manufacturing material. Subsequently, South Korean exports to Germany, Japan, Middle Eastern countries, and the United States grew rapidly with “comparative cost advantage” against developed countries. (Lie, 1998: 87)

The rapid growth of exports in the Korean economy has led to massive growth of GNP and GNP per capita since the 1970s. For instance, GNP and GNP per capita respectively were 7.99 billion and 243 U.S. dollars in 1970, 60.3 billion and 1,589 in 1980, 251.8 billion and 5,883 in 1990, and reached to 452.6 billion and 10,037 in 1995. (Kong, 2000: 23)

The big Korean company groups and banks had established many overseas branches for management of their business, most of which were concerned with exports and imports of material, goods, or currency, in many foreign countries from the 1970s. In Germany, the big Korean companies such as Samsung, Hyundai, LG, and Daewoo, and Korean banks established their branches, referred to “Jujae Sangsa”, in the Rhein-Main

Region and Düsseldorf in the 1970s.<sup>98</sup> The branches for trade of various industrial production, airline business, and banking were formed in Frankfurt am Main in the 1970s, and then other many branches concerning diverse goods and machinery were established in the 1980s in Frankfurt am Main and Düsseldorf. Meanwhile, Korean companies' branches in Hamburg began their business in the 1990s. These branches were for business of the shipping industry and motor sales. These branches in Germany amounted to 105 in the end 2000 and were concentrated mainly in Frankfurt am Main, Hamburg, and Düsseldorf. (Korea and Europe Study Society, 2003: 445-446, 463-464, 467-471)

Through the formation of the branches, Korean staff, named the "Sangsa Jujaeweon", have been able to immigrate to Germany to work in these branches and returned to Korea after a period of 4 or 5 years. Some of these Korean staff did not return to Korea after the end of their work periods and set up their own offices for trades between German companies and Korean companies or organized private business in German cities. They have integrated into Korean communities in Germany as Korean immigrants. (Interview)

### **Social context in migration system establishment**

#### **Migration for education in Germany**

Quite a few emigrations to Germany for educational reasons began in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century under the agreement concerning the establishment of a diplomatic relationship

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<sup>98</sup> The Korean companies formed their branches in Germany because the Germany is an advantageous geographic location to approach the European market, but some companies have considered the relocations of their branches to South East Asia countries or other European countries at recent times as a result of high taxes and labour wages and labour management disputes in Germany. (Korea and Europe Study Society, 2003: 471-472)



between the German government and the Chosun Dynasty in 1883. After the end of the Korean War, the interest of the German law grew in Korea, so several Korean students emigrated to acquire postgraduate degrees in law at German universities. The Korean government abolished the limits of overseas study in foreign countries in 1982. As a result, Germany saw a rapid increase of Korean students since the mid 1980s. (Korea and Europe Study Society, 2003: 425-430, 446)

*I came to Germany in 1963 through a scholarship from the German government, so I had no problems in entering Germany. The aims of scholarship were educational supports for students in underdeveloped countries. Students, who received the scholarships, had to return to their homelands for their contribution to the development of their home countries in various fields, so I had troubles in acquirement of permanent residence permit. (Interview)*

The German government has offered the exemption of tuition fees and various scholarships to foreign students including Korean overseas students and students in Germany could earn money during vacations, so many Korean students have immigrated to German universities due to scholarships and lower living costs for overseas study than any other countries. As German universities have had academic reputations in the fields of law, engineering, and music disciplines, Korean students in these fields have steadily immigrated to Germany. (Interview)

Most Korean students returned to Korea as they were obligated through the return policy of the German government, but some Korean students in the 1960s and the 1970s remained in Germany through marriages with Korean nurses and small portion of them also have been resident through the means of employments in German companies, universities, or Korean companies' branches since the 1970s. Korean students, though

quite a few numbers, have joined Korean communities and their activities in Germany.

(Interview)

*I could not return to Korea after acquiring a permanent residence permit because of the educations of my children. The German education system was excellent. There was no requirement of any tuition fees for diverse courses, even extra art courses, in German schools and universities and the government offered various allowances for children and students including transportation fees. I was afraid that my children would not be able to integrate into educational system in Korea, as they were not fluent in Korean language. Consequently, I decided to stay permanently in German in the end.*

(Interview)

Meanwhile, most Korean immigrant families gave up the prospect of return to their homeland for the education of their children. The German government provided various benefits for students in universities or schools, so Korean worker parents made a decision of permanent residence for their children's futures and education though they sacrificed their lives for their children. The increases of Korean students in German universities have been influenced by the entrance of second generation Korean immigrants since the 1980s. (Interview)

### **Korean immigrant network in Germany**

#### **Marriage of Korean immigrants**

The German government had adhered to the principle that foreign nationals should return to their countries of origin at the end of their contract periods or study, so some Korean miners and most Korean students and staff of Korean companies' branches had to come back to Korea or move to other countries such as the United States, Canada, or



other European countries. However, some of Korean workers, mainly Korean miners<sup>99</sup>, could stay in Germany after the acquirement of residence permits through marriages with Korean nurses. Most Korean nurses before the mid 1970s could acquire the extension of their contract periods after three years as they had won public recognition by German hospitals and patients for their sincerity and kindness. The extension of contract periods had resulted in permanent settlement of many Korean nurses through gaining permanent resident permits. (Interview)

*Our only pleasant events were visiting to Korean nurses' dormitories in every weekend. At that time, many Korean nurses from 1965 worked in hospitals of cities in Germany. Although we were concentrated in Ruhr and Aachen regions, we bought used cars for visiting to Korean nurses in various cities. We went to Hamburg, Berlin, and Munich to meet with Korean nurses, called as "Nurse Hunting". The meetings gave Korean miners and Korean nurses opportunities for continuous contacts and chances of alleviating homesickness. The frequent meetings and contacts naturally resulted in marriages between Korean miners and nurses. The marriages provided the right of family living together and resident permit to Korean miners because most Korean nurses, Korean miners' brides, already acquired resident permits. (Interview)*

The informal networks between Korean workers resulted in the many marriages between Korean nurses and Korean miners. Some students through Korean immigrant networks could also get married with Korean nurses. These marriages guaranteed permanent residences of Korean miners and some Korean students in Germany in the 1960s and the 1970s. Subsequently, the marriages on the informal network in Korean

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<sup>99</sup> Considerable Korean miners brought faked marriage and family documents for family allowances in Germany. German mine industry offered family allowances, who lived in home countries of foreign miners, including wives and children, so some Korean miners, though they were did not get married in Korea, were regarded as married men by faked guarantees and they could obtain fully allowances for family. (Interview)



immigrants had contributed to the formation of Korean communities in various German cities.

### *Agents for migration of Korean workers*

The emigration processes of Korean workers had officially been under the charge of the labour office in the Korean government and the Korean Overseas Development Corporation (KODC) in the 1960s and the 1970s. However, the KODC, established in 1965 by the Korean government, practically arranged all procedures for the emigration of Korean workers such as advertisement of contract working, recruitment of contract workers, and sending of labour forces.

The Corporation made contracts for Korean labour forces with foreign countries on behalf of the Korean government. For instance, there was an agreement in 1970 between the German Hospital Society and the KODC to restart the recruitment of Korean nurses. The KODC also established the branches in foreign locations such as Teheran in Iran in the mid 1970s where many Korean workers worked as well as in Germany. The KODC dispatched Korean miners and nurses to Germany, many Korean workers to South Vietnam, and Korean labour forces in construction industries to Middle Eastern countries between the 1960s and the 1980s. (Lee, 1997: 229-231)

For the recruitment of Korean miners and nurses, the KODC advertised regularly in Korean newspapers. There were high competitive rates to work in Germany for Korean people in the 1960s and the 1970s. To be selected as Korean miners and nurses, Korean workers had to compete with many other Korean labourers for emigration to Germany. Consequently, the Corporation was forced to carry out strict examinations, such as physical and health checkups and written foreign languages examinations, for selection.

Despite the examinations, many applicants during early recruitment periods could not trust in the results of examinations and selections. The reason was that the process of selections depended on the private connections and bribes in many selections. Staff at the KODC and officers in branches of the government used to demand discreet bribes in exchange for the promise of selection. (Interview)

The KODC had organized training of mine skills for Korean miners and German language courses for Korean workers that would last two months. The Corporation had enforced instructions of anti-communism and publicity of governmental policies to Korean labourers in the 1970s. The authoritarian Korean government had made efforts to prevent the growth of political associations against the Park government in West Germany at those times. (Interview)

In relation to the emigration of Korean nurses, individuals and Catholic churches played major roles in recruitments of nurses in the 1960s. Dr Su Kil Lee, who worked in Mainz University Hospital, requested the emigration of Korean nurses to Germany in a meeting with the Secretary of Health and Society Ministry in Korea, so more than one hundred Korean nurses moved to hospitals in Frankfurt am Main. Dr. Jong Su Lee and a Father from Austria recruited Korean nurses and received commissions from individual Korean nurses for arrangements. (Choi, 2003: 139) There were also recruitments of Korean sisters of the Catholic churches as nurses to work in German Catholic hospitals in the early 1960s. These emigrations relied on cooperation between the German and Korean Catholic Church for purposes of religion as well as works.

These agents, including individual, religion, government agents, for Korean labourers' movement to Germany had contributed to the formations and continuity of Koreans' migration flows to Germany and efficient recruitments and employments in



mines and hospitals of German in the 1960s and the 1970s, but the governmental agent, as the KODC, had paid little attention to protect the rights of Korean labour forces in working and stay situations and had few concern about problems rising in regard to working conditions of Korean workers.

## **Feedback: changes of contexts in Germany and Korea by migration flows**

### **Ban on recruitment and emigration**

The “East Berlin Case”, named “Dongbaeklim Sakeon”, occurred in July 1967. The Park government began election campaigns in June 1967 for an amendment of the constitution that would abolish term limitations of the president Park. The election validity was brought into questions due to illegal electioneering by the Korea government, so Korean universities’ students resisted the Park government against his intention to seize power through a rigged election. The case took place just at the time when political movements of students rapidly extended.<sup>100</sup> (The Kukmin, 3<sup>rd</sup> February 2005)

The Korea Central Intelligence Agency<sup>101</sup> (KCIA) arrested 194 Korean immigrants, including famous composer and conductor I Sang Yun, from mainly Korean immigrants in Germany under the accusation of illegal activities such as espionage for North Korea.

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<sup>100</sup> Most Koreans in the 1960s and the 1970s showed extreme hostilities toward North Korea and communists that caused the division between North and South Korea and the Korean War. Many political movements against the Park authoritarian regime and for democracy in Korea were regarded as pro-communist activities by the Korean government and many Korean people. Therefore, the occurrence of the East Berlin Case in 1967 had been functioned a cause for repression of resistance from Korean universities’ students against the Park regime by the Korean government. Meanwhile, the branch of the Korean government is investigating whether the Park government and the KCIA forged the East Berlin Case or not.

<sup>101</sup> From the 1960s, the KCIA had dispatched its agents to the Korean embassy in Germany to keep watch on political activities of Korean immigrants against the Park government. These agents had gathered details of core Korean immigrants regarding political activities and of these activities such as assemblies and meetings, and then they had reported information to the KCIA in Korea. (Interview)



The KCIA invited them to Korean embassies' events for Korean immigrants and then took them away forcibly to Korea. Korean immigrants who were kidnapped argued their innocence concerning espionage activities and claimed their visits to East Berlin and North Korea was purely travelling. (Interview)

The German government considered breaking off diplomatic relations with the Park government and the cancellation of the German government's support for economic development in Korea, though the plan did not make headway. (The Hankyoreh, 30<sup>th</sup> February 2004) The German government and press criticised the infringement of the Korean government to the German nation-state's sovereignty through the forcible return of Korean immigrants to Korea who had the German citizenship or permanent resident permits. The German government and media continuously requested the release of these Korean immigrants thorough the channels of diplomacy, so the KCIA was forced to release them and sent them to Germany within two years after the occurrence of the case. (Interview)

After the incident of the "East Berlin Case", the Korean government ended Korean workers' emigration to Germany in 1968 and justified it as a measure of Korean workers' disconnection with espionage activities in Korean communities of Germany, though the immigration of Korean workers to Germany began again in 1970. Then, the Korean government had strengthened the programmes of anti-communism education for Korean workers in process of preparation of emigration in Korea. (Interview)

Though the ban on foreign workers' recruitment in Germany in 1973 influenced the migration flows of foreign workers, the inflows of Korean miners and nurses to Germany had continued till the late 1970s. The preference of Korean workers<sup>102</sup>,

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<sup>102</sup> The periods of recession in Germany had caused the growth of unemployment in foreign workers. The

especially Korean nurses, in German employers helped to continue the recruitment of Korean workers despite the ban of the German government. However, the growth of unemployment in German workers and continuity of recession resulted in the cease of Korean workers' massive recruitment in 1977.

### *Repatriation and its stop in the late 1970s*

In 1977, some German media indicated problems of long stay of foreign nurses and argued that the German government should provide the priority of German nurses regarding recruitment in hospitals. The Labour Ministry in the German government also aimed to reduce labour forces in public enterprises and prioritise German workers in employments to solve the economic problems in recession periods. (Choi, 2003: 141)

In these situations, some German hospitals in Southern Länder had repatriated some Korean nurses to Korea through means such as the rejection of requests in regard to work permit or resident permit and of the extension of contracts. Korean nurses resisted these policies of repatriation and collected signatures for a petition to stop the forcible return of Korean nurses to Korea. (Interview)

Korean nurses acquired support from various organizations such as German media and religious associations, and then they arranged an open forum concerning the unlawful repatriation of Korean nurses in German hospitals on 17<sup>th</sup> March 1978. German officers in government, politicians, and correspondents attended the forum and

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official number of unemployed foreigners increased from 16,000 in 1973 to 67,000 in 1974 and 133,000 in 1975. (Smith, 1983: 161) Many unemployed foreign workers were reluctant to register as the unemployed because unemployment could influence on their residence status, so foreign workers had there suffered from their unemployment. Despite the growth of unemployment in foreign workers, Korean workers could be employed in their jobs continuously and Korean nurses had not difficulty in extension of contracts.

media coverage of this event on television and radio highlighted the serious situations of some Korean nurses in relation to their stay in German. (Kang, 2003: 136)

After the forum, the Länder governments informally permitted that Korean nurses could acquire re-contract, permanent resident permit, or work permit. For example, Berlin city council provided Korean nurses with residence permits if they had stayed and worked in Germany over five years. (Choi, 2003: 142)

As a result of the resistance of Korean nurses, the policy of repatriation concerning foreign nurses including Korean nurses had not been practiced entirely, but some Korean miners, who did not get married Korean nurses and acquire work permit, had to return to their home country.

### **3. Formation and change of migration system between Germany and Korea**

#### **Formation of migration system between Germany and Korea**

##### **Korean immigrants before formation of migration system**

During the rule of the Japanese government from 1910 to 1945, only about 10 Korean students acquired their PhD degrees in Germany. They majored in music, philosophy, medicine, and law in German universities. In the 1930s, the occurrence of the China-Japan war and the Pacific War marked an end to overseas study. Korean students were no longer able to migrate to Germany to study.

After the end of the Korean War, a handful of Korean overseas students managed to immigrate to Germany to continue their studies abroad. They largely majored in law. Approximately one hundred Korean students attended German universities by the end



1950s. In the 1960s, though the number of Korean students had increased, many of these Korean students enrolled in German universities for the purpose of staying in Germany and not solely for academic goals. Most of them had withdrawn from their courses due to work or childcare. Although there were only a small number of Korean students, they helped each other for settlement. After the “East Berlin Case”, trust and interdependence among Korean students had been damaged till the early 1970s. (Korean and Europe Study Society, 2003: 426-428)

**Formation of migration system**

The first group of Korean miners immigrated to Germany on 27<sup>th</sup> December 1963 on the basis of the first plan, which aimed at recruitment of one thousand Korean miners. 247 Korean miners began their work in German mines from 1964. There were only a few cases of immigration of Korean miners from 1967 to 1969 by the influence of the “East Berlin Case”. The KODC intended to recruit two thousand Korean miners through the second plan of employment in Germany in the 1970s. (Korean Miners Association in Germany, 1997: 26)

**Table 5.6 Immigration of Korean miners to Germany**

1963	247
1964	806
1965	1,180
1966	286
1967	7
1968	3
1969	10
1970	1,305
1971	982
1972	71
1973	842
1974	1,088
1975	-
1976	314
1977	795

Total	7,936
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(Source: Korean Miners Association in Germany, 1997: 27)

However, approximately eight thousand Korean miners, much more than a targeted emigration of three thousand Korean miners to Germany in original plans, had been employed in German mines. After the ban on foreign workers recruitment of the German government in 1973, there was an exception that allowed for the continued emigration of Korean miners. The exception for Korean miners was abolished from 1978, and then the immigration of Korean miners was discontinued in 1978.

A few Korean nurses had immigrated to Germany before 1965 as individuals or in groups through Korean Catholic churches.<sup>103</sup> Through the arrangements made by two Korean Doctors, many Korean nurses had moved to Germany between 1965 and 1969. Similar to the miners, emigration of Korean nurses was influenced by the “East Berlin Case” and then the number of Korean nurses decreased rapidly in 1968. As the immigration of Korean nurses was arranged both by the Korean government agency and individual agents in Germany, the effect of the East Berlin Case on the migration of Korean nurses was relatively less than that of the immigration of Korean miners, which was controlled by the Korean government agent alone.

Table 5.7 Immigration of Korean nurses to Germany

1965	18
1966	1,227
1967	421
1968	91
1969	837
1970	1,717
1971	1,363
1972	1,449
1973	1,182

<sup>103</sup> By 1965, about 870 Korean nurses immigrated to Germany by the cooperation between German and Korean Catholic churches. (Jeong, 2002: 12)

1974	1,206
1975	459
1976	62
Total	10,032

(Source: Korean Miners Association in Germany, 1997: 27)

The mutual consent of Korean nurses' employment between a Korean labour officer in the Korea embassy and a representative of the German Hospital Society in 1969 and the agreement between the KODC and the German Hospital Society in 1970 triggered massive migration of Korean nurses in the 1970s. With the restriction policy of the German government in the mid 1970s, the organized immigration of Korean nurses also came to end in 1977.<sup>104</sup> However, a few individual migrations of Korean nurses had continued until the early 1990s.

In addition, there were a few Korean technicians in Germany for training, in specific technologies such as ship construction, electronics, machinery, and steel industry as well as for employment in these industries in the 1970s. About 930 Korean technicians or specialists immigrated to Germany as employees or trainees between 1971 and 1975. They lived mainly in Northern Länder such as Berlin and Hamburg. Some of them remained in Germany and were integrated into Korean communities. (Korea and Europe Study Society, 2003: 403-404, 446)

The immigration of Korean workers to Germany in the 1960s and the 1970s had resulted in continuous migration flows between Germany and Korea and the permanent settlement of Korean workers had contributed to the formation and establishment of Korean communities in Germany from the 1970s.

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<sup>104</sup> Unofficially, around 800 Korean nurses were dispatched for employments in German hospitals in 1978. (Park, 2002: 9)



**Change of migration system between Germany and Korea**

The massive immigration of Korean workers to German did not occur again from the late 1970s. The migration flows between Germany and Korea have been sustained by other Koreans’ migrations, such as Korean staff in Korean companies’ branches and Korean overseas students, to Germany since the 1980s.

Since the 1980s, Korean staff has moved to Germany and most of them have returned to Korea. They have lived mainly in central cities of the German economy such as Frankfurt am Main and Hamburg. Some Korean staff has obtained permanent resident permits in Germany for their new business and the education of their children, though most of them have had to come back to Korea. In fact, there are a considerable number of Korean immigrants, who were former employees of Korean companies’ branches, in Frankfurt am Main and Hamburg.

**Table 5.8 Branches and staff of Korean companies in Germany in 2000**

	The number of companies	The number of staff
Public organization	13	50
Bank	6	17
Frankfurt	54	317
Dusseldorf	16	37
Hamburg	13	61
Berlin	3	29
etc.	-	-
Total	105	511

(Source: Korea and Europe Study Society, 2003: 464)

The number of Korean overseas students in Germany has increased since the 1980s. There were 712 Korean students in Germany in 1978, while the number of Korean students increased to 3,492 in 1988. In 2001, more than five thousand Korean students registered under various subjects, mainly law, classic music, and engineering, in German universities. (Korea and Europe Study Society, 2003: 403, 429)

Though most of these Korean employees and Korean overseas students have returned to Korea after the end of their purposes for staying in Germany, a few staff and students decided to stay permanently for their new business or jobs. Since then they have been involved in various activities and organizations of Korean communities in Germany. In particular, Korean students or Korean overseas student societies in German universities have arranged cultural events, in which Korean culture is introduced to German students, and have participated in diverse events, including political, cultural, friendly meetings, with Korean communities in German cities. (Interview)

#### **4. Influence of migration system establishment on Korean immigrant association development**

##### **Settlement of Korean immigrants and formation of Korean communities in Germany**

The various efforts for permanent settlements of Korean workers began in the late 1960s. After the end of their contracts, some Korean miners enrolled in German universities to study. The entrance of Korean miners, who were obligated to return to Korea at the termination of their three-year contracts, to German universities could guarantee them longer stays in Germany. Korean miners, who graduated from universities or obtained their postgraduate degrees, moved back to Korea, though a few decided to reside permanently in Germany after being offered employment opportunities. Some immigrants chose not to finish their university degrees to gain employment or to begin a new business in Germany. (Interview)

Korean miners, who wanted permanent residency in Germany, got married to Korean nurses in general or German women in a few cases. Subsequently, they were able to gain unlimited residence permits. After the marriages, Korean miners were often forced to move other cities where their brides worked in hospitals. In new resident areas, Korean miners had to look for new jobs. As they faced language problems and did not specialise in highly skilled professions, Korean miners had to be recruited in machinery, motor, and pharmaceutical companies such as the SIEMENS, the OPEL as assistant workers. Some of them ran their own businesses such as retail market, grocery markets, and food restaurants.<sup>105</sup>

Due to the quality of their work, diligence and continuous shortages of workers in German hospitals, Korean nurses had little difficulty in finding work or staying in Germany, though official immigration of Korean nurses was stopped in 1976. Many Korean nurses got married to Korean miners, as their relationship could be easily founded on identical culture and language. Some Korean nurses also got married to German men most of whom were high-educated and white-collar workers.<sup>106</sup> These German-Korean families had first hesitated to join Korean communities soon after their marriage, but a considerable number of families have increasingly been involved in various events of Korean communities.

Some Korean staff, students, and technicians could become residents in Germany after working in specific jobs or study for several years. Most of them have managed

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<sup>105</sup> The preference in regard to running their own business by Korean ex-miners in the mid 1980s was a result of their desire to earn more money or the ascension of their social status, but most of them were mainly self-employed in small markets after quitted their jobs in German industry because they had trouble in German language and had not enough funds, training, knowledge, experience, and so on. (Korea and Europe Study Society, 2003: 459-460)

<sup>106</sup> Families of German men and Korean nurses have lived in many German cities. In particular, because Korean miners did not have easy to access to West Berlin during the Cold War, the rate of Korean nurses who got married to German men was relatively high. For example, 250 families of 860 households in West Berlin were German men and Korean nurses families in survey. (Lee, 1996: 173-174)



their businesses in regards to exports and imports business between German and Korean companies, travel agencies, and small factories.

Many Korean immigrants have taken residences in major and relatively small cities, where Korean nurses have worked in German hospitals. The reason was that Korean miners and students, who got married to Korean nurses by informal networks, needed to move to these diverse cities where their wives worked.

Table 5.9 Regional distribution of Korean workers in 1979

Region	Miners	Nurses	Technicians	Etc	Total
Hamburg		351	28	48	427
Berlin		980	25	275	1,280
Duisburg	1,309	972	18	321	2,620
Frankfurt	1,180			285	1,565
Munich	1,111			284	1,395
Total	3,600	2,303		1,313	7,287

(Source: Korea and Europe Study Society, 2003: 404)

As table 5.9 indicates, many Korean nurses and technicians worked in Berlin and Hamburg of Northern Länder in Germany, while most Korean miners mainly lived in the Ruhr regions of North South in Germany. However, the table fails to include the number of Korean nurses and displays an incorrect number of Korean miners in Frankfurt am Main and Munich. There were a large number of nurses in the two cities, but not many Korean miners. Korean nurses worked in many cities in Germany, but Korean miners were concentrated in the coal mine regions of Northern and Middle West of Germany. Their marriages had contributed to the dispersion of Korean miners and a respectable number of Korean students in various cities around Germany.

Korean communities in these cities were formed through the permanent settlement of Korean miners, nurses, and students from the 1970s. Korean communities more than 35 cities had been built with the increase of Korean immigrants' inflows into these

cities. From the 1980s, Korean staff and Korean overseas students have moved into German cities. The inflow of Korean staff was limited to several cities such as Frankfurt am Main and Berlin, while Korean students have been distributed to many cities with famous German universities. These new influx of Korean immigrants, though they have become quite a few permanent immigrants, have played part in the development of Korean communities in Germany.

**Influences of migration system establishment on the formation of Korean immigrant associations**

First of all, migration system establishment between Germany and Korea since the 1960s had resulted in the increase of Korean immigrants in Germany. In the 1960s, several thousand Korean workers were working in German mines and hospitals, while around 30,000 Koreans have been residents in various regions in Germany excluding the part of East Germany in 2001.

Table 5.10 Increase of Koreans in Germany

1968	1992	2001
3328	28,010	30,492

(Source: Asia Bureau in Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 1968: 369-372, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2001: 21, Korean Miners Association in Germany, 1997: 90)

There were only 11 Korean immigrants who gained permanent residence permits in 1968, but in 1992 approximately 17,016 Korean immigrants were known to have taken permanent residence in Germany. Other Korean residents included Korean company employees and Korean overseas students and Koreans who did not yet any kind of permanent resident permits. Most of Korean immigrants are Korean workers and their



second generation and small part of them are from ex-Korean staff and Korean overseas students.

Although the massive inflows of Korean immigrants to Korean immigrant communities were ceased after the stop of the immigration of Korean workers in the late 1970s, new immigrant inflows, though smaller than those of Korean workers, through the change of status in some Korean staff or students as permanent residents stimulated the alteration of Korean communities and supported organizations and activities in Korean communities.

Secondly, the continuity of migration system since the 1960s has caused the emergence and growth of second generation Korean immigrants.<sup>107</sup> At recent times, the second generation has worked in diverse German companies, managed their own businesses, or retain professional jobs after graduating from universities. From the 1990s, they have participated in Korean immigrant communities' activities and have made arrangements for their own various associations.

Thirdly, the immigration of Korean workers from identical and similar occupations has strengthened the solidarities in them. The experiences of training and works for same periods and places had made Korean workers recognize the importance of cooperation and formal or informal networks between themselves. The restricted immigration policy of the German government contributed to the unity of Korean workers on the basis of national identity.

To avoid repatriation, Korean nurses formed movements for anti-repatriation and Korean miners had aided each other for looking for diverse ways to evade return to

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<sup>107</sup> For instance, 50 percent of Korean students in Hamburg University in 1993 were second generation Korean immigrants. (Korea and Europe Study Society, 2003: 430) The example shows that a large number of second generation entered German universities in the early 1990s and emerged as new members in Korean communities.



Korea. The frequent marriages between Korean miners and nurses can be interpreted as an expression of solidarity and national identity against the restricted policy regarding the settlement of Korean workers by the German government. The immigrant networks were based on unity and identical culture and these networks trained new Korean workers to stay permanently in Germany through various ways including marriages between Korean workers.

After permanent settlement, Korean workers organized their own associations for their rights and friendship activities. They had taken part in the formation of various Korean immigrant associations, such as regional Korean immigrant associations and the federation of Korean immigrant associations, in Korean communities. Some settled workers have taken charge of many Korean immigrant associations as core members or presidents.

Fourthly, the spread of Korean workers for their work places over German cities contributed to the establishment of Korean immigrant communities and associations. Korean nurses first immigrated to various cities in Germany, and then Korean miners moved to the same cities as a result of the marriages between Korean miners and nurses.

Table 5.11 Regional distribution of Korean immigrants in 1992

Länder	Korean Immigrants
North Rhine-Westphalia	6,823
Rhineland-Palatinate	729
Saarland	262
Berlin	2,789
Baden-Württemberg	1,032
Bavaria	865
Hesse	2,005
Schleswig-Holstein	252
Lower Saxony	807
Bremen	126
Hamburg	1,326

(Source: Korean Miners Association in Germany, 1997: 90)

The dispersion of Korean workers supported the construction of Korean immigrant communities in many areas. Specifically, it assisted the formation of regional Korean immigrant associations and branches of some Korean immigrant associations, such as branches of the Korean Miners Association, throughout regions in Germany.

## **5. Conclusion**

The migration flows between Germany and Korea in the 1960s originated from the immigration of Korean workers to Germany under national contexts regarding migration in both countries. By the 1970s, Korean workers had migrated to Germany continuously, and many of these workers became permanent residents in Germany since the 1970s through the acquirement of permanent residence permits. In the 1980s, new Korean immigrants, who were Korean staff and Korean overseas students, began flowing into Germany and settled down permanently. New Korean immigrants, though some of Korean staffs and students remained in Germany after obtaining permanent resident permits, have been involved in organizations and activities of Korean immigrant communities. The growth of second generation has also contributed to the increase in the number of Korean immigrants and development of Korean immigrant communities and associations.

Although massive migrations were discontinued from the late 1970s, the migration system, formed in the 1960s between Germany and Korea, has continued till recent times more than forty years. The established migration system between Germany and Korea resulted in permanent settlement of Korean workers, staff, and Korean overseas students as well as the emergence of second generation.

Korean workers established most Korean immigrant communities in diverse regions of Germany. Furthermore, these workers with a small number of Korean overseas students from the 1970s have led organizations and activities of Korean immigrant associations as presidents or core members. Korean staff and Korean overseas students, who permanently settled down, have participated in activities of Korean immigrant communities and associations since the 1980, while the second generation of Korean workers have organized their associations for friendship or the exchange of information and have taken part in arranged events of Korean immigrant communities and associations in Germany.

In conclusion, the established migration system between Germany and Korea has contributed to the increase of Korean immigrants who permanently settled down in Germany, to the formations of Korean immigrant communities, and to the development of Korean immigrant associations in diverse German cities as the relationship between migration system establishment and the development of Korean immigrant associations in the United States.



# **Chapter 6. Migration System Establishment between Korea and the United Kingdom**

## **1. Introduction**

The number of Koreans in the United Kingdom has rapidly increased since the mid 1990s. There were around 10,000 Koreans in the United Kingdom in the mid 1990s, while currently the figure for Koreans who are temporary residents in the United Kingdom for various reasons such as study or business has reached 35,000. This large increase in the number of staying Koreans in Britain in such a short time has been caused by not the migration flows for work or permanent residence but by the immigration of Korean students, who are seeking to learn English, which can last approximately one year or less.

Although the inflow of Korean students to the United Kingdom have not influenced the rise of Korean immigrants, the migration flows of Korean students have contributed to the rapid increase of Korean population in Britain. In the meantime, the number of Korean immigrants has steadily grown from the 1980s. The permanent residence of Korean staff in branches of Korean companies in the United Kingdom have played a part in the rise of Korean immigrants as had some of Korean students who decided to remain in Britain.

Despite the increase in the number of Koreans and Korean immigrants in the United Kingdom, there is still a relatively small Korean immigrant population in comparison to Germany. In spite of the recent massive immigration of Korean students, the short

period of Korean immigration and the return of most Korean students and staff to Korea have resulted in a relatively small number of Korean immigrants in Britain.

In this research, the migration system between Korea and the United Kingdom is categorized as an “establishing” migration system in contrast to the “established” migration system between Germany and Korea. The reason for this is that the migration system between Korea and Britain was formed relatively at recent times and has resulted in a comparatively small Korean immigrant population.

This chapter explains the various circumstances of migration system establishment between Korea and the United Kingdom since the 1980s on the basis of the analytical framework employed by this research. Additionally, it examines the practices of Korean migration flows from the 1980s, as well as the formation and changes of the migration system between Korea and Britain. Furthermore, it analyses the influence of the “establishing” migration system between Korea and the United Kingdom on the settlement of Korean immigrants, formation of Korean communities, and the formation and establishment of Korean immigrant associations in Britain.

## **2. Political, economic, and social contexts of migration system establishment between Korea and the United Kingdom**

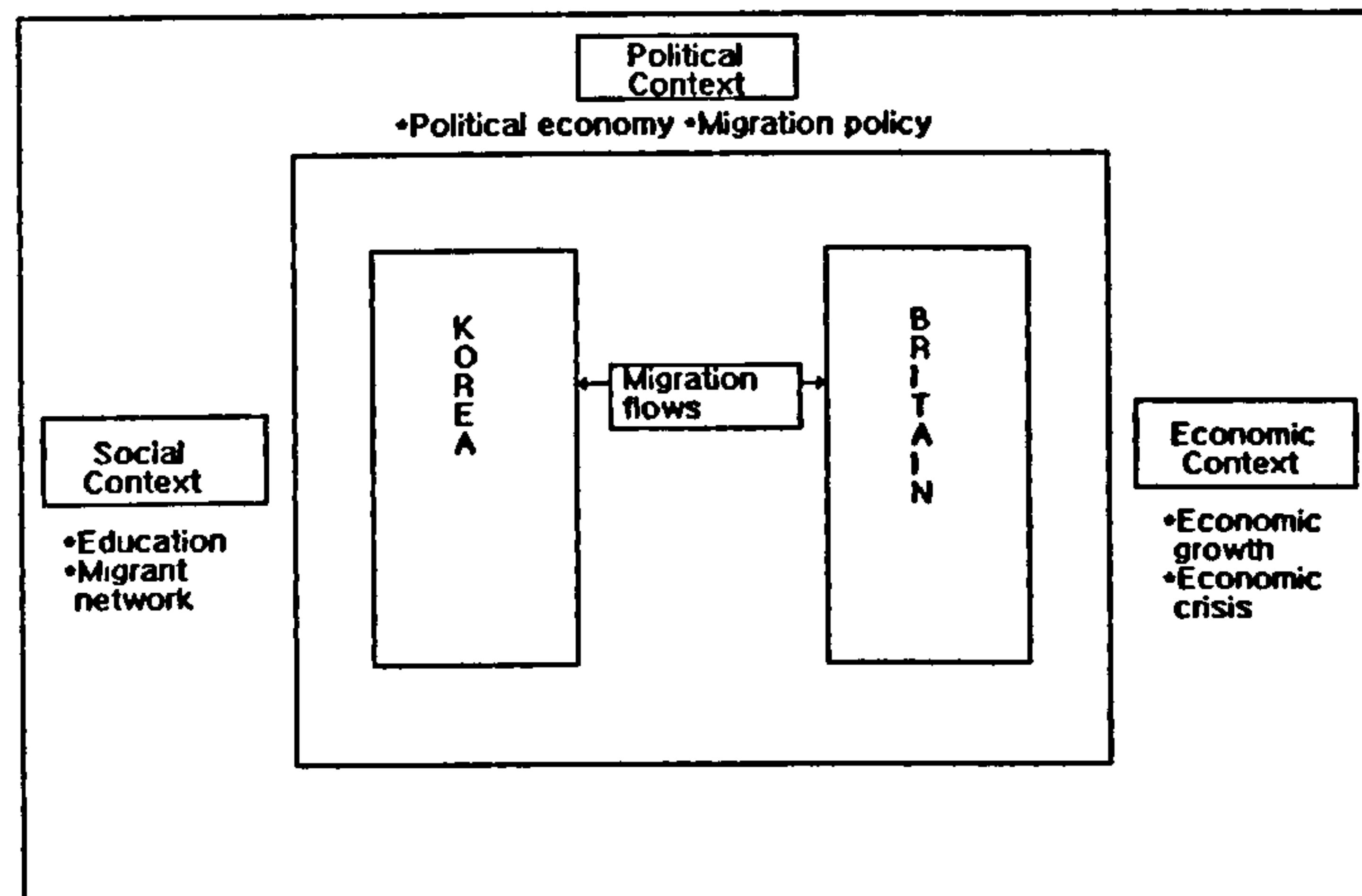
The massive migration flows between Korea and the United Kingdom have occurred from the mid 1990s, but some Koreans, mainly Korean staff, had settled in Britain under the status of permanent residents from the 1980s, though their numbers were quite small. In the 1980s, the development of the Korean economy contributed to the establishment of overseas branches of Korean companies. Consequently, many Korean staff migrated into various foreign countries. Under these circumstances,

Korean staff immigrated into the United Kingdom. While most of these had to return to Korea, a small group of them have stayed in Britain after the termination of their stay periods.

The change of overseas study regulation and the growth of preference in regard to overseas study resulted in the steady increase of Korean overseas students in Britain from the 1980s to the 1990s. Many Korean students moved into the United Kingdom to learn English in the 2000s. In particular, the preference of Korean parents and Korean universities' students for Britain in regards to overseas study and learning English has heavily influenced the rapid increase of Korean students from the mid 1990s. Korean university graduates had to acquire a fluency in the English language for employment in Korean companies or other occupations because of the high youth unemployment due to the financial crisis in 1997. Korean parents and children moved for a better education in Britain for several reasons; to avoid excessive competitions in the Korean education system, to learn English language, and to educate their children under better conditions in the United Kingdom than those offered in Korea. A considerable number of young Korean students have begun to integrate into Korean communities as Korean immigrants since the 1990s.

Figure 6.1 Analytical framework of migration system between Korea and the United Kingdom





Migration flow between Korea and the United Kingdom did not yet result in the change of national circumstances in relation to Korean immigration in both countries, so the ‘feedback’ in the modified analytical framework is not included in above analytical framework for the explanation of migration between Korea and Britain in contrast to the analytical framework of immigration flow between Germany and Korea.<sup>108</sup> No change of national contexts in Korea and Britain was resulted from comparatively shorter period of Korean migration and relatively small Korean immigrant population.

## Political and economic contexts in migration system establishment

### *Economic circumstance and emigration policy in the 1980s in Korea*

#### *The growth of export economy*

After the president Park’s assassination in 1979, the Korean economy faced several grave problems such as the downfall in exports and an increase in external debts.

<sup>108</sup> Although the cooperation and communication of various cultural events between Korean community and Kingston city council, included the New Malden area where many Koreans have lived, have been developed at recent times, there is no establishment of specific policies to Koreans and Korean immigrants and no changes of circumstances in relation to Koreans in the level of city council despite the increase of Korean immigrations to the area.

However, low-paid labour still provided advantages in the “global competition for market” and the state continued to encourage exports and industrial production in the 1980s. Through low oil prices and the rapid appreciation of Japanese currency as well as internal factors, Korean exports ranging from textiles to automobiles rapidly grew in the 1980s. For instance, the exports doubled from 30 billion U.S. dollars in 1985 to 61 billion U.S. dollars in 1988. (Lie, 1998: 124-131)

The expansion of export had been led by the “Chaebol”, large conglomerate firms with united “ownership and control” unseen in large Western companies. The “Chaebol” had diverse subsidiaries in relation to manufacturing and construction. The “Chaebol” made efforts to enhance the exports of their production with the support from the Korean governments. On the other hand, a large network of marketing institutions also played an important role in the expansion of export. The Korea Trade Promotion Corporation (KOTRA), founded in 1962 by the Korean government, established their centres around the world. KOTRA offered information in regard to Korean exports and imports and various services concerning Korean firms’ buying and selling their goods. (Kuznets, 1994: 83-84)

*In the 1960s, Haeun kongsu (Korean Shipping Corporation) and Daehan Jeungsik (Korean Corporation for food increase) first established their offices in Britain, while there were a few liaison offices of Korean banks such as the Korean Foreign Currency Bank in the 1970s. Most branches or offices of the “Chaebol”, Korean companies, or banks were founded in the 1980s around London in accordance of the rapid growth of the Korean export economy. (Interview)*

The rapid growth of exports in the Korean economy required overseas branches in many foreign countries for the management of these exports. The “Chaebol” and



Korean banks built up their branches around London in the 1980s in the forms of Ltd, office or liaison office for the management. The subsidiaries, in regard to exports of production, insurance, or securities, of the “Chaebol” such as Samsung, Hyundai, SK, and LG established their Ltd or offices. In addition, Korean banks such as the Bank of Korea and the Korea Development Bank also formed their branches.<sup>109</sup> A small amount of Korean staff who worked in these branches, forfeited their return to Korea after acquiring permanent residence permits and began to integrate into Korean communities, which were mainly based in London in the 1980s.

### *The Financial Crisis in 1997*

The Korean economy faced financial crisis due to the depletion of Korea’s foreign exchange reserves in November 1997. The Korean government requested financial assistance from IMF. The Korean economy was then dictated by the conditions set by the economic reforms of IMF. (Kong, 2000: 209-210) As the economic reform, prescribed by IMF, was related to labour market as well as financial market, it had a large impact on Korean economic and social circumstances.

Table 6.1 Indicators of the Korean economy, 1995-1998

	1995	1996	1997	1998
GNP (\$ billion)	453	480	437	304
GNP/capita (\$)	10,037	10,543	9,511	6,750
GNP growth rate (% p.a.)	8.7	6.9	4.9	-5.8 (GDP)
Unemployment rate	2.0	2.0	2.6	6.8

<sup>109</sup> According to the survey in 1995, there were various branches of Korean firms more than 130 including organizations such as KOTRA and the Korean National Tourism Organization around London. The types and numbers of Korean firms are as follows; 22 branches in trade, 9 in manufacturing, 11 in construction and shipbuilding, 17 in banks, 12 in insurance, 20 in securities, 30 in transport and travel, and 10 in newspaper and broadcast. (Lee, 1996: 135-136)



(Source: Kong, 2000: 211)

The introduction of labour market flexibility resulted in the decrease<sup>110</sup> of the work forces in Korean banks and companies as well as the rise in unemployment as indicated in table 6.1. Korean companies, banks, and various other organizations reduced the number of their overseas staff up to thirty percent after the financial crisis. At the first part in 1998, approximately 3,000 Korean staff, who had previously held posts all over the world, had to return to Korea. Consequently, the number of Korean overseas staff decreased from 20,227 in 1997 to 17,344 in 1998. (The Hankyoreh, 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1998)

The crisis of the Korean economy in 1997 influenced the economy of the Korean immigrant community in Britain. Many Korean staff and Korean overseas students were forced to return to Korea due to restructuring of employees and organizations by Korean companies and financial problems experienced by the parents supporting Korean overseas students. The small businesses of Korean immigrants, such as travel agencies and traders, collapsed as a result of the impact of the Korean economy crisis. The reason for this was that most business of Korean immigrants depended on Korean visitors or transactions with Korean companies. However, Korean companies abroad have re-established themselves and the immigration of Korean students, entered in undergraduate or postgraduate courses in universities of Britain, has been steadily increased since 2000. (Interview)

The rise in a youth unemployment after 1997 emerged as a serious problem in Korea. According to the Ministry of Statistics, the number of unemployed aged between 20 and 29 olds reached to 329,000 and the rate of unemployment for people in their

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<sup>110</sup> After the financial crisis in December 1997, Korean workers more than one million lost their jobs before November 1998. Many of the unemployed were from white-collar jobs in subsidiaries of the "Chaebol", banks, or insurance companies. (The Hankyoreh, 18<sup>th</sup> November 1998)

twenties was 6.9 percent in July 2003. (The Donga Ilbo, 17<sup>th</sup> September 2003) Most Korean job seekers in the twenties have experienced long unemployment periods after graduation. They have tended to favour stable jobs with high salaries rather than jobs in small companies or business, but the market for such work is highly competitive because the “Chaebol” have a preference for recruiting experienced workers rather than new employees. Many Korean undergraduate and graduate students emigrated from Korea to learn English for six months to one year as favoured jobs in Korea require a high quality of English. Under these circumstances, many Korean students have immigrated to the United Kingdom in the 2000s to learn English. The inflows of these students have contributed to a fast growth of a Korean population in Britain, especially in London.

### *Policy of overseas study*

According to the Korean government’ definition in relation to “Haeoe Yuhak” (Overseas Study), overseas study is defined by Korean students studying in educational, research or training institutions in foreign countries for more than six months. (Kim, 2005: 29) Self-financing overseas studies were entirely permitted in 1994 by the Korean government.<sup>111</sup> Prior to this, the government had restricted self-financing overseas studies to save foreign currency before 1994. It also only allowed the overseas study of Korean students who acquired scholarship from the Korean government or institutions in foreign countries. With the growth of the Korean economy, the highly educated and

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<sup>111</sup> Before 1981, prospective Korean students for overseas study depended on self-financing had to pass the examinations managed by the Korean government, but the government abolished the qualification examinations for overseas study in the August of 1981. The examinations of foreign languages were only made a process by Ministry of Education in the Korean government from 1985, and then the examinations were repealed in July 1994. Therefore, Korean students, graduated from Korean secondary schools, could migrate to foreign countries for overseas study from 1994 without official limitations. (Ministry of Education in Korea, 2001: 120-121)



skilled people, who had earned degrees in developed countries, were in greater demand in Korean companies and universities, so the Korean government approved the self-financing overseas studies for the Korean economy and education.

Though the Korean government permitted self-financing overseas studies, it did not officially allow the emigration of younger Korean students, those who did not graduate Korean secondary schools, for overseas study. Massive emigration of Korean primary or secondary school students from the mid 1990s made the regulation meaningless in reality. In particular, the emigration of Korean students in primary schools increased rapidly in the 2000s.

Table 6.2 Korean overseas students in primary and secondary schools, 1995-2002

	Primary students	Middle school students	High school students	Total
1995	5,146	3,984	1,944	10,993
1996	5,011	4,619	2,843	12,473
1997	4,776	3,873	3,361	12,010
1998	5,678	3,025	2,035	10,738
1999	5,695	3,605	1,937	11,237
2000	10,640	5,974	3,531	20,145
2001	14,220	8,002	4,454	26,676
2002	15,661	7,922	4,543	28,125

(Source: Kim, 2005: 32)

“Cultural agreement between Korea and the United Kingdom”, which entered into force in July 1982, provided the first formal expression of overseas study between both countries. The agreement stated “each Contracting Party shall endeavour to make it possible for students from the other Contracting Party to be admitted to its institutions of education within the limits of existing regulations”. (<http://www.mofat.go.kr>) The agreement reflected the situation of partial permission in regard to self-financing overseas study in Korea. From the early 1980s, the number of Korean overseas students,



who registered undergraduate or postgraduate courses in universities of Britain, has continuously increased under change of policy concerning self-financing overseas study.

The number of Korean primary and secondary students in Britain has risen in the 2000s. Younger Korean students could attend public primary or secondary schools if they were able to live with their parents, but were required to enter boarding schools if not. In general, Korean children came to Britain with their parents through the means of their parents' study or employment. Some Korean children remained for their continuous study with their mothers or alone in Britain despite their parents or fathers' returning to Korea.<sup>112</sup> After they entered university in Britain, their mothers usually returned to Korea. Though there is no statistics of these students and their parents, a considerable number of these students and mothers have stayed around London and have played a part in the extension of Korean community's population. (Interview)

**Immigration policy and economic circumstance in the United Kingdom**

Few Koreans immigrated for new jobs in the United Kingdom in the 1970s and the 1980s as a result of the restricted policies of the British government.

Table 6.3 Unemployment in Britain, 1965-1992

Year	Number	Percentage
1965	338,200	1.4
1975	929,000	3.6
1980	1,667,600	6.3
1986	3,027,900	13.1
1990	1,661,700	5.8
1992	2,970,000	10.5

(Source: Coxall and Robins, 1998: 74)

<sup>112</sup> Some fathers of Korean primary or secondary students in foreign countries returned to Korea lonely, and then they have made a living in Korea by themselves and send much money for their children and wives' living cost and tuition fees in overseas countries. They are called as "Kireoki Appa" (a goose father) in Korea. The goose fathers indicate fathers who live alone in Korea and separates from their family due to the education of their children in developed countries.

The rate of unemployment in the United Kingdom rose from 4.5 percent in 1974-1979 to 9.1 percent in 1980-1989, though the rate of unemployment was at best 2.9 percent in 1952-1973. The unemployment in Britain was higher than 3.5 percent in 1974-1979 and 5.6 percent in 1980-1989 in Germany. (Cox, Lee, and Sanderson, 1997: 53) There was little room for foreign labour immigration in Britain in the 1970s and the 1980s due to high unemployment. Therefore, Koreans could not migrate to Britain to gain individual or group works there unlike the situation in the 1960s and the 1970s in Germany.

With the exception of British Subjects, the British government would not permit the immigration of foreign nationals for permanent residency. The immigration through investment to Britain was not easy for foreigners due to a large amount of required investment money. Thus, there has been no immigration of Koreans to the United Kingdom through the immigration for permanent residence or for investment. Most Koreans' entrances to Britain had depended on the ways of travelling, study in certain institutions, or work in Korean companies. (Interview)

By the 1980s, the immigration of Koreans to the United Kingdom had not been common. Koreans previously needed to acquire visa of stay for work or study in Britain. The immigration through the acquirement of work permits limited immigrants to certain jobs in small Korean business or branches of Korean companies, though a few Koreans gained their jobs in Britain's business such as works in hotels. Korean restaurants, small markets, or retailers could recruit Koreans from Korea and in the United Kingdom. Korean employers of other business such as trade companies had to employ British people for work permits. A few Korean immigrants, who settled down in the 1970s and

before the mid 1980s, could gain permanent resident permits through jobs in Korean restaurants. (Interview)

In addition, Koreans could also not immigrate to the United Kingdom to run self-owned business. There were other immigrants'<sup>113</sup> preoccupations of small self-managed business such as supermarkets run by Indians, petrol stations by Pakistan, and restaurants by Chinese, so Koreans had trouble in starting their business and many Koreans could not settled in United Kingdom with small self-owned business unlike the United States. (Interview)

In relation to the acquirement of permanent resident permit, Koreans' work permits like those of any other nationals had to be renewed annually in Britain, though there are some changes of work permits such as the introduction of work permit for business at recent times.<sup>114</sup> After four years of renewing work permits, immigrants could obtain permanent residence permits, so some Korean staff, ordinarily appointed their posts for five years, gained permanent resident permits. Then, they have integrated into Korean immigrant community since the 1990s. (Interview)

From the mid 1990s, the regulations of Koreans' immigration for study or work have been changed somewhat. These changes were resulted from the enhancement of governmental relationship between Korea and the United Kingdom through state visits of political leaders in both countries from the 1990s. Koreans could immigrate to the

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<sup>113</sup> These immigrants were mainly from India, Pakistan, and Hong Kong. As they were ex-subjects of the British Empire, they were fluent in the English language and were accustomed to the British tax system and the regulation of self-owned business in the United Kingdom. They could occupy, therefore, small business markets such as supermarkets and restaurants, while Koreans had no such advantages. (Interview)

<sup>114</sup> In the 1980s, Korean staff in branches of various Korean companies needed to renew their work permits annually, but they can now obtain their visa for their work period of four or five years. Korean firms have additionally offered costs concerning tax and social security to Korean staff in Britain in addition to their salaries. Korean staff could, therefore, easily pay tax and costs of social security. The payment has provided advantageous opportunities to acquire permanent resident permits in the United Kingdom. (Interview)



United Kingdom without applying for a visa in the British Embassy in Korea.<sup>115</sup> Koreans could attain the visa of stay in British airports. Koreans had actually to report to the police station if there were any changes to their stay status or address, but the regulation of reporting was also abolished in the 1990s.<sup>116</sup>

The acquirement of visa for travelling<sup>117</sup> to six months has been readily available to Koreans, and as a result many Korean students, who wanted to learn English for the period of three or six months, moved into the United Kingdom as tourists without any kind of visa. These immigrations, which depend on a convenient visa system to Koreans in the 2000s, have made a contribution to the rise of Korean population in the United Kingdom. (Interview)

There have been no specified settlement or integration policies established by the British government or city councils for Korean immigrants. Korean immigrants could acquire benefits in educational and medical areas such as no tuition fees and fees in GP as British citizens and other foreign immigrants, while Korean immigrants did not receive any special helps and benefits from the British government or city councils for their settlement and establishment of Korean community, as the Korean immigrant population is quite smaller than any other foreign immigrants such as immigrants from India and Pakistan.<sup>118</sup> (Interview)

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<sup>115</sup> From November 2003, Koreans need to obtain visa in the British Embassy in Korea if they wanted to move for study or work, but there is no visa for Korean tourists like in the past. Nowadays, Koreans could gain stay permits to six months for travel.

<sup>116</sup> In contrast to Koreans, Chinese have to obtain the visa for immigration to Britain in advance in their home country and to report to the British police stations the changes in relation to their stay status and address in the United Kingdom to present times.

<sup>117</sup> The "exchange of notes concerning reciprocal visa abolition between Korea and the United Kingdom", entered into force in December 1969. It voiced that Korean nationals holding Korea passport were free to travel to the United Kingdom and to leave the territory without an exit permit. (<http://www.mofat.go.kr>) Koreans could immigrate to the United Kingdom freely for travel without any kind of permits that were required in the years starting from 1969.

<sup>118</sup> The Commission for Racial Equality, established by the British government, has provided financial or other assistances for foreign immigrants in various local areas. Individual city councils have offered

## Social context in migration system establishment

### *Migration and settlement for education in the United Kingdom*

Many Korean undergraduate and graduate students have immigrated to Britain<sup>119</sup> to gain a qualification in English or to learn English as Korean students who immigrated to Australia, Canada, and New Zealand in recent times. Under the circumstance of high unemployment, Korean students had no choice but to acquire various qualities for employment such as foreign languages. These Korean students returned to Korea for employment or further study.

Meanwhile, the immigration of Korean students in primary and secondary schools to the United Kingdom has continuously risen in the 2000s.<sup>120</sup> They moved into Britain to learn English, to escape from excessive competition for entrance to major universities, and to avoid high private educational costs in Korea. (Interview)

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funding for welfare, educational, cultural areas for immigrants. (Soysal, 1994: 102-103) Korean immigrants did not gain supports from CRE or local city council due to their small population. In the meantime, though there have not been governmental assistances for Korean immigrants and other foreign immigrants in Germany, religious associations and city council such as Berlin in local basis have offered some supports for settlement of foreign immigrants and establishment of their communities including Korean immigrants.

<sup>119</sup> International students, who obtained visa for stay permit more than six months, could work up to 20 hours a week part time granted by the regulation in Britain, so many Korean overseas students, mainly English learning students, could cover parts of their living costs or tuition fees with part time jobs in Korean small business such as Korean restaurants.

<sup>120</sup> Some interviewees indicated that the influences of the 9/11 terror in 2001 effected immigration policies in the United States of overseas students. They said that after the terror, many Korean students could not immigrate to the United States for overseas study due to restrictive policies, so many Korean students and parents moved into the United Kingdom instead of the United States to learn English. However, there have been no decreases in Korean overseas students' immigration to the United States except the period shortly after the 9/11 terror. For instance, there were 41,191 Korean overseas students in the United States in 2000, and then the number of Korean students rather steadily increased to 56,390 in 2004. (The Kyunghyang 11<sup>th</sup> December 2001, The Hankuk 29<sup>th</sup> November 2004) The increase of Korean students for overseas study in Britain was caused from the growth of prospective Korean overseas students and increasing favours of education in Britain from the mid 1990s rather than the effect of the terror that occurred in New York.



After their settlement, most of them have had an intention to go into higher education in Britain. Thus, they will be able to compose new part of Korean immigrants in Britain unlike English learning students and Korean postgraduate students.

Many agencies, which have been established mainly in London and Seoul to support Korean students' study in schools and universities or other teaching institutions in the United Kingdom, have made contributions to the continuous migration of Korean students. Many owners of these agencies had previously graduated from British universities or postgraduate institutions, so they had information on overseas study in the United Kingdom. These agencies organize overall preparation and various paper works required to study in Britain and they introduce suitable institutions for study and accommodation for stay in Britain to Korean students. They check the circumstances of Korean students' study and living on a regular basis through their branch in London or communication with Korean students and staff in schools.

The educational matter of Koreans' children has influenced the decision of some Koreans' permanent settlement in the United Kingdom. Some Koreans from the 1970s chose to permanently reside in Britain to better educate their children. They wanted for their children to learn English and to avoid the excessive competition in the Korean education system. Some Korean staff of Korean companies' branches in other European countries even migrated to Britain for the education of their children. (Interview)

*I worked in the Middle East in the 1970s. My construction company was based there. However, my children could not be educated properly under education system there, so I was looking for countries for the overseas education of my children. I decided to move to the United Kingdom for my children's education. I thought public schools or boarding schools in Britain had many advantages for them. (Interview)*



Some Koreans, in no regard to their status such as Korean staff, worker, or student, gave up the return to Korea due to the education of their children in Britain after gaining permanent resident permits. In Britain, Korean immigrants could not earn much money or achieve economic wealth because of the tax system and excessive competition in small businesses with other foreign immigrants, in contrast to Korean immigrants in the United States. Therefore, many Korean immigrants have lived not for economic benefits in Britain but for their children's education. (Interview)

As indicated above, the education of Korean students in Britain have contributed to the continuity of migration flows between Korea and the United Kingdom. Furthermore, it has also been as an important cause for many Koreans to settle down permanently and have changed their status to Korean immigrants in Britain.

### **Korean network in the United Kingdom**

Some Korean immigration in the 1970s and the 1980s depended on informal Korean network formed through blood ties or friendships. Settled Korean immigrants in the 1970s mainly managed small shops like Korean restaurant and grocery or were alternatively employed in the service sector such as hotels or restaurants in Britain. These Korean immigrants offered jobs in their self-owned business or works in service sector in Britain to their relatives or friends. Some Korean immigrants had also supported the settlement and job seeking of new Korean comers and had given various advices and information of works and small self-owned business. (Interview)

*I came into the United Kingdom in 1975. My older brother had already immigrated to Britain in the late 1960s and was working there. He encouraged me to emigrate and provided information on living in Britain. He also helped my settlement. I knew that*

*some Korean workers, worked in Korean restaurants in the 1980s, had been recruited by personal connections with owners. They were relatives or friends of Korean employers or some acquaintances of the family. After the acquirement of permanent resident permits, they began to run their own Korean restaurants and invited other Koreans, who had special relations with them, from Korea. (Interview)*

In recent times, Korean informal networks between Korean immigrants in the United Kingdom and Koreans in Korea also have played an important role in Korean migration flows between both countries. Many children or young students of Korean immigrants' relatives or friends could immigrate to Britain and stay at Korean immigrants' homes to learn English for short periods. Through Korean immigrants' previous arrangements, they could attend English language courses for three or six months or regular courses in primary or secondary schools in Britain. (Interview)

Despite recent migration flows created by Korean informal networks, unlike Korean immigrations in the 1970s and the 1980s, the recent migration had not resulted in the rise of Korean immigrants. However, they have made contributions to the rapid increase of Korean immigrations to Britain and the continuity of migration flows between Korea and the United Kingdom.

### **3. Formation and change of migration system between Korea and the United Kingdom**

#### **Korean migration to Britain before formation of migration system**

The first Korean immigrant to the United Kingdom was Mr. Nam Hae Cho in 1917. After he moved into Britain as a member of the crew in a Japanese ocean-going ship, he refused to board the ship and settled down in Britain. During the Japanese colonial rule



over Korea, several Korean overseas students, including ex-president Bo Seon Yun, migrated to the United Kingdom to study in British universities and then they returned to Korea. In the 1950s, a few Korean women became Korean immigrants through international marriage with British nationals who worked in the British Embassy in Korea and those who participated in the Korean War.<sup>121</sup> (Interview)

After the Korean War, the immigration of Korean overseas students started again. In 1958, Korean overseas students' society for friendship was formed through the support of the Korean embassy in London, but the society was disorganized due to the frequent return of members to Korea. In the 1960s, a few Koreans immigrated to the United Kingdom as Korean staff or overseas students. Some Koreans among them remained in Britain after their study or their work. (Interview)

According to the Korean government's statistics, there were around 100 Koreans in the United Kingdom in 1968, 73 of these were overseas students. Most of the others were officials from the Korean embassy and Korean staff from Korean banks. The record stated that no Koreans at that time had acquired permanent resident permits. (Asia Bureau in Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1968: 381-382) However, there were now several Koreans who had obtained permanent resident permits contrary to the statistics. They were engaged in commercial business and employed in works managed by British nationals. (Interview)

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<sup>121</sup> Approximately, 87,000 British soldiers, troop numbers second to none but the United States, participated in the Korean War between 1950 and 1953. (<http://www.uk.or.kr>) There were a few international marriages between British soldiers and Korean women unlike many marriages between American soldiers and Korean women. Thus, there were no massive immigrations by marriages between British and Korean unlike large immigrations to the United States through marriages.



In the 1970s, there was little Korean immigration. Most of these were Korean staff in Korean companies and banks, civil servants in the Korean embassy, and Korean overseas students.

*In January 1975, I arrived in London. At that time, there were approximately Koreans between 40 and 60 except for Korean students in London. They were composed of officials in the Korean embassy, Korean staff in Korean companies such as Samsung, and staff in Korean banks like the Korean Exchange Bank. Korean immigrants less than ten of them, acquired work permit or permanent resident permit, lived around London. (Interview)*

By the 1970s, a few Koreans had immigrated to the United Kingdom from other receiving countries. Some Koreans, who served in the Vietnam War or had been recruited as miner in Germany, in the 1960s moved into Britain individually from Vietnam and West Germany for new jobs. In the 1970s, they began to establish Korean restaurants and groceries. Customers to these small shops were composed entirely of Koreans in London and subsequently they began recruiting Korean employees from Korea. These Korean employers and employees as well as a few Korean employees in British hotels or companies became Korean immigrants in the 1980s, though they were quite small in number. (Interview)

### **Formation of migration system between Korea and the United Kingdom**

Comparatively, Korean immigration flows to the United Kingdom in the 1970s were happened by the migration of individual Koreans, Korean employees in Korean restaurants, Korean staff, and Korean overseas students, while the migration of Koreans

in the 1980s were led by the increasing movements of Korean staff and Korean overseas students to Britain.

*From the early 1980s, many branches of Korean banks and Korean companies such as Hyundai, Daewoo, and LG were established around London. The immigration of Korean staff to these branches brought about an increase of Koreans in the United Kingdom. The number of Koreans around London rose to 2,500 due to the migration of Korean staff to Britain at that time. (Interview)*

The immigration of Korean staff resulted in the continuous migration flow between Korea and the United Kingdom. The remaining of Korean staff in Britain, after giving up the prospect of return to Korea, made an important contribution to the increase of Korean immigrants. Some Korean staff decided to have permanent residences in Britain for the education of their children.<sup>122</sup> They tended to manage small business related to trade between Korea and Britain on the basis of their experiences in Korean companies. By the mid 1990s, the continuous migration and settlement of Korean staff led to the uninterrupted growth of Korean immigrant community in the United Kingdom and migration flows between Korea and Britain, though the volume of migration was relatively small.

Meanwhile, the migration of Korean students to Britain also increased in the 1980s. With partial amendments of the regulation in regard to self-financing overseas study in 1981, Korean students to study in British universities had moved to Britain. These students were not language students. A few students settled down through the gaining of new jobs in the 1980s and the 1990s after acquiring their degrees.

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<sup>122</sup> In the late 1980s and the early 1990s, Korean construction companies faced problems due to poor market conditions, so the companies dismissed their employees. Therefore, some Korean staff in branches of Korean construction firms in Britain had lost their jobs, and then they chosen permanent settlement in Britain instead of return to Korea. (Interview)



The migration system between Korea and the United Kingdom was formed through the immigration of Korean staff and students to Britain in the 1980s. While the migration flows of Koreans in the 1960s and the 1970s were quite small and individual and did not play an important role in the increase of Korean immigrants, the immigration and permanent settlement of a relatively considerable number of Korean staff and students resulted in the increase of Koreans and Korean immigrants steadily till the mid 1990s.<sup>123</sup> However, most Korean staff and students have returned to Korea to be reinstated to their posts and gain new jobs. Therefore, Koreans and Korean immigrants did not rapidly rise till the mid 1990s.

### **Change of migration system between Korea and the United Kingdom**

The population of Koreans in Britain has increased since the mid 1990s. The immigration of Korean overseas students with the intention to learn English or to attend primary and secondary schools in the United Kingdom has led to the rise of the Korean population, mainly around London.

In the 2000s, the immigration of Korean students and children, from the middle class of Korean society, to the United Kingdom has speedily grown despite the bad circumstances of the Korean economy. Many Korean children and young students have registered in independent schools or boarding schools due to the fact that they were not able to obtain visas if they did not enrol these schools despite high tuition fees of these institutions in comparison to public schools. Korean students have attended various courses in private institutions around London to learn English, so certain classes and

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<sup>123</sup> The inflows of these Korean staff and students to the Korean community in Britain as permanent residents resulted in the increase of Korean immigrants. In the survey of 1995, Korean immigrants were more than 2,500 in 9,000 staying Koreans. (Lee, 2000: 214)



institutions have many Korean students together. In recent times, Korean students tend to register in classes and institutions that have few or no Korean students. (Interview)

Table 6.4 Increase of Koreans in the United Kingdom

1995	1997	1999	2001
9,091	11,330	10,836	15,000

(Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2001: 22)

In recent times, around 35,000 Koreans stay in the United Kingdom.<sup>124</sup> There are about 6,000 Korean immigrants among these Koreans. Since the mid 1990s, Korean staff and Korean students more than 3,500 have changed their status to Korean immigrants through obtaining permanent residence permits. (Interview)

Though the number of Korean immigrants has been expanded steadily, there is still a relatively small Korean immigrant population in Britain in comparison to other destination countries such as Germany. It seems to be uncertain that the rapid rise of Koreans in the United Kingdom in the 2000s will cause the fast growth of Korean immigrants.

#### 4. Influence of migration system establishment on Korean immigrant association development

##### Settlement of Korean immigrants and formation of Korean community in the United Kingdom

<sup>124</sup> According to official statistics of the Korean government, Korean students rose from 2,463 in 1999 to 18,600 in 2004. There are approximately 15,000 Korean students to learn English and about 3,600 Korean overseas students in British universities. (<http://www.moe.go.kr>) However, the statistics did not show Korean young students in primary or secondary schools in Britain, so there seems to be more than 20,000 Korean students in Britain.

The immigration and settlement of Korean staff and students from the 1980s provided the foundation for the formation of Korean community in the United Kingdom, though there had been individual Korean migrations to Britain in the 1960s and the 1970s. Most Korean staff and students had settled down around London and Kingston city including the New Malden Area close to London. Most Koreans, living in other cities of the United Kingdom, are Korean overseas students in postgraduate or undergraduate courses in British universities, while Most Korean immigrants have lived around London including Kingston city.

*Kingston city area had a relatively low rent price for housing and primary and secondary schools of good quality. The Korean Embassy was in Wimbledon in the past, so officials suggested Kingston city area with its lower house price than Wimbledon for Koreans to settle. The branches of Samsung were also near to the New Malden area, so Korean staff began to live in New Malden. The first Korean restaurants and grocery shops were opened there. Koreans' settlements in Kingston city including the New Malden area in the 1980s had precipitated other Koreans' settlements and stays. Nowadays, there are Koreans, mainly English language students, more than 10,000 of them around Kingston city including the New Malden area. (Interview)*

Korean community was established by the permanent settlement and increase of Korean immigrants, ex-Korean staff and students, in the New Malden area from the 1980s. In the 1990s, a considerable Korean staff had settled down permanently in Britain for their children's education and dismissal of their posts in Korean companies. Additionally, Korean overseas students also settled down through employment to British companies or by starting their own businesses. A considerable number of Korean immigrants have managed self-owned businesses with relations to Korean firms and Koreans such as trades of various goods, travel agencies, and institutes for overseas



study around London. At recent times, the number of Korean immigrants in the United Kingdom reached 6,000 from 1,000 in 1990. Between 1995 and now, there has been a steady increase of Korean immigrants. (Interview) The increase of Korean inflows to Britain has not resulted in the rapid growth of Korean immigrants since 2000, as most of these Koreans are students with the purpose to learn English. Thus, the expansion of Korean community has not rested simply on the fast rise of Korean population in Britain.

### **Influences of migration system establishment between Korea and the United Kingdom on Korean immigrant community and associations**

The number of Koreans has rapidly risen since the mid 1990s, but in reality the increase of Korean immigrants came about slowly in comparison to the fast growth of Koreans. The reason is that there has been no massive immigration on a national context in Britain and Korea such as labour migration.<sup>125</sup> Relatively small immigrant population and a short history of settlement by “establishing migration system” between Korea and the United Kingdom have not resulted in many Korean immigrant organizations and activities in Korean community. Most activities and organizations in Korean immigrant community have increased since the 2000s.

Secondly, there is not yet sign of the emergence of a second generation of Korean immigrants due to the short immigration history of Koreans in Britain unlike the growth

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<sup>125</sup> For instance, the British government offered a loan of 500,000 pounds as the form of Promissory Notes to the Korean government by the “Exchange of Notes on Loan between Korea and the United Kingdom” in 1964. (<http://www.mofat.go.kr>) Though the British government lent the fund for Korea’s development as the German government did, labour migrations or migration flows between Korea and Britain, in contrast to the formation of labour migration between Germany and Korea, did not occur. As Britain already received migrant labour forces from ex-colonial countries such as India, Pakistan, and the West India, there was no necessity for additional foreign labour forces’ immigration to the United Kingdom.



of second generation Korean immigrants in Germany. Though quite a few second generation Korean immigrants have graduated from British universities, they have not participated in organizations and activities in Korean community.

Thirdly, massive immigration of Korean students has not exercised influence in the increase of Korean immigrant organizations and activities in Korean immigrant community until recent times, though their migration to Britain has affected the business of Korean immigrants such as travel agencies and institutes for overseas study in Britain.

## **5. Conclusion**

The migration system between Korea and the United Kingdom was formed by the migration flows of Korean staff and Korean overseas students in the 1980s. Since the mid 1990s, the massive inflows of Korean students, with the intention to learn English or enrol in schools, have added to Koreans' immigration flows to Britain. The immigration of these Korean students has played a key role in the rise of Koreans in Britain.

The establishing migration system between Korea and the United Kingdom resulted in relatively short immigration periods of 20 years and small Korean immigrant population around 6,000 in recent times. It is thought that Korean staff and students' immigration to the United Kingdom will sustain the migration system in the near future.

A short immigration period and a small Korean immigrant population in the United Kingdom are distinct characteristic of the establishing migration system between Korea and Britain. This caused a comparatively late formation of Korean immigrant community in the 1980s and Korean immigrant associations from the 1990s in contrast

to the formation of Korean immigrant communities and associations in Germany and less organizations and activities of Korean immigrant associations than those of Korean immigrant associations in Germany. However, Korean immigrant associations and their activities in Korean immigrant community in Britain have been steadily increasing in the 2000s.

# **Chapter 7. Development of Korean Immigrant Associations in Germany and the United Kingdom**

## **1. Introduction**

The migration system, established from the 1960s between Germany and Korea, has encouraged the formation of Korean communities in various areas in Germany and the development of Korean immigrant associations in diverse fields since the 1970s. Many developed Korean immigrant associations have been formed in Korean communities around Germany. The developed Korean immigrant associations in Germany have had comparatively many members and structured forms, which have the articles of association, including aims, memberships, managements, and funds, and decision and administration systems by their members. They have also hosted various activities in regard to specific aims or common goals of Korean communities.

Meanwhile, the establishing migration system, which had a distinct characteristic of a relatively short immigration period and a small Korean immigrant population, between Korea and the United Kingdom from the 1980s has caused the formation of Korean community limited to certain areas such as around London and has only allowed for the developing Korean immigrant associations since the mid 1990s. The number of Korean immigrant associations in Britain has been increasing from the mid 1990s, though there were a few Korean immigrant associations until the 1980s. The developing Korean immigrant associations in the United Kingdom saw increasing members from a few fellows and semi-structured shapes, which are not established sufficiently on the basis of the articles of association and decision and administration systems by their



members. They have also arranged increasing activities in the Korean community from the mid 1990s.

The development stages of Korean immigrant associations in Germany and the United Kingdom, therefore, are distinct from one another. Many Korean immigrant associations in Germany have been developed with numerous members, structured organization, and many activities in their organizations under the established migration system, while Korean immigrant associations in Britain have only now started developing by increasing their numbers and members in associations, creating semi-structured organizations, and increasing activities under the establishing migration system.

This chapter compares the formation and development of Korean immigrant associations,<sup>126</sup> including the federation of Korean immigrant associations and regional Korean immigrant associations, political, economic and professional,<sup>127</sup> cultural and educational, and social for friendship immigrant associations, in Germany and the United Kingdom through the analysis of organizations and activities of Korean immigrant associations in both countries. It also explains the different phases in the

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<sup>126</sup> This chapter explains Korean immigrant associations that their organizations and activities had importantly influenced overall Korean immigrants and Korean communities in Germany and the United Kingdom in various spheres such as political, economic and professional, cultural and educational, social areas, so associations that are limited to a certain region or certain individuals are not considered for comparison.

<sup>127</sup> Because most of Korean staff has to return to Korea, they cannot be regarded as Korean immigrants, so their associations in Germany and the United Kingdom, "Jaedok Kyeongjein Yeonhaphoe" (Korean Businessmen Federation in Germany) and "Jaeyeong Kyeongjein Yeonhaphoe" (Korean Businessmen Federation in the United Kingdom) are not the associations of Korean immigrants. Though the branches of Overseas Korean Trader Association in the 1980s and the federation of Korean immigrants in commerce and industry in the world were set up in Germany and Korean immigrants in self-employed business and small business participated in them, the branches have been managed by support from the Korean government and Korean embassy in Germany not administered by Korean immigrants and the branches were even disappeared by the change of the Korean government's policy, so these branches are not included as Korean immigrants' associations in this chapter.

development of Korean immigrant associations in Germany and the United Kingdom, specifically the aspects of organization and activity through comparison.

## **2. Formation of Korean immigrant associations in Germany and the United Kingdom**

**The federation of Korean immigrant associations and regional Korean immigrant associations**

### **Formation of the federation of Korean immigrant associations and regional Korean immigrant associations in Germany**

In the 1960s, there were no Korean immigrant associations to be found. Korean miners and nurses, who collectively immigrated to Germany from 1963 and 1966, had not yet acquired permanent resident permits. Inevitably, they could not stay as Korean immigrants but simply as Korean guestworkers who had to return to Korea at the termination of their contract periods. For this reason, Korean miners and nurses in the 1960s could not organize Korean immigrant associations in Germany.

A few Korean overseas students in 1963 formed “Toesuhoe” (Society of Korean overseas students for academic discussion) in Munich. The society was recognized as the first Korean organization in Germany, though Korean immigrants were not included. Though members of the society in the general assembly in 1964 decided to change the society’s name to “Jaedok Haninhoe” (Korean immigrant association in Germany), they registered their society as “Jaedok Haksaenghoe” (association of Korean overseas students in Germany) under the form of a corporate aggregate in 1966 to the registration office of regional court in Bonn. They could not register their society as “Jaedok Haninhoe” as no Korean immigrants had yet participated in the society. (Interview)



From the early 1970s, a considerable number of Korean workers began to settle down permanently in Germany after gaining permanent resident permits through marriages between Korean miners and nurses and the extension of employments. The emergence of Korean immigrants stimulated the necessity for Korean immigrant associations in the early 1970s. Korean immigrants did not form new Korean immigrant association but instead changed the established “Jaedok Haksaenghoe” to the “Jaedok Haninhoe” as a corporation in 1973.<sup>128</sup> In the assembly meeting of 1973, the members of the “Jaedok Haksaenghoe” determined that membership should be extended to Korean immigrants and their association’s name should be changed to the “Jaedok Haninhoe”. During the same assembly, members also decided to register the association as a corporate aggregate. The name of the association was changed to “Jaedok Hanin Yeonhaphoe” (the federation of Korean immigrant associations) later. The association has functioned as the federation of Korean immigrant associations since the change of its status from the association of Korean overseas students to the association of Korean immigrants in 1973. Korean immigrants, from Korean miners and nurses, have played key roles in the development of the “Jaedok Hanin Yeonhaphoe” and the preparation of various activities of the association. (Interview)

The increase of Korean immigrants and the continuous inflow of Korean workers in the 1970s precipitated the formation of regional Korean immigrant associations in various German cities such as Cologne in 1973, Munich in 1972, and Berlin in 1972. Korean immigrants had established most of regional Korean immigrant associations in

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<sup>128</sup> In Germany, the registration of a corporation to the German court indicates that certain association has the articles of association on the basis of German legislation and it also has systematic decision and administration structure. After registration, a corporation is able to function as an official organization under legislative guarantees. (Interview) Therefore, associations registered as a corporation in this chapter can be recognized as structured organizations.



the 1970s and the 1980s in cities they resided in. (Europe and Korea Study Society, 2003: 416) Regional Korean immigrant associations in certain cities such as Frankfurt am Main and Hamburg were formed in the 1960s through the efforts of Korean overseas students and other Korean workers such as shipbuilders in addition to Korean miners and nurses.

*Korean miners went to Cologne through marriages with Korean nurses. Korean nurses worked in various hospitals including university hospitals and civil hospitals at the times. These Korean workers became Korean immigrants after obtaining permanent resident permits. Korean miners also worked in motor factories and hospitals as well as small businesses. The increase of Korean immigrants caused the formation of regional Korean immigrant association of Cologne in 1973. Although there were trivial conflicts between Korean immigrants and Korean overseas students in relation to the formation of Korean immigrant association and leadership of the association at the beginning, Korean immigrants soon had a hold on the authority of management and leadership of Korean immigrant association in Cologne. Korean immigrants in Cologne had actively participated in the formation of various Korean immigrant associations such as the Korean Miner Association and the Korean Nurse Association. (Interview)*

Many regional Korean immigrant associations were organized in the 1970s and the early 1980s around cities, such as Cologne, Dortmund, and Essen, in the midlands of Germany, where there were several coalmines. The reason was that many Korean miners got married to Korean nurses who worked in the same area and many Korean miners were recruited in large or small factories in the midlands of Western Germany after working in coalmines. Other regional Korean immigrant associations were set up mainly in the 1980s, later than those in the middle region of Germany, as the integration of Korean miners to Korean communities in North or South Germany had been a relatively slow process except for Berlin, Frankfurt am Main, and Hamburg.

### *Formation of the Korean immigrant association in Britain*

The first Korean association was “Jaeyeong Hankuk Yuhaksaenghoe” (society of Korean overseas students in the United Kingdom) in London 1958. The association changed its name to “Jaeyeong Haninhoe” (Korean immigrant association in the United Kingdom) in 1964, but members of the association were solely composed of Korean overseas students, not Korean immigrants as there were no Korean immigrants in the 1960s. Some Korean staff, mostly returned to Korea, had managed the association for friendship of its members, and then quite a few Korean immigrants had been included in the association by the end 1980s. The Korean embassy<sup>129</sup> in London regarded the “Jaeyeong Haninhoe” as only association representing Koreans or Korean immigrants in Britain, so core members of the association could be present in various events of the Korean embassy and the association acquired supports from the Korean embassy and Korean companies’ branches in London by the end 1980s. (Interview)

The number of Korean immigrants had increased to approximately several hundreds by the end 1970s. A few Korean immigrants suggested the necessity for a certain association that could represent the opinions of Korean immigrants in Britain to the Korean embassy in London and enhance friendship between Korean immigrants. A few Korean immigrants organized “Jaeyeong Kyominhoe” (Korean immigrant association in the United Kingdom) in 1979. Despite of the formation of Korean immigrant

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<sup>129</sup> The consulates of the Korean embassies in Germany and the United Kingdom have supported events of Korean immigrant associations through the way of mostly offering some funds. The offering of small funds by the Korean embassies consulates has not resulted in the control of the Korean embassies over Korean immigrant associations. Most Korean immigrant associations, especially Korean immigrant associations in Germany, have been independently managed by Korean immigrants themselves despite outside supports of their special events from the Korean embassies and Korean companies’ branches. The mediation of the Korean embassy in Britain in 1989 in relation to integration between two Korean associations was exceptional and caused by requests from two associations.



association, the association had been funded and supported from the “Jaeyeong Haninhoe” and Korean companies’ branches in Britain. (Interview)

From the mid 1980s, Korean immigrant association complained strongly to the Korean embassy in relation to the embassy’s disregard for Korean immigrants in the United Kingdom and in 1986 suggested the integration between the “Jaeyeong Kyominhoe” and the “Jaeyeong Haninhoe”. The integration of both associations was completed in 1989 with the mediation of the Korean embassy to the “Jaeyeong Haninhoe”. The integrated Korean immigrant association in 1989 was the first real Korean immigrant association that was managed by Korean immigrants.<sup>130</sup> After the integration, Korean staff did not participate in Korean immigrant association. They set up “Jaeyeong Kyeongjein Yeonhaphoe” (Korean Businessmen Federation in the United Kingdom) and then they have hosted various events for mainly Korean staff of Korean companies. (Interview)

The “Jaeyeong Haninhoe”, however, was not the federation of Korean immigrant associations because there were no other Korean immigrant associations and regional Korean immigrant associations at that time. Although there were several Korean overseas students’ societies in the United Kingdom, these societies were not related to the Korean immigrant association. Most Korean immigrants lived in areas surrounding London and in London, so Korean immigrant associations in other regions of Britain could not be formed. Therefore, there have been no regional Korean immigrant

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<sup>130</sup> Korean immigrants requested specific regulation in relation to the nomination of president of Korean immigrant association to cease the leadership of Korean staff, so there was a regulation in 1989 that stated presidential nominees had to have lived in the United Kingdom for more than three years. Because many Korean staff had to return to Korea, Korean immigrants could hold the leadership of Korean immigrant association. (Interview)



associations run by Korean immigrants in Britain except for the “Jaeyeong Haninhoe” in London.

Regional Korean associations have been established and managed by Korean overseas postgraduate or undergraduate students with the participation of a few Korean immigrants in certain regions of Britain. There have been quite a few Korean immigrants in other cities of Britain. Therefore, most regional Korean associations have been organized and managed by Korean overseas students for friendship, not by Korean immigrants. The associations cannot be considered as regional Korean immigrant associations in this research. These organizations have not had any relations to the Korean immigrant association, the “Jaeyeong Haninhoe”, in London and have not acquired any support from the association. Although the organizations have been named as “Haninhoe” (Korean immigrant association), in reality, they have been organized as societies of Korean overseas students in universities in Britain.

## **Political associations**

### **Formation of political associations in Germany**

The “Dongbaeklim Sakeon” (the East Berlin Case) in 1967 influenced the formation of Korean political associations for the democratization of Korea in Germany. Certain Korean immigrants, who were kidnapped to Korea by the KCIA, and a considerable number of Korean immigrants in West Germany believed that the Korean government forged “the Case” to strengthen anti-communism for deterrence of democratization movements by Korean universities’ students in Korea. After “the Case”, some Korean immigrants in Germany identified the Park government as an authoritarian regime and presented the necessity of organization and movement for the democratization of Korea.

From the modification of the constitution for a life-time staging in power of president Park, called as “Yusin Heonbeop”, in Korea in 1972, Korean immigrants organized demonstrations for the resignation of president Park.

On 1<sup>st</sup> March 1974, there was a demonstration assembly in which several hundreds Korean immigrants participated for the resignation of president Park and the democratization of Korea. Fifty-five Korean immigrants, including Korean miners, nurses, overseas students, and pastors, of participants formed the “Hankuk Minjusahoe Keonseol Hyeopuihoe” (Conference for Establishment of Democratic Society in Korea) to organize activities for the democratization of Korea. (<http://www.berlinreport.com>)

In the meantime, the increase of Korean workers from the 1960s revealed the necessity for political association, specifically to protect their rights at work and the anti-president Park movement. The experience of Korean miners’ strike<sup>131</sup> for reform of working and living conditions in a coalmine during the four days in 1964 influenced the formation of Korean workers’ political association. In 1975, some Korean miners organized the “Jaedok Hanin Nodongja Yeonmaeng” (Korean Workers Union in Germany) to protect their rights and interests and also largely as a democratization movement for Korea. (Interview)

The resistance of Korean nurses in relation to the increase of forceful dismissal of Korean nurses in hospitals of South Germany in the early 1977 caused the political association of Korean nurses. Korean nurses began a signature-collection campaign in diverse regions of West Germany from July 1977 to extend their stay periods and the guarantee of employment in Germany. Signature collections were sent to offices of

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<sup>131</sup> Certain interviewee, who was a president of Union of Korean Workers in Germany, indicated the occurrence of Korean miners’ strike in a coalmine in 1964 and some Korean miners were sacked for their strike. At that time, Korean miners had no alternatives to the contract termination and the Korean embassy even persuaded them to return to Korea. (Interview)



guestworkers in every Länder. Korean nurses held an official meeting, in which officials, politicians, correspondents, and representatives from German NGOs attended, for a discussion and press conference. The meeting drew substantial responses from the German government and German public. As a result, the Länder governments, starting with the Berlin city council, allowed work permits and unlimited stay of Korean nurses in Germany. After the movements, Korean nurses who had participated in the campaigns formed “Jaedok Hankuk Yeoseong Moim” (Korean Women Association in Germany) in Frankfurt am Main in September 1978 on the basis of the experiences of a signature collecting campaign and the establishment of regional Korean women associations. (Interview)

With the democratization of Korea in 1987, Korean immigrant political associations in Germany changed their goal from democratization of South Korea to reunification of North and South Korea, activities for Korean women, and solidarity of Korean immigrants in Europe. Alternatively, some political associations were dissolved with the completion of their aims. For instance, the “Hankuk Minjusahoe Keonseol Hyeopuihoe” and the “Jaedok Hanin Nodongja Yeonmaeng” were dismantled in the late 1980s and the mid 1990s, respectively. (Interview)

Korean immigrants in Germany from the 1990s had taken active part in organizations and activities for the reunification of Korea in Europe. The core members of the “Jokuktongil Beomminjok Yeonhap Europe Bonbu” (the Europe Branch of Federation of Nationals for Korea’s Reunification) and the “Jaeurope Minjokminju Undong Hyeopuihoe” (Association for Korea’s Reunification and Democracy in Europe) were mostly composed of Korean immigrants in Germany. Important members of “Hanminjok Europe Yeondae” (European Korean Solidarity), established in May



2001, are also Korean immigrants in Germany from Korean immigrant political associations. (<http://www.europe.jinbo.net>)

After the summit of two political leaders at Pyeongyang, Dae Jung Kim of South Korea and Jung Il Kim of North Korea, in June 2001, the theme of reunification of Korea has been led not by Korean immigrant political associations and NGO in Korea but by the Korean government, so the role of “Jokuktongil Beomminjok Yeonhap Europe Bonbu” has been deeply weakened.

### *Formation of political association in Britain*

In Britain, there were no Korean immigrant political associations in the 1990s. Korean immigrants in the United Kingdom had been indifferent to political circumstances in Korea and their rights in Britain as foreign immigrants. The reason was that small Korean immigrant population and short migration history had limited Korean immigrants' interests within only their livelihoods in the United Kingdom.

With the rapid increase of Koreans in the 2000s, however, Korean overseas students and a few Korean immigrants in 2004 organized a few activities in regard to political situations in Korea.<sup>132</sup> Some Korean overseas students and Korean immigrants, participated in the political activities, set up the “Jaeyeong Hanin Simin Yeondae” (Korean people's solidarity in the United Kingdom) for the protection of Koreans' rights and the democracy and reunification of Korea in July 2004. (<http://www.purekorea.org>)

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<sup>132</sup> The impeachment of president Rho by Korean opposition parties in March 2004 caused strong denouncements against opposition parties from civil society in Korea and Korean immigrant communities around the world. Several Korean overseas students and Korean immigrants arranged gatherings and a signature collection campaign to criticize the impeachment in London and New Malden. (The Hankyoreh, 15<sup>th</sup> March and 31<sup>st</sup> March 2004)

The late emergence of Korean political association in Britain, unlike its counterpart in Germany, was a result from the influence of an establishing migration system between Britain and Korea, which has a relatively smaller Korean immigrant population and shorter migration duration.

## **Economic and professional associations**

### **Formation of professional associations in Germany**

Several ex-Korean miners, who remained in Germany after working in mines for three years, organized an association, called the “Jaedok Glückauf<sup>133</sup> Chinmokhoe” (Korean Miners Association in Germany), in 1973, when was a ten year anniversary of immigration of Korean miners to Germany, for friendship and cooperation between ex-Korean miners.

The shared experiences of hard labour and poor working conditions in mines had enhanced the solidarity of Korean miners, so ex-Korean miners set up an association to continue to strengthen their relationship and increase cooperation during their settlements in Germany after the termination of their contract. In 1997, the association registered as a corporation to support solutions for problems faced by ex-Korean miners such as various difficulties in their old ages. (Interview)

Korean nurses’ association, called the “Jaedok Kanho hyeophoe”, in Bonn in September 1985 was formed on the basis of the establishment of eight regional Korean nurses’ associations in the 1970s which were in several German cities such as West Berlin,<sup>134</sup> Frankfurt am Main, and Hessen. The association was established for the

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<sup>133</sup> “Glückauf” means “good luck up”. Miners have to work in deep underground, so they hope they can go up without any accident in underground. Miners in German coalmines have said “glückauf” as a saying of greeting.

<sup>134</sup> Especially, West Berlin city council had supported regional Korean nurses’ association in West Berlin



protection of Korean nurses' rights, friendship activities, and cultural education of second generation immigrants. The association was registered as a corporation from the beginning and it was recognized as an official organization in relation to medical service by the Ministry of Health in the Germany government in 1989, and then it also acquired a tax favour as a public corporation from 1991. (Interview)

### *Formation of economic association in Britain*

Unlike Korean immigrants in Germany, most Korean immigrants in the United Kingdom have been employed in self-owned businesses or have managed small businesses such as overseas study agencies, travel agencies, and small trade business. Subsequently, the needs of association for Korean self-employers and small businessmen have grown with the increase of Korean immigrants from the mid 1990s.

In the end 2001, some Korean self-employers and small businessmen organized the "Jaeyeong Kyomin Sangkongin Hyeopuihoe" (Korean Business Association in the United Kingdom) with aims of solving problems faced by small Korean businesses in Britain, friendship, and the exchange of information concerning management of their businesses. (Interview)

The association was the first Korean immigrants' economic association in the United Kingdom. The professional associations of Korean immigrants in Germany, mainly Korean workers' associations, were formed in the 1970s and the 1980s. In contrast, Korean immigrant economic association in Britain was set up much later in the

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through the offering of subsidiaries and place for the association before 1989. That was why West Berlin city intended to increase the population in the city. With the support from the city council, the formation of regional Korean nurses' association in West Berlin seemed to be earlier than other cities and Länder.



2000s under the circumstances of a short immigration period and a small Korean immigrant population.

## **Cultural and educational associations**

### **Formation of cultural and educational associations in Germany**

The formation of Korean immigrants' cultural associations came later compared to those of other Korean immigrant associations. From the 1980s, when many Korean workers began showing signs of stability in their lives, Korean immigrants organized various cultural associations and groups for the introduction of Korean culture to German society and the instruction of Korean culture to second generation. (Yoo, 1998: 92)

For instance, the "Hankuk Minjung Munhwa Moim" (Korean People's Culture Association), registered as a corporation, was set up in Bochum in the 1980s with the goal to introduce Korean culture to German society and to instruct Korean traditional culture to Korean immigrants and to the second generation. (Korea and Europe Study Society, 2003: 422) In the meantime, the Korean Women Association played important roles as a cultural association in addition to its task of being a political association in the 1980s and the 1990s. The association arranged diverse events for the teaching of traditional Korean culture, the instruction of second generation Korean immigrants, and the presentation of Korean culture to German society. The regional associations of the Korean Women Association began organizing "Pungmul Pae" (Korean Traditional Folk Music Group) in several cities in the 1980s. (Interview)

Korean language schools<sup>135</sup> in individual Korean communities of overseas countries have greatly contributed to the maintenance of Korean identity for the second generation with their Korean language and culture lessons. The enthusiasm of Korean immigrants in regard to their children's education and the recognized need to strengthen identity among the second generation has resulted in the organization of Korean language schools along with the formation of Korean communities in individual cities of destination countries. The schools have been managed mostly by Korean immigrants' self-regulation and support from Korean immigrants, though there have been small contributions made by the Korean embassies. The formation of Korean language schools in Germany had its roots from the organization of Korean language school in Cologne in April 1973.

#### *Formation of educational associations in Britain*

In Britain, there has been no such formation of Korean immigrants' cultural associations that have influenced Korean immigrants and Korean community through their organization and activity, though there are a few clubs for individual satisfaction through cultural activities.

The first Korean language school was founded in London in 1972, earlier than the formation of Korean language school in Germany in 1973. Although the students of the school consisted solely of young children of Korean staff and officials in the Korean embassy at the time, Korean students in primary and secondary schools joined the classes later. Several regional Korean language schools in the 1990s were organized in

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<sup>135</sup> Most Korean language schools in foreign countries have been founded by Korean immigrants and classes are arranged by them on Saturday on regular basis. There were 1,664 Korean language schools in 95 foreign countries in 2001. (Ministry of Education in Korea, 2001: 110)



various major cities in Britain. The number of regional Korean language schools has risen to about 20 in the 2000s. (Interview)

With the exception of the school in London, the formations of regional Korean language schools in the United Kingdom had been later than those in Germany with the influence of the establishing migration system. Korean language schools in Britain were established mainly for the purpose of teaching the Korean language, not the education of Korean culture, dissimilar to the aims of Korean language schools in Germany.

### **Social associations**

#### **Formation of social associations for friendship in Germany**

The first Korean athletic meeting was held in August 1971 by the regional Korean immigrant associations to commemorate the Korean Independence Day in Oberhausen. After the event, Korean immigrants discussed the necessity for an association for Korean immigrant athletic meetings, and subsequently Korean immigrants in 1976 formed the “Jaedok Daehan Cheyukhoe” (Korean Immigrant Athletic Association in Germany) for the participation of Korean athletic events in Korea, the support of sports clubs such as the Korean immigrant football society, and regular athletic meetings in order to help Korean immigrant bond. The association has functioned as a federation representing various Korean immigrants’ sports societies and clubs such as football, volleyball, bowling, and golf. From the onset, the association firmly secured its role as an association enhancing friendship in Korean immigrants through sporting events. (Interview)

Korean immigrants in Germany have developed associations, collectively referred to as the “Hyangwoohoe”, in relation to their origin regions such as the Middle, South



West, and South East areas in Korea to promote friendship. The friendship and solidarity of Korean immigrants from the South West region in Korea, in particular, has been stronger than any other Korean immigrants because they shared common experiences of discriminations in the politics and economy by Korean presidents who mainly came from South East region, called the “Yeongnam Jibang”.

Korean immigrants from the South West region in Korea organized the “Honam Hyangwoohoe” (Association of Korean Immigrants from the Honam District) in 1966 much earlier than the formation of associations of Korean immigrants from other regions such as the “Chungcheong” and “Yeongnam” regions both of which were formed at the end 1990s. The reason was that many Korean workers had been from the Jeonla-do provinces, which had been a less developed region, in the South West region of Korea. The association was established for the enhancement of their members’ friendship and their relationship with other associations and their origin region in Korea. (Interview)

The growth of the second generation, graduating from universities and working in Germany, resulted in their association for friendship and exchange of information in various areas. In November 2000, the Korean German Network, an association of second generation in Germany, was organized in Frankfurt am Main and was attended by more than 100 their members for the purposes of increasing friendship among members, sharing various professional experiences, and providing an opportunity for meeting with Korean politicians and businessmen from Korea and those in Germany. The members of the association were composed of second generation Korean immigrants who worked in various professions in Germany after graduating from Korean or German universities. ([http://www.kgnetwork.org/korean/aboutus\\_html](http://www.kgnetwork.org/korean/aboutus_html))

### **Formation of social association for friendship in Britain**

There were no associations, which have influenced Korean immigrants or Korean immigrant community through their activities, for Korean immigrants' friendship in the United Kingdom with the stage of migration system between Korea and Britain. Though the "Jaeyeong Daehan Cheyukhoe" (Korean Sports Council in the United Kingdom) was formed in 2002 by a group of Korean immigrants, it cannot be regarded as a similar organization to match the Korean Immigrant Athletic Association in Germany as it have been managed by several Korean immigrants and its' activities have been limited to mainly Korean overseas students and Koreans in London. (Interview)

## **3. Development of Korean immigrant associations in Germany and the United Kingdom**

**The federation of Korean immigrant associations and regional Korean immigrant associations**

### **Organization of the federation of Korean immigrant associations and regional Korean immigrant associations**

#### ***Increase and members' growth of the federation of Korean immigrant associations and regional Korean immigrant associations in Germany***

According to the statistics released by the Korean government, there were the federation of Korean associations in Bonn and three regional Korean associations in Hamburg, Hannover, and Göttingen in 1968. Korean overseas students and some Korean workers, who had not yet settled down permanently in Germany, formed and managed these Korean associations. (Asia Bureau of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1968: 369-374)

After the expansion of membership from Korean overseas students to Korean immigrants in 1973, the federation of Korean immigrant associations became the association representing all Korean immigrants in Germany. From the mid 1970s, the members of the association radically changed to Korean immigrants including Korean miners, nurses, and workers. Though the increase of members in the association had been related to the growth of overall Korean immigrants in Germany, the rise of authentic members in the federation of Korean immigrant associations, in practice, had depended on the increase of regional Korean immigrant associations, representing certain regional Korean immigrants, and other central Korean immigrant associations such as the Korean Miners Association and the Korean Nurses Association in Germany. It was these continuous additions of Korean immigrant associations to the federation of Korean immigrant associations that ultimately contributed to the increase of Korean immigrant members in the federation.

Regional Korean immigrant associations had entered into members of the federation of Korean immigrant associations from the 1970s. Most regional Korean immigrant associations were formed in the 1970s and the 1980s, so the increase of members in the federation of Korean immigrant associations had been continuous in these years. Five regional Korean immigrant associations in Dienslaken, Ludwigshafen, Hannover, Frankfurt am Main, and Hamburg were organized in the 1960s, while the regional Korean immigrant association in Bedburg-Han was formed in 1990. By 2001, regional Korean immigrant associations had increased to thirty-five, so 29 regional Korean immigrant associations had been established in the 1970s and the 1980s. (Lee, 1996: 78-82, Korea and Europe Study Society, 2003: 415-416)



The joining of the Korean Miners Association, Korean Nurses Association, and Korean Immigrant Athletic Association occurred in the mid 1980s to the federation of Korean immigrant associations. These associations have had their regional branches in cities of Germany and have functioned as a kind of federation for regional branches of Korean workers association and Korean immigrant athletic association. The joining of these central associations to the federation made a contribution to the increase of members in the federation and strengthened the federation's function as a representative association for Korean immigrants in Germany. (Interview)

The dispersion of Korean nurses to diverse cities in Germany between the 1960s and the 1970s had played a part in the increase and formation of many regional Korean immigrant associations in Germany. Korean miners, working in Middle region coalmines in Germany, moved to various cities through marriages with Korean nurses, and then these Korean families formed Korean communities and regional Korean immigrant associations in cities in Northern and Southern regions of Germany.

The members of regional Korean immigrant associations had increased from the 1970s to the 1980s with the growth of Korean immigrant population in Germany. The members of the associations had risen slowly with the integration of a few ex-Korean staff and ex-Korean overseas students to the associations in the 1990s, but, more importantly, the joining of second generation Korean immigrants has created new inflows to the associations and a rise in the numbers of members in their associations. Several regional Korean immigrant associations, such as those in Berlin, Cologne, and Frankfurt am Main, have had relatively high number of Korean immigrant members compared to other regional associations. For example, there are around four thousand members in the associations of both Berlin and Frankfurt am Main. The reason for this

was that many Korean nurses moved into these cities and Korean miners joined Korean immigrant associations through marriages with Korean nurses, and ex-Korean staff, worked in branches of Korean companies in Frankfurt am Main or West Berlin, and ex-Korean students integrated to these associations. (Interview)

As indicated above, the increase of members in the federation of Korean immigrant associations had depended on the continuous joining of thirty-five regional Korean immigrant associations and three central Korean immigrant associations, as well as the rise of Korean immigrants. The number of members in regional Korean immigrant associations had increased with immigration of Korean workers, staff, and students.

#### *Members' increase of the Korean immigrant association in Britain*

The Korean immigrant association, referred as the "Jaeyeong Haninhoe", in the United Kingdom has functioned not as the federation of Korean immigrant associations but as regional Korean immigrant association in London. Therefore, the members of the association were not from regional Korean immigrant associations or central Korean immigrant associations in contrast to the members of the federation of Korean immigrant associations in Germany. The association's members have been mostly Korean immigrants who have lived around London.<sup>136</sup> There has not been a history of regional Korean immigrant associations, except in London, which were established by Korean immigrants in Britain due to the fact that most of Korean immigrants had settled

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<sup>136</sup> The Korean immigrant association in London did not include "Yeonhap" (the federation) in its name. The reason is that it did not integrate regional or central Korean immigrant associations as the federation and represent Korean immigrants and Koreans in the United Kingdom. However, the association has functioned as representing Korean immigrants and Korean associations in Britain in regard to connection with the Korean embassy in London and the Korean government.

down around Greater London. Therefore, the formation of the federation of Korean immigrant associations was not possible under the circumstance.

The increase of members of the Korean immigrant association has reflected the rise of Korean immigrants around London. The number of Korean immigrants around London has increased from 2,500 in the mid 1990s to 6000 at recent times, so the number of members of the Korean immigrant association in London has been increasing with the rise of Korean immigrants. However, only a small number of Korean immigrants have recognized the Korean immigrant association as the organization representing them. (Interview)

### ***Structure of the federation of Korean immigrant associations and regional Korean immigrant associations in Germany***

Korean overseas students presented official articles of the association including aim, membership, management, and fund of the association, to register the “Jaedok Haksaenghoe”, the predecessor of the federation of Korean immigrant associations, to the court as a corporation in 1966. The general assembly of the association made a decision in relation to accounts and election of a president and members in an executive committee. In a general assembly in 1973, the members of “Jaedok Haksaenghoe” changed its name as the “Jaedok Haninhoe”, and registered the “Jaedok Haninhoe” as a corporation legally in court. The membership of the association had also extended to Korean immigrants with the changes made in 1973. The regulation in relation to positions and rights of vice-presidents was also established in newly made changes. (Interview)



After 1973, the members of the federation's general meeting had been composed of representatives from regional Korean immigrant associations and other central Korean immigrant associations such as the Korean Miners Association and the Korean Nurses Association. The terms of office of the president and the executive in 1977 was extended from one year to two years by the general assembly. In the general assembly in 1993, the articles of the association were modified. The name of the association was officially changed to the "Jaedok Hanin Yeonhaphoe" (the federation of Korean immigrant associations) a more suitable for its status and role, though the name of the federation had been in use from the end 1970s.

In the regulation of members, the mention of "Korean immigrants in West Berlin" indicated the exclusion of Korean immigrants in East Germany during divisionary period of Germany, though there were no Korean immigrants in East Germany. This terminology was removed to reflect the presence of integration between West and East Germany in 1990. (<http://www.eucosof.de>) (<http://www.berlinreport.com>)

The articles of the federation include the official name of the federation, Bundesverband der Koreaner in Deutschland e.V (the Federation of Korean Immigrant Associations) and its aims for formation, regulations of membership, management, and funds. The federation has been regarded as an organization that has represented all Korean immigrants and Korean immigrant associations and has worked to enhance the relationship between German society and Korea.

Even though the members of the federation are all Korean immigrants who live in Germany, it is impossible for all Korean immigrants to gather for the general assembly, so representatives from 35 regional Korean immigrant associations and three central Korean immigrant associations, assigned in proportion to the number of their members,

attend the general meeting which decides important issues including the election of president, accounts, and plans of activities. The presidents of three central Korean immigrant associations; the Korean Miners Association, the Korean Nurses Association, and the Korean Immigrant Athletic Association, have automatically been named as vice-presidents of the federation. The president of the federation has appointed the members of the executives. The executives include various departments in regard to important issues of Korean immigrants in Germany such as education, children, women's rights, and relationship with Korea and management of the federation such as finance and arrangement.

The elections for the position of president have been fiercely competitive with plural candidates contesting. The problems of election process even sometimes brought about a lawsuit against the winner by the defeated election camp. During these situations, until the final decision of court, the president and the executives did not have the ability to manage the federation. The funding of the federation has been derived from Korean immigrant associations, the members of the executives including the presidents, and branches of Korean companies in Germany. (Interview)

Most regional Korean immigrant associations have had the articles of their aims, membership, management, and funds. The aims of the associations have been introduced mostly as the enhancement of friendship between Korean immigrants, the protection of Korean immigrant rights, and the promotion of friendship between Korean community and German society. In their articles, most regional associations have regarded themselves as affiliates of the federation of Korean immigrant associations.

The general meetings of members have become important institutions to elect the president and vice-president of the organizations and to decide on plans for a variety of



activities. In usual, the executives of the associations have several staff in charge of secretarial duties and accounts. Several regional Korean immigrant associations such as Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Cologne, and Hamburg, with its several thousand members, have had many members of the executives like the federation of Korean immigrant associations and they have had competitive elections for the presidents from the 1980s. Some of them, such as regional Korean immigrant associations in Frankfurt am Main and Hamburg, are also registered as a corporation in court. Their funds contrived mainly from member fees, ranging from 35 to 50 Euro per house hold or person, by members and small sums of support from Korean companies' branches. (Interview)

The federation of Korean immigrant associations and most regional Korean immigrant associations in Germany have their official articles of associations and decision and administration system composed by members of the associations, so these associations in Germany are recognized as structured associations in regard to the development of an association structure.

### ***Structure of the Korean immigrant association in Britain***

Even if the Korean immigrant association in Britain has set its official articles of association, including its aims of establishment and regulations of members since 1991, there have been continuous changes in the articles and the articles have provided rough explanations and guidelines rather than detailed clarification in regard to their purpose, membership, and management.

The decision and administration system by members of the association has not been formed sufficiently in contrast to its counterpart in Germany. The association has not



registered as a corporation unlike the federation of Korean immigrant associations in Germany, hence the association is not legally recognized in Britain.

The association introduced its purposes for establishment as the enhancement of friendship between Koreans and the cultural exchange of Korea and United Kingdom. Its main purpose is not the representation of Korean immigrants in Britain. A president, several dozen board members, and several staff have decided on all activities and managed the association. In particular, board members are composed of elderly Korean immigrants and ex-Korean staff most of whom held positions such as directors of branches of Korean companies. In addition, there had been no changes in board members since the integration between the “Jaeyeong Kyominhoe” and the “Jaeyeong Haninhoe” in 1989 until 2002. The board only appointed the president of the association from 1989 until 2002. Most presidents had been one of board members in the association. The rule of president election was, however, made only in recent times, and the first election for presidency of the association by its members occurred in 2002. It should be noted that at best one hundred Korean immigrants participated in the election.<sup>137</sup>

Meanwhile, the fund for management has been raised from the support of Korean companies' branches and the Korean embassy in London as well as self-funding by individual presidents. The funds from Korean companies' branches have been accounted for approximately ninety percent of entire operational expenses. There has been little payment of membership fees by members and even some of the board members have not paid their fees. (Interview)

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<sup>137</sup> Most Korean immigrants have not paid their member fees as they thought they have not been members of the Korean immigrant association in London and they have also not been interested in the president election of the association. The number of Korean immigrants, who could vote for the president election with payment of their member fees, was quite small in 2002.

Unlike the federation of Korean immigrant associations in Germany, the Korean immigrant association in the United Kingdom does not have detailed articles of association included its aim, membership, and management and it has had no official legal status on the basis of British legislation. The decision and administration system run by members also has not been completely established. However, there have been some changes, such as continuous election for the association's president by members from 2002, formation of election regulations, and appointment of board members, for structural development of the Korean immigrant association in Britain. The Korean immigrant association, therefore, has the characteristic of a semi-structured association as it has not been developed sufficiently in aspects of the articles of association and decision and administration system by members.

### **Activities of the federation of Korean immigrant associations and regional Korean immigrant associations**

#### ***Activities of the federation of Korean immigrant associations and regional Korean immigrant associations in Germany***

The federation of Korean immigrant associations has held several events for Korean immigrants in Germany. The federation has commemorated the independence movement in 1919 against the Japanese colonial rule, around 1<sup>st</sup> March every year. It has held a speech contest of the independence movement and Korea, in which youth and children of Korean immigrants have participated, to commemorate the independence movement. The most important event to be held by the federation has been the gathering of Korean immigrants in Germany around 15<sup>th</sup> August, the Independence Day from the Japanese rule in 1945, in Castrop-Rauxel of Germany's middle region. Many



members of regional Korean immigrant associations and three central Korean immigrant associations have participated in the event. There has been a high level of Korean immigrant attendance with more than 3,000 Koreans at the event, though the number of participants has been decreased slightly at recent times. The event has consisted of athletic and entertainment meetings and a Korean food festival. (Interview)

The federation has officially presented Korean immigrants' problems to the Korean embassy in Germany or the Korean government as a representative organization of Korean immigrants in Germany. In recent times, core members of the federation including presidents have put pressure on the Korean governments and Korean companies in relation to issues of Korean immigrants' dual nationality and employment of second generation Korean immigrants to Korean companies in Germany whenever they visited Korea. In relation to the enhancement of friendly relationship with German society, the federation has participated in various events such as an evening event of Korean-German culture, a multicultural carnival, and an Asian Day with supports from regional Korean immigrant associations. It has also supported diverse activities for interchanges between Koreans and Germans. There have been yet no requests of the federation to the German government in regard to problems of Korean immigrants such as welfare of old age Korean immigrants.<sup>138</sup> Meanwhile, the federation have also created a program for visiting Korea for Korean immigrants and second generation Korean immigrants and have supported the education of the Korean language to second

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<sup>138</sup> A considerable number of Korean immigrants have acquired aids from branches of the Caritas Verband, the organization of Catholic Churches in Germany for helping foreign immigrants or disabled people, not from the German government, though the German governments have supported the organization through subsidiaries. Korean staff of the Caritas Verband in several cities such as Cologne and Frankfurt am Main has supported the solutions of Korean immigrants' problems such as settlements, stays, and family reunifications. (Interview)



generation immigrant. The departments of the executives have assisted various activities of Korean immigrant related works of individual departments. (Interview)

The activities of regional Korean immigrant associations have concentrated on events to enhance friendship in Korean immigrants and to introduce Korean culture to regional German societies. Specifically, there have been several parties and meetings, such as a year-end party, Korean New-Year Day and Thanks-Giving Day party,<sup>139</sup> and Korean immigrant athletic meeting, to be held by regional Korean immigrant associations. The ceremony parties of Korean New-Year Day and Thanks-Giving Day have consisted of speeches by guests, performances of Korean traditional music, dance by Korean immigrants, and a Korean dinner. In these events, most members of regional associations have paid member fees and financial supports for their associations. Additionally, guests also have provided sponsorship for regional Korean immigrant associations. (Interview)

Meanwhile, some regional associations, such as Frankfurt am Main and Berlin, have taken part in regional festivals and carnivals of German societies or city councils. For instance, the Berlin city council has held "Karneval der Kulturen" (The Culture Carnival) in May every year. Many foreign immigrants including Korean immigrants have participated in the Carnival to introduce their traditional cultures. Korean immigrants and second generation in Berlin have displayed Korean traditional music, dance, and Korean martial arts, called "Taekkwondo", to German citizens. They have also arranged meetings with German people for friendship in a variety of ways.<sup>140</sup> (Interview)

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<sup>139</sup> The president of the federation, Korean officials in Korean embassy, Korean staff, and presidents of other regional associations have usually participated in these parties for the speech of encouragement and fund supports.

<sup>140</sup> Many regional Korean immigrant associations have continuously provided opportunities of meeting

Regional Korean immigrant associations have participated in the Independence Day event of the federation and have aided Korean language schools in each region. Several regional associations, as Hamburg, also have usually held educational programmes concerning Korean culture and have organized invitation events for adopted Koreans in Germany. (Korea and Europe Study Society, 2003: 414-415) In addition, many regional Korean immigrant associations have supported the activities of Korean immigrants' diversified tastes such as dance, golf, football, and paduk. (Interview)

Many regional associations have made efforts to secure buildings or offices for Korean immigrants, especially elderly Korean immigrants, but the arrangements of building or offices have not been easy to regional Korean immigrant associations for funds. Regional associations, therefore, have applied for the support of their city council in addition to fund-raising. Regional associations in Berlin and Hamburg acquired their offices, called as "Hanin Hoekwan", from each city council in the 1980s. (Interview)

Regional associations have sometimes arranged activities for the protection of Korean immigrants in addition. For example, in the case that Germans members of the Neo-Nazi group assaulted a Korean girl in Düsseldorf, regional Korean immigrant association presented a statement of denunciation and organized demonstrations to stop the extreme right' violence with other Korean immigrant associations. (The Hankyoreh, 9<sup>th</sup> April 2001 and 7<sup>th</sup> May 2001)

The federation and regional Korean immigrant associations in Germany have held many events on regular basis and have organized various activities for friendship, the

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between Korean immigrant families and Korean-German families, mostly German husbands and Korean wives, through events like a year-end party. In particular, Korean-German families in relatively small regional associations have actively taken part in various events. (Interview)



education of Korean immigrants, interchange with German societies in aspect of culture, and relations with Korea.

### *Activities of the Korean immigrant association in Britain*

The activities of the Korean immigrant association in Britain have been increasing and diversifying since the 1990s. After the integration, the Korean immigrant association has held year-end parties and picnics in summers. It also have arranged Korean immigrant athletic meeting such as golf tournaments.

In the 2000s, the association has organized Korean culture and food festivals in the New Malden for the introduction of Korean culture to Kingston citizens. It provided Kingston city council with earnings from festivals to support medical institutions around New Malden. It also has arranged for educational programmes of English lessons for Korean immigrants. On an irregular basis, several concerts were held for fund-raising in regard to the construction of a Korean immigrant building, though the fund-raising ended in failure. Core members of the association have also attended regular meetings, such as the assembly of Korean immigrant associations' presidents, in Korea hosted by branch of the Korean government. (Interview)

The Korean immigrant association in Britain has organized several events for Korean immigrants and Korean culture introductions to British society. Although the activities of the association have been increasing, there have been irregularities and cessation of the associations' activities unlike those of the federation and regional Korean immigrant associations in Germany. The activities of the Korean immigrant association in Britain share similar characteristic to those of smaller regional Korea immigrant associations in Germany.



## **Political associations**

### **Organization of political associations**

#### ***Increase and members' growth of political associations in Germany***

After the formation of the Conference for Establishment of Democratic Society in Korea in 1974, there had been establishments of Korean immigrant political associations and several political Korean immigrant groups between the 1970s and the 1980s such as the Korean Workers Union and the Korean Women Association in the 1970s, Korean Christian Society for Korea Unification, and Korean immigrant's political educational groups of labour in the 1980s.<sup>141</sup> The Conference had functioned as the organization for discussions and decisions of political movement plans in Germany by representatives from political associations such as the Korean Workers Union, the Korean Women Association, and individual political activists. With the process of democratization of Korea from 1987, the functions and activities of the Conference for democratization of Korea had ended in practice in the end 1980s. (Interview)

From the 1990s, Korean immigrants in Germany have been devoted to the construction of Korean immigrant political associations in Europe. There have been continuous establishments of political associations by Korean immigrants in Germany and they are as follows: The Europe Branch in Federation of Nationals for Korea's Reunification, the Association for Korea's Reunification and Democracy in Europe, and European Korean Solidarity. The most core members and common members of these

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<sup>141</sup> In the 1980s, some Germans formed "Korea Komitee" (Korea Committee) that worked and studied for democratization and reunification of Korea. The members of the Committee were composed as researchers in universities and ordinary Germans. The Committee has contributed to presentation and publication of their study in regard to the democracy and reunification of Korea. (Interview)

associations have been from Korean immigrants in Germany.<sup>142</sup> The emergence of these political associations in Europe has been caused, not only by the democratization of Korea but also the division between Korean political activists of a point of view in relation to North Korea from the mid 1990s. (Interview)

There have been a relatively high number of Korean immigrants' political associations in Germany since the 1970s, though the interests of Korean immigrants have changed to Korean immigrants political movements in Europe from the 1990s. The number of members pertained to these political associations has not been comparatively small considered the entire Korean immigrants in Germany.<sup>143</sup> In recent times, some second generation have joined Korean immigrants' political associations as new members.

### *Members of political association in Britain*

Most members of the "Korean People's Solidarity in the United Kingdom" have been Korean overseas students with the intention to return to Korea after their study, so the association has not been as a political association entirely composed of Korean immigrants in Britain in contrast to Korean immigrants' political associations in Germany.

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<sup>142</sup> The organizations and activities of these associations in European countries are not explained as the interest of this research concentrates on political organization and activity of Korean immigrants in Germany. These associations have aimed at the political solidarity of Korean immigrants in Europe, not in Germany, though most of members have been Korean immigrants in Germany. For example, the European Korean Solidarity indicated its purposes as follows: "we will make efforts for protection of Korean immigrants' rights and solidarity in Europe; we will make efforts for democracy and reunification of Korea; we will make efforts for solidarity of Korean immigrant political associations in Europe". (<http://europe.jinbo.net>)

<sup>143</sup> Individual associations, the Korean Workers Union and the Korean Women Association, have had several dozen members from Korean miners and nurses. The members of the Korean Workers Union reached to more than fifty and the number of members in the Korean Women Association amounted to more than one hundred and thirty. (Interview)

### *Structure of political associations in Germany*

The Korean Workers Union had the articles of association including aim, membership, and management drawn up. The general assembly of the Union determined important issues of the association such as plans of political movements in Germany and elections of presidents and members of central committee of the Union. Committee members and the president appointed the members of the executives who arranged political movements. The members of the Union were mostly Korean miners and nurses. The funds for activity and management were accrued from member fees by members and German and Korean individuals who wanted to support the democratization movement of Korean immigrants in Germany for Korea. (Interview)

The Korean Women Association also has its formal articles of association. In particular, the association has no president or board unlike any other Korean immigrant associations. The aim behind having no president or board was to create a democratic structure of association by avoiding the centralization of power. Subsequently, the secretary group, composed of four secretaries and an accountant elected by the general meeting of members, represented and managed the association. (Interview)

The general meeting has been held in the fall of every year in order to discuss and decide any changes in the articles of association, plans of activity, and finance. Before the general meeting, members of the association have discussed all agendas of the general assembly in a regional meeting of members. The association has had regional groups by members such as Berlin, Frankfurt am Main, Heidelberg, Munich, and Cologne. Regional groups have organized specific activities on the basis of regional



members' requests. The fund of the association has been gained through member's fees and individual or German organizations' subsidiaries. (Interview)

Korean immigrant political associations in Germany had their articles of association and their members have set up and have sustained the decision and administration system of the associations as structured organizations.

### ***Structure of political association in Britain***

The Korean People's Solidarity in Britain has rules of association of purposes, membership, and management. To be a member of the association, member's fee must be paid as in the case of the Korean immigrant association in London. The general meeting has the power to elect a president and members of the executives and to examine financial situations and plans of activity. The executives are able to make a decision for the management of the association and to arrange activities of the association. (<http://www.purekorea.org>)

In relation to structure, the Solidarity in Britain has been, on the surface, similar to Korean immigrant political associations in Germany, but there is a concern that decision and administration system by members has not been operated in practice due to short periods of establishment and quite a small member. Therefore, the association has the characteristic of semi-structured organization.

### **Activities of political associations**

#### ***Activities of political associations in Germany***

The "Conference for Establishment of Democratic Society in Korea" organized various activities, such as declarations and demonstrations, for the democratization of Korea.

For instance, Korean immigrants, who were members of the organization, occupied the Korean embassy in Bonn and announced a statement requesting the democratization of Korea soon after the president Park's death in October 1979. The Conference had also arranged many political movements for the democratization of Korea in the 1980s after "Kwangju Hangjaeng" (the resistance of Kwangju citizens for democratization and anti-military regime) in May 1980. It disclosed the massacre to Kwanju citizens by the military government of the president Chun and requested the impeachment of the military dictator and the country's democratization. (Interview)

The Korean Workers Union had arranged and participated in political movements for the democratization of Korea, anti-Park and Chun political movements, in the 1970s and the 1980s and for the reunification of Korea from the mid 1980s. It also supported court battles for Korean miners dismissed from German coalmines and Korean political asylum seekers through the way of providing interpretation services in courts and demonstrations. The Union had published its journals such as the "Haebang" (The Liberation) annually in Korean text and the "Nodongjaeui Bulkkoch" (The Flame of Labourers) in German text. The activities of the Union had influenced the formation of Korean Workers Unions in Japan and the United States later. (Interview) The Union had also supported Korean workers with the poorest living conditions and Korean Workers Union in Korea on a random basis. For instance, it sent 300 DM to "Jeonnohyeop" (the Conference of Workers Union in Korea) for the activity of "the Conference" in 1990. (The Hankyoreh, 28<sup>th</sup> February 1990)

The Korean Women Association has arranged various themed seminars since the 1970s. They have been as follows: political movements for women, problems of Korean women and women workers in Germany and Korea, political and economic



circumstances of Korea, and Korean culture. The association has published its journal, called as "Jaedok Hankuk Yeoseong Moin" (The Korean Women Association in Germany), every year and diverse references in the 1990s such as exposure books of Korean women workers' presence and Korean women, referred to "Jeongsindae", who were forced to prostitute themselves to Japanese soldiers during the Pacific-Asian War in the 1940s by the Japanese government in German text. The association organized many events and activities in Germany for improving working conditions of Korean women workers in Korea in the 1970s and the 1980s by disclosing the horrendous working situations in Korea to public.<sup>144</sup> It has participated in many political movements and events concerning the democratization of Korea and Korean workers, which other Korean immigrant associations organized, in Germany. The association has also supported movements for North Korean aid in the 2000s. (Interview)

In recent times, all Korean immigrant political associations around 15<sup>th</sup> June since 2001 have held together a ceremony to commemorate the first presidential summit, between the president Kim in South Korea and North Korea's political leader in 2000, for a discussion regarding reunification of South and North Korea. Individual political activists and groups in Korean immigrants as well as political associations have taken part in the ceremony. (Interview)

There have been many and diverse activities hosted by Korean immigrant political associations such as seminars, publications, and demonstrations for the democratization and reunification of Korea from the 1970s. Nowadays, Korean immigrants have

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<sup>144</sup> For instance, the association had organized various activities to disclose working conditions of Korean women of "Flair Fashion" factory in Iri city that is a city in South-West region in Korea. The factory was a branch of German clothing company. The association exposed worse working conditions of Korean women workers to German media and German organizations including German Workers Union and sent notes of protest to the head firm of "Flair Fashion" in Germany. (Interview)



contributed to the establishment and diversified activities of Korean immigrant political associations in Europe beyond Germany.

### ***Activities of political association in Britain***

The activities of the Solidarity have relied on individual activities of several members in relation to the political circumstances of Korea from the establishment, unlike Korean immigrant political associations in Germany. The president and chief secretary have participated in diverse events of Korean immigrant associations in Korea such as Korean immigrants' NGO conference and the solidarity has delivered the statements of Korean-Japan relationship and political situations in Korea with other Korean immigrant NGOs. (<http://www.kin.or.kr>) Though activities of the solidarity have been limited in individual actions, there have been increasing activities of the solidarity in recent times.

### **Economic and professional associations**

#### **Organization of economic and professional associations**

#### ***Increase and members' growth of professional associations in Germany***

The members of the Korean Miners Association in Germany had increased with the permanent settlement of ex-Korean miners in Germany from the 1970s. In 1974, membership reached up to two hundred. Since then, over 3,500 Korean miners have joined the association. Meanwhile, the members of the Korean Nurses Association have also grown under similar circumstances to the Korean Miners Association with the immigration and settlement of Korean nurses to Germany. The number of members in the association has increased up to over 2,500. (Interview)

The Korean Miners Association has four regional branches in Berlin, Hamburg, Frankfurt am Main, and the Middle region of Germany. Similarly, the Korean Nurses Association has numerous regional branches in locations such as Berlin, Frankfurt am Main, Hamburg, and so forth. The Korean Nurses Association was founded in the 1980s after the establishment of eight regional Korean nurses associations in the 1970s, dissimilarly to the Korean Miners Association. In 1972, Korean nurses in Berlin set up the first regional Korean nurses association, and subsequently Korean nurses in other regions of Germany also formed regional associations in the 1970s. (Interview)

Many members of two associations have provided vast resources for core members and members of other Korean immigrant associations such as the federation of Korean immigrant associations and regional Korean immigrant associations.

#### *Members of economic association in Britain*

The members of the Korean Business Association in the United Kingdom are composed of several dozen Korean immigrants in self-employment or small businesses. Due to a small Korean immigrant population and the short immigration period, the number of members has only slightly increasing since its formation. (Interview)

#### *Structure of professional associations in Germany*

The Korean Miners Association retains the articles of association in regard to aim, membership, management, and funds. In the articles, the purpose of the association was introduced as friendship and the cooperation of former Korean miners in Germany. Korean miners in Germany could join the association as member with no relation to



payment of member fees unlike Korean associations in the United Kingdom. (Korean Miners Association, 1997: 129-131)

The general assembly of the association by members has the important rights in the decision-making process concerning election, finance, and plans of activity of the association. A president and auditors are elected in the general meeting and a president is able to appoint vice presidents and a secret-general. The association was registered as a corporation in the German courts in 1997. The fund for the association has relied on member fees, in addition to support from Korean companies' branches in Germany. (Interview)

With the registration as a corporation in 1985, the Korean Nurses Association had the articles of association. Presidents and core members have been elected in the general meeting of members and the plans for activity and finance of the association are required to be approved by the general assembly like the Korean Miners Association.<sup>145</sup> The majority of the funds of the association have been from members' fees of 25 Euro and small subsidiaries from Korean companies' branches in Germany. (Interview)

Two professional associations in Germany, registered as a corporation, have had the articles of association and members in both associations have determined important matters in regard to modification of the articles, election, plans of activity, and funds for management. Subsequently, both Korean immigrant professional associations can be regarded as structured organizations.

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<sup>145</sup> By 1992, the election of a president had been performed by board members around fifty. After the change of articles concerning the election, the president and core members of the association have been elected in the general meeting of members. (Interview)



### *Structure of economic association in Britain*

Even though there were the articles of the Korean Business Association, a few selected members drafted the articles and the articles were not approved in the general meeting of members. A president and several Korean immigrants from the formation in 2001 have decided on the plans of activity and have managed the association. The president has provided funds for management and activity with small subsidiaries from Korean companies' branches in the United Kingdom. (Interview) The articles of association were useless in influencing the practice of aim and membership and the management. Members of the association also have not participated in decision and administration system through a general meeting. (Interview) Therefore, the association is able to be defined as a semi-structured organization due to incomplete decision and administration system by members.

### *Activities of economic and professional associations*

#### *Activities of professional associations in Germany*

The activities of the Korean Miners Association have concentrated on events for friendship of members. From 1974, the association had organized annual events including outgoings and football games with families of members. On occasions, the association supported families of Korean miners who died in Korean coalmines and provided disaster relief. (Korean Miners Association, 1997: 173)

The main event of the association has been held in the Middle region of Germany around the May Day anniversary. The event has included sport games, Korean traditional plays, and bazaars. The president of the association has played a role as the vice president of the federation of Korean immigrant associations. In addition, the

association have held commemorative events for the first Korean miner immigration to Germany in 1963. An event commemorating the 30 years anniversary of immigration in 1993 was organized in the attendance of many Korean miners and German politicians. In recent times, the association has made efforts to prepare welfare projects for elderly former Korean miners through the integration with the “Jaedok Hanin Bokjihoe”<sup>146</sup> (Korean Immigrant Welfare Society in Germany). Regional branches of the association such as Berlin have held a year-end party under the participation of ex-Korean miners in each region on the regular basis. (Interview)

The Korean Nurses Association has organized various activities in regard to friendship of members, medical information, and the enhancement of relationship with other nurses associations in Germany and Korea. The association has participated in events by the German Nurse Association and Korean Nurse Association in Korea and exchanged various information of nursing in Germany and Korea. Through the seminars of medical laws and German hospitals, the association provided Korean nurses in Germany with medical expertise and nursing in Germany. It also arranged events for anniversary such as the 20<sup>th</sup> year anniversary of immigration in 1986. The events had included exhibitions of Korean nurses’ immigration and cultural performances. Regional associations have held many events for the friendship of members and service for other Korean immigrants such as old aged Korean immigrants and second generation. (Interview)

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<sup>146</sup> The Korean Immigrant Welfare Society was set up in 1991 by the support of fund from the Ministry of Labour in Korea. The fund was established through the return of remains of Korean miners pension, which was the pension of Korean miners who left Germany before three year due to several reasons, to the Korean government by the German government. The society has applied the fund for poor ex-Korean miners’ families, scholarships for second generation, and occasions of celebration or sorrow of ex-Korean miners from 1994. (Korea and Europe Study Society, 2003: 421-422)



Two Korean workers associations have held diverse events for the enhancement of friendship of members and organized many activities in regard to their purposes on the regular basis. Regional associations of two associations also have arranged various meetings for their members' friendship.

### ***Activities of economic association in Britain***

The Korean Business Association has only organized several seminars for business in Britain and annual golf tournaments for members and Korean immigrants unlike the purposes of the association. The reason was that only a small number of members have participated in activities of the association and the fund for aims of the association had not been raised. (Interview) The association, however, has organized increasing activities in contrast to the first stage of the association's formation in recent times.

### **Cultural and educational associations**

#### **Organization of cultural and educational associations**

#### ***Increase and members' growth of cultural and educational associations in Germany***

In the 1980s, the interests of Korean traditional and modern culture in Korean immigrants in Germany had resulted in several cultural associations and groups and many cultural activities in other Korean immigrant associations such as the Korean Women Association. Due to the characteristic of cultural activities by individuals or small groups, there have been many groups of Korean music, dance, and song rather than official associations.

Korean immigrants had organized various clubs and groups for cultural activities in German cities such as Berlin, Frankfurt am Main, and Hamburg in the forms of Korean



women choirs, Korean dance groups, Korean traditional instrument groups, Korean play groups, and Korean culture lesson meetings from the 1970s onwards. For instance, Korean nurses formed Korean women choir and a group for Korean traditional play in Hamburg and Korean nurses in Berlin also set up Korean dance groups and choirs in relation to Korean traditional cultures. (Interview)

The most famous Korean traditional musician, Mr. Deok Su Kim, visited several times in Germany for the performance of his team, and then he instructed “Samul Noli” (Korean traditional people’s music) to Korean immigrants, second generation, and Korean adopted children. The second generation and Korean immigrants in the mid 1990s organized “Cheondung Sori” (Sound of Thunder) in Berlin and “Danbi” (Welcome Rain) in Frankfurt am Main for the performance and lesson of Korean traditional music. These groups had been composed by mainly Korean second generation around fifteen years old, but the groups’ activities have been related to diverse events of Korean communities. (Interview)

Though these groups bear a resemblance to clubs or groups for cultural activities in certain individuals rather than associations, the activities of the groups have supported many events of Korean communities in Germany and they have contributed to the introduction of Korean traditional cultures in many cities of Germany.

The association of Korean people’s culture in Bochum was formed by several dozen Korean immigrants in the end 1970s. Most of members were Korean miners, Korean nurses, and Korean overseas students, and then second generation Korean immigrants joined the association. Meanwhile, the Korean Women Association has played an important role as a cultural association as well as political association in the 1980s and the 1990s. (Interview)

In the meantime, 13 Korean language schools were set up in the 1970s<sup>147</sup>, 20 in the 1980s, and 5 by the mid 1990s. These schools had been organized to teach the Korean language and traditional culture to second generation and children of Korean overseas students and Korean staff by Korean immigrants. (Lee, 1996: 81-88)

In 1980, there were 30 teachers and 318 Korean students of Korean language schools in Germany, though this figure does not include the number of teachers and students in 6 other Korean language schools. (Ministry of Education, 1980: 688) The number of teachers and students has increased up to 240 and 1,700 respectively in 2002. The second generation of Korean immigrants studied in Korean language schools by the 1980s, and then many children of Korean staff, Korean overseas students, and Korean-German families and adopted Korean children have enrolled in Korean language schools. Students in Korean language school of Frankfurt am Main reached to around 570. In 1993, "Sejong" school was established in Berlin for Korean language and culture learning in addition to established Korean language school in Berlin. The students of the school have included adult Korean-German as well as children of Korean-German families. (The Hankyoreh, 12<sup>th</sup> October 2002)

There have been many cultural associations and groups of Korean immigrants in Germany from the 1980s, though these groups and associations have been formed later than other Korean immigrant associations. There have been much more Korean language schools established and students in Germany since the 1970s than those of any other European countries.

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<sup>147</sup> According to the statistics of the Korean government in 1980, there were 7 Korean language schools in Germany, not 13 Korean language schools. (Ministry of Education, 1980: 688) The reason was that the statistics only included Korean language schools in big cities of Germany and small Korean language schools did not be reported to the Korean embassy in Germany.



### ***Increase and members' growth of educational associations in Britain***

In Britain, there has been no a cultural association of Korean immigrants in recent times. Even though several cultural groups were formed for activities of individual hobbies such as music and dance, these groups have not related to activities of Korean community in the United Kingdom.

There was one Korean language school in London in 1980. The school included 4 teachers and 90 students. (Ministry of Education, 1980: 688) Korean language schools and the number of students in schools have increased steadily from the 1980s with the rise of Korean staff and Korean overseas students in Britain. Around 20 Korean language schools have been currently established. Students of Korean language school in London have increasing up to several hundreds and most students have been children of Korean staff unlike those of Korean language schools in Germany. The increase of students in Korean language school in London caused the formation of another Korean language school in North London. (Interview)

There is the possibility in regard to the emergence of Korean immigrant cultural associations in Britain with the increase of Korean immigrants and the interests of Korean traditional culture in Koreans, while Korean language schools and their students have increased continuously with the rise of Korean immigration to Britain.

### ***Structure of cultural and educational associations in Germany***

The association of Korean people's culture have functioned as a corporation through the registration to German court. The association retains the articles of association and members of the association have decided important issues by a general meeting and they have taken part in the administrative process of the association. The Korean



Women Association decided on Korean culture development and instruction of Korean culture to second generation as an important practice issue of the association in the general assembly. (Interview)

Most Korean language schools in Germany have self-governing rules and regulations that reflect the specific circumstances of schools and were formed by board members. Many Korean language schools in Germany have not been registered as a corporation except for certain schools. In particular, Korean language school in Frankfurt am Main registered as a corporation in 1991 for the preparation of Korean language school's building. Korean language schools have not been able to be managed by their members because of the characteristic of educational institutes that most of students as constituents are under aged, so board meeting including a head teacher and parents meeting make decisions in relation to administration and management of Korean language schools. The funding of Korean language schools' management is mostly from tuition fees of students, contributions of Korean immigrants, and small support of the Korean embassy in Germany. (Interview)

The cultural associations of Korean immigrants have been structured organizations that have the articles of association and system of decision and administration by members, while Korean language schools have been managed through self-regulations and board and parents meeting in the schools due to specific character as educational organizations.

### ***Structure of educational associations in Britain***

Board members, consisting of Korean immigrants and Korean staff, have administered Korean language school in London like Korean language schools in Germany under

self-rules with the increase of Korean immigrants from 1983. In the past, Korean association in London by Korean staff managed the Korean language school in London and provided financial supports for the school till 1983 before the foundation of the school board. The reason was that Korean staff had been interested in their children's Korean language education over their concerns at the possibility of their children's return to Korea, and then Korean staff had mainly related to the management of the school by the early 1980s.<sup>148</sup> Other Korean language schools in Britain have been administered by the cooperation between teachers and parents, who have been mostly Korean overseas students, through the way of meetings, though most of teachers have been parents of students in the schools. (Interview)

### *Activities of cultural and educational associations*

#### *Activities of cultural and educational associations in Germany*

The association of Korean people's culture has, specifically, made efforts for the preservation and development of "Nongak" (Korean instrumental music of peasants) and "Kamyeonkeuk" (Korean traditional mask drama) in Germany. The members of the association organized a special band of Korean instrumental music of peasants and group for performance of Korean traditional mask drama. The association has taken part in various cultural festivals held by regional Korean immigrant associations and city councils in German cities, mainly the Middle region of Germany including Bochum, and has performed Korean instrumental music of peasants and traditional mask drama in those events. It has also arranged lecture meetings and classes of Korean traditional

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<sup>148</sup> Around ninety percent of the students in Korean language school of London have been children of Korean staff. That was why the number of Korean immigrants had been small and Korean immigrants were not interested in Korean language education of their children. Many Korean immigrants hoped that their children could master English language as soon as possible. (Interview)



music and plays for the instruction to Korean immigrants. The association have participated in many political movements of Korean immigrants and performed Korean traditional music in assemblies. For instance, the association led Korean immigrants through the performance of Korean traditional music in the demonstration of Korean immigrants against the Neo Nazi group's violence in Düsseldorf in 2001. (Korea and Europe Study Society, 2003: 422)

The Korean Women Association has arranged diverse cultural activities in regard to Korean traditional culture and has performed several plays concerning Korean women movements in Korea and a drama based on Korean farmers' resistance against the Chosun Dynasty in the late nineteen centuries, called "Kongjangui Bulbich" (Light of Factory) and "Kuemkang" (The Keum River). Regional branches of the association have organized bands of Korean traditional folk instrumental music in Berlin and Munich in the 1990s. (Interview)

Korean immigrant cultural groups in various regions have taken part in cultural carnivals in several cities and various regions of Germany. They have performed the Korean traditional percussion quartet and Korean traditional folk instrumental music, called "Samulnori" and "Pungmul", in Berlin, Bremen, Frankfurt am Main, and Hessen. (Interview)

The cultural groups of second generation have presented their performances of Korean traditional music in many events hosted by Korean communities. For example, "Cheondung Sori" in Berlin won first prize in competition of the Korean traditional percussion quartet in Seoul and performed in various Korean immigrants' events. Groups of Korean traditional folk dance and the traditional percussion quartet by second generation in Bonn, Cologne, and Hamburg have presented their performances in events



of regional Korean immigrant associations. (Korea and Europe Study Society, 2003: 434)

Korean language schools in Germany have arranged Korean language classes on Fridays or Saturdays on a regular basis for the children of Korean immigrants, second generation, Germans with Korean spouses, children of Korean-German families, and Korean adopted children. In addition to Korean language classes, the schools have instructed the details of Korean traditional culture to Korean immigrants as well as the second generation and have organized cultural classes for lessons of Korean traditional music and dance. The students of Korean language schools have presented Korean traditional music and dance in events of regional Korean immigrant associations after classes. In recent times, Korean language classes for adult second generation, who did not learn Korean language in youth, have been opened. (Interview)

Schools in large German cities have made efforts for construction of Korean language schools' buildings or offices through fund-raising events, yet there are no schools that have independent offices or buildings due to shortages of funds. For instance, the Frankfurt city council promised the offering of place for Korean language schools in the 1990s, but the difficulties of fund-raising in Korean immigrants caused the failure of construction for Korean language school building. Many Korean schools have made, however, efforts to obtain their buildings for Korean language and culture classes of second and third generation despite funding difficulties. (Interview)

There have been many and various activities of Korean immigrants' cultural associations or groups and Korean language schools in Germany from the 1980s, though the formations of these associations and schools have been later than other Korean immigrant associations in Germany.

### ***Activities of educational associations in Britain***

Korean language schools in Britain have regularly arranged Korean language classes on Saturdays as with the case of Korean language schools in Germany. Most students, who are children of Korean staff and Korean overseas students, have registered at the schools in preparation for their return to Korea. Therefore, the classes of Korean traditional culture have not been organized in the schools in contrast to those of Korean language schools in Germany, though Korean language school in London have organized several classes of Korean traditional culture with increasing students who have been children of Korean immigrants at recent times. Some students of Korean language schools in London have presented their achievements of Korean language and culture in irregular events of Korean community. (Interview)

The number of Korean language schools has been increasing with the increase of Korean immigrants and Koreans in Britain. There have been increasing activities for Korean communities by students of Korean language schools or the schools themselves from the formation, though their activities have not been numerous.

### **Social associations**

#### **Organization of social associations**

#### ***Increase and members' growth of social associations in Germany***

After the formation of the Korean Immigrant Athletic Association in 1976, the association have functioned as the federation of 15 sport associations and groups such as football, table tennis, volleyball, taekweondo, golf associations and groups. These sport associations and groups had been formed between the 1970s and the 1990s. In the



1970s, 6 sport associations and groups, 4 in the 1980s, and 5 in the 1990s have been formed. With the continuous joining of sport associations and groups to the Korean Immigrant Athletic Association in Germany, the members of the association had increased steadily. (Korea and Europe Study Society, 2003: 420)

There were formations of Korean immigrants' associations of origin regions in Korea. The association of Korean immigrants from the Honam district has had branches more than ten in German cities, such as Frankfurt am Main and Düsseldorf, from the 1970s. Korean workers more than fifty percent had been originated from the Honam district, so the increase of Korean workers' immigration to Germany resulted in the rise of the association's members and many regional branches of the association in Germany. (Interview)

About one hundred members formed the Korean German Network in 2000, and the members of the association have grown with the increase of second generation' obtaining jobs in Germany. The members of the association have set up small groups for friendship and exchange of information between second generations. (Interview)

There have been a relatively large number of Korean immigrants' social associations and their branches in Germany. The membership of the associations has increased with Korean immigrants' immigrations to Germany and the emergence of second generation.

### ***Members of social association in Britain***

Several Korean immigrants formed and managed the Korean Sports Council in Britain. The members of the Council are composed several Korean immigrants and Korean overseas students. (Interview) Even if participants in events of the Council have been



increasing with the rise of Koreans in London, the number of Korean immigrants as members of the Council has not grown rapidly at recent times.

### *Structure of social associations in Germany*

The Korean Immigrant Athletic Association in Germany has the articles of association from the formation. The decision and administration of the association's affairs in relation to the election and activity have relied on the determination of the annual general meetings held by representatives from 15 sport associations and groups. The presidents of the association have become the vice president of the federation of Korean immigrant associations as with the case of presidents of the Korean Miners Association and the Korean Nurses Association. The fund of the association has been derived from member fees, Korean companies' branches in Germany, and the Korean Amateur Sports Association in Korea. (Interview)

The Association of Korean immigrants from the Honam district has rules of administration. The presidents have been elected by the general assembly of members and they appointed vice presidents and the executives of the association. Mainly, the executives of the association and regional branches have organized various events for Korean immigrants from the Honam region. The fund for management has been derived from members' fees and support from individual Korean immigrants. (Interview)

The Korean German Network has the articles of association in regard to aim, membership, and management from the formation. The Network registered as a corporation. The general assembly of members has elected presidents and auditors and has approved the plans and finances of activity from the executives. The members are composed of the second generation, who acquired their jobs in Germany, and their

spouses. They have to pay 70 Euro as members' fees per year. The fund for administration has been obtained from members' fees and through supports of Korean companies' branches in Germany. ([http://www.kgnetwork.org/korean/faq\\_html](http://www.kgnetwork.org/korean/faq_html))

Korean immigrants' social associations have had their articles and the general meetings, decide on issues related to the presidential election and plans and finances of activity, of the associations by members. Therefore, it is evident that these social associations can be recognized as structured organizations.

### ***Structure of social association in Britain***

There were no articles of the Korean Sports Council with the establishment in Britain. Several Korean immigrants and a president have managed the Korean Sports Council and have previously determined plans for events. These decisions were not made by members. The reason was that there were quite a few official members of the Council. The fund for management and events has been from the president' private funds and small support from some Korean companies' branches in Britain. (Interview) The Council, therefore, has remained an unstructured organization.

### **Activities of social associations**

#### ***Activities of social associations in Germany***

The Korean immigrant Athletic Association in Germany has held annual athletic meetings for friendship between Korean immigrants from the 1970s and for the young second generation from the 1990s. The association has organized evening events for Korean immigrant athletics in Germany around the end of year from the 1990s. It also has dispatched Korean immigrant athletics in various sport games to "Jeonkuk Chejeon"

in Korea (Korean Athletic Meeting in Korea) from the 1970s and to Korean European athletic meetings from the 1990s. It has supported the training of Korean athletic squads in Germany. (Interview)

The association of Korean immigrants from the Honam region and its regional branches have organized annual events for the enhancement of friendship between Korean immigrants around Korean New Years Day. The association has arranged visits to Korea for Korean immigrants and second generation, called “Kohyang Bangmun”. This was financing through Korean immigrants and support from local government in Korea. It has raised scholarship funds for Korean students in the Honam district. (<http://www.honam.de>)

The Korean German Network has arranged seminars regarding Korean and German companies based in Germany and meetings to exchange information in relation to various jobs in Germany and to encourage friendship between senior and junior second generation. The Network also has hosted cultural events such as museum studies and annual parties at the end of year, commonly referred to as “Prime Time”. The Network has taken part in events of Korean immigrant associations. (The Kyoposhinmun, 2<sup>nd</sup> January 2004)

Social associations of Korean immigrants and the second generation have organized various activities and events for friendship in Korean immigrants and second generation on a regular basis. In recent times, there have been continuous increases of activities and events of the association and groups for friendship and exchange of information concerning employment in Germany provided by second generation, who worked in Korean or German companies in Germany.



*Activity of social association in Britain*

The Korean Sports Council has held football tournaments with other foreign immigrant football teams such as Chinese and Japanese in London on an annual basis from its formation. Additionally, it arranges football games for Korean immigrants living around London. The Council has organized football team of Koreans and Korean immigrants in London, and the team participates in Korean European athletic meetings since 2000. (Interview) The activities of the Korean Sports Council have been increasing and these activities are now regular occurrences in the Korean community.

**4. Conclusion**

Most Korean immigrant associations in Germany were set up in the 1970s and the 1980s with permanent settlements of many Korean workers under the established migration system. In contrast, Korean immigrant associations in the United Kingdom were formed in the 1990s and the 2000s with increasing Korean immigrants from the mid 1990s under the establishing migration system.

Table 7.1 Development of Korean immigrant associations in Germany and the United Kingdom

	Organization	Activity
<b>The federation of Korean immigrant associations and regional Korean immigrant associations</b>		
Germany	Many associations and members Structured	Many and various
Britain	Increasing members Semi-structured	Increasing
<b>Political associations</b>		
Germany	Many associations and members Structured	Many and diverse
Britain	Increasing members Semi-structured	Increasing
<b>Economic and Professional associations</b>		
Germany	Many members	Many and various

	Structured	
Britain	Increasing members Semi-structured	Increasing
Cultural and educational associations		
Germany	Many associations and members Structured	Many and diverse
Britain	Increasing members Semi-structured	Increasing
Social associations		
Germany	Many associations and members Structured	Many and various
Britain	Increasing members Unstructured	Increasing

As indicated in Table 7.1, there have been many Korean immigrant associations in Germany regarding political, professional, cultural and educational, and social associations as well as the federation of Korean immigrant associations and regional Korean immigrant associations. Korean immigrant associations in Germany have had relatively many members. Most of them have set up the articles of association including purpose, membership, management, and funding and have been managed through the decision of members as structured organizations. They have arranged many and various activities for their members and Korean communities in Germany. Therefore, in the aspects of organization and activity of association, Korean immigrant associations in Germany can be recognized as developed immigrant associations.

Meanwhile, there have been an increasing number of Korean immigrant associations in the United Kingdom from the 1990s and their members have been increasing in recent times. Korean immigrant associations in Britain have been semi-structured associations with insufficient articles of association or decision and administration system of members. Their activities have been increasing and diversifying since 2000. Korean immigrant associations in Britain can be categorized as developing immigrant associations in regard to its organization and activity.

The established migration system between Germany and Korea resulted in a comparative large number of Korean immigrants and long settlement history of Korean immigrants in Germany. Under the migration system, Korean immigrant associations in Germany have had the characteristics of developed immigrant associations in respect of organization and activity. In comparison, the establishing migration system between Korea and the United Kingdom resulted in increasing Korean immigrants and their short settlement periods in Britain. It can be concluded that Korean immigrant associations in Britain have had the attributes of developing immigrant associations concerning organization and activity of immigrant association under the establishing migration system.



## Chapter 8. Conclusion

In this chapter, findings of migration system establishment and Korean immigrant association development are indicated. The arguments that are related to the hypothesis of relationship between migration system establishment and immigrant association development in Germany and the United Kingdom are also presented. Additionally, theoretical considerations in this research and suggestions for further study in regard to international migration and immigrant association are introduced. There are future prospects for the migration system between Korea and Germany and the United Kingdom as well as Korean immigrant associations in both receiving countries.

### Findings of research

#### Migration system establishment

The migration system between Germany and Korea has been sustained through the migrations of Korean workers, staff, and overseas students under political, economic, social contexts in Germany and Korea since the 1960s.

The migration policy and political economy in Germany and Korea caused Korean workers' immigration to Germany in the 1960s and the 1970s. The growth of the Korean economy and labour push factor in economic situation in Korea also had made important roles in immigrations of Korean staff in Korean companies' branches and Korean workers. Education matter and Korean immigrant network had contributed to permanent settlement of Korean immigrants and continuous immigration of Korean overseas students. These circumstances of Koreans' immigration to Germany resulted in

the established migration system between Germany and Korea as Chapter 5 and Figure 5.1 indicated.

In the established migration system, many Korean miners and nurses had moved to Germany in the 1960s and the 1970s. Then, a considerable number of Korean staff and Korean overseas students as new migrants also have immigrated to Germany since the 1980s. These Koreans, including many Korean workers and a small number of Korean staff and Korean overseas students, have continuously settled down in Germany after the acquirement of permanent resident permits since the 1970s.

The established migration system between Germany and Korea has provided a long period over forty years for the permanent settlement and growth of Korean immigrants and a relatively large number of Korean immigrants in Germany. Korean workers formed most Korean immigrant communities and associations in German cities from the 1970s, and then Korean staff, Korean overseas students, and the second generation have joined Korean immigrant communities and have taken part in organizations and activities of Korean immigrant associations. The established migration system has contributed to developed Korean immigrant associations, in aspects of organization and activity, in Germany.

The migration system between Korea and the United Kingdom has been sustained through the migrations of Korean staff and overseas students on the basis of political, economic, social circumstances in Britain and Korea since the 1980s.

Political economy and migration policy in Korea and Britain with economic context such as the growth and change of the Korean economy had influenced the immigrations of Korean staff in overseas branches in the United Kingdom and Korean overseas students from the 1980s. Korean immigrant network and education matter also had



caused continuous immigrations of Korean overseas students and permanent settlement of Korean immigrants in Britain. These contexts of Koreans' immigration to Britain caused the establishing migration system between Korea and the United Kingdom as Chapter 6 and Figure 6.1 explained.

In the establishing migration system, Korean staff and Korean overseas students have immigrated to Britain since the 1980s. Since the mid 1990s, the immigration of Korean students to learn English and younger Korean students to the United Kingdom has played a part of rapid increase in Korean population. The permanent settlements of a considerable number of Korean staff and Korean overseas students in Britain since the 1980s have contributed to continuous growth of Korean immigrants.

The establishing migration system between Britain and Korea has offered relatively shorter durations of around twenty years for the permanent stay of Korean immigrants and created a small Korean immigrant population in the United Kingdom. Small Korean immigrant residents and short immigration periods have resulted in comparatively late formation of Korean immigrant community and associations and less organizations and activities of Korean immigrant associations.

### **Korean immigrant association development**

There have been a relatively large number of Korean immigrant associations in various areas such as the federation of Korean immigrant associations, political, professional, and social associations in Germany. They have comparatively had many members and have been structured organizations that have the articles of association and have been managed through the decision of members. The associations also have organized many



and diverse activities for their members and Korean immigrant communities in Germany.

Meanwhile, there has been the increase of Korean immigrant associations in the United Kingdom since the 1990s. The members of the associations have been increasing in recent times and the associations have been as semi-structured organizations that have not fully had the articles of association and decision system by members. The activities of these associations have been increasing and diversifying in the 2000s.

### **Relationship between migration system establishment and Korean immigrant association development**

The hypothesis of this research is presented in Chapter 1 as follows; the established migration system between Germany and Korea caused developed Korean immigrant associations in Germany, while the establishing migration system between Korea and the United Kingdom resulted in developing Korean immigrant associations in Britain. As indicated in Chapter 5, 6, and 7, longer immigration periods of Koreans and the relatively large number of Korean immigrants under the established migration system between Germany and Korea brought about the developed Korean associations in Germany in aspects of organization and activity, while increasing Korean immigrants and shorter migration duration under the establishing migration system between Korea and Britain causes developing Korean immigrant associations concerning organization and activity in Britain. Therefore, the argument of the hypothesis in this study can be presented as follows; different phases of migration system establishment between Korea and both destination countries result in dissimilar stages of Korean immigrant association development in Germany and Britain.

The generalizable argument of the relationship between migration system establishment and immigrant association development can be introduced through the analysis in regard to migration systems and Korean immigrant associations in Germany and the United Kingdom in this research as follows; different stages of migration system establishment between origin and destination countries can result in different phases of immigrant association development in receiving countries. Specifically, established migration system can cause developed immigrant associations and establishing migration system can bring about developing immigrant associations in destination country as the cases of Korean immigration and immigrant associations in Germany and the United Kingdom. An implication of changes in relation to migration system establishment and immigrant association development can be indicated from the argument as follows; the establishing migration system can be changed as established migration system if there are migrations for longer periods and relatively many migrants, and then change of migration system establishment stage can cause developed immigrant associations in receiving country.

## **Theoretical considerations**

Researchers regarding international migration in Politics contributed to “bring the state back in” to social scientific analyses of international migration. Subsequently, studies of migration policy of the states have presented from the 1980s.<sup>149</sup> The emphasis of nation-state’s role in international migration influenced considerations of political contexts

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<sup>149</sup> Hollifield categorizes the three themes or questions of international migration researched in Politics as follows: The first theme is the “question of control” that the nation-state has established laws and rules of entrance and exit. This question leads directly to the second theme, that is, “the impact of migration on international relations”. The third theme is “an issue of incorporation”. This theme is related to the impact of immigration on citizenship, political behaviour, and the polity. (Hollifield, 2000: 137-138) The first work of nation-state’ role in international migration was Hammar’s *European Immigration Policy: Comparative Study* in 1985 as Chapter 1 explained.



such as migration policy, international relation, and political economy in research of international migration as a migration systems approach.

However, excessive emphasis of nation-state's role in international migration can exclude various circumstances in regard to the formation and continuity of international migration.<sup>150</sup> For instance, the states of Germany and Korea had made important roles in Korean workers' massive immigrations in the 1960s, while the immigration of Korean staff and Korean overseas students to Germany have occurred under economic and social contexts as well as political circumstances in both countries from the 1980s. Migration flows between countries could be formed by the nation-states, but the continuity of international migration between states could be sustained under other circumstances such as economic, social, and demographic contexts.

Therefore, the consideration of the various contexts concerning migration flows in receiving and sending countries is necessary to have a full understanding of international migration during relatively long periods. In the 1990s, a migration systems approach was presented with the emergence of necessity for the explanation of international migration under various backgrounds as Chapter 2 indicated. This research, which rests on a migration systems approach, can contribute to the diversification of variables, including role of nation-state, for the analysis in regard to international migration study in Politics.

Meanwhile, there has been little research in regard to the development of immigrant community and association in Politics. This research is able to have a contribution to

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<sup>150</sup> Permanent settlement of Korean immigrants, important matter in explanation of migration system establishment, in Germany and the United Kingdom could not be explained by only nation-states' policies and political contexts. The reason is that migrant network and education matters contributed to permanent settlement of Korean workers and Korean staff. In addition, there have been no specific policies of Korean immigrants' permanent residence in both countries.



provide new research themes for political scientists and theoretical discussion of immigrant community and association and its development in Politics. The modification of established migration systems approach, as Chapter 2 explained, and presentation of immigrant theme also can set up new conversations in systems approach regarding international migration and approach in relation to immigrant community and association.

### **Suggestions for further study**

This research of the relationship between migration system establishment and Korean immigrant association development is able to provide some implications for further study regarding issues of this study.

Firstly, extended comparative studies in other cases including Australia, Canada, and the United States are needed to generalize the argument of this research. For instance, the research of migration system establishment between Korea and Australia, Canada, and the United States and Korean immigrant association development in these countries can present the basis of generalization in regard to relationship between two variables in this study in addition to the examination of Germany and the United Kingdom cases, though the brief introduction of Korean migration and Korean immigrant associations in above three countries is accounted for in Chapter 4.

Secondly, the research of other contexts and linkages such as demographic context and technological linkage in a migration systems approach in regard to migration system establishment can be required for the analysis of migration system establishments between various origin and destination countries, though there is no need to consider the contexts and linkages in this research. For example, the contemplation of

historical linkage after the Korean War between Korea and the United States is necessary for analysis of migration system establishment between both countries.

Thirdly, studies of other independent variables in addition to that of migration system establishment, which can influence immigrant association development, can be called for. The considerations of integration policies to foreign immigrants in receiving countries and policies of sending countries to overseas emigrants for long periods are able to offer the foundation for explanation of immigrant association development in destination country.<sup>151</sup> In the meantime, the influences of international organization such as the European Union and the ILO and immigrant themselves on immigrant association development can also be contemplated for analysis of the dependent variable.

### **Prospects of migration system and Korean immigrant associations in Germany and the United Kingdom**

In the near future, the established migration system between Germany and Korea will be sustained through migration flows of Korean staff in Korean companies' branches and Korean overseas students to Germany, rather than the massive immigration of Korean workers. It is expected that some Korean staff and Korean overseas students will settle down permanently in Germany for their new jobs and the education of their children. Consequently, they will become new Korean immigrants and integrate in Korean communities in Germany.

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<sup>151</sup> There have been no specific policies of Korean immigrant association development in Korea and both destination countries, though the Korean government and civil society have interested in Korean immigrants around World and organized diverse events for them at recent times. As the number of Korean immigrants is much smaller than other immigrants such as Pakistan in Britain and Turkish in Germany, there have been no detailed integration or support policies for Korean immigrants from both governments, except for supports from city councils in Germany.



The growth of second generation and the continuous inflow of Korean immigrants under the established migration system can influence the formations of new Korean immigrant associations and changes in core members' composition of Korean immigrant associations in Germany as a result. For instance, second generation and ex-Korean staff and Korean overseas students have become core members of Korean immigrant associations and have formed associations. The associations of Korean nurses and miners will fortify functions as organizations for friendship and preparation of old age rather than those representing Korean miners and nurses as there will be no more immigrations of Korean miners and nurses.

The establishing migration system between Korea and the United Kingdom will be maintained through continuous immigrations of Korean staff and Korean overseas students to Britain in the near future. The increase of favour in Korea regarding education in regular schools or universities and English learning in Britain and worse circumstance of the Korean economy and education will be important factors of Koreans' continual immigrations and permanent settlement to the United Kingdom. However, most Korean staff and overseas student, especially many English language students, have returned to Korea and small parts of them have permanently settled in Britain, so there will be no rapid increase of Korean immigrants in the immediate future.

With increasing Korean immigrants in Britain, various Korean immigrant associations will be formed in Korean communities and members of the associations will be increasing in the near future unlike at recent times. The structure of organizations will be also developing with increasing members and activities of Korean immigrant associations will further increase.



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