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Foreigner's Perspectives on Korean Society and Human Rights

- 외국인의 관점에서 본 한국사회와 인권 -
Presentation Papers



亞太民主指導者會議

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**Foreigner's Perspectives on
Korean Society and Human Rights**

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Forum Schedule

- 10:00 - 10:30 **Opening Ceremonies**
opening Remarks: Dr. Kim Dae-jung
Explanation of Procession: Mr. Kim Sei-ung
- 10:30 - 10:45 **Coffee Break**
- 10:45 - 11:45 **Session One: Foreign Perspectives
on Korean Society**
1. Dr. Horace Underwood
Korean Hierarchy in Social Relations / 1page
 2. Mr. Lam Van Tuu
*Inter-relations between Foreigners and
Koreans / 12page*
 3. Mrs. Lynne Doerfler Kim
Korean Women's Issues and Feminism / 16page
 4. Dr. David Steinberg
Media: A Major Actor in Civil Society? / 24page
- 11:45 - 12:15 **Questions and Discussion**
- 12:15 - 13:15 **Lunch**
- 13:15 - 14:00 **Session Two: Issues Concerning
Foreign Workers in Korea**
1. Dr. Kim Soo-kon
*Governmental Policies Towards Foreign
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- 14:00 - 14:30 **Questions and Discussion**
- 14:30 - 15:00 **Concluding Session**
Moderator: Dr. Chang Heng-hoon
Summary of Forum
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- 15:00 - 15:30 **Post-Forum Coffee**

**Korean Culture: Very Informal Essays
by Horace H. Underwood**

Abstract

At the center of Korean culture is Confucianism, particularly the Five Relationships, which are characterized primarily by hierarchy and loyalty. Loyalty is the highest virtue in Korean culture (rather than honesty and love), and is characteristically a personal rather than an abstract relationship. Loyalty is to people; people are more important than abstract standards. Similarly, the group is more important than the individual, as Koreans find their identity and motivation from membership in groups, and tend to follow hierarchy rather than act with individual initiative. Person-centeredness remains hierarchical because it does not arise from transient relationships but from the deepest ties, from childhood and school days, or from the family and blood ties. All these values come together in a world view which can be exclusivist, subject to personal influence, and hierarchical, but at best is radically personalized, humane, harmonious, and functional.

Korean Culture: Very Informal Essays

I. "In" and "Out"

Two of the most common first impressions that foreigners have of Koreans is that they are incredibly polite, and that they are incredibly rude.

In fact, the courtesy and kindness of Koreans is legendary and attested to by thousands of people who are fortunate enough to have a Korean friend. Overwhelming meals, unexpected gifts, constant and almost embarrassing attention to your personal whims: all this and more has been yours if you have been invited out. This is not a modern invention; traditionally, one of the names of Korea was the "Eastern Land of Courtesy." The obligations of a host are paramount; the obligation of a guest is to lap it up.

On the other hand, the discourtesy and rudeness of Koreans is legendary and attested to by thousands of people who are unfortunate enough to have to walk on a Korean street. Overwhelming crowds, unexpected shoving, constant and almost painful inattention to where other people are going: all this and more has been yours if you have gone outside. This may be a modern invention; nowadays, one of the names of Korea might be the "Eastern Land of Discourtesy." The intentions of the individual are paramount; the obligation of the victim is to get out of the way.

Westerners have rather a hard time reconciling these two images of Korea, these two different sets of behavior, both of them from the same people. Our hosts are so friendly; the taxi drivers are so nasty. Is Korea really composed of two totally different sets of people living on the same peninsula?

Actually yes. For Koreans, the world is composed of two sets of people---those they actually know and those they don't know. If you know somebody, then you have a relationship, and are obliged, very obliged, to treat him or her politely, kindly, and with every courtesy. But if you don't know someone, if you've never formally "met" those people, then they don't exist, they aren't a person, they don't count, and you don't have to do anything.

Thus your friends will buy you meals forever. "A guest is always hungry," says a proverb. I've known one Korean colleague in my English department for 20 years, and I've hardly ever been able to pay for lunch when I'm with him. He says he's going to the men's room and pays the bill; he pays in advance; he calls ahead to arrange the bill later; he drops off his credit card surreptitiously on the way in to cover the bill, etc. This is almost a case of courtesy used as a weapon or means of putting you in debt (you'd better believe it can be used that way!) but the point is that he knows me and feels obliged. On the other hand, the people in the street who push you and walk through you aren't actually being discourteous and rude, and certainly not anti-foreign; they simply don't see you. They shove each other just as much, and never notice it, whether they shove or are shoved. Other people don't exist.

It turns out that all sorts of things in Korean society are explained by this distinction between "in" and "out." For example, it is one reason why the ritual of exchanging name cards is so important. That formal introduction is the moment when the other ceases to be a non-person and becomes a person. It explains why Koreans are so clean in their homes and so likely, to throw trash on the street---it's outside their area, and the territory of non-personas. This "in/out" is reinforced by taking off shoes in a house; that's clean space, while "out" is for shoes, dirty.

But I am an American. (Throughout this series of essays, I make comparisons to American culture not because I think it forms a world standard, but because it is the only non-Korean culture I know). In contrast to this dual system, Americans tend to have a single standard of treatment for all people. In fact, equality of treatment is one of our most profound values. We have one standard, rather ridged and abstract, and should be polite to all people equally. We should do our duty for people no matter who they are; we should be kind to strangers. But this is not the only way to run a society.

When Koreans look at Americans, they tend to admire our sense of public behavior, traffic courtesy, not pushing and shoving, standing in line, saying "Thank you for shopping at K-Mart," etc. But when they get invited out by Americans, they tend to think that we aren't that great as hosts; we don't go all out the way a Korean would.

In traditional Korean society everyone lived in a village and knew everyone else and had to be polite; thus, "Eastern Land of Courtesy." Perhaps only with modern urban life has the "non-person" problem become so evident. Most foreigners, when they visit Korea, are in effect in a small village, a group of people properly introduced and aware of each other. Most of the time, things are fine.

But when you go downtown, look out!

II. No Men Are Created Equal

The problem of IN and OUT is only a small part of the larger fact that Korea is fundamentally NOT an egalitarian culture, not one that values equality of treatment, but one that makes distinctions between people, one that is hierarchical.

Well, you knew that Korean culture was hierarchical. But do you know what that really implies? I mean, it's arranged VERTICALLY!

Just one clue, there is no word in Korean for "brother." There is no such word. There is a Korean word for "elder brother" (hyong) and a Korean word for "younger brother" (dongseang) but no word for brother. American brothers are generally equal to each other, but not Korean brothers; the elder brother has the responsibilities of the father toward his younger brothers and sisters. It is always slightly immoral to my Korean friends that I do not tell my younger brother what to do, that he's on his own.

Koreans have separate words for elder sister and younger sister, too. In fact, they have separate words for a man to use for his elder sister and for a woman to use for her elder sister. The words are different because the roles are different and the responsibilities are different and NOT EQUAL.

Korean is a Confucian society. Everyone is Confucian, including Christians. Confucianism is primarily a system of ethics, not religion, and even more a system of social relationships. The model is the family. The very center of Confucianism is specifically the "five Relationships" of King to Subject, Father to Son, Elder brother to Younger brother, Husband to Wife, and Friend to Friend. Note that four out of five of these are hierarchical, and that's about right; Korea is at least 80% hierarchical. There is a populist "leveling" tendency as well; not egalitarian, exactly, but communal.

And even "friends" really means only those born the same year, who are thus the same age and capable of being equal. And even then not quite, because the one born a month or a day ahead is senior. Even twins: like Esau and Jacob, the twin born first is the elder brother. In Korean, "All men are brothers" doesn't mean the same thing in English. In English it includes the idea of the equality of all people. In Korean it merely means that all people are part of the family---and members of a family are fundamentally not equal.

Language reinforces inequality not only in things like the words for "brother" but in every sentence. The "levels" of spoken Korean define the relationship of the two speakers. You will notice that younger people use a lot of sentences ending in "-innida," while older people talking to younger people end their sentences with short cutoff endings. Two people can't even talk to each other until they have defined their mutual relationship, hierarchically, but position or age.

Teachers, particularly senior teachers, maintains a certain dignity. We sometimes think they are putting it on, but in their mind, they are simply being senior, acting outside the Korean hierarchical system. (My honorary age for a long time has been about 10 years older than my real age, though the gap is diminishing faster than I'd like), and granted that Koreans take things from foreigners that they would never take from their own people, still, hierarchy is their whole world, and being aware of one's relative place in

the world is a way of making your life easier in dealing with Koreans in Korea or anywhere.

III. Loyalty and Honesty

I have a terrible time in my classes in college because my students keep trying to cheat on tests. I have to watch them all the time. When I catch one, he (or she) is embarrassed, yes, and they know they did wrong, yes, but they say, "my friend asked me." I know we have cheating in colleges in the U.S. and other countries, too, but sometimes I get really disgusted with their lack of honesty, their unwillingness to play by the rules.

But it is not the case that Koreans are dishonest. It is not the case that honesty is not a value in Korea. Korean culture has a strong sense of honesty. The problem is one of a hierarchy of values. Honesty is a value, but loyalty is a higher value.

Of course, loyalty is a value for us Americans, too. Those of us in academia are less regularly conscious of it than some Americans, perhaps, but when something comes which demands loyalty, Americans have it, whether to the national, to a friend, or a family member. But for us it is not a higher value than honesty.

But not so for Koreans. Loyalty is higher than honesty. Thus my students are "forced" to cheat to be virtuous. First, the Confucian drive to education means your parents have impressed on you from birth the absolute importance of excellent grades. If you are a filial child, you want to please your parents. Of course, it's best to have studied and to know the answer. But if you don't, you know it would be morally unacceptable to bring home a low grade, and to your parents, an "A-" is a low grade. So you ask your friend for help. Similarly, if your friend asks you for help on an exam, you must help that friend or show yourself to be inhuman, disloyal, not a friend.

In a small country and small society where human relationships are extremely important, more important than structural and official relationships, where the whole word by the old boy network (i.e. friendship and loyalty), it is not so surprising that loyalty is the top value. In fact, if you ask Koreans what one word expresses the most important and ideal in Korean culture, the word "love" is supposed to be an ultimate ideal in Western culture, often the answer will be loyalty. If you ask what one value summarizes the correct relationship between the pairs of the Five Relationships in Confucianism, the answer will be "loyalty."

The tough thing in cultural conflict is not when the situation is good against bad. The tough thing is when it's good against good. There's a fine book on Korean culture which says it is all right in the title; it's called "Virtues in Conflict." Which should be more important, honesty or loyalty? Why do we say that honesty is a higher value than loyalty? Why not the other way around? Who decides?

If there are events in your experience in Korea and with Koreans which seem to be in conflict with your set of values, remember that the Koreans are probably playing by their set of values, and they wonder why your values are so screwed up. As for me, rather than blaming Korean culture or trying to change it, I usually try to set up some

system where things have to be done "right," i.e. the way I want. In class and in tests, I watch very closely and I never assume the honor system will work. Korean culture is certainly not going to change in your lifetime. But your dealings with Koreans will certainly be more pleasant if you understand the deeper cultural reasons for why people act the way they do.

IV. Personalized Politics

While loyalty is important, one difference between Korean and American loyalty is that in general Americans are loyal to the ideal and Koreans are loyal to the person. Americans in general tend to think the highest loyalty is to ideals, institutions and abstracts. Our highest loyalty is to the Constitution, and in fact, it is a general acceptance of a system of society and governance, which is embodied in the constitution and such abstract documents, which is the best thing I know to define what an American is. Certainly we value loyalty to such abstracts higher than loyalty to specific people. How often have Americans said, "I respect the presidency, but I don't like the president." or "I honor the office, not the man." I was thinking about it in my own life. I can't think of many people (outside of my family) that I am personally loyal to, but lots of institutions, from Yonsei University to Seoul Foreign School where I and my kids went to the Presbyterian Church (or Christianity in general), and on the way, yes, also to the representational principles of the U.S. Constitution. I think many Americans are like this. Certainly we put more value on abstract standards than on the desires of people; in our profession, those would be academic standards. People, we believe, should be judged by some standards, and should strive to meet those standards.

Koreans tend to have a different concept of loyalty. Loyalty is to individuals, persons, rather than to abstracts or ideals. This has been most evident in Korean politics, where the differing goals of the political parties are irrelevant, and the personalities of the leaders of the parties are everything. But it pervades Korean society, business, and education. University professors have their "disciples," special students whom they shepherd and guide through graduate work and finally into academic jobs to become the next generation; those students will be loyal to their mentor all through their professional lives. In business, individual managers have groups of loyal followers who do whatever they ask. And so it is with Koreans anywhere. The individuals you meet, here or at home, have a set of relationships and loyalties to their classmates, their superiors (not necessarily the one they're now working for) and their colleagues, none of which will be evident and all of which may affect their performance, the accuracy of their evaluations, and their attitude toward their current job.

Of course, foreigners have relationships, old boy networks, classmates, friends, and mentors too. But we are taught that loyalty to those things is supposed to come after our loyalty to the profession, to academic standards, to what is "right."

Koreans criticize the American emphasis on abstract standards as cold and inhumane. In America, they say, things are more important, but in Korea they put a higher value on human life. Maybe they're right. But be aware that in any case, Koreans are going to have a strong loyalty to people. Such loyalty may at times conflict with your value system, but if you know the cause of the conflict, you can compensate for it and enjoy "people who need people."

V. Groupies

One student is nothing. A batch of students is more powerful than a university. A big batch of students is more powerful than a government.

Korea is a collective society. While we Americans revere the individual and think that the individual rights and individual development are the highest good in society, Koreans believe that the group is far more important than the individual. This is one of the major factors working against individual initiative in Korean students.

Korean language reinforces this idea in Koreans from an early age. Everything is "uri", which means "our". When Koreans refer to their own language, they do not say "Korean", they say "Our language." They do not refer to Korea, but to "our country." Not home, but "our house," even, yes, "our wife," "our husband," (this does not imply gleeful swapping, but the person who is the wife in our house."). All this reinforces the sense of the group, rather than the individual, as the basic unit of society.

Of course, those units can be of different sizes or different situations. "Our family" is a few people; "our department" might be several hundred, "our university" is many thousand, "and "our country" is 44 million (or 66 million if you include North Korea.) But in each sense is of a group with limits. Everyone inside the group is "in"; others are "out." (remember that title!) The individual finds identity as part of the group, in fact has no important existence other than as a member of the group. And the group is in competition with, feels exclusiveness, perhaps hostility, toward everyone outside the group.

This emphasis on the group rather than on the individual is reflected in Koreans ideas about privacy. Seeing how Korean children seldom have their own room and how children often sleep in the same room with their parents (at least until the age of seven or eight), and how everyone walks in on everyone else in the family, Americans complain that Koreans have no privacy. On the other hand, seeing how our houses have no walls around them, and everyone who walks past can look right across the lawn and into the windows if they want, Korean complain that Americans have no privacy. Of course, for us, privacy is for the individual in (or against) the family; for them privacy is the family against the world.

For Koreans, the word "kae-in," meaning "private" or "individual," is actually a word with rather negative connotations, in contract to the very positive connotations it has in English. Thus it is not surprising to learn that "individual initiative" is generally not valued very highly in Korea. Of course, there has been some change as modernization has taken hold, and occasional individual entrepreneurs have succeeded. And if individual initiative is weak, GROUP initiative can be highly successful. But in large Korean organizations, no matter who founded them, individuals seldom feel comfortable taking the initiative by themselves. Korean educational reformers have been talking of the need for creativity and initiative for the future development of Korea, but even faculty members who agree with that idea don't provide much encouragement for individualists in their classrooms.

Koreans are not thought to be as consensus-oriented as the Japanese. Koreans are generally considered to be more feisty than the Japanese, more likely to break out of the mold and act as individuals and make decisions (for good or bad). Nonetheless, Koreans and Japanese are clearly similar in tradition, and clearly both traditions are quite different from mine. In fact, if you think about it, isn't it a bit odd to say that the individual is more important than the group? In any case, don't be surprised if Koreans show a relative lack of individual initiative. How could they possibly have it when everything in their culture implies it's bad?

VI. Heredity and Environment

Lots of Korean children are adopted each year overseas. This has become a big issue in Korea lately, as some Koreans consider it embarrassing to their nation. I, on the other hand (partly because I have adopted two children who used to be Korean) consider it one of the finest thing that Koreans do, allowing their children to be adopted by people who really want them. The fact is that Koreans do not adopt children very much, and many Koreans cannot understand that I would really love an adopted child.

Actually, Koreans traditionally did adopt occasionally. If one did not have a son, one might adopt a second son of a relative (a "spare") to carry on the family line. The adoptee need not be young; often the adoptee would be in his teens or older before the need to adopt would be recognized. But the person to be adopted had to be related to you, and in the correct generation in relation to you.

Americans, as you may know, don't care much about being related to the child, but they want to adopt young. My elder daughter came to my house when she was five days old--that's the way to do it, no?

Americans and Koreans are equally crazy in our view of the world. In anyone's makeup there is a mixture of heredity and environment. But we Americans tend to believe only in environment. Look at that adoption pattern---get'em young and we can do anything, right? We want to adopt infants! Then there will be no problems.

Koreans tend to believe only in heredity. Look at the adoption pattern---get'em related to us and we know what we are getting, right? We want to adopt relatives! Then there will be no problems.

Of course, heredity determines a lot about my height, aptitudes, even disease. Environment determines my behavior, health, even disease. Thus both Koreans and Americans are wrong. But being wrong never affected a social attitude (theirs or ours.)

Our attitude to environment and heredity may come from the American experience, where everyone was an immigrant and the new land was what determined what we were; anyone could become anything, and the past was what was left behind. The Korean attitude may come from the Korean experience, where everyone was here for 5000 years and family was what determined what we were; no one could become anything.

Of course, modern Korea is built on a denial of all this resignation and fatalism. Everything changes; everything can be changed. Both attitudes are strong in Korea--- everything changes, must change; but nothing changes, particularly in people without sons adopt, but often conceal the adoption not only from the child, but even from the neighbors, getting progressively "pregnant," then going to the hospital and bringing home the adopted newborn publicly as their own.

While this attitude may just be of academic interest to that majority of people who have not adopted, it impacts a large group of people whom we may deal with as educators. These are the hyphenated Koreans, most often Korean-American.

The typical Korean-American experience is quite negative. Their first introduction to Korea is in the taxi from the airport, where the taxi driver scolds them for not speaking Korean well. They have often felt varying degrees of isolation in their home countries, and had expected that in Korea they would feel at home. But they are soon disabused of that notion.

In the summer of 1992 a survey was conducted among the summer session students at Yonsei's International Division, 95% of whom are Korean-American, about their ideas of Korea and Koreans. The results were much as expected---it's a beautiful country, they like the food, it's bigger and more modern, they were satisfied with their study experience, etc. But one figure stood out. When asked about the basic character and attitudes of the Korean people, 64.8% of these young Korean-Americans replied that Koreans were "unkind." It's the way that they had been treated.

The problem is heredity and environment. If the student is born in New Jersey, went to high school in Plainsboro, speaks only English, and is a student at the University of Michigan, I know that that student is an American. But if his parents were Korean, the average Korean believes the student is Korean too---but a bad one. If I can say "Ann-young-hash-im-niker," no matter how badly, Koreans will be impressed by my Korean. If one of those students makes even a slight error in grammar, particularly in the small suffixes that indicate politeness and relative place in society, they are criticized severely--because they are expected to be Korean!

One of the greatest assets of Korean society is its homogeneity---all one language, one culture, one race, providing mass education, communication, and understanding within the boundaries of Korea.

One of the greatest liabilities of Korean society is its homogeneity---no experience of diversity, no openness to difference, ambiguity about learning English, a bit of racism and xenophobia thrown in, with these negative points not merely a counter---ideal reality, as in the U.S., but part of the ideology reinforced by the government, education, media, and family.

All of these fit together---hierarchy, personalized loyalty, group orientation, nationalism, heredity---to produce a cultural group that has survived a long time. Now the very things that have helped it survive may be impediments to its future. As we seek to understand Koreans, so they can perhaps understand us. Maybe a few of us can meet each other in the middle.

한국인의 위계질서와 인간관계

Horace H. Underwood

한국 문화의 중심은 위계질서와 충성심으로 특징지어지는 유교이다. 한국문화내에서 충성심은 정직성이나 사랑보다도 높은 덕목이며, 추상적인 관계보다는 개인에 대한 충성으로 특징지어진다. 또한 한국인들은 집단의 구성원으로서 그들의 정체성과 행동의 동기를 찾고, 개인의 독창성보다는 상하 위계질서를 따르는 경향이 있다. 이러한 모든 가치들은 배타주의라는 세계관으로 모아질 수 있고 개인적인 영향력과 상하계급구조에 종속된다.

I. 내부와 외부("In" and "Out")

실제로 한국인에게 있어 세계는 그들과 면식이 있거나 그렇지 않은 두종류의 사람들로 구성되어 있다. 만약 당신이 어떤 사람을 알고 있다면 당신은 그와 관계가 있는 것이고, 매우 의무적이 되며 모든 예의를 갖추어 정중하고 친절하게 대해야 한다. 그러나 당신이 모르는 사람이라거나 그 사람들을 공식적인 석상에서 만난 적이 없다면 그들은 존재하지 않는 것이고 인간일 수 없으며, 중요하지도 않을뿐더러 당신은 그 사람을 위해 아무것도 해줄 필요가 없다. 한국 사회에서의 모든 상황은 이러한 내부와 외부의 차별성에 의해 설명된다. 예를 들어 명함을 주고받는 행위는 상대방에게 비인간으로부터 인간이 되게 하는 순간과 같이 중요하다.

이와는 달리 미국인들에게는 사람들에 대한 평등한 대우가 가장 중요한 가치 중 하나이다. 미국인들은 안면이 없는 이방인일지라도 면식이 있는 사람과 동등하게 친절히 대해야 하는 추상적인 기준을 가지고 있다. 물론 그것이 사회를 살아가는 유일한 방법은 아니다.

II. 평등하게 창조된 사람은 없다(No Men Are Created Equal)

내부와 외부의 문제는 "한국이 근본적으로 불평등하다"라는 사실의 한 부분일 뿐이다. 또한 그것은 평등한 대우에 대해 가치를 두지 않고, 사람들 사이의 수직적인 계급의 차별성을 만드는 것이다.

한국은 유교사회이다. 기독교인을 포함하여 모든 사람들이 유교주의자이다. 유교는 기본적으로 윤리 체계이며 사회관계 체계이지 종교가 아니다. 그 전형은 가족이다. 또한 유교의 가장 두드러진 핵심은 왕과 신하, 아버지와 아들, 형과 동생, 남편과 아내 그리고 친구와 친구라는 특별한 "다섯가지 관계 즉 오륜"이다. 다섯 관계 중 네 관계는 위계에 관한 것이고, 그것은 정당하며, 한국은 적어도 80%가 위계관계이다. 언어 또한 수직 구조적인 불평등을 강화한다. 사용하는 말씨의 수준에 따라 두 화자의 관계가 정의된다. 두 사람은 그들 사이의 지위와 나이를 통한 상하 위계적 관계를 정의하기 전까지는 서로 이야기조차 할 수 없다.

위계구조는 한국인들에게는 전체 세계이다. 그 세계안에서 한 사람의 상대적 지위를 인식하는 것은 한국이나 다른 어떤 곳에서 한국인을 대하는데 있어 당신의 삶을 쉽게 만드는 방법이 될 것이다.

III. 충성심과 정직성(Loyalty and Honesty)

한국인은 부정적하지 않다. 한국에서도 정직은 하나의 덕목이다. 한국인들은 정직성에 대한 강한 의식을 가지고 있다. 하지만 문제는 정직이 가권 위계내의 한 가치라는데 있다. 정직은 가치이지만 충성심은 그보다 더 높은 가치이다. 실제로 당신이 한국인에게 한국 문화를 표현하는 가장 중요하고 이상적인 한 단어를 묻는다면, 서구문화에서는 "사랑"이 궁극적인 이상이지만, 한국인의 대답은 종종 "충성심"이 될 것이다. 또한 만약 당신이 유교의 다섯가지 관계를 잘 요약한 가치를 묻는다면 그것은 바로 "충성심"일 것이다.

IV. 개인 중심의 정치(Personalized Politics)

한국인과 미국인의 충성심에는 한가지 차이가 있다. 미국인들은 일반적으로 헌법과 제도 같은 이상적인 것에 대해 충성하고 한국인들은 개인에게 충성한다는 것이다. 한국인들은 충성심에 대해 독특한 개념을 갖는 경향이 있다. 추상적인 것과 이상적인 것에 대한 것보다는 개인이나 사람에게 충성한다. 정당들의 서로다른 목적은 별반 관계가 없고, 당수의 개성이 모든 것을 좌지우지하는 한국의 정치가 그 사실을 잘 증명해준다. 또한 그것은 한국의 사회 및 경제 그리고 교육 전반에 퍼져 나가고 있다. 한국인들은 미국인들의 추상적 표준에 대한 강조를 냉정하고 비인간적이라 비판한다. 미국에서는 물질이 더욱 중요하지만 한국에서는 사람의 일상 생활에 보다 높은 가치를 부여한다. 아마도 한국인들이 옳다. 그러나 어떠한 경우라도 한국인들은 개인에 대해 강한 충성심을 보인다는 것을 알아야 한다. 그것은 충성심은 당신의 가치체계와 갈등 관계에 놓일 수 있다. 그러나 당신이 그 갈등의 원인을 인지한다면 당신은 "사람을 필요로하는 사람(한국인)"과 어울릴수 있을 것이다.

V. 집단들(Groupies)

한국은 집단적인 사회이다. 미국인들은 개인을 부각시키고 사회속에서의 개인의 권리 추구하고 발전을 최고의 선으로 생각하는 반면, 한국인들은 집단이 개인보다 더욱 중요하다고 믿는다.

한국어중 "우리"라는 개념은 사회의 기본적 단위로서 개인보다는 집단 의식을 강화하고 있다. 개인은 집단의 한부분으로서 그 정체성을 발견하고 실제로 집단의 한 분자 이상의 어떤 중요한 존재도 아니다. 집단은 배타성, 아마도 적의를 느끼며 집단 밖의 모든 사람들과 경쟁관계에 있다. 이러한 개인에 우선한 집단에의 강조는 한국인들의 "사생활"에 대한 사고를 반영한다. 물론 미국인들에게 사생활은 가족 내부에서 또는 가족 구성원들에 반하는 사생활이지만 한국인들에게는 세계에 반하는 가족의 생활이다. 한국어중 "사적인" 또는 "개인적인"이란 의미를 지닌 "개인"이라는 단어는 영어에서의 매우 긍정적인 의미와는 달리 상대적으로 부정적인 의미이다. 한국의 교육개혁자들은 미래의 한국의 발전을 위해 창조성과 독창성의 필요를 이야기 해오고 있지만, 그 의견에 동의하는 대학의 교수들조차도 그들의 수업에 참여하는 개인주의자들을 복돋우지는 않는다.

VI. 유전과 환경(Heredity and Environment)

한국 유아의 외국 입양은 최근들어 하나의 쟁점이 되고 있다. 한국인들은 자국 유아들의 외국 입양을 못마땅하게 여기고 있다. 그러나 나는 진정으로 아이를 갖고자 하는 외국인에게 아이를 입양시키는 일을 잘하는 일이라 생각한다. 실제로 한국

인들에게 아이들의 입양은 흔치 않다. 그러나, 한국인들도 가끔씩 입양을 하는 일이 있다. 입양아는 대부분 친척의 차남이다. 한국인들에게는 입양아가 어릴 필요는 없으나, 반드시 친척이어야만 한다. 반면에 미국인들은 입양아가 친척이거나 그렇지 않거나 개의치 않지만 유아이기를 바란다.

유전과 환경의 혼합적 형태가 입양의 조건이 된다. 미국인들은 유아를 입양하는 것에서 알수 있듯이 환경을 믿는 경향이 있고, 한국인들은 친척의 자식을 입양하는 것처럼 유전을 믿는 경향이 있다. 미국인들의 환경과 유전에 대한 태도는 미국인들의 경험으로부터 발생한 것일지 모른다. 모든 사람이 이민자들이고 신세계가 그들이 있어야 할 곳으로 결정된; 누구라도 어떤 무엇이 될 수 있었고, 과거는 그저 지나간 것이었다. 반면 한국인의 태도는 한국인들의 경험에서 나온 것이다. 모든 사람이 5,000년 동안을 한반도에 살았고, 가족공동체가 그들이 있어야 할 곳으로 결정된; 그 누구도 어떤 무엇이 될 수 없었다.

물론 근대의 한국은 그러한 모든 체념과 숙명론의 거부를 기초로 세워졌지만, 사람과 인간관계는 변하지 않았다. 또한 입양에 대한 옛 형태도 달라지지 않았다. 한국입양아들의 문제는 많은 사람들의 학문적 관심이 되었다. 외국계 한국인들 대부분 한국계 미국인들이다. 1992년 여름 95%가 한국계 미국인인 연세대학교 국제학부 학생들을 대상으로 한국과 한국인에 대한 여론조사가 실시되었다. 64.8%의 젊은 한국계 미국인이 한국인들은 "불친절"하다고 대답했다. 그것이 바로 그들이 한국인들로부터 받는 대우이다.

한국사회의 위대한 재산중 하나는 그들의 동질성이다-단일 언어, 민족, 단일 종족, 대중교육과 매체의 보급 및 한국이라는 경계선내에서의 이해.

한국사회의 커다란 불리한 조건중 하나는 바로 동질성이다-다양성에 대한 경험부재, 외부에 대한 비개방, 영어 공부에의 모호성, 민족적 우월감과 외국인 혐오증 등 이러한 부정적인 요소는 단순히 반이상적인 현실이 아니라, 정부와 교육 및 대중매체 그리고 가정교육이 강화시킨 이념의 부분이다.

이러한 모든 생각들-위계질서, 개인에 대한 충성심, 집단 지향성, 민족주의, 유전-은 오래도록 생존해온 한국적 문화집단을 형성하기 위해 함께 적용한다. 그러한 문화집단이 생존하도록 돕는 요소들은 미래의 방해물이 될수도 있다. 우리가 한국인들을 이해하기 위해 방도를 찾는 것처럼 한국인들도 우리를 이해할수 있을 것이다. 아마도 우리들중 몇몇은 중간 지점에서 서로를 만날수 있을 것이다.

Koreans Known Not Only For Economic Miracle
by Lam Van Tuu

Korea is known not only for her economic miracle but also for her hard and disciplined workers, studious students, hospital and dynamic and practical people.

Walking along streets in South Korea capital of Seoul, watching high buildings, overpasses, roads, subways, bridges over the Han river, one hardly believes that all these modern infrastructures were built from the ruins during the past 30 years by the very poor people.

More than 30 years ago The Republic of Korea was very poor, poorer than South Vietnam, China and much poorer than Russia. But now it is going to become a developed country whose gross national product (GDP) is larger than both that of China, the most populous country and that of Russia, the largest country in the world.

In 1962 Korea started modern economic development with first 5-year economic plan. With average growth of over 8% per year, her GDP increased by 200 folds from a mere US\$ 2.3 billion in 1962 to US\$ 455.6 in 1995 ranking the Republic of Korea 11th in the world. Per capital income increased by about 115 folds from US\$ 87 in 1962 to over US\$ 10,000 by the end of 1995.

That achievement is a miracle unprecedented in the world. The Koreans have proved to be a unique people winning admiration worldwide. Peoples from many countries, especially from the developing ones came here to learn Korean experiences.

The Koreans are known for education which is the most important factor behind their successes. They place tremendous emphasis on education. From childhood they are told "knowledge is power". "If you are to live, you should learn". And "even a moment of time can not be wasted". The Korean parents firmly believe that by educating their children they will improve their own destinies. Therefore, they are willing to sacrifice just about anything for the education of their children. They are willing to pay substantially large amount of modest income for the education of their children, enrolling them at younger and younger ages into intensive education programs so that they can be better prepared for future competition.

The Korean people are not satisfied with what they have accomplished. They keep on working and studying very hard for continuous progress. The Korean used to work 10 hours a day or more. Owners and presidents of companies work even longer, especially on the last days of the year. The Korean people are seen going on the way to workplaces early in the morning and coming home late in the evening. They are well-known for getting up early and going to bed late at night. That is a routine for all the Koreans except children aged under 12.

Daily pressures make the Koreans drink a lot as it is a way to relax. Every night drunk persons can be seen in the subways and on the streets of Seoul. Koreans in general are tough. They turn tougher when they get drunk. Foreigners who go around Seoul by public means of transport have to get used to going in the same bus or train with them.

Aliens also have to get used to their vomiting which is common place in Seoul, Particularly in subways.

The Koreans are strong due to ginseng and sports. Korean people are vigorous at sport matches after work shifts and classes, and even at break time. Playgrounds of different sizes are available everywhere. They are well built in all colleges and schools. These grounds help make the Koreans strong and dynamic. The Korean people appear tireless in their working, studying and playing as the capital of Seoul so vigorous around the clock.

Koreans are known as determined and successful competitors. They get used to competition, particularly in the economic domain. Economic competition is considered as a way to maintain its survival as well to consolidate and raise its international status. In 1970 South Korean President Park Chung-hee offered North Korea to embark on a "competition of development, construction and creation". As a result South Korea now becomes an economic powerhouse. The Koreans' determination to win can also be seen in her recent bid to host the 2002 World Cup soccer finals.

With the above-mentioned characteristics and features, the Korean can find it easier in adopting themselves to the hardships, difficulties and changing environments than the peoples from the Southeast Asia countries which are gifted with abundant natural resources. The Southeast Asian persons who come to Korea as workers take time to be accustomed to the working conditions and behaviors in this country.

South Korea is also known for traffic jams. It is more awful on the weekends. On many streets in Seoul downtown one often see people rather getting off the bus and walking in the same direction because they cannot stand waiting in the vehicle. On the weekend we are advised to take the subway when we need to get around.

Finding address in Korea is a difficult work. Foreigners cannot find the place they look for without the help of the local people. In Korea names of buildings and companies instead of streets are known. Moreover, the Korean are very economic in talking with passers-by who ask for directions. In order to obtain their replies, one should be patient and keep on asking them or ask one passer-by after another. Despite such attitudes, Korean are in general hospitable, frank and friendly.

The Korean people are very hospitable and friendly towards the Vietnamese. Once I was at the Oksu subway station. I asked a Korean pedestrian to show me the way to my house in Hannam-dong. He spoke broken English. I understood that he told me to climb the long and winding sloping road and take several right and left turns. While I was still in confusion, he asked me: "Where are you from". On learning that I am a Vietnamese, he became surprisingly friendly and told me that he was in Vietnam in 1979. Then he said: "Let's go. I'll show you", although he had gone the opposite direction. We were climbing along the steep slope while talking as if we were old friends. When we arrived at the cross-road at the top of the slope, he told me to go straight to my house. He then said good-bye to me and went back along the road he had traveled. I forgot to ask his name; but his kind behavior and sentiment left me with a deep impression.

I would like to give another example to prove my observation. We are the first correspondents of Vietnam News Agency assigned to Seoul to open our bureau in the Republic of Korea. The Korean authorities told us that normally it takes three months or more to get approval for the opening of a foreign bureau in Seoul. But in our case it took only a little over a month. We could not achieve that record without the friendly and effective help of our Korean colleagues in the Korean news agency Yonhap, our Korean friends in The Korean Overseas Information Service (KOIS) and in other departments under the Korean Information Ministry. We never forget the fine sentiments and effective assistance of these people.

The word "Vietnam" proves to be quite familiar to the Koreans. Many people in this country even know the names of remote localities in Vietnam, as lots of Koreans went to Vietnam in recent years, and also lots of Korean people went to Vietnam before her unification in 1975. Exchange of visits by the two peoples is increasing. Friendly cooperation between Vietnam and the Republic of Korea expands rapidly since the two countries established diplomatic relation in December 1993. Last year South Korea's bilateral trade with Vietnam rose to US\$1.4 billion, and her investment in Vietnam rose to US\$1.5 billion.

Korea is known for practical ideas and approaches. Korea needs market, cheap labor and natural resources from developing countries and high technologies and cooperation from the developed. Therefore, they propose that Korea play the role as a bridge between the two groups. As their economy is outward oriented, Korea attaches more importance to cooperation for mutual benefits than competition though Korea can compete better than many other countries. With that policy, the Republic of Korea has now built firm business and production bases throughout the world which ensures her continuous successes.

Korea is also known as a hub of international conferences and seminars. These meetings help the Koreans discuss in deep the opportunities and challenges in the world over. As a result, they help promote her interests in the interactions with foreign countries.

Korea is known for Segeyhwa (globalization). The campaign is aimed to make the Korean people the best in the world. South Korea plans to raise GNP ten folds from nearly US\$ 456 billion in 1995 to 4,081 billion in 2020, making her one of the seven most developed countries in the world in the early 21st century.

The Republic of Korea could increase her GNP 200 folds within the 30 odd year span. From now to 2020 she has 24 more years. The target to raise GNP ten folds by 2020 seem to be modest and realistic. Moreover, Korean miracle has contributed to bringing about economic dynamism in Asia-Pacific. The dynamism of the region, now the center of the world economy in return surely provides the Republic of Korea with more favorable environments in their achieving its targets. In the countries of the Asian-Pacific region in the 21st century we expect another miracle made by the Republic of Korea.

한국이 널리 알려진 것은 경제기적때문만이 아니다

Lam Van Tuu

한국은 경제적 기적을 이룬 나라로 알려져 있을 뿐 아니라 국민이 엄격한 규율하에 부지런히 일하고 학생들이 열심히 공부하는 나라로 유명하다. 서울에 뿔뿔히 들어선 고층 건물들이나 수 많은 한강다리들이 불과 30년 동안에 건설됐다는 것은 믿기 어렵다. 한국은 30년전에는 가난했다. 한국은 러시아나 중국보다 가난했고 베트남보다도 가난했다. 30년전 1인당 소득이 87달러에 불과했던 한국은 95년 1인당 GNP가 1만달러를 넘어섰다.

이같은 기적은 교육열이 뒷받침해 준 것이다. 한국의 부모는 자식의 교육을 위해서는 모든 것을 희생한다. 한국인은 새벽부터 밤늦게까지 하루 10시간 이상 일한다. 한국인은 지금까지의 발전에 만족하지 않고 더높은 발전을 위해 계속 노력하고 있다.

한국인은 이같이 열심히 일하면서 생긴 긴장탓인지 스트레스를 풀기위해 술을 많이 마시는 것 같다. 저녁에 버스나 지하철을 타보면 술취한 사람, 게우는 사람을 자주 보게된다. 그리고 사람들은 술이 취하면 좀 거칠어 지는 것 같았다. 한국인은 인삼을 먹고 스포츠를 즐기는 탓인지 기운이 왕성하고 피곤을 모르는 것 같다.

또 한국인은 경쟁에 강하다. 70년대에 박정희 대통령은 북한에 대해서 "건설창조 발전" 면에서 경쟁하자고 도전했다는데 경쟁 결과, 한국이 북한에 앞선 것은 물론 세계적 경제강국이 됐고, 2002년에는 월드컵까지 개최하게 됐다. 서울의 교통은 확실히 심각하다. 주말에는 더 심하다. 버스나 지하철을 타는 편이 자가용을 모는 것보다 훨씬 빠르다. 한국서는 주소찾기가 힘들다. 거리 이름보다는 건물이나 회사이름이 더 알려져 있다. 길을 물어도 사람들은 간단히 대답하고 지나가버리기 때문에 몇사람에게 길을 물어보아야 할때도 있다.

그러나 베트남 사람에게는 특별히 친절할 것 같다. 한번은 지하철 옥수역에서 새로 든 나의 집까지 가는 길을 물어 본 일이 있는데 내가 잘못알아 듣자 어디서 왔느냐고 묻고 베트남에서 왔다고 했더니, 자기도 79년에 베트남에 가본일이 있다면서 한남동에 있는 나의 집까지 친절히 안내해줬다. 한국과 베트남은 93년에 수교를 했지만 양국관계는 원활하다. 무역도 95년 14억달러, 한국의 대베트남 투자도 15억달러에 달한다. 21세기는 아세아 태평양의 세기라고 한다. 그가운데서도 한국이 21세기에 가서 또하나의 경제적 기적을 성취하리라고 기대한다.

Korean Women Issues and Feminism
by Lynne Doerfler Kim

Abstract

The traditional model of Korean women has a beauty which deserves to be upheld as a beacon to the world. The traditional role of the giving grandmother, the giving wife and mother are really what men, women, and children are seeking all throughout the world. It is what any man would want. It is what any child would want. And the woman who provides it will be loved the way every woman wants to be loved. I hope that Korean women can sense this and quickly go this stage of development without having to go through all the fighting, divorces, broken families, and disturbed children that America had to go through before coming back to these values. I hope the women's movement in Korea moves wisely because I worry that the strength of the Confucian value system in people's thinking and in the attitudes of Korean men could bring about an even greater backlash that what was experienced in America if the women's movement becomes too militant here in Korea.

It is my dream that Korean women as the major caretakers of the children could change the attitudes which need to be changed quickly. If the present mothers teach their sons to respect them, to respect their sisters and girls in general, I believe the attitudes of the nation could change peacefully in one generation.

Korean Women Issues and Feminism

Distinguished Chairman, Speakers, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I consider it an honor to be here today to discuss with you the larger theme of this conference: Foreign Perspectives on Korean Society and to share with you a few of my ideas on the topic of "Korean Women." Since my degrees are in French language and literature and education rather than Women's studies or Korean studies, it is not without trepidation that I stand before you. However, in my own way I feel I have alternate qualifications to offer to degrees Women's or Koreans studies. First of all, I am a woman and have been one since I was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin in the United States in 1948. For those who are no quicker than I am in math, let me point out that that gives me nearly 48 years of direct experience as a woman. And my second qualification is that my life has been spent equally divided between the United States and Korea. Other than brief periods of study in France and Canada, I lived in the United States from the time I was born until I came to Korea in 1972. And except for brief trips abroad and family visits back to the States I have been in Korea since then. Therefore today I will be speaking from my personal experience, from what I have seen and heard directly, not from reading books.

In April 1972, I arrived in Seoul as a wide-eyed young American graduate to edit a magazine for my church. At that time my first, strong impressions of Korean women came from the grandmothers and middle aged women at the church I was attending. They did not seem to speak a word of English. But that did not stop them from coming up to me after service to take my hands, pat my shoulder, smile at and chat with me in Korean I still couldn't understand. Their eyes spoke far more eloquently than their mouths ever could. As they came

around me I felt surrounded by a warm and bright feeling as though I just been submerged in a sea of love. As a Westerner I was not used to holding hands with other women and was at first a bit uncomfortable, but those grandmothers melted my heart and became part of my goal as a human being. I hoped that one day I would be able to walk up to people, even to someone I don't know personally and whose language I can't speak, and they would be able to feel from me the unconditional, overflowing love that those grandmothers sent out to me. It was a very special kind of love given by very special kind of people.

The more I experienced Korean women, the more they became my models. When I visited people's homes or went with them to restaurants, I noticed that the wives/mothers seemed to have a second sense about everyone. Even before some one asked for something, they moved a certain side dish in front of the person, or brought more soup or more rice. They created an atmosphere of plenty, of comfort, of caring. And they were happy and proud doing it. There was nothing subservient about them. They were clearly in control of the situation and doing a stunning job of making everyone happy and comfortable. They were exemplary hostess in their element. I wondered if I would ever be able to be like them. I worried whether I had the ability to be so giving. And these Korean women also became models for my life.

It was when I married a Korean man that I found an even more substantial model for womanhood in my Korean mother-in-law. In many ways she seem to be the quintessence of the best of traditional Korean womanhood. At that time her life was and still is still one of giving, and giving, and giving. Sometimes there are complaints, but the giving never stops. She is an expert in saving electricity, water, soap, food, everything but herself. If the choice is between extra work such as doing a small amount of laundry my hand or throwing it in the washing machine, she usually chooses to save the electricity, soap and water even though her back and hands hurt. Although I sincerely wish she would leave the work for me to do later or at least spare herself as much as possible and not worry so much about the cost of a little more electricity, soap, or water, I respect her devotion and effort immensely.

Another special aspect about her is her unconditional love for babies. Her love for children showed whole new worlds of love to me with each of our five children. Her constant presence in the home, her warm welcome of everyone, her desire to immediately give something to eat or drink to everyone who comes into the home, her insistence that clothes always be ready and easy to find, everything she does makes the home a better place to live. To be honest, I feel that if every home in the world had a Korean grandmother like ours, homes would be much more peaceful and pleasant: marital problems would decrease, and children would be more stable.

But sometimes when I talk with younger Korean people about my mother-in-law, I found a disturbing tendency. At one point I was wishing that my mother-in-law would take life a little more easily. A few times I lamented to people that in spite of my requests to leave the laundry if I had to leave early in the morning, my mother-in-law would always have it done by the time I got home. And she did that even though she has a sore back and rheumatic hands. Upon hearing my story, they always commented that Korean grandmothers were always like that. No one said that Korean women are like that; they only said that Korean grandmothers are like that. It made me wonder whether the young Korean women of today will be like that when they become grandmothers. To be honest, I rather doubt it. The young women of today do not seem to identify with that giving model of womanhood any more than the men. It was something grandmothers did, not something "we" or women should do at all.

Accordingly I began to worry whether this giving model of womanhood will survive here in Korea. To me this is a very serious issue. I believe that the model of womanhood is the glue of the family which made a home secure enough to give each individual the necessary strength to go out and compete in and contribute positively to society. To me the model of Korean womanhood is an ideal worth exporting to the whole world, not something to be discarded with globalization or a misunderstanding of the equality sought with democratization. It is a concrete realization of the model Jesus of Nazareth tried to talk about 2,000 years ago.

Now that I have expressed my enthusiasm about what I perceived as the traditional Korean woman, I must add, however, that I have seen many instances which made me wonder whether Korean men deserved these very women I was admiring. For instance, once on a bus an elderly man and woman got in. The woman was carrying a package on her head and one in her hand. Her husband was empty-handed. As soon as they got into the bus, the woman hurried to the only open seat and instead of sitting waved strongly to her husband. He came over, sat down, made himself comfortable, and proceeded to ignore her as she put her hand carried package down on the floor and in the moving bus struggled to lower the one she had on her head. That was a puzzling and frightening moment for me in which I nearly vowed that I would never marry a Korean man. But was also very interesting to me was the fact that the woman seemed very happy, very strong, and very proud. To a Westerner, the situation seemed to say that she was being treated as a servant, a second class citizen. But she looked like she was in complete control of herself and the whole situation. She was obviously happy that her husband was sitting. She was not resenting him that he was sitting and she seemed proud that she had found the seat for him. When another seat opened up behind her, the husband gestured for her to sit there, but she refused and remained standing near him as though protecting him. She was clearly doing what she wanted. She was not being forced in any way. This incident made me realize that the giving nature of Korean women reflected far more strength that I had even managed and I pay even closer attention to them.

A more extreme situation disturbed me terribly however. Once while driving past a small street with shops I saw a man literally dragging a woman who was resisting him with all her might. She sat down in the street and he pulled her up; she lay down and he hit her and literally dragged her along. She was crying and saying that she didn't want to go. I was shocked. I still didn't speak the language that well at that point and didn't know what to do. What even shocked me more was that even though several people in the street or in their shops were watching the whole scene, no one tried to help her; no one even asked what was happening. What if he was a gangster? Since no one did anything it made me think that perhaps they were a couple who fought often and the people were used to it, or perhaps she was a wife who had started drinking or something and he had to drag her home often. But even if he was her husband, how dare he treat her like that in public? If he was like that in the street, what would be like behind doors? How could people just stand there and watch? Why didn't anyone at least call the police to investigate the situation? When I asked other people about this, I was even more discouraged to learn that the police do not interfere in domestic affairs, even when there is violence. It seems that the Korean domestic laws have not yet distinguished women and children from chattels. This attitude perhaps reflects the old tradition that once a woman marries she must stay in that home and would not be welcomed back to her parental home under any circumstances. Accordingly, many Korean men seem to think they own their women, and even many still seem to hold to the insane old statement that women are like dried fish and need to be beaten to become pliable and soft. The common attitude that if a child does

not do what he is told he must be hit, seems to extend in some men's minds even to their wives.

With such attitudes still in existence, it appears urgent that Korean laws be amended quickly to reflect the American laws which protect women and children in situations of domestic violence as well as from discrimination in the work place. It also initially appears that Korean women have a lot to learn from the American women who pushed to have laws passed which protect them and have made legally equal to men. I do agree that it is important to have such laws in place to protect women in the worst of cases where they can no longer depend on the decency of their spouse or fellow workers. But I hesitate to recommend that Korean women import indiscriminately the life patterns of their American counterparts.

Since the beginnings of the Women's Liberation movement in America many more women have gone into the work place and many have become independent financially. Legally they cannot be paid less than men for equal work. Legally they cannot be discriminated against in hiring. Legally they can protest if they are subject to sexual harassment. They have proven themselves able to perform as well as and sometimes even better than men when in the same environment. They can divorce easily and usually are granted custody of the children with the father required to pay child support. This kind of equality appears to be one of the goals of Korean women at this point in history. In principle it is a proper goal, but I'd like to just bring up a few problems which have appeared parallel with this success.

In roughly the same period since American women obtained their legal equality, the divorce rate in America has skyrocketed. The numbers of problem children have soared. Drug usage has spread throughout the whole society with drugs available even in the elementary schools of the nation. Academic success has declined. Students arrive at college unable to write coherently or read discerningly. Some students graduate from high school unable to read or do simple math. Violence has increased so much in the schools that armed police are present in many schools and at some schools students pass through metal detectors to keep guns out of schools. American students do not do as well as Eastern students in science or math exams.

As a response to all these social difficulties new women's movements are appearing in America which stress the family. They stress not women's equality to men, but rather their femininity, their value as beings different from men fulfilling a role different from men: especially fulfilling with pride the nurturing role of mother and wife. Due to reports from Harvard psychologists on the importance of the early years of a child's life, if it can be done without starving, many women are opting to be at home full time at least until the children are in school. And even beyond the early years, they are trying to be home more.

In some ways it seems to me that the women's movement in Korea is 20 to 30 years behind America's. I just hope that somehow Korean women can find a way to better their official position in society without losing the beautiful traditional atmosphere and role that I admired so much when I first arrived in Korea. In the same way that women cannot be forced to stay in their old positions, men cannot be forced to give up their old positions. To me it seems the most fundamental solution of the situation for women is not to be found in the Congress by making new laws or fighting for divorces. The real solution for the situation will come in the homes.

If the Korean men are wise, they will learn to respect more the value of the contribution of their wives, of the mothers of their children. It is incredible that some men when asked what their wives do answer, "nothing," if their wives do not work outside the home! If Korean men do not value their wives at home, they will lose their presence there. The wives will no longer stay home. Korean men should learn to support their wives emotionally and free themselves to the beautiful women they want to be at home. In this age, it will be fruitless to try to keep their wives below them.

At the same time, I hope that Korean women will recognize the beauty of their own tradition and proudly uphold it as a beacon to the world. The traditional role of the giving grandmother, the giving wife and mother are really what men, women and children are seeking all throughout the world. It is what any man would want. It is what any woman would want. And the woman who provides it will be loved the way every woman wants to be loved. I hope that Korean women can sense this and quickly go to this stage of development without having to go through all the fighting, divorces, broken families, and disturbed children that America had to go through before coming back to these values. I hope the women's movement in Korea moves wisely because I worry that the strength of the Confucian value system in people's thinking and in the attitudes of Korean men could bring about an even greater backlash than what was experienced in America if the women's movement becomes too militant.

It is my dream that Korean women as the major caretakers of children could change the attitudes which need to be changed within one generation if they really tried. For instance one of the attitudes which shocked me when I first came to Korea was held up by the women as much or more than the men. This was the overwhelming preference for male children. In my 23 years of life in America before coming to Korea I had never heard a single remark which implied in the slightest way that my father or anyone would have preferred that I had been a boy. Such an idea had never occurred to me. To me it was horrifying to hear parents in Korea say openly to their daughters that it would have been better if they had been boys, or to say in front of their daughters that sons are the best. What startled me most was that the people doing this were not just men. The women made such comments as much as the men. If the present generation of mothers teach their sons to respect them, to respect their sisters and girls in general, I believe the attitudes of the nation could change peacefully in one generation.

It is with this plea for a revolution of education and love at home brought about by the women while retaining the inherent beauty and universal truth of the traditional women's role in Korea that I close my address. Thank you.

Lynne L. Kim

외국인의 관점에서 본 한국여성

Lynne L. Kim

블문학과 교육학을 전공한 나에게 여성학이나, 한국학에 대한 발표를 한다는 것은 솔직히 쉬운 일은 아니다. 그러나 48년간의 여성으로서의 삶의 경험과 대학을 졸업한 1972년 이후 현재까지의 한국 생활의 경험을 토대로 여성과 한국에 대한 나름의 견해를 피력해 보고자한다.

1972년 4월 한 교회의 교회지 편집자로 한국에 왔을 때 난 한국의 할머니들과 중년 여성으로부터 한국 여성에 대한 깊은 감동을 받았다. 그들은 영어를 전혀 말하지 못했지만, 무엇인가 전달하려는 눈빛으로 나를 대해주었다. 그것은 내게 사랑의 바다로 잠겨드는 듯한 따뜻하고 밝은 느낌을 느끼게 했다.

한국 여성들을 알게되면 될수록 그들은 내 여성상의 표본이 되어 갔다. 한국의 아내와 어머니들은 "줌"을 통해 모든 사람들을 행복하고 안락하게 해주었다. 난 내가 그들처럼 행동할 수 있을지 걱정했었고 종종 내 자신이 "주는 능력"을 가질 수 있을지에 대해 의심하기도 했다.

한국 남자와 결혼한 이후 난 시어머니를 통해 더욱 실제적인 전통적 한국 여인상을 발견할 수 있었다. 그녀의 삶은 그때나 지금이나 항상 주고, 또 주고, 또 주는 삶이다. 그녀는 전기나, 비누, 물 등 모든 것을 절약 했다. 자신의 몸이 불편함에도 불구하고, 세탁기보다는 손빨래를 택했다. 난 그녀가 며느리를 위해서라도 일을 미루어주거나 너무 작은 것을 절약하는데 관심을 두지 않길 바라기도 했지만, 그녀의 헌신과 노력을 무척이나 존경했고 지금도 존경한다.

그녀가 보여준 또다른 전통적인 한국 여인상은 자식들에 대한 무조건적인 사랑이다. 세상의 모든 가정에 한국의 할머니와 같은 할머니가 계신다면, 그 가정은 더욱 평화롭고 즐거울 수 있을 것이며, 부부간의 갈등은 줄어들 것이고, 자녀들은 한층 안정될 것이다.

한편 현대의 젊은 한국 여성들은 전통적인 한국 할머니들의 "주는 여성상"을 자신들의 표준으로 삼지는 않는다. 그것은 할머니들의 생활이며 모습이었을 뿐 자신들은 그렇지 않다고 생각한다. 따라서 나는 전통적인 한국 할머니들의 주는 여성상이 미래의 한국에 존속할 수 있을지 우려하기 시작했고, 그것은 내게 매우 중요한 문제이다. 한국의 여성상은 전세계를 향해 펼쳐 나가야 할 이상적인 가치이지 세계화나 민주화라는 미명아래 잘못 이해 되어진, 평등이라는 개념과 함께 존재하고 있는 구태는 아닌 것이다. 그것은 2000년전 나자렛 예수가 설팬한 전형적인 여성의 완전한 실현인 것이다.

앞서 내가 알게된 전통적인 한국 여성상에 대한 열정을 얘기했지만, 한국 남성들이 나를 감복시킨 그러한 한국 여성들에게 과연 가치 있는 사람들인지 나를 당혹스럽게 했던 몇몇 예를 들어 얘기해 보고자한다. 한손에 보자기를 들고 또 다른 보자기를 머리에 인 어떤 한국 여성과 그의 남편인듯한 남자가 버스에 올랐다. 이내 그 한국여성은 빈좌석을 발견했고, 그녀가 앉는 대신 그녀의 남편을 불러 그자리에 앉도

록 했으며 그녀는 남편이 앉은 자리를 지키듯 그 곁에 섰다. 잠시후 또다른 빈자리가 생기자 그녀의 남편은 그녀에게 앉을 것을 권유했으나, 그녀는 계속해서 남편의 곁에 서있기를 원했고 그렇게 했다. 이 체험은 나로하여금 한국 여성들의 “중의 본성”이 내가 알고 있는 것보다 훨씬 더 강하다는 것을 깨닫게 했다.

또 다른 경험은 차를 타고 가던 중 한 한국 남자가 어떤 여자를 강제로 끌고 가는 모습을 보았던 것이다. 그것을 지켜보던 주위의 사람들중 단 한사람도 관여하려 들지 않았다. 내가 이사건에 대해 다른 사람들에게 물어보았을 때, 한국 사람들은 다른 가정의 일에는 간섭하기를 싫어한다는 얘기를 듣고 매우 낙담했었다. 마치 한국의 가정은 여성과 자녀들을 가족과 다름바 없이 취급하는 것처럼 여겨졌다. “아내는 북어처럼 사흘에 한번씩 두드려패야 한다”거나 “자식이 부모의 말을 어기면 매를 맞아야 한다”는 것이 일상적인 태도처럼 여겨지고 있다.

이러한 모습은 아직까지도 존재하고 있다. 이에 한국의 가정폭력에 대한 법률이 시급히 개정되어야 한다. 아울러 한국 여성들도 미국여성들로부터 가정과 직장에서 자신들을 보호할수 있는 법률적인 시도들을 배워야할 것이다. 그러나 한국여성들이 미국여성들의 무분별한 태도까지 배우길 바라지는 않는다. 여성해방운동이 시작된 이래로 미국여성들은 경제적인 독립과 고용 및 임금에 대한 법적인 평등을 얻을 수 있었고, 성희롱으로부터 보호 받을수 있었다. 아울러 어떤 분야에서는 남성들보다 더욱 뛰어난 역할을 해내게 되었고 이혼율도 높아졌다. 이러한 법률적인 평등이 한국여성들에게는 마치 목표처럼 보여지고 있다. 원칙적으로 그러한 평등은 목표가 될 수 있지만, 나는 이러한 성공과 함께 나타나는 몇가지 문제점들을 제기하고자 한다.

법적인 남녀간의 평등은 높은 이혼율을 야기시켰고, 이혼을 통한 결손 가정의 아이들은 문제아로 전락하게 되었다. 심지어 국민학생 조차 마약에 손을 대는 심각한 사태를 유발시켰다. 실제로 미국의 학생들은 학습 능력에 있어 동양의 학생들보다 현저히 떨어진다.

위와 같은 모든 사회 병리의 반향으로 가정의 역할을 강조하는 새로운 여성운동이 대두되었다. 그들은 여성의 남성에 대한 법적인 동등한 권리를 주장하기보다 오히려 여권 신장과 남성과는 별개의 역할을 수행하는 여성의 인간으로서의 가치를 추구한다. 특히 어머니와 아내로서 가정을 돌보는 일에 자부심을 가지고 있다.

몇몇의 관점에서 한국의 여성운동은 미국보다 20~30년 뒤쳐져있다. 나는 한국의 여성들이 내가 처음 한국에 도착했을때 감탄했던 그들의 전통적인 아름다운 분위기와 역할을 잃지 않고 그들의 공식적인 지위를 향상시킬 방법을 찾길 원한다. 따라서 한국의 여성 문제를 해결하는 근본적인 해결책은 의회를 통한 입법도 아니고, 법정을 통한 평등권 시비나 이혼을 위한 투쟁도 아니다. 진정한 해결책은 바로 가정에 있다.

한국 남성이 현명하다면 그들 아내의, 아내로서 또한 어머니로서의 가정에 대한 공헌을 존중할 줄 알아야한다. 아울러 한국 남성은 그들의 아내에게 감정적으로 지원할수 있는 방법을 배워야하며, 그들의 아내가 가정내에서 아름다운 여성으로 존재하도록 자유를 주어야한다. 동시에 한국의 여성은 스스로 전통적인 모습의 아름다움을 인식하고 그것이 세계를 향한 봉화라는 자부심을 가져야한다.

주는 할머니, 주는 아내, 주는 어머니의 전통적인 역할은 전 세계의 남성과 여성 그리고 아이들 모두가 바라는 것이다. 이것은 사랑받기를 원하는 모든 여성들이 진정으로 사랑받을 수 있는 길이다.

나는 한국의 여성들이 미국 여성들이 경험했던 모든 문제들 부부간의 갈등, 이혼, 결손 가정, 그리고 문제아의 경험없이 발전적인 단계로 빠르게 이동할수 있고 또한

인식하기를 바란다.

나는 한국의 여성들이 자녀들의 가장 중요한 조력자로서 그들의 태도를 한세대 안에 변화시킬수 있기를 꿈꾼다. 특히 한국여성의 남아선호 사상은 한시바삐 사라져야 한다. 지금의 어머니 세대가 그들의 아들들에게 자매와 여성을 존중하도록 가르친다면, 한 세대 내에 여성에 대한 차별은 사라질 것이라 믿는다.

끝으로 한국 여성의 생애적인 아름다움과 역할에 대한 보편적 사실을 언급하며 여성에 의한 가정의 사랑과 교육의 혁명을 기원함으로 나의 발표를 마감한다.

**FORUM OF DEMOCRATIC LEADERS IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC
CONFERENCE**

FOREIGNERS PERSPECTIVES ON KOREAN SOCIETY

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Civil Society in Korea: Are the Media Included?

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This year, 1996, is the centenary of the founding of the first Korean newspaper by So Jae-Pil (Philip Jaisohn). It is thus fitting that we review the status of the press, and by extension the rest of the media, to assist in our understanding of their perhaps multiple roles in a Korea about to enter officially the ranks of the developed nations through joining the OECD. The media is no small industry in Korea. There are said to be 68 daily newspapers, some 6,000 magazines, over 50 channels of television including cable channels.²

The media obviously play a critical role in Korean society. This is even more apparent because Koreans are a nation of readers of both books and the media, and thus the media's influence is profound in the society. Television reaches virtually every household in the state.

The issue to be addressed is: how do we conceive of Korean society, especially its non-governmental aspects or civil society, and the role of the media in the process of democratization, a route Korea is clearly on? To approach these issues we first must define civil society, of which the media in most countries is said to be a part, and both of which—civil society and the media—separately or together are essential to the development of democracies.

Civil Society

Civil society, simply stated, has generally come to be considered today as composed of those autonomous institutions formed outside of the control or pervasive influence of the state

1. The views expressed in this essay are personal, and do not necessarily represent those of The Asia Foundation or any other organization. The author would like to thank two reviewers, who he feels might wish to remain anonymous, for their helpful comments and corrections, but any errors of omission or commission are those of the author alone.

2. See 'Centennial of Korean Journalism' by Auh Taik-sup, printed in the *Hankook Ilbo* April 7, 1996, and translated in *Focus*, March-April 1996 (Vol. 4, No. 2). These figures have been adjusted based on additional information.

to serve private and group interests, or to affect privately the public or private sectors. These organizations may be secular or religious, local or national, focused on local issues or national or even international ones, and may attempt to affect decisions external to the group or determine its internal directions.³

These concepts are very broad, and in some societies, where the state is constricted in its management of power or the economy, civil society is considered to be everything that government is not. So business, the media, professional associations, foundations, and a wide range of civic, community, and religious organizations are included.

Civil society, as so described generically, however, must be defined in cultural terms depending on the nature of state power in any particular society. In a theocratic state, for example, religious organizations that come under state control (or the state institutions coming under religious control) would not be included. In a socialist state or one with a centrally planned economy, business and industry may be outside of civil society. In Burma or North Korea, where censorship is complete, the media are excluded from any reasonable definition of civil society. These illustrations may seem clearcut, but they mask subtle and critical distinctions; problems arise when we try to define the degree of state control or influence that places an organization beyond the civil society pale. Is it financing, ownership, coercion, influence, control of leadership, self-restraint, and how much of any or each? Obviously there are no Cartesian answers.

The concepts of civil society have a long and illustrious history in the Western intellectual tradition with important implications for understanding the political process. They have thus grown and have assumed a salient place in much of political thought. Today some political scientists claim that if there is civic trust—that is, if people gather together outside of state control and beyond their family or clan to serve their own group interests in civil society groups—then this trust in civic organizations is extended to trust in political organizations and institutions. This, some would claim, helps account for the rise and durability of democracy in the West. Civil society produces pluralism—a set of institutions of varying degrees of influence that prevent concentration of political power in the state and its ministries; this then becomes an important element in the operation of democracy, and indeed is an attribute included in its definition.

The media are an important element of pluralism because in many societies they are virtually the sole or most important means of transparency in government, without which corruption may more easily flourish and power remain unchecked. This is especially true in societies that are strongly hierarchical social systems and those in which the legislative and judicial branches of government are subject to severe executive branch influence.

3. The long history of the changes and development of the concepts of civil society cannot be undertaken here, but suffice it to say that its ancient origins evolved through Hegel, Marx, and Gramsci, and more recently has come back into prominence. For a discussion of this, and the issue of Confucianism and civil society, see Edward Shils, "Reflections on Civil Society and Civility in the Chinese Intellectual Tradition," in Tu Wei-ming, ed., *Confucian Traditions in East Asian Modernity. Moral Education and Economic Culture in Japan and the Four Mini-Dragons*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996.

Whether the notion that trust can be so transferred is in fact true, or true under certain other conditions, or always true, has been questioned, and the reverse—if there is no civic trust, will there be democracy—is even a more extended intellectual leap. That question cannot occupy us here, as we must turn to more specific issues connected with Korea, civil society, and the media.

Civil Society in Korea

The issue of civil society in Korea has been the subject of much intellectual debate in the past few years through conferences and publications on this important subject. Korean scholars have been asking the question of how to define civil society in Korean terms, and a variety of conclusions have been reached. What is evident, however, is that civil society as simply abstracted from Western political thought virtually ignores Korean traditions and history, both classic and contemporary, and thus is probably irrelevant at best, and inaccurate and misleading at worst.

Foreign observers often approach Korean issues from different vantage points, and when perceptive they may be able to explore aspects of Korean society that Koreans themselves have tended to ignore or denigrate because these do not seem relevant. In comparative perspective, such attention may throw light on both Korea and foreign institutions. After all, the most important observations written on the United States were probably made by de Tocqueville, a Frenchman, over a century and a half ago.

All Confucian, or post-Confucian societies if you will, have tendencies, which to varying degrees they allow to become operative, to intervene into the affairs of private organizations and individuals. This is because of the strong historical analogy of the state as the family, with the governmental authorities in the position of the father who knows best and operates for the well being of his children—the people. These attitudes need not be articulated as state policies today, but they were explicit only a century or so ago in Korea. Now, most manifestations are probably unconscious and are only enunciated indirectly through specific policies, actions, and statements in which these views are implied. Other cultures may have the same tendencies, and no value judgements about which, if any, systems are better should be inferred from this phenomenon.

In the Korean case, this issue has been particularly acute. These traditional views of state intervention were reinforced by the Japanese as an occupying colonial power, later by the American military authorities who espoused and believed in democracy but tried to control organizations that had power potential, and then by autocratic and military governments. All of these groups were able, in effect, to build on Confucian patterns of governance and reinforce them with their own power, while encouraging the strongly hierarchical relationships evident in pre-Confucian Korean society. Most authoritative studies of East Asian (i.e., post-Confucian) societies have discussed the extensive role of the state in economic development in contrast to the prevailing Western classical economic theories. I submit that these effective interventions by the states are entirely consistent with this traditional attitude.

These patterns of intercession did not exist in a vacuum and only as a result of abstract Confucian intellectual constructs; actions were designed with planned practical and political consequences. The Japanese suppressed nationalistic and communist movements for their own colonial governance purposes. The American military prevented the left from attempting to assume control, and all regimes since the founding of the Republic in 1948 have invoked the fears from the north and the left as reasons to intervene at all levels in the society. After all, the first National Security Law limiting such organizations, activities, and sympathies was passed within months of the formation of the Republic.

These fears have been real, as history demonstrates, but the response has been so great as to generate cogent charges that they have been out of proportion to the risks, and have been used to prevent the growth of pluralism.

The Confucian tradition, as well as authoritarian rule, has produced a strong tendency for orthodoxy in the expression of views related to the functioning of the state and the society as a whole.⁴ This orthodoxy is evident not only in the banning of materials under the National Security Law and related legislation, but also more broadly in the society. The banning of books, magazines, newspapers, music, movies, and indeed all forms of public communications has been a pervasive phenomenon of public life before political liberalization in 1987. This orthodoxy is extensive—every regime in Korea on its initiation has engaged in ritual purges of some members of the old order to preserve or establish orthodoxy. In the case of the media they have been especially significant. To a degree these tendencies are still evident—the wholesale banning of Japanese 'popular culture' (i.e., the media), for example. The press internally reflects this concern through an endeavor to present to the public the *chong non*, or right view of the news, an assumption that there is only one such view. On press anniversaries they editorialize that they will strive for this 'right view.'

It can cogently be argued, and I would agree, that civil society did not effectively exist in Korea until about the mid-1980s except in the form of some student organizations and in religious groups that had a modicum of protection because of their international connections. Although the Pope may not have had any divisions, as Stalin was quoted as saying, the public opprobrium generated by the Catholic Church toward the Korean state in response to the suppression of some liberal Catholic groups was not the type of publicity any regime wanted. There were, in effect, few organizations in Korea beyond the family, the clan, and the local *kye* (rotating credit societies) that were autonomous from state influence and interference.⁵ If a civil organization had potential for developing in a manner contrary to state interests, it was easily suppressed; if it were seen as potentially useful, it could be supported and coopted.

Civil Society and Political Liberalization

4. Confucianism, of course, does not have a monopoly on orthodoxy, as any study of the great cultural traditions will easily demonstrate.

5. The classic study of the issue is Gregory Henderson, *Korea. Politics of the Vortex*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.

The changes generated by the mass public anti-government demonstrations and then the liberalization statement of June 29, 1987 were important advances in the political history of Korea. They were not produced, however, de novo. Before June 29, we began to see the rise of a more independent media and the articulation of far more diverse opinions by professional, religious, and civic organizations. That is, we began to see the real rise of civil society. The reasons for the changes go beyond political liberalization as a voluntary act of government. It was, rather, a recognition by government of the realities, circumscribed by foreign, specifically, U.S., influence.⁶

These realities were internal. The authoritarian controls set in place by the Park Chung Hee government in 1961, with complete control of institutional credit at all levels and the forced centralization of all professional organizations under government-approved leadership, were possible because the bulk of the population was rural—some 75 percent, and they relied on, and were used by, the state both for credit and the purchasing of rice, and also because surveillance in rural communities was easy and thus pervasive. The opposition did not win in rural constituencies before the mid-1980s, and the National Assembly was heavily weighted toward rural constituencies, as in Japan.

By the mid 1980s, Korea had reversed these statistics—the population was about 75 percent urban, and thus less subject to government strictures. In addition, the internationalization of Korea had markedly progressed; it was no longer possible to restrict information from abroad when Koreans travelled overseas in greater numbers. The population was better educated, informed, and better off—no longer concerned about subsistence but increasingly interested and involved in a wider set of public policy concerns.

Civil society thus became a reality in spite of government rather than because of it. Now, we witness the growth of society in virtually every field of endeavor. There is every indication that the pluralism associated with the development of civil society has become an essential part of Korean life.

The Autonomy of the Media

Before 1987, it was evident that the media were not part of civil society. Ownership may have been private in large part, although there were, and still are, government-sponsored papers (three at this time) and television stations. The government controlled the ostensibly private media through a variety of means. At one period, KCIA personnel sat in the editorial offices of the papers. More subtly, tax audits were used to intimidate the media and government advertisements were withdrawn from recalcitrant newspapers. More effective was state pressure on private advertisers to withdraw from targeted papers. Some papers were shut down at various

6. Beginning in February 1987, the U.S. publicly cautioned the Korean government against the use of the military to control the demonstrations, implying public criticism of the regime if it did so, and thus the loss of the U.S. imprimatur, which in effect would have resulted in a call for the overthrow of the government. These forces were accentuated by the planned hosting of the Olympics in 1988, and the previous ouster of the Marcos regime in the Philippines through a popular revolt. Foreign influences themselves did not bring change, but rather set practical limits to the state's reaction to the popular uprising.

periods, and even one courageous dissident, a former magazine editor, Chang Chun-ha, was found dead on a mountainside from ostensibly natural causes that many still find questionable.⁷ Papers were regulated as to size and content. Even foreign news, such as stories about coups and demonstrations against other governments, were eliminated because they might provide bad examples for the people. *Time* magazine and international newspapers that circulated in relatively minuscule numbers in Korea had articles often inked out by hand if they dealt with North Korea or other subjects seen to be deleterious to the public order.

We may recall that in 1961, Park Chung Hee purged the press and closed many newspapers that had mushroomed after the overthrow of Syngman Rhee in 1960 and the liberalization that followed. He claimed they were engaged in blackmail and extortion. In 1980, Chun Doo Hwan fired some 870 journalists who were critical of his dubious ascendancy to power or were known as politically liberal. These included many members of the press employed by ostensibly private papers. They could not find jobs for years in their field in either the public or private sectors; that in itself demonstrates the hold of the government over the media. 'Voluntary' resolutions were forced on the Korean Newspapers Association and the Korea Broadcasting Association. Press guidelines were thrust on the profession by the state, newspapers and news agencies were merged to give the government greater control, and a 'Basic Law of the Press' passed—the 'most repressive press law in Korea's modern history.'⁸ Presses were subject to closure without judicial review.

At the same time, the administration offered incentives to the publishers and the press to adhere to its preordained rules. This was a lucrative period for the press because Chun Doo Hwan, by eliminating some of the papers and creating ceilings on the remaining numbers, created a monopolistic situation which was of great advantage to the publishers. They then treated the journalists well, even providing scholarships for their children. The Korea Broadcast Advertisement Corporation was formed from taxes on advertising, and which offered incentives to the established press—from housing loans to opportunities to buy into apartments at very favorable rates, to training opportunities overseas and internal training, and perhaps guidance. It paid doubly to go along with the state through such incentives and through the practice of providing *chonji*, or financial presents in the guise of expenses or other excuses, although the practice was as old as the First Republic but perhaps more refined and extended.

In the post-liberalization period, there have been charges that the press was still subject to influences and suggestions through the Ministry of Information (previously the Ministry of Information and Culture). The media were told, so anecdotal evidence indicates, what stories should be stressed, and which ones should appear on back pages. But much of the state's influence on the media may be self-inflicted, in that the media recognizes the limits beyond which it dare not step, and these limits are not only political, but extend to other fields such as

7. In the early 1990s, in the more liberal period, the SBS television network broadcast an investigation of his death called "We want to know it." Its conclusions were ambiguous.

8. Kang Kyung-wha, "The Press in Korea: The Other Side of Freedom." Unpublished research paper, May 1, 1995. The following data is also drawn from that work.

economics and sometimes to personal relations. Thus, self-censorship may be more in evidence now than the heavy, direct hand of the government. This is a conclusion of the U.S. Department of State in its Human Rights Report for 1995.⁹ We should not lose sight, however, of the continuing role of the National Security Law as a restraining force on the media and on free expression in general. It is evident that the intelligence agencies still monitor the activities of the press, among other groups, although their influence and authority is much restricted.¹⁰

Two types of informal influence remain important. The first is personal relationships. Ministers of information and key senior staff have come from the journalism field, and their relationships with the editors and press are long and close. Informal appeals to the press to assist the state in its public duties are thus reinforced by personal ties that cannot be easily ignored and are ubiquitous in most fields. At the same time, the influence of private advertisers is growing. The percentage of income the press derives from advertising has steadily grown to its present level of about 90 percent of press income, up from some 30-50 percent some years ago. The government has indirectly condoned this by allowing the papers to increase their size, which had been strictly regulated in previous years. Advertisements are naturally placed by the largest companies, the *chaebol*, which also own a substantial portion of the press.

The influence of the government in the liberalization era was also extensive through the provision of news and press guidance. A 1991 study indicated that 97.8 percent of political news, 76.5 percent of social news, and 75.5 percent of economic affairs of the daily papers were essentially government handouts (these figures presumably exclude signed columnists' articles). Simply repeating the state's news was both inexpensive and safe.¹¹ In fact, the press will often repeat stories that have appeared in earlier editions of other papers without attribution because it is cheap to do so, and safe in that if a major paper has printed it, then either the government has provided the data or the originating press has checked out the facts.

It is the impression of this foreigner that the editorials in the Korean press (as contrasted with some of the columnists) are far more conciliatory and kind to the government and its leaders than those in Western democracies. It is also a subjective impression that the English language press in Korea is even more subdued, perhaps because of the impression that such editorials could more easily find their way into the foreign wire services.

There is, alas, a tendency in the Korean media to copy the Japanese patterns of the press, with the press forming pools associated with each ministry and essentially reporting the same things. Thus, according to some, where the Western press tries to be individualistic and scoop other competitors, the Korean press tends to report the same thing on critical issues. This may be an extension in modern terms of the desire for orthodoxy, a type of conformity so evident in

9. Republic of Korea Human Rights Practices 1995. Washington: Department of State, March 1996.

10. See, for example, David I. Steinberg, 'The Republic of Korea—Human Rights, Residual Wrongs, New Initiatives.' Paper presented at a CSIS-Korea-America Society Conference in Seoul, May 31-June 1, 1996.

11. Cited in Kang, op. cit.

some other aspects of Korean society. The competition that does exist, and may be fierce, does not extend to individualistic approaches to sensitive subjects.

The press has been accused of being superficial, and in collusion with government through the roles of the members of the press later assuming high governmental and legislative positions, although this is understandable in a post-Confucian society as the members of the press are a modern component of the traditional literati, which has been the elite in the society.

As one article stated:

As a result of their status as major corporations, Korea's news media tend to present unequivocally conservative views on key political and economic issues. As they devote some two-thirds of their page space on government reporting, Korean newspapers are obsessively 'objective' in reporting on government affairs, for instance, simply publishing government press releases without filtering them for bias or accuracy...It is undeniable that Korean journalists have often been the quiet companions of certain politicians. This phenomenon has led to nothing less than an abandonment of the news media's primary duty as the 'fourth branch' of government, namely its responsibility to watch and restrain the power of the legislative, administrative and judicial branches of government.¹²

To provide a degree of autonomy, the press has tried to regulate itself. A Korean Press Code of Ethics was established in 1957. In 1961, it formed the Press Ethics Commission to set guidelines and rules. As recently as April 1996, the various journalists and editors associations have agreed upon a new press ethics code, designed to make self-monitoring more effective and to raise standards. How much attention is paid to these activities is a matter of some dispute, with many claiming that they are ignored.

If the state controlled the press in the pre-liberalization period, what has happened since then? Here we must point to changing patterns of press ownership. As the *chaebol* have grown in numbers, size, and influence over the past two decades, they have moved into a variety of fields beyond industry and real estate. They now run foundations, operate hospitals, support universities, and have ownership and influence over much of the media. The *chaebol* own four papers: *Choongang Ilbo* (Samsung), *Munhwa Ilbo* (Hyundai), *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, and the *Korea Herald* (Daenung). Non-*chaebol* papers are often family owned: The *Chosun Ilbo* is 70 percent owned by the Bang family, *Donga Ilbo* is run through the Incheon Memorial Society, and the *Hankook Ilbo* and *Korea Times* are a single family concern. Some have claimed that those presses not controlled by the *chaebol* directly are in a sense dominated by organizations that are the equivalent in the press field. *Seoul Shimmun* is state controlled. Religious organizations own the *Segye Ilbo* and the *Kukmin Ilbo*. The educational television station is under the Ministry of Education. The Federation of Korean Industries operates the *Maeil Economic Daily*. The exception to this family/company/organizational control is the *Hankyora Shinmun* founded in 1988 and controlled by its own staff.

12. Focus, op. cit. Presumably, the reference to 'two-thirds of their page space on government' reporting refers to government activities, as there have been major increases in sports and cultural coverage.

This is important for the concept of civil society. As Korea has so amply publicly demonstrated over the past year or so, and what virtually all observers of Korea already knew, the relationships between the state and the *chaebol* have been so close as to constitute a symbiotic unit in spite of increasing tensions between the two. Thus, most observers do not consider big business in Korea as autonomous and as part of civil society.

If this is true, then what of the media? Not all papers are controlled by the *chaebol*, and perhaps not all *chaebol* influence the editorial or reportorial content of the papers they own on state, or even *chaebol*, matters. Television is even under more extensive government control than the press. Anecdotal evidence indicates that on important issues the scenes shown on all television channels are the same—springing from the same source. No study has yet explored these issues to the knowledge of this writer. In general, although a critical function of the press is generally to help provide transparency to government, the operation of the press itself, without audited distribution figures, is opaque. A number of non-governmental groups attempt to monitor the media; the Citizens Coalition for Media Watch, perhaps the best known, was established as a non-profit organization to do just this. That NGO and others are clearly members of the civil society.

It would be incorrect to regard the press or the media as a whole as simply tools of the government even under the most stringent of regulatory periods. Much of the press regarded previous administrations as illegitimate. This is not surprising since the media are part of the literati movement—the conscience of Korean society. At local levels, many tried to limit state influence and interference by testing the limits of state tolerance at extremely difficult times—carefully assessing how many instructions of the daily dozen or so that would come in from the KCIA they could safely ignore that day, and how many the next. The target of the working press was the military regimes. Today, in the civilian period, television programs have reviewed the military period in a number of series (e.g., 'Kwangju,' 'The Fourth Republic,' 'Koreagate') in the harshest light, illustrating perhaps more pent up *han* (frustration, rage) than opportunism. Today the legitimacy of the government is not questioned, although the roles of its actors and the efficacy of its policies are always the subject of comment and editorial opinion.

Yet we go back to an earlier question—what degree of state influence would constitute reasons for exclusion of the media from a definition of civil society in Korea. There is no definitive answer, and this must be a subjective judgement. Although there are a few specific exceptions, if we were to examine the media generically, then the conclusion that this writer would reach is that the media is subject to the subtle but strong, and often self-induced, influences of the state and the *chaebol*, both of which are substantial enough to question the inclusion of the media in any definition of civil society that will stand cross-cultural comparisons. The use of the term 'civil society' in this context would interfere with such comparative analyses, be detrimental to analytical thinking, and to understanding the Korean scene. This is not to denigrate in any way the trials, trauma, and contributions of the Korean media to the society, but to point that it has accomplished all that it has under a variety of adverse conditions.

What does elimination of the media from a definition of civil society imply? First, this

is not a pejorative judgement, but rather a statement of the role of the media in Korean society so that we may understand its influence in some kind of comparative perspective. The role of the Korea has been critical to Korean development, and the members of the media rightfully assume their roles as part of the modern equivalent of the traditional literati elite that society respects. By implication, the conclusion points to the future, even more pronounced, functions of the media in the process of democratization. It is a role that no other institution can perform, and one on which the Korean populace increasingly relies.

We may therefore end where we began—with Confucius. Confucius said we must start with the 'rectification of names.' Such advice still has relevance today, and 'civil society,' an important concept, does not apply to the Korean media at this stage in Korean history, but its turbulent past points to a more important future.

Seoul, 6-7-96

미디어: 시민사회의 주역인가?

David Steinberg

96년은 한국 최초의 근대신문인 독립신문 창간 100주년이 되는 해로서 한국신문과 미디어의 위치를 재조명해보기에 적절한 해이다. 또 한국이 OECD의 가입을 통해 선진국 대열에 정식으로 가입하려하고 있는 때인만큼 한국 미디어의 다양한 역할의 이해를 돕기위해서도 이같은 점검은 필요한 것 같다.

현재 한국의 미디어는 작은 산업체가 아니다. 전국적으로 68개의 일간지가 있고 5천 개의 잡지가 간행되고 있으며 케이블 TV를 포함해서 TV 채널수가 50개를 넘는다. 오늘 다루고자 하는 주제는 외국인이 한국사회를 어떻게 보고 있는냐는 것이고 나는 그 가운데서 민주화과정에 있어서의 미디어 역할을 검토해보는 것이다. 이문제를 다루는 데는 먼저 시민사회의 정의부터 내리는 것이 필요하다. 대부분의 국가에서 미디어는 시민사회의 일부에 포함되는 것으로 인식하고 있고 시민사회와 미디어는 각각 또는 연합해서 민주주의 발전에 중요한 역할을 하고 있다. 시민사회는 간단히 말해서 사적 또는 집단적 목적을 실현하기 위해 조직된 단체로 국가의 지배나 직접간접의 영향을 받지 않는 자치적인 단체로 이해되고 있다. 목적과 지역범위에 따라 종교적 비종교적, 정치적 비정치적, 또는 전국적 지방적 국제적일 수도 있다. 국가에 속하지 않는 것을 모두 포함시킬 수 있다. 그런 의미에서 기업, 미디어, 전문단체, 재단등은 시민단체에 포함된다. 모든 것이 국가의 통제하에 있는 공산체에서는 다르다.

서구의 지식인 전통에서는 정치과정을 이해하는데 시민사회의 역할이 중요하다. 서구에서는 시민사회가 민주주의를 성장시키고 유지하는데 크게 기여했다고 보는 견해가 많기 때문이다. 시민단체는 정치권력이 국가에 집중되는 것을 막는데 다양한 영향을 행사하고 다양한 조직을 통해 다원주의(Pluralism)를 유지시켰다. 미디어는 많은 사회에서 정부운영의 투명성을 보장하는 가장 중요한 수단이었고 다원주의를 유지해주는 중요한 역할을 했다. 미디어의 견제가 없으면 부패가 번성하고 권력이 제동 없이 남용될 수 있다. 위계질서가 엄하고 입법부와 사법부가 강력한 집행부의 영향을 받는 사회에서는 더욱 그렇다.

<한국의 시민사회>

최근 수년간 한국에서도 지식층 사회에서 시민사회 문제가 많이 논의됐다. 서구의 정치사상에서 그대로 본따온 것이 아니라 한국적인 조건에서 시민사회를 어떻게 정의하느냐는 문제로 토론이 많았다. 유교사회에서는 국가를 아버지, 국민을 자식으로 보고 국가는 국민의 이익이 무엇인지 가장 잘 알고 있다는 전제하에서 국민을 위한 무슨 일이나 개입할 수 있다고 생각해왔다. 한국에서는 이같은 전통적 국가관이 일본 식민지 지배, 해방후에는 민주주의를 실현한다하면서도 권력을 노리는 단체들을 통

제할 필요를 느낀 미군정에 의해 유지됐으며 정부수립 이후에는 전제정권 또는 군사정권에 의해 그런 국가관이 더욱 강화됐다. 역대 한국정부는 북쪽으로부터의 공포, 좌익으로부터의 공포를 사회 모든 분야에 국가가 개입하는 명분으로 이용했다. 이 같은 공포가 존재한 것은 역사적으로 사실임이 증명됐지만 그 대응조치가 너무 지나쳐서 위험에 비해 균형이 맞지 않으며 다원주의를 저지하는데 이용했다는 설득력있는 비난을 받게했다.

유교의 전통은 국가와 사회의 역할에 대해서는 강력한 정통(Orthodoxy)성향을 형성해서 이에 위반하는 것은 허용되지 않는다는 생각이 팽배하게됐고 미디어의 경우에도 이런 성향은 뚜렷했다. 신문의 날을 맞아 한 신문은 그사실에서 독자들에게 정론만을 제시하겠다고 다짐했는데 이것은 다시말하면 다원주의와는 상치되는 견해이다. 한국에서는 80년대 중반까지 시민사회가 존재하지 않았다는 주장이 있는데 나도 이 의견에 동감이다(일부 학생단체나 종교단체를 제외하고는) 한국에서는 가족과 종친회 그리고 계를 제외하고는 국가의 영향이나 간섭을 받지않는 단체가 거의 없었다.

<시민단체와 정치자유화>

반정부 군중시위와 87년 6월 29일의 선언으로 일어난 변화는 한국 정치사상 중요한 전전이었다. 6.29 전에도 한국에서 독립적 미디어가 등장하려는 노력이 있었고 전문직이나 종교적 시민단체들의 좀더 다양한 의견들이 개진되기 시작했다. 이때부터 비로소 진정한 시민사회가 등장하기 시작했다고 본다. 이같은 변화는 61년 박정희장군이 집권시 농촌인구가 75%였는데 반해 87년에는 거꾸로 도시인구가 약 75%를 차지하여 정부의 시민통제가 어렵게 되고 국민의 교육수준향상, 정보의 확대, 생활의 향상등 달라진 현실을 정부가 인정한 데서 일어난 것으로 시민사회가 하나의 현실이 됐다. 모든 분야에서 사회의 성장이 나타나고 시민사회의 발전과 병행된 다원주의가 한국인 생활의 핵심부분이 됐다.

<미디어의 자율성(Autonomy)>

87년 이전의 한국 미디어는 시민사회의 일부가 아닌 것이 분명했다. 정부산하의 신문과 TV를 제외하면 미디어의 소유는 사유였지만 정부는 여러가지 수단을 동원, 신문을 통제했다. CIA요원이 언론사에 상주하는가 하면 세무사찰을 통해 언론사를 위협하는 수단으로 사용했고 말을 안듣는 신문에는 정부광고를 주지않았으며 심지어 민간인 광고까지도 게재하지 못하도록 했다. 뉴스의 크기와 내용도 규제했으며 외국 잡지도 검열을 받았다. 박정희, 전두환체제는 신문을 통제합하고 기자들을 강제해직 시켰다. 그대신 신문발행인들은 독점체제에서 큰 혜택을 보았다. 자유화이후에도 미디어는 공보처를 통해 아직도 영향과 지침을 받고 있다는 비난이 있다. 미디어는 자체검열을 실시, 정부방침에 순응하는 일이 많다. 95년도 미국무성 인권보고서는 한국 의 언론현황을 상세히 기록하고 있다. 우리는 국가보안법이 미디어와 표현의 자유 전 반에 미치는 부정적 효과를 간과해서는 안된다. 그밖에도 공보처 장관이나 간부들이 언론계 출신이어서 이들과 언론인들과의 인간관계를 통해 미디어를 조정하기도 한다. 이보다 더 우려되는 것은 광고수입이 미디어 수입에서 차지하는 비율이 급증한 것이다. 몇년전만해도 30~50%에 머물던 광고수입 비율이 지금은 90%까지 높아졌다. 재벌은 미디어를 직접 소유하고 있을 뿐아니라 광고를 통해 보도나 사실에 영향을

미친다. 한국 신문의 사설은 서구 신문보다 정부나 정부 지도층에도 호의적이며 일본 신문을 모방해서 기자실 제도를 두어 풀제도를 실시한 정부가 주는 기사를 확일적으로 보도하는 경향이 있다. 아주 중요한 사건의 보도도 비슷하다. 이것도 정권에 영합하려는 한국사회 전통의 현대판 현상인지 모르겠다. 근대에는 미디어 소유한도에 변화가 일어나 재벌들의 미디어 소유가 늘고 있다. 한국사회에서 국가와 재벌관계는 여전히 긴장이 계속되고 있으면서도 양자는 하나의 공생관계를 형성할 정도로 밀접하다. 대부분의 옴저버들을 한국 미디어를 독립적이거나 시민사회의 일부로 보지 않는다. 만약 이것이 사실이라면 한국의 민주주의를 위협해서 불행한 일이며 <언론감시 시민연합>같은 시민단체들이 조직되어 미디어 투명성을 요구하고 있다. 그러나 민주화과정에서 언론의 역할은 중요하고 다른 어떤 제도도 그 역할을 대행할 수 없는 것이다. 한국 국민도 언론의 올바른 역할을 기대하고 있다. 그러므로 한국언론은 현시점에서는 시민사회에 포함될 수 없지만 과거의 노력을 되돌아 보면서 미래에는 본연의 역할을 하게되기를 기대한다.

Government Policies towards Foreign Laborers in Korea by Sookon Kim

Abstract

Over a half of foreign laborers in Korea are categorized illegal either because they came to Korea as a visitor and employed without permission subsequently or they came as industrial trainees and then escaped from the firms of original contract, thus becoming illegal foreigner employed at work places without adequate protection. This industrial trainee program is carried out by the Korean Federation of Small Business under the guide and supervision of the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy rather than Ministry of Labor. It is recommended that the trainee system be replaced by a formal introduction of quest worker system through employment contract so that adequate protection can be provided to the foreign workers on the one hand, and Korean business can have fair access to foreign supply of labor on the other, under the proper jurisdiction of the Ministry of Labor.

Government Policies towards Foreign Laborers in Korea

In January 1995 there was a sit in demonstration at Myung-Dong Cathedral by a group of foreign workers from Nepal. Their catch phrase were: "Don't beat us!", "Let me have my own passport", and "We are not animals", and so on. Thanks to the mediation offered by the ambassador from Nepal and the Korean Minister of Labor's promise to safeguard foreign laborers' basic rights the demonstration was ended. Korean people were deeply shocked and perplexed by this incidence, and began to pay attention to the problems associated with foreign guest workers in Korea.

There was an industrial accident by which a Philippine worker was killed this year. Since there was no worker's compensation insurance for the trainee, one Korean philanthropist by the name of Ill Wha Choo willingly donated 10 million won to cover the dead body's return, (six million) and for the dependent survivor's expenses (4 million won). After the donation she said "I hope this can lessen even a bit of international image of ugly Korean". (Dong-A I; Bo, Feb. 6, 1996)

To say my conclusion in advance, it is not our Korean populace sentiment towards foreign workers but uncoordinated government policy on guest workers which created such a disgraceful employment practices with foreign laborers under the name of "Industrial Trainee" status rather than "contract labor".

It is, therefore, purported to analyze guest workers problems in Korea namely "industrial trainee system" with emphasis on inter-ministerial role share. In 1991 the minister of labor announced his intention to welcome foreign laborers to work at a coal mine which were at the verge of closing down in short supply of labor. But public opinion was against such importation of foreign workers. I personally opposed to the idea because it would be a misallocation of foreign labor. Appropriate industry for foreign worker importation should have been construction site, where Korean companies had accumulated enough experience of hiring foreign nationals.

Instead small firms in manufacturing industry lobbied heavily to invite foreign laborers to fill the vacancies created by domestic workers' exodus from what is called 3D's, meaning dirty, dangerous, and difficult job characteristics. From the outset trade union leaders were overtly opposed to any attempt to import foreign workers, and pressured upon ministry of labor accordingly. As expected, in sympathy with labor unions, the ministry of labor acted like a "minister for domestic labor", washing their hands off from "foreign importing sins".

Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy (MTIE), which is highly sensitive to employer's causes as opposed to Minister of Labor, promptly formulated a policy to invite foreign laborers under the following principles;

(1) Receive guest workers in the form of "industrial trainee" status, not as a "contract worker,"

(2) Permit only to small sized manufacturing firms to receive the trainees,

(3) Through the Korean Federation of Small Business (here after called KFSB).

As a result the KFSB has become a clearing house of foreign industrial trainee importation program, while officially the government has not approved importation of unskilled foreign laborer by contract. The KFSB, which is another organization of employer federation, is given the right to recruitment, training and allocation of foreign trainees. Note, however, that these functions generically belong to the employment security bureau of the ministry of labor. In a sense MTIE has infringed upon the labor ministry's proper function, thus enabling the KFSB to act on behalf of employers of small business with little consideration of employee and especially foreign industrial trainees.

According to the ministry of labor, there were over 123 thousand foreigners working in Korean as of November 30, 1995. Of this number 8,099 or 6.6 percent were professional and technical workers for whom legal status for employment was granted.

Table 1. Foreign Workers by Legal Status

		July 31, 1994		July 31, 1995		Nov 31, 1995	
		person	%	person	%	person	%
Lawful	Total	71,866	100.0	102,878	100.0	123,047	100.0
	(1) Lawful employment	4,321	6.0	6,475	6.3	8,099	6.6
	(2) Trainee	13,378	18.6	34,931	34.0	36,721	29.8
	Illegal	54,187	75.4	61,472	59.7	78,277	63.6

About thirty percent or 36,721 persons were industrial trainees whose status was lawful. But 63.6% or 78,277 people were categorized as illegal foreign laborers. Why so many proportion of illegal foreign workers? Except those who were admitted as visitors and thereafter illegally employed, many of the illegal foreign laborers are those who came to Korea as "Industrial trainee", and subsequently disappeared for employment at other firms than original contract.

When 25 percent of trainees has left the firm of original contract in search for higher wages and better working conditions, and become illegal workers, one cannot deny that MTIE's foreign industrial trainee programs so far has been utter failure.

According to a private labor research institute's study on foreign laborers' working conditions, though reliability of the report on illegal foreigners may be questionable somewhat, income differential is quite substantial between industrial trainees and illegal foreign laborers who escaped from trainee status. The differential is two to one in favor of the illegal, whereas work hours are almost the same. One can easily predict a worse working conditions of the illegal workers than the trainee, because illegal employment status per se does not guarantee any governmental protection, needless to say about accident proneness of the underground work place.

Nevertheless, the trainees are constantly lured from the firms of original contract with a higher cash payment by illegal employment.

Table 2. Labor Market Condition of Foreign Workers

	Average daily work hours	Daily rest hour	Monthly income	Monthly expense	Money sent to home country
Illegal laborer	11.0	3.6	628.969	196.191	322.398
Industrial trainee	10.6	4.1	310.043	87.705	121.082

* source: Labor Policy Institute, 1995. Adapted from Jong Ho Woo, "Problems of Foreign Worker Trainee System and Policy Tasks", paper presented to KLI seminar, 1995

Since the ministry of labor cannot conduct any survey on illegal foreign workers, one has to compare illegal worker's earnings from table 2 with that of table 3 and 4. One can roughly impute that illegal foreigners earn as much as Korean workers of comparable occupation, while industrial trainee who stays at legal status can earn only half of that. It means that Korean firms unlawfully hire foreigners (trainee) at a going wage rate (market wage) comparable to Korean workers'. No discrimination on wage rate by nationality! It is only to the industrial trainee that much lower wage is paid because of the trainee status. In effect granting a permission to receive a industrial trainee to a small business constitutes a special privilege to have cheap labor as long as the trainee is not lured away. Therefore, some shrewd employers retained trainee's passport as a means to hold them on the premise. This created the problem of, what is called, inhuman infringement upon human right. As the government ordered not to withhold passport, many rational employers began to pay a larger amount of bonus to make total pay equal to the going rate. As a result, the industrial trainee system itself serves no one, except tedious procedural hurdles which foreign guest workers as well as employers have to go through simply to fulfill the requirement laid down by the MTIE.

Table 3. Monthly Compensation of Industrial Trainee and Domestic (Korean) Workers of Comparable Occupation

	Total Comp.	Basic wage	Overtime	Other Fringe	Bonus
Trainee(A)	450,311	236,898	175,088	31,269	7,056
Korean(B)	797,752	458,811	236,041	34,044	68,856
A/B(%)	56.4	51.6	74.2	91.9	10.3

* Data source : Ministry of Labor

Table 4. Monthly Working Hours of Industrial Trainee and Domestic(Korean) Workers of Comparable Occupation

	Total hours	Standard Work hour	Overtime			
			Total	OT	Night	Holiday work
Trainee	311.5	203.8	107.7	58.4	38.4	10.9
Korean	292.5	203.8	88.7	45.7	33.9	9.1

* Data source : Ministry of Labor

Before by conclusion I would like to note that Taiwan and Singapore have institutionalized a system on a much more rational way to satisfy both foreign laborer and the employers who hire them. Taiwan has equal application of the labor standards between Taiwanese and foreign workers on their wage and working conditions. This was aimed at protecting domestic worker's working condition from falling down from foreign worker competition. In the long run such a policy helps Taiwanese industry proceed its necessary restructuring.

Singapore adopted a levy system by which firms hiring foreign labor has to pay certain amount of levy. This fund is to be used to cover for various social costs incurred from foreign worker invitation, plus even for domestic worker training programs. Compared to this, Koreans system is highly irrational, because social cost incurred by inviting foreign trainee are born out of general revenue created by taxation.

In the name of protecting small business in manufacturing sector the KFSB under the guardianship of the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy has created more problems in the area of human resource allocation and utilization. Prime responsibility of handling manpower policy should be in the hands of the ministry of labor. The labor ministry should be given more weight on central government's decision making process compared to other ministries.

Current trainee system is the one adopted from Japanese system. It is found to be unworkable. "It is a slavery labor disguised by the name of industrial trainee", said in

an editorial of Daily Economics Newspaper (Sept. 25, 1995). To the eyes of foreigners this system is symbolic of ugly Koreans who tolerate so many illegalities in daily life at work place and over a half of the foreign laborers working as illegal workers.

In place of conclusion I would like to recommend;

1) Replace "industrial trainee" system with formal guest laborers by employment contract,

2) Whole responsibilities to handle foreign labor should be assumed by the Employment Security Bureau of the Labor Ministry, not by the KFSB under the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy.

3) With the following principle;

a) Foreign labor should not substitute domestic labor force (Korean).

b) Discourage foreign labor from remaining permanently in Korea after employment contract is over.

c) Number of guest worker should be made flexible depending upon demand for and supply of labor, and be consistent with industrial restructuring policies.

d) No tolerance what so ever upon illegality in labor market whether it be domestic or foreign labor.

e) Protect foreign workers' basic human rights as much as Korean workers.

한국정부의 외국인 노동자 정책

김수곤 교수

한국에 거주하는 외국인 노동자중 절반이 넘는 수가 불법체류자이다. 불법체류 외국인 노동자들은 관광비자로 입국한후 정부의 허락없이 취업을 하였거나 산업 연수생 자격으로 한국에 온후 당초 계약한 직장을 이탈한 경우에 해당된다. 현행 산업연수제도는 노동부가 아닌 통상산업자원부의 관리 감독아래 실행되어지고 있다. 날로 심각해지고있는 외국인 노동자 문제의 해결을 위한 방안으로써 현 외국인 노동자 산업연수제도의 대폭적인 개선이 필요하다. 산업연수제도는 합법적인 고용계약을 통한 외국인 노동자 공식초청제도로 대체되어야하며 그렇게 함으로써 외국인 노동자들은 그들의 권리를 충분히 보호받고 한국측 업체 또한 노동부 관할하에 외국인 노동력에 대한 정당한 접근권을 가질 수 있을 것이다.

Don't beat me , please!
by Rev. Kim Hae-sung

I will start with a story published by a newspaper the other day; When two Korean Businessmen arrived at the Manila International Airport, Philippines, they were beaten by six young Filipinos. Both the Koreans and the Filipinos were on the same flight from Korea.

The Koreans immediately called the airport police and the policemen showed up there soon to take the Filipinos to the police station.

At the police station, however, the Filipinos told the policemen how bad they were treated when they worked in Korea. Their story angered the Philippine policemen and both the Philippine Workers and Policemen beat the Koreans.

The Koreans told the Korean Embassy in Philippines about what happened to them in the airport but they were eventually driven out of the country. The incident could not have taken place if they were not Koreans.

An old Korean, who just got back from Australia, called me and said he feels shame to be a Korean. This is his story: It happened at the Sydney Airport in Australia. Some Sydney Airport employees beat Korean visitors. They attacked the Koreans because they got angry when they read the news story about the abused Philippine workers in Korea.

A Korean professor was also beaten by Nepalese when he was traveling Nepal, just because he was Korean.

In the Philippines, a restaurant was burned up by fire. The restaurant was owned by a Korean.

I heard that a book called "Koreans, Sons of Bitches" sells very well in Malaysia.

There are many upon many stories of this kind. All of them have one thing in common. If they were not Koreans, all those incidents would not have happened at all.

We often hear of news that many Korean tourist in China were robbed of their money by some young Korean-Chinese there. The robbers were some of the Korean-Chinese workers who were mistreated by Koreans when they worked in Korea.

A recent news report stated that a Korean tourist was murdered by a Korean-Chinese in China. He was the fourth Korean traveler to have been killed by other Koreans living in China.

Many Korean-Chinese often ask Koreans, "Are we the same Koreans, brothers by blood?" Some others even say, "If I had an atomic bomb, I would drop it on South Korea." "I really wish a war broke out between North and South Korea because I want to help North Koreans and take my revenge on South Koreans."

Their animosity against South Koreans has almost reached the danger level as an increasing number of Korean-Chinese workers here in Korea suffer from inhumane treatment, industrial disasters, wage postponements and even rapes.

Recently, a delegation led by me visited Nepal, Bangladesh, India, and Thailand to convey compensation to families of foreign workers who died of industrial accidents here in Korea. As we walked down the street, two Nepalese looked at us as they passed by on their bicycles and stopped in our way.

They asked in English, "Are you from Korea or Japan?" And we answered, "Korea." Then they immediately said, "We can speak Korean. Do you want to hear us speak Korean?" I thought they must have worked in Korea. We said, "OK!" to their proposal, out of curiosity. They fiercely said in Korean, "You, son of a bitch! Do you want to die?" We were scared and had to leave them immediately. Since then, we had to say, "We are Nepalese." whenever we were asked of our nationality.

There are two ethnic groups in Nepal. One is Aryan race from India and the other is Mongolian race. Mongolians, who have been discriminated against the Aryans, and Koreans look very much alike, we had to pretend that we were Mongolian-Nepalese for our own safety. I hope (if you are Korean), you will do the same when you travel Southwest or Southeast Asia.

The Korean government says that there are more than 100,000 foreign workers here in Korea present. The number amounts to more than one percent of the total work forces in Korean manufacturing industry. Most of those workers who came to Korea are staying here for two or three years with only a tourist visa, at least in the early years of migration history beginning late 1980's. They are illegal visitors. However, those who came recently to work here on a industrial training program. They are legal visitors.

The legal industrial trainees want to become illegal status because if they run away from their companies, they can earn relatively more money. The problems of these foreign workers are drawing attention to the media these days. Most of these people work for very small companies under poor working conditions, the so called 3D jobs (Dirty, Dangerous, Difficult). They have been a great help to small-and medium-sized Korean companies that were suffering from high wages and employee shortages. Nevertheless, these foreign workers are also suffering from pains both physically and emotionally, because their present status are illegal and their human rights can not be protected.

In the beginning, foreign workers who came to Korea with a 15-day tourist visa used to stay here illegally for two to three years. However, the Korean government allowed for those who voluntarily reported their illegal status to stay another six months up to four times until June, 1994. The Korean government made it a condition that employers should submit their employees' certificate of employment, keep the airline tickets and passports of their employees, and have them leave Korea before their working period ends. Employers had to promise the government to pay twice as much as the fine twice, if they fail to meet the conditions. And under such law, illegal foreign visitors are prohibited from working in Korea. Despite the laws, however, the Korean government has been admitting foreigners and allowed them to stay longer if they had

a job. So the government has allowed foreign workers to visit Korea without much thought and its consequence. Therefore, it means that our government itself is causing the problems and abusing human labor force by openly attracting foreign workers, in which if they get a job in Korea, simply ignoring their rights and need.

Employers of the foreign workers have not been punished even though the workers were injured or killed during work and not paid on time. Rather, the foreign workers were forced to leave Korea without reasonable coverage. If arrested, the illegal foreign workers were fine as much as 100,000 won per month until they are forced to leave. Nowadays, as an increasing number of the arrests would choose to go to prison instead of being fined, Korean prisons throughout the nation are filled with the foreigners because the Foreigners' House of detention in Hweekyoun-dong is full. Meanwhile, the immigration Office of the Justice Ministry has often set the arrested foreign workers free and allowed them to work for another six months to earn money to pay the posed fine on them before they leave Korea.

Let's take Korean-Chinese Lim Ho for example. Lim paid a broker as much as 3 million won in China to visit. He was arrested one day, he had been working in Korea for 18 months. He was taken to the Immigration Office. He had earned a total of 4 million won during his 18 month stay in Korea. He lent half of the money to his Korean relatives who did not pay him back. out of the remaining 200,000 won (about \$250US). After he bought a ticket to go back to China by ship (for he could not afford a flight ticket), he had only a small amount of money left. He could not find a way to pay back the money he borrowed in China. Besides, he had nothing to bring home. At last, he killed himself on November, 1993. Who is to be blamed for his death?

As problems about the illegal foreign visitors grew worse to become social issue, the government has launched a "foreign industrial training program" to pave the way for the foreign workers to work legally in Korea. However, the program was not the answer. It only worsened the problems. Our society should be ruled by common sense. Legal foreign workers who respect laws decisive advantages while the illegal workers deserve disadvantages. That is common sense. But the problem is that the common sense does not apply to the foreign workers. Until the government announced its decision to improve the training program, legal foreign trainees were paid as little as 150,000 to 200,000 won(about \$200-250, US) a month for their 12 to 16 hours of daily hard work. On the contrary, most illegal workers were paid as much as 500,000 to 1,000,000 won per month. When foreign workers are injured or killed during work, legal visitors can be paid some 15 million in compensation money by the Korean government. But it is often the case that they have nothing left after paying for medical fees or their employers take their money away. By contrast, most illegal visitors can be compensated both by the government and their employers. Some of those who were killed in an accident were even paid a total of 88 million won. The government has paid money to the injured workers who are illegal visitors, since 1994. But the funny thing is that the illegal industrial trainees are not paid compensation just because they are trainees, not workers. Illegal workers are paid compensation because they are workers any way. Just recently, however, the government has begun paying for the injury compensation for both illegal and legal workers. However, the accidents occurred before march 1995 (legal trainees) are not

covered. Moreover, it is almost impossible for foreigners to process the claim. It is a very complicated and a time consuming process. Still many foreign workers suffer and often leave Korea with hatred, without knowing any of their rights.

Under these circumstances, many legal foreign workers (industrial trainees) have become illegal workers because they ran away from their work after realizing that illegal foreign workers make more money than legal workers. Once the legal workers quit to leave their work, they become illegal workers. As a result, the government says that some 37 percent of the foreign industrial trainees has so far left their work. But foreign worker experts say at least 50 percent of them have ran away. They say that is because the Association of Small and Mid-sized companies, which is in charge the industrial training program, no longer allocates foreign trainees to the company when its trainees run away. That means that the employers of the run away don't report the foreign trainees' defections to the authorities because if they do, that can no longer run the program. So the employers keep bring more foreigners each year without reporting the loss. To prevent the foreign workers from running away, each institution tries to isolate its workers from outside. To isolate them, many institutions prohibit phone calls, exchanging letters and going out. It is often that the employers even keep the foreign workers' passports of delay payments for 5 to 6 months to prevent them from running away. For example, a foreign worker was caught by the employer when he was running away from his work. The worker was beaten up and grounded for a week. He was given only a piece of bread and a bowl of water a day. Some of such employers were arrested. Such mistreatments against foreign workers caused the Sit-in protest by foreign industrial trainees at the Myungdong Cathedral from Jan. 9 to 17. The government was responsible for the inevitable protest by the mistreated foreign workers. To make the situation worse, in the early morning of January 8, the foreign protesters at the Myungdong Cathedral were shocked at the news that a female foreign worker at a furniture factory in Kwang-ju, Kyonggi? Province, was raped by her Koreans boss. Despite freezing cold, the foreign protesters at the cathedral, with chains around their necks, shouted, "We are not slaves!", "Don't beat us!" "Give us our pay checks!" "Don't rape us!" As I saw them shouting, I was so ashamed to be a Korean.

The unprecedented sit-in protest by the foreign trainees created a huge stir and brought lights on the problems of the industrial training program for foreign workers. As a result, the government announced that it will improve the training program. Effective March 1, 1995, the government decided to make sure that foreign industrial trainees will benefit from the medical care insurance, the industrial accident compensation insurance and the minimum wage guarantee system. Despite the government's announcement, however, most employers of the foreign trainees have so far neglected the government's decision and have not joined the medical care insurance program. Therefore many foreign trainees have not been properly treated when they were sick, some of them were even killed because their disease became worse. The others were forced to leave Korea. Few foreign trainees are benefiting from the industrial accident compensation insurance. To make things worse, the movement has not controlled the employers. On the contrary, the government has not been willing to punish those employers who violated the law protecting workers' human rights. Almost all foreign workers in Korea have not been paid properly for their work. many of them

were not paid for five to six months or even for tow years. But they had no one to turn to because they are illegal workers. M.D. Ali, a Bangladesh, has worked for a furniture factory called Yale industry for 12 to 16 hours a day, for tow years. Ali's employer had to pay him about 10 million won for his tow-year work but he did not pay Ali any money and ran away. Ali had spent as much as three million won back in Bangladesh to get a chance to visit Korea form a broker. he visited me and cried, "I can't go back to my country without money" "I will have to go to a prison if I get my salary" "What should I do with the money I borrowed to pay the broker to come to Korea?" We appealed to the Ministry of Labor to help Ali get his money. But the government did not investigate Ali's case and told us that It cannot help us because Ali is an illegal foreign worker. We appealed again to the government. Then, the movement started to probe into the Ali's case and referred his case to the prosecution.

Prosecutors later told us that it has found that Ali's claim was true. They say they cannot prosecute Ali's employer because his employee. Ali was an illegal worker. The prosecution's decision is ridiculous. I can't possibly understand why the prosecution cannot punish such employer. The prosecution should he admitted that the employer has al least isolated the law.

When I talked with officials of the Ministry of Labor in protest against the government's handing of payment delays by employers of foreign workers, they said, "We want to help the workers. But we are afraid of losing our jobs. There is nothing we can do about that as long as our boss will not deal with such cases" And when I asked them what they meant when their boss will not deal with such matter, they showed me a government document:

It is said, "When illegal foreign worker files a complaint about a payment delay with the ministry (the labor Minister said in the document, to the Ministry of Labor) should First, confirm if the complainant's company has more than five employees. Secondly, though the ministry cannot arrest the employer, make sure that the case is settled down at an early date if the employer is found to be unable to pay the salary because the went b And remind the complainant that the case was taken good care of. Thirdly, if the employer has disappeared. Close the case"

These guidelines of the Labor Minister do not ban the arrest of an employer suspected of delaying employee's payments. But they, in fact, cleverly tempt Labor Ministry officials not to arrest such employer. That is why most employers turn down appeals from foreign workers to pay their salaries on time.

So far, Many foreign workers have been forced to leave Korea without the compensation, even though they fell victims of industrial accidents. Ryu Jun-ki, 61, a Korean-Chinese, was very pleased to have visited Korea, his motherland he went down to Kimje, North Cholla province, the hometown of this ancestors. He then got a job at a plastic hanger manufactory in Sunnam. he came across a huge disaster one day, when he was on night duty. His hands were smashed up by a press machine. Four fingers of his had were cut off by the machine. His employer paid 6.5 million won for a surgical operation for his injured hands. Few days later after the operation, his hands swelled up and started to smell and Ryu could not stand the

pain. So he demanded that he be treated again but the employer refused to provide him additional treatments, saying "I've already spent much money in your surgery. I want you to go back to China, where medical fee is much cheaper than here". When Ryu came to us, his fingers were very much swollen. When they took the bandages off him, his hands smelled like rotten meat. We immediately took him to a hospital and had him undergo surgery again. He has stayed at the hospital for about a year to be completely cured of his injuries. As a result, the total medical fee for his hospitalization was as much as about 13 million won. We met the employer to ask for compensation but he refused to help us saying that he did not have money. We then asked the Ministry of Labor to get a help but the ministry said they cannot help us because Ryu's company has less than five employees. It is supposed to provide industrial accident compensation only, to employees of a company that has more than five employees under South Korean Labor laws. He even visited the presidential house of Chong Wa Dae to get a help, but it was no use. We also went to a lawyer but he advised us not to file it with the court because, the lawyer said that we cannot get enough money although we are certain to win if the employer is brought to trial. Sobbing, Ryu said, "I really appreciate your help but how can I pay the huge medical fee?" He calls us every morning to say, "What should I tell my family?" He even asked us to help him sell his kidney, saying that he heard a kidney sells at 50 million won in Korea. "I need 30 million won. Out of that 30 million, I will spend 15 million in the medical fee." I told him that I have never heard of it and that he can go to jail if he sells it. Then Ryu cried saying, "What shall I do then?"

From time to time, foreign workers have their fingers cut off by machines. Working with press machines is so dangerous that Koreans reject that kind of jobs even though the jobs guarantee a great amount of money. Instead so many foreign workers have the jobs to make a lot of money even though they have often had accidents even though they thoroughly learned safety rules. How could foreign workers, who haven't learned safety rules from employers because of language barriers, avoid accidents? Many victims often received just a little medical treatment without further compensation and then get expelled from Korea. Sometimes, the victims didn't even get any medical treatments.

The Ministry of Labor does not consider the foreign workers' injuries an industrial disaster and is not willing to pay compensation to the injured workers. What is worse is that the Ministry of Labor requests the Ministry of Justice that the foreign workers who file law suits be expelled from Korea regardless of the court's request came after a court rule in November, 1993 that Akino Shiba, a Philippine has the right to be paid compensation when he had an industrial accident despite that he is an illegal foreign worker. Akino, 26, a Filipino, had earlier filed a suit against the Ministry of Labor because he had not received any compensation for his injuries in an industrial accident. Finally, Akino won the lawsuit and the Ministry of Labor was ordered to pay compensation to him. News reports said that the reason why the Ministry of Labor try to force any foreign worker who files a lawsuit to leave Korea was because the ministry feared of the courts ruling in favor of foreign workers could cause other foreign workers to follow suit. What the Ministry of Labor is saying is that any foreign workers who have their hands or fingers cut off should just sit back and not seek compensations. The ministry was ridiculous because

it is supposed to try to protect foreign workers from industrial accidents. After these happened, the flood of foreign workers' lawsuits and demonstrations followed. As a result, the Ministry of Labor started to have the foreigners who work at factory with more than five workers covered by insurance. The expelled victims' demonstrations, their collective movements out of Korea, and possibility of becoming an international dispute forced the government to compensate the victims who were already in their countries too. But the result has been unsatisfactory. Still the Labor Standard Law and related labor laws do not apply to foreign workers. Sometimes, even compensation does not help the victims at all. In some Islamic countries, such as Bangladesh and Pakistan, the Islamic commandments have remained a law. According to Islamic commandments, the governments punish robbers and thieves by cutting their hands. Therefore, those who had their hands cut by industrial disaster have to live their lives in despair, being misunderstood as robbers or thieves in their own country. They are still living but for the rest of their life, the experience of "death: feeling of nothingness and unworthiness will haunt them every night by both themselves and their fellow countrymen.

Korea is a law governed country and has labor laws. Labor laws present basic standard which workers are to be provided. According to the Article V of Labor Standard Law, workers cannot be mistreated because of their nationalities, religions, or social status. This law applies to everyone. Also the Article VI of the Korean Constitution and Article II Clause II of UN Law prohibit discrimination of human's social, cultural, and economical rights, and the Korean government ignores it. On November 21, 1994, a human rights conference of Christian Committee of Korea-Japan was held with the topics settlement after World War II, compensation for World War II, and civil rights of the Korean-Japanese. Two Korean speakers presented about the compensation for "Jungshindae", or Korean comfort women, during World War II and foreign workers' problems in Korea. One of Jungshindae said, "How could we ask Japan for compensation while we are mistreating foreign workers in Korea? And a reverend said, "We are asking for compensation for Jungshindae which occurred more than 50 years ago, Isn't it possible for the foreign workers or their countries to ask for compensation even after 50 years later from now?"

While a number of Korean companies have their overseas factories in the Southeast Asian countries using cheaper labor there, many workers from the Southeast Asian countries are working in Korea. Koreans should treat the foreign workers nicely at least for the Korean enterprises in Southeast Asia. Also, there are many Korean companies in China while Korean-Chinese come to Korea with hopes that they have better opportunity. Some of those Korean-Chinese are to go back to China in despair without proper paychecks or compensations for their injuries. In China, many Korean-Chinese are living together as Korean ethnic group. What would those who worked in Korea say to the Korean-Chinese when they go back to China? Would you they still think of helping Korean companies in China? Korea should reconsider this matter. What would you do if you were one of the Korean-Chinese workers? Wouldn't you be upset and do something?

South Korean President Kim Young-sam calls for "Segyehwa", or globalization, and is trying to enhance Korea's competitiveness. And his government is concentrating on the two slogans. However, how could Korea become an advanced country which it is

mistreating foreign workers? Many Koreans are sorry for the collapse of the Sungsoo Bridge, but how many Koreans are sorry for collapsed image of Korea? For instance, many foreign workers surpass college graduates in scholarly. They would be leaders of their own countries in the future. How many of them could feel friendly with Korea after mistreatment in Korea? How many of them could think in favor of Korea if they become leaders of their countries later? There are many foreign workers in Japan and a number of the foreign workers are from South America in particular. Many of them who have worked in Japan are well educated. They go back to their country with the money they earned and then become a cabinet member, lawmaker or management in their own countries. Because they had worked in Taiwan, they are favorite to Taiwan. Recently in Peru, a third generation Japanese-Peruvian was reelected Peruvian president with overwhelming support. When I heard the news, I clicked my tongue because Peruvians elected a Japanese rather than a Peruvian. But this is really "Segyehwa" and promotion of our nation's competitiveness. UN declared this year as the year of tolerance. I want to tell the foreign workers to show tolerance for pitiful Koreans before asking Koreans to show tolerance to foreign workers.

Since the late 1980s, it has been easy for us to find foreign workers or Korean-Chinese around us. They have been facing a lot of difficulties because of language barriers, different cultures and their illegal status. They have had nobody to listen to their complaints and pains. Their problems are not only theirs but also ours. A Nepalese worker, M. Gurung, had only a few anodynes for his stomachache when he in fact was suffering appendicitis. And finally his appendicitis became peritonitis because he has never and proper medical treatments. Having eight other combined symptoms in addition to peritonitis, he stayed in an intensive care unit in a hospital for six months. Then he had lived for the last two months in the hospital but not in the intensive care unit.

Suget Gumara, a Bangladesh, had his leg cut off because he was not given any medical treatments when he got injured. Gobinda from Nepal was beaten and punished by his employers because he wanted to quit his work. He was punished by his employer and fell to the ground. His arms were broken, His body was wounded all over. As a result, he has to be hospitalized for six months. However, his employer was fined only a million won.

Yu Young-hee, 49, a Korean-Mongolian, had a heatstroke and collapsed on August 13 last year. His body was kept in hospital for 256 days until the funeral. Complaint or unpaid paychecks are most frequent. The rest are complaints of industrial disasters, diseases, beating, and accidents. On weekdays, 30-50 foreign workers, 150 to 300 foreign workers visit us for counseling, Korean language lessons, chores and medical treatments. Some of them become Christians and the others become interested in theology. Mr. Ryu, who was a communist, prays to God holding his wounded hands together.

Even now, God tell us, "When an alien lives with you in your land, do not mistreat him. The alien living with you must be treated as one of your native born. Love him as yourself, for you were aliens in Egypt. I am the Lord your God" (Leviticus 19:33-34) How could we love God, who we cannot see, when we do not love our neighbors or foreign workers who we can see now? Through our affectionate hearts and sincere

help, they will see the bright light in the darkness. By leading them to the Christ with Christian love, we can keep His Words.

제발 절 때리지 마세요!

김해성목사

국내거주 외국인 노동자의 부당한 처우문제가 국제사회에 알려지면서 특히 아시아 지역을 여행하는 한국인들에 대한 어처구니 없는 폭행사건이 속출하고 있다. 현재 국내거주 외국인 노동자의 수는 10만에 육박하고 있으며 이는 국내 노동력 공급의 1%를 차지하는 수치이다. 1980년대까지만 해도 이들 외국인 노동자들은 관광비자로 입국하여 취업한 불법 체류자들이 대부분이었다. 최근 언론에서도 자주 보도되고 있듯이 이들 외국인 노동자들은 중소 제조업체의 열악한 환경속에서 장시간 노동, 저임금에 시달리고 있으며 불법체류자라는 이유로 사실상 이들을 위한 법적 보호장치가 전무한 상황이다.

정부의 외국인 노동자 정책상의 문제도 매우 심각하다. 불법체류자의 국내취업이 법으로 금지되어 있음에도 불구하고 정부는 이들의 불법취업을 무단방치하고 있으며 정부의 이러한 우유부단한 태도로 인해 외국인 노동자들에 대한 정책적 배려는 결여된 채 이들의 국내입국만을 부채질하는 결과를 가져왔다. 이러한 점을 악용하여 일부 업체들은 산업재해 및 임금체불등으로 피해를 입은 불법체류 노동자들의 정신적, 신체적 고통을 나몰라라하고 있으며 이와 관련하여 어떠한 법적 제재도 받지 않고 있다. 결국 불법체류 외국인 노동자들은 피해보상조차 제대로 받지 못한채 강제출국을 강요받고 있는 것이다.

정부는 이러한 외국인 노동자 문제의 대안으로 산업연수 프로그램을 구상, 실시하고 있으나 실효를 거두지 못하고 있다. 불법체류 노동자들의 임금이 50만원에서 100만원선인데 비해 이들 연수생들은 15만원~20만원정도의 적은 임금에 12시간~16시간에 이르는 과다노동에 혹사당하고 있으며 이로인한 산업 연수생들의 대거 직장이탈사태가 벌어지고 있다. 정부는 1994년부터 산업재해 피해를 입은 외국인 노동자에게 150만원정도의 보상비를 지급해오고 있으나 이 역시 병원 치료비로 쓰거나 그나마 고용주에게 빼앗기는 경우도 허다해 피해당사자에게 돌아가는 몫은 거의 없는 형편이다. 직장을 이탈하여 불법체류자가 된 산업연수생들의 상황은 이보다 훨씬 불리하다. 이들은 노동자가 아닌 연수생 자격으로 있기때문에 피해를 당할 경우 보상받을 수 있는 가능성이 대단히 희박하다. 산업연수 프로그램이 가지는 또하나의 문제는 연수생을 고용한 업체의 횡포에 있다. 산업연수 프로그램을 통해 값싼 외국인 노동력을 공급받아온 이들 업체는 행여 산업연수 프로그램 운행에 차질이 빚어질까 연수생들의 직장이탈사태에 대해 관계당국에 알리지 않는 것은 물론, 이들의 작업장 이탈을 막기 위해 감금, 폭행, 심지어 강간까지도 서슴치 않고 있다.

마침내 분노한 외국인 노동자들은 자신들의 억울한 상황을 알리고 처우개선을 요구

하기 위해 거리로 뛰쳐나왔으며 이는 심각한 사회문제로 언론에 수차례 보도된 바 있다. 다급해진 정부는 의료보험, 산재보험, 최소임금 보장등 개선방안을 제시하였으나 업체들의 무관심속에 별반 실효를 거두지 못하고 있다. 정부 역시 불법체류를 빌미로 임금체불 및 갖은 횡포를 부리고 있는 고용주들에게 법적 제재를 가하는데 너무나 인색하다. 노동부는 연쇄적인 소송을 우려하여 심지어 사법부에 소송을 제기한 불법체류 외국인 노동자들을 강제출국 조치할 것을 권고하고 있다.

한국에서 정신적, 육체적으로 망신창이가 된채 강제출국당한 노동자들이 본국에 돌아가서 한국에 관해 과연 어떤 얘기를 전할 것인가를 생각할때, 또한 이로 인해 실추될 한국의 이미지와 세계 곳곳에 진출해 있는 우리기업들이 받을 불이익을 고려할때 외국인 노동자 문제해결을 위한 정부와 사회각계의 노력이 절실히 요구되는 것이다.

대한민국은 법치국가이다. 근로기준법 제5항, 대한민국 헌법 제6항, UN법 2항 2절에도 명시되어 있듯이 인간은 누구나 종교나 국적을 이유로 차별받지 않을 권리와 평등한 사회적 문화적 경제적 권리를 누릴 자유가 있다. 시대착오적인 외국인 노동자 인권문제는 하루빨리 개선되어야 하며 이를 위해서는 정부를 포함한 우리모두의 결연한 해결의지가 필요하다.

Issues Concerning Foreign Workers
by Sardar Hasan

We are the so called illegal foreign workers those who have learned their homeland for a better future than that of their country. The main issue is to coming in Korea is only a better means of living. We do not think about anything else. For example, the labor environment, human contempt, human relationship, cultural difference and the like at first. We expect friendship rather than charity from Koreans. We our doing our best to make sacrifice of ourselves for our poor motherlands and also to do a certain role for the development of Korean economy. We don't think there is a real difference in the intensity and the quality in labor compared to that of Korean workers. This is also proved that the foreign workers are skilled for so-called 3-D jobs. That is, dangerous, difficult and dirty.

Maximum illegal foreign workers are staying in Korea over three years. So it is barely true that Korean society is most frankly and (?) to the foreign workers. Korean weather, food and culture also most comfortable to the foreign workers due to their long time staying. Now foreign workers think Korea as their second homeland. Foreign workers came to Korea to overcome their hunger and also to help their parents and motherlands. Which Korea had already conquered.

In feeding of foreign workers, the Korean society is a subject of study. Korea is now a model of development, in the sense of social environment, industrial revolution, cultural improvement, construction and human relationship, etc.

Korean culture traditionally has been influenced by Confucianism. Confucian ideas continue to guide the relationship between parents and children, elders and the juniors, teachers and pupils. We know that this cultural background system is the best to establish good ties with each other. But now we follow the young Koreans are becoming more individualistic like the Western countries.

Historically, Koreans have not only utilized isolationist policies towards foreign countries, but also viewed foreigners with suspect. The primary reason being that Korea was repeatedly invaded by neighboring countries and was under colonial rule for many years. In terms of location the Korean weather may be hard to bear for foreigners. Because maximum foreigners came from warm climate and different weather. So they need extra care when temperature change rapidly. Now foreign workers can adjust to Korean weather like a Korean.

Korea is presently undergoing rapid developments in chemical and service industries. the industrial complex of Korea have distinct regional personalities. After industrial revolution Korea wanted to establish good ties with any other country over the entire world. Korea is doing better than they think.

Korea is not only undergoing industrialization rapidly and global market expansion, but also experiencing multinational industrialization through technological advancement and investment abroad. but the most experience for Korean industrial employers is tremendous shortage of domestic labor. So they need foreign workers to continue their

production. For their reason the employer called government to hire more foreign workers from neighbors poor countries.

Now in Korea there are two types of foreign workers are working here. That is legal and illegal. At about the time from 1990 to 1991 the number of foreign workers dramatically increased, when many entered the country through tourist and short term visiting visas and occupied a variety of small and medium sized companies in central and satellite cities. Consequently, a reason of human rights and violations emerged as one of the major social problems of the country.

The Korean government set period from June 10th to the end of July of 1992 in which employers were obliged to report illegal foreign workers. In fact the government tacitly given permission to employ illegal foreign workers. but this system was not attempt to legalize hiring of illegal foreign workers. The government extended this system four times up to middle of 1994. It was just to legalize foreign workers in times of domestic labor crisis.

This system cant ensure labor rights and human rights to foreign workers. Domestic workers of Korea are protected under labor laws, foreign workers are not being protected in the same way. Even though a number of social service centers for foreign workers are working earnestly to insure their rights.

This is true that illegal workers staying is a violation of emigration control laws. But the Korean government cannot control illegally staying foreign workers in fact, even though if raises a cry of strict control over them. Korea needs us, this is true and reality.

Government enforced illegal foreign workers to leave Korea reason of their violation of emigration control law. Government allowed from November 1994 to solve the labor shortage by hiring foreign workers as technical trainees. Its a contradictory decision.

While Korean government is making an effort to bring in cheap industrial trainees from abroad is has increased the level of crackdowns on illegally staying foreign workers. Since there are too many illegal foreign workers and they cannot be distinguished from foreign industrial trainees, crackdown and other controlling measures are in reality is effective. So need to worry to much about it, a considerable number of foreign trainees escaped from the factories with which they sign contracts.

According to the act of government law the foreign trainees are legal. But what standards can discriminate legal or illegal? The universal is that the right of labor is equal beyond the race, religion and the border. Korea needs us and we came here looking for a chance to work.

In fact, the illegal foreign workers and legal foreign trainees are contradictory and in worse situation. Because the illegal foreign workers are not in any favorable condition than the trainees. When the world is running for peace, democracy and to establish human rights after abolish the communal system of the world.

Korean economy could never forget the sacrifice of contribution to developed its conditions by illegal foreign workers. Foreign workers play the role of the main pillar of

small and mid-size enterprises, which are going to decline for what ever reason as well as we work for the most part for the types of industry. Because Korean workers do not work for the types of laborious, or even mean. Korean government is well aware that most small and medium enterprises will go bankrupt due to domestic labor shortage without illegally staying foreign workers. But we nonetheless, are still treated as illegally staying workers who are to be obliged to get driven out some day. We may be deported from Korea by the Korean government.

As because there are no protection law for foreign workers, the foreign workers face so many social and technical problems. These include: salary, insurance, injury compensation, rough behavior (treatment) mental and physical abuse, etc. They can't appeal themselves reason of their illegality. Korean employer wont to take the opportunity of the chance. The illegal foreign workers are not simply laborers but also human beings with feelings and emotions. Foreign workers became from Korean neighbors whether Korean like it or not and must be treated with respect. Foreign workers like to live with Korean harmoniously.

So our demand is to solve our problems as soon as possible by Korean government, to establish protection law for foreign workers government can follow the system of legalize the illegal slayer from Canada, Germany, Italy and recently from Malaysia who legalize illegal resident of their country.

The following are our demands to solve the problems of migrant workers and to establish protection law for the foreign workers:

1. Abolish the contradictory industrial trainees system and develop ways to treat foreign workers equally and fairly;
2. Abolish penal system. When illegal foreign workers want to go back to their homeland;
3. Don't enforce illegal foreign workers to leave Korea cause of their needed and reason of their certain role for the development of Korean economy;
4. Provide same labor rights as the native Koreans by ensuring the third labor code and applying domestic labor laws equally to foreign workers;
5. Establish protection law for foreign workers.

The illegal foreign workers demand is logical. Without the equal guarantee of the rights to labor and human rights, globalization movement of the world will be perfect lie.

At about over 100,000 migrant workers Korea who are remarks as legal and illegal. We hope that the Korean government should be consider the migrant workers logical demands. If Korea needs us. We also hopeful to support us from the Forum of Democratic Leaders in the Asia Pacific.

외국인 노동자와 인권문제

Sardar Hasan

우리는 모국의 더 나은 미래를 위하여 한국에 온 소위 불법 외국 노동자입니다. 우리가 한국에 온 이유는 단지 더 좋은 미래를 위해서입니다. 예를 들면, 노동환경, 인간차별, 인간적인 관계, 문화차이 등은 고려해보지 않았읍니다. 우리는 한국인들의 동정보다는 우정을 바라며, 가난한 모국을 위해서 또한 한국 경제의 발전에 밑거름이 되도록 최선을 다하고 있습니다. 한국 노동자와 비교해서 우리의 열성이나 능력에는 큰 차이는 없다고 생각하지만 실제 외국노동자들이 하는 일은 한국노동자들이 기피하는 3-D(dangerous, difficult and dirty:더럽고 힘들고 어려운) 업종이라는 것입니다.

불법 외국인 노동자들은 한국에서 최대한 3년 정도 거주합니다. 따라서 불법외국인에게 이곳이 우호적이지는 않지만, 장기간 지내면서 한국의 날씨, 음식과 문화에 익숙해집니다. 우리는 이제 한국을 제2의 고향으로 여기고 있습니다.

한국은 사회환경, 산업발전, 문화적 향상, 건설, 인간관계 등 여러분야에서 발전을 이루었습니다. 전통적으로 한국문화는 유교사상에 많은 영향을 받았습니다. 이러한 사상은 자식과 부모, 선후배 그리고 사제 관계에 지속적인 지침이 되고 있습니다. 이러한 유교문화는 서로를 묶는 문화적 바탕이 됩니다. 그러나 요즘 젊은 세대들은 서구와 같은 개인주의를 지향하고 있습니다.

역사적으로 한국은 외국에 대해 고립주의 정책을 지향 했을 뿐만 아니라 외국인들에 대해 믿음을 갖지 못했습니다. 이러한 원인은 지속적인 외세의 침략과 오랜 식민지 억압에서 비롯되고 있습니다.

한국은 화학과 서비스 산업이 급속히 발전하고 있으며, 한국의 산업구조는 별개의 지역적 특성을 가지고 있습니다. 또한 한국은 산업혁명 이후 전세계 모든 나라들과 좋은 관계를 맺기를 바랐으며, 지금까지 기대 이상으로 잘 해나가고 있습니다.

한국은 급격한 산업화와 세계시장 확장 뿐만 아니라 발달된 기술을 통한 다국적 산업화 경험과 대외투자를 지속하고 있습니다. 그러나 대부분의 한국의 고용주들은 국내 노동력의 부족을 겪고 있으며, 고용주들은 지속적인 생산을 위해 외국인 노동자를 더 필요로 합니다. 따라서 이러한 이유로 이웃 가난한 나라의 노동자들을 더 고용할 수 있도록 정부에 요청하고 있는 실정입니다.

지금 한국에는 합법 또는 불법 체류의 두가지 유형의 외국인 노동자들이 일하고 있습니다. 1990년부터 1991년까지 외국인 노동자의 숫자는 획기적으로 증가했으며, 이때 많은 외국인들이 관광 또는 단기 방문비자로 입국하여 도심과 위성도시의 여러 중소기업에 취직하였습니다. 이에 따른 외국근로자의 인권문제와 불법취업 여부가 중대한 사회적 문제로 대두되었습니다.

한국정부는 한시적으로 6월 10일 부터 7월 말까지 고용주들이 불법 체류 외국 노

동자들을 신고하도록 하였습니다. 사실 정부는 암묵적으로 불법 외국 노동자의 고용을 허가하고 있었습니다. 그러나 이것은 불법 외국 노동자 고용의 합법화는 아니었습니다. 정부는 1994년 중반까지 이와 같은 제도로 외국인 고용을 4배 이상 늘렸으나, 이것은 국내 노동력 위기에 따른 외국인 노동자의 합법화였습니다.

이 제도는 외국인의 노동권과 인권을 보장하는 것이 아닙니다. 한국의 노동자들은 노동법에 의해 보호받을 수 있지만 외국인 노동자에 대해서는 적용되지 않습니다. 비록 몇몇 외국인을 위한 사회복지 기관들이 외국인 노동자들의 권리를 위해 일하고 있지만, 실제로 불법 체류 노동자들은 이민법을 어기고 있습니다. 그리고 아무리 한국정부가 엄격한 규제를 하여도 사실 불법 체류 노동자들을 통제하기는 어려운 실정입니다.

정부는 이민법을 어겼다는 이유로 불법 외국인 노동자들을 추방하고자 합니다. 1994년 11월부터 정부는 노동력 부족의 대책으로 외국 노동자들을 기술연수생으로 고용할 수 있게 하였습니다. 그러나 이것은 잘못된 방침입니다.

한국 정부가 국외의 값싼 기술연수생을 효과적으로 들여오는 동안 불법 체류 외국인 노동자들에게 더욱 강경하게 단속했습니다. 대다수의 불법 체류 외국인 노동자들이 기술 연수생들과 식별하기는 힘들었지만, 단속과 다르게 실시한 통제수단은 실제로 효과가 있었습니다. 그러나 염려스러운것은 상당한 수의 외국인연수생들이 계약한 공장을 도망치고 있다는 사실입니다.

정부의 법적인 규정에 따른 외국인 연수생들은 합법적입니다. 그런데 무엇으로 합법과 불법을 구분할 수 있습니까? 범 세계적으로 인종, 종교, 국경에 관계없이 노동권은 평등합니다. 한국은 우리를 필요로 하고 우리는 이곳에서 일할 기회를 찾습니다.

사실 불법노동자와 합법 기술연수생들은 상충된 관계에 있으며, 불법 체류 노동자에게는 상황은 점점 더 나빠지고 있습니다. 왜냐하면 불법 노동자의 환경은 연수생의 환경보다 더 열악한 상황에 처해있기 때문입니다. 공산주의 붕괴 이후 세계는 평화를 지향하며, 민주화 그리고 인권을 위해 노력하고 있습니다.

한국은 그들의 경제발전에 기여한 불법 체류 노동자들의 희생을 잊어서는 안됩니다. 우리들은 지금도 한국의 중소기업의 주요한 기둥으로서의 역할을 하고 있습니다. 한국 노동자들은 더이상 힘든 일을 원치 않습니다. 한국 정부는 중소기업들이 불법체류 노동자 없이는 국내 노동력 부족 때문에 더 이상 공장의 운영이 어려울 것이라는 사실을 잘 알고 있습니다. 그럼에도 불구하고 여전히 불법 체류자로 취급되며 언젠가는 한국정부에 의해 강제로 추방되어야 합니다.

한국에는 외국인을 위한 보호법이 없기 때문에 외국인 노동자들은 많은 사회적 기술적 문제 즉, 봉급, 보험, 재해보상, 비인간적 대우와 정신적 신체적 학대를 받고 있습니다. 불법이라는 이유 때문에 노동자들은 소송을 할 수도 없습니다. 불법외국인 노동자들은 단순히 일하는 기계가 아니며 감정과 느낌이 있는 인간입니다. 한국인들과 서로 존중하며 함께 조화롭게 살고자 합니다.

최근 캐나다, 독일, 이태리와 말레이시아가 불법체류인들을 합법화 했듯이 우리의 요구는 한국정부도 즉각 외국인 노동자를 보호하는 법을 만들어 앞에서 지적한 여러 가지 문제를 풀어주어야 합니다.

아래 내용은 이민 노동자들의 문제의 해결과 외국인 노동자 보호법 제정을 위한

우리들의 요구사항입니다.

1. 모순된 기술연수생 제도의 폐지와 외국인 노동자들이 공정하고 동등한 대우를 받을 수 있는 권리 .
2. 불법 체류 외국인 노동자들이 그들의 고향으로 가고자 할때 심사체계의 폐지
3. 불법 체류 외국인 노동자들에 대한 한국정부의 일방적이고 강제적인 추방에 대한 조치
4. 제3조 노동법을 통해 외국인 노동자들도 한국인들과 같은 노동권을 가질 수 있는 권리
5. 외국인 노동자 보호법 제정

불법 외국인 노동자들의 요구는 상당히 논리적이며 정당한 것입니다. 평등한 노동의 권리와 인권의 보장없는 세계화는 있을수 없습니다. .

십만에 달하는 합법 또는 불법 체류 이민 노동자들이 한국에 거주하고 있습니다. 우리는 한국 정부가 이들에 대한 적절한 조치가 있기를 바랍니다. 그리고 우리는 FDL-AP의 도움을 바랍니다.



Fourm of Democratic Leaders in the Asia Pacific

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