

Chapter 5

A Comparative Analysis of Foreign Workers and Citizenship in Korea and Germany

Jong-Hee Lee

Abstract The number of foreign workers has increased in both Korea and Germany as part of globalization, and there has been a liberalization of the concept of citizenship. Korea and Germany have maintained the tradition of nation-states based upon ethnic and racial homogeneity. With respect to citizenship, these two countries are comparable and have cross-case validity in that both of them have accepted immigrant workers on short-term contracts. Both countries actively provide incentives to attract foreign professionals, while the “return home” policy towards unskilled workers is closer to exploitation. Korea gives priority to the employment of Koreans, and Germany does so to citizens of the European Union. In this respect they are similar, with each country importing a minimum number of foreign workers based on the principle of complementarity in the labor market. There are also several important differences between the two countries. This paper seeks to analyze migrant worker policy and institutions and the characteristics of foreign workers’ civic status in Korea and Germany. Chapters 2 and 3 analyze the history and current status of foreign workers in Korea and Germany, respectively. Chapter 4 conducts a comparative analysis of foreign workers and citizenship in Korea and Germany. Chapter 5 draws lessons from the example of Germany that may benefit Korean immigration policy.

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J.-H. Lee (✉)

National Election Broadcasting Debate Commission, 17, Backjae-gil, Gwanak-gu, 23, Nam-bu sun-hwan-ro 272 gil, Gwan-ak-gu, Seoul 151-800, Korea

Silim-ro 58 ga gil 64-3(601), Gwan-ak-gu, Seoul 151-015, Korea
e-mail: doreaner@hanmail.net

5.1 Introduction

Korea has undergone dramatic social changes in the age of information and globalization, including a rapid increase in the number of foreign workers, from 6,000 in 1987 to 6,000,000 in 2009. In this respect, Korea resembles the Germany of a few decades ago. Germany encouraged the entry of foreign workers in order to promote its industrial and economic development after the Second World War. Accordingly, the number of foreign workers was around 630,000 in 1962 (3.1 % among total employees) and skyrocketed to 2.6 million in 1972 (10.5 % of the total work force).

But economic recession led to rising unemployment in the early 1970s, causing the German government to stop importing foreign labor in 1973. This policy is still effective today. However, through an exemption clause aimed at filling the manpower gap in specific types of jobs, some foreign workers are still admitted into Germany. For example, seasonal workers and factory-contract workers are included in the exemption (ASAV for Anwerbestoppausnahmeverordnung in German). As of 2008, 8.8 % of the German population is foreign.

Globalization brought with it a change in the concept of citizenship, which in the past was closely connected to the nation-state. Soysal (1994) predicted that the emergence of post-national citizenship will replace the traditional nation-based citizenship. Jacobson (1997) also predicted the diminishing importance of citizenship related to nationality.

According to Kymlicka and Norman (1995: 284), citizenship describes both a legal status and a desirable involvement in one's community. Citizenship is an important concept in contemporary democratic thought and in institutions dealing with the relationship between citizens and between the citizen and the state. Citizenship often refers to civic status guaranteed by the community and including civic rights and responsibilities. It can also be defined as civic consciousness, civic virtue, and civic participation (Choe 2006; Klusmeyer 2001).

There are conflicting predictions about the influence of international labor turnover and globalization on citizenship. Some scholars (Joppke 1998; Soysal 1994; Jacobson 1997; Hollifield 1992) argue that globalization weakens the nation-state. They predict that phenomena such as international labor turnover will cause many nations to become multi-ethnic societies, and that as a result, those nations will no longer form a culturally homogeneous community. However, Brubaker (1992, 1994) argues that citizenship will not be greatly changed in spite of globalization and mass immigration in that citizenship has a close relationship with national identity. Foreigners' residence status and citizenship are emerging as social issues, because an increasing number of immigrant workers become permanent residents.

Korea and Germany have maintained the tradition of nation-states based upon ethnic and racial homogeneity. With respect to citizenship, these two countries secure equivalence in comparative research and cross cases validity in that both of

them have accepted immigrant workers on short-term contracts while maintaining a Principle of Nationality Act based on *jus sanguinis*.

This paper seeks to analyze migrant worker policy and institutions and the characteristics of foreign workers' civic status in Korea and Germany. Chapters 2 and 3 analyze the history and current status of foreign workers in Korea and Germany, respectively. Chapter 4 conducts a comparative analysis of foreign workers and citizenship in Korea and Germany. Chapter 5 draws suggestions from Germany's policy of foreign immigrant assimilation that may be applied to Korea because the history of immigrant workers in Germany is longer than that of Korea.

5.2 The Employment System for Foreign Workers in Korea

As of December 2008, the total number of foreigners working in Korea amounted to 1.16 million. These included about 559,000 Chinese, 121,000 Americans, 90,000 Vietnamese, and 46,000 Filipinos. Among them, over 177,955 were illegally living in the country (15.2 % of all foreigners) (Fig. 5.1).

There was an increasing demand for foreign workers in Korea to fill the manpower shortage in low-wage unskilled sectors as the Korean economy went through structural and social changes. A small number of foreign workers came to Korea in the mid-1980s, and in 1987, there were about 6,000. But the number of foreign workers skyrocketed to 600,000 in 2009. Among them, most were unskilled laborers (508,436) (Table 5.1).

In terms of their status, 307,329 (57 %) were in the visit-cum-employment category, with unskilled employees numbering 183,997 (33 %). The rest were composed of foreign language teachers (22,723, 4 %), trainee-cum-employment workers (12,393, 2 %) and others (22,840, 4 %) (Fig. 5.2).

The percentage of unregistered foreign workers in Korea is very high. This suggests that their working conditions are likely to be poor compared with those of average workers, and even their basic human rights may be at risk. Indeed, beyond poor working conditions (including excessive working hours), abuses such as wage arrears, beatings, imprisonment, and confiscation of ID cards have led to a serious breach of the basic human rights of guest workers in Korea.

This was reformed through an employment permit system, which was introduced in 2004 at the request of non-governmental organizations. The permit system regards foreign workers as employees in order to guarantee their basic rights. From 2007 onwards, the industrial trainee system was abolished and replaced entirely by the employment permit system (Table 5.2).

There have been four distinct policies for dealing with the employment of foreign workers in Korea since 1990: an industrial trainee system for Korean companies that invest in foreign countries, a modified and expanded industrial trainee system, a trainee-cum-employment system, and now an employment permit system.

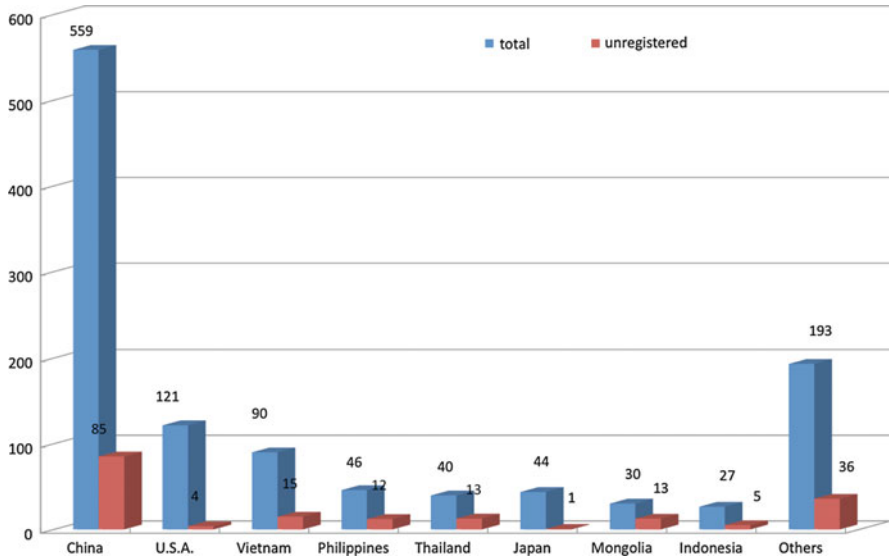


Fig. 5.1 Foreigners in Korea by nationality year 2008 (in thousands) (Source: <http://www.immigration.go.kr> (accessed 23 January 2010))

Table 5.1 Total foreign workers in Korea as of December 2009

Classification	Total number of foreign workers	Professional	Unskilled laborers
Total	549,282	40,846	508,436
Legal residents	499,635	38,635	461,000
Unregistered foreign workers (age: 16–60)	47,260	2,182	45,078
Total	49,647	2,211	47,436

Source: <http://www.immigration.go.kr> (accessed 23 January 2010)

In November 1991, the government initiated an industrial trainee system for Korean companies which invested in foreign countries. Trainees were allowed to stay in Korea for up to 6 months, with the possibility of an extension for another 6 months. In addition to transferring technical expertise, it also enabled firms to utilize foreign labor to fill the shortage of Korean workers (Yoo et al. 2004: 5).

The industrial trainee system was expanded in 1993, increasing the number of types of industry that could employ foreign workers from 10 to 21, and increasing the maximum period of training from 1 to 3 years. The Ministry of Labor was charged with directing and supervising working conditions among guest workers. Under this industrial trainee system, foreign workers were deemed to be interns rather than regular employees. Therefore, their human and other rights were a major issue.

The introduction of the trainee-cum-employment system in 1998 allowed trainees who went through a 2-year industrial internship to receive certification and to become normal workers. But this system still had the shortcomings of the

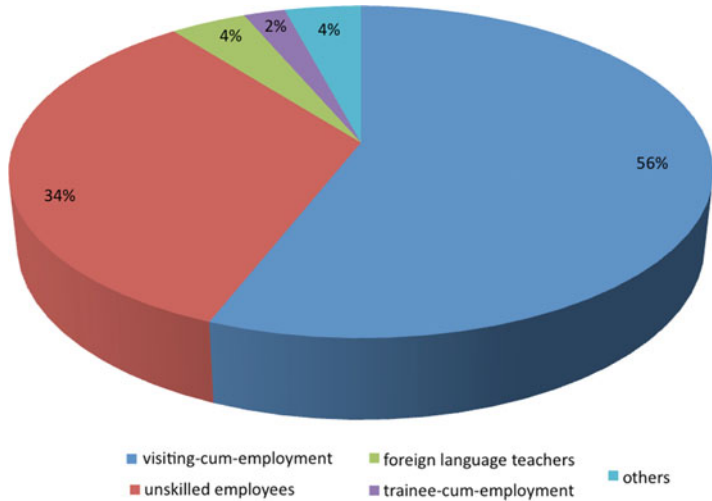


Fig. 5.2 Foreigners in terms of their status, December 2009 (Source: <http://www.immigration.go.kr> (accessed 23 January 2010))

previous industrial traineeship system. Revised in 2001 and 2002, the system was modified to allow 1 year of traineeship followed by 2 years of employment. The Policy Deliberative Committee of Foreign Industrial Manpower was given the authority to select the countries from which foreign workers would be allowed, and to set quotas restricting the number of workers from each country. The Committee was also charged with limited oversight of the agencies which sent and received trainees. In addition, the Committee was to estimate the number of illegal workers and to take this number into consideration in determining the next year’s quotas. The system provided ethnic Koreans (mostly from China) with the status of workers, allowing them to work in service industries.

The current employment permit system allows the employers to hire foreigners and thus enables the workers to apply for visas. Differences between the industrial trainee system and the employment permit system involve the status of workers. The employment permit system recognizes foreigners as workers, not as trainees. It also restricts the involvement of private agencies in managing foreign workers. Finally, in contrast to previous policies, the employment permit system explicitly gives priority to the employment of Korean workers. Thus the number of foreign workers is kept to a minimum (Table 5.3).

Visit-cum-employment is targeted at ethnic Koreans living in China and the former Soviet Union. Visit-cum-employment (H-2) status allows visitors to seek employment, and it streamlines the employment procedures that are required of the employers. Visas for visit-cum-employment are valid for up to 5 years and allow multiple visits to Korea. Once in Korea, visa-holders can work there for up to 3 years.

Table 5.2 Foreigners in terms of their status since 1987

Year	Legal residents									
	Total	Holders with employment visas					Industrial trainee			
		Total	Professionals	Unskilled labourers	Trainee-cum-employment	Sailors in Korean waters	Those recommended by the industry	Industrial trainees from Korean companies investing	Unregistered foreign workers	
1987	6,409	2,192	0	0	0	0	0	0	4,217	
1988	7,410	2,403	0	0	0	0	0	0	5,007	
1989	4,610	2,474	0	0	0	0	0	0	12,136	
1990	1,235	2,833	0	0	0	0	0	0	18,402	
1991	45,449	3,572	2,973	0	0	0	0	599	41,877	
1992	43,664	2,765	3,395	0	0	0	3,932	5,438	30,899	
1993	8,500	3,992	3,767	0	0	0	3,759	6,466	54,508	
1994	1,824	3,593	5,265	0	0	0	18,816	9,512	48,231	
1995	128,906	7,040	8,228	0	0	0	23,574	15,238	81,866	
1996	210,494	81,440	13,420	0	0	0	38,296	29,724	129,054	
1997	245,399	97,351	15,900	0	0	0	48,795	32,656	148,048	
1998	157,689	58,152	11,143	0	0	0	31,073	15,936	99,537	
1999	217,384	82,046	12,592	0	0	0	49,437	20,017	135,338	
2000	285,506	96,511	17,000	2,063	0	0	58,944	18,504	188,995	
2001	329,555	74,349	19,549	8,065	0	0	33,230	13,505	255,206	
2002	362,597	73,558	21,506	12,191	0	0	25,626	14,035	289,239	
2003	388,816	250,760	20,089	159,706	20,244	0	38,895	11,826	138,056	
2004	420,702	232,219	20,272	126,421	48,937	34	28,125	8,430	188,483	
2005	345,911	165,119	23,609	52,305	50,703	212	32,148	6,142	180,792	
2006	423,481	195,569	27,221	113,524	54,517	307	38,187	5,831	186,894	

Source: Seol (2007: 389)

- Note: (1) Professionals refers to professors, foreign language teachers, technical experts, people in the entertainment field and visa holders with specific occupations
- (2) Industrial trainees recommended by industrial organizations, including the Korean Federation of Small and Medium Business, the Construction Association of Korea, the National Federation of Fisheries Cooperatives, and the Korean Agricultural Cooperatives. Industrial trainees recommended by the industry were referred to the Ministry of Industry and Commerce
- (3) Illegal migrant workers do not include the economically inactive (below age 15 and above age 61)
- (4) Starting month in each year is December

Table 5.3 Qualitative comparison between the two systems

Classification	Industrial trainee system	Employment permit system
Status of foreign workers	Trainees, not workers	Workers
Introduction and management	Private employers organization	State or public agencies
Quota system	Compulsory	Employer’s choice of foreigners and work contract
Priority of hiring Koreans	None	Yes

Source: Yoo et al. p. 14

There are two additional features of Korea’s policy towards migrant labor that should be noted. First, the recruitment and management of foreign workers is based on bilateral agreements between Korea and a number of other countries. Second, Korea has an open door policy on skilled foreign workers. But unskilled workers must return to their native countries, and the Korean government then allows another pool of foreigners to be hired.

5.3 The Employment System for Foreign Workers in Germany

Germany began to accept foreign workers at the close of the 1880s due to industrialization and shortage of manpower. Approximately more than 1.2 million seasonal foreign immigrant workers filled labor shortages in Germany before World War I. Polish people occupied one of the biggest foreign groups in Germany pre-1914. In those days, the German government permitted foreign workers’ employment in Germany, but it did not allow them permanent residence in Germany or naturalization as Germans (Oltmer 2005). The German government imposed forced labor on foreign workers during World War I. Foreign forced laborers likewise played a part in taking the place of German male labor during World War II. The German government also adopted a policy of having a great many German people emigrate to Middle and Eastern Europe (Oltmer 2005).

Foreign workers began arriving in West Germany in large numbers in the 1960s, in order to promote its industrial and economic development after the Second World War.

Germany accepted foreigners through a work permit system, and limited the stay of workers by limiting their period of employment.

Migrant workers were recruited mainly from a number of countries in southern Europe. The number of foreign workers was around 630,000 in 1962 (3.1 % of the total labor force) and had increased to 2.6 million by 1972 (10.5 % of the total labor force) (Table 5.4).

The German government stopped the import of foreign labor in 1973 at the onset of a worldwide recession. This policy is still in effect today. However, through an exemption clause aimed at filling the manpower gap in specific types of jobs, some foreign workers are still admitted into Germany.

Table 5.4 Number of foreign workers in Germany (1962–1972)

Year	Number of foreign workers	Percentage of foreign workers among total employees
1962	629,022	3.1
1963	773,164	3.7
1964	902,459	4.3
1965	1,118,616	5.3
1966	1,243,961	5.8
1967	1,013,862	4.7
1968	1,018,859	4.9
1969	1,365,635	6.5
1970	1,806,805	8.6
1971	2,128,407	9.8
1972	2,284,502	10.5

Source: http://www.auslaender-statistik.de/bund/gast_1.htm (accessed 20 January 2010)

Many foreign workers have opted to remain in Germany and subsequently brought their families there to live. As a result, and owing to higher birth rates, the foreign population in Germany has increased substantially. As of 2005, the number of recent immigrants and their families totaled 15.3 million, about 19 % of the total population.

According to 2005 statistics, 14.8 million people (approximately 96 %) of immigrants live in the former West German area and Berlin. The proportion of immigrants is particularly high in big cities, such as Stuttgart (40 %), Frankfurt (39.5 %) and Nuremberg (37 %). The proportion of immigrants is even higher among children, with approximately a third of children under the age of 5 coming from immigrant families (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (ed.) 2005). And again, the proportions are higher in some large cities (Nuremberg 67 %, Frankfurt 65 %, Düsseldorf 64 % and Stuttgart 64 %).

As of 2008, there were 6.73 million foreigners in Germany (excluding ethnic German immigrants) (Table 5.5). Of these, 24.3 % were citizens from the 14 long-standing member states of the EU. Another 10.7 % were citizens of countries that joined the EU since 2004. The other 65.0 % were from non-EU countries (Table 5.6).

Turks made up the largest group (1.7 million), followed by immigrants from Italy (528,000), from the former Yugoslavia (330,000), Poles (260,000), Greeks (294,000), and Croatians (225,000) (Table 5.7).

According to the 2007 statistics, foreigners who stay for more than 20 years, more than 10 years, and more than 5 years accounted for 35.4 %, 64.5 %, and 49.4 % respectively, of all foreigners in Germany. The average length of a foreigner's stay in Germany is 17.7 years.

The number of workers with work permits has declined since 2002. However, this simply reflects revised immigration laws that allow citizens of the EU to work without a permit (Table 5.8).

Foreigners are required to obtain a residence and work permit before they are allowed to work in Germany. However, an exception is made for nationals of the long-standing EU member states, who can work freely in Germany without

Table 5.5 Number of foreigners and the total population in Germany (1951–2008)

Year	Population in Germany	Foreigners total	Percentage of foreigners in the German population
1951	50,808,900	506,000	1.0
1961	56,174,800	686,200	1.2
1970	61,001,164	2,737,905	4.5
1980	61,657,945	4,566,167	7.4
1990	79,753,227	5,582,357	7.0
2000	82,259,540	7,267,568	8.9
2001	82,440,309	7,318,263	8.9
2002	82,536,680	7,347,951	8.9
2003	82,531,671	7,341,820	8.9
2004	82,500,849	7,289,980	8.8
2005	82,437,995	7,389,149	8.8
2006	82,314,906	7,255,949	8.8
2007	82,217,837	7,255,395	8.8
2008	82,098,534	7,246,558	8.8

Source: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (Ed.) (2008: 4–5)

Table 5.6 Foreigners in Germany and their country of origin (2008)

Total	6,727,618	100 %
Old EU member states	1,638,110	24.3
New EU member states (joined the EU since 1 May 2004)	575,039	8.5
New EU member states (joined the EU since 1 January 2007)	148,310	2.2
Non-EU countries	4,366,159	65.0

Source: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (Ed.) (2008: 10)

Table 5.7 Foreigners in Germany and their country of origin (person, %, 31.12.2007)

Total	6,755,811	100 %
Turkey	1,713,551	25.4
Italy	528,318	7.8
Poland	384,808	5.7
Serbia and Montenegro (former Yugoslavia)	330,608	4.9
Greece	294,891	4.4
Croatia	225,309	3.3
EU Countries except Italy, Greece and Poland	1,128,130	16.7
Other countries	2,139,264	31.7

Source: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (Ed.) (2008: 8)

residence or work permits. Citizens of newer EU member states¹ still do need work permits (although this requirement is only intended to apply during a transition period). These countries include the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia, all of which joined the EU in May 2004, and Romania and Bulgaria, which joined in 2007. Although Malta and Cyprus

Table 5.8 Status of foreign workers who receive a work permit (unit: person)

	2002	2003	2004 ^a	2004 ^b	2005	2006
Total	945,073	886,386	873,470	497,298	364,069	284,139
Initial recipient	529,581	502,725	503,485	333,482	291,794	251,043
Those who extended	197,498	182,575	173,909	102,390	52,027	23,757
Already received	217,994	201,086	196,076	61,426	20,248	9,339
Declined	48,182	44,126	42,890		6,253	7,684

Source: Bundesagentur für Arbeit (Ed.) (2006: 40)

Note:

(1) 2004^a and 2004^b resulted from the revision of the immigration laws in 2005

(2) Starting January 2005, rules relating to work permit for the nationals of the EU were revised

joined the EU in 2004, their citizens do not need permits to work in Germany (Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2006: 33).

Since 1973, the policy of the German government has been to restrict the import of foreign labor to specific areas in which German labor is deemed insufficient. However, there are four exemptions to the ban on foreign labor (as specified in the ASAV, or Anwerbestoppausnahmemverordnung in German). One is for seasonal work in sectors such as farming in which demand for labor rises sharply for a few months each year. Also covered by this exemption are workers in the entertainment sector (Schaustellergehilfe). Foreign seasonal and entertainment workers are allowed to work for no more than 4 months per year.

A second exemption is for factory-contract workers (Werkvertragsarbeitnehmer). Germany has an agreement with 13 central and eastern European countries² that allows foreign companies in partnership with German firms to employ a limited number of foreign workers in Germany.

A third category of exemption is for “guest” workers (Gastarbeitnehmer). Germany has an agreement with 10 EU states plus Albania, Russia, and Croatia that allows workers from these countries to stay 18 months as industrial trainees or students learning the German language.

The fourth type of exemption is intended to fill a shortage of personnel in the information technology (IT) sector. For this purpose, in 2000 the government introduced the Green Card system (“Green-Card-Verordnung”). Foreigners with a Green Card can initially stay up to 5 years. Obtaining a Green Card requires a university degree in the IT sector and proof of annual income of at least 51,000 euros.

5.4 Comparison of Citizenship Between Korea and Germany

There are a number of similarities between the immigration policies of Germany and Korea. In both cases, foreigners must have a visa, residence permit or work permit. While each country actively encourages foreign professionals to stay, they have a ‘return-home policy’ for unskilled workers in the manufacturing sector.

Table 5.9 Number of naturalized citizens in Germany and Korea (1996–2005)

Year	Naturalized citizens		Percentage of naturalized foreigners	
	Germany	Korea	Germany	Korea
1996	86,356	1,439	1.2	1.0
1997	82,913	2,069	1.1	1.2
1998	106,790	1,409	1.4	1.0
1999	142,670	1,076	2.0	0.6
2000	186,688	646	2.5	0.3
2001	178,098	1,650	2.4	0.7
2002	154,547	3,883	2.1	1.5
2003	140,731	7,734	1.9	1.8
2004	127,153	9,262	1.9	2.0
2005	117,241	16,974	1.6	3.5

Source: Seol (2007: 402)

Note: The percentage of naturalized foreigners was calculated by dividing registered foreigners by those who received citizenship

Neither country discriminates against foreign workers on account of nationality (Seol 2007: 392), nor do they place any restrictions on emigration.

There are also several important differences between the two countries. Whereas Germany offers citizenship to ethnic Germans and welcomes their return, Korea has a visit-cum-employment system for ethnic Koreans who do not hold Korean citizenship. Ethnic Koreans who get visas can stay and work for up to 3 years.

The two countries also have different policies with respect to unskilled laborers in the manufacturing sector. Nationals of the European Union can enter and work freely in Germany, but other foreigners can work in Germany only after getting work permits. Unlike Germany, Korea admits foreign workers only from countries with which it has a formal agreement.

In 1999 it became much easier for foreigners living in Germany to obtain German citizenship. Children born in Germany to foreign parents now have dual citizenship. However, dual citizenship is not permitted for adults, and those having dual citizenship must choose to maintain citizenship in just one country within 5 years of reaching the age of 18. There are some exceptions to this rule for ethnic Germans.

Despite the more liberal citizenship policy introduced in 1999, the number of naturalized citizens is very small (1.6 % of foreign workers in 2005), and most foreign workers maintain their original nationality. The same is true in Korea, although the percentage of foreign workers granted citizenship has risen in recent years (3.5 % in 2005) (Table 5.9).

Germany and Korea have guaranteed basic human rights for immigrant laborers since they joined the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights. That is, they have guaranteed civil liberties institutionally. However, a change of place of employment by immigrant laborers requires permission of the government. Regarding social rights, foreigners in Germany share the same benefits of the social security system as citizens, and the German government is actively executing its

policy to assimilate foreign immigrants into German society. In 2007, the Korean government set up a legal framework to support foreigners by approving “Basic Laws of Treatment of Foreigners in Korea”. However, it has rarely applied a system of public aid to foreigners due to higher priorities in the budget.

In Korea and Germany, suffrage is not granted to foreign workers. Based on the “Public Office Election Law”, “Law of Resident Vote”, and “Law regarding Resident Summons” the Korean government grants the right of resident vote and the right of resident summons to foreign residents possessing certain qualifications. To resolve problems regarding illegal aliens, the Korean government has taken several steps towards temporarily legalizing illegal aliens. By contrast, the German government has taken no such measures.

5.5 Suggestions for Applying Germany’s Policy of Foreign Immigrant Assimilation to Korea

Statistics suggest that the educational standards of immigrants in Germany were lower compared to non-immigrants. Approximately 10 % of all immigrants did not graduate from general schools, whereas only 1.5 % of the entire population failed to graduate from general schools. Likewise, whereas only 27 % of Germans have not received vocational education, the figure among immigrants is 51 % (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (ed.) 2005).

Approximately 48 % of immigrants are considered to be laborers, compared to 26 % of non-immigrants. Around 64 % of immigrants work in service sector jobs, compared to 50 % of non-immigrants. The difference between immigrants and non-immigrants is even greater among office workers and public employees.

Germany has recently modified its immigration law to try to attract immigrants that are likely to benefit the country. Since 1 January 2005, laws have been enacted to attract non-EU immigrants. Businessmen and those who are self-employed are granted residency if they establish a business in Germany or meet a particular economic demand. They are considered to satisfy these conditions if they invest more than one million euros and employ more than 10 people. They are initially granted permission to reside in Germany for 3 years, but later they can be granted permanent residence. Experts, scholars and high officials are also granted residence if their employment in Germany is ensured.

The newly revised immigration law has become effective since 28 August 2007. Germany not only satisfies the EU’s 11 guidelines regarding residence permission and asylum laws, but also supplements articles of the 2004 revised law. This revised law includes articles to prevent *Scheinehe* (false marriage) or *Zwangsehe* (forced marriage), enforcement of public order, establishment of a business, simplification of immigration procedure, immigrants’ successful adaptation to German society, and others. In addition to modifying its immigration laws, the German government has also contributed to the assimilation of foreigners through direct funding of

Table 5.10 Foreign laborers who are obligatory members of the social insurance scheme

Year	Total	German laborers	Foreign laborers	Percentage of foreign laborers
1997	27,280	25,235	2,044	7.5
1998	27,208	25,178	2,030	7.5
1999	27,483	25,558	1,925	7.0
2000	27,826	25,862	1,964	7.1
2001	27,817	25,809	2,008	7.2
2002	27,571	25,611	1,960	7.1
2003	26,955	25,081	1,874	7.0
2004	26,524	24,719	1,805	6.8
2005	26,178	24,423	1,755	6.7

Source: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (Ed.) (2005: 105)

Table 5.11 The total unemployment rate and foreigners' unemployment rate in Germany (Unit: Person, %, 31 December 2005)

year	Total unemployed	Total unemployment rate	Foreign unemployed	Percentage of foreign unemployment rate
1997	4,384,456	12.7	547,816	20.9
1998	4,280,630	12.3	534,698	20.3
1999	4,100,499	11.7	510,168	19.2
2000	3,889,695	10.7	470,994	17.3
2001	3,852,564	10.3	464,739	17.4
2002	4,061,345	10.8	499,433	18.8
2003	4,376,795	11.6	542,966	20.2
2004	4,381,281	11.7	545,080	20.3
2005	4,860,685	13.0	672,903	25.2

Source: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (Ed.) (2005: 106)

language courses and 'assimilation education' for immigrants. Both proficiency in German and education in German culture are considered preconditions for immigration. According to the law revised January 2005, immigrants are to receive 630 h of assimilation education.

In addition to language education, vocational education for foreigners plays a key role in their successful assimilation. In particular, vocational education for foreign adolescents and women is very prevalent. Thus the federal government is making a large effort to promote vocational education for foreigners through various projects and to create employment for them. According to 2005 statistics, 79.5 % of foreigners who reside in Germany were born in foreign countries, making assimilation through education particularly important. Only 1.38 million (20.5 %) out of 6.7 million foreigners were born in Germany. These are second or third generation immigrants.

Foreigners' social assimilation is an assignment for the whole society which German residents and immigrants should fulfil together. In particular, the government is investing a large budget into socially integrating foreigners by means of education in democratic citizenship.

Table 5.12 Positions and wages of the West Germany area's immigrants (unit: %, Euro, 2004)

Position	Immigrants				German returns
	German people	Turkish	Middle and Western Europe (till 2003)	Former Yugoslavia	
Laborer	12 %	46 %	31 %	42 %	36 %
Technician or artisan	14 %	20 %	33 %	18 %	25 %
Simple office job	5 %	3 %	6 %	5 %	4 %
General office job	23 %	24 %	20 %	25 %	29 %
High-ranking position or Administrative position	8 %	0 %	4 %	1 %	1 %
Self-employed	23 %	24 %	20 %	25 %	29 %
Average wage	1,560 euros	1,350 euros	1,470 euros	1,230 euros	1,200 euros
Low earners	23 %	24 %	20 %	25 %	29 %
(Less than 50 % of average wage)					
High earners (more than 200 % of average wage)	8 %	0 %	4 %	1 %	1 %
Society acknowledgement level of job (High: 100, Low: 0)	72 (Higher)	45 (Lower than moderate)	50 (Moderate)	49 (Moderate)	58 (Higher than moderate)

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (Ed.) (2006: 570)

Note: These statistics focus on the West German area, because many immigrants live in this area

In spite of these various policies of social integration, there are significant differences in labor type, wage, position and other factors between foreign and German workers. The number of foreign laborers receiving social insurance is gradually decreasing as the number of foreigners in a permanent position is declining. The unemployment rate for foreigners has tended to increase; in 2005 the unemployment rate among foreigners was twice that of the general unemployment rate in Germany. In 2001, foreign workers in Germany made up approximately 8.3 % of all the workers in Germany, but the number of foreign laborers who were obligatory members of the social insurance scheme was 7.2 % of the whole. In general, the percentage of foreign laborers who are obligatory members of the social insurance scheme decreased gradually from 7.6 in 1996 to 6.7 % in 2005 (Table 5.10).

According to statistics, in 1997 approximately 0.54 million foreigners were unemployed and the foreigners' unemployment rate (20.9 %) was much higher than the total unemployment rate (12.7 %) in Germany. The number of unemployed foreigners decreased slightly during the period of economic recovery (1998–2001), but since then the number has increased. In 2005, the unemployment rate among foreigners was approximately twice that of the total unemployment rate (Table 5.11).

The following table provides information on types of employment and wages for Germans and various groups of foreigners. It is clear from this that the quality of jobs and wages is lower for foreigners than for native Germans.

The average wage among these foreign groups is about 1,250 euros per month, whereas the average among native Germans is 1,500 euros (Table 5.12).

As examined above, job segregation still seems to be apparent between German people and foreigners, although German society is operating with various social assimilation programs. In addition, foreigners are mainly low wage earners and their unemployment rate is twice as high compared to that of German people. Germany's efforts to integrate foreigners into society could serve as a useful example to Korea as it imports more and more foreign workers.

5.6 Conclusions

The number of foreign workers has increased in both Korea and Germany as part of globalization, and there has been a liberalization of the concept of citizenship. Both countries actively provide incentives to attract foreign professionals, while the "return home" policy towards unskilled workers is closer to exploitation. Both countries also have a similar policy prohibiting discrimination against foreign residents. Korea gives priority to the employment of Koreans, and Germany does so for citizens of the European Union. In this respect they are similar, with each country importing a minimum number of foreign workers based on the principle of complementarity in the labor market.

Germany offers citizenship to ethnic Germans and welcomes their return, whereas Korea has a visit-cum-employment system for ethnic Koreans of foreign citizenship. Germany allows foreign workers only if they have a work visa, whereas Korea has an employment permit system. Despite changes in citizenship policy, resulting from globalization, most foreign workers in the two countries keep their original nationality rather than becoming naturalized citizens. Thus, for unskilled migrant workers, globalization appears to have provided the opportunity to cross borders, but not to become full members of the countries in which they live and work.

In spite of the various policies of social integration in Germany, educational standards among immigrants in Germany are still low, compared to non-immigrants, and there are significant differences with regard to labor type, wage, position and other factors between foreign and German workers.

Endnotes

¹They are Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Latvia, Macedonia, Poland, Romania, Serbia, Montenegro, Slovakia, Slovenia, Czech Republic, Hungary.

²These countries include The Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia, all of which joined the EU in May 2004, and Romania and Bulgaria, which joined in 2007.

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