Citizenship and Migration in the Era of Globalization

The Flow of Migrants and the Perception of Citizenship in Asia and Europe

Markus Pohlmann · Jonghoe Yang

Jong-Hee Lee *Editors*

Springer

Markus Pohlmann • Jonghoe Yang •
Jong-Hee Lee

Editors

Citizenship and Migration in the Era of Globalization

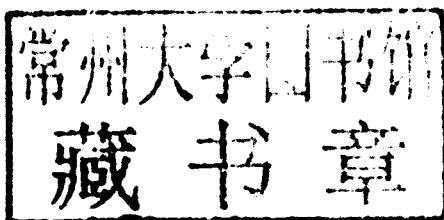## The Flow of Migrants and the Perception of Citizenship in Asia and Europe

∿ Springer

Editors

Markus Pohlmann
Inst. f. Soziologie
Univ. Heidelberg
Heidelberg, Germany

Jonghoe Yang
Department of Sociology
Sungkjunkwan University
Seoul, Korea

Jong-Hee Lee
National Election Broadcasting
Debate Commission
Seoul, South Korea

Printed on acid-free paper

Transcultural Research – Heidelberg Studies on Asia and Europe in a Global Context

About the Contributors

Markus Pohlmann is a full professor in Sociology at the University of Heidelberg, Germany. His major fields of research are Sociology of Organization, Sociology of Management, and Cultural and Regional Studies, especially East Asia, USA, and Germany. He received his diploma in Sociology at the University of Bielefeld and worked as a lecturer at the University of Lüneburg. After his Ph.D., he went to the University of Jena in the eastern part of Germany as an assistant and associate professor. He stayed several years abroad, doing research in the USA, in South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, and Hong Kong. His recent publications include *Gesund altern*: *Individuelle und gesellschaftliche Herausforderungen* (2013), *Soziologie der Organisation*: *Eine Einführung* (2011), and "Globale ökonomische Eliten? Eine Globalisierungsthese auf dem Prüfstand der Empirie" (*KZfSS* 61(4): 513–534 (2009)).

Jonghoe Yang is emeritus professor of sociology at Sungkyunkwan University, Seoul, Korea. He received his B.A. and M.A. from Seoul National University and Ph.D. in sociology from the State University of New York at Buffalo. He taught and did research at SUNY at Buffalo, Princeton University as a Fulbright Senior Research Scholar, and EHESS in Paris. He was the director of the Institute of Social Sciences and of the Survey Research Center of Sungkyunkwan University. He was president of the Korean Sociological Association in 2005. His major areas of interest are the sociology of culture and the arts, social change and development, environment, and citizenship and globalization. His publications include *The Sociology of Culture and the Arts*; *The Korean Culture Industry System*; *Environmental Problems, Movements and Policies in the Asia-Pacific Region*; *New Social Movements and Civil Society in Korea*; and *Development, Class and Culture*: *Aspects of Socio-cultural Change in Modern Korea*.

Seungsook Moon is Professor of Sociology and was Chair of the Sociology department (2010–2013) and Director of the Asian Studies Program (2006–2009) at Vassar College. She received her Ph.D. in Sociology from Brandeis University.

She is the author of *Militarized Modernity and Gendered Citizenship in South Korea* (Duke University Press 2005; reprinted in 2007; its Korean edition in 2007 by Alternative Culture Press 2007) and a coeditor and contributor of *Over There: Living with the U.S. Military Empire from World War Two to the Present* (Duke University Press, 2010). She has also published numerous articles on political and cultural sociology, including gender and military service, nationalism, civil society and social movements, globalization, collective memories, and Buddhist temple food in contemporary Korea.

Hyun-Chin Lim is Professor of Sociology and Director of Asia Center, Seoul National University, South Korea. He received his B.A. and M.A. in Sociology from Seoul National University and his Ph.D. in Sociology from Harvard University. He was previously the Dean of the College of Social Sciences and served as the President of Korean Sociological Association. His publications include more than 40 books and over 200 scholarly articles on dependency, development, democracy, and civil society in East Asia and Latin America.

His major works are *Globalization and Anti-Globalization: The Development Strategy for 21st Century Korea*, Seoul: Sechang (2011); *Global NGOs: Beyond 'Wild Card' in World Politics* (with Suk-Ki Kong), Seoul: Nanam. (2011); *New Asias: Global Futures of World Regions* (with Wolf Schaefer and Suk-Man Hwang), Seoul: Seoul National University Press (2010); *Social Movements and Progressive Politics in Korea*, Seoul: Seoul National University Press (2009); *Social Policy in North Korea's Transition*, Seoul: Seoul National University Press (2008); *East Meets West: Civilizational Encounters and the Spirit of Capitalism in East Asia*, Leiden and Boston: Brill (2007); and *Politics and Society of Korea in Transition: Knowledge, Power, and Social Movement*, Seoul: Jipmundang (2005).

Suk-Ki Kong is Research Professor of Asia Center at Seoul National University. He studied sociology and received his B.A. and M.A. from the Department of Sociology at Seoul National University and his Ph.D. from the Department of Sociology at Harvard University. He was Senior Research Fellow at the Center of Social Sciences at Seoul National University. His major fields of research are social movements, NGO studies, and political sociology. His recent publications include articles entitled "Measuring National Human Rights: A Reflection on Korean Experiences" (2012), *Human Rights Quarterly* Vol. 34(4): 986–1020 (with Jeong-Woo Koo, and Chinsung Chang); "Politics of Cosmopolitan Citizenship: The Korean Engagement in the Global Justice Movements" (2012), *Citizenship Studies*, Vol. 16(1): 69–84; and "Let's Build A New World Order: Tripartite Dynamics of Inter-State System, World Capitalist Economy, and Global Civil Society" (2011), *Korean Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 45(6): 1–19 (with Hyun-Chin Lim).

Jong-Hee Lee is Chief of the Broadcasting Debate Team of the National Election Broadcasting Debate Commission in Korea and an Adjunct Professor of Korean Civic Education Institute for Democracy. She received her M.A. and Ph.D. in Sociology from the Department of Sociology of Heidelberg in Germany. Her major fields of research are Gender Studies, Global Migration, Sociology of Management, Political Sociology, and Cultural Studies. Her recent publications include articles entitled *"Multicultural Society and Social Integration: Focus on the German Case"* (2012), Journal of Korean-German Association for social science, 22(2), 54–84 (in Korean); *German Unification and Power Elites in the East Germany: Lessons for the Korean Unification* (2011), Seoul: Hanul (with Seung Hyeob Lee, Tae Guk Jeon, et al. (eds.)) (in Korean); "Efforts by the Election Broadcasting Debate Commission to Establish a Culture of Debate" (2011), *Journal of Communication*, 20, 85–128 (in Korean); "Studies on the Candidate's TV Debate Format: Focus on the Mayoral Race in Seoul in the 5th Nationwide Local Elections" (2011), *Korean Journal of Journalism & Communication*, 55(1): 7–78 (with Ji-Yang Oh) (in Korean); "Konfuzianische Kultur und geschlechtsspezifische Ungleichheit: Der südkoreanische Arbeitsmarkt als Beispiel (Confucian culture and gender-specific inequality: the Korean labor market as an example)" (2006), in: Gert Albert, Agathe Bienfait, Steffen Sigmund, Mateusz Stachura (eds.), *Aspekte des Weber-Paradigmas (Aspects of Weber's Paradigm)*, 193–217 (in German). She has also published articles on political and cultural sociology, including gender and globalization.

Sung-Nam Cho is currently a Professor at Ewha Womans University, Seoul, Korea. She studied sociology and received her B.A. and M.A. from the Department of Sociology at Ewha Womans University and her Ph.D. from the Department of Sociology in the University of Hawaii, USA. She was the Dean of International Education Institute and the Director of the Research Institute of Social Sciences at Ewha Womans University. She was President of the Korean Federation of Women Professors in 2011. She is currently Vice President of the Medical Peace Foundation, which has built and donated 18 hospitals for people in need around the world, especially in Africa, Latin America, and Southeast Asia. Her major fields of research are Health and Medical Sociology, Population, Aging and Elderly Issues, and Global Migration. Her recent publications include articles entitled *Age-Boom Generation: Preparing for the Ageing Society* (2006) (in Korean); "Globalization and Women in South Korea: Labor Participation and Women's Identity" *Korea Confronts Globalization* London/US/Canada: Routledge (2009): 43–62; "Physicians and the Satisfaction with Medical Services," *Population Studies* (2009) Vol.3, Num. 3: 1–23 (in Korean); "International Marriages in South Korea: The Significance of Nationality and Ethnicity," *Journal of Population Research* (2007):165–182.

Jungwhan Lee is a professor in the Department of Sociology at Cheongju University in Korea. He received his B.A. from Sungkyunkwan University and his M.A. and Ph.D. in sociology from Rutgers University. His research interests are international migration, multiculturalism, social epidemiology, and social stratification. His recent publications include "The Korean Government's Migration Policy on HIV/AIDS: Comparing with Migrant-Receiving and Migrant-Sending Countries in East Asia," *International Area Studies Review*, 2009; "Migrant Workers and HIV Vulnerability in Korea," *International Migration*, 2008; and "Migrant Characteristics of Foreign Workers and Research Trends in Korea," *Korea Journal of Population Studies*, 2007.

Sang-Hui Nam is research fellow in the Institute of Sociology at Heidelberg University. She holds a Ph.D. from the Department of Sociology at Freiburg University. She was research fellow at Yonsei University (Seoul, 2000–2003) and conducted the research project "Innovation and Contention. Protest Waves in South Korea" at the Institute of Asian Studies in the German Institute of Global and Area Studies (Hamburg, 2006–2008). Her major fields of research are cultural studies, social movements, and media. Her recent publications include articles entitled "The Making of a Social Movement" (2009), "The Women's Movement and the Transformation of the Family Law in South Korea" (2010), and "Werte, kollektive Identität und Protest" (2012).

Seokho Kim is an assistant professor in the Department of Sociology at Sungkyunkwan University, Seoul, Korea. He received his Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Chicago in 2008. His dissertation title was "Voluntary Associations, Social Inequality, and Participatory Democracy from a Comparative Perspective." He has joined the Korean General Social Survey (KGSS) and East Asian Social Survey (EASS) since 2008. His research interests are political sociology, civil society, social networks, migrant workers, and survey methodology. His publications include Personality Traits and Political Participation; The Effects of Political Mobilization on Voter Turnout and Vote Choice in the 2012 National Assembly Election; Voluntary Associations, Social Inequality, and Participatory Democracy in the United States and Korea; Personality Traits and Response Styles; Social Distance between Foreign Workers and Koreans; and National Pride in Comparative Perspective: 1995/1996 and 2003/2004.

Subrata K. Mitra, B.A. (Utkal, Orissa), M.A. (Delhi), M.Phil. (JNU), M.A. and Ph.D. (Rochester) is Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science and Board Member and former Director of the South Asia Institute at the University of Heidelberg, Germany. His has published widely in the fields of Comparative Politics, Rational Choice, Citizenship, Re-use, and South Asian Area Studies. His books include *Citizenship and the Flow of Ideas: Structure, Agency and Power* (Delhi: Samskriti; 2012) (co-editor); *Reuse: The Art and Politics of Integration and Anxiety* (Delhi: Sage; 2012); *Politics in India: Structure, Process, Policy* (London:

Routledge; 2011); and *When Rebels become Stakeholders* (Delhi: Sage; 2009). In addition, he has published articles in the *Annual Review of Political Science*, *Asian Journal of Political Science*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Contemporary South Asia*, *Comparative Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Democratization*, *Economic and Political Weekly*, *India Review*, *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, *Journal of Development Politics*, *International Social Science Journal*, *International Political Science Review*, *Third World Quarterly*, and *World Politics*.

Contents

Part IV

Chapter 1
Introduction

Markus Pohlmann, Jonghoe Yang, and Jong-Hee Lee

1.1 Introduction

The twentieth century has been proclaimed as the "Age of Mobility" (Papademetriou 2007) as well as an "Age of Migration" (Castles and Miller 2009). People from all over the world and with vastly diverse social backgrounds are said to be moving and migrating increasingly around the globe. With regard to the developed countries, fears and concern are growing among the general public due to the perception of foreigners pouring into their national homelands. As a consequence the legal concept of *citizenship* has recently become one of the key issues for political debates revolving around immigration policies. But citizenship is not merely a concept; it is also an emotional issue. The concomitant change in the migrants' legal status serves as a bureaucratic bottleneck for many other social policy issues, including the citizen's right to vote – issues that are crucial for the architecture of a modern nation state.

M. Pohlmann (✉)
Department of Sociology, Heidelberg University, Bergheimer Str. 58, 69115 Heidelberg, Germany

Im Schulzengarten 20, 69151 Neckargemünd, Germany
e-mail: markus.pohlmann@soziologie.uni-heidelberg.de

J. Yang
Department of Sociology, Sungkyunkwan University, 53 Myungryun-dong, Jongro-gu, Seoul 110-745, Korea

#1104 Lotte Castle Forest, Seocho-gu, Bangbae 4-dong, Seoul 137-836, Korea
e-mail: jhyang@skku.edu

J.-H. Lee
National Election Broadcasting Debate Commission, 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

In marked contrast, throughout the 1990s globalization was said to have brought about a change in the concept of citizenship, which used to bear on close connections with the nation-state. Soysal (1994) and Jacobson (1997) for instance both predicted a diminishing importance of citizenship and even the advent of a post-national notion of citizenship.

Are these predictions already coming true? Are we about to see the coming of the age of the *transnational citizen*? Before delving into the empirical realm for evidence regarding such far-reaching assumptions, we have to consider first what we are actually talking about by tackling the conceptual issue of citizenship.

From a sociological perspective, there are at least two ways to define citizenship. (1) In a formal way, in which we talk about membership to a political community. Being a citizen is having the formal status of a member, regardless of specific qualifications needed or whatever is expected from the member. "A citizen is", as Walzer (1989) put it, "most simply, a member of a political community, entitled to whatever prerogatives and encumbered with whatever responsibilities are attached to membership" (Ibid: 211). (2) In a less formal and more conventional and emphatic understanding, we focus on the question of *if* and *how* being a citizen requires that the individual shares a specific set of values, and also acknowledges substantial rights and duties. This emphatic notion of citizenship basically builds on the characteristics of a "polis" and how it enables or empowers its citizens. While the non-formal conditions of being a citizen are much discussed, the formal side is somewhat neglected.

In this volume, we draw upon a combination of the formal and the non-formal aspects of citizenship in our analyses. On the one hand we are dealing with citizenship in regard of the formal conditions of how to become a citizen. On the other hand, we are taking into account aspects of its non-formal side, such as the notion of values and attitudes towards the nation-state, by asking how citizenship is perceived and what duties and rights have been acknowledged.

In view of the nation-state, citizenship is constituted by a special kind of membership. Most of the time, the majority of citizens of a nation-state are "born citizens", following the emergence and establishment of a nation-state. Usually, the attribution and acquisition of citizenship is structured upon two principles: *jus soli* (the conferral of citizenship on persons born in the state's territory, viz. on its soil) and *jus sanguinis* (the conferral of citizenship on persons with a citizen parent or parents, viz. by blood). Most nation-states base their citizenship laws on a combination of *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* (see Gilbertson 2006). Naturalized migrants are very often in the minority among the citizens of a country.

If we direct our special attention to the mechanisms of becoming a member of a nation-state, we are able to distinguish at least three separate rules of membership that are valid in most nation-states:

1. Most of the members are not recruited voluntarily, but naturally by birth or descent.
2. Unlike other forms of membership, for most citizens citizenship is not conferred via a contract, but as a constitutional right.

3. Once the membership of a nation has been established, one will not lose that membership easily. Even if one is acting against the constitutional law and is imprisoned for that reason, one will remain a citizen of that country, though one might lose some of one's citizen's rights.

Thus, in its particular mode of membership, nation-state citizenship is even more inclusive than family membership usually is. Very often, the "divorce rate" in nation-states is lower than in families, because nation-states often have strong restrictions against the expulsion of its members.

At its most basic, the definition of citizenship is "a secular system of contributory rights, involving entitlements and duties, binding people to the nation-state" (Turner 2006: 608) and focuses on the relationship between the individual and the state.

The present volume comprises a collection of selected articles that tackle these aspects by providing empirical evidence concerning (1) the ideas associated with citizenship, (2) the flow of people, and (3) the perceptions of citizens in Korea, East Asia and Europe.

The first part deals with the *flow of ideas*. The idea of citizenship in Korea is examined by Seungsook Moon, who looks at its connotations in different forms of translation and shows how the idea of citizenship has been employed by different political regimes and different political movements in Korea. She shows that the understanding of (the imported concept of) citizenship has been fiercely contested since the nineteenth century in Korea. In various historical phases, political elites and social movements have fought over the definition of social, political and civil rights in a long-lasting process of political transformation. After the democratization process in 1987, citizenship became deeply intertwined in Korea with the ideas and the working of civil society, as Lim, Hyun-Chin and Kong, Suk-Ki subsequently highlight. In the aftermath of democratic transformation, human rights and environmental rights movements gained in importance and transnationalized their structures. Especially ideas connected to human rights were in part an expression of an altered perception of citizenship, often articulated in opposition to the government.

The three chapters in the second part of this volume cover the issue of the *flow of people* between Europe and East Asia and the question of how far actual migration patterns can be characterized as "global" or "transnational". Markus Pohlmann takes one particular assumption behind mainstream globalization literature as a starting point in order to reassess whether there is actually an emerging "global class" of high-level professionals and top-managers. He asks: have the formal open-door policies in East Asia, USA and Europe for highly skilled people led to high naturalization rates as well as to international career and migration patterns? Jong-Hee Lee supplements this analysis of the flow of people by concentrating on the migration and naturalization of low-skilled labor, while comparing South Korea and Germany. In her chapter, Sung-Nam Cho addresses the role of marriage for immigrants in Korea, an important social issue in contemporary Korean society. Her study tries to analyze the current phenomenon of an upsurge in international marriages in Korea, asking what countries and families the immigrants are from and what partners and families they are marrying (into).

The focus of the third part is on the non-formal side of citizenship in South Korea, Germany and the USA, analyzing and comparing *perceptions of citizenship*. What kind of values, duties and rights are connected with citizenship and what do the citizens' expectations entail? Jonghoe Yang argues that research on citizenship has mostly been centered on its legal or institutional aspects and that only few empirical studies both in Korea and worldwide have focused on the experiences of ordinary people. But the understanding, competence, and active participation of ordinary citizens are essential for the working of nation-states. According to his analysis of a set of survey data, Korean people's ideas on citizenship vary widely in accordance with different background factors. As a result, there is a variety of mixed forms of citizenship concepts, reflecting Korea's recent history of turbulent political change. Supplementing the perspective of Jonghoe Yang, the paper of Jungwhan Lee examines the attitudes of Korean workers towards the civil rights of migrant workers. He asks: what do Korean workers think about the question of conferring civil rights on migrant workers? What factors affect the Korean workers' attitudes towards the civil rights of migrant workers? Lee's study gives seminal answers to these questions. The chapter by Sang-Hui Nam aims to illuminate factors which led to the currently changing status of ethnic Chinese in Korean society. Formal citizenship of the ethnic Chinese has been enhanced since the 1990s. Democratization and globalization have put the citizenship issue of the ethnic Han Chinese back on the agenda. But structural patterns to exclude the ethnic Chinese from citizenship manifest themselves repeatedly. On its way to a welfare state, South Korea has provided social rights such as the right to health care, a national pension and unemployment compensation and so on since about the turn of the century. Nam's study shows that so far the ethnic Chinese have not been included. In their closing chapter, Seokho Kim and Jonghoe Yang explore cross-national differences in patterns of citizenship by comparing Korea, Germany and the United States. Due to uncertainty about how and why institutional and attitudinal aspects of citizenship vary among nations, the authors compare Korea, Germany and the United States by analyzing data from the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) from 2004.

The concluding remarks by Subrata Mitra draw together the results concerning the flow of ideas, the flow of people and the perception of citizenship and discuss them within the broader scope of the Cluster of Excellence regarding "The Flow of Ideas between Europe and Asia" at Heidelberg University.

References

Castles, Stephen, and Mark Miller. 2009. *The Age of Migration. International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 4th ed., Basingstoke, London: Macmillan Press.
Gilbertson, Greta. 2006. *Citizenship in a Globalized World*. Migration Information Service, Washington: Migration Policy Institute.
Jacobson, David. 1997. *Right across Borders: Immigration and the Decline of Citizenship*. Baltimore: The Johns.

Papademetriou, Demetrios G. 2007. *The Age of Mobility. How to Get More Out of Migration in the 21st century.* Migration Policy Institute.

Soysal, Yasemin Nohoglu. 1994. *Limits of Citizenship: Migrant and Postnational Membership in Europe.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Turner, Bryan S. 2006. Citizenship and the Crisis of Multiculturalism. *Citizenship Studies* 10 (5), 607–18.

Walzer, Michael. 1989. *Citizenship.* New York: Cambridge University Press.