

Pressured to Volunteer? Societal Factors and the Motivation of Korean Men to Work as Miners in West Germany in the 1960s

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Amid South Korea's economic struggles in the 1960s, about 8,000 Korean men chose to become miners in West Germany. Questioning the Korean government's narrative that strongly emphasizes and praises the voluntary nature of this decision, this paper seeks to revisit the reasons for their decision to migrate. Beyond economic and individual motivations, it zooms out to the bigger picture and approaches the questions of their inspiration from a new, macrolevel perspective. Rather than looking at the personal stories, this approach will examine the societal setting during this time to identify social forces that may have led to their decision to migrate. Based on the Migration Decision Model of Klabunde et al., this approach uncovers the societal pressures that emerged from mainly two value systems at the time. While state-backed nationalism served as the basis for the migrant's commitment to sacrifice their labor for the country's good, pro-growth Confucian values provided the ideological rationale for commitment to the family and subordination to the nation's needs. In this regard, the Park Chung Hee administration effectively used these two value systems to ideologically mobilize the labor force by creating normative factors embedded in the society's belief system. This paper argues that the decision to migrate to West Germany resulted from broader societal forces that pressured the Korean men to volunteer. This new perspective enriches the overall understanding of migration motives and challenges the Korean government's narrative that portrays the miners in West Germany as volunteers.

Introduction: South Korean Guest Workers in West Germany

"I would work 7 hours a day on a three-part rotational shift, 1,000 meters underground. The temperature was above 40 degrees Celsius; everything was pitch black and deadly quiet. Debris constantly fell from the ground tunnel's ceiling."

This quote comes from Yang Dong-yang, one of about 8,000 Korean miners who worked in West Germany in the 1960s and 1970s, along with more than 10,000 Korean nurses, as part of a bilateral program between the two countries.² The year 2023 marks the sixtieth anniversary of the departure of the first group of Korean miners to Germany as so-called "guest workers" under the "Program for the Temporary Employment of Korean Miners in the West German Coal Industry."³ Their courage and sacrifices in service to their home country earned them recognition and played a significant role in obtaining loans from Germany. They also sent a large number of remittances back to their families and helped ease the pressure on the domestic labor market.⁴ The recruited workers were primarily students and white-collar workers who "voluntarily" applied for the arduous and dangerous mining job.

The question arises as to why so many Koreans voluntarily left the country to do hard physical labor in a completely foreign land. While the most apparent reason is economic, many scholars have analyzed the individual motivations of first-generation miners and nurses. Meanwhile, this paper aims to approach the question of their motivations from a macrolevel perspective by examining societal factors. Rather than looking at the personal stories at the microlevel, this approach will examine the societal setting at that time to identify non-economic forces that may have led to this decision. This paper focuses on the motivations of the Korean miners, who mostly had no previous experience with physical labor or mining work. Since the dispatched nurses were trained for their profession and performed a different type of work, the analysis of the motivations of the two groups should not be conflated.

Following an overview of previous research on this topic, the theoretical framework of how societal factors influence migration decisions is introduced. The analysis delves into the societal factors that influenced Korean men to emigrate, focusing on the economic and political contexts as well as the cultural factors of state-sponsored nationalism and pro-growth Confucianism. The paper concludes with a

summary and a brief outlook.

Previous Research on Motives to Migrate to West Germany

Previous research on Korean guest workers in West Germany focuses mainly on the economic impact, outlining their remittances and the relief on the Korean labor market due to their absence.⁵ Looking from an economic perspective is a common approach to migration studies, as it can explain motivations by examining loans and job opportunities, and labor supply and demand in general.⁶ Labor migration is primarily motivated by economic interests.

Another approach is conducting oral history projects in both Germany and Korea, interviewing the first generation of Korean migrants about their motivations to move to West Germany and their first-hand experience.⁷ In a newspaper interview, for example, Yang Dong-yang, former miner and chairman of the Association of Korean Workers in Germany, recalled that many of his colleagues died or were injured in the mines.⁸ Moreover, several migrants wrote autobiographies or autobiographically influenced novels. Byoung-Ho Won⁹ and I-Jong Kwon¹⁰, who both worked as miners, described in detail the arduous path and their lives in Germany at that time. Researchers Sun-ju Choi and Heike Berner collected texts written by Korean migrants who came to Germany in the 1960s, the topics of which range from exclusion and racism, cultural differences, leaving home and arriving in a foreign world to friendship, family, and work.¹¹ Overall, the three primary sources of information are mainly newspaper articles from that time, oral histories and memoirs of the migrants, and official records from South Korean and West German authorities.

Looking at the bigger picture, Minkyong Jeon, researcher and Ph.D. candidate in sociology at Sungkonghoe University in Seoul, raised the interesting question of why the two governments needed to “justify” the exchange of labor force and economic aid through a voluntary recruitment policy to fit the global emergence of human rights at the time.”¹² Going beyond the typical focal points, her argument emphasizes the significance of the voluntary character of the recruitment by the two governments, which enabled them to achieve their individual political objectives while justifying their policy in line with human rights. This justification was significant at that time since the human rights regime emerged in 1948 with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Jeon

further argues that because of the emphasis on the voluntary nature of the recruitment, the Korean and German governments were less accountable for the hardships the guest workers faced.¹³ Considering the need to emphasize a voluntary recruitment for the sake of both governments' global image, it is even more interesting to examine what actually motivated the migrants to volunteer.

A review of the existing literature reveals that the personal experiences of Korean miners and the economic impact of their work have been the focus of previous studies. However, there is a notable research gap, as only a few studies have systematically investigated the influence of societal factors on migrants' decisions during that period. Considering that individuals are embedded in a broader social context, susceptible to social pressures, and shaped by prevailing value systems, adopting a macrolevel perspective is crucial to identify potential social constraints. This paper seeks to address this research gap and provide a more comprehensive understanding by examining Korea's cultural and political environment at that time, to identify societal pressures that played a role in shaping the decision to migrate to West Germany.

How Societal Factors Influence Migration Decisions

To determine the societal factors that influenced the decision of thousands of Koreans to work as miners in West Germany, it is essential to understand the connection between these variables. It is generally agreed that the unequal geographic distribution of resources and opportunities and, consequently, the prospect of better job opportunities and higher remuneration, are the primary causes of migration.¹⁴ However, researchers from the Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research, Anna Klabunde and Matthias Leuchter, statistician Sabine Zinn from the German Institute for Economic Research, and Frans Willekens, Professor Emeritus of Demography at the University of Groningen, provide foundations for modeling the emigration decision process. Willekens argues that the belief that the benefits outweigh the costs is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for developing an intention to migrate.¹⁵ This argument is conclusive because not everyone decides to emigrate just because they have the prospect of higher benefits in a foreign country.

Klabunde et al. refer to the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB),

which indicates that intentions are the best predictors of behavior. They use the TPB as the base for their Migration Decision Model and outline three factors that determine an intention to act: “(1) the outcomes (benefits and costs) of the behavior or attitude; (2) social norms; and (3) one’s own ability to mobilize resources, take advantage of opportunities, and remove barriers.”¹⁶ The first factor of beneficial expectations is already widely investigated in terms of economic benefits for these Korean miners and their families. As for the third factor, mobilizing resources and removing obstacles, the Korean government supported and provided for the possibility of migration through its programs that took care of all administrative and logistical issues and set the framework for the migration and travel process.¹⁷ Therefore, this paper will solely focus on the second factor: social norms. In this regard, Willekens argues that potential emigrants are subject to social pressure, group norms, and social acceptance.¹⁸ Essential actors in building this societal pressure are opinion leaders. Normative beliefs arise from the observation of others and the influence that some people have on others due to their position of authority or power.¹⁹

Figure 1: Schematic Representation of the Migration Decision Model:
Social Norms²⁰

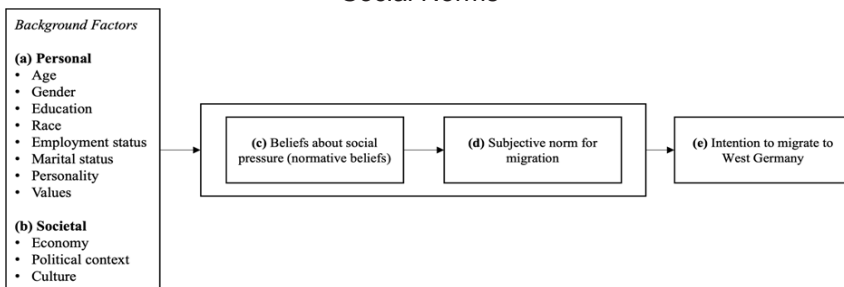


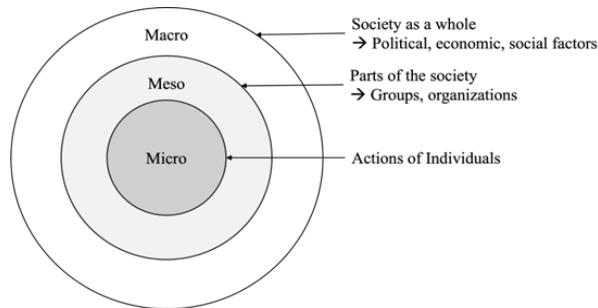
Figure 1 is deduced from the Migration Decision Model of Klabunde et al., who apply the TPB specifically to migration decision. Instead of looking at the individual level of (a) personal factors, this paper will solely focus on the societal factors (b), which influenced the beliefs about social pressure (c) and, subsequently, the intention to migrate to West Germany I. As indicated in Figure 1, the term “societal” pertains to a society’s economic and political context and culture.

In this regard, this paper will take a different approach to this topic and analyze society on a macrolevel, as portrayed in Figure 2.

Philosopher Karl Popper underlines this approach in his book “The Open Society and Its Enemies”: “While the ordinary man takes the setting of his life and the importance of his personal experiences and petty struggles for granted, it is said that the social scientist or philosopher has to survey things from a higher plane.”²¹

Social scientists Sandro Serpa and Carlos Miguel Ferreira outline that an individual is part of a broader social framework that evolves over time in its economic, political, and cultural dimensions.²² They argue that society, as a whole, is “produced and reproduced by social interactions, framed within the context of social relations structures and historical frameworks.”²³ Moreover, the macrolevel is mainly concerned with analyzing complex structures and related processes.²⁴

Figure 2: Micro, Meso, and Macro Levels of Social Analysis²⁵



To understand the decision of Koreans to voluntarily migrate, this study employs a macrolevel analysis, which considers society as a whole, particularly the political, economic, and cultural factors affecting society and individuals. While it is uncontested that the individual decision to apply for the program happens on the microlevel, the macrolevel influences the decision. The influence of these social factors to the Koreans' migration decision is investigated in the next section. After outlining the political and economic context, the primary focus will be on cultural factors that could lead to social pressure. The study of Andrew E. Kim and Gil-sung Park, professors of international studies and sociology at Korea University, serves as the main foundation in analyzing these cultural factors. Their article “Nationalism, Confucianism, Work Ethic, and Industrialization in South Korea” discusses how workers in South Korea were ideologically mobilized to use their labor for the process of indus-

trialization. Building upon this analytical foundation, familiar narratives about the work migration to West Germany are objects under investigation.

Societal Factors that Influenced Korean Men to Work as Miners in West Germany

1. Economic and Political Context in South Korea in the 1960s

Suffering from the aftermath of the Korean War, South Korea was a dysfunctional economy in the early 1960s. However, economic history witnessed a turning point with the 1961 military coup led by Park Chung Hee, who, in an authoritarian manner, laid the foundation for the nation's remarkable economic growth over the following three decades.²⁶ Lifting the country out of poverty and putting it on the path to economic modernization through industrialization was Park's top priority, thus the series of financial plans aimed at export-oriented industrialization.²⁷ Under his rule, the import substitution economy (ISE) in the 1960s gradually transitioned to an export-oriented economy (EOE).²⁸ South Korea was a developmental state characterized by significant government intervention and extensive regulation at that time.

In the early 1960s, the high unemployment rate among educated people became a persistent social issue. There were not enough jobs and few openings in government agencies, state-run businesses, the media, banks, and educational institutions. Korean professor Seung-Mi Han describes the situation as: "Instead of the 'Ivory Tower,' universities were called 'Cow Towers,' meaning parents had to sell cows to pay for the tuition, but the children remained out of work."²⁹

To achieve the economic development goals, bringing in foreign currency was vital, and Korea was forced to rely on aid from abroad, most of which came from the United States. However, US aid eventually declined, from the all-time high of \$383 million in the 1950s to \$222 million by 1959.³⁰ Therefore, the South Korean government made diplomatic efforts to obtain government loans from other Western industrialized nations. The goal was to reduce unemployment and implement new economic plans. One of these nations was West Germany, which already had a humanitarian mission in South Korea by building a hospital in Busan.³¹ Moreover, Park Chung Hee reportedly admired Germany and expressed his firm belief that it had a unique bond with Korea. This admiration is demonstrated, for instance, by the fact that he includes a

separate chapter on Germany in his second book, “The Country, The Revolution, and I.”³²

On the other hand, West Germany, which had experienced rapid economic revival and industrialization since the end of the Second World War, was faced with the problem of labor shortages in the mining sector, as many men of working age had been injured and killed during the two World Wars.³³ To address this issue, the West German government imported migrant labor in the form of “guest workers” with time-limited employment contracts.³⁴

Sending labor abroad was already a vital element of the Park administration’s economic development strategy as a way to manage the population, reduce unemployment, earn money abroad, and learn about cutting-edge technology.³⁵ Therefore, Park agreed to send miners and nurses to West Germany in exchange for financial aid. In addition, South Korean nurses and miners were offered financial packages about three times higher than those provided to workers in similar occupations in South Korea.³⁶ On December 16, 1963, the “Program for the Temporary Employment of Korean Miners in the West German Coal Industry” came into force.³⁷

The recruitment announcement was published in Korean newspapers, and in the following years, more and more Korean young men applied, even though they had no previous mining experience. Korean journalist Grace Kim, who visited West Germany together with Park Chung Hee in 1964, underlined that most Korean miners were previously white-collar workers and students with no experience in heavy physical labor. Most university graduates volunteered to emigrate to Germany after compulsory military service.³⁸

Overall, looking at the macrolevel of the economic and political context in South Korea, the importance of mobilizing Korean workers to volunteer as miners in West Germany becomes apparent. The following section analyzes the significant societal factors of culture to identify possible normative beliefs that may have generated social pressures.

2. Cultural Factors: State-Sponsored Nationalism and Pro-Growth Confucian Values

Meredith Woo highlights that one foundation of the Park Chung Hee’s developmental state is the belief that nationalism drives economic planning

and mobilization.³⁹ To discipline and organize the fractured society in an authoritarian and nationalistic manner, the Park administration expended tremendous effort and resources. In the early 1960s, the government developed economic nationalism and the importance of hard work into a comprehensive national campaign, which it vigorously promoted for the following two decades. According to Andrew Eungi Kim and Gil-sung Park, two ideologies were crucial to South Korea's economic development from the early 1960s: (1) state-sponsored nationalism and (2) pro-growth Confucian values.⁴⁰ These two cultural traits will be discussed in detail in the following section and connected to the recruitment of Korean guest workers who worked as miners in West Germany.

2.1 State-Sponsored Nationalism

Nationalism can generally be defined as a collection of vague and diverse political discourse, rather than a specific political program or ideology that seeks to create a certain type of political community.⁴¹ In this discourse, the Third Republic established by Park drew on some of the narratives of the former Syngman Rhee regime. Similar to Rhee's anti-Japanese and anti-communist narratives, Park Chung Hee advocated for the harmonious integration of the nation to combat the ongoing threat posed by the communist regime in North Korea.⁴² However, Sang Mi Park, a professor at Waseda University in Japan, argues that Park Chung Hee did more than just amplify the anti-communist rhetoric; he quickly adopted it to legitimize his regime and avoid the challenge faced by Rhee who struggled to develop comprehensive and tangible policies to mobilize public support for his leadership.⁴³ Similarly, Han argues that unlike the unambiguous goal of "nationalism against colonial rule," "nationalism" promoted under Park's leadership was linked to various concepts like dictatorship, national security, economic growth, and modernization.⁴⁴ Moreover, the Park regime ingrained the discourses in every aspect of South Korean society through projects that paralleled the state-led economic developments in the 1960s and 1970s.⁴⁵

Kim and Park argue that the Park Chung Hee administration successfully launched a national campaign that linked the idea of work with ethnic nationalism.⁴⁶ Work was seen as a moral, patriotic, and social obligation, with the idea that the harder everyone works, the better off everyone is. For the nation to modernize, the government-sponsored ideology of work insisted that everyone must voluntarily participate in

the national project, put aside personal interests, and deal with low wages and challenging working conditions.⁴⁷ With this ideology in mind, the Korean students and white-collar workers who struggled to find a job might have seen the opportunity to work in West Germany as an opportunity to contribute to the modernization of Korea. Unemployed, they did not participate in the national project, and even if they may not have felt comfortable with the idea of doing the hard physical work of mining in a foreign country, the government's ambitious call demanded that they put personal interests aside.

Kim and Park further argue that “work was made respectable even to the extent of stigmatizing unemployment,”⁴⁸ highlighting the volunteers' fear of such stigmatization if they choose not to apply for the mining program. In addition, social recognition was in prospect if they apply as guest workers. On December 10, 1964, Park Chung Hee traveled to Hamborn, West Germany, where 300 miners and nurses had gathered. In an emotional speech, he urged them “to work for the honor of the country and look to the future so that their children could live in prosperity.”⁴⁹ Yong-Suk Jung, research associate at the Chung-Ang University's Center for German and European Studies, delves more profoundly into the migration of Korean nurses and argues that the political term *P'adok* or “German dispatchment” glorified labor export as a patriotic act by both the government and the society.⁵⁰ As mentioned above, the South Korean government at that time desperately needed foreign currency, and in this regard, volunteer labor, which it must persuade to go to West Germany.

The authoritarian character of Park Chung Hee's administration might also have possessed coercive tools to recruit workers. However, the emphasis on volunteers was significant in light of the emerging human rights regime and the global image, as highlighted by Minkyong Jeon. These volunteers were recruited through the media, primarily through newspaper advertisements. By portraying the work abroad as a service to the nation, they instilled in volunteers a sense of patriotism and pride. In contrast, the decision not to apply but to remain unemployed in South Korea, even if one had been physically able to work, would have been seen as unpatriotic and associated with shame. The social norm at the macrolevel created by state-sponsored nationalism was, at that time, the clear obligation to participate in the country's economic development.

Furthermore, Park Chung Hee managed to reframe the arduous

work of mining as a work of pride. Yun-Young Choi, a professor at Seoul National University's Institute for German Studies, argues that the government urged the emigrants not to lose their pride as Koreans and to see themselves as private diplomats.⁵¹ The Korean miners' high education level contributed to this awareness and simultaneous pride as national representatives in a foreign land.

Moreover, Choi outlines that the Park administration succeeded in creating a shared identity for the volunteers by creating various names, such as "New Village Movement," "Factory Workers" in the city, or "Guest Workers" in foreign countries. This process of common identity building went hand in hand with the Korean government's economic modernization plan.⁵² Choi further elaborates that not only did the government demand patriotism and sacrifice from the emigrating group; the applicants also felt that their group identity was being addressed, forming a solidary group identity with a common destiny.⁵³ Being a part of one of these groups might have been another societal motivation to apply for the mining program. That this narrative resonated with the migrants is shown by the statement of a former miner who describes that they felt like a national team at the time.⁵⁴

Overall, Park Chung Hee's administration, through state-sponsored nationalism, successfully created normative factors enshrined in the belief system of Koreans. Having established that these factors place social pressure on Koreans to dedicate their labor for the good of the country, examining another significant cultural element that complements the broader societal dynamics on a macrolevel is imperative. Given the importance of family structure and values, the commitment of Park Chung Hee's leadership, and the generally strong sense of duty, it is necessary to consider the deeply rooted Confucian values that will be analyzed in the next part.

2.2 Pro-Growth Confucian Values

Confucius was a Chinese philosopher whose collective teachings became what is known today as Confucianism. Confucianism initially developed as a set of moral guidelines for feudal, agrarian Chinese rulers to promote harmony and peace.⁵⁵ The ideas of "Chung" (harmony between the leadership and the masse) and "Hsiao" (filial piety) make up the central axis of Confucian political philosophy. In this regard, the relationships between the ruler and the people, parents and their children, and among

peers are emphasized.⁵⁶ After centuries of development, Confucianism has evolved into a set of concepts, worldviews, political ideologies, and social norms that materialize in various social institutions and everyday social customs.⁵⁷ Each social class and status group of the society has adopted different aspects of Confucianism to suit their particular needs.

Confucianism arrived in Korea at various points in history, making it difficult to determine when it first emerged. Josh Park, researcher at Emory University, argues that the original Confucian principles may have reached Korea around 788 A.D. and have spread and persisted since then.⁵⁸ Confucianism significantly impacted Korean culture overall, and its ethical code became the blueprint for how Korean families, societies, and workplaces are organized. Confucian traits generated cohesion and the pursuit of success through a sense of loyalty and kinship.⁵⁹ In this context, Josh Park argues that the Korean work ethic was often characterized as persistent, selfless, faithful, and reliable. However, Kim and Park argue that Confucianism first posed a challenge for Park Chung Hee when mobilizing human resources. They outline Koreans' historical antipathy for manual labor and argue that the government required a persuasive work philosophy that could encourage people to participate actively in the development process.⁶⁰ In that sense, Park aimed to create a new concept of work that could overcome the traditional disregard for manual labor to ensure the active participation of potential workers: pro-growth Confucian values.⁶¹ This new approach to manual labor was an essential factor when it came to recruiting volunteers to work as miners, a physically demanding job.

Therefore, the Park regime modernized the Confucian value system into a work ethic appropriate for an industrial society by incorporating discipline, hard work, sense of duty, loyalty, and responsibility. In this regard, the regime applied traditional Confucian values to new structures, for example, by changing self-improvement diligence to work-related diligence.⁶² Park's interpretation of Confucianism created further pressure on potential migrant workers, who might have seen voluntary application as a duty, responsibility, and a way to show their loyalty to Park. The diligence demanded by Korean society could be put into the work of a miner.

Moreover, the Confucian approach to interpersonal interactions involves social obligations, which include mutual support among family members during difficult times.⁶³ Josh Park argues that "diligence is an

intrinsic value in itself, and since Confucius believed that relationships between society and individuals and between individuals and family were important, it is also a way of contributing back to society when one grows up and is able to work.”⁶⁴ Since the economic situation at that time can be characterized as “difficult times,” the Korean applicants likely felt pressured to provide for their families, especially since a high remuneration was in prospect. For the unemployed, the miner’s program provided a possibility to contribute to the Korean society and support their families. Consequently, the remittances of miners and nurses totaled about \$101,503,000, which represented around two percent of the Korean GDP between 1963 and 1977.⁶⁵

Confucius’ teachings emphasize complete loyalty in the relationship between a servant and their master, akin to the loyalty between a father and son. Hence, employees were expected to demonstrate a similar loyalty to both their employers and the president.⁶⁶ This idea of loyalty offers insight into the increase in the number applications after Park’s call for volunteers. Park already had an agreement to fulfill with West Germany, and as loyal Koreans, the recruits may have felt the need to support him by volunteering to go abroad. Demographer and economist Lee-Jay Cho further argues that the people committed to Confucian ethics are prepared to put forth effort in a collective setting without challenging their leader, whom they perceive to be more knowledgeable and experienced than themselves.⁶⁷ If Park Chung Hee, as a “knowledgeable and experienced leader,” suggests going to West Germany, which he views highly, the willingness of Korean men to follow his call can be understood in terms of the prevailing Confucian value system.

In Confucian societies such as Korea, there is a deeply ingrained sense of duty towards family, community, and nation. Volunteering to work in West Germany as a miner was defined on the macrolevel as an act of sacrifice and service to fulfill these societal obligations, influencing the individual’s decision to apply on the microlevel. The pro-growth Confucianist values complemented the societal forces in the sense that it defined the obligations towards society and reframed the previous antipathy towards manual labor.

Conclusion: Societal Pressure to Volunteer

This paper aimed to examine what societal factors influenced the

decision of about 8,000 Korean men to work as miners in West Germany in the 1960s. After a brief review of the existing literature, the theoretical framework of the migration decision model was presented, which was subsequently used to analyze the social factors that influenced the decision of Korean applicants.

Overall, the analysis shows that the voluntary participation of Koreans in the mining program in Germany was influenced by societal pressures originating from state-sponsored nationalism and pro-growth Confucianism. These two value systems were effectively used by the Park Chung Hee administration to ideologically mobilize the labor force.

While nationalism served as the basis for their commitment to sacrifice their labor for the good of the country, Confucian ethics provided the ideological rationale for commitment to the family and subordination to the needs of the nation. In this sense, Park Chung Hee successfully created normative factors that became embedded in the society's belief system. Exposed to societal pressure, the unemployed men saw the volunteer program as a social obligation.

Overall, it can be said that although Korean men were not forced to work as miners, they were pressured to volunteer. These findings raise awareness not only to look at the individual level of motivations but also to examine the "higher plane" of the macrolevel to identify societal forces. The macrolevel analysis sheds light on the various factors that influenced their participation and allows for a nuanced understanding of the voluntary nature of their decision to go to West Germany. Considering the fact that the Korean and West German governments had to emphasize the voluntary nature of the workers' deployment, it is worth asking to what extent it can be described as voluntary in the face of these societal pressures or whether it was rather framed as such.

Due to the limited scope of this work, it was not possible to measure the degree to which societal factors influenced the microlevel of individual beliefs and how much societal influence there was relative to economic benefits. In further research, it would be interesting to link the micro and macrolevels to gain more understanding of the motivations behind the participation in the mining program. But as a starting point, this paper shows how it could be misleading to outright adopt the government's narrative, which highlights the program's voluntary nature, when in fact societal pressures were at play.

Notes

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- 3 "Program for the Temporary Employment of Korean Miners in the West German Coal Industry," First Agreement Translated from German (December 16, 1963).
- 4 The remittances of miners and nurses totaled to about \$101,503,000, which represented around two percent of the Korean GDP between 1963 and 1977. See: Yoo, *The Koreas: The Birth of Two Nations Divided*, 86.
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- 13 *Ibid.*, 312
- 14 Frans Willekens, "The Emigration Decision Process – Foundations for Modelling," *QuantMig Project Deliverable D2.3*, (2021), 3.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 12.
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18 Willekens, "The Emigration Decision Process – Foundations for Modelling," 19.

19 Ibid.

20 Based on Klabunde et al., "Multistate Modelling Extended by Behavioural Rules: An Application to Migration," p. 54.

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