

**Papers of the
East-West Population Institute, no. 51**

**Rural-urban migration
and social mobility:
studies of three
South Korean cities**

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Number 51 • May 1978

PAPERS OF THE EAST-WEST POPULATION INSTITUTE

MAN-GAP LEE is Director of the University Library and Professor of Sociology, Seoul National University.
HERBERT R. BARRINGER is Professor of Sociology, University of Hawaii.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Yi, Man-gap.

Rural-urban migration and social mobility.

(Papers of the East-West Population Institute ;
no. 51)

“Revision of a paper presented for the ILCORK
(International Liaison Committee for Research
on Korea) Conference on Population and its Societal
Impacts, Pusan, Republic of Korea, February 21-24,
1974.”

Bibliography: p. 41-44.

1. Rural-urban migration—Korea. 2. Social
mobility—Korea. I. Barringer, Herbert R.,
joint author. II. Title. III. Series: East-West
Population Institute. Papers of the
East-West Population Institute ; no. 51.

HB2112.5.A3Y53 301.36'1 78-17522

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PREFACE

This is a revision of a paper presented for the ILCORK (International Liaison Committee for Research on Korea) Conference on Population and Its Societal Impacts, Pusan, Republic of Korea, February 21–24, 1974. Portions of this paper were also delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies in Chicago, March 1973. The writers gratefully acknowledge the invaluable participation of Yongsock Shin, Heung-Soo Park, and Hagen Koo in collection of data and analyses of results, and of Gary Sakihara for the smallest space analysis.

ABSTRACT Small-sample surveys of migration in three representative cities are compared systematically. Seoul, Taegu, and Chonju represent the capital, a large provincial center, and a small provincial center, respectively. Results indicate that rural migrants to all three cities achieve equal social status with urban natives within their own generation. Such background characteristics of migrants as size of place of origin appear to have little effect on their social mobility. Fathers' social status and migrants' education seem to be the best predictors of social mobility. Migration and mobility patterns appear quite similar for all three cities except that in Chonju, with relatively new and minor industrialization, mobility appears to be less spectacular than in Seoul or Taegu. Seoul, as the primate city, draws migrants from all Korean provinces, whereas Taegu and Chonju draw migrants mostly from their respective hinterlands.

This paper summarizes comparative results from separate small-sample surveys on rural-urban migration conducted in three South Korean cities—Seoul, 1968; Taegu, 1969; and Chonju, 1971.¹ The three surveys, which are only partly reported here, were designed to answer various questions about migrant adjustment to urban life in South Korea, with special emphasis on social mobility patterns.

Migration, particularly from rural to urban areas, is a subject of central interest to sociologists because of the worldwide phenomenon of rapid urbanization during the twentieth century. Migration in this century is generally regarded as the result of rapid population growth on the one hand and rapid industrialization and urbanization on the other. South Korea is one of the most spectacular examples of a nation undergoing rapid transition from rural to urban predominance. Of 33 countries surveyed by the United Nations (1974), South Korea exhibited the highest urban-rural growth rate differential (5.71 percentage points) over the period 1950–70. The population of Korean cities has also increased dramatically. For example, Seoul's population rose from approximately 1 million in 1940 to 3 million in 1962, and to more than 7 million in 1977. Annual growth rates for Korean cities

1 The Seoul survey was conducted by Man-Gap Lee (Shin, 1970). Taegu data were collected as a part of the ILCORK Taegu Research Seminar (Barringer, 1971). The Chonju survey was conducted with funds from an ILCORK collaborative grant (Park, 1975).

vary considerably, but the population of Seoul grew at an average of 6.8 percent a year from 1940 to 1970, with the growth rate increasing annually from 1955 to 1970. Taegu's growth rate of approximately 8 percent per annum during 1955–70 is even more spectacular. Chonju exhibited an average annual growth rate of approximately 3 percent over the same period, but then jumped to 10 percent between 1970 and 1971.²

The contribution of migratory movement to this growth is seen most clearly when we recognize that some 60 to 80 percent of the adult residents of major Korean cities are either rural in origin or migrants from other, smaller cities (Choe and Park, 1969). The influx of migrants to cities, now common in developing nations, creates serious problems for cities, including economic absorption, housing, health, socialization, and political integration. While it is generally understood that migrants must adjust their values and norms to urban life, it is also true that rapidly growing cities must adjust to larger numbers of migrants. Such adjustments are both political and economic in nature, requiring policies for housing, welfare, education, and, perhaps most significant, for the maintenance of strong economic growth. Discussions of these problems in the Korean context can be found in Nelson (1972), Ro (1971), and Lee and Barringer (1971). Ultimately, urban centers and migrants must adapt to one another to provide for migrant adjustment to urban life. There are, of course, many ways to measure "adjustment," but we shall concentrate here on social mobility, or the extent to which migrants to urban areas are successful in attaining regular advancement in the urban stratification system.

MIGRATION AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

Social mobility is possibly the best sociological indicator of success or satisfaction in contemporary industrial societies. As individuals are absorbed into the normative system accompanying industrialization, they tend to measure their relative success (or deprivation) by the extent of their upward movement within the status system. Upward movement can be measured by income, occupational prestige, self-report (subjective social class), or comparative life-style. This report includes measurements of all these elements.

The most extensive studies of social mobility have been conducted in Western, so-called "developed," societies. Comparative reports, however, have confirmed similar stratification principles in all indus-

2 These rates dropped considerably in the period 1970–75: Seoul, to 4.5 percent; Taegu, to 3.9 percent; Chonju, to 3.5 percent.

trializing societies, with the possible exception of those of communist orientation. South Korea conforms to these stratification principles, although certain qualifications must be made. The present urban stratification system in Korea can be viewed as the result of contributions from three historical sources: the "traditional" system from the late Yi Dynasty; the colonial-bureaucratic system from Japanese, and later American, political domination; and the newly-emerged industrial system. "Traditional" elements appear to influence personal and family prestige, and such matters as marriage and family ritual. "Bureaucratic" elements appear in a lingering prestige associated with bureaucratic employment and its related educational prerequisites. There can be little doubt, however, that the "industrial" system, emphasizing modern entrepreneurial, managerial, technical, and manual skills, now dominates the South Korean stratification system. This last emphasis, as we shall see, is particularly important for migrants, most of whom must depend on industrial growth and expansion for jobs and consequent mobility. The lingering effects of the traditional and colonial-bureaucratic systems will become apparent when we examine in detail occupational mobility in Chonju.

Worldwide studies of rural-urban migration generally have indicated that migrants from rural areas achieve greater social mobility than those left behind, largely because income and occupational prestige are considerably higher in urban than in rural areas for most occupations (Lipset and Bendix, 1959; Lipset, 1955; Goldstein, 1955; Thomlinson, 1965). Furthermore, this differential may be expected to be higher in the early stages of industrial development, before the material benefits of industrialization have diffused to rural areas. Population pressures in agrarian areas also contribute to economic disparity because the farm economy cannot keep pace with increased rural population, creating the so-called "push" factor in migration (Davis and Golden, 1957). Increased income, prestige, and other positive values in urban life create "pull" factors. Again, South Korea fits this pattern, approximating the situation in most developing societies. Income is generally higher in urban than in rural areas and, even for unskilled labor, job opportunities are far better in cities than in the countryside (Barringer, 1972). Controversies concerning the relative importance of "push" and "pull" factors abound in the migration literature. Lee (1970) has suggested that "pull" factors may predominate in migration to Seoul, but that "push" factors are more important for migrants to Taegu and, presumably, other provincial cities. In any event, migration to cities is motivated by a desire for a "better life" or

“better economic condition” (Shin, 1970; Barringer, 1971). These motivations for migration can be translated, in turn, into a desire for upward mobility in the national stratification system. This national system can be expected to be more uniform and coherent in South Korea than in many other societies because of relative cultural homogeneity, centralized communication networks, and the predominance of Seoul as a primate city (Yazaki and Barringer, 1972).

International studies of rural-urban migration also indicate that most rural migrants to urban places in industrial societies tend to occupy lower-level occupational strata when compared with urban natives or urban-urban migrants (Lipset and Bendix, 1959:204–5). That is, rural migrants may be upwardly mobile compared with rural residents, but their mobility is generally believed to be much less than that of urban natives (Bock and Lutaka, 1969; Zimmer, 1956; Lipset and Bendix, 1959:215; Siegel, 1957; Moots, 1976). In fact, most U.S. studies of migrants show that social mobility comes only after one or two generations of urban life (intergenerational mobility). (See, for example, Lipset and Bendix, 1959; Lenski, 1966; Kahl, 1964; Duncan, Featherman, and Duncan, 1972.) It should be remembered in this context, however, that many migrants in the United States were foreign immigrants who suffered ethnic or cultural discrimination, which slowed their upward mobility. The same point can be made concerning rural black and, more recently, Puerto Rican and Chicano migrants to major American cities. Rural-urban migration in South Korea apparently exhibits none of these problems. Although it has been suggested that regional (provincial) prejudice and discrimination exist there, our studies indicate that such discrimination does not significantly affect the mobility of migrants. There is no correlation between province of origin and social class of migrants in our data from Seoul, Taegu, or Chonju. Nevertheless, it should be reiterated that migrants in Western industrialized societies have generally been at a disadvantage compared with urban natives.

By way of contrast, recent studies of migration in Africa and South America have suggested that *intragenerational* mobility among migrants is quite common in developing areas. Most studies have concluded, in fact, that rural migrants have little or no disadvantage when compared with urban residents (Nelson, 1969; Germani, 1958; Duncoff, 1970; Bock and Lutaka, 1969; Abu-Lughod, 1961). Consequently, in the case of Korea, we were primarily concerned with learning the extent to which rural migrants succeeded in competing with urban natives or urban migrants in the inter- and intragenerational

mobility processes. Even to the casual observer, Seoul and other large Korean cities display squatter settlements comparable to those in the Philippines, South America, and Africa. These settlements, and other rather striking evidence of migrant disadvantage such as prostitutes, service workers, and the (once) ubiquitous housemaids, have led many observers to conclude that Korean migrants are seriously disadvantaged (Brandt, 1970). We believe that the research to be summarized in this paper qualifies the somewhat dismal picture gained from casual observation.

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Seoul, Taegu, and Chonju were selected for these studies for a number of reasons. Seoul, the capital city, is one of the best examples of a primate city to be found anywhere, and is by far the largest and most important urban-industrial complex in South Korea. At the time of the survey (1968) its population was 4.5 million, approximately 14 percent of the total population. Taegu, a regional economic and administrative center with a population of 1 million at the time of its survey (1969), was chosen for comparison with Seoul because it is less important to Korean society as a whole and comparatively underdeveloped economically (Lee and Barringer, 1971: chs. 6, 7). Chonju was selected as a much smaller regional center (population 270 thousand in 1971) having a more clearly traditional and agrarian background. At the time of the survey, Chonju had just begun industrial development with the opening of a new industrial sector, planned by the central government; it is likely that the impact of this new industrialization had not yet been felt. Taken together, the three cities give a reasonable, if incomplete, sample of urbanization in various regions of South Korea (see Figure 1). They vary widely with respect to population size, industrialization, and sociocultural orientation, including variations in "urbanism as a way of life" (Wirth, 1938).

The surveys presented here were conducted over a four-year time span. This period, 1968–71, was one of consistently high economic growth and high rates of rural-urban migration. Processes observed in Chonju in 1971 differ in some respects from those observed in Seoul in 1968. While we generally attribute these differences to the differences in urban development of the cities themselves, we cannot rule out unknown social change factors as contributors to variance because of the time span involved. There appears to be no reason, however, to suspect any major temporal variation, especially regarding migration or social mobility patterns.

FIGURE 1 Location of study areas



Each of these surveys was conducted with somewhat different goals in mind, and consequently much of the original data collected is not comparable. The survey of Chonju not only benefited from the experience gained in the two previous surveys, but also was better planned and staffed. The latter portion of this report will depend heavily on the Chonju survey, with similar data unfortunately not available for Seoul or Taegu.

These surveys are all cluster samples, using probability sampling techniques to sample successively *dongs* (towns), *bans* (neighborhoods), and households. (For details, see Shin, 1970:9–10; Barringer, 1971: 292–93.) Data were obtained from interviews of household heads (or wives of household heads) by trained college-student interviewers, using precoded schedules. Interviews for the Chonju survey were the best controlled and most complete. The Taegu study suffered by comparison because of a short time schedule, lack of funds, and other problems common to survey procedures. Sample size varied from 505 in Seoul to 289 in Taegu and 677 in Chonju. Given the respective populations and urban complexities, the Chonju survey is by far the most reliable.

Probability cluster sampling may bias results for Seoul and Taegu by underrepresenting migrants residing in shantytowns or migrant slums. If Brandt's estimate of a slum population of 600,000 to 800,000 in Seoul in 1968 is correct (Brandt, 1970), it is very probable that our samples are biased toward migrants residing in other areas. On the other hand, because some 65 percent of Seoul's population is rural in origin, a minority of the migrant population lives in slums, albeit an important minority. The situation in Taegu is similar, and we know that our samples excluded a large and important migrant slum. Chonju was without clearly identifiable migrant slums at the time of our survey. A very small survey of one Taegu migrant slum in 1969 (Barringer, 1971:303–4) and interviews with laborers from a "renewed" Seoul slum area in 1971 (Barringer, 1972:25–27) indicate that most migrants leave slums after a few years' residence in any case, which suggests that the primary bias introduced by cluster sampling would be underrepresentation of new arrivals to the city.

Individual citizen registration was not complete in any of the cities studied at the times of these surveys. Consequently, we were forced to sample "household heads" rather than all individuals, a common practice in Korea. This limitation introduces another bias because household heads are more stable and older than the average migrant. Many Korean migrants (approximately 25 to 30 percent) move as individuals,

usually before becoming heads of household. Our samples eliminate newly-arrived, individual migrants—or any other persons who have failed to establish a household. More significantly, female migrants were all but excluded by the sampling technique. Comparisons of our samples (by age of arrival in the city) with census data indicate an error of 10 to 20 percent in all three cities, with the most extreme age bias in Seoul.

A third bias resulted from our sampling methods. All subjects were taken from the cities themselves, eliminating any rural-urban migrants who had returned to their places of origin or moved to other destinations. This is important in the present context because we can assume that many such returnees failed to adjust to urban life, and for some this failure included inability to achieve upward social mobility. The amount of error introduced here is unknown but, in both the small surveys of slums mentioned above, it was learned that 14 to 20 percent of migrants in a given year returned home.

In summary, the sampling techniques probably biased our results toward older male rural-urban migrants who were relatively stable and adjusted to urban settings. In interpreting the following results, one should view the surveys as macro-studies that probably understate problems some migrants (perhaps 10 to 20 percent) have experienced. We believe, however, that these surveys give a reasonable picture of the experience of most migrants and, with the aforementioned qualifications, represent the general picture of social mobility patterns in contemporary urban South Korea.

MIGRATION PATTERNS

Our samples conform with census data that indicate 60 to 80 percent of all Korean urban household heads are migrants. Table 1 shows per-

TABLE 1 Number and percentage of respondents in samples, by origin

Origin	Seoul		Taegu		Chonju	
	Num-ber	Per-centage	Num-ber	Per-centage	Num-ber	Per-centage
Native	182	36.0	71	24.6	189	27.9
Migrant	323	64.0	218	75.4	488	72.1
All respondents	505	100.0	289	100.0	677	100.0

centages of natives and migrants in our samples. The relatively higher percentages of migrants in our Taegu and Chonju samples probably reflect recency of migratory movements. That is, migration to Seoul has been occurring over a longer period of time, so that many subjects were children of migrants.

Table 2 shows duration of residence of the migrants surveyed in the three cities. In all three cases, most migrants had moved into the cities within 20 years of the survey dates. It should be reiterated that our sampling methods have probably biased the duration of residence upwards. Census data show lower figures for length of residence in all three cities, with the discrepancy most noticeable in Chonju (Republic of Korea, 1970).

TABLE 2 Duration of residence of migrants in cities
(Percentage distribution)

Duration	Seoul (N=321)	Taegu (N=209)	Chonju (N=487)
10 years or under	39.2	34.0	27.9
11-20 years	27.3	35.4	42.8
21-30 years	23.0	17.7	15.8
31-40 years	6.4	7.2	9.1
41 or more years	4.1	5.7	4.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Seoul differs from both Taegu and Chonju in one important aspect: Seoul's migrant population is drawn from the whole country, including North Korea, whereas Taegu and Chonju draw most of their migrants from surrounding areas (Table 3). This is not at all unusual, given the primacy of Seoul for the country as a whole. Although our samples are too small to draw firm conclusions on this point, it should be noted that the province of origin of migrants showed no significant correlation with social mobility variables in these surveys. We have no evidence of regional discrimination, at least as reflected in stratification variables.

The largest proportion of migrants originated in rural areas, including farm villages and small market towns, as shown in Table 4. This is especially true for Chonju. That all three cities drew a relatively small proportion of migrants from medium-sized towns (*eups*) is a reflection of the approximate proportion of *eup* population within the Korean

TABLE 3 Origin of migrants by region
(Percentage distribution)

Origin	Seoul	Taegu	Chonju
Seoul	na	0.9	0.0
Kyonggi Province	16.7	1.3	2.3
Kangwon Province	5.9	0.0	3.1
North and South Chungchong Provinces	17.0	3.1	32.4
North and South Cholla Provinces	11.5 ^a	0.4	62.2
North and South Kyongsang Provinces	23.5	86.0	0.0
Cheju Province	0.6	0.0	0.0
North Korea	23.5	6.1	0.0
Other or no information	1.3	2.2	0.0
All origins	100.0	100.0	100.0

na—not applicable.

a Population statistics show that approximately 16 percent of Seoul's population originated in Cholla Province, with correspondingly smaller percentages from North Korea and from North and South Kyongsang Provinces.

total. Both Seoul and Taegu drew about one-fourth of their migrants from other cities in the Korean peninsula. The relative lack of urban or industrial occupations in Chonju probably accounts for this difference. Somewhat surprisingly, correlation analysis shows no relationship between size of origin and placement in the stratification system.

Our survey results show another difference between Chonju and the two larger cities: only 25 percent of Chonju's migrants moved alone, and the remainder moved with either part or all of their families. In both Seoul and Taegu, some 40 to 50 percent of the migrants moved alone. Part of this difference is attributable to educational opportu-

TABLE 4 Size of origin of migrants
(Percentage distribution)

Origin	Seoul	Taegu	Chonju
Rural area	62.6	65.2	85.0
Town (<i>eup</i>)	12.0	8.7	7.5
City	25.4	26.1	7.5
All origins	100.0	100.0	100.0

nities in these two cities; a somewhat larger proportion of the Taegu and Seoul migrants gave "education" as a reason for migrating.

Much of the sociological literature on migration indicates that sequential or "step" migration patterns are typical of developing societies (Breese, 1966:83; Hutchinson, 1963; Herrick, 1970). That is, migration tends to take place in a sequence from country to village, from village to town, from town to small city, and finally from smaller to larger city. In contrast to this pattern, evidence from our surveys shows that most Korean migrants move directly from place of origin to the city of destination. As shown in Table 5, the largest proportion of step migration appears to lead to Seoul, indicating that Seoul is somewhat more of an "ultimate" destination than either Taegu or Chonju. This again reflects the primacy of Seoul in Korean society.

TABLE 5 Step and direct migrants in samples
(Percentage distribution)

Type of migrants	Seoul	Taegu	Chonju
Step migrants	38.1	9.6	16.3
Direct migrants	61.9	90.4	83.7
All migrants	100.0	100.0	100.0

Our samples tend to validate studies in other developing countries that show that most migrants are young at the time they move to the city, with a modal age of 15 to 19. In all three Korean samples, more than 60 percent of the subjects migrated before the age of 25. Economic and educational motives for migration predominated. Approximately 60 percent and 20 percent, respectively, of the Korean migrants attributed their moves to these motives. In general, motives for moving reflected some belief in opportunities for job or economic advancement in the cities, suggesting that social mobility itself can be seen as an adequate motive for migration.

ADJUSTMENTS OF MIGRANTS TO URBAN LIFE

As is the case in nearly all urban settings, the Korean migrants had relatively low occupational status when they entered the cities. Their status was initially low largely because most of the migrants came from farm families or were engaged in farming before entering the city. As in most developing societies, agricultural occupations are accorded

either low or irrelevant status in the Korean urban stratification system. Table 6 shows the occupational classifications of migrants' fathers, a good indication of respondents' status before migration. Other indicators of status before migration, including educational level, subjective status, and household type, all show that most migrants' rural status tended to be quite low compared with that of native urbanites. However, there was considerable status differentiation among rural migrants themselves, a subject we will return to later.

TABLE 6 Occupations of respondents' fathers
(Percentage distribution)

Occupational category	Seoul	Taegu	Chonju
Service	0.4	0.0	0.8
Unskilled labor	0.3	1.4	1.0
Agriculture, fishing	65.7	64.7	74.1
Transportation, communication, mining	1.0	0.0	0.2
Skilled labor and crafts	0.7	0.7	2.1
Office, clerical work	3.0	1.7	5.5
Sales, merchandise	10.6	10.1	11.2
Managerial	2.4	0.0	4.7
Professional, technical	3.6	0.7	0.4
Unemployed or unclassified	12.3	20.7	0.0
All categories	100.0	100.0	100.0

The surveys indicate that some 10 to 15 percent of all migrants entered cities for "transfer of place of employment," which we take to mean that some (presumably urban) occupation necessitated transfer of residence. Correlation analysis confirms that nearly all of these respondents were urban in origin. Their overall status did not differ markedly from that of other respondents in the surveys.

Migrants to Chonju were asked to evaluate their social status before migration within their community of origin. They were then asked to evaluate their status in Chonju at the time of obtaining their first employment, using the city as a reference. The results are shown in Table 7. After migration, respondents' overall subjective status actually dropped somewhat, which suggests that rural status is irrelevant in the urban setting.

Exhaustive analysis of several measures of social status in all three

TABLE 7 Subjective status of Chonju migrants before and after migration
(Percentage distribution)

Subjective status	Before migration (ref: home community)	After migration (ref: Chonju)
Lower-lower class	11.5	21.0
Upper-lower class	15.2	27.8
Lower-middle class	23.0	27.8
Upper-middle class	38.1	20.0
Lower-upper class	4.7	2.5
Upper-upper class	7.5	0.9
All statuses	100.0	100.0

samples showed no distinction between migrants and native urbanites. Neither was there any significant difference in occupational situs. All three samples were completely homogeneous in these respects. Consequently, we do not show breakdowns of migrants and natives in the following tables. The data that follow show father's occupation (pre-migratory status for migrants only), first occupation in the city, and present occupation. The data are shown separately for Seoul (Table 8), Taegu (Table 9), and Chonju (Table 10).

TABLE 8 Occupational mobility in Seoul
(Percentage distribution)

Occupational category	Father's occupation	First occupation	Present occupation
Service	0.4	1.6	10.3
Unskilled labor	0.3	11.1	1.0
Agriculture, fishing	65.7	2.4	1.4
Transportation, communication, mining	1.0	9.7	12.9
Skilled labor and crafts	0.7	7.3	4.9
Office, clerical work	3.0	11.3	12.7
Sales, merchandise	10.6	18.0	21.0
Managerial	2.4	12.1	15.7
Professional, technical	3.6	10.1	16.1
Unemployed or unclassified	12.3	16.4	4.0
All categories	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 9 Occupational mobility in Taegu
(Percentage distribution)

Occupational category	Father's occupation	First occupation	Present occupation
Services and unskilled labor	1.4	10.8	13.8
Agriculture, fishing	64.7	31.9	5.5
Skilled labor	0.7	9.8	12.8
Clerical work, sales, commerce	11.8	22.5	35.3
Managerial, professional	0.7	2.0	17.3
Unemployed	20.7	23.0	15.3
All categories	100.0	100.0	100.0

If we assume farmers to be lower class within the urban class structure, it can be seen that, for migrants, overall social class mobility was achieved by migration to the city, and then again by mobility processes within the urban environment. Mobility after arriving in cities

TABLE 10 Occupational mobility in Chonju
(Percentage distribution)

Occupational category ^a	Father's occupation	First occupation	Present occupation
Casual labor	0.0	9.6	7.7
Agriculture	74.4	6.1	6.6
Unskilled labor	2.3	10.3	6.5
Peddler	0.4	4.7	4.1
Skilled service	0.8	8.7	7.2
Single shop owner	11.2	11.2	11.7
Skilled industrial worker	1.4	7.7	6.9
Clerical	1.8	9.9	4.1
Small business owner	1.8	5.3	7.7
White collar worker	4.1	16.5	12.4
Large business owner	1.8	1.9	3.1
Managerial, professional	0.8	3.4	8.3
Unemployed	0.0	4.6	13.6
All categories	100.0	100.0	100.0

a The occupational coding for Chonju was more expanded than for Taegu or Seoul. We believe it to be superior in classification and more representative of urban Korea.

was quite high for both Seoul and Taegu; much less in the case of Chonju. The relative lack of internal mobility in Chonju can be attributed to a high rate of unemployment, at least in comparison with Seoul. Again, there is no difference between migrants and natives in this respect. Although migrants' first occupational status was lower than occupational status at the time of interviews, it was not different from the first occupation of urban natives overall.

The overall status distribution of migrants can be pictured diagrammatically by collapsing the data from the preceding tables into "upper," "middle," and "lower" classes (Figures 2, 3, and 4). (The method for collapsing these data is explained in a later section of this paper.) The data do not show individual mobility, but they do give a clear picture of overall mobility within the urban setting and indicate that, with the possible exception of Chonju, it is quite high. Status distributions for "present occupation" approximate distributions for industrialized societies (Bogue, 1969), suggesting processes similar to those of other developing societies.

To elaborate on the status distribution of respondents, data on subjective status, income, personal possessions, and education are shown for all three cities in Tables 11–14. Absolute comparisons between

FIGURE 2 Social mobility: Seoul

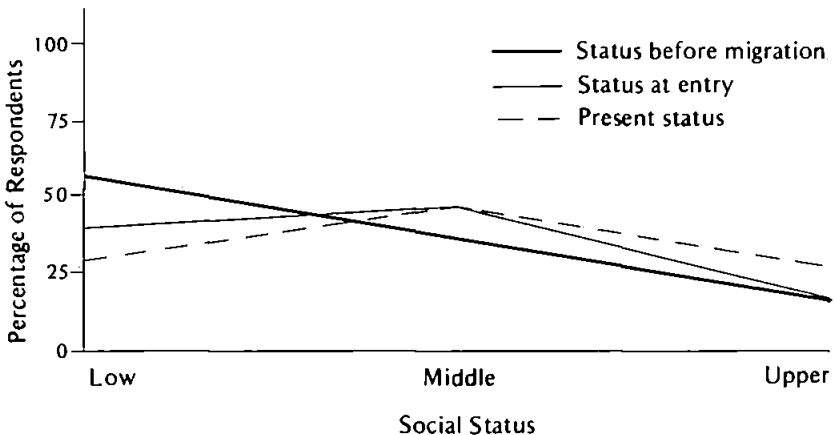


FIGURE 3 Social mobility: Taegu

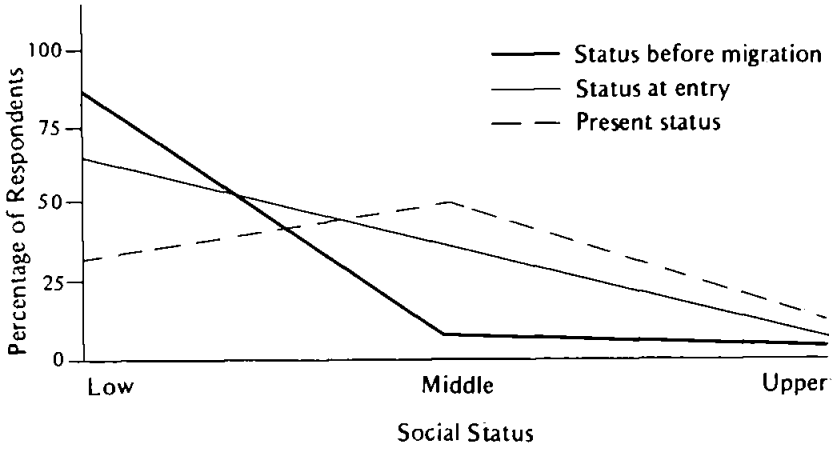
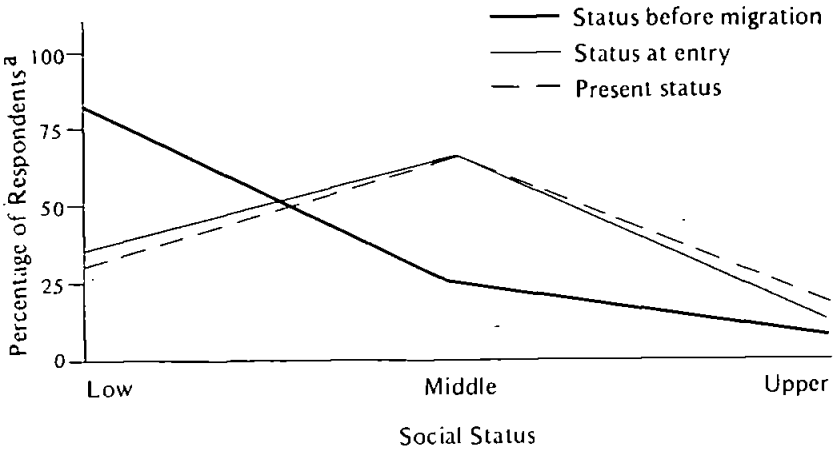


FIGURE 4 Social mobility: Chonju



^a Figures exclude unemployed.

TABLE 11 Subjective status of samples
(Percentage distribution)

Subjective status	Seoul	Taegu	Chonju
Lower-lower class	6.5	22.2	21.0
Upper-lower class	23.6	29.1	27.8
Lower-middle class	37.7	27.6	27.8
Upper-middle class	28.3	17.6	20.0
Lower-upper class	3.2	1.9	2.5
Upper-upper class	0.7	1.6	0.9
All statuses	100.0	100.0	100.0

cities should be made with caution because of the time lag—high inflation rates especially preclude any direct comparison of income across samples—but the data do show status distributions that are similar for each city.

We asked respondents in all three cities to rate the improvement in their living conditions after their migration to the city (Table 15). More than 50 percent of the migrants in all cities considered their liv-

TABLE 12 Monthly income of respondents
(Percentage distribution)

Income (<i>won</i> ^a)	Seoul (1968)	Taegu (1969)	Chonju (1971)
0–9,999	3.9	9.5	10.1
10,000–19,999	17.6	22.6	21.8
20,000–29,999	23.9	34.3	22.4
30,000–39,999	28.5	17.3	15.5
40,000–49,999	19.8	7.8	10.9
50,000–69,000	} 6.3	} 8.5	11.5
70,000+			7.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

a US\$1.00 ≅ 480 *won*.

TABLE 13 Consumer durables owned by respondents: Taegu and Chonju

Consumer durable	Percentage owning	
	Taegu	Chonju
Air conditioner	1.0	0.3
Car	2.4	0.4
Refrigerator	11.1	6.5
Television	14.9	15.1
Telephone	24.6	16.0
Camera	26.3	20.2
Silver spoon set	43.6	51.0
Electric fan	55.7	47.2
Gas cooking stove	65.7	60.0
Sewing machine	66.8	65.6
Radio	81.0	87.6

NOTE: Data from Seoul are not shown because a somewhat different scale was used in that survey.

ing conditions improved, approximately 30 percent saw conditions "about the same," and only 15 to 20 percent felt that their living conditions had deteriorated after migration.

We also asked Taegu and Chonju residents to compare their living standards with standards in Seoul. Approximately 26 percent of Taegu respondents and 41 percent of Chonju respondents felt themselves dis-

TABLE 14 Education of respondents
(Percentage distribution)

Highest level of education attained	Seoul	Taegu	Chonju
Illiterate	1.8	9.1	10.6
Read Korean and Chinese characters	12.6	13.9	22.7
Primary school	15.7	17.4	17.3
Middle and high school	37.5	43.2	25.6
Some college or more	32.4	16.4	23.8
All levels	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 15 Changes in living conditions after migration
(Percentage distribution)

Change	Seoul	Taegu	Chonju
Much worse	5.8	6.6	4.6
Somewhat worse	9.7	11.2	9.4
About the same	33.5	21.6	32.0
Somewhat better	41.6	47.4	44.6
Much better	9.4	13.2	9.4
All changes	100.0	100.0	100.0

advantaged compared with residents of Seoul (Table 16). This finding, which indicates somewhat more satisfaction with life in Taegu than in Chonju, is to be expected, given the relatively fewer opportunities for occupational advancement in Chonju. It should also be pointed out that only 2 percent of the Taegu respondents indicated plans to leave Taegu, whereas 21 percent of the Chonju sample indicated that they would like to leave Chonju; nearly all who planned to leave either city viewed Seoul as a probable destination.

TABLE 16 Taegu and Chonju respondents' comparisons of living standards with those in Seoul
(Percentage distribution)

Opinion of own living standards	Taegu	Chonju
Much worse than Seoul	3.1	19.1
Somewhat worse than Seoul	23.2	22.6
Similar to Seoul	19.7	12.7
Somewhat better than Seoul	31.8	22.2
Much better than Seoul	3.5	15.4
No opinion, don't know	18.7	8.0
All opinions	100.0	100.0

CORRELATES OF MOBILITY

As we have noted, occupational status and other status measurements are remarkably homogeneous for natives and migrants in these samples. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that migration variables—such as type of migration and location or size of place of origin—failed to correlate with status variables within the urban context. Previous analyses of the Seoul (Shin, 1970) and Taegu (Barringer, 1971) data led to similar conclusions: background characteristics of migrants before they entered the city had no effect on their success or failure within the urban stratification system. The analyses of the data did, however, produce some weak correlations between stratification variables and the experiences of migrants upon first entering the city, including length of time in finding the first job, relative status of the first job, and type of contacts within the city. These experiences can be seen as “bridging variables” between migration (in the case of migrants) or youth (in the case of natives) and subsequent occupational status. However, occupational status itself appears to be most closely tied to education and other status-related variables. Unlike intergenerational influences in Western societies, the occupations of the Korean respondents’ parents appeared to have only a slight effect upon the respondents’ statuses, a situation that we found puzzling, and to which we will again turn our attention.

Because previous analyses failed to show correlations between background characteristics of migrants and their subsequent urban social status, and because of the large numbers of variables included in the previous studies, we selected only 17 variables for intensive correlation analysis for the purposes of this paper (Exhibit 1). Items were inter-correlated using Spearman’s r_s , a statistic similar to Pearson’s r but suitable for ordinal data. The correlation matrices are given in Tables 17, 18, and 19.

As indicated previously and shown in the correlation matrices, migrant-native status appears to have no relationship with any of the measures of present status. In all cases, of course, migrant-native status is positively related to duration of residence in the city. Duration of residence in the city is, as expected, weakly correlated with social status in Seoul and Taegu. This is not the case in Chonju, probably because Chonju’s migrants were comparatively recent in arrival. Migrant status is highly and positively (+.77) related to family size in Chonju, but negatively related (-.42) in Seoul. This apparent anomaly is probably due to overall lower birth rates in the Seoul middle class, as well as to the relative recency of rural migrants to Chonju. No relationship

EXHIBIT 1 Variables for Seoul, Taegu, and Chonju studies

- 1 Native-migrant (by place of birth)
 - 2 Duration of residence in city (years)
 - 3 Size of respondent's family (household)
 - 4 Father's occupational status
 - 5 Status of first occupation of migrant
 - 6 Subjective social status
 - 7 Status of present occupation of migrant
 - 8 Level of education attained
 - 9 Monthly income
 - 10 Birthplace (rural, *eup*, city)
 - 11 Present age of respondent
 - 12 Age at arrival in city (migrant)
 - 13 Sense of living improvement over past
 - 14 Number of moves before migration to city
 - 15 Status of respondent before migration to city
 - 16 Connections on arrival to city
 - 17 Social mobility (from variables 4, 7, 15)
-

between migrant status and family size appears in the Taegu data. There is a relatively weak relationship between migrant status and some social status variables in Seoul, but this does not appear in the Taegu or Chonju data. In any case, Seoul would appear to be a good location for migrants if this represents a real population correlation, for migrants' status is better than that of native Seoulites.

Father's occupational status shows only slight correlation with respondent's subjective social status, except in the Taegu sample (+.34). We have no clear idea why this relationship should occur only in the Taegu data. In any case, previous analysis of the Taegu data suggested that father's status was a poor predictor of mobility (Barringer, 1971: 326). Other status variables (subjective status, occupation, education, and income) are generally intercorrelated in all three samples, but the raw correlations are not very high, ranging from +.35 to +.60. The most consistently strong correlation is between subjective status and income, as might be expected in an urban industrial setting. Education is generally correlated positively with all of the direct status measurements.

The intercorrelated items were further analyzed simultaneously, using Guttman-Lingoes's smallest space analysis (SSA), a clustering

TABLE 17 Intercorrelations (Spearman's r_s) between variables: Seoul

	Native-migrant	Duration of residence	Family size	Father's status	First occupation	Subjective status	Present occupation
Native-migrant	-----						
Duration of residence	.34	-----					
Family size	-.42	.19	-----				
Father's status	.36	.39	.11	-----			
First occupation	.45	.32	.06	.46	-----		
Subjective status	-.14	.10	.26	.07	.06	-----	
Present occupation	.35	-.05	-.34	-.06	.13	.08	-----
Education	.16	.06	-.20	-.03	.00	.33	.48
Income	-.05	.01	.25	.03	.01	.57	.33
Birthplace	.89	-.04	-.14	.61	-.05	.22	.09
Present age	-.03	.54	.39	.09	.35	.12	.16
Age at arrival	.18	-.37	.05	.03	.61	-.04	.03
Sense of improvement	-.05	.41	.26	.15	-.25	.66	.53
Previous moves	.37	.20	.05	-.11	.24	-.07	.03
Status before migration	.00	.11	.14	.23	.20	.08	.23
Connections	-.76	.29	.02	.26	-.39	.06	-.13
Social mobility	.00	.48	.04	.11	-.15	.53	.61

Education	Income	Birthplace	Present age	Age at arrival	Sense of improvement	Previous moves	Status before migration	Connections	Social mobility
.....									
.37	.....							
.23	.10	.....						
-.18	.12	.00	.....					
.03	-.10	-.04	.42	.....				
.41	.57	.29	-.09	-.44	.....			
-.02	.06	-.10	-.30	.03	-.10	.....		
-.07	.03	-.03	.37	-.15	.25	.24	.....	
.04	.00	.08	-.07	.01	.03	-.03	.03	.....
.58	.71	.00	.17	-.28	.82	-.03	.11	.21	.....

TABLE 18 Intercorrelations (Spearman's r_s) between variables: Taegu

	Native-migrant	Duration of residence	Family size	Father's status	First occupation	Subjective status	Present occupation
Native-migrant	----						
Duration of residence	.74	----					
Family size	.17	.35	----				
Father's status	.17	.05	.10	----			
First occupation	-.13	-.18	-.10	-.03	----		
Subjective status	-.11	.25	.19	.34	.01	----	
Present occupation	.06	.13	.16	.28	.08	.45	----
Education	.10	-.15	.08	.34	.04	.40	.43
Income	.12	.29	.40	.37	-.10	.56	.35
Birthplace	.84	-.21	-.04	.08	.08	.00	.07
Present age	-.10	.44	.30	.09	-.08	.13	.14
Age at arrival	.23	-.43	-.10	-.05	.46	-.17	-.01
Sense of improvement	.00	.28	.32	.17	-.20	.46	.37
Previous moves	.28	-.04	.13	-.40	.18	-.12	-.14
Status before migration	.03	.09	.02	.73	.12	.33	.24
Connections	-.83	-.24	.01	-.10	.20	.21	.17
Social mobility	-.15	.64	.09	.09	-.30	.61	.53

Education	Income	Birthplace	Present age	Age at arrival	Sense of improvement	Previous moves	Status before migration	Connections	Social mobility

.44	----								
-.19	.03	----							
-.35	.13	-.10	----						
-.16	-.15	.23	.34	----					
.28	.54	.00	.00	-.32	----				
-.06	-.08	.28	-.04	.14	.00	----			
.44	.31	.08	.09	-.05	.17	-.40	----		
.31	.13	-.47	-.11	-.02	.12	.33	-.10	----	
.46	.68	.03	.24	-.41	.73	.00	.09	.15	----

TABLE 19 Intercorrelations (Spearman's r_s) between variables: Chonju

	Native-migrant	Duration of residence	Family size	Father's status	First occupation	Subjective status	Present occupation
Native-migrant	-----						
Duration of residence	.82	-----					
Family size	.77	.63	-----				
Father's status	-.17	.13	-.18	-----			
First occupation	-.06	-.06	-.05	.08	-----		
Subjective status	-.13	-.07	-.07	.15	.44	-----	
Present occupation	-.04	-.08	-.05	.06	.66	.34	-----
Education	-.03	-.09	-.05	.26	.46	.41	.43
Income	-.06	.01	-.02	.21	.38	.44	.37
Birthplace	.90	-.30	-.07	.00	.04	-.07	.10
Present age	.07	.38	.32	.00	.12	.17	.13
Age at arrival	.30	.34	-.05	.03	.36	.03	.07
Sense of improvement	.06	.37	.43	.14	-.18	.62	-.10
Previous moves	.18	.00	.15	-.33	.06	.03	-.07
Status before migration	.05	.12	.04	.63	.06	.40	.31
Connections	-.72	-.15	.08	.02	.15	.18	.10
Social mobility	-.02	.30	-.01	.12	.04	.51	.48

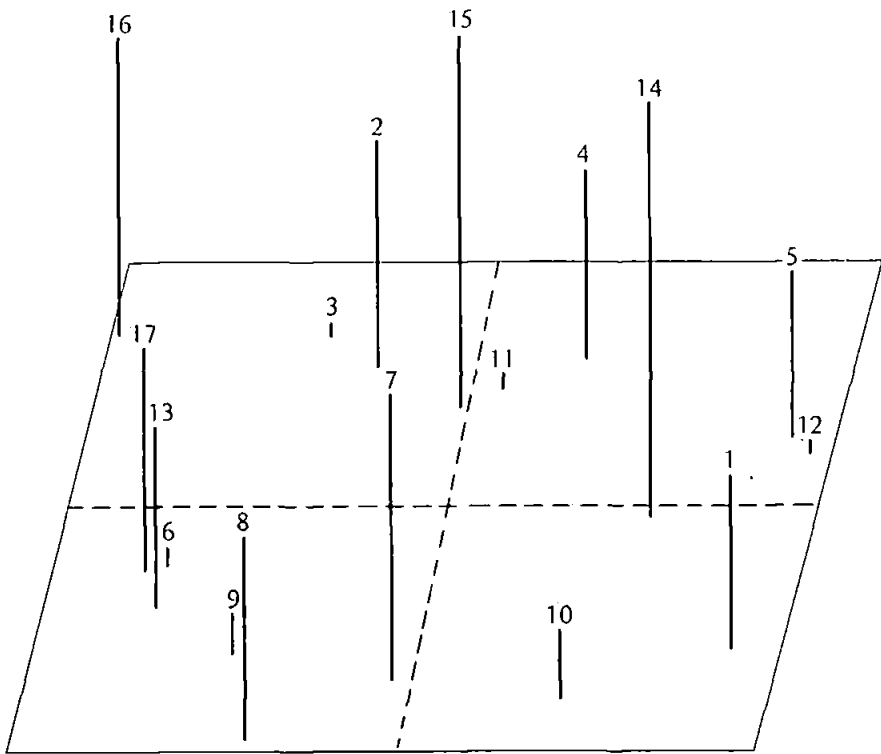
Education										
Income										
Birthplace										
Present age										
Age at arrival										
Sense of improvement										
Previous moves										
Status before migration										
Connections										
Social mobility										
	.44	.....							
	-.14	-.05	.....						
	-.50	.14	.05	.....					
	-.21	-.15	.08	.47	.....				
	.41	.61	.07	-.22	.00	.....			
	.02	.10	.19	.05	.17	.05	.....		
	.48	.40	.00	.03	.12	.10	-.20	.....	
	.43	.06	-.34	.14	.08	.07	.26	-.06	.....
	.35	.21	.04	.34	-.31	.60	.04	.13	.09	.....

technique similar to factor analysis, but more appropriate for nonmetric data (Guttman, 1969; Lingoes and Guttman, 1969). Programming was done on an IBM 360 computer, using a standard (SSA-1) program package. The original variables are shown in 1, 2, 3, . . . n dimensional space, depending on goodness of fit. The geometric distances between points in the smallest space diagram are proportional to, but not metrically related to, correlations of the items. Clusters of items in SSA diagrams, then, show relatively high intercorrelations, and are roughly analogous to "factors" in more conventional clustering techniques. The chief advantage of SSA is that interrelationships between items can be shown pictorially. All three analyses showed satisfactory goodness of fit in three dimensions. The representations are given in Figures 5, 6, and 7.

Smallest space analyses of the 17 variables for each city again confirm that migrant status does not correlate closely with social status of respondents. For all three cities, migration variables, including migrant-native status, age at arrival, and birthplace, tend to cluster together on the right-hand side of the diagrams. Social status variables (subjective status, present occupation, education, and income) tend to cluster on the left, together with social mobility and sense of living improvement. Father's status and status of respondent before migrating are somewhat peripheral to the social status clusters, but remain in the same region of space. Duration of city residence, age, and connections upon arrival in the city seem in general to fall between the migration and social status clusters, with some variation in the location of these variables for the three cities. It would be tempting to speculate on the reasons for this, but in all cases correlations are so weak it is probably best to assign the variations to error.

Clusters in the SSA diagrams are more distinct and more consistent for Chonju and Taegu than for Seoul. Present occupational status actually falls outside the status cluster in the case of Seoul. Intercorrelations are correspondingly weak, suggesting that the differential codings of occupations (see Tables 8, 9, and 10) are responsible for this variation. The general patterns for Seoul and Taegu are remarkably similar, except that father's status falls within the status cluster in Taegu and is far removed in the case of Seoul. In this respect, Taegu and Chonju are more similar. It should be recalled that migrants to Taegu and Chonju were from areas around those two cities, whereas migrants to Seoul came from the entire peninsula. We speculate that social networks, or continuity between rural and urban organization, may play a greater part in the two provincial cities than they do in Seoul.

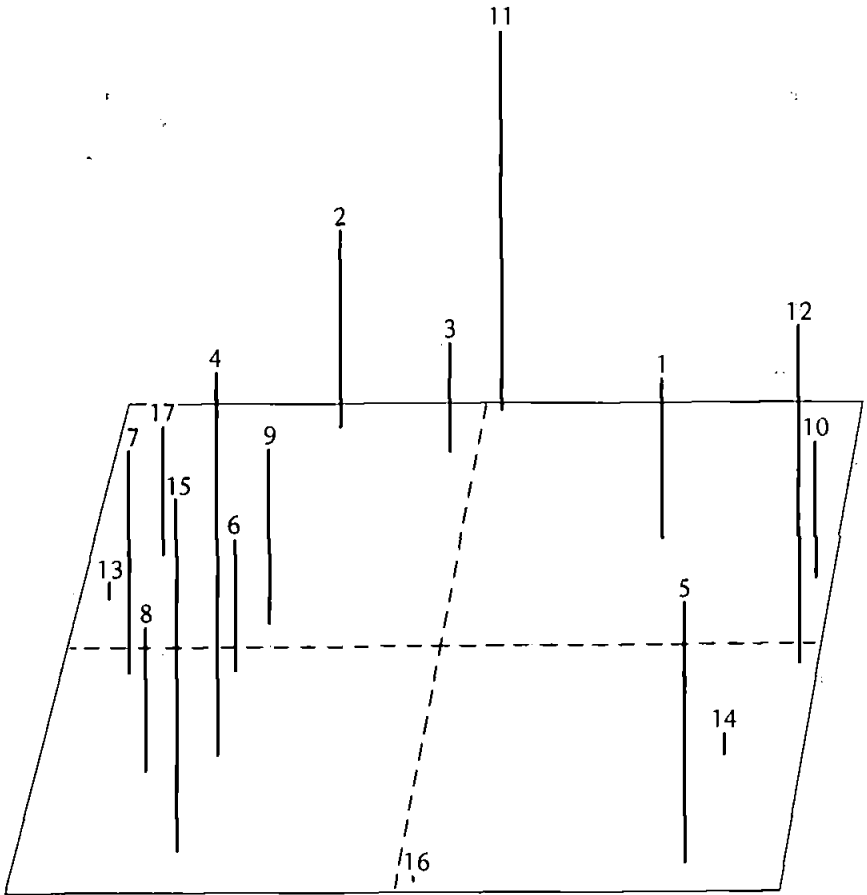
FIGURE 5 Smallest space analysis of the Seoul data



NOTE: Coefficient of alienation = 0.2009.

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 Native-migrant | 10 Birthplace |
| 2 Duration of residence | 11 Present age |
| 3 Family size | 12 Age at arrival |
| 4 Father's status | 13 Sense of improvement |
| 5 First occupation | 14 Previous moves |
| 6 Subjective status | 15 Status before migration |
| 7 Present occupation | 16 Connections |
| 8 Education | 17 Social mobility |
| 9 Income | |

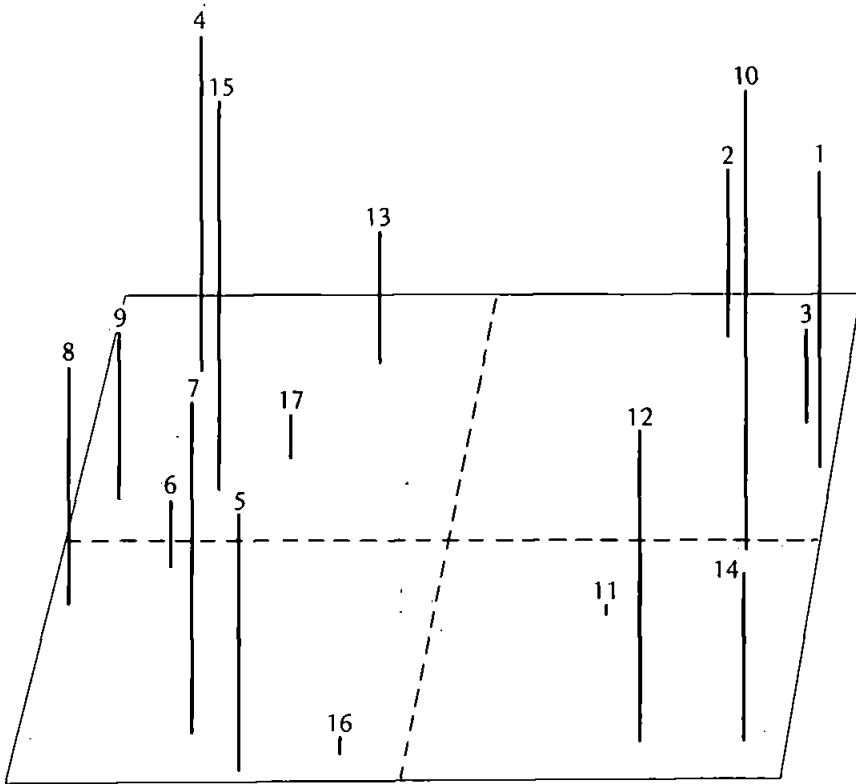
FIGURE 6 Smallest space analysis of the Taegu data



NOTE: Coefficient of alienation = 0.1558.

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 Native-migrant | 10 Birthplace |
| 2 Duration of residence | 11 Present age |
| 3 Family size | 12 Age at arrival |
| 4 Father's status | 13 Sense of improvement |
| 5 First occupation | 14 Previous moves |
| 6 Subjective status | 15 Status before migration |
| 7 Present occupation | 16 Connections |
| 8 Education | 17 Social mobility |
| 9 Income | |

FIGURE 7 Smallest space analysis of the Chonju data



NOTE: Coefficient of alienation = 0.1790.

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 Native-migrant | 10 Birthplace |
| 2 Duration of residence | 11 Present age |
| 3 Family size | 12 Age at arrival |
| 4 Father's status | 13 Sense of improvement |
| 5 First occupation | 14 Previous moves |
| 6 Subjective status | 15 Status before migration |
| 7 Present occupation | 16 Connections |
| 8 Education | 17 Social mobility |
| 9 Income | |

Chonju differs from Seoul and Taegu in that sense of living improvement is not closely tied to status as such, perhaps because social mobility is less pronounced in Chonju than in the two larger cities. The social mobility variable reflects downward to stable to upward mobility for each respondent (coded simply 1, 2, and 3). Correlations between social mobility and other status variables are of a lesser magnitude for Chonju than for Seoul or Taegu. We attribute this to the relative lack of industry in Chonju and to the relative recency of migration to that city.

SUMMARY OF COMPARATIVE FINDINGS

Smallest space analysis shows very similar patterns for all three cities: separate and unrelated clusters of social status and mobility variables on the one hand, and migration variables on the other. None of the premigratory data predict occupational status. Despite some minor variations, the data from all three cities confirm that migrants were at no serious disadvantage compared with native urbanites in their social mobility.

Somewhat to our surprise, status of parents appears to have had little or no effect on present status of either migrants or nonmigrants. This finding, it turns out, is mostly the result of a statistical artifact: by treating all rural occupations as lower class, we obscured class differentiations among rural residents. This error is especially serious in the case of an urbanizing country like South Korea, because 60 to 80 percent of all respondents' fathers were rural in background. Fortunately, data from Chonju permit us to reexamine this problem in detail, in a later section of this paper.

Educational levels of respondents, while not perfect indicators, appear to be the best predictors of social status. Education is a universal avenue for social mobility, and in the case of South Korea it was expected to be an especially important predictor. We employed rather crude indices of education in these surveys (level of school completed), but it is very likely that carefully constructed indices, including quality of school, would provide excellent prediction of social status. As we expected, education seems to be more closely tied to occupational status than to income. We attribute this finding to the fact that education in South Korea is still geared to a traditional bureaucratic status orientation. The lack of perfect correspondence between educational level and social status may be because the industrial status system appears to be more oriented to income than to education. Most entrepreneurs are not notably well educated. While entrepreneurial organi-

zations in Korea tend to be small (Barringer, 1972), even managers or section chiefs of large businesses tend not to be products of the formal educational system, although this situation is gradually changing.

From earlier analysis, we expected duration of residence in a city to be closely correlated to social mobility. Because initial status of migrants (first occupation) tends to be rather low, some five to 20 years are required before migrant cohorts begin to approximate the urban class structure. Cluster analyses of data presented here do not support this hypothesis, however—probably because of a complicated relationship with age of respondent, which is negatively related to education and, probably, curvilinearly related to income. Given these qualifications, it is true that migrants achieve higher status after residing for some time in the urban setting, and therefore duration of residence should be an important correlate of adjustment.

With respect to mobility, migrants appear to achieve intergenerational mobility in moving from rural to urban areas. This mobility is, in part, an artifact created by the classification of farmers as “lower class” in the urban setting. Subsequently, after some time in urban areas, migrants achieve intragenerational mobility. This latter process, however, is indistinguishable from mobility processes of urban natives. Again, several measures of social status indicate no difference between natives and migrants in intragenerational mobility.

In general, then, social mobility seems to be about equal for migrants and natives. Variables related to migration per se do not predict mobility of migrants. Furthermore, measurements discussed up to now show no clear relationship of parents’ status with migrants’ social status. We therefore conclude, as we have in previous analyses, that factors within the urban structure itself are more important for predicting success of migrants than factors from their rural backgrounds.

PREDICTORS OF SOCIAL STATUS IN CHONJU

We had been puzzled by the finding that parents’ social status had little or no relationship with respondents’ social status. We suspected that this was mostly the result of treating rural social status as a homogeneous factor. Rural social organization in South Korea is highly differentiated along status lines; therefore we included, in the Chonju survey, various measurements of rural status. A further distinction is necessary in establishing rural-urban background of many Chonju residents, because many urbanites’ fathers were rural in background and many migrants’ fathers had nonagricultural backgrounds. The distribution of the sample is shown in Table 20.

TABLE 20 Distribution of the Chonju sample by subject's place of birth and father's occupational situs

Subject's place of birth	Father's occupational situs		
	Rural	Urban	Rural and urban
Rural	362	85	447
Urban	112	110	222
Rural and urban	474	195	669

Following standard practice, we have collapsed urban occupations into four categories as follows: lower manual occupations (unskilled labor, service, etc.); upper manual occupations (skilled labor); lower nonmanual occupations (small business, clerical, etc.); higher nonmanual occupations (entrepreneurial, managerial, etc.). Farm occupations have been classified into the four categories of farm laborer, farm tenant, farm owner-operator, and landlord. For the Chonju sample, father's occupational class and situs are distributed as shown in Table 21. These distributions still show a relationship between urban-rural residence and social class, of course, but the distinctions within the rural segment are not masked, as they were in previous analyses. At least one U.S. study of migrant mobility has employed similar techniques in comparing rural and urban social class (Schwarzweiler and Brown, 1967). Some caution should be observed in making such a comparison, however, because rural and urban social classes rest on different organizational bases and are comparable in an ordinal sense only.

TABLE 21 Percentage distribution of the Chonju sample by father's social class and occupational situs

Father's social class	Father's occupational situs		
	Rural	Urban	Rural and urban (N=669)
Lower manual or farm laborer	28.9	5.1	22.0
Upper manual or farm tenant	53.6	29.2	46.5
Lower nonmanual or farm owner	9.9	48.7	21.2
Upper nonmanual or landlord	7.6	16.9	10.3
All classes	70.9	29.1	100.0

After reordering the Chonju data in the manner suggested above, we made correlations between fathers' social class and various status attributes of subjects. We also made correlations using education as an independent variable. In addition, some correlations were made with the original urban census categories, to ensure that we were not introducing error by reclassifying the urban data. Correlations presented here are Kendall's Tau B, which cannot be compared directly with Spearman's r_s used in the SSA analyses.

Comparisons are shown in two ways. Table 22 divides the Chonju sample by subjects whose fathers' occupations were urban and subjects whose fathers' occupations were rural. Table 23 divides the sample by comparing subjects whose birthplaces were rural and whose fathers' occupations were rural with subjects whose birthplaces were urban, and whose fathers' occupations were urban.

Several observations deserve mention. First, Tables 22 and 23 are very similar. As we expected from previous analyses, migrant status

TABLE 22 Determinants of social class, controlled by father's occupational situs: Chonju sample

Variables correlated	Correlation (Kendall's Tau B): father's occupational situs	
	Urban (N=195)	Rural (N=474)
Father's class X first occupation	.37	.31
Father's class X present occupation	.39	.33
Father's class X education	.38	.35
Father's class X income	.32	.26
Father's class X subjective status	.25	.26
Education X first occupation	.54	.53
Education X present occupation	.53	.53
Education X income	.38	.37
Education X subjective status	.43	.43
Father's occupation X first occupation	.37	a
Father's occupation X present occupation	.39	a
Father's occupation X education	.36	a
Father's occupation X education before migration	a	a
Education before migration X highest education	a	.80
Education before migration X first occupation	a	.59

a Nonsignificant. All other correlations are significant at $\alpha = .01$.

TABLE 23 Determinants of social status, controlled by subject's birthplace: Chonju sample

Variables correlated	Correlation (Kendall's Tau B)	
	Subject urban, father urban (N=110)	Subject rural, father rural (N=362)
Father's class X first occupation	.33	.30
Father's class X present occupation	.41	.34
Father's class X education	.33	.36
Father's class X income	.26	.26
Father's class X subjective status	.14	.29
Education X first occupation	.54	.51
Education X present occupation	.57	.52
Education X income	.39	.37
Education X subjective status	.45	.41
Father's occupation X present occupation	.38	a
Father's occupation X education	.30	a
Father's occupation X education before migration	a	a
Education before migration X highest education	a	.85
Education before migration X first occupation	a	.46

a Nonsignificant. All other correlations are significant at $\alpha = .01$.

itself does not explain occupational status. Second, within each table distributions for urban and rural sites are almost identical. That is, fathers' urban or rural backgrounds explain nothing of subjects' social status. Correlations in the rural columns are slightly lower overall than in the urban columns, but the differences are slight and statistically insignificant.

Correlations of father's occupational status by census category ("Father's occupation" in the tables) with subject's status attributes yields essentially the same correlations as "father's class" (collapsed for comparison with rural class). This finding indicates that nothing has been gained by using these coding techniques.

The tables show, rather consistently, that father's occupational status correlates well with subject's occupational status, education, income, and subjective status, in that order. It makes no difference whether the subjects' fathers were rural or urban in origin, or whether the subjects themselves were native urban or rural in origin. The effect of father's status remains constant across all those conditions, again

confirming our contention that migration per se has no effect on social mobility.

Education, again, turns out to be most closely correlated with status variables. Education is more highly related to occupational status than to income or subjective status, as we pointed out earlier. This again can be attributed to the fact that education in South Korea is largely keyed into the bureaucracy, management, and professions, reflecting the preindustrial stage of development. Entrepreneurship of any form is not closely tied to education. At the times of these surveys, much entrepreneurial activity involved small-scale enterprises. We might add, in this regard, that size of place of occupation was unrelated to any of the status indicators. Other Korean studies have shown that the correlation between income and education increases as size of place of occupation increases (Korean Industrial Development Institute, 1970).

The results obtained by coding farm occupations in such a manner as to show consistent relationships between father's status and subject's status suggest that intergenerational mobility is not so high as previously believed. In the case of Chonju, where intragenerational mobility is quite low also, it would appear that overall social mobility is occurring at a much slower pace than in Seoul or Taegu. Unfortunately, the data from Seoul and Taegu do not permit comparisons using the procedures outlined above. We would suggest, however, that future studies of migration in South Korea make special efforts to secure adequate data on rural social class.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Investigations of migration in three South Korean cities indicate very similar patterns, but with some significant differences. Seoul, as the primate city, draws migrants from all regions of the country, whereas Taegu and Chonju, as provincial centers, draw migrants chiefly from surrounding areas. Seoul appears to experience more step (sequential) migration than either Taegu or Chonju, but step migration is not especially common, at least intragenerationally. Migration into Chonju is a more recent phenomenon than migration into Taegu or Seoul. In most other respects, however, migration patterns appear to be quite similar for all three cities.

Migrants appear to achieve social mobility in two major steps. First, their overall status rises with entrance to the city and acquisition of urban employment. Second, their status rises again after they have resided in the city. All three cities show similar patterns, except that upward mobility after arrival in Chonju is not very striking. As we have

measured social mobility here, changes upon entering the city are intergenerational and changes in status after arriving in the city are intragenerational. Intragenerational mobility of migrants in Seoul and Taegu, as inferred from changes in status distributions, appears to be considerable. Mobility is approximately the same for migrants and urban natives. Close analysis of the Chonju data suggests that intergenerational mobility is also about the same for migrants and natives. Determinants of mobility, chiefly parents' social class and education of subjects, are also identical for migrants and urban natives.

In general, then, rural migrants to Korean cities appear to be achieving upward mobility by leaving rural places, and again by participating in the urban structures of their destinations. That their places in the class structure of cities are about the same as those of urban natives suggests that, except for a possible difficult period of initial adjustment, they are adapting well to urban life. Most migrant respondents indicated that urban life had improved their living conditions, especially in Seoul and Taegu.

The relative ease with which migrants have been absorbed can be explained, in part, by overall economic growth and ethnic homogeneity. The overall economic growth in South Korea during the time of these surveys was spectacular. Urbanization (particularly in Seoul) was accompanied by rapid industrialization, and by a corresponding rise in the overall standard of living. This change was especially noticeable in urban centers, and both migrants and urban natives presumably benefited from economic growth. Much of the early economic activity associated with migration was on a small scale, involving open markets, cottage industries, and the like. This type of economic activity aids migrants' adjustments to urban life as large-scale industrialization takes place. Economic and corresponding social changes have been so great during the period 1962–72 that it is doubtful that native urbanites were any more prepared for change than migrants. That is to say, socioeconomic changes within urban centers from the 1950s to the 1970s were probably as great as differences between urban and rural societies in the 1950s. The fact that Chonju appears to lag behind Seoul and Taegu in mobility can probably be attributed to relative lack of industrialization before 1972. (Since 1972, the rate of industrialization in South Korea has diminished slightly, with a corresponding decrease in rural-urban migration rates.)

Migrants to Korean cities are not hampered perceptibly by language or cultural obstructions, as has been the case with most migrants to U.S. cities. Neither region (province) of origin nor size of their home

community has any effect on social mobility. For practical purposes, it would appear that South Korea is ethnically homogeneous with respect to migrant adaptation.

The design of these surveys themselves probably produced a somewhat overly optimistic picture of migrant adaptation to cities. The sampling procedures selected only migrants who had established a household and who had been in urban places for some time. We measured only social status, which is just one dimension of migrant adaptation.

In conclusion, we should again call attention to our finding that Seoul, Taegu, and Chonju appear to be composed of populations in which migrants are the majority. The migrants and native urbanites form a single homogeneous status distribution. Social mobility appears to be relatively high for both populations, probably because of rapid industrial growth. Education appears to be the best correlate of social status for both migrants and urban natives. Finally, future studies of migration and social mobility in South Korea should attend to the problem of measurement of rural social status.



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East-West Population Institute
East-West Center
1777 East-West Road
Honolulu, Hawaii 96848

Director *Lee-Jay Cho*
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