Chinese student migrants in Korea, Their Choice

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I. Introduction

1) Research Questions

Nowadays, there are many words which have the term such as 'multi-cultural', 'multi-ethnicity' in front of it. Those are usually representing the diversity of one society. In reality, past 10 years, foreigners who reside in South Korea is rapidly increasing from 95,778 (1994) to 698,161 (2006). (2006. Kim eun–mi, Kim ji–hyun) Of course, still, South Korea is not the 'multi-cultural' or 'multi-ethnicity' country. However, it changes a lot and it is time for changing attitude of Korean. At the same time, there are many academic papers which deals with the people who reside in South Korea, such as 'New settlers'(North Korean refugee defector), migration workers, woman migrants. However, most of the projects by government are limited to the 'labor' since they have to focus on the support group.

In reality, the reason that foreigners come to South Korea is not limited to 'labor'. Nowadays, not only goods and labor forces but also images, knowledge, and education can be the factors for the international migration. Especially, in the case of 'study abroad', from past to present, It was general that people go abroad to study from East Asia countries to Western countries, to the contrast that, there are influx of student migration to Asian countries nowadays. It is easy to see foreign student in and out of school and there are many ways to communicate with them.

'Student migration' is use as 'Yoo hak' or liuxue(留學) in East Asia. However, the concept of 'student migration' is focused on 'Hak'(‘學’), so it can not show the diversity of student migration fully. Also, 'Yoo'('留') means 'stay for a while' which is very ambiguous meaning. It makes people regard student migrants as just visitors so they don't pay attention to their life and adjustment. In fact, student migration takes at least 6 months to 5–6 years. In addition, some student migrants regard their migration experience as spring board toward their long term
migration so student migration gives considerably strong impact on receiving country. Nowadays, especially, Korea try to attract many foreign student by their student migration policy 'Study Korea' for being a 'receiving country' instead of 'sending country. But they don't have any proper care for the student migrants and it makes many problems. Therefore, it is more proper to use the concept of those students as migrant instead of visitor.

This study aim to discuss about 'student migration' which is undervalued in East Asia. Also it aims to consider existing theory that is based on 'Asia->Western country' pattern can explain Chinese student migration to Korea. First of all, most literatures of Asia and Western countries are focused on long term migration only. However, the biggest difference between past and present is 'increasing number of short term migration' and short term migration effect big impact on the receiving country and sending country at the same time. Student migration is not considered fully since it is not long term migration, but Western countries now start to pay attention to the student migrants. Yet, still Asia countries, normally as a sending country, doesn't. Therefore, this study will consider the student migration between Asian countries instead of 'Asia to Western' through focusing on the student migration between two Asian countries, China and Korea.

2) Literature Review

Until now, the most important theoretical stream on international migration can be behavior theory and theory on structure. First of all, the most well known theory among behavior theory could be push–pull factor theory, equilibrium theory and cost–benefit analysis. The push–pull factor theory is useful to analyze the international migration.

Important feature of behavior theory is that finding out the factor of international migration from each individual. Each individual's choices are gathered and it made a pattern of labor force which can explain 'general theory'. (Seol, 2000) That is, there are push factor and pull factor which impulse each individual’s behavior and they choose migration under those conditions. Most popular factor for migration is, Ravenstein (1885, 1889) and Zipf (1946) suggest 'population scale' and 'distance'. Stouffer (1940) considered 'social distance', 'intervening opportunities', and Lee (1966) pointed out 'choice of population migration' for the migration factor. These factors can be explained by pull factor of the receiving country and push factor of the sending
country. This theory focuses on each individual's subjectivity and various social, political, economical context between the countries. So it has an advantage of showing diverse variable's effect.

However, in the other hand, it also has limitation as following. First of all, it can be criticized for its "A"-historical feature since this theory just focus on the general pattern which is not related on the international migration of labor force. Also, it didn't focus on the reality of each society much. Therefore, many exceptions are arising in many countries which is seceding from general patterns. Moreover, it regard international migration of labor force as same dimensions to the national migration. Finally, research target is limited to free migration, so it can not explain about forced migration fully.

Next, the important things on theory on structure are 'relative population surplus theory', 'world system theory', 'double labor market theory'. Theory on structure deals migration in a macro view, so it regard international migration of labor force as a byproduct of world capitalism development process. Traditional mode of production is destructed in the periphery since globalized capital build-up process is preceding on and on. It bring about relative surplus of population, in the other hand, development and expansion of capitalism, lack of labor forces in the center. Uneven development of world capitalism which is intruged by capital investment in center bring cause massive international migration. (Seol, 2000) Most representative thing on theory of the structure is 'world system theory', this theory regard development of capitalism as driving force of international labor force migration in a prolonged version of relative surplus of population theory. That is 'international migration of labor force' is a response to uneven development among different regions in underdeveloped society, and it is a social process of upkeep and reinforcement at the same time. There are diverse explanation on international migration, Amin (1974) regard international migration of labor force as geographical transference of 'value'. Also, Sassen (1988) argues that advent of supra national corporation and globalization of finance reinforce international migration of labor force. That is, world system theory expects to analyze international migration through the interactions between receiving country and sending country of labor force. Therefore, international migration of labor force can be understood as a chaotic but a natural result of the capitalistic development process.
Theory on structure has macro view of explaining international migration of labor force, however, it also has its limitation. First of all, it is lack of explanation on migration process of each individual. That is, in the case of international migration, it regard structure around them decided those migration patterns rather each individual made one’s own choice. So, this theory can not explain fully on concrete migration paths of subject to receiving country, and their adjustment in the country. This literature aims to consider 'student migration' which is not easy to be estimated through macro view of world system theory, and it will follow each student’s migration experiences and catch their choice to migrate to Korea through push–pull factor between China and Korea. So this literature has an aspects of behavior theory rather than other explanations.

International migration are increasing while national migration are increasing. There are various discussion about migrations around the world. First of all, there is not much studies on student migration in Korea itself. Therefore, this study refer to foreign literatures on student migration since there are active researches on student migration in Western countries that they have been had many student migrants from all over the world.

Studies by Tuckman(1970) and Mixon(1992) examine the issue from this perspective. The Tuckman(1970) study is generally recognized as the initial research on student migration. The author analyses aggregate data from each state and suggest that students are more likely to leave those states with higher per-capita income and higher tuition rates. However, students tend to remain in state when there are more public schools available. The results also indicate that origin–state financial aid does not significantly influence out–migration.

Such researches have become increasingly sophisticated, as represented for example by Baryla and Dotterweich’s(2001) analysis of interstate student migration in US. The research of Weishen (2005) is about Chinese student migrants in United Kingdom. This literature focus on the impact of Chinese student migrants on U.K, the receiving country. This study considered the student migrants influence on not only sending country but also receiving country for various dimensions, such as financial contribution, access to quality education, competition among universities, social issues, immigration policy. So better migration management is needed to make a win–win situation for student migration, and improvement relies on institutional
coordination and cooperation. Western countries situated themselves as major host country or receiving country. That's why there are more literatures on student migration.

In contrast to that, there has been relatively little research on international student migration, despite its increasing importance. Most of the literature on Chinese migration in Korea study on 'Ethnic Korean in China' (Kwon Tae-whan(2004) 'Great movement of Ethnic Korean in China and Change of the community', and Park Kwang-sung(2003), 'Migration and Adjustment of Ethnic Korean in China in Korea', and Kook sung-ha(1996), 'A study on Korean cultural Adjustment of Ethnic Korean in China') Studies on Chinese student in Korea are focusing on influencing power of Korean wave and their recognition. (Cho hye-young, 'Recognition of Chinese student in Korea to Korean wave and Korean image', and Yu min, 'A study on the 'Korean Wave' from the viewpoint of Chinese students in Korea : focused on Korean television dramas') or about cultural shock that they faced in Korea and their adjustment in everyday life.

In the early period, macro view of migration were dominant, however, time goes by, there are many literatures which emphasize on the each individual's subjectivity. such as Lee Gyu-ho(2006)'s literature on 'Korean international student's anxiety, life-planning of human capital, and the global industrialization of education in the era of youth unemployment : a case study of young Koreans in their twenties in Malaysia universities. Also, Cha min-young(2007) also pay attention to the Chinese student migrants in Korea through her literature 'Learning through work experience : the cases of five Chinese students in Korea'.

However, still, many literatures on international migration are limited to migration of 'labor force' or 'economical migration'. Needless to say, those migration are important part of international migration studies. Nevertheless, 'student migration' have been undervalued since it is comparatively short term migration and student migrants are usually regarded as a 'visitor' to sending country and receiving country. However, biased to one aspect of spectrum, we can not show and explain diverse ways of migrations. Therefore, more attentions have to be paid on student migration from now on. Also, this study can contribute to emphasize the importance of student migration, especially between the East Asian countries.
3) Method

This study will review existing literatures about student migration. Literature review is based on the dissertations, columns, articles and web pages such as internet cafe of Chinese student migrants and Q and A of internet portal sites. In Korea, many studies focus on the migration workers now but still, student migrant is not paid much attentions. So this study got helped from many foreign literatures.

Next, It will use qualitative method, F.G.I and in–depth interview. interviewee are 6 people, half of them are interviewed through F.G.I (Focused Group Interview) and half of them are interviewed several times by in–depth interview. Interviewee’s Korean fluency is very differ from good to bad. In–depth interviewees are mostly good at Korean. The case of F.G.I group, they have different Korean fluency but 2 of them are majored in Korean in China. They help and translate each other so interview was not that hard. Most of the interview was with Korean and English and Chinese were used only for specific words or special cases.

<Basic information of Interviewee>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (age)</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Native place</th>
<th>Period of migration</th>
<th>Major in China</th>
<th>Major in Korea</th>
<th>Korean fluency</th>
<th>Form of Interview</th>
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<tr>
<td>L (26)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>jilin</td>
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<td>Institution 1 year</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>In–depth</td>
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<td>6 months</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>A university exchange student</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>FGI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S (22)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>shanghai</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>A university exchange student</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>FGI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N (22)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>shanghai</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>Mass communication</td>
<td>A university exchange student</td>
<td>bad</td>
<td>FGI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J (25)</td>
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<td>Beijing</td>
<td>1year</td>
<td>Social Welfare</td>
<td>B university student</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>In-depth</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z (26)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Ch'ang ch'un</td>
<td>2year</td>
<td>Business administration</td>
<td>B university student</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>In-depth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2008. 6)

L was a mechanical engineering majored student who had been prepared to go United States. Since his visa was not issued, he came to Korean and stayed about 1 years and learned Korean at Korean institution for the period of waiting U.S.A visa and preparing for studying U.S.A. He has been learned Korean for 1 years and now he doesn't waiting for his U.S.A. visa. Because he changed his mind not to study more about robot or computer in U.S.A. and he want to stay Korea longer if he got proper job which is related to his major. His parents doesn't like him to come to Korea that much but after 1 year, they support his opinion to some degrees.

Next, O, S, N are exchange students who came to A university in Korea for a semester. O and S are Korean majored students so they came here for their Korean ability and various experience in Korea. In fact, Korean majored student in China came to Korea for exchange student is not that difficult. It is hard to apply to university of U.S for their requirements but Korea don't demand that complicated requirements so It is comparatively easy for them. They want to go U.S.A or Europe but it is not easy to do. Interestingly, N came to Korea because she really like N.R.G who is Korean singer group. Through Korean wave, she knew the group and wanted to come Korea sometime. In fact, they came to Korea for vague longing through Korean wave or images of media, not only for the specific advantages that they can get.

J finished undergraduate in China and come to Korea for her graduate school. She studied in Korea for 1 year and planned to go Japan next semester. She is an ethnic Korean in China so I concerned about if her case can be accepted or not since this study aims to look at 'Chinese student migrants'. The ethnic Korean in China has Chinese nationality, however their identity still has diverse positions in Korea. Also, in many literatures and existing studies distinguish them from Chinese people and deal their migration tendency and process differently. Therefore, this study deal her interview only for analyzing other cases. So J's interview was mainly about description of other Chinese student migrants rather than her opinion.
Z did her undergraduate school in China and transferred to China. She wanted to take MBA course in top 10 in America so prepared her student migration. Her institute teacher suggested her to take Korea as springboard for student migration to America. Finally, she decided to come to Korea and expected to go to America after her preparation. 2 years later, now she changed her plan to go study in other country since those process and preparation is really hard. Even if she want to get her master's degree in Korea, she will go back to China sometime. She would rather stay in Korea instead of going student migration to America or other Western countries that she intended at first time. Now, she plans to finish her master's degree and go to China as much as possible to get her career.

Most of the interviewees said that student migrants are limited to people who live in the big cities and has enough money to go study abroad. Parent's assistance is more important than ability of the student for deciding student migration. Also, information is important for student migration, however, the chances are given to the student of the big city. That's why student migrants are limited to some degrees of status.

II. Migration of Chinese student migrants in Korea

1) Why do Chinese student migrants choose Korea?

China is not permitting free to move to each individual yet. Therefore, even if student go to the college in big city, they can not have enough experiences in their life. It makes them to choose student migration not only to prolong their study but also to have diverse experiences through the migration to the different country. Their parents also have positive attitude and expect that those chances can broad their horizon of life.

    parents support me as much as they can. it helps a lot not only for study but also my life. (case of O)

    In the past, a whole family migrate to another country for their entire life, because they believe it gives them better life. So it can be harsh for them at the first time... But our case, the
student migration, parents pay a lot of money for us, send us to good school..., it could be hard but easier than ever before. (case of S)

Sirowy and Inkeles explain the 'student migration' as the combination of sending country's push factor and receiving country's pull factor. Push factors can be 1) limitation of the number of college student in sending country, 2) discrimination of specific sex, race etc, 3) lack of academic facilities, 4) taking a better job after the student migration, 5) springboard for long term migration. They suggest the pull factor as 1) similarity of language and cultural background between the receiving country and sending country, 2) cheaper tuition fee, 3) similarity of the education system. (Sirowy & Inkeles 1985, recitation from Kim & Cho, 1994, recitation from Lee, 2006)

* Pull factor

Increasing number of Attracting foreign student projects

There are exchange degree program between China and Korea government. So it is easy to come to Korea. That's why there are so many Chinese students in Korea and so many Korean students in China. (case of O)

Korea has been had a feature of sending country rather than receiving country. However, nowadays, Korea try to emphasize the 'attracting foreign students to Korea'. (Lee, 2006) Ministry of education & human resources development try to change the policy from sending student migration to receiving student migration. Student migrants exchange focused on higher education data shows that 6000 of foreign student in 2000 are increasing rapidly and it will be reaching to 50,000 foreign students in 2010. (Ministry of education & human resources development, 2004) Especially, Korean government try to construct Asia educational hub through phased and selective opening of the education market such as international policy of higher education, Study Korea Project. It is because the ability of foreign student migration is now recognized as state capability. Therefore, competition for attracting foreign student migrants among Japan, China and other Asian countries are becoming important issue for those countries. (Cha, 2006 recitation)
(When I chose the school in Korea) I considered many things, such as the level of the school, scholarship that the school offers.....those things. Now I got 200,000 won (Korean money) per a month for my scholarship from the university. This is a kind of allowance. (case of S)

Actually, S, O or N is getting scholarship from A university in Korea every month. They said that they can apply to better school but the scholarship of A university is big reason to choose the school. Even that is not that enough money, it was their strategic choice to find the benefit for them.

**Attracting foreign students, as solution for financial problem of local schools**

This can be showed through Lee(2006)'s study on Malaysia student migration. Private school which can not get any financial assistance from the government. It gets worse if the school is newly–made private school. In that case, the university can survive depend on how many student enroll to the school. As a result, the school have to import the pre–school program that can attract foreign student since those program is satisfying foreign students who want to get degree or exchange the credit from university of other countries. This process can be referred to 'Twinning Program' which is the most important feature of the global education industry in Malaysia. Through this program, Malaysia became major axis of the global education industry.

There is a NURI Project in the locality. It is very similar to BK 21 project in Seoul in terms of supporting policy for universities. If the school want to get the benefits from NURI Project. They need students at the school to some degrees. If not, they can not get the benefits. So they try to bring about foreign students for those reasons. (case of P)

This phenomenon is arising in local private school rather than the school in national capital region, which is near to Seoul. They bring about the student anyhow, however, It has many problem since they don't have enough program for foreign students and those project is not going on for a long term. This can be the big problem because many school wants to bring about many student as much as possible, however, it is not a long period project yet, such as Twinning program of Malaysia. This study can not fully concentrate on this problem because all interviewees were the Chinese student migrants who are living in Seoul.
Formation of positive image through media, Korean wave

Newspapers and TV emphasize on influence of Korean wave. In particular, since China doesn’t have many public media that offers information about foreign countries, people construct images of a country through TV soap operas or Movies that is informal way of gathering the information. It could be possible because those migration is not a long term migration, it can be said that short term migration, so it is easier to choose by specific preference on cultural enticement. Because it is not a long term migration for labor or attachment. Images or various experience is comparatively important matter of choosing student migration.

My mom wanted me to go to America, because I can learn better on my major, mass communication. But I want to come to Korea. Nevertheless my parent don’t like my decision, they respect me. (case of N)

N is a fan Korean singer, N.R.G. She has a ambiguous longing for Korea through Korean wave and many entertainment. Therefore, even she can learn better and her parent wants to go America, she decided Korea for her student migration. Most of the parents prefer to go Western countries than Korea, but students regard Korea as a country that they want to go someday since their positive images of Korea.

At that time, Korean wave was a really big things for young people…..I don’t know why I chose Korea among three countries. (Korea, Japan and Singapore) Frankly speaking, I don’t have any relatives or friends in Korea at that time. But I just wonder about Korea. xing qu(Chinese word for "interest"), I got interested in Korea.....I came here for 'study' but someone came to Korea just for following specific Korean entertainer or going their concert every time. For re-issuance of visa, they have to attend institute or school every day. But they follow the singers or movie star every day, so they are irregular in their attendance to institute. Finally their visas are refused and they have to go back to China. (case of Z)

Of course, there had been a migration by image, such as 'American dream' in the past, and it was a matter of their condition of life, and eager to have chance to be success, dream and hope. However, student migration from China to Korea has prominently different from past. That is,
migration of nowadays student migrants are apt to be enticed by specific culture or entertainers. It is similar to student migration from Korea to Japan, many of student migrants to Japan is arising from longing for learning cartoon or music and preference on specific entertainers. This can be said to explain the migration from China to Korea. Also, their migration influence a lot on other Chinese people’s attitude toward Korea.

Some people asked me "Is Korea just as same on the soap opera?" (case of O)

When I was in China, I imagined just good things about Korea, since drama showed only made up things. So I am true to nature nowadays. (case of S)

Korean are open to doubt on Korean wave's influencing power to other Asian countries. However, Korean wave actually gives positive influence on the migration to Korea. The real problem is arising when right after foreign students are enticed from Korean wave, they got embarrassed that Korean are not that kind, also they sometimes faced with Korean’s stereo type toward them. Development of attractive media and contents is important, but more important thing is knowing that migrants can come to Korea through the influence of the media.

* Push factor

Information sharing with other people around

It is not easy to migrate to know anything about it. how much the Information about the country open? do information are shared enough between them? is important for deciding international migration. Usually, Chinese student do not trust the information they get through public route of the government. Therefore, they gather information from other people around them, and sharing information each other.

I got advice from other people. friends of my institute, I got consultation with teacher when I prepared student migration. Actually, I didn’t have any idea about Korea before teacher suggests me to step Korea to study abroad. After that I consider Korea as an option for migration. (case of Z)
Which one is better and which one is worse.....I can't get right information in China.

Even using internet web searching for same thing in China and Korea is different somewhat.
(case of S)

Chinese government wants us to believe that our situation is better than other countries and they emphasize other country's problem as a bad thing. This is a kind of propaganda that government want to spread too Chinese people. However, there is only limited ways of gather the information, news papers and TV news... everything is published by government so I don't trust those information. (case of L)

Like what he said, Chinese students in China don't trust through the public information published by Chinese government, many of the information gathering is shared by informal ways, such as other people's telegrams, introduce. It could not be professional information but they think it is more trustful information. Those lack of information gathering cause that people's dependency toward private brokerage offices and only few of the students prepare by themselves.

In China, jie shao gong si, that is, brokerage company. There are many things to prepare for the migration. So, if you contact to the brokerage company, they prepare various certificate, such as identification. It cost about....I don't know well, but more than 1,000,000 won? maybe 1,500,000 won. (case of L)

As demands are increasing, brokerage offices for student migrants such as 'study abroad consultation office' in Korea, are rising with brokerage offices for migration worker. As a matter of fact, most of the student migrants income to Korea through this way. If student requests student migration to the brokerage, they inform various schools in Korea and let them choose where they want to go. Student can choose options for specific school and region, such as Seoul / National capital region / Local. After the student decides those options, brokerage prepare for the certification or data for the school and go through due formalities. As student migration are increasing, to conform those demand, brokerages or consultation offices are developed.
Comparatively Higher and stable Accessibility

A friend of mine had prepared migration to Canada. I saw him by accident, so I asked him "How’s Canada?" and He answered that he lives in Ireland now. He prepared for Canada, but his visa was refused. Finally he went to Ireland. (case of Z)

Even though someone decide his or her student migration, it is difficult that to go where he or she decided. At the first time, L had been tried to go U.S.A for studying his major, robot and engineering, however, his visa was refused. So he came to Korea for preparing the U.S migration in his estimation. Western countries has complex visa issuance procedure on the migrants of other countries. After the 9.11, U.S.A issuance of visa is under harsh verifications and burdensome procedure. So they need to prepare by their own, such as going to the embassy by themselves. Nevertheless, coming to Korea as a student migrants don’t need to go through the burdensome procedure, so if they pay some amount of fee to brokerage for the preparation. This makes big difference accessibility among countries. The verification of the student's qualification is important too. Moreover, qualification of the student, such as individual assets, fluency of the language(English) is crucial part to migrate to America. As a matter of fact, language can be the biggest barrier to their migration.

Some of them are coming to Korea to avoid taking TOEFL test. Some of them came to Korea for that reason, so one of my friend finally go to Canada because english is still important and widely used in Korea. (case of Z)

However, Korea doesn't have strict verification process on the ability of Korean. O, S, N said when someone want to migrate to Western countries, they need a report or certification that verifies their learning abilities, such as TOEFL score and GPA. But good GPA or Korean ability is not a requisite qualification for the student migrants to migrate to Korea. That is to say, they choose Korea for nearness, comparatively stable condition and higher accessibility instead of U.S or other Western countries.
2) Analysis for student migration pattern

- China to Western countries VS China to Korea

Student migration pattern from China to Korea is distinguished from pattern from China to Western countries, such as America. First of all, in terms of economical and social condition, student who migrates to America, Western countries is a top university's student who is an upper class economically.

Most of the students are really rich, many of them prepare to go study abroad since my institute is for preparing TOEFL. That is famous for TOEFL, if you take 1 month course there, then you have to stay, sleep and eat in a hotel where the institute rent. It takes 6,300 won (Chinese money, it is approximately 1,000,000 won for Korean money) per a month. Also, you have to pay extra money for the hotel's everyday meal. But if you want to take the course, you have to wait for a vacancy, so I wait 2 months for entering. General salary per a month is almost 2~3,000 won for Chinese money, but it takes at least about 18,000 won for Chinese money, (6,000,000 won for Korean money) since TOEFL study takes at least 2 or 3 months.

To prepare TOEFL test, it cost two times than average salary per a month in China, so migration to Western countries where higher TOEFL score is compulsory for the student migration is limited to upper class student who can afford to pay for the tuition fee. In the case of students who migrate to Korea, most of the them are a student of above average schools and their economical back ground is upper-middle or middle class. In fact, student who can decide to study abroad means that they can afford to pay those costs for the migration and they put to practical use of their migration experience in schools of Korea, Japan, Singapore.

Big differences arise in the preparation time, costs, requisites, according to the patterns. Those requisites are verified critically in the case of American and other Western countries. Even there are affairs that the students have to do it by themselves only, such as visiting embassy for fill out related documents, even though some of the process can be done by consultation offices. However, Contrast to this, Korean government don't demands critical verification on the student
migrants, so many things can be done by brokerages, consultation offices. Student migration pattern to Korea is comparatively short term and qualification is not that critical. Moreover, Student don't need to have burden on their language ability, since there is no certain verification on the Korean ability, and it makes them to choose easily.

Also, in the case of considering America and other Western countries as the destination of their migration, there is a certain priority to choose the country. Generally, it has order of 'America→Canada→Australia', These are the places where they can learn English, and the order is similar to the priority of economical and social recognition on the country. On the contrary, there is no fixed order of choice when it comes to student migration to Korea. That is, relationship and cultural preferences affects a lot on the decision, and they choose where they wanted to go among Korea, Singapore, Japan without specific priority. However, even though student migrants decided to come to Korea, they don’t have strong eager to learn Korean, contrast to the desire on English. Z said that some of the student migrants who came from Chinese city of Qingdao, Shandong province came here for learning Korean as a advantage to get a job related to Korea, since Qingdao, Shandong province is famous for densely aggregated Korean merchant and Korean companies. They learn Korean for get some advantage of their job career.

After they migrate to Korea, That is, they bear the mind that they will attain certificate of residence or the right of permanent residence in the end, after their residence of 5–7 years in the U.S.A or U.K. Some of them are remain and others go back to China and get good job with the certificate of residence, degrees and migration experiences. However, student migration to Korea is generally 2–3 years short term migration. Most of them go back to China when they finish their courses or degrees, and they set about work in their country, some of them regard their migration to Korea as a stepping stones for preparing next migration to foreign country.

This pattern affects to the sex of the migrants. There are more male students in the case of student migration to Western countries, female students are apt to come to Korea for their student migration. This is arising from the different period of migration, because female students have to consider the proper time of their marriage and employment, so 5–7 years of long term migration can be burden on them. Therefore, they are likely to choose not risky, but helpful migration to Korea instead of Western countries, because the process of the student migration is unstable and risky even though they offer better chance of getting job.
Why do the differences between the pattern arises?

The change of attitude toward migration affects a lot on the change of migration pattern. Especially, student migrants are distinguish their migration from the migration of the past. From long term family migration to short term individual migration, as those migration is spreading, student are deciding their migration more easily. Because migration is not a permanent thing and they can move here and there freely. Z said that her sister has been studying in the U.K, she will get permanent residence in 7 years. So she plans to stay in U.K longer to take the permanent residence and come back to China. I asked her "Why does she wants to get her permanent residence even she will go back to China?" She answered "Better to have. If she entered foreign company, it will work for her." It shows that permanent residence is a just selective things to have, not a absolutely important permit card.

In the past, The rich and The highest university's student can choose student migration to another countries, because it is limited to only few selected students. However, As student migration are generalized, student migration are spreading not only one way but also diverse way of migration. Especially, student migration is good chance to go to abroad and have many experience in their life. As a results, many people can choose and prepare unique student migration which is conforming to their own situation, such as cost, academic backgrounds.

Migration to Western country offer better benefits to the student for its fame, degrees and experiences. Especially, student migration experience in Western countries guarantee their English ability, so it becomes good advantage for the students. Nevertheless, those dominant form of migration has limitation. Nowadays, Chinese student's visa refusal rate in Western countries is increasing. Moreover, demands for Asian student migration or economical assistances were sufficient in the past, as Asian students are rapidly increasing, scholarship or chances to get a job is decreasing.

I prepared student migration to Northern America for MBA, but my visa was refused. As a matter of fact, department of liberal arts majored student is not easy to get the visa. Science department is better. Bei-jing university is a department of liberal arts and Ching-hwa university is a science department. My university is not that famous, so teacher(of institute) suggested me
to go to Korea if I can't choose good university in America right away. Teacher said that it will helpful to prepare resume for top 10 schools in America. (case of Z)

It is a important reason that Inflow of foreign companies to China is increasing rapidly. This makes Student migrants to come back to their country to get the job. Also, Chinese government offer incentives to them for prohibiting brain drain. However, degrees from another countries or migration experiences is critical advantage for getting a job even in China. So students trying to find the newly made niche for them and the most reasonable alternative is Korea and other East Asian countries. As Korean economy developed rapidly, academic degree or career is guaranteed in China. Even the degree or experiences of America and other Western countries are more competitive, that of Korea offer competitive chance to get better job for the student who are not in a top universities in China and this can be strategic choice for them.

As a results, Korea is good alternative for those who are in upper-middle class, not in a top universities but who want to get better job, since compare to the migration to Western countries, that of Korea is not a heavy burden on them for less cost and more stable process in terms of visa issuance or permission of the schools. Therefore, this can be reasonable choice that maximize their interest from their investment of time and money. Also, Korea is chosen for risk–diminish offering because of short distance to China, shared similar cultures, etc.

III. Conclusion

Most of the studies on Chinese migrants and their migration is about Ethnic Korean in China or migration workers who come to Korea for getting job. Those literature just focused on aspect of labor force and laborer. Most of them would be true, however, higher skilled laborer, such as executive of the foreign companies or student migrants, are incoming rapidly nowadays. Nevertheless, many of the literature on Chinese migrants regard them as a similar group. This kind of approach restrict diverse view of Chinese student migration phenomena in Korea. Therefore, study on Chinese migrants have to be broaden toward high skilled laborer to show diversity of migration.
That’s why this study emphasize 1) Why do they migrate? 2) What can be the difference between two patterns? 3) Why those differences occur? through the cases.

In conclusion, increasing number of Chinese student migrants is rooted from spreading of desire to migrate and their interest. Comparatively, student migration to Korea is a kind of short term migration. People choose Korea 1) for the stepping stones toward to migrate to America or other countries sometimes, or 2) After consideration of their own situation, such as upper-middle class, not a top university student conforming their desire to alternative choice, or 3) This is a case of short term student migration, as Korean wave got influencing power to Chinese people, preference to specific culture or entertainer entice them to Korea. Those are considerable reasons for the choice of the Chinese student migrant in Korea.

However, their purpose is not a springboard for long term migration or adjustment to the receiving country as many literature mentions. Most of the case, student migration to Korea is their first step of their migration experience. That is, Korea can be said that a kind of stepping stones rather than final destination. Also, They want to go back to China after getting advantages from their migration and those benefits are good for getting a better job in China, not in Korea. Still the priority is built up as 'Western countries>East Asia countries>Native', so students migrate to 'East Asia countries' rather than stay their Native country, even in the similar situations.

Student migration is undervalued in the migration studies for it's length, 'short term migration'. However, labor migration is not different from student migration in its length actually. After all, the reason why student migration is undervalued is because they are incoming through ambiguous boundaries in terms of 'pursuit of academic ground' and 'enticement of different life'. Therefore, it is hard to bind them as one united concept of 'study abroad' since it can not show diversities of student migration. Some still regard them just as a short term visitor, however, the important thing is that those student migrants are keep incoming to Korea and the rate is increasing rapidly. Therefore, study on 'student migrants' have to be discussed in various ways.
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