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PROVIDING INTIMATE SERVICES IN SOUTH KOREA

The article substantiates the measures taken by the South Korean government to eradicate the provision of intimate services, which are part of social, economic and cultural life. It is noted that with this phenomenon the government is struggling ineffectively: the scope of the national industry of prostitution is expanding, spreading and with great probability it can be assumed that there is legal sex trade in the country. It is recommended to the government to create and implement its own effective system of social security, health, security, labor rights, eliminate discrimination against women.

Key words: South Korea; shadow economy; provision of intimate services; legal sex trade; human trafficking; social protection; discrimination.

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НАДАННЯ ІНТИМНИХ ПОСЛУГ У ПІВДЕННІЙ КОРЕЇ

У статті обгрунтовано заходи уряду Південної Кореї з викорінення надання інтимних послуг, які є частиною соціального, економічного і культурного життя. Відмічено, що з цим явищем уряд бореться неефективно: масштаби національної індустрії проституції розширюються, розповсюджуються і є виродіність існування секс-торгівлі в країні. Рекомендовано уряду створити і впровадити свою власну ефективну систему соціального забезпечення здоров'я, безпеки, трудових прав, ліквідувати дискримінацію жінок.

Ключові слова: Південна Корея; тіньова економіка; надання інтимних послуг; юридична секс-торгівля; соціальний захист; дискримінація.

Есин Юрдагул

ПРЕДОСТАВЛЕНИЕ ИНТИМНЫХ УСЛУГ В ЮЖНОЙ КОРЕЕ

В статье обоснованы мероприятия правительства Южной Кореи по искоренению предоставления интимных услуг, которые являются частью социальной, экономической и культурной жизни. Отмечено, что с этим явлением правительство борется неэффективно: масштабы национальной индустрии проституции расширяются, распространяются и с большой долей вероятности можно предположить, что существует секс-торговля в стране. Рекомендовано правительству создать и внедрить свою собственную эффективную систему социального обеспечения, здоровья, безопасности, трудовых прав, ликвидировать дискриминацию женщин.

Ключевые слова: Южная Корея; теневая экономика; предоставление интимных услуг; юридическая секс-торговля; торговля людьми; социальная защита; дискриминация.

Introduction. The underground economy phenomenon has been literally discussed under various names: informal, unofficial, irregular, parallel second underground, subterranean hidden, invisible, unrecorded and shadow economy or moonlighting. In some languages the term of shadow economy is commonly referred to as black economy (le travail au noir, Schwarzarbeit, svart sektor) or black market.

There is no single definition, yet the purpose permits us to find consensus on the definition of it. When being inclined to estimate the shadow economy's size, one

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might encounter a problem to define it. Proposing a common definition of the term shadow economy is: “All currently unregistered economic activities are counted that contribute to the officially calculated (or observed) Gross National Product (GNP)”. (Feige, 1989, 1994; Schneider, 1994a, 2003b, 2005, 2011; Frey & Pommerehne, 1984; Schneider & Buehn, 2017) “The most precise and predominantly used definition seeks to relate the underground economy to officially measured national income: It comprises all presently not recorded productive (i.e. value-adding)-activities which should be in the Gross National Product (GNP). This definition allows to compare and to add the underground economy to GNP.” (Frey & Schneider, 2000) However, this definition is not involved in two key activities, such as ‘private household activities and tax evasion’. (Frey & Schneider, 2000) The underground economy is also regarded as not only ‘black markets’, but also ‘off-the-books activities’.

On the one hand, ‘black markets’ is involved in ‘illegal activities such as drug and prostitution’. On the other hand, ‘off-the-books activities’ deal with ‘income from legal sources’ which are frequently associated with ‘construction and services industries,’ in which ‘taxes are not withheld or paid.’ (A.P. Grammy, 2011) R. Smith (1994) did define it as “market-based production of goods and services, whether legal or illegal, that escapes detection in the official estimates of GDP.” (Smith, 1994, p.18) Another definition is that “those economic activities and the income derived from them that circumvent or otherwise government regulation, taxation or observation.” (Del’ Anno, 2003; Del’ Anno & Schneider, 2004; Feige, 1989; Thomas, 1999; Fleming et al., 2000) Although there is no exact definition of the shadow economy, it is evident that the term of shadow economy is broadly referred to as “unreported income from the production of legal goods and services, either from monetary or barter transactions” and also “all economic activities that would generally be taxable were they reported to the tax authorities”. ‘A taxonomy of Types of Underground Economic Activities’ was listed by O. Lippert and M. Walker (1997, p. 5).

Problem Statement and Research Objective. This research work will focus on the issue of the South Korean underground economy, especially prostitution. It will reveal the fact about not only direct, but also indirect factors of prostitution in what manner it did bring about changes in economic contexts with the country throughout its history. Therefore, this research’s objective is to deal with illegal non-market based economic activities in South Korea from prostitution to slave labor, human trafficking that knows no moral and geographical boundaries by contributing to this issue.

Prostitution in the Korean history. The managing commercial sex trade had raised no moral or ethical concerns. Different societies are based on the different perceptions. For instance, in Korea, prostitution is not only a social issue which influences and harms considerable number of individuals within a society, but also an addictive behavior that one might call. Normal behavior in one society can be referred to as a specific social issue in another society.

Although Korean society denies the pervasiveness, omnipresence, and systematic nature of prostitution, it seems that prostitution has become a part of Korean culture in terms of historical particular conditions and circumstances peculiar to Korea which lead to specific social issues. One can see the existence of prostitution in Korean culture in a particular way of life that can be referred to as a kind of addiction, part of daily life that is imperative and indispensable, and cultural values and

mind-set that reflects the hierarchy of masculinity in a male-dominated society. South Korean life and thinking were historically 'centered in prostitution in one form or another over the centuries.' (Ghosh, 2013) With the exception of the ancient kingdom of Balhae (698-926) which was strongly stated to be 'the cultural successors to the earlier Goguryeo (Koguryo) kingdom of northern Korea and established by Dae Jo-yeong Dae Jo-yeong (Tae Choyong), 'a general of the semi-nomadic Malgal (Mohe) tribe of eastern Manchuria and first king,' (Cartwright, 2017) in A.D. 698 in the aftermath of the demise of Goguryeo (37 BCE-668), (Prkorea, 2012), the prostitution industry has existed throughout Korean history.

For instance, Goguryeo (37 BCE-668) did have a history of prostitution and there also did exist prostitutes and brothels in Silla (57 BC-935). (Kim Nam-joong, 2011) During the Goryeo Era/Koryo (918-1392), the then government established a special office to arrange a group of women in classes according to their marital status (married, widowed, as well as never-married (more precisely, virgin), and then sold the presented data on the marital status of women to the Mongolian government. (Kou Bunyu, 2012) In the Chosŏn (also Joseon) Dynasty (1392-1897), society was based upon Neo-Confucianism that is built upon 'the three fundamental principles and five moral disciplines'. During this period, brothels did not exist. Before Korea did become modernized, 'a caste of women' in which did include the female entertainer/courtesan did provide 'sexual labor' for 'the elite landholding classes' 'at infrequent or irregular intervals and did perform entertainment'. (Kim Nam-joong, 2011)

During the dynastic period, Korean castes system were based upon four classes that were involved in 'the yangban (aristocracy and nobles), the chungin (the middle class, and also jungin (Ancientkoreacivilization), sangmin (the commoners), as well and the cheonmin' (the outcasts at the very bottom, and also ch' nmin (Kim Jin-wung, 2012). (Revolvy) But, it was eliminated by modernization. (Cho, Grace M., 2008) (However, the 1997-1998 Asian financial crisis did cause Korea to be polarized socially and social polarization did become more apparent and severe. (Yim, Seok-hoi, 2002) 'Kisaeng' holding the status of cheonmin class is regarded as 'independent women who were singers and dancers and who took on lovers' in an original manner. However, the term did begin to be referred as 'prostitutes and the brothel tours which Japanese businessmen and tourists (especially males) to South Korea who frequently were encouraged by their companies'. Due to the prostitution tourism that was aimed at encouraging Japanese businessmen to come to Korea and to enhance their bilateral business relationship with Korean counterparts, Japanese businessmen who had come to Korea before and had never visited Korea were often encouraged by their companies (Barry, 1995) did demand for doing business within the country. (Sorensen, C.W. & Baker, D., 2014-2017)

The Treaty of Kanghwa with Japan (also known as 'the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1876, the Japan-Korea Treaty of Amity in Japanese and Treaty of Ganghwa Island in Korean) provided the subsequent and/or 'initial' of opening of Korean ports to Japanese and Western ships. (Chung, Young-lob, 2005) Consequently, this treaty led to the first brothels to become prevalent over a wide area and to extend in a considerable manner.

"The first brothels in Korea began to spread after the country first opened its port in 1876 through a diplomatic pact, causing ethnic quarters for Japanese migrants to sprout up in Busan, Wonsan and Incheon" (Hong, Seong-cheol, 2007).

In particular, a specific huge amplification of the economy during the Japanese occupation period, especially comfort women during the latter of the Asian Pacific War, after World War II, and the Korean War has generally been observed. The face of prostitution was changed by the United States and Korean women were coerced into prostitution to work at the American military base which was stationed in the country and then prostitution was referred to as a 'dollar-earning patriots' and an industry protected and encouraged by the Park Chung-hee's state-intervened government. This protection and encouragement might be related to the aim of creating much-needed income of the government, especially at the expense of the thousands of U.S. military. One can confirm the country's first case of an institutionalized prostitution in the Korean history. Some scholars argue that the South Korean government fear that the American military which protected South Korea from North Korea would go out of the country. From the point of view of then Korean government, Korean women were nothing else than commodities to be used to stimulate the country's economy that was engaged in a struggle to overcome especially poverty or obscurity and to work as a prostitute for the American soldiers during the period of ten consecutive years in the aftermath of the Korean War. Those scholars also did bring an accusation against previous Korean governments and the United States that were involved in the sex trade during the 1960s and 1980s in a direct manner and work in a united manner. Both of parties were mainly aimed at establishing 'a testing and treatment system' to make certain of that prostitutes were infected with a sexually transmitted disease which might have been very harmful to American soldiers. (Choe, Sang-hun, 2009; Moon, K.H.S., 2009) It is highly known that the sex trade flourish in South Korea and the government demonstrated that it accounts for as much as 4.1 percent of South Korean annual GDP-about the same as fishing, agriculture industries, and mining combined, which is 4.3%, or according to many NGO's estimates, as high as 5-6% with informal prostitution included. It is evident that it played an even larger role in the South Korean economy (Hurt, 2010) than we thought. Today, although prostitution is illegal, it is obtainable and conspicuous across the entire country.

For instance, in coffee shops, shopping malls, the barber shop, hotels, motels, as well as the so-called juicy bars that are often visited by American soldiers, internet chat rooms, and also cell phones (Ghosh, 2013), room salons, handjob rooms, miinchon, danlanjujeom, doumi nolaebang, business clubs, massage parlors, and the red-light districts that apparently operate in 'every part of Seoul and every city in Korea' (Hurt, 2010; Ghosh, 2013).

"... Indeed, the sex industry (in the face of laws criminalizing and stigmatizing it) is so open that prostitutes periodically stage public protests to express their anger over anti-prostitution laws...." (Ghosh, 2013).

The revealed fact is that Korean men are 'the biggest customers of the child sex industry' in the Asia-Pacific region. (Na Jeong-ju, 2013).

".... South Korean men continue to be a significant source of demand for child sex tourism in Southeast Asia and the Pacific Islands...." (U.S. Department of State, 2008).

Besides, the surveys of the Korean Institute of Criminology conducted in Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, the Philippines, and North Korea revealed that South Korea is home not only to illicit child and teen trade by South Korean men in

foreign countries (particularly, in Southeast Asia), but also to ‘child and teen prostitution’ that are widespread and common in the country. Al-Jazeera did reveal the fact that approximately 200,000 youths in Korea leave their home every year. Besides, in 2008, the U.S. State Department did disclose details of the report on ‘Trafficking in Persons’ and did accuse South Korean tourists of demanding ‘underage sex in Southeast Asia and the Pacific Islands’ in a considerable and tremendous manner. It is also argued that large numbers of South Korean girls and women have been trafficked to Japan, the U.S. and as far away as Western Europe. (Ghosh, 2013) Apart from Korean men who are highly and badly inclined to child and teen prostitution and illegal commercial sex, Korean men who also seek to be successful in the workplace and accepted among their coworkers regularly encounter with prostitutes and regularly drink with their team.

If one says no to the superiors, it does affect the relationship between subordinates and their superiors negatively. These regular behaviors can be referred as an essential to their careers and a highly noticeable symbol of their masculinity within a male-dominated society where the strong hierarchical nature of Korean society plays a significant role. These behaviors might demonstrate that Korean men feel obliged to demonstrate their masculine side to prostitutes and their loyal side to their superiors. This also has become a high conscious matter of expressing themselves and has been essential to business and corporate culture among male employees within the country.

A perspective on institutionalized prostitution under Park Chung-hee military regime. The sex trade was encouraged by the General Park Chung-hee who did attempt to create the source of government revenue, in particular through the income sources that were generated by the U.S. military (Ghosh, 2013). After the May 16 coup, two core laws were enforced by Park Chung-hee: ‘the Prostitution Prevention Law-preventing ‘camp towns’ from the government’s oppression of prostitution and the Tourism Promotion Law-designing camp towns as Special Tourism Districts’ (Lee, Jin-kyung, 2010). According to Katherine, H.S. Moon (2009), in the aftermath of regulation of legal prostitution in the American military camp towns, prostitutes were under the control of the American military police and Korean officials in a regular manner. She did confirm that both the Korean governments and the U.S. military maintain the prostitution in camp town (Moon, K.H.S, 2009). It might be regarded as an institutional kisaeng diplomacy and the present-day, in spite of its illegality, organized prostitution (Hurt, 2010). To be more precise, this was the same as ‘Kisaeng tourism (Barry, 1995) or Kisaeng prostitution tourism’ that was tremendously and considerably encouraged and developed by not only Japanese businessmen, but also Japan’s travel and tourism industries. Furthermore, even the Japanese government was highly involved in endorsement of Kisaeng prostitution (Sorensen & Baker, 2014 (2017). During the 1960s, almost 25 percent of the South Korean GNP was generated by camp town prostitution and related businesses (Park Soo-mee, 2008).

In 1962, 20,000 comfort women were registered, and the charge to the American soldiers was two dollars for a short time and five dollars for a long time (Rhee, 2009). Women had to attach the number tags, so that they could more easily identified by the soldiers. The prostitutes who were thought to be ill were detained by the Korean police. As the women said that these women were locked up under guard in monkey houses and they were coerced to take medications until they were well (Moon,

K.H.S., 2009). They were praised as Dollar-earning Patriots or True Patriots by the South Korean government (Lee, Min-a, 2005; Ghosh, 2013; Choe, Sang-hun, 2009). In 1991, the advocacy group 'My Sister's Place' did reveal the fact that the American soldiers contributed 1 billion dollars to the South Korean economy which was 1% of the South Korean GNP (Moon, K.H.S., 1997). The South Korean Government educated prostitutes who worked at the U.S. military camp in regard of preventing venereal disease. The South Korean bureaucrats educated that prostitution is an act of patriotism (Kim, Jeong-ja, 2013).

The former Chief Secretary of the Blue House who directed the Base Community Clean-up Campaign, educated the prostitutes to learn the spirit of prostitutes who served the U.S. military during 1945 in Japan (Moon, K.H.S., 1997). The prostitutes attended classes sponsored by their government in English and etiquette to help them sell more effectively (Choe, Sang-hun, 2009). However, a group of former prostitutes demonstrated that the Korean government did not only establish a course in basic English and etiquette in order to encourage the women to sell themselves more effectively, but also sent bureaucrats to praise them for earning dollars when South Korea was desperate for foreign currency (Moon, K.H.S., 2009). During the early 1990s, the prostitutes became a symbol of Korean Anti-American nationalism (Cho, Grace M., 2008). In 1992, there were about 18,000 registered and 9,000 unregistered Korean women around the U.S. military bases (Enriquez, 1999). Since the mid-1990s, foreigners make up 80-85 percent of the women working at clubs near military bases (Hankyoreh, 2009-2013). However, they consist of '90 percent of the workforce in cam towns as of around 2005' (Lee, Jin-kyung, 2010).

Reportedly many of Russian, Uzbek, Kazakh and Filipina women who work as prostitutes in U.S. military camp towns within the country (Hankyoreh, 2009; Joongang Daily, 2002; Zoltón, 2009) have been 'imported for this particular sector through the government's issuance of entertainment visas' (Lee, Jin-kyung, 2010). Moreover, between the mid-1990s and the early 2000s nearly 5,000 women from Russia and the Philippines have been smuggled into Korea and forced into sexual slavery (Joongang Daily, 2002). Since the 2000s, the majority of prostitutes have been Filipinas or Russian women and South Koreans have become less numerous (Donga Ilbo, 2010-2013); Current Issue Journal, 2003-2013). However, South Korean prostitutes are still represented in large numbers. According to the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, South Korean prostitutes numbered about 330,000 in 2002 (Moon, Kyung-ran, 2004). It was estimated by 'the South Korean government's Ministry for Gender Equality' that nearly 500,000 Korean women work as a prostitute in the country's sex industry. However, the number of Korean prostitutes are rising in an increasing and a drastic manner.

The Korean Feminist Association assumes that this does not reflect the actual number of prostitutes in the country, but the number of sex workers account for 1 billion. If that estimation reflects the truth, 40% of Korean women in Korea would be sex worker, although a very tough legislation on anti-sex-trafficking has been proposed and then has got passed into law over recent years. It was also estimated that 20% of Korean women with the ages of 15 and 29 have worked as a prostitute in the national sex industry at least once or more (Ghosh, 2013). The survey that was conducted by the government-led Korean Institute of Criminology did reveal that 20% of

Korean men in their 20s have sex with prostitutes 'at least four times a month'. This might be regarded as the root of customer creation for the women who sell sex. 'Seoul's municipal government' did report that a great majority of them have been compelled into sex trafficking and have been involved in sex trade. Another survey that was conducted in a separate manner did propose that half of females who run away from their home turn into prostitutes.

Korean government acknowledge the existence of prostitution in the country and recognize the fact that sex trade makes up of 'as much as 4% of the annual Gross Domestic Product' (Ghosh, 2013). It is demonstrated that 20% of Korean men have visited prostitutes at least once in their lives, even if they are married and it is apparent that visiting prostitutes is considered as a way of cementing business relationships by some Korean. 20% of Korean men do not hesitate to foot the bill for sexual relationship with prostitutes four times a month. Rather, they prefer to visit prostitutes in a regular manner (Eatyourkimchi). Besides, South Korea has become 'a source, transit, as well as destination country for trafficking in persons including men, women, as well as children who are exposed to sex trafficking and forced labor' since 2002 (U.S. Department of State, 2002). In today's world, South Korea is regarded as a main primary source for the female trafficking all over the country and to the United States of America (frequently through Canada and Mexico), Japan, Canada, Guam, Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and Hong Kong for the purpose of commercial sex industry, i.e., prostitution or other forms of sexual exploitation. Hence, a major number of women from Russian, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Mongolia, the People's Republic of China (P.R.C.), North Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, Cambodia, as well as other Southeast Asian countries who are supplied by employment businesses in South Korea are trafficked for sexual exploitation and domestic servitude (U.S. Department of State, 2009).

"An increasing challenge for the Republic of Korea (ROK) is the number of women from less developed Asian countries who are recruited for marriage to Korean men through international marriage brokers; a significant number are misled about living conditions, financial status, and expectations of their Korean husbands. Some, upon arrival in South Korea, are subjected to conditions of sexual exploitation, debt bondage, and involuntary servitude. Some employers continued to withhold the passports of foreign workers, a practice that can be used as a means to coerce forced labor..." (U.S. Department of State, 2008).

According to the Attorney General's Office (2006), South Korea (23.5%) is one of the primary sources of the sex trafficking and smuggling women and girls to the United States among all source primary countries, such as Thailand (11.7%), Peru (10.0%), and Mexico (9.6%), although South Korea is by far the richest country among them. Since the very beginning, Koreans have been referred to as a central role in designing and establishing the market for easily Korean prostitutes in the United States. Through the mechanism of sham/contract marriages between Korean women and American soldiers, the process began in the 1970s and continues today through a variety of other mechanisms. In contrast, foreign prostitutes working in South Korea are often brought to the country through shame marriage and human trafficking (for more details, see Hankyoreh, 2009-2013). However, Koreans still are considered as the primary agents of prostitution, the traffickers, the smugglers, the brokers, the owners of prostitution-based enterprises, and the enablers.

If not nearly all, the vast majority of South Korean women who are involved in the American commercial sex industry cannot likely be classified as victims or survivors of prostitution, but are referred to either as trafficked individuals or as voluntary sex workers. The Korean case demonstrates that all the macro-social factors associated with increasing prosperity—higher educational levels, stronger social programs and protections—is not sufficient to eliminate or even curb human trafficking and smuggling for prostitution. Furthermore, a combination of economic, legal-institutional, and social forces within South Korea can be referred to as the primary push factor, for instance, paying of pre-existing and new debt or earning extraordinarily large incomes.

“In Korea, there are few protections for those with personal debt and debt collectors commonly use threats and violence to collect unpaid debts. Paying off an accumulated debt for women is particularly difficult because opportunities for earning high wages are limited: gender discrimination remains high in Korea” (Lim, Timothy C., & Yoo, Karam, 2011).

However, the Korean case assumes that it should be focused on the influence of evident contributors to the tendency to other less obvious factors: the most common of those factors are debt bondage (Lim, Timothy C., & Yoo, Karam, 2011). Although Korea is a developed nation and prostitution is illegal within the country, Korea is called ‘a source, transit, as well as destination country for detrimental practices including ‘human trafficking and slavery’ (Kuhl, 2011) and the prostitution market has flourished. Even after the government strengthened regulations on prostitution activities in 2004, the prostitution market was still prosperous. Recently, the number of Korean women looking for work as prostitutes abroad, in the United States, Australia, and elsewhere, has increased. An estimated 17% of prostitutes in Australia are Korean women (Lee, Hyo-sik, 2012; Kim, Won-soon, 2012).

In 2007, the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family did conduct a research on prostitution in Korea and did reveal that approximately 270,000 women work in the sex industry in Korea. It was estimated that nearly 4.1% of those women are Korean women who are in their 20s and 30s (Byun Wha-soon, 2007, p. 85; Kim, Won-soon, 2012). The market size of prostitution in Korea is equivalent to 14 trillion South Korean won that demonstrates 1.7% of the country’s 2006 GDP (Byun Wha-soon, 2007, p. 370). One should address the importance and earnestness of the severe unemployment crisis that leads ‘women in their 20s’ to market themselves in the prostitution industry where they might take up a full- or part-time job and hence make ends meet in an easy manner. In recent times, ‘Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow’ that is abbreviated as YTT and is also known for ‘the owner of the biggest hostess bar in Korea’ was accused of tax evasion and breakage of the law that forbids sex trafficking (Kim, Rahn, 2012; Kim, Won-soon, 2012). It is estimated by Kim, Won-soon (2012) that the total revenue of prostitution services in Korea is about \$18 billion (20.55 trillion Won) which is equivalent to approximately 1,66% of Korea’s GDP (Kim, Won-soon, 2012). Another fact is that Korean women at almost all ages market themselves in the country. For instance, a small number of elderly women are involved in prostitution.

“Koreans could once be sure that their children would look after them in their old age, but no longer—many of those who worked hard to transform the country’s

economy find the next generation has other spending priorities. As a result, some elderly women are turning to prostitution” (Williamson, 2014).

Since a majority of elderly women, known as the ‘Bacchus ladies’ could not acquire ‘equal education and job opportunities’ in a period of breakneck economic growth and development in the aftermath of the Korean War (1950-1953), family ties that was based upon Confucian principles was eroded, and pension system and social safety net are very poor in the country, they had to market themselves to live (Kim, Hyung-jin, 2015). According to the report revealed by The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), South Korea is the country with the highest rate of elderly poverty among other member countries:

“45 percent of South Korean households consisting of seniors over the age of 65 make less than half the median household disposable income. Among seniors who live by themselves, that figure jumps up to more than 76 percent. In comparison, the OECD average is 13.5 percent” (Koo, Se-woong, 2014).

Because of the underdeveloped and ineffective welfare system, it is not good enough to help the elderly people, and as a result they have to live without receiving from the Korean state. Hence, it is not very surprising that the Korean elderly people, especially women have a tremendous difficulty in living in the country. Whereas there cannot be mentioned about concrete size of human trafficking for prostitution and actual status of South Korea, the fact that the sex industry is supporting South Korean economy. South Korea is the fifth ranked country on the list of Orange County Human Trafficking Task Force (Orange County Human Trafficking Task Force, 2011-2012). All of those might be called a kind of paradox or contradiction.

South Korean solution to the anti-prostitution. By late 2006, an extraordinary measure was taken by the Korean government to end prostitution in a strong and determined manner, and as a result the Ministry for Gender Equality did provide males being employed by companies with ‘a cash incentive’ in order to prevent them from staying away from prostitutes and having sex with them ‘at office parties and business trips’ (Ghosh, 2013) that are regarded as a deep-rooted component of corporate culture in the country (Foxnews, 2006; BBC, 2006). This also might be regarded as a reflection of the significant and radical change in the corporate culture that is dominated by males in an extreme manner. So far, some 1.300 companies have been interested in participating in the campaign and a total payment account for \$5,000 (4,6 million Won). However, a waste of money has been considered by some critics.

Although new anti-prostitution laws targeting human traffickers, pimps and prostitutes were passed and put into effect in 2004, one should emphasize that prostitution is still prevalent and huge in a practical manner. According to the government-funded study in 2002, South Korea’s sex industry did make up 4,1% of its GDP and 330,000 women did market themselves in the sex industry. However, some experts demonstrate that the figures are underestimated in a gross manner and some estimates suggested that more than one million people work in the sex industry (Foxnews, 2006; BBC, 2006). Now, in 2013, it is reported that Korean courts take into account ‘the constitutionality of the 2004 Special Law on Prostitution’, which punishes increasingly ‘both prostitution and pimping’ (Ghosh, 2013). However, prostitution is still highly visible in Korean cities. According to the survey in 2001, even some 40% of Koreans were not aware of its illegality. Although the market size of

prostitution is huge and approximately make up 7 trillion Won (\$6.3 billion) annually that was estimated by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, quite a large number of people who are related to prostitution were arrested by the authorities.

But, in 2009, the number of arrested people who were accused of “organizing, patronizing or working in the industry” has been sharply declined in recent years, i.e., 73,000 in 2009 and 21,123 in 2012. Despite of the persistent visibility and scale of the industry, the authorities struggle with catching perpetrators in the act. By comparison with the sex-trafficking population, the size of the police force is very limited and they lack other divisions to combat increasing illegal activity in the sex industry and to collect evidence, and hence catch ‘perpetrators ‘in the act’’. However, prostitution is not one of their priorities. It seems that the strict enforcement does not contribute to the reduction in the industry, yet it precisely allows prostitution to flourish. In economic sense, the prostitution supply is successfully reduced by the enforcement in one area and it leads to a higher price.

However, more people are induced by higher prices to open the business in other areas where detection is avoided by them. It should be mentioned that the reality of human nature and the rules of supply and demand should be taken into account. The market is created by the demand. The higher the price, the more suppliers are likely to flourish and to invent legal but unethical types of prostitution and the higher the price, the greater the quantity that suppliers want to supply to the market. As a result, it seems that the authorities might never eradicate prostitution, even if they truly want to (Power, J. & Yoon, Ha-youn, 2013). Another issue that was addressed by ‘Matthias Lehmann, an independent researcher from Germany and member of the International Committee on the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe, recently spent a year in Seoul investigating the impact of the law, interviewing women working in the industry, NGOs and other concerned parties.’ He did highlight the issue on the recent legal implementations that have become more detrimental to the sex employees in the country.

“Verbal and physical abuse of sex workers through law enforcement is a reality in South Korea. ... The decriminalization of sex work wouldn’t solve all problems in the sex industry—just like laws in other industries don’t root out exploitation and abuse—but evidence-based research indicates that, under the right conditions, legal sex work can be organized in a way that enhances workers’ safety and job satisfaction” (Power, J. & Yoon, Ha-youn, 2013).

One of the most significant and important problem is that the very limited size of the police force in the country lead police to not give a special priority to apprehend the pimps and prostitutes and to have a great difficulty in collecting evidence in a serious manner. Rather, there is a hidden reason why the governments and other authorities remain indifference toward this endemic problem within society. It is inevitable that the limited number of police forces have to be increased in order to thoroughly and precisely stamp down on the pimps and prostitutes and to genuinely and truthfully enforce the law on this industry. Whereas law enforcement was actually expected to reduce the sex trade, it did lead the prostitution industry to be more lucrative and sophisticated more than ever before.

Consequently, the more severe and extreme in size law enforcement, the more prevalent and easy recognizable the market comes to be. It should be accepted that the demand for sex might be attributed to the shared nature of members of human species.

Even if the government and other authorities truly want to eradicate the prostitution industry, they cannot achieve this goal in an accurate manner. Legalization of the prostitution industry cannot be a good solution to entirely combat it, but sex employees encountering literal, emotional, sexual, as well as physical mistreatment and unprofessional behavior would work in better conditions. They, as human being, also need to be treated in a proper way (Power, J. & Yoon, Ha-youn, 2013). It should be remembered that there exist many foreign prostitutes who are exposed to human trafficking that is regarded as an illegal activity and a criminal case and sham marriage that is not regarded as an illegal process within the country. The main problem is that the Korean legal system enables the continuity of victimization through human trafficking and sham marriage. Hence, help and protection for such victims are not to be considered as a serious and crucial issue (for more details, see Hankyoreh, 2009–2013). However, in 2012, the Korean government did set going by taking the first step of an interview with foreign women who will be married to Korean men before the marriage to be registered in order to have a more control over male-order brides (Chosun, 2012b).

Key results. There are no reliable numbers. However, it is actually evident that human trafficking for sexual exploitation, and forced prostitution takes place within and across every major region in the world and involves millions, perhaps tens of millions, of people on a cumulative basis. In the history of the Korean peninsula, the extreme financial difficulty faced by most women was resorted to prostitution out of desperation, i.e., Japanese occupation, US military occupation and the industrialization and modernization after the Korean War. However, one can see the existence of prostitution in Korean culture in a particular way of life that can be referred to as a kind of addiction, a part of daily life that is imperative and indispensable. Over the centuries, life and thinking of the Korean peninsula has been focus in prostitution throughout its history. Moreover, prostitution did become one of the most crucial and significant revenue during the Park Chung-hee era, for instance Kisaeng prostitution tourism related to the bilateral business relationship with Japan in the 1960s. Furthermore, prostitution was even legalized by his administrations.

Due to the American military, political, as well as economical control over Korea, Kisaeng prostitution has to be a driving force of those factors and one of the most crucial component of national business enterprises in breakneck economic growth and development. It was not until 2013 that the 2004 Special Law on Prostitution did become a serious issue and discuss the constitutional and legal framework that surrounds the 2004 Special Law on Prostitution. Today, the prostitution industry is not legal, but still it is in fact and in particular obtainable and conspicuous in an easy manner across the entire country and Korea as a developed nation is interestingly regarded as a major source for the part of harmful practices like trafficking and slavery women from different countries have been smuggled into Korea and forced into sexual slavery for the purpose of commercial sex industry. Furthermore, since 2002, South Korea has become the shipping point, the intermediate dealing point and the terminal of human trafficking for commercial sex industry and South Korean men continue to be a significant source of demand for child sex tourism in Southeast Asia and the Pacific Islands.

The Korean case demonstrates that all the macro-social factors associated with increasing prosperity-higher educational levels, stronger social programs and protec-

tions is not sufficient to eliminate or even curb human trafficking and smuggling for prostitution. However, the Korean case assumes that not only poverty and militarism but also other less obvious factors might be referred as the most common factors of the South Korea's prostitution, i.e., debt bondage, the nexus of patriarchy, domestic violence, capitalism, discrimination, high demand, a desire for extreme large incomes and luxury goods, and plastic surgery to become more beautiful, modernization, etc. Even some elderly women are turning into a prostitute, since their children have other spending priorities and no longer look after in their old age. Because of the materialism of seeking desire and money, it is tough to eradicate increasing illegal activity in the commercial sex industry.

Conclusion and Directions. Broadly speaking that South Korean illegal sex markets are immense, lucrative and even more cosmopolitan than one can think. Prostitution has been a crucial part of not only social, but also economic and cultural. For instance, in essence, going out with the prostitutes and having sex with them are an unavoidable component of the Korean corporate culture. Eradicating the prostitution market means eradicating this culture. Rather, it is very questionable how the governments address and recognize this issue in a serious manner, and hence combat it in a bad manner, however. Due to the scale of the national prostitution industry which has been enlarged to an extent, prevalence of all subtypes across age groups, as well as its conspicuous obstructiveness and obstinacy, one might highly think that there exists the legal sex trade in the country. If it were acknowledged that this was a social endemic in the country, it would be essential that the authorities could capture people in the act of transgressing moral or civil law and perpetrating wrongdoing. At the very least, they might try their best to do more in case of buying or pimping. It is essential that Korean state generate and implement its own effective welfare system and provide a social safety net for women who are widowed, divorced, as well as abandoned.

In terms of health, safety, and labor rights, if women are protected by the authorities, they are less discriminated and are subjected to unexpected behavior. Market-friendly law enforcement, right working conditions, as well as social protection might be better solutions to this endemic problem within society. This leads women to individually be satisfied with their work, social status, as well as life. In addition, not only prostitutes, but also foreign prostitutes who are trafficked and are brought to South Korea through sham marriage need to be protected by the legal system that allow the foreign women to be victimized through human trafficking and sham marriage. It seems that there is still much to be done. At least, it is essential that South Korea should acknowledge that prostitution is a social issue that is very detrimental to not only Korean women, but also foreign women and should not belittle it, or deny it exists. This research work revealed the underground economy of prostitution in South Korea throughout its history. However, for future directions, it is important that it be focused on future challenges that South Korea will face in terms of prostitution that is related to some various contexts which are associated with not only political economy, but also sociocultural factors and determinants.

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