

Why do Korean Women Dive? A Discussion from the Viewpoint of Gender

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Abstract

This paper explores the phenomenon of the women divers of Korea, especially those of Jeju Island, long famous for this activity. I describe the activities of the women divers, and explore the contradictions between the high earnings of the divers and their low social status. Korean history demonstrates that fishers have always had a very low status, and for the women divers this was compounded by the introduction of Confucianism, with its emphasis on the strict separation of gender roles and the subjugation of women to their domestic roles. Today, while women divers continue to benefit economically, their numbers are decreasing and young women are not drawn to diving. The paper presents the details of how women divers operate, their levels of skill and endurance and the continuing challenges they face, both from the decline of the stock and from discrimination and social stigma.

Introduction

In Korea women, and only women, dive to catch marine resources – a phenomenon that has been of interest to sociologists, folklorists, anthropologists and even physiologists (e.g., Hong and Rahn, 1967). From the perspective of gender, Cho (1979) showed the transformation of gender role structures caused by modernisation through an analysis of Jeju woman divers' economic activities (Cho, 1979). Women specialising in the dive fishery are called “Jamnyeo”, “Jamsu” or “Henyeo” in Korean. “Jamnyeo” is the word in the dialect of Jeju Island, “Jamsu” is the name of the woman divers on the Korean mainland, and “Henyeo” is a word of Japanese origin. The men and women fishing divers are called “Ama” in Japan, but the word is written in a different way for each sex. “Woman diver” is written in kanji as “the woman of the sea”, and this is read as “H(a)enyeo” in Korean. Women diving is integrally connected with both the economic and cultural life of the fishing villages. Economically, women divers may provide the only income in the family, and the rewards for successful diving are high. Even women with only elementary education can derive considerable self respect from their relatively high income. On the other hand, they also feel ashamed because diving is considered to be low status physical labour. So, while the women do feel proud of the work they do and their capacity to earn, they also suffer from the ‘shame’ of having a physical occupation with lower status than women in blue collar jobs. Women divers need to develop special techniques to enable them to dive to great depths. They also feel that their diving symbolically expresses the cultural identity of Jeju Island. While the men on Jeju Island catch

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finfish, the harvesting of shellfish, sea urchins and seaweeds is considered to be women's work. In this article, I explore some of the economic, social and historical background and reasons why Korean women divers continue fishing in spite of the drawbacks.

“The order forbidding leaving Jeju Island” and the spread of Jeju women divers in East Asia

Geographical distribution of Korean and Japanese women divers

In 1993, about 10,000 Korean women were divers, although by 2010 that number had dropped to about 8,000. At the time of my research in 1993 there were approximately 6,700 women divers on Jeju Island, but by 2010 that number had decreased by approximately 24% to 5,100 divers within the village where I carried out my fieldwork. Ninety eight women were divers in 1993, a number which had dropped by 34% to 65 by 2010. Nowadays, there are few young women divers in their 20s and 30s, and most of the divers are over 50 years old. In addition, some women divers have been driven out of diving by a decrease in the marine resources. Nevertheless, because Jeju Island is a World Heritage Site, the Jeju Island local government is keen to keep women diving there in good condition.

Most of the women divers are widows or the sole economic support of their families. They also have to carry out the farming and retail work to support the family. Unfortunately both the highest value catches - wild sea mustard and abalone - have restricted seasons. Wild sea mustard can only be fished for a few days in a year; and abalone needs to grow for more than three years before harvesting, even if it is cultured. Both these limitations must be observed if the species are to be sustained. For this reason, women cannot live by diving alone but must also find other forms of economic activities.

History of Korean women divers

Korean women began diving about 100 years ago, under the influence of women divers from Jeju Island. Korean men have never engaged in diving, considering it ‘unmanly’. This is compounded because the women divers do not have the opportunity or the right to reflect their knowledge and claims about the marine environment and resources to influence government fishery policy. Almost all divers dive without breathing equipment, depending on their own breathing to harvest shellfish and seaweeds. On the tideland coasts, both sexes participate in shellfish gathering, but on the reef shore, only women dive for shellfish and seaweeds. The most effective place for the diving fishery is provided by Jeju Island, where there is a well established group of professional women divers. Thus, Jeju women divers are considered to be the cultural identity and symbol of Jeju Island, and recently the administration of Jeju Island has provided a diving school to try to prevent the decrease in number of women divers. Most of the other Korean women divers began to dive because of Jeju Island women divers. The Jeju island divers have been successful in maintaining the family budget of their family and the social system of the community while also managing the

coastal marine resources, despite their lowly social position.

For my research I also wanted to broaden my attention to women divers in other parts of the Korean Peninsula, who are relatively understudied in comparison with those on Jeju Island. Because women divers across the Korean Peninsula play important roles in household economies, maintenance of communities, and sustainable management and utilisation of coastal resources, this study focuses on the mechanism of gathering activities and how the concept of gender deepens and shows the importance of women's role in environmental issues and the sustainable use of marine resources.

As mentioned above, in 2010 approximately 8,000 Korean women were divers. Estimating the exact number of women divers today is difficult because of the way numbers have been recorded in Korea since 1996. However on Jeju Island they continue to record the number of women divers.

In Japan, according to the *Manichi Shimbun* (2011), statistics from a Japan Fisheries Agency survey in 1979 and the Mie Prefecture Sea Museum survey in 2010 showed that the number of Japanese women divers had decreased by 76% from 9,134 in 1977, to 2,160 in 2010. Very few Japanese men dived (Figure 1), and most of those combined diving with work such as other fishery, agriculture, agriculture and stock farming, and migrant work. Women divers in both Korea and Japan are aging and there are fewer and fewer young people entering the occupation (see also Lim et al., this volume).

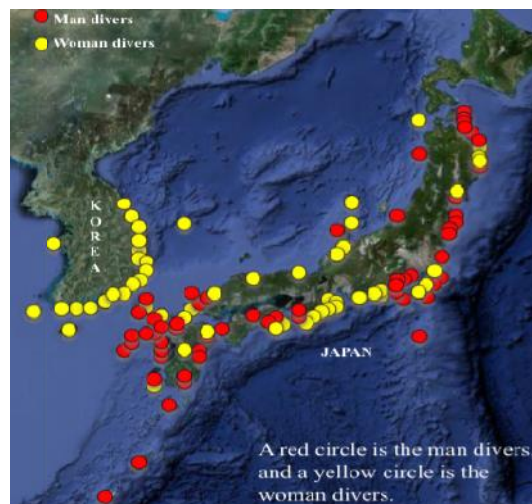


Fig 1. Distribution of the men and women divers (2010).

Social position of Korean fishers and Confucianism

In ancient times, fishers and others who caught marine products, as well as those who consumed them occupied lowly social positions. According to “Koryeo Dogyeong”, during the Koryeo Dynasty period (A.D.918~1392) the king and nobles ate lamb, mutton and pork and poor

people ate fish and other marine products. All fishermen and their families occupied the humblest social positions at that time, and that has continued until recently. However, everyone, nobles and slaves alike ate abalone, oyster and seaweed as recorded by SuJing of the Chinese Soong in “Koryeo Dogyeong” in 1123. In the “Joseon Dynasty” (A.D.1392-1897), Confucianism became the state religion, and that creed dominated the law and the customs of the general people. Agriculture was respected, and while the social position of the farmer was lower than that of the governing classes, it was higher than the craftsman and the merchant. However, the social position of the fisherman remained at the lowest level, without social respect. The Confucian creeds also determined men’s preeminence over women and strict physical separation of the sexes, something which continues to this day.

According to “Samgukchih”, a Chinese chronicle, the existence of women divers on mainland Korea traces back to the third century, but no record written since then has been found, so women divers today may have originated from migrant divers from Jeju Island. Jeju Island, which is famous for its women divers, has only a few farmlands but abundant marine resources along the coast, accessible to the women divers (Ii, 2001). In the 12th century, the administrative head of Jeju Island commanded that men and women divers should not dive naked together (History of Koryeo, 1105), although he did see men and women dive for abalone together. In about the 15th century a large number of Jeju islanders escaped from the island in order to avoid heavy land tax and compulsory labour. The King gave “the order forbidding leaving Jeju Island” to prevent a population decline in Jeju Island and checked the comings and goings of the islanders strictly, and forbade island women from marrying mainland men. During the “Joseon Dynasty”, Jeju Island became the place for the banishment of central officials who committed crimes. According to the “Jejudo Pungtogi”, which was written about the culture and history of Jeju Island when Ii Gun of the imperial family was exiled in 1629, it is recorded that men and women divers on the island paid their taxes in abalone and seaweeds gathered, and made their living by selling the remainder. According to the “Tamna Sunryeodo”, which was written by Ii Hyungsang who was the governor of Jeju Island in 1703, he had devised underwater working clothes, to prevent men and women diving naked. By the early 18th century, Confucianism, with its strict regulation of sexual proprieties, was beginning to dominate daily life. The influence of Confucianism, “the order forbidding leaving Jeju Island”, and the heavy burden of tax may have resulted in today’s situation where only women divers remain in Jeju Island.

Jeju Island women divers as migrant workers

Today’s Korean women divers probably originate from migrant women divers from Jeju Island, who began to move to mainland Korea in 1895. Then, the red seaweed *Gelidium amansii* (agar agar) and large brown algae *Ecklonia cava* fisheries were developed for industrial use and food, so that their value as merchandise appreciated. With such a trend, Japanese seaweed traders came to Busan in search of seaweeds that were virtually ignored in Korea (Yoshida, 1954). This triggered the shift of the economy in Korea from a self-sufficient economy to a commodity

economy, which was thus incorporated into the economic bloc of Japan. As women divers from Jeju Island began to work in mainland Korea, Japanese women divers working in Korea gradually decreased in number under the pressure of their longer working hours and lower wages. Around 1929 Japanese women divers' visiting Korea for fishing ended totally. In 1945, the area of Jeju women's activities ranged from the whole of Japan through Qingdao and Dalian of China to Vladivostok of Russia. They returned to Jeju Island every year in autumn and spring to dive in Korean waters and to Japan as migrant workers.

Geographical and age-specific distribution of the Korean women divers

As I have already documented, the number of women divers is decreasing and their average age is increasing, with fewer young women entering the fishery. The number of Jeju Island women divers account for about 60% of the total Korean women divers (Table 1). Approximately 90% of them work along the south coast while about 8% and 2% dive respectively along the east and west coasts. The reason is that along the south coast women divers began to engage in diving in 1945, whereas along the east and west coasts the participation of women divers in fishery was not initiated until 1953. Apart from the good fishing grounds, good markets were also found in nearby cities. As the percentages of women from Jeju Island and local women are almost the same along the south coast and more women from Jeju Island work along the east coast, it may be argued that the diving fishery by local women took root after women from Jeju Island moved to the south and east coasts.

The fact that fewer women in their 20s work as divers indicates the decline of this industry. Young women think diving is both hard physical labour and has low status, despite the fact that women divers have much free time and a good income. Unmarried women of marriageable age, in particular, think that the seawater and exposure to sun will spoil their white skin.

Table 1. Native place and age of the Korean women divers (1993).

Coast name	Province name	Native place		Age						Unknown	Total
		Jeju	Native	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79		
East coast	Gangwondo	269	351	25	74	165	248	23	0	85	620
	Gyeongsangbukdo	53	224	0	30	122	92	31	2	0	277
West coast	Chungcheongnamdo	154	22	12	50	64	34	16	0	0	176
	Jullabukdo	7	0	0	0	2	5	0	0	0	7
South coast	Jullanamdo	105	115	3	64	98	43	11	1	0	220
	Gyeongsangnamdo	1,536	1,545	88	303	407	347	147	42	1,747	3,081
	Jejudo	6,727	0	143	850	1,855	2,490	1,323	66	0	6,727
Total		8,851	2,257	271	1,371	2,713	3,259	1,551	111	1,832	11,108

Fishing qualifications and fishing methods

The type of qualification is determined by natural environment and location of a village, social status, fishing methods, and so on. Korean women divers may dive as members of a village, as members of a fishermen's union, as employees of an individually owned company or as employees of a joint-stock corporation (Figure 2). These identities form their qualifications to dive and provide some regulation of the use of the scarce marine resources. As members of village communities, women divers share their joint profit equally from harvest to sale according to the custom of the village. The fishing market is far from their village, and because the women dive daily, the fishermen's union sells their catch and shares the profit with them. The profit is used for the expenses of the fishermen's union, including the culture of abalone. An individually owned company gives a boat and a captain to women divers, although the women bear their own risk. They do not have legal protection in case of an accident. Because of the distance to the market, an individually owned or joint stock company sells the women's catch and shares the profit, retaining money for miscellaneous expenses. Even so, the women get about 50% of the total profit. Most women have to commute to the diving sites each fishing day. In many parts of the coast, especially the south and west coasts, the women must dive from a boat. This means that they must share their profit with the boat owner or broker.

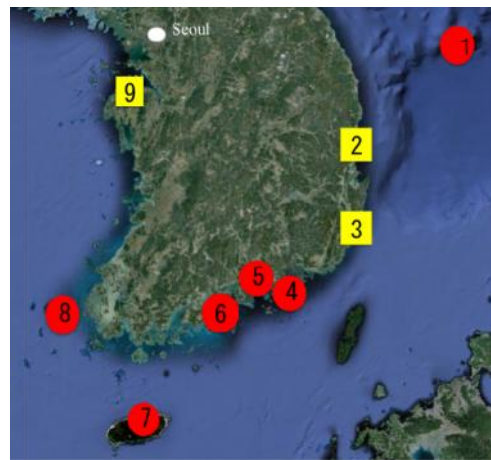


Fig.2. Differences in qualification for dive fishing. Circles (●) indicate women divers using a boat, squares (■) women divers not using a boat. In terms of the geographic distribution of the four types of diving qualifications, sites 1 and 8 had divers as members of a village community; sites 2, 3, 7 had divers as contractors for the village fishermen's union; sites 4, 6, 9 had divers as employees of an individually owned company; and site 5 had divers as employees of a joint-stock corporation.

Because the fishermen's union has many more men members than women, the voice of the women divers is very weak. Even if the women divers' fishing ground is destroyed by a power station or by harbour construction, they are neither informed nor included in the discussion, and do not receive compensation for the destruction of the habitat. It has happened that their fishing grounds have been destroyed by development and power station construction, both government and

privately owned, and, more frequently, by oil spills from stranded vessels which do heavy damage to the fishing grounds. The diving women do not receive any compensation for these losses. For example, women divers were excluded from the fishing grounds damage compensation from the Taean oil spill accident in 2007, and also from losses resulting from the construction of the Taean thermal power station, the breakwater construction, the Samchunpo thermal power station construction, and the Uljin nuclear power plant construction.

In order to secure opportunities to assert their rights and reduce burdens in case of marine accidents, women divers in some areas formed mutual-aid societies to pressure local and national administrations, but in other areas with only a few women engaging in diving, divers were utterly helpless. Recently in those areas such incidents as marine resources being stolen and the use of illegal fishing means (e.g. air cylinders) occurred, but they could not appeal to the police who just pretended not to notice. With long experience in the marine environment and a good knowledge about the ecology of their target creatures, women divers should be considered to be experts in the sustainable use of marine resources. Therefore, the government should protect their fishery activity by legal means. Sustained use of marine resources would be possible, and the social prejudice and discrimination against them could be reduced. Therefore, I think that the gender recognition for the diving fishing should change.

Major catches and methods for diving fishery

Korean women divers may fish from the shore or from a boat. Along the south coast, the Rias coast lined with numerous islands has a large tidal range, so the divers go to fishing spots by boat during low tide. These boats are characteristically equipped with a portable stove and toilet, and divers can take a shower after fishing. In other areas, they are equipped with snorkels and swim to fishing spots.

The major catches are abalone (*Haliotis discus discus*), topshells (*Batillus cornutus*), sea urchins (*Anthocidaris crassispina*), oysters (*Crassostrea gigas*), octopuses (*Octopus vulgaris*), sea cucumbers (*Stichopus japonicus*), sea mustard (*Undaria pinnatifida*) and so on. Abalone, sea mustard and a common sea urchin (*Hemicentrotus pulcherrimus*) are especially valuable as goods. The dried abalone, sea cucumber and seaweeds have been exported to China for a long time.

The high value of these products can be explained by Korean custom. Dried sea mustard is prepared for the goddess of childbirth and for a parturient woman (Ii, 1999). Dried seaweed is offered to the goddess with rice, water and a thread for four weeks and people pray for the longevity of the baby and the health of the mother every day (Ii, 2004). Korean mothers must continue eating sea mustard soup for about 4 weeks after childbirth. Korean people think that sea mustard improves mother's milk because it contains a lot of calcium and iodine, which are necessary for the mother's body (Ii, 1999). The economic value of abalone and seaweed are high now. Korean people never fail to eat steamed rice with red beans and sea mustard soup on birthdays.

The average price of wild natural abalone per kg rose from about US \$129 in 1995 to US 161 in 2010. On the other hand, the price of rice was about US \$134 for 80 kg in 2010, or approximately US \$1.68 for 1 kg, making abalone about 95 times more expensive than rice. In addition, rice requires more labour and takes about one year from planting to harvest, but abalone take less than a day. Dried sea mustard also appreciated in price from US \$77 a piece of 180 cm in length and about 35 cm in width in 1995 to US \$143 in 2010. Dried sea mustard is about 85 times more expensive than rice. Abalone and sea mustard are priced twice as high as high-quality Korean beef, demonstrating how marine products have become more valuable commodities than agricultural products (Table 2).

Table 2. Sale price changes by year for food products (1974-2010, US\$) (Note that quantities for each product are Korean standard measures).

Products \ Year	1974	1980	1990	1995	2010
Abalones (1kg)	47	95	113	129	161
Sea mustard (180×130cm)	5	9	42	77	143
Elegant sea urchins (1kg)	—	—	42	52	107
Rice (80kg)	8	13	47	90	134
Beef (1kg)	—	—	38	—	71

Diving seasons and implements

Divers use a variety of implements in their work, such as “Nat” for sea mustard (Fig. 3-3), “Golgaengyi” (Fig. 3-4, 5) for octopuses and sea urchins, “Bitchang” for abalone (Fig. 3-6), “Dureongbak” which is a float (Fig. 3-7), and “Mangsari” which is a net suspended on the float to store catches of the women divers (Fig. 3-8).

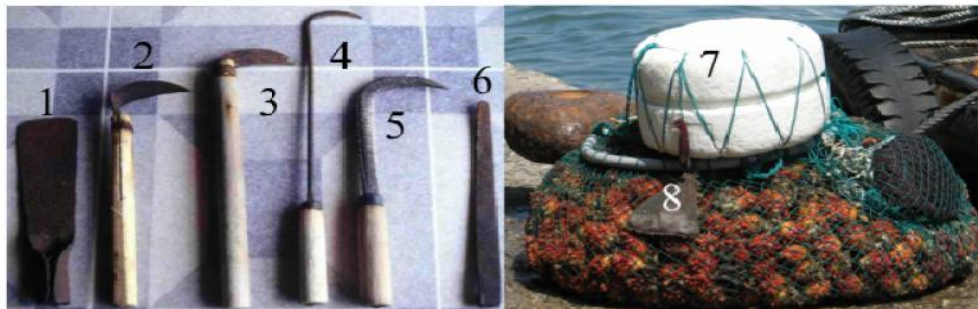


Fig. 3. Diving fishery implements according to the catches

Abalone sometimes take almost 10 years to reach a marketable size, but wild abalone are often gathered too soon, because of their value as commodities. Therefore, the size of abalone that can be caught is limited to 8 cm or longer, and abalone seeds are produced from hatcheries and released to the abalone fishing ground every year to enhance the natural population. Also, abalone feed on seaweeds which are not collected except for sea mustard. Further, September and October are designated as closed season for fishing since these two months are the spawning season of

abalone. For the conservation of abalone as natural resources, average days for catching in a year are limited to about 20 days.

Women's involvement income diving and the household

All women divers earn good money and divers in their 40s and 50s earn the most, earning as much or more than the starting salary of a man who graduated from high school or college. Most women divers are also involved in another job, such as farming, retailing at the local market, running a restaurant, and working in the factory. Women in their 50s have a wide variety of such side jobs. Most women divers engage in farming, which is followed by businesses at summer bathing places and restaurants specialising in raw fish. Some women retail vegetables they grow and seaweeds that they harvest on the shore. Farming makes up 57% of the additional jobs taken by women divers; 22% are employed in retail; 9% are self-employed; while 6% are in other occupations. Only 40% of the husbands of the married women divers are employed, which makes both the diving and other employment of the women a crucial economic resource for the family. Of those men, 36% work in factories. 38% of the divers are widows.

The divers fish for an average of five hours a day for 50 days per annum. The income from diving is so important that it is only families in their communities that are able to pay for university education for their children. Annual catches of divers in their 40s account for about 23% of the total income of their entire family, while annual catches of divers in their 50s make up about 14%. Women divers in their 60s earn 40% or more of the total income of their families and their incomes occupy a larger percentage than those of the divers in their 50s.

By the early 1960s, the men would leave their village for about 2-3 years to engage in squid fishing or coal mining. Then even owners of sea mustard rocks could barely make a living, so many women sold sea mustard to earn a bare living. Daughters of poor families in Busan were sent to Jeju divers' families to work as maids or nannies, where they knew that Jeju divers earned a lot, and these women started to engage in diving fishery. Jeju divers were not granted the right to harvest sea mustard in a licensed area, so they worked under the condition that 10% of the sea mustard they gathered was to be given as a wage, but what often happened was that they did not receive wages and a smaller share of their harvest was given to them.

From the 1970s, divers began to wear wet suits that cost them USD 500 to 700 each. Divers of Ulsan paid the price of a wet suit with the money they got by selling rice, whereas Jeju divers continued to wear traditional working clothes made of textiles. To warm their bodies in winter, Jeju divers got out of the water more than 6 times a day, but Ulsan divers could keep on diving. Learning that rubber diving suits shut out the cold so that divers did not feel chilly, Jeju divers then decided to borrow money to buy the suits.

Between pride and inferiority: Korean women divers

In this section, I present a number of case studies to illustrate some additional aspects of the Korean women divers. These show how women became divers, how they thought about their occupation and what advantages and disadvantages they faced. All ages were as at 1995.

Woman diver O (71 years old; born in Jeju Island in 1924) lives with her husband who works for a private company. When he was out of work, she learned diving techniques from another woman diver in her hometown and began diving. She also works with her husband as a wholesale trader specialising in abalone and sea urchin selling to fish markets in Busan. She tells of local people saying, “your bodies smell like smoke” and “you were born in a place fit to be inhabited only by the cattle and horses”. Facing such harsh discrimination, she said they “eat tears as their diet”. “We are not robbers. We are just making our efforts to survive. We do nothing wrong.”, she said.

Woman diver J (78 years old; born in village A in Ulsan in 1917) was the first woman who became a diver in her village in Ulsan. In 1930, as her family was poor, she was sent to a family of a woman diver who came from Jeju Island as a baby sitter at the age of 13. Longing to be a diver as she witnessed the large income of the divers she worked for, she learned diving techniques from Jeju divers. In those days, the area was abundant in abalone, mussels, and large brown seaweeds. During the period of colonisation by Japan, they had a hard time financially, so that only 5 or 6 women dived in the years of a bad harvest. From among them, however, she alone continued to work as a diver, and her marriage induced her to be more earnestly engaged in diving fishery.

Woman diver U (50 years old; born in village C in Ulsan in 1945). This woman started diving for pleasure, earning pocket money during the lunch time recesses when she was a fourth grader in 1956. When she arrived at the age of puberty, however, her parents often scolded her saying that such behaviour was shameful. Then, she kept on working secretly as a diver to earn money. Her husband had been involved in fishing by using diving equipment since 1958 when he was 16 years of age. However, the abalone farming initiated by the local village fishing unions in 1979 prohibited catching abalone in the wild with diving equipment. Consequently, he had to find a job in a company and has been working for it until today. At this point, U began to work as a professional diver, and at the same time farmed and peddled vegetables when she didn't dive for gathering. She said, “Working as a diver is certainly profitable, but brings about inexpressible shame. From among all the occupations, it is the most disgraceful and very hard. I have no other choice than continuing my job in order to make a living, but I don't want my daughter to become a diver.”

These cases show how Korean women divers had developed into professionals from the 1930s through the 1980s, and especially during the 1950s and 60s immediately after the Korean War. During the 1930s, although they were few in number, local women from poor families of mainland Korea learned diving techniques from Jeju divers to become divers. The 1930s was a

period when food had to be delivered to the Japanese colonial government, so that women became divers to prepare for a famine. However, only a few local women became divers both because they could not acquire sufficient diving techniques or because of the fear of discrimination in society against women divers in this humble occupation. Even in the 1950s, local women felt that becoming a diver was repugnant, but even so some young girls began to dive to earn pocket money. In the 1960s, local people's feeling that diving was a humble occupation became less strong, and diving techniques were introduced to local people through Jeju women divers. In the modernization of the 1970s, abalone aquaculture was initiated and the demand for marine products grew as exports to Japan expanded.

Local women, therefore, actively participated in diving in pursuit of cash. With the introduction of wet suits and the exportation of sea urchins, even those women who had avoided diving for fear of prejudice from society started to engage in the diving fishery. The introduction of wet suits not only meant the possibility of making longer operations possible in winter but also greatly contributed to easing views and prejudice against women divers that it was disgraceful to work without clothes. Still, discrimination against divers persisted in local villages, so that there were many women who refused to work as divers in spite of its recommendation as an income source.

In the 1980s, a series of reforms took place one after another, such as fishing village unions obtaining corporate status, transfer of ownership of sea mustard rocks to fishing village unions, local women becoming members of fishing village unions, and establishment of distribution system of marine products. Thus, to become a woman diver brought about economic advantages to them. At the same time, the price of abalone and sea mustard, the major catches of women divers, soared in the 1980s compared to the 1970s. After the 1990s, women divers have been satisfied with their financial situations but still suffer from an inferiority complex about their occupation. To dispel such a feeling, they are devoted to the education of their children as well as to pursuing a material life more and more similar to that of downtown since the 1980s.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have tried to show how women divers in Korea developed, something of their work practices and the problems they face. These include the destruction of the habitat due to pollution but the chief problem faced by existing divers is the social discrimination against them. This also causes fewer and fewer young women to enter diving as a profession. This diminishment of Korean women divers is especially unfortunate as the value of the product they catch is increasing, and the income that they can gain from diving is a major source of income for their households. Thus, there are problems of the marine resources use, the aging of the women divers and the lack of young successor women divers.

The social and cultural importance of women divers remains underestimated. In Korea, the Confucian model remains strong, with husband and wife called “the inside and the outside”, and as this expression indicates, wives should be concerned with domestic chores and raising their children and men should be in charge of work outside the house. Thus the division of roles between men and women is clearly divided. In this context, women divers’ work is simply considered extended housework by society, although it is also considered inappropriate because of where and how it is carried out. The discrimination against low status occupations, such as fishing, is combined with long held prejudices about gender divisions of labour. The Korean women divers exemplify the ways in which traditional gender prejudices can prevent women from entering an occupation that will secure them an adequate income as well as preventing women’s hard earned ecological knowledge from protecting the valuable stock.

As a coda to this study, the fisheries administration of Korea has announced it intends to meet future marine luxury product demands by overcoming the problem of the diver women’s lack of successors and the issue of decreasing and aging woman divers through encouraging male divers with compressors. This plan might cause a new problem, including indiscriminate hunting and fights over fishing ground use.

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