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MOVING TOWARD MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY? : SOUTH KOREA'S
MIGRATION TRENDS AND POLICIES WITH THE FOCUS ON
FOREIGN LABOR

Miss Supatcha Indusobhana

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts Program in Korean Studies
(Interdisciplinary Program)
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ศุพัชชา อินทุโสภณ : ก้าวสู่สังคมหลากหลายวัฒนธรรม? แนวโน้มการอพยพและนโยบายที่เกี่ยวข้องของเกาหลีใต้กรณีแรงงานต่างชาติ . (MOVING TOWARD MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY?: SOUTH KOREA'S MIGRATION TRENDS AND POLICIES WITH THE FOCUS ON FOREIGN LABOR) อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก : ศ.ดร.ไชยวัฒน์ คำชู, 79 หน้า.

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาแนวโน้มการอพยพและนโยบายที่เกี่ยวข้องของเกาหลีใต้กรณีแรงงานต่างชาติ พร้อมทั้งอภิปรายถึงอุปสรรคและปัญหาที่อาจเกิดขึ้นเนื่องจากการเพิ่มจำนวนของชาวต่างชาติในเกาหลีใต้ โดยมุ่งเน้นที่สาระสำคัญของ The First Basic Plan For Immigration Policy 2008-2012 และนโยบายที่เกี่ยวข้อง โดยศึกษาจากข้อมูลทุติยภูมิที่รวบรวมจากเอกสารทางวิชาการต่างๆ รายงานพิเศษ และ ข้อมูลจากทางอินเทอร์เน็ต

จากผลการศึกษาพบว่า สาระสำคัญของนโยบายการอพยพของเกาหลีใต้นั้น แสดงให้เห็นถึงความพยายามของรัฐบาลที่จะนำพาเกาหลีใต้ไปสู่ สังคมพหุวัฒนธรรม และความต้องการของรัฐบาลที่จะดึงดูดแรงงานต่างชาติ เพื่อตอบสนองความต้องการทางเศรษฐกิจและตลาดแรงงานมาเพิ่มศักยภาพทางการผลิตและพัฒนาศักยภาพทางการแข่งขันในตลาดโลก ซึ่งจากการศึกษาถึงประวัติศาสตร์และลักษณะทางสังคมของประเทศเกาหลีใต้ พบว่า เอกลักษณะความภาคภูมิใจในชาติพันธุ์ของชาวเกาหลีใต้อาจเป็นอุปสรรคต่อความพยายามของรัฐบาลที่จะนำพาเกาหลีใต้ออกสู่สังคมหลากหลายวัฒนธรรม และความคาดหวังของรัฐบาลที่จะดึงดูดแรงงานต่างชาติ เข้ามาในประเทศนั้น อาจส่งผลให้เกิดความขัดแย้งในสังคมเกาหลีใต้ ซึ่งให้ความสำคัญกับการเป็นชนชาติเดียวเป็นอย่างมาก รัฐบาลเกาหลีใต้พยายามแก้ไขปัญหานี้ที่อาจเกิดขึ้นจากความแตกต่างทาง วัฒนธรรมและความไม่เข้าใจกันในการสื่อสารนี้ โดยมุ่งเน้นสร้างความเข้าใจกับประชาชนต่อการเปลี่ยนแปลงที่จะเกิดขึ้นในสังคม อันเนื่องมาจากความหลากหลายทางวัฒนธรรมที่จะหลั่งไหลเข้ามา พร้อมกับแรงงานต่างชาติ และสนับสนุนการเรียนรู้ภาษาและวัฒนธรรมเกาหลีให้กับชาวต่างชาติ เพื่อให้สามารถปรับตัวเข้ากับสังคมเกาหลีใต้ได้ พร้อมทั้งส่งเสริมความเข้าใจอันดีระหว่างชาวเกาหลี และแรงงานต่างชาติเพื่อที่จะสามารถอยู่ร่วมกันได้อย่างมีความสุขซึ่งหาก สามารถแก้ปัญหาความขัดแย้งและความไม่เข้าใจที่เกิดจากความแตกต่างทางด้านเชื้อชาติใต้นั้น อาจส่งผลให้แรงงานต่างชาติหลั่งไหลเข้ามาในเกาหลีใต้มี จำนวนเพิ่มขึ้น ซึ่งเป็นไปตามความต้องการของรัฐบาลที่จะนำพาเศรษฐกิจ ให้พัฒนาและมีศักยภาพในการแข่งขันในตลาดโลกได้ดียิ่งขึ้น โดยไม่ทำให้เกิดความแตกแยกในสังคม แต่การเปลี่ยนแปลงที่จะเกิดขึ้นจะบรรลุเป้าหมายตามที่รัฐบาลได้วางไว้นั้นหรือไม่อาจยังต้องใช้เวลา เป็นเครื่องพิสูจน์

สาขาวิชา..... เกาหลีศึกษา..... ลายมือชื่อนิสิต.....
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SUPATCHA INDUSOBHANA: MOVING TOWARD MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY?: SOUTH KOREA'S MIGRATION TRENDS AND POLICIES WITH THE FOCUS ON FOREIGN LABOR. ADVISOR: PROF. CHAIWAT KHAMCHOO, Ph.D., 79 pp.

The purpose of this thesis is to study the migration trends and immigration policies of South Korea with the focus on foreign labor and to discuss the obstacles and problems that might occur as a result of the increase of foreign population. The study is done by using the secondary academic data collected through various sources including special reports, findings from previous studies, books, periodicals, journals and internet by focusing on the First Basic Plan for Immigration Policy 2008-2012, the related policies, and the information related to the immigration in South Korea.

Findings of this study reveal the main purpose of South Korea's immigration policies that aim to achieve multicultural society and its high demand for foreign labor in order to help the country accelerating economic development and enhancing the national competitiveness. However, widely recognized as a homogeneous nation with a strong consciousness of ethnic nationalism, the government's determination to achieve multicultural society might be obstructed. Moreover, the aim to attract more foreign talents and manpower might result in social frictions and social problems caused by ethnic and cultural diversities and miscommunication between the Korean nationals and the newcomers. Therefore, in addition to the encouragement and support of the language and cultural study for foreigners to help them adjust themselves more comfortably to the Korean society, the government has tried to create a better understanding among the natives through public education about the change that will occur in order to strengthen the social cohesion where the Koreans and foreigners could live together happily. Thus, if South Korea could eliminate the conflicts and discrimination that caused by the difference in ethnicity and cultures, more foreigners with desirable potentials would immigrate into South Korea and possibly help South Korea push ahead the economic development without causing social frictions. However, to achieve the goal of being a multicultural society might be a time-consuming process.

Field of Study: Korean Studies.....

Student's Signature

Academic Year: 2011.....

Advisor's Signature

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Globalization creates dynamic changes in most parts of the world. It did not only blur the national boundaries, but also lessened the significance of the national barriers allowing the rise of matters and problems of people crossing them. International migration is one of its crucial consequences. When people from various ethnic and cultural backgrounds come to live upon a land that does not belong to them originally, the conflicts are unavoidable. The immigrants or the newcomers are believed to bring in diverse changes to economy, society, culture, identity and values of the host societies. Therefore, the solution to overcome with the conflicts caused by diversities in race, culture and language, namely 'multicultural society' (Choe, 2007) were brought up.

Multiculturalism is a democratic policy for coping with cultural and social diversity in society. It is a systematic and comprehensive response to cultural and ethnic diversity, with educational, linguistic, economic and social components and specific institutional mechanisms that has been adopted by a few countries, notably Australia, Canada and Sweden (Inglis, 2004). Multiculturalism is also believed to be an ideal solution in solving the discourses of the majority and the minority citizens in Western countries that Asian countries have tried to adopt. It has been proclaimed that at its full-scale, it will prevail an equal right and status of the majority and the minority. (Kim, 2009)

A major engendering factor that diversifies the ethnicity and culture in many societies would be the 'international migration'. It is the movement of the individuals across the national boundaries and stay in the host country for a certain length of time in order to search for the economic opportunities, better political conditions, and better living conditions. There are series of theories that have tried to explain the

migration flows and the social impacts it caused on the countries of origin and destination. However, since the characteristics and the trends of migration in each country are differentiated and shaped by varieties of factors, the identical cases are relatively uncommon. Without consideration of the influences or the contributing factors of the international migration, its consequences have put a lot of positive effects to the host and the origin countries. However, its negative repercussions cannot be neglected either.

Although migration is viewed as a constructive economic and social force bringing about the dynamic labour force, economy and community as well as rich cultural diversity, it can also generate an unpleasant outcome especially in case of human trafficking and labour exploitation. Likewise, Mansoor and Quillin (2007) see that migration can create social friction and security risks for receiving countries. Furthermore, Stalker (2002) views that the patterns of migration are shaped by the policy, which attempts to control the immigration flows in order to reflect the national interest. Thus, he pointed out that in order to balance the conflict, the government welcomes immigrants as a valuable labor force, on the other hand, tries to dissuade immigrants if believing that they will bring social and political problems in order to preserve national identity and maintain social stability. Accordingly, even though the international migration has been believed to contribute positive effects to the economic development in the destination countries, its changing patterns and related conflicts are also suspected as a threat to the national security and a cause of social problems in the receiving countries. Therefore, the issue of immigration policy then has become more significant among the governments of each nation.

1.1 Background

South Korea has a very long experience of an outflow and inflow migration. During 1960s to 1980s, South Korea was a major labour sending country when almost two millions of South Koreans emigrated for the temporary employments overseas bringing back great amount of remittances. However, the recent phenomenon occurred contradictorily. The amazingly rapid economic development has created

higher demand for more foreign labor making South Korea one of the major labor receiving countries in the world. Additionally, the increasing numbers of female migrants due to the gender imbalance society and the demographic challenges that allowed many of Korean men to marry foreign women and the returns of overseas ethnic Koreans from China and Russia heightened up the numbers of foreign residents in South Korea. As a consequence, the numbers of foreign residents in South Korea currently constitute about 1.2 million (IOM MRTTC, 2010) considering around 2.4 percent of its total population. This huge numbers of immigrants could definitely lead to numerous changes in the host society. Thus, South Korea needs to adjust instantly according to the certain changing situation. It was also predicted that if this trend of immigration influx continues, the numbers of foreign residents in South Korea would reach 2.5 million in 2020 and plausibly rise up to 4.1 million by 2050, which would consider 9.2 percent of its total populations (Kim, 2010). This huge amount of immigrants calls for an adjustment in immigration policies to respond to the change that will happen in the society. Moreover, the reinforcement of the border control and migration management program should be well designed in order to serve the public needs and prevent the conflict in the society that the immigrants will produce.

However, widely recognized as an ethnic homogeneous nation, South Korean government's intention to transfer the nation to the multicultural society is appealing. The nationalistic and patriotic consciousness that was provoked throughout its history and the traumatic sensitivities affected by foreign occupation, Cold War and Korean War, tend to harden the Koreans to open to foreigners. Therefore, the government needs to be more proactive in preparing the natives for the societal change as well as assisting the immigrants to adjust themselves to the new society in order to keep social cohesion strong and prevent the conflicts that will happen. Accordingly, this could be a reason why South Korea is pursuing the multicultural society as it is the main focus of the recent South Korea's immigration policies especially in '*The First Basic Plan for Immigration policies 2008-2012*'.

South Korean government has tried to adjust the immigration policies to respond to the influx of the immigrants in order to secure the national identity and to

preserve the social cohesion by guaranteeing the equality of the migrants' opportunities, enabling them to maintain their unique heritages and traditions, and recognizing their ethnic diversities. Moreover, the policies were also designed to control the right kinds and the right number of the immigrants in order to serve the demand of the labor market and national interest. Thus, numbers of policies have been established in order to lay the foundation for the long-term migration policies. Accordingly, the studies of South Korea's migration trends and the related policies are believed to be essential in order to serve as possible recommendations for the policymaking and to grant an up-to-date knowledge for the migration studies.

This thesis explores South Korea's recent immigration policies, namely '*the First Basic Plan for Immigration Policy 2008-2012*' and other related policies that have been established as a response to national interest in more foreign manpower. The large numbers of prospective immigrants or the newcomers who would bring along with them diversities might be perceived as an intimidation to the nation with its long enduring homogenous myth tacked with the strong nationalism. The study aims to address how South Korean government prepares the nation and its citizens for the change and how to cope with the obstacles conceivably caused by the elevated numbers of the labor immigrants. Toward this end, the study reviews the discussion over the demand for more foreign labors and the related immigration policies and programs. Furthermore, the discussion over the Korean national identity and ethnic nationalism discourse reveals some obstacles that might hinder the approach to Korean multicultural society.

1.2 Research Objectives

1. To examine the changes in South Korea's recently implemented policies as a response to the changing patterns of migration toward multiculturalism
2. To analyze the factors contributing to the implementation of South Korea's immigration policies toward multiculturalism focusing on the issues covering foreign labor

3. To foresee the outcomes of the policies as a relation to the rationale of the implementation of the immigration policies with its multicultural orientation

1.3 Research Questions

1. Why does South Korean government aim to achieve the multicultural society?
2. How could South Korea achieve the multicultural society? Since it is widely recognized as a homogeneous country.
3. Could ethnocentric sentiments hinder the approach to the multicultural society in South Korea?

1.4 Hypothesis

1. South Korea's immigration policies have progressively changed in order to welcome more labor force due to the economic driven factors.
2. The rationale underlying in South Korea's immigration policies, which are centered on social integration and multiculturalism, is not only to manage the increasing numbers of immigrants but also to solve the humanitarian problems regarding foreign workers and the negative sentiments of the Koreans toward foreigners.
3. Strong sense of ethnocentrism and nationalism is likely to be an obstacle to multiculturalism in South Korea.

1.5 Scope of the study

1. The explanation of the interrelation between the migration trends with the characteristics and the direction of the immigration policies
2. The research is limited to the matters covering the labor migration in South Korea's immigration policies

1.6 Research Significance

To show the South Korea's migration management strategies in solving the humanitarian and social problems regarding foreign labor

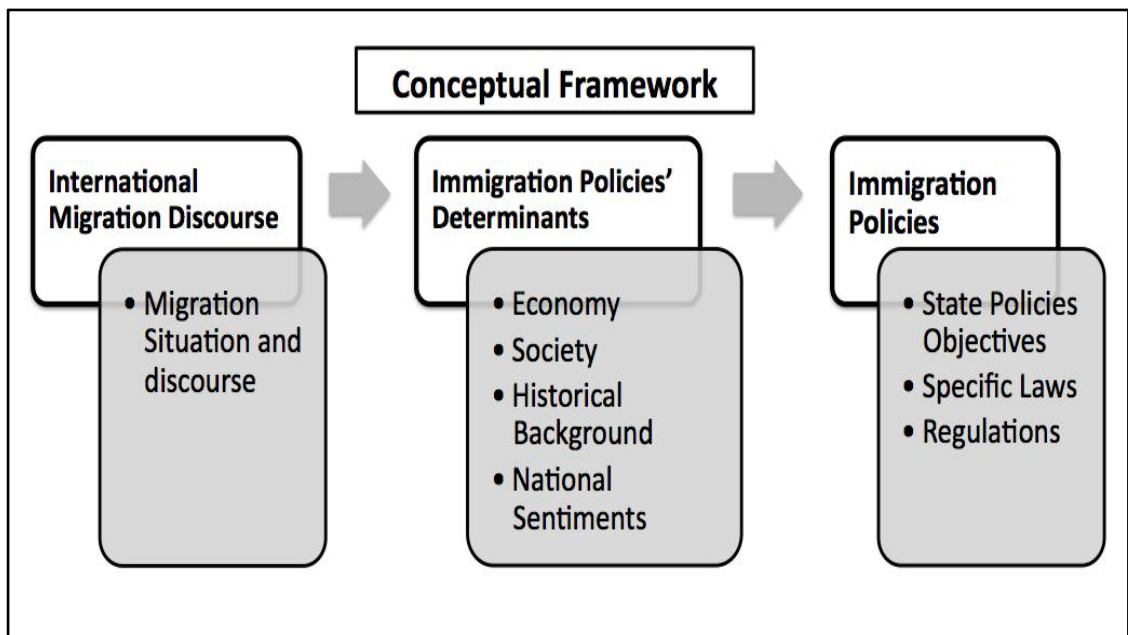
1.7 Research Methodology

The research aims to study migration trends and immigration policies by mainly using the descriptive explanatory research method based on the analysis of historical and recent migration situation in South Korea. Most of the data in this research is descriptive secondary academic data collected through all available sources including special reports, findings from previous studies, books, periodicals, journals, and Internet. Moreover, the statistic in relation to migration flows and the demographic of South Korea from various reliable sources is also utilized. The study emphasizes on the explanatory research as a mean to explain the history and the current migration trends and the South Korea's recently implemented policies as well as its expected outcomes interrelated to the trends and policies.

1.8 Conceptual Framework

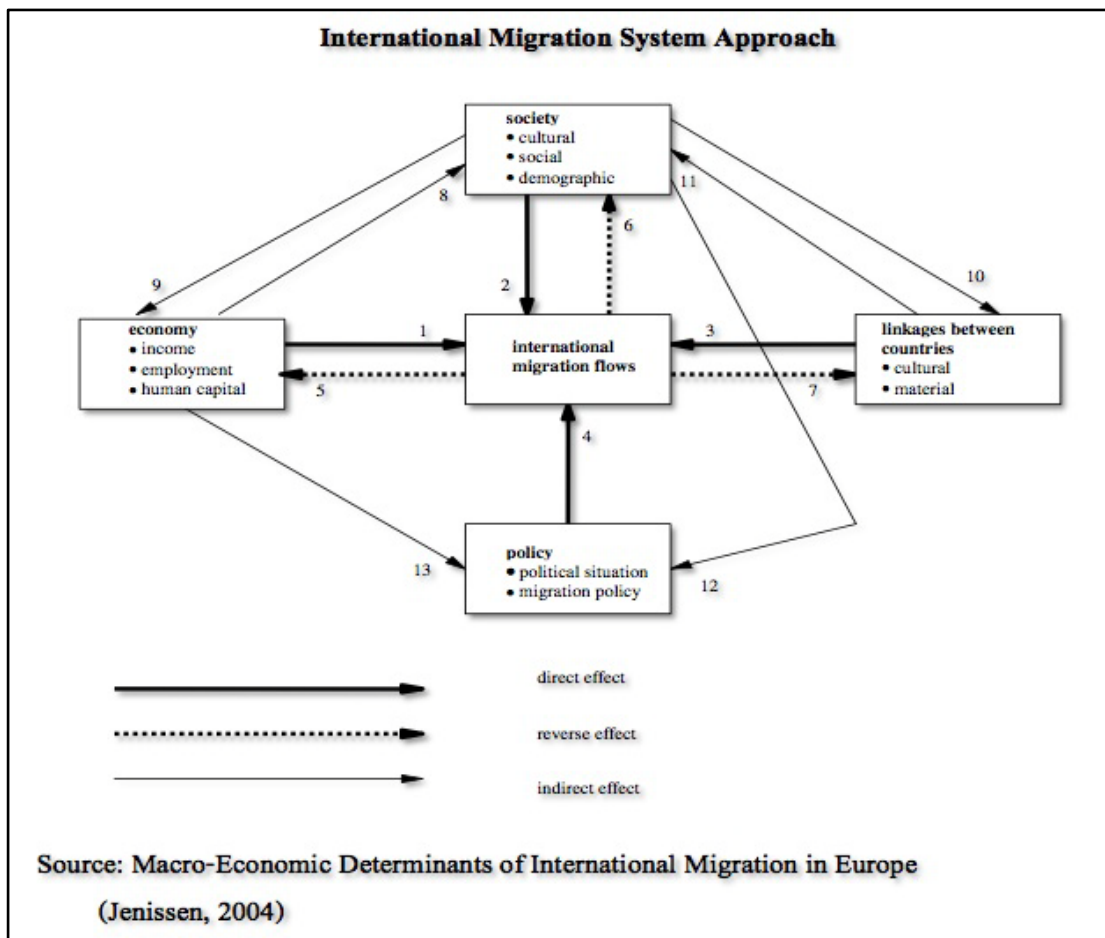
Conceptual framework of this thesis is shown in the following diagram. The determinants in the framework are partially derived from "*The Determinants of Migration: Conceptualizing policy origin and destination effects*" by DEMIG Project—International Migration Institute, University of Oxford, 2011 and "*the International Migration System Approach*" analyzed by Jenissen in "Macro-Economic Determinants of International Migration in Europe", 2004.

Figure 1.1: Conceptual Framework of the Research



The details and the determinants presented in the conceptual framework will be analyzed mainly. The framework I intended to use in the study is the combined methods from the previous work done by Jenissen in 2004 in *'Macro-Economic Determinants of International Migration in Europe'* and another method from DEMIG Project led by International Migration Institute of University of Oxford in 2011.

Figure 1.2: International Migration System Approach by Jenissen (2004)



In this framework analyzed by Jenissen (2004), the determinants are divided into four categories, which are economy, society, policy and linkages between the countries that impact the migration in both sending and receiving countries.

Derived from Kritz and Zlotnik's International Migration Approach, the four categories of determinants can be divided into components that perform the international migration. The society component comprises of three sub-components, which are cultural, refers to lifestyle and ethnicity; social, concerns about the inequality and cohesion in the societies; and demographic, correlates with the age and sex distribution of the population. The economy component can be identified as three sub-components, which are income, employment and the amount of the human capital. The 'linkage between countries category' comprises of cultural that includes the colonial past or sharing the same language, and material linkages that determine

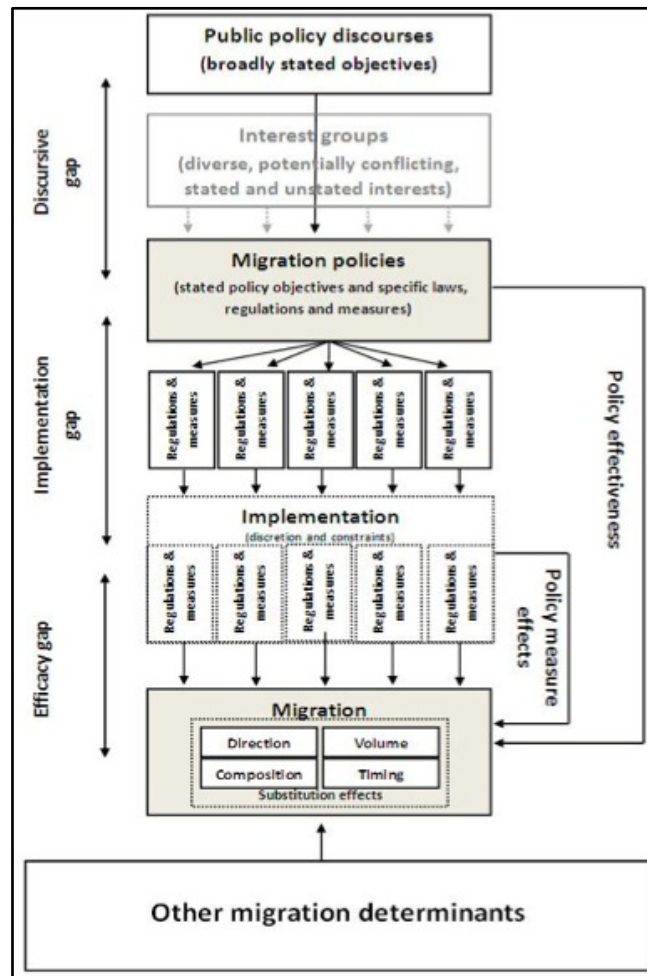
the distance between countries or cost of moving between countries. Lastly, the political situation and migration policy are distinguished within the policy category.

However, I have drawn only some determinants from the method in order to explain the movement of people into South Korea, which are society, economy and politic. Furthermore, in order to analyze the underlying circumstances of South Korea's migration trend and characteristics, I would utilize 'Push-Pull' approach introduced by Lee (1966), the 'neo-classical economic' approach and the 'behavioral' approach to describe the nature of migration in South Korea.

In this study, I will utilize the neo-liberalism approaches or more recognized as the migration management as a mean to explain the characteristic of migration control or policy of South Korea and its related consequences. Furthermore, I will also use the national identity approach to explain the unique of South Korea's national identity and history that strongly influenced its immigration policy.

With the gratitude to the DEMIG project, I would extract some components of the determinants in their conceptual framework of migration policy effects and effectiveness published in IMI Working Paper Series 2011 to apply it with my study in the case of the South Korea's immigration policies in order to simplify my explanation. The following diagram shows the DEMIG conceptual framework.

Figure 1.3: Conceptual framework of migration policy effects and effectiveness



CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEWS

I divided the literature reviews into three parts which are first, the reviews of the related researches; second, the reviews of related theories; and last, the reviews of the related and relevant information.

The first two parts of the literature reviews are used in order to understand the backgrounds and the fundamental of the study as well as to create the conceptual framework of the study, and the last part would function as to help analyzing the data and information under the scope of the conceptual framework.

2.1. Related researches

In this part, I have chosen some of the previous works that influenced greatly on my study. Moreover, these articles function as a fundamental of this thesis.

The first article is from IOM journal Compilation in 2009, namely *‘Multicultural challenges in Korea: the current stage and a prospect’* written by Nam-Kook Kim. In this paper, Kim examined the recent challenges of cultural diversity in South Korea and also predicted the possible developments in the future. He explained the current stage of development in the Korean society towards multiculturalism through a three-stage framework: tolerance, legalization of non-discrimination, and multiculturalism. With the intention to explain the unique situation in Korea, he proposed two different perspectives, namely, ‘state top-down’ and ‘society bottom-up’. He countered the state-initiated instrumental multiculturalism theories by arguing from the liberal democracy approach in which the increasing demands for cultural rights by minorities and liberal constitutional government’s inevitable acceptance of the demands. He argued that the encouragement of NGOs in civil society since the mid-1990s have a stronger influence on the development of a multiculturalism friendly atmosphere than of the state initiation. The article shows that now South Korean society is struggling through

the changing period into the multicultural society. Moreover, the author also viewed that to get through this transitional stage, it needs an encouragement from both the civil society and the state to achieve the multicultural society at its full scale where citizens and foreigners living together happily.

In addition, in *'The development and Future Tasks of Multiculturalism in Korean Society'* by Yoon In-Jin presented in the UNESCO Forum 2011, the progress and the characteristics of South Korean Multiculturalism with the focus particularly on the relationships of the state and civil society were reviewed. Furthermore, it examined the backgrounds that Korean society experienced the increase of social interest in multiculturalism and how multicultural policies were introduced in the society, by comparing its process with the western cases. The study shows that social interests in multiculturalism have increased as a result of NGOs striving to raise human rights protection for foreign workers and female marriage immigrants and the necessity of social integration, which the state conformed to by pushing forward multi-cultural policies. She classified the ideal types of multiculturalism as 'state-led multiculturalism' and 'citizen-led multiculturalism', with the examination the main contents with the pros and cons of each category. The research was conducted by collecting the data through literature reviews and interviews as well as case studies. Regarding the roles and activities of the state, the information was collected via foreigner and marriage immigrant policies and programs from the government and the information concerning the roles of civil society was collected through the interviews with committee members of NGOs who involved in the multicultural programs. The paper lastly proposed a realistic and practical plan of action that compensates for the limitations and issues of the state-led and citizen-led multiculturalism.

In this study, the author first went over the roles of state contributing to multiculturalism or 'state-led multiculturalism' by comparing the overall implications of the previously established policies concerning the multicultural issues to those of western countries': Canada and Australia. Then, the study reviewed the policies enacted in order to solve the concerning discourses related to discrimination against foreigners, and social integration of mix bloods and migrants. However, the study did

not go into deep details of the policies enacted, as it more focuses on the combined role of the government and the civil society.

Furthermore, the last articles that influenced the most to my study is *'Korea and the 'Multicultural' Other'* by Joowon Yuk, 2011. The paper explores how multicultural discourse plays its role in South Korea by investigating the genealogy of racialised terms for ethnic other in Korea and how they have been transfigured into politically correct notion of 'multicultural'. The author interrogated how this culturalist tendency conceals racism under the adoption of multiculturalism in the South Korea context. Accordingly, he scrutinized the rationale of Korea's *'Support for Multicultural Families Act'* as a part of a critical analysis on multiculturalism in order to uncover the fact that multicultural in Korea does not tackle racism, rather implicitly reinforces it.

Accordingly, in order to understand the South Korea's migration management strategies with the multicultural orients, I would rather focus my study onto the analysis of the immigration policies covering the labor immigrants' matters. Also with the intention to examine the state-led multiculturalism and the implication of the recent implemented policies that respond to the state and civic interests, I will focus my analysis on *'Act on the treatment of Foreigners in Korea (2009), Immigration Control Law and Relevant Rules (2009), The First Basic Plan for Immigration Policy (2008-2012)'* with the hope to end my discussion with the evaluation by appraising the policies outcomes and the answers to the questions: why the South Korean government aims to achieve the multicultural society, how South Korea could achieve the goal as having the ethnic nationalistic sentiment as an obstacle and in which way the policies intended to solve the problems occurred and to what extents the policies could serve the state and the civic demands economically and socially.

2.2 Related theories

In this part, I will firstly start by explaining the definitions that are important and related to the study and then will later review the theories that serve as the fundamental of my study: theories of international migration, and theories of migration control/policy.

2.2.1 Definitions

- ***Multiculturalism*** is a systematic and comprehensive response to cultural and ethnic diversity with educational, linguistic, economic and social components and specific institution mechanism, which has been adopted by a few countries, notably Australia, Canada and Sweden. It is considered as a search for democratic public policy responses to cultural and ethnic diversity in certain countries and is a prime interest to UNESCO. (Inglis, 2004)
- ***International migration*** is the movement of the individuals across the national boundaries and staying in the host country for a certain length of time in order to search for the economics opportunities, political conditions or simply says better living conditions.
- ***Migrants or Immigrants*** – Samers (2010) saw that there's no precise definition of either migrant or immigrants. Also, they are both always used interchangeably between one another. Even though he sees the immigration as a more permanent residence also as citizens who are naturalized as immigrants, given origins and views migrants as individuals who reside in another country for more than three months, still he used it interchangeably within his book, namely '*Migration*'. However, he mentioned that the term 'migrant' implies a more temporary sense of residence.
- ***Immigration policy*** is the policies of a potential receiving country to determine whether people's movement can take place and of what kind. It determines the immigration patterns, giving a large amount of people who would like to emigrate to the industrialized countries for economic or political reasons and the strictly limit to do so. Also, it's the policy that determines the globalization (Meyers, 2000).

- ***Social Integration*** is defined by OECD as “the process by which people who are relatively new to a country (i.e. whose roots do not reach deeper than two or three generations) become part of society”. However, the concept of the ‘European integration’ refers to shaping a new structure out of individual entities, the nation states emphasizing on the new, collectively determined unity could be useful for conceiving a two-way process of integrating migrants and established nationals (OECD, 2003). Furthermore, it was concluded by the European Foundation that Social Integration could be defined as the inclusion and acceptance of immigrants into the core institution, relationships and positions of a host society. Moreover, the process of the integration is explained as the process for the immigrants to learn a new culture, to acquire rights and obligation, to gain access to positions and social status, to build personal relationship with members of the host society and to form a feeling of belonging to and identification with that society. However, to the host society, it means the process of opening up institution and granting equal opportunities to immigrants. It is the relation between the host society and immigrants. However, the host society possesses more power and prestige.
- ***Ethnocentrism*** refers to the way the ethnic groups sees other ethnic group as being inferior, resulting in negative attitudes and behaviors towards other people who do not belong to the group. It is defined as viewing one’s own group as at the center of everything and using standards of one’s own group to measure or to gauge the worth of all other groups (Neuliep, 1996).

2.2.2 Theories

- ***Theories of international migration***

Raveinstein (1885,1889) proposed the '*Laws of migration*' reasoning that the migration is caused by the higher wages and better work. Raveinstein's analysis suggested push-pull factors that directed the migration trends. Later, Lee (1969) elaborated the idea that stemmed from the former theory. '*The Push - Pull*' factors were categorized whereas the 'Push' factors pushed the migrants out of a country or region, and the 'Pull' factors pulled them to another country or region. Lee's push factors include rapid economic growth, poverty, political repression, war and environmental crisis. However, as for his pull factors, they were indicated by job opportunities, a better standard of living, medical treatment, and freedom from political repression.

Later, '*the neo-classical economic approaches*' stated that migrant workers moved from poorer countries to richer ones or the job-poor regions to job-rich regions. Neo-classical economic theory views migrant as the rational individuals responding to 'perfect' or 'various pieces of information' about their economic opportunities in both the country of emigration and the country of immigration". (Borjas, 1989; Samer, 2010) Moreover, they migrate as to maximize their income, to seek for the possibility of employment and other employment conditions as well as better opportunities in the region or country of immigration.

Likewise, the other suggestion has been raised by '*the behavioral approach*'. The behaviorist focused on individuals as the unit of analysis differentiated from the neo-classical explanations in which it concerned more on the understanding of the migrants' cognition and decision making for choosing a particular place as a destination not the reasons regarding wage differentials. Wolpert (1965) argued that migrants chose particular destinations because they offered

the ‘place utility’ without concerning the expected wages or involving with ‘cost-benefit analysis. The following table summarizes the theories of international migration.

Table 2.1: Theories of International Migration

Theory of migration	Substantial focus	Unit of analysis
Ravenstein’s Laws and Push-Pull theory (Lee, 1969)	Internal and international migration based on push and pull reasoning	Individuals and groups: push and pull variables
Neo-classical economic approach	Migration between poorer and richer countries and regions based on economic rationality	Individuals
Behaviouralist	Migration behaviour of individuals and internal migration based on rational cognitive ‘satisfying’ behaviour and place utility	Individuals

Source: ‘Migration’ (Samer, 2010)

- ***Theories of migration control/policy***

‘*Neo-liberalism approach*’ to migration control or policy, or sometimes regards as the ‘migration management’ and ‘managed migration’(Samers 2010) describes the policies in many wealthier countries that are designed to direct the types and number of migrants. It also aims to ensure the right kind and the right number of migrants in order to meet with the country’s demands. (Morris, 2002; Kofman, 2008; Samers, 2010). It was designed to promote economic competitiveness as well as to control the numbers and the types of migrants as well as the burden of the welfare systems. Samers (2010) viewed that it also reflects the government’s concerns with the other issues including security, the dictate of foreign policy, trade liberalization, promoting the national standing, creating ethnic or racial

homogeneity, nation-building and advancing an 'imagine future' (Walton-Roberts, 2004; Samers, 2010)

In '*Theories of International Immigration Policy*', Meyers asserted that "the state serves as a neutral arena for societal interests: interest groups and parties. Policy making is the result of bargaining as well as compromises between these interests, or sometimes it reflects the fact that one or more of these actors has succeeded in capturing the state". He also delineated six approaches to immigration control policy; Marxism, realism, liberalism, the national identity approach, domestic-politics (partisan and interest group politics) and institutionalism.

However, here, I would focus mainly on the approach of national identity as I expected that it would well describe the South Korea's immigration's policy. The national identity approach highlights historical experiences, cultural idioms and social conflicts that have shaped past and current immigration policies. It also argues that the unique history of each country, its conceptions of citizenship and nationality as well as the debates concerning the national identity and social conflicts within it, shape its immigration policies (Meyer, 2000). The theory pointed out the importance of external and situational factors. It is categorized by many scholars as a historical sociology or political sociology in which it built upon sociological and psychological theories and concepts such as national identity, national building, prejudice, alienation and social closure (Higham, 1955; Brubaker, 1992; Meyers, 2000) Moreover, it also shows interest in the unique history and traditions of each country and utilizes the historical approach. The national identity approach shows the relation between economic and cultural and explains the timing of immigration policies on the basis of social conflicts and debates over national identity. In conclusion, it explores the traditions and cultures, as it is believed to frame the immigration policies. Moreover, it was asserted that state policies are influenced by the history and traditional ways of thinking

of society. It also explains why country either favor or the temporary labor migration or permanent immigration. Lastly, it stated that major racial, ethnic and religious conflicts within a society that influences the attitudes toward the immigration as well as the political balance between them. The following table summarizes the theories of migration control and policy.

Table 2.2: Theories of Migration Control/Policy

Theories of migration control/policy	Main concerns of the government	Situational Factors (Shaping the policies)
Neo-liberalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •National Security •Dictate of foreign policy •Trade liberalization •Promoting national standing •Creating ethnic/racial homogeneity 	Economic Competitiveness (right kind/right number of migrant to meet with the country's demand)
National identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •National Identity; history and tradition •Political balance between society and immigration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Historical Experiences •Cultural idioms •Social Conflicts

2.3 Related and relevant information

2.3.1 Act on the treatment of Foreigners in Korea 2009

Article 1 (Purpose)

“The purpose of this Act is to stipulate the basic provisions concerning the treatment of foreigners in Korea: to adjust themselves to the Korean society to reach their full potentials and to create a society where Koreans and foreigners in Korea understand and respect each other with the aim of contributing to the development of Korea and social integration”¹

¹Act on the Treatment of Foreigners in Korea 2009: Chapter I General Provision

Article 10 (Safeguarding Human Rights of Foreigners in Korea)

“National, municipal, and local governments shall make efforts such as conducting educational programs public communication activities and whatever activities proper and necessary to prevent unreasonable discrimination against foreigners in Korea or their children and to safeguard their human rights.”²

Article 11 (Support for the Social Adjustment of Foreigners in Korea)

“National, municipal, and local governments may provide foreigners in Korea with education, information and consultation about the common basic knowledge necessary for living in Korea.”³

Article 16 (Improvement of Treatment of Foreigners/Skilled Foreign Workers)

“National, municipal, and local government(s) shall make efforts to devise institutions and measures needed for improvement of legal status and treatment in order to attract foreign workers who have specialized knowledge, technology, or skills.”⁴

Article 18 (Enhancement of Understanding about Cultural Diversity)

“National, municipal, and local governments shall make efforts to take measures such as education, public communication activities, and correction of unreasonable instructions in order to ensure that Koreans and foreigners in Korea understand and respect each other’s history, culture and institutions.”⁵

^{2,3,4} Act on the Treatment of Foreigners in Korea 2009: Chapter III Treatment of Foreigner in Korea

⁵ Act on the Treatment of Foreigners in Korea 2009: Chapter IV Creating a Society Where Koreans and Foreigners in Korea Live in Harmony

Article 19 (Together Day)

“1) To create a society where Koreans and foreigners in Korea respect each other's culture and tradition and live in harmony, May 20 is designated as "Together Day" and one week starting Together Day is designated as Together Week.

2) Matters necessary for Together Day event may be determined by the Minister of Justice or Mayor of special city, Mayor of metropolitan city, Governor of Province, and Governor of special autonomous province respectively.”⁶

2.3.2 Immigration Control Law and Relevant Rules 2009

Article 1 (Purpose)

“The purpose of this Act is to stipulate the matters concerning the entry into and departure from the Republic of Korea (hereinafter referred to as Korea) of Koreans and foreigners, the stay of foreigners in Korea, and the procedures for the recognition of refugee status.”⁷

Article 17-3 (Criteria for issuing a stay of foreigners) Section 2, Sub-Section 3,4

“3. A person who forced a foreigner to engage in the act related to prostitution, speculation, sales and provision of narcotics, and who violated the Act on the Punishment of Sex-trafficking Arrangement, etc. Activity, the Act on Special Cases regarding the Regulation and Punishment of Speculative Activity, etc., the Narcotics Control Act, and who has been sentenced to imprisonment without labor or heavier punishment, and three years has not

⁶ Act on the Treatment of Foreigners in Korea 2009: Chapter IV Creating a Society Where Koreans and Foreigners in Korea Live in Harmony

⁷ Immigration Control Law: Chapter 1 General Provision

passed since such execution has been completed, or has been decided not to perform.

4. A person who has violated the Labor Standards Act because of not having paid the wage or allowance to the foreign employees or industrial trainees, or due to forcing them to work against their own will, and who has been sentenced to imprisonment without labor or heavier punishment, and three years has not elapsed since such execution has been completed, or has been decided not to perform.”⁸

Article 56-3 (Respect of Detainees’ Human rights, etc.)

“Human rights of the detainees shall be fully respected, and the discrimination based on nationality, gender, religion and social position, etc. shall be forbidden. 〈Newly Added Mar.24, 2005〉”⁹

2.3.3 The First Basic Plan for Immigration Policy 2008-2012

It has been mentioned in “*the first basic plan for immigration policy*” that the immigration policies, by all means, are comprehensive policies on granting the temporary or permanent right of abode to foreigners who would like to migrate to the Republic of Korea and on providing foreigners with the proper environment conducive for their political, economic, social, and cultural participation. The policy is a new national plan for Immigration policy that is devised every five years. It is a long-term basic policy direction that is important as to consolidate the fragmented previously established policies into a comprehensive and systematic one, moreover, will be strategically useful in addressing various issues associates with the increased inflow of foreigners into Korea.

Basic direction of Immigration Policy

⁸ Immigration Control Laws and Relevant Rules, Enforcement Regulation: Chapter 2. Entry and Landing of Foreigners, Section 1

⁹ Immigration Control Laws and Relevant Rules, Immigration Control Law: Chapter 6. Forced Removal, etc., Section 3 Detention

1. Enhancing the national competitiveness through an open-door policy
2. Developing into a more mature, multicultural society where human rights are respected
3. Ensuring that immigration laws and orders are respected

Vision of Immigration Policy

“World class Korea where foreigners live in harmony with Koreans”

Policy Objectives and Major Tasks of Immigration Policy

1. Enhancing national competitiveness with a proactive openness policy
 - 1.1 Securing growth potential by attracting highly skilled foreigners
 - 1.2 Attracting manpower from oversea for the balanced development of national economy
 - 1.3 Creating a foreigner-friendly living environment
2. Pursuing quality social integration
 - 2.1 Improving public understanding of multicultural society
 - 2.2 Helping immigrants through marriage get settled
 - 2.3 Creating a sound environment for children of multicultural families
 - 2.4 Creating a friendly environment for Korean diasporas
3. Enforcing immigration laws
 - 3.1 Enforcing Immigration laws
 - 3.2 Managing borders and foreigner information for national security
 - 3.3 Securing solid citizens
4. Protecting human rights of foreigners
 - 4.1 Preventing discrimination and protecting the human rights of foreigners
 - 4.2 Protecting the human rights of foreigners in detention
 - 4.3 Establishing an advanced system for refugee recognition and support

CHAPTER III

SOUTH KOREA'S PROACTIVE OPEN-DOOR POLICIES

Recent South Korea's immigration policy does not only show the main concern over the human rights protection in responding to the international and NGOs' interest, but also reveals the national interest in pursuing the 'proactive open door policy', as stated in the major policy tasks of the '*First Basic Plan for Immigration Policy 2008-2012*'.¹⁰ The policy reveals the national demand for more foreigners into South Korea in order to enhance the national competitiveness in the global arena. However, the rationale to explain why South Korea would desire for more foreigners and what encourage the ethnic homogeneous nation to achieve multicultural society is still doubtful. In this chapter, I will explain the Korean demographic situation that might affect the choice making on its immigration policies. Then, I will discuss the demand for more foreigners and the motivation to open the door in order to explain South Korea's direction and intention regarding the labor immigration.

The declines in working-age population

Despite the demographic dividend¹¹ phenomenon that occurred in most high developing countries and opened up the opportunity for faster economic growth and the human development (Ross, 2004), the long term of the continue on-going of the birth rate fall tends to result in the decline of the working populations. With more advanced technology in health and medicine, the life expectancy rose rapidly. In addition to the fertility rate decline, following by the increasing numbers of

¹⁰ The First Basic Plan for Immigration Policy 2008-2012, by Korea Immigration Service, Ministry of Justice, Republic of Korea (Jun. 2009)

¹¹ "Demographic dividend refers to the opportunity for economic brought about by the increasing proportion of the working age population during the demographic transition (Phang, 2005)."

population in their retirements, it burdened many developing nations with high cost of elderly welfare. Moreover, the trend of the low fertility rate and rapidly aging population in many developing countries has generated much concern over the possibility of the working populations declines and the labor shortage that could lessen national productivity and national competitiveness.

The public awareness of the baby boom phenomenon after the World War II, the population explosion in 1960s, added up with the experts' concerns over the high fertility in developing countries in 1970s, and the economists and demographers' serious discussion over the rapid population growth that would hold up the economic development, resulted in numbers of population policies and programs that intended to slow down the growing numbers of population and stabilize the population size. The policies and campaigns were successfully adopted in many developing and developed countries in the late 1970s (Kent & Haub, 2005). Thus, in the following decade, as a result of the earlier implemented policies designed to decrease the fertility rate and control the population size, many high developing and developed nations experienced with the contradict demographic event that the fertility gradually sunk to the lows.

South Korea's population had risen from 19 million in 1950 to 47 million in 2000 producing the average growth rate at 1.8 percent per year. In one of the articles presented by Korea Labour Institute in 2005, namely '*Demographic Dividend and Labour Force Transformations in Asia: The case of the Republic of Korea*' (Phang, 2005), Phang identified two phases of Korean population growth rate: the first phase, from 1950-1975; and the second phase, from 1975-2000. During the first phase, the population growth was at 2.5 percent per year and lowered down in the second phase at only 1.1 percent per year. The statistics showed that before the Korean War (1950-1953), the total fertility rate of Korea was approximately at 6.1 children per woman in 1930-1940 and 6.0 in 1940-1950. However, after the war broke out until 1980s, the number had plunged to 1.7 and continued to fall until it reached 1.23 in 2012(est., CIA world fact book, 2012) making South Korea's fertility rate descended to the lowest, comparing to the other OECD countries at the average of 1.63 birth per woman (KIS, 2009).

In addition to the total population decline and the low fertility rate, South Korea is also facing with another demographic challenge, which is the rapidly aging population. This issue has been discussed widely in most developed countries: United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and etc., for a certain period of time. Unfortunately, in the midst of modernization and intense economic development, South Korea is now confronting with the rapidly aging population in which it was forecasted that by 2050, 38 percent of its total population would be aged 65 and older and the total cost benefits to the elderly could possibly exceed 25 percent of its GDP. (Howe, et al, 2007)

Noted that “Korea is aging faster than any country in history” and “By 2050, there will be three elderly Koreans for every Korean child (Howe, et al, 2007)”, the study revealed that it took France 115 years, the US 71 Years, Germany 40 years and Japan 24 years to transit from the ‘aging society’ to the ‘aged society’¹². Unfortunately, it would take Korea only 18 years to pass the threshold of being the aged society in 2018 and become a ‘super-aged society’, when Korean elderly make up more than 20 percent of the total population in 2026. Additionally, South Korea’s population growth is foreseen to reach its peak in 2018, and then starts to decline thereafter in which is projected to lose 15 percent of its total population in 2025-2050 (Kent & Haub, 2005).

As a consequence of the population declines, Korean workforce tends to plunge to the low as most advanced countries have experienced. Unfortunately, in the midst of high economic development, South Korea is challenged by this shortfall of labour. In the previous study, although Phang (2005) saw that the labor force participation was not properly taken into account as a course of population aging, Kent and Huab (2005) asserted that the workforce would be likely to enter a gathering decline consequently. Regardless of the arguments, from the policy perspectives, it is important for the government to prospect the avenues in order to prevent decrease of its working-age population. Hence, an abundance of policies have been designed and implemented in order to procrastinate the decline as well as to replace the vacancy in

¹²The United Nations defines an ‘aging society’ when the elderly make up at least 7 percent of the total population and an ‘aged society’ when the elderly make up 14 percent.

the labor market. As the global trends have previously shown, especially in the high developing and developed countries, the population declines resulted with empty classrooms in Japan, and a shortfall of labor with the market required skills in European countries. There have been concerns over the potential loss in the international competitiveness and the power of the population declines that could possibly lead to the economic downturn since there are fewer people to produce and consume goods and services. Therefore, it provoked the South Korean government to seek for the opportunity to increase the working population by encouraging the immigration and opening for more foreign labor.

Replacement migration: an optional solution to the working population decline

There were abundances of policies that have been laid down in responding to the demographic challenges in most countries, either the policies to lower costs of having and raising children and reduce the economic burdens of elderly; such as family support policies, family-friendly employment policies, raising the retirement age, restructuring pension, and etc., or the policies to increase the immigration of working-age people. Therefore, in this section, I would like to investigate whether it is possible that immigration could serve as an alternative solution to the population declines and the labor shortage in South Korea.

With much of the world populations that are still young and growing (Kent and Haub, 2005), there have been suggestions that working age populations in developing countries could fulfill the labor gap in the countries with aging populations. European countries and other industrialized countries have relied on immigrant labor for half a century. Although it cannot be fully agreed whether ‘Replacement Migration’ proposed by the UNPD could solve the problem of aging society, it might be a preferable option to solve the labor shortage in some developed and industrialized countries as it has been used widely in the Western world.

The UNPD¹³ (2000) suggested ‘Replacement Migration’ as an alternative solution to the population and working age population declines. In *‘Replacement Migration: Is it a solution to declining and aging population?’* by the UNPD, the

¹³ UNPD —United Nation Population Division (<http://www.un.org/esa/population/>)

replacement migration refers to international migration that would be needed to offset the declines in the size of population, the declines in working age population, as well as to offset the overall aging of a population. In the report, it was noted that if the retirement ages could not be increased from where they are today, international migration could serve as an option in the short to medium term to increase the size of the working-age population and reduce the declines in the potential support ratio.

In the scenario introduced by the UNPD, the levels of migration that would be needed to prevent the countries from the aging are to be substantially 'large magnitudes'. In Coleman's (2001) counter argument paper, namely '*Replacement Migration, or why everyone's going to have to live in Korea*' to the previous UN report, he stated the 'necessary' increases of immigrants required to keep up the population constant in European countries and other industrialized countries. He argued that the increase was expected to be very large, or as in his word, 'gigantic'. He reviewed that the European Union would need 1 million additional immigrants per year making it 47 million in total by 2050 in order to stabilize its population. Moreover, in order to maintain the working age population, the EU would require 1.4 million per year or 80 million in total by 2050. He asserted the most extreme case which was of South Korea that if South Korea would want to adopt the replacement migration, the number of the immigrants it would require in order to keep up with the constant would be 94 million immigrants per year, adding up to 5.1 billion by 2050 which roughly equals to 5/6ths of today's world population. Taking these numbers stated into account, it was agreed that this might be too extreme.

Despite the pursuit of the population stability, replacement migration could at least serve as an avenue or an optional solution to the labor shortage that caused by the declines of the working-age population. Kent and Haub (2005) viewed that unprecedented societal aging in most developed countries would likely to intensify the immigration debate that it could not be a complete solution for Japan and Europe, as they are less accustomed to integrating immigrants than the United States, but these nations and regions will almost certainly turn to immigration as a partial remedy for natural decline. Thus, I then scrutinized South Korea's recent immigration policies, namely '*the First Basic Plan for Immigration Policy 2008-2012*'. Expectedly, it

reveals high degree of the correspondence to the UNPD's replacement migration scheme.

South Korea's proactive open-door policies

In 'the First Basic Plan for the Immigration Policy 2008-2012', its first task is to enhance national competitiveness through proactive opening in order to secure growth potential by attracting highly skilled foreigners to help Korea with technological innovation, develop value-added industries and lead global management. The plan aims to attract highly skilled foreigners with an improved visa system, more convenient immigration services for entry, sojourn and exit, and the nationality system improvement by allowing the dual nationality and relaxing the requirements for general naturalization. Moreover, at the national-level, the policy also supports the effort in finding and attracting highly skilled foreigners with 'Contact Korea', a comprehensive service support system to attract highly skilled foreigners by Ministry of Knowledge Economy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Trade, Ministry of Labor, and Ministry of Justice; overseas job consulting and arrangement through KOTRA's 'overseas offices; 'HuNet Korea System', an online visa recommendation and inspection system by Ministry of Justice; and overseas job fairs, held by Ministry of Knowledge Economy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Trade and Ministry of Education, Science and Technology.

Apart from attracting more highly skilled labors, the policy also aims to attract manpower from overseas for the balanced development of the national economy and reducing the labour shortage as a consequence of the low birth rate, the rapidly aging population and the increase in higher education. Although the implementation of the Employment Permit System and Work-Visit system could reduce the unskilled labor shortage in manufacturing sectors, the shortage still continues. Accordingly, in order to attract sufficient labor, more programs besides the granting of the F-2 and F-5 visa¹⁴ to unskilled workers are also issued. In order to attract the skilled foreign labor

¹⁴ An F-2 (residence) visa is granted to unskilled workers who meet the requirements for and treatment of skilled production workers and an F-5 (legal permanent residence) visa to workers who have lived in Korea for longer than 5 years (the first basic plan for immigration policy 2008-2012, pp.26)

to respond to regional and industrial demand, the policy planned to improve the skilled production labor introduction system and expand access channels for skilled labor. Moreover, to attract unskilled labor to reflect the corporate demand and social costs, foreign workers are to be introduced to meet with the demand of the companies by Ministry of Labor through the selection of skills, experiences, and other qualifications along with Korean language fluency based on their training performance and qualification levels. In addition to the employment procedures that are to be simplified and the employment cost that is to be rationalized by Ministry of Labor and Ministry of Justice, the policy also aims to improve the quota system for unskilled labor, upgrade the working environment by reinforcing safety and health training, and provide with supports for the foreign workers' life improvement through the consultation services and the support centers for the foreign workers under the local government.

Open the door, open to more immigration conflicts

Responding to the movement of people as a consequence of the globalization era, most wealthy states centered their immigration policies to attract necessary foreign human resources. Announced in the present plan for immigration policy, South Korea is also attempting to pursue open-door policies and encouraging foreigners to immigrate into the country in order to secure the highly skilled foreigners with the knowledge, information and the capacity to lead technological innovation. Moreover, to resolve the labor shortage according to the national interest in recruiting overseas manpower, South Korea loosens the restriction for the unskilled labor. Therefore, it can be said that South Korean government foresees the openness as a contribution to the national competitiveness.

Unfortunately, the policy works as a double-edge sword in which, on one hand, it attracts more foreigners into South Korea as to reflect the national demand benefiting the national economy, on the other hand, it leads to other social problems such as humanitarian issues regarding the foreign workers' working conditions, welfare, and medical environment, and more importantly, the problems regarding the discrimination toward foreigners which could lead to both verbal and physical abuse.

Widely agreed that immigrants could provoke strong public sentiment in the host countries as they are different in race, speak different language, have different religions and belong to different ethnic backgrounds with diverse cultural traditions, it unquestionably leads to problems caused by misunderstanding and miscommunication within each other. Moreover, the native-born could somehow perceive the immigrants as a threat to their jobs and their own ethnic cultures.

As most advanced and industrialized countries have earlier tried to pursue relatively the same goal in attracting more desirable foreign workers; unskilled, skilled, and highly skilled, under different purposes according to their national interests, there were various case studies and incidents that reflect the immigration conflicts caused by either immigrants or natives. Categorized by Castles and Miller (2003), there are three categories of the acceptance of foreign migrant workers by different nations: the differential exclusionary model, the assimilation model and the multicultural model. Although Seol (2005) viewed that no country fell completely into one, or another, of these categories; as the policies of most countries show the mixed methods, among the friendliest countries toward immigrants with the multicultural model: the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Sweden and most of the European countries, there were reports of the immigration conflicts. There has been news reported the conflicts between the leftists and the rightists over the immigration policies in Denmark, Italy, France, Spain, Sweden, and etc., the countries that have adopted the open-door policies for longer than half a century. Early in the 2000s, the conservatives in Germany were in uproar over the foreign workers whether the open-door policies would expose Germany to the flood of immigrants and would lead to higher unemployment among the natives. The Danish anti-immigrants political party supported the crackdown of the illegal immigration and tightened the immigration law for those who did not have jobs waiting in the country not to receive a permission to enter Denmark. There was the news about the anti-immigrants in Spain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Switzerland expressing their needs to tighten their borders to the government. Moreover, in the countries with the friendliest atmosphere for foreigners like Sweden and the United Kingdom, there were reports of the abuse on the detainees that caused by the authorities: the case of the Egyptian

detainee was tortured by the staffs in 2005, violating the torture treaty and blowing Sweden's pride in its human right (BBC News, 2005). And the statement put on by the Nation Union of Refugee Organization about the abuse in the UK detention center saying, "*Refugees are treated as criminals*" (BBC News, UK, 2005). Additionally, in 2007, there were reports on the effort of the European countries in strengthen the immigration restrictions targeted at Africans and Arab Muslims (CS Mornitor.com, 2007).

The European countries are renowned for their borders' openness for half a century. However, there was a view displayed by the OECD Observers in 2000 asserting that Europe was likely to shift back to more conventional labor-shortage recruitment and that there would be no return to open-door policy of the 1960s. However, the EU economy would still require an increase in selective primary immigration. In contrary to the US, their immigration policy was more on the liberal regime and was embraced by the free market with the selection most on the highly skilled foreigners as could be witnessed in Silicon Valley and the lower skilled workers in California's agricultural areas. (OECD Observer, 2000) In 2011, on Time, in the article written by Harrell, the survey conducted by the Institute for the Study of International Migration at Georgetown University reveals how Europeans and Americans hold different anxieties surrounding immigration. The result shows that the Americans tended to worry about the economic effects, while the Europeans' concern centered on the integration of immigrants into their host nation's culture. The Americans valued the benefits that the immigrants contributed to their economy, while the European concerned more about the Muslim immigrants who did not seem to integrate well to the European cultures.

South Korea, formerly notable to be 'not very friendly' to the immigrants, even if the government is now trying to pursue the open-door policy, along with the multiculturalism, there were numerous cases showing the recent serious conflicts between the immigrant workers and the natives. Witnessed the conflicting experiences caused by the open policies of the European countries, South Korea must have already had calculated seriously over the cost and benefits the nation would have to risk in pursuing the openness.

Open the door: welcome the human economic drives

Believing that the international migration can be a positive and constructive economic and social force contributing to the national competitiveness and the national economy, the open-door immigration policy might be a favorable way out to reflect the demand for more working population, to procrastinate the shortfall of the populations, and to sustain the national productivity. To achieve the openness, the migration control or as more preferably, '*Migration management*' (Samers, 2010), is undoubtedly utilized. Examining the recent South Korea's migration management strategies, it shadows the neo-liberal path in ensuring the right kind and the right number of the migrants in order to reflect the national's demand. In addition, it is also designed to promote the economic competitiveness as well as to control the number and the types of the migrants and the burden of the welfare systems. South Korea aimed to attract more highly skilled foreign labors, who are believed to be able to help South Korea achieve the more advanced economic development, with the opening door to a very friendly and welcoming atmosphere of the host, while carefully assort the right type and number of the unskilled to skilled foreign labor with the conventionally invented tools: Visa, the Employment Permit System and the Work-Visit system.

To answer to the earlier proposed question: why does South Korea desire to attract more foreigners into its homogeneous land? Firstly, more foreigners are required to sustain the downfall of its working populations that South Korea cannot achieve by only producing the huge amount of its own in a short time and to serve the labor market demand and fulfill the vacant positions that the natives deny to. Secondly, extra foreign talents are so tempting that South Korea cannot turn away from because these foreign talents might create more chance for South Korea to compete with other nations in the global arena. Moreover, regardless of the conflicts and the problems the immigration would produce, the benefits of the on-demand immigrants with the right kind and right number cannot be denied. Conventionally, it comes to the Koreans now to judge how strict they would manage the immigration and how wide their door should be left open. However, in the end it seems that South Korea values the positive economic effects more than the negative social effects.

CHAPTER IV

SINGLE-RACE NATIONALISM AND PATRIOTISM: HOMOGENEOUS KOREA?

The debate over ethnic homogeneous Korea is still on the far side of the myth. Moreover, recently, the world tends to be on that 'far side' as most scholars and media have played on this key word broadly. Ethnic homogeneity in South Korea is believed to be the basis of the ethnocentrism and nationalism that had played a significant role in revitalizing the country from its ashes. The nationalist sentiment and the patriotic feelings induced by the public exploitation of ethnocentrism deep rooted in the Koreans' hearts. However, this national pride could turn into a misfortune event in the midst of the globalization. When the government aims to achieve multiculturalism in the homogeneous land, it is doubtful whether the Koreans would be able to open their hearts to the newcomers and welcome the diversities that would come along with them. To pursue the openness, it might put a great contribution to the national economy. However, the policy works as a double-edge sword; on one hand, it reflects the national demand for more labor, but on the other hand it could open up to social problems. The problem that creates much concern in South Korea and the world now must be the matters regarding the social friction and the discrimination against the newcomers.

It was widely agreed that the immigrants could provoke strong negative sentiments in the host countries since they are different in race, speak different language, have different religions and belong to different ethnic backgrounds with diverse cultural traditions. It unquestionably leads to problems caused by misunderstanding, miscommunication and even discrimination toward each other. Moreover, the native-born could somehow perceive the immigrants as the threat to their jobs and their own ethnic cultures. Thus, the government's determination to transfer South Korea to a multicultural society is beyond question: first, on how the government would manage to achieve the multicultural society on the ethnic

homogeneous land with a long enduring nationalistic sentiment and patriotic feeling that had been provoked throughout its history of national building; and second, whether or not the strong pride of Korean national identity would obstruct the state's desire to approach multicultural society. Therefore, in this chapter, I would discuss the ethnic homogeneous discourse of South Korea to find out whether their strong pride of the national identity and ethnocentric sentiment is likely to hinder the state-multicultural approach. I will focus on the public acculturation of the national identity and ethnocentric sentiment in the past that would likely to object to the needs in mobilizing the nation toward a multicultural society.

Immigration policies with 'national identity' approach

In the recognition of the 'national identity' approach, the country's history, national identity and social conflicts are viewed as a construction of the immigration policies. Meyers (2000) notes that 'national Identity' approach argues that unique history of each country, its conceptions of citizenship and nationality as well as debates over national identity and social conflicts within it, shape its immigration policies and that the theory was built upon sociological and psychological theory and concepts such as national identity, national building, prejudice, alienation and social closure. Therefore, in order to understand the Korean's migration management, it is very important to understand Korean national identity and the Koreans' attitudes and beliefs that are underlined in the immigration policies.

Nationalism is a political term that is widely utilized as a mean to unify people in the nation regardless of race and create the feeling of togetherness that they are all part of the nation. It also refers to the great love for the nation and the appreciation toward everything related to it. However, George Orwell (1945) noted, "*Nationalism is not to be confused with patriotism.*" He pointed out that 'nationalism' is the habit of identifying oneself with the single nation or unit and recognizing that oneself superiors to others that often attached by the wish to secure more power and more prestige. In addition to his definition of nationalism, he viewed 'patriotism' as devotion to a particular place and a particular way of life with the belief to be the best without a wish to force on the other. Patriotism relates to the willingness of the people

who belong to the nation to sacrifice for the their own nation. Sharing the same element of the affection toward one's group, ethnocentrism refers to the way an ethnic group viewing the others as being inferior which results in negative attitudes and behaviors toward others who do not belong to the same race. As for ethnocentrism, McCrosky and Neuliep (1997) noted that it is a part of process in producing nationalism and serve as a valuable function when one's central group is under a threat of attack. Moreover, they also stated that ethnocentrism forms a basis for patriotism or the willingness to sacrifice for one's central group.

In this chapter, the terms of nationalism and ethnocentrism will be utilized interchangeably from time to time. I will discuss the Korean ethnic homogeneity myth that believed to be the source of nationalism and patriotism by assuming that the Korean nationalism and patriotism is the feelings aroused by ethnocentrism partially and caused by the homogeneous belief that was planted through the public acculturation. The term of nationalism utilized here was determined to refer to the love of the Koreans as being homogeneous toward the nation and national identity and the willingness to sacrifice for the nation as a whole.

Homogeneous myth and Korean ethnocentrism or single race nationalism

Noted in '*The Korean Way to Multiculturalism? A critical review of Korea's policy towards Foreigners*' that the myth of ethnic homogeneity remained widespread in Korean society, Yang (2009) also pointed out that it is prevailing the component of its national identity. Therefore, in order to understand Korea national identity and the Koreans' attitudes and believes that contributed to the formation of the Korean ethnic homogeneity, Korean nationalism and the Koreanness, the reviews of its history is needed.

If the advent of ethnic homogeneity or single-race nationalism is to be demonstrated, we might have to reminisce about the transformation of Dangun from the first king of the Koreans into the Koreans' biological ancestors. In '*the Archaeology of the Ethnically Homogeneous Nation-State and Multiculturalism in Korea*', Han (2007) noted that ethnic nationalism that underlined the purity of Korean blood is not an integral part of Korean tradition as stating, "Traditionally, Korea did

not consider itself to be ethnically homogeneous". The myth of Dangun being the biological father of Koreans is believed to be widespread in just the last century as it was noticed that the Koryo and the Joseon did not believe that they shared the same blood tie.

Reminiscing the Dangun myth, the Korean history was started when Dangun founded a nation in 2333 BC. He was a son of Hwanung and Wungnyo, a bear-woman. Hwanung who was the illegitimate son of Hwanin, the heavenly lord, descended to the earth with his magical power and the four guardian gods to rule the human world on his father's permission. One day, there came a bear and a tiger asking Hwanung to turn them into human. To fulfill the wish, the bear and the tiger needed to stay in a cave without the sunlight and to eat only garlic and mugwort for a hundred days. Only the bear endured and was transformed into a woman. Hwanung married to the bear-women then begot Dangun who grew up and founded the old Joseon (Go-Joseon).

Traditionally, Dangun was believed to be a political leader not a biological progenitor. In the late 14th century, during the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), the Yanban bureaucrats emphasized Dangun as an effort to assert that Korean was as old and culturally civilized as China. They stated that the new Joseon was the successor to the Go-Joseon (Old Joseon), founded by Dangun and civilized by Gija. According to the remark, Dangun was originally perceived as a political hero who founded the first state of Korea and Gija as a cultural hero who civilized the Koreans by teaching decency and good manners. (Han, 2003)

Notwithstanding the 14th century description of Dangun, the concept of Dangun from what we have been acknowledged these days is rather different. Derived from the same myth, the modern interpretation tend to lean toward the emphasis that all Koreans descended from Dangun, therefore the Koreans share the same blood tie. Recently, the statement saying, "*We Koreans, the descendents of Dangun*" was more interpreted into the sense of the single-race nationalism as all Koreans share the same biological father. However, Han (2007) noted that the statement was originally introduced without emphasizing the blood relationship of Koreans but to emphasize

that Korean history and political and cultural life was as old as China. Regardless of the interpretation of the history or the discourse over the myth, the myth itself has been exploited for centuries in order to create the populace's sentiment of unity as sharing the same ancestor and the sense of cultural superiority as having been civilized as long as China; distinct but equal in the level.

In addition to the statement, "Cultural superiority rather than ethnic homogeneity responsible for discrimination", Han (2007) discussed that the ethnic homogeneity is not the main cause for prejudice and discrimination against foreigners, the real cause is the very sense of being civilized and culturally superior. Moreover, he also furthered his argument that the sense of cultural superiority often translated into contempt, distrust and ultimately fear of the 'uncivilized people'. He explained that Joseon considered itself as equal as China and looked down upon the Jurchen (inhabited in Manchuria) and the Japanese therefore the immigrants from China were given more preferable treatments than those from Manchuria and Japan as recognized to be more civilized.

Noted that the ethnic homogeneity or the single-race nationalism of Korea is relatively recent phenomenon, Han (2007) also asserted that the sense of biological relatedness functioning as a source of discrimination, prejudice, distrust and fear is relatively recent trend. In Han (2007)'s review of the idea of the German nationalist, Fichte, regarding the ethnic homogeneity sense, common blood and common language and culture were emphasized. He concluded his argument that as the German was extremely influential and emulate in Japan, accordingly, many Koreans may have learned about German nationalism through Japan. Additionally, the Koreans developed the idea of ethnic homogeneity during the colonial period as a counter measure against the Japanese propagandist notion of '*naisen ittai*' or '*the Korea and Japan are one and the same*'. By achieving the form of the Japanese nationalism during the colonization, the Koreans changed its contents to be praising the Korean identity and the Korean national characters instead.

However, the reason why the emphasis of the ethnic homogeneity and the strong sense of nationalism it provoked is still prevailing the nation might be because

it has been utilized and manipulated throughout the history of nation building as it was a convenient and attractive political tool in an effort to overcome with the national crisis. Lee (2008) asserted that nationalism had been a dominant ideology in South Korea as a tool to stimulate the nation to achieve the economic development. Moreover, Moon (1997) noted, "Searching for factors contributing to this economic growth, scholars of economic development tend to emphasize such cultural factors as Confucianism and nationalism". It seems that South Korea has exploited the populace's consciousness of the nationalism and ethnic homogeneity to create the sense of togetherness and the willingness to sacrifice for the nation once facing with the national crisis. Throughout the Korean history, the nationalism or the Korean ethnocentrism have been provoked and stimulated from time to time when the national crisis occurred.

During the colonial period (1910-1945) under the Japanese rule, the Korean identity was emphasized in order to provoke nationalism in the attempt to differentiate themselves from the Japanese. When the Japanese tried to acculturate the Koreans with the assimilation policies attempting to Japanize the locals, nationalism was provoked by reclaiming Korean history and tradition from the Japanese interpretation. As a counter measure to Japan's assimilation, the national identity and the togetherness sentiment as sharing the single race, language, and national identity were induced again in order to resist the colonial policy attempting to eliminate Korean identity. Likewise, Moon (1997) noted that the official nationalist Korean history 'Dangun' myth that explained the origin of the Korean nation got special attention during the colonial period and conveyed special meaning under the colonial policy.

By reviewing Oguma (2005) and Lie (2001), Han (2007) pointed out that the idea of ethnic homogeneity came to establish in Japan only after the pacific war, the Koreans adopted the Japanese method and developed it into the Korean nationalism that was later reinforced by economic growth, democratization movement and foreign currencies crisis. Regarding the development of the Korean nationalism, each time the nation faces with dilemmas, the nationalism is always pulled out as a secret weapon to quietly retaliate the difficulties that were created externally. Throughout the Korean War, nationalistic elements were strengthened as the competition occurred between

North Korea and South Korea over which side was more nationalistic and therefore more legitimate (Han, 2007). There were reports stating that nationalism induced by the anti-communist sentiment was very strong during the civil war as a consequence that the civil war was triggered by the communist North Korean's invasion. Under the first Republic (1948-1960), nationalism was based on the anti-Japanism and the anti-Communism. Moreover, it is also believed that President Rhee Syngman utilized these sentiments to secure the legitimacy of his regime as well as President Park Chunghee manipulated during his authoritarian regime.

Under his presidency (1961-1979), Park Chunghee emphasized the national consciousness by strengthening it through the public education. He utilized and acculturated Korean tradition and anti-communist sentiment in order to provoke the nationalistic notions for creating the unity of the Koreans and the willingness to sacrifice their own sake to help together revitalizing the nation. He launched the ideology of official nationalism with the themes of 'self-reliant economy' and 'self-reliant defense'. He also put them together with '*tongdosogi*', meaning '*Morality of the East and Technologies of the West*', the nationalist concern that shared by the Third world elites, aiming to modernize the nation with the capitalist industrialization, defend the communist in the North and establish a national identity with the goal to achieve the economic development. (Moon, 1997)

After the rapid economic growth in 1960s to 1970s, South Korea's national pride was recovered. Furthermore, later in 1980s, it was more intensified by Seoul Olympic Games and the success in democratization. During the foreign currencies crisis in 1998, the nationalism was provoked again by stressing the 'Encourage movement to use native products' (Han, 2007) in order to help regaining the national pride after the economic crisis.

Apparently, through out the history of Korea, the political leaders always provoked the single-race nationalism or the ethnocentric notions in order to confront with the national difficulties. It was obviously meant to unify the people in the nation and emphasize the belongingness that they all need to help together in order to survive through all the challenges and crisis: the colonization, the Civil War, the national

security crisis between North and South, and the financial crisis. Moreover, it was also believed to be a source of Koreans' strength once trying to recover the nation from the wreckage the crisis left behind. Whether South Korea is a homogeneous nation or it is just a belief, the ethnic nationalistic notions that have been instilled and aroused from time to time is a magnificent tool in encouraging the Koreans to sacrifice their own personal life and goal and instead contribute to the national achievement.

From nationalism to international immigrants conflicts: Korean Attitudes towards foreigners and conflicts

The enduring ethnic nationalistic and patriotic notions have contributed greatly to South Korea. It has been used as a source of power propelling the South Koreans to work with full potentials in achieving the same goal, which is the success of the nation. However, the nationalistic consciousness that has been instilled firmly in Korean society might endanger South Korea's attempt in transferring the nation toward the multicultural society. Desire to attract foreign human capitals with the required talents, the preparation and the self-adjustment to the changes is instantly required, even if South Korea might not be able to diminish the strong ethnic nationalistic notions.

Despite the debates on whether or not South Korea is an ethnic homogeneous country, the nationalistic and patriotic notions that last in the society is undeniable. The public acculturation and education that has planted nationalism and patriotism into most of the Koreans' hearts benefited the nation greatly. However, the ethnic nationalism was not only led by the Korean state, but it was also aroused and strengthened by the country's traumatic history. The history shows that most of the time the country was victimized by the externals and foreigners. As a consequence, this might also explain why the South Koreans tend to have negative attitudes toward foreigners caused by either fear or strong belief in pure blood. Regardless of the basis of the source of nationalism, we might be able to say that it is still strongly prevailing in the society. Moreover, it would likely to obstruct the open to the immigration of the country.

Examining South Koreans' notions of national identity, attitudes toward foreigners and racial/ethnic minorities, and social distance feelings toward foreigners and minority groups, the research paper, '*South Korean's attitudes toward Foreigners, Minorities and Multiculturalism*'¹⁵ revealed that South Koreans view the immigrants as a small and powerless minority group. Therefore, they are not a serious threat to South Korean economy. Moreover, the South Koreans tend to have sympathy toward the immigrants as they are disadvantaged and mistreated. However, on the contrary, the South Korean still believe that competition from foreign countries at the economic and cultural level is real and serious enough to weaken the local economy and culture. Even if they seem to be more open at the individual level, at the international level, the South Koreans still remains at defensive nationalism as was concluded, 'the Koreans are moving toward 'open nationalism' at an individual level but remain at defensive nationalism at the international level.' (Yoon, et al, 2008)

Although it is widely perceived that South Korea tends to be ethnocentric and exclusive to foreigners, the research shows that nowadays the Koreans' attitudes become more open and the Koreans tend to have better acceptances of foreigners. However, what really happen in the society might not go in accordance with the examination. The conflicts caused by discriminations still occur from time to time to fortify that the negative sides of the ethnic nationalistic sentiments and beliefs cannot be eased so easily.

Recently, The Korea Herald (2012) revealed a very interesting attitudes survey conducted by the Korea Institute for Health and Social Affairs regarding the immigrants and the problems in social resources and cultures. The survey shows quite a high degree of anxiety toward the increasing numbers of foreigners and migrant workers into South Korea. According to the survey, 63.9 percent agreed to the statement. "If there are more children of foreigners and immigrants, they will have problems with the Korean students". Also, 64 percent of respondents agreed that they are concerned about the possibility of riots and social unrest by foreigners. Half of respondents believed that the increasing number of foreigners would cause them a

¹⁵ Paper prepared for presentation at the annual meeting of American Sociological Association, Boston, MA from August 1-4, 2008 by In-Jin Yoon, Young-Ho Song, Young-Joon Bae (Korea University)

harder time in finding an employment. However, the most alarming result would be of that more than 50 percent of the Korean respondents believe that the conflicts will arise from the differences in language, religion, moreover, 47 percent believe that the different in skin color would likely to bring up the conflicts in Korea. Lee Sam-Shik, a researcher at KIHASA also expressed his opinion on the news as well that, “ Many Koreans have negative perceptions regarding the influx of foreigners, which the results show a preview of various forms of expression that can emerge from such perceptions.” Moreover, he added that, “The results especially highlight Koreans’ dominant belief in pure blood, which will make the conflicts that arise from such attitudes more difficult to with and time-consuming.”

On Korea Times and Busan Haps (2011), there was a report of the survey conducted by the Joint Committee with Migrants in Korea (JCMK) noted that 73 percent of migrants workers had experienced verbally abused, 26.8 percent suffered from physically abused, and nearly 14 percent claimed that they were sexually harassed. Even though it seems that the government had tried to lessen the conflict regarding the humanitarian issues and the migrant workers’ working conditions via numbers of policies and programs, the human right conditions of the foreign workers seem not to improve much. This might imply that may be the problems cannot be easily diminished in reality.

Regardless of the foreign workers’ human rights violation that either caused by the misunderstanding between each other, racism or cultural superiority or just pure individual bias, there are reports from the Korean civic society’s side regarding the conflicts caused by the migrants as well. Recently, the Chosun Ilbo reported the conflicts in the ‘Chinatown neighborhood’ in Seoul. With the work-visit program that allows ethnic Koreans from China and Russia to stay and work in South Korea for 3 years, the number of the return ethnic Koreans has increased sharply. This provoked the conflicts in Seoul in which that the residential areas of those ethnic Koreans from China have been spread out in much wider area, triggering the complaints by locals as they claimed that the influx of the foreigners caused the drop of the property price due to the increasing of crimes and other problems. On another headline ‘Korea must beware of growing crime by foreigners’, it reported the increasing crimes that the

police crackdown led to arrest of 1,249 foreigners involving with gambling, prostitution, illegal smuggling, drug trafficking and loan sharking.

Pursuing the open door and the multicultural society, the government should act immediately to assault with those kinds of problems mentioned. R. Zegers de Beijl (1991) asserted that to combat the discrimination regarding the migrants is the key issue for all countries where significant migrants popular exist because discrimination does not only constitutes a violation of migrants' human rights as laid down in international treaties but it also hampers the migrants' integration in the receiving society which would result in process of social disintegration and exclusion. Accordingly, the program and the policy to prevent and to cope with the discrimination and to promote understanding between the natives and the newcomers should be well considered.

CHAPTER V

MOVING TOWARD MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY?

The globalization trend has intruded into almost every part of the world. It does not only blur the national boundaries, but also brings people in and out; creating the hazy atmosphere in most places it had conquered. International migration furnishes most countries with cultural diversities and varieties of people who move crossing the borders. The changes in most societies occurred as a consequence of the migration phenomenon. Since the immigration comes with great benefits and the country needs to acquire the immigrant labors with the required skills, to acknowledge the natives about the changing situation and to manage the newcomers who bring in variations into the society should be seriously concerned.

This chapter focuses on how South Korea manages the changes in the society regarding the international migration. The immigration policies are to be scrutinized in order to search for the key components in managing the immigration. Emphasizing the approach to multicultural society and the demand for more foreign labors, the instrument that the South Korean state utilizes as a mean to direct the society toward multicultural society and integrate the diversities in the society is to be discussed.

The emergence of diversities

If the greater presence of foreigners could make a nation a true multicultural society, South Korea might be considered a qualified one. After the achievement of high economic growth in the 1980s, South Korea has transformed itself from a major labor export country in the 1960s into a major labor import country. The economic development created more demand for foreign labor in South Korea. Moreover, according to the increasing of the national labor wages, the small and medium scale manual and manufacturing sectors then needed to find the substitute and cheaper labor

from the foreign lands. As a consequence, South Korea then has experienced with the influx of foreign labors ever since.

The labor shortage during 1980s and the fast growing of the Korean economic brought in large number of Chinese ethnic Koreans from China, labors from Vietnam, Philippines and Bangladesh to fill in the Korean labor market in the positions that the national labors shunned, namely the 3Ds jobs; dirty, difficult and dangerous jobs. In addition to the increasing numbers of the labor immigrants reflecting the increasing demand of the business sectors, in 1990s the shortage of brides in rural areas also accounted for the increasing numbers of international female migrants as marriage migrants from China, Japan, Vietnam, Philippines, Mongol and Cambodia. Moreover, in addition to a large amount of the immigrant labors, the increasing numbers of the foreign talents or high skilled labors who came to seek for better opportunities in South Korea, combined with the numbers of the international students, accounted for 1.26 million of foreign residents in 2010 (IOM MRTTC, 2010).

The South Korean government has established numbers of policies as a response to the national interest, the increasing demand of the labor, and the changing national circumstances that have been diversified by the increasing numbers of the international immigrants. Needed to accept the foreign labor existence in the country in order to reduce the labor shortage, South Korea has launched the first program for foreign labor, namely the '*Industrial Training System (ITS)*' in 1993. This program intended to legalize the foreign manpower and attract them into the legal channels to the employment in South Korea.

However, realizing the ethnic Korean manpower that had spread out across the national borders into China and Soviet Union during the colonization and the Korean War, the '*Employment Management System (EMS)*' was introduced in 2002 in order to attract those who would desire to visit their ancestral land with the opportunity to be legally employed. As visitors turned into labor, the EMS had helped a great deal in reducing the labor shortage in small and medium sized manufacturing sectors. However, the replacement by the foreign labors and the returns of the Chinese and

Russian ethnic Koreans could not completely serve the high demand of the labor market.

Later, due to the failure of the ITS that obliged large numbers of the industrial trainees into illegal workers caused by the changing of jobs, and the distressed working conditions, additionally with the unfulfilled demand of labor in the market, in 2004, the '*Employment Permit System (EPS)*' was issued to replace the ITS. The EPS was established with the purpose to formalize the foreign labor important scheme. In this new scheme, the foreign workers' working conditions and other humanitarian issues are more focused. Moreover, it extended the employment contract period facilitating the employers in finding the new labors to replace the end-contract workers and assisting the employees with the Visa extension, the changing of employment and the workplace related issues. Moreover, with the Korean language efficiency test prior to the employment in Korea (EPS-TOPIK), it allows better communication between Korean employers and foreign employees, which results in the reduction of problems caused by lack of understanding in both Korean language and culture. The EPS facilitates more chances for the Korean employers to recruit the foreign labors and the foreign workers who seek for hiring opportunities in South Korea.

In addition to the EPS, in 2007, the government has released the program to enlarge the employment opportunities for the overseas ethnic Koreans in the unskilled sectors, namely Work Visit Program. The Work Visit Program grants the multiple entries and the work permits for the overseas Koreans in China and former Soviet Union with the permit to invite family members and the opportunities to be granted the permanent residency. The program aims to seek for workers to work in the industries that the Korean labors deny to and to reduce the labor shortage in other serious areas such as agricultural, small and medium sized manufacturing, construction or service industry (Foreigner Policy Committee 2008; Cho, 2011).

Even though there are series of policies that have been launched as a mean to dissolve the immigration conflicts and the labor shortage in Korea, these immigration

policies does not seem to satisfy the demand of labor and seem not to be attractive enough to attract the foreign labors into South Korea. The following table summarizes the major policies and programs concerning migrant workers.

Table 5.1: South Korea's Policies and Program for Migrants workers

Time	Policies and Programs	Main Purposes
1993	Industrial Training System	Legalize the foreign manpower and attract them into the legal channels to the employment
2002	Employment Management System	Open door policies for overseas Koreans in China and former Soviet Union
2004	Employment Permit System	Formalize the foreign labor important scheme
2007	Work Visit Program	Enlarge employment opportunities for overseas ethnic Koreans in unskilled sectors

Source: Cho, 2011

Immigration policies to eliminate discrimination and encourage multicultural society

Having said that the discrimination does not only impede the migrants' integration into the immigration countries' labor market and thus into society as a whole, it also results in economic losses because the labor's potential is not being fully used (Dex, 1992; Zegers de Beijl, 1995), Zeagers de Beijl then furthered the argument that to combat this crimination is therefore the key issue for all countries where significant migrant populations exist.

Accordingly, set aside the immigration policies that aim at attracting and formalizing the foreign labors, the policies that endeavor to eliminate the discrimination toward foreigners and achieve pleasant atmosphere for foreigners are as well adopted in South Korea. These policies have been designed and established in

order to provide the foreigners with more rights, promote human welfare in order to achieve the harmonious society where the Korean nationals could live peacefully together with foreigners. With the open policies, South Korea could gain more foreign human capitals to help the country increase national productivities contributing to the national economic. As for the migrant workers, they could gain better opportunities and better living conditions that they could not achieve in their motherland then hope to search for it in Korea. Thus, the open policies seem to mutually benefit both the South Koreans and the foreign labors.

The influx of immigrants into South Korea is increasing each year and diversifies many more new dimensions in the Korean society. In order to harmonize these diversities, policies to promote better understanding among people with diverse races and ethnic backgrounds, eliminate the conflicts and elevate the human rights regardless of nationality and ethnicity are considered to be highly important. Accordingly, it explains the reasons underlying the inauguration of the two policies, namely '*the Act on the Treatment of Foreigners*' (2009) and '*the First Basic Plan for the Immigration Policies*' (2008-2012). The main purpose of the policies and the details focusing on foreign migrant workers are displayed in the following table.

Table 5.2: South Korea’s Immigration policies with the focus on Foreign Migrant Workers related Issues

Policy: Main Purpose	Details
<p>Act on the Treatment of Foreigners in Korea (2009): To stipulate the basic provisions concerning the treatment of foreigners in Korea: to help foreigners to adjust themselves to the Korean society and to create a society where Koreans and foreigners understand and respect each other with the aim to the Korea’s development and social integration (Chapter I General Provision, Article 1)</p>	<p>Chapter III Treatment of Foreigner in Korea</p> <p><i>Article 10 (Safeguarding Human Rights of Foreigners in Korea)</i></p> <p>“National, municipal, and local governments shall make efforts such as conducting educational programs public communication activities and whatever activities proper and necessary to prevent unreasonable discrimination against foreigners in Korea or their children and to safeguard their human rights.”</p> <p><i>Article 11 (Support for the Social Adjustment of Foreigners in Korea)</i></p> <p>“National, municipal, and local governments may provide foreigners in Korea with education, information and consultation about the common basic knowledge necessary for living in Korea.”</p> <p><i>Article 16 (Improvement of Treatment of Foreigners/Skilled Foreign Workers)</i></p> <p>“National, municipal, and local government(s) shall make efforts to devise institutions and measures needed for improvement of legal status and treatment in order to attract foreign workers who have specialized knowledge, technology, or skills.”</p> <p>Chapter IV Creating a Society Where Koreans and Foreigners in Korea Live in Harmony</p> <p><i>Article 18 (Enhancement of Understanding about Cultural Diversity)</i></p> <p>“National, municipal, and local governments shall make efforts to take measures such as education,</p>

	<p>public communication activities, and correction of unreasonable instructions in order to ensure that Koreans and foreigners in Korea understand and respect each other's history, culture and institutions.”</p> <p>Chapter IV Creating a Society Where Koreans and Foreigners in Korea Live in Harmony</p> <p>Article 19 (Together Day)</p> <p>“1) To create a society where Koreans and foreigners in Korea respect each other's culture and tradition and live in harmony, May 20 is designated as "Together Day" and one week starting Together Day is designated as Together Week.</p> <p>2) Matters necessary for Together Day event may be determined by the Minister of Justice or Mayor of special city, Mayor of metropolitan city, Governor of Province, and Governor of special autonomous province respectively.”</p>
<p>The First Basic Plan for Immigration Policy (2008-2012):</p> <p>To create ‘World class Korea where foreigners live in harmony with the Koreans’ and to enhance national competitiveness with the proactive openness policy and the pursuit of quality social integration by enforcing immigration laws and protecting human’s rights of foreigners</p>	<p>1.Enhancing national competitiveness through proactive opening</p> <p><u>1.1. Securing growth potential by attracting highly skilled foreigners</u></p> <p>Action Plan</p> <p>1.1.1. Promoting the open-door policy to attract highly skilled foreigners</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Attracting highly skilled foreigners with an improved visa system - Ensuring convenient immigration services for entry, sojourn and exit - Improving the nationality system <p>1.1.2. Offering national-level support for attracting highly skilled foreigners</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Supporting the effort to find and attract

highly skilled foreigners

- Boosting support for attracting international students and utilizing their talents
- Supporting the effort to recruit non-Korean civil servants and native English speakers as assistant English teachers

1.2. Attracting manpower from overseas for the balanced development of the national economy

Action Plan

1.2.1. Securing skilled labors reflecting regional and industrial demand

- Improving the skilled production labor introduction system
- Expanding access channels for skilled labor

1.2.2. Attracting unskilled labor to reflect corporate demand and social costs

- Supporting the efficient corporate use of unskilled labor
- Improving the quota system for unskilled labor
- Improving the working environment and reinforcing safety and health training
- Supporting foreign workers' life in Korea

1.3. Creating a foreigner-friendly living environment

Action Plan

1.3.1. Reinforcing support for foreigners' sojourn

- Supporting facilitated communication for foreigners
- Reinforcing civil services for foreigners

1.3.2. Improving the overall living environment

for foreigners

- Improving the transportation and residential environment for foreigners
- Improving the welfare and medical environment for foreigners
- Improving the educational environment for foreigners
- Improving the cultural and leisure environment for foreigners

2. High-quality social integration

2.1. Improving public understanding of a multicultural society

Action Plan

2.1.1. Reinforcing education for and promotion of a multicultural society

- Raising awareness through school education
- Raising awareness through social education
- Boosting promotional efforts for a multicultural society

2.1.2. Reinforcing participation and communication

- Encouraging foreigner participation in local communities
- Providing communication opportunities among people from different cultures

4. Protecting foreigners' human rights

4.1. Preventing discrimination and protecting the human rights of foreigners

Action Plan

4.1.1. Preventing the violation of foreigners'

	<p>human rights</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reviewing and improving the related legislation and systems to prevent human rights violations such as discrimination - Reforming discriminatory systems and practices <p>4.1.2. Reinforcing assistance for victims</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Enhancing accessibility to assistance - Enhancing the effectiveness of government assistance
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Source: Act on the Treatment of Foreigners in Korea (2009), by Ministry of Government Legislation, The First Basic Plan for Immigration Policy 2008-2012, by Korea Immigration Service, Ministry of Justice, Republic of Korea (Jun. 2009)

Achieving multicultural society with social integration

South Korea's new immigration policies and programs obviously show the government's intention to adopt the social integration as a mean to mobilize the country toward the multicultural society. Those policies were established with the purpose to lay the foundation in the society in preparing the South Koreans for the influx of the immigrants as well as creating the better understanding among the national Koreans regarding the immigrants. The policies do not only concern about the discrimination toward immigrants, but also mainly focus on the immigrants' living condition and the assistance to the new arrivals to adjust themselves to the new society. All of these purposes can be seen clearly in the Act on the treatment of Foreigner in Korea (2009) and the First Basic Plan for the Immigration Policy (2008-2012).

OECD defined 'social integration' as "the process by which people that are relatively new to a country (i.e. whose roots do not reach deeper than two or three generations) become part of society". However, the concept of the 'European integration' refers to "shaping a new structure out of individual entities, the nation

states emphasizing on the new, collectively determined unity could be useful for conceiving a two-way process of integrating migrants and established nationals.” (OECD, 2003) Additionally, it was concluded by the European Foundation that Social Integration could be defined as the inclusion and acceptance of immigrants into the core institution, relationships and positions of a host society. Moreover, the process of the integration is explained as the process for the immigrants to learn a new culture, to acquire rights and obligation, to gain access to positions and social status, to build personal relationship with members of the host society and to form a feeling of belonging to and identification with that society. However, as for the host society, it means the process of opening up institution and granting equal opportunities to immigrants. It’s the relation between the host society and immigrants. However, the host society possesses more power and prestige.

Realizing the situation, in the last decade, South Korea established ‘The Korea Immigration Service Foundation’, aiming to assist citizens of other countries who reside in Korea to feel at home here. Later in 2009, the ‘First Basic Plan for Immigration Policy’ was released with the purpose to involve better education of both Koreans about immigrants and of immigrants about Korea. As of the policy initiative, the pilot version of ‘the Korean Immigration and Integration program’ (KIIP), designed and implemented by the Ministry of Justice through social integration division, was run. In designing models of Integration Education, it was explained that the Korean benchmarked the case of Germany, Denmark and the Netherlands. The Korean Program consists of two halves: Korean language training and Understanding Korea Society. In the Korean Language programs, there are 5 proficiency levels to be completed before going to the Understanding Korean Society. The marriage migrants must complete at least the first two levels of language training and other immigrants must complete the first four levels. After 50 hours of instruction, the immigrants who participate the Understanding Korean society will acquire knowledge about Korean society and culture. Now, most people who are taking KIIP are foreign laborers who hope to become Korean citizens and to have greater freedom in changing jobs in Korea. (Korea.net 2009)

Moreover, the direction and the action plan to promote social integration were stated clear in ‘the First Basic Plan for Immigration Policy’. To achieve high-quality social integration, the policy revealed the emphasis over the needs to improve public understanding of multicultural society by raising awareness through school education, social education, boosting promotional efforts for multicultural society, reinforcing participation and communication between the local communities and the foreign migrants. In addition, the enforcing of the immigration law is also emphasized in order to prevent the conflicts that would be invoked by the illegal migrations and the immigrants themselves.

Despite the government’s attempt to achieve multicultural society with the social integration, South Korea’s integration policy has not seemed to be truly responded. In SGI report (2009), it revealed the evaluation of the integration policy whether or not it supports the integration of migrants into society. Among 30 OECD countries, the quality of integration is sorted according to their performance on scale from 10 (best) to 1 (lowest). South Korea was evaluated at the 4th level; at the same level with Japan, indicating that the Korean’s cultural, education, and social policies do not focus on integration. The report mentioned that social discrimination against migrants and mixed-race Koreans exists and the largest obstacle is not restrictive immigration law, but the challenge of integration into an ethnically relatively homogeneous country, with a closed society whose language is very difficult. Moreover, the report viewed that the civil society and the media have paid more attention to integration issues and to wage nationwide campaign for social integration. However, the government had recently begun cultural, educational and social programs aimed at integration of migrants already as had earlier mentioned about the implementation of the two policies; the Act on the treatment of Foreigner in Korea (2009) and the First Basic Plan for the Immigration Policy (2008-2012).

Moreover, in the SGI report 2011, South Korea still scored at 4 defining that the country’s policies do not focus on integrating migrants into society. Thus, this also means that the social integration has not been improved much from the previous evaluation. The report also pointed out that South Korea tends to value and treat the

high skilled and low skilled labor differently. It was noted in the report that “ While ethnic Koreans with foreign passports, foreign investors and highly educated foreigners are welcomes and treated favorably, Amnesty International reports that migrant blue-collar workers are often treated as “disposable labor”.” (SGI, 2011) Moreover, it also criticized that even if the migrant workers have very similar rights to native Korean employees from the legal perspective, these rights are still neglected by employers and the government has not pursued active enforcement measures against the employers. According to the statement, it seems that the foreign labors in South Korea do not yet acquire an equal right even among themselves, not to mention the national Koreans when it comes to the reality.

Moving toward multicultural society

Examining South Korea’s recent immigration policies, it shows the government’s strong will in achieving the multicultural society with social integration by integrating immigrants into the Korean society. The policies and the programs that emphasized on the promotion of the multicultural society among the national Koreans and the language and cultural education for the foreign residents show its direction to transfer the society with the long-enduring history of homogeneously nationalistic consciousness to the multicultural society with the diverse ethnicities and variety of people with many different cultural backgrounds. However, the policies have not passed over the assortment of the right kind and the right number of foreigners who acquire the ability to contribute to the national economic. Moreover, the policies also clearly stated the purpose to integrate them into the South Korea’s society and the Korean culture by educating them Korean language and Korean cultures. Moreover, in order to prevent the conflict that will likely to cause by the natives who possessed with the homogeneous society beliefs and the strong sense of nationalism, the policies aim to acknowledge its own people about the multicultural society and that the civic society should hold the same gold with the government.

Regarding the demographic of South Korea that the density of foreigners is now increasing, from the physical perspective, the society might be regarded as a multicultural society. However, in order to achieve the goal of being the society

where the foreigners and the national Koreans could live together peacefully in harmony is beyond the achievement by just at the state level. Since policies cannot guarantee the action at the individual basis, the law regarding the punishment and the control of discrimination toward foreigners should be more emphasized. Moreover, the compensation, the healing and the assistance to the victims should also be regarded more importantly. However, examining the main purpose and the action plans in the policies against the discrimination, the policies seem to be rather weak in the sense that it focuses more on the integration that centers on integrating the new comers into the host society rather than the intention to diminish the discrimination. Moreover, the action plan in order to battle with the conflicts seems to be indistinct.

In order to attract more foreign labors into South Korea to reflect the demand of the Korean labor market, it is understandable that South Korea needs to adjust the atmosphere of the country to be more open and more welcoming to the foreigners. With the image of being a desirable destination for migration, South Korea might assume that it would attract more foreigners with the required talents into the country in order to reflect the national demand regarding the economic development and national competitiveness. However, promoting multicultural society might not be able to guarantee that the conflicts will be diminished once the society is segmented by diversities. The social integration might be a good solution to restrain the conflicts regarding the misunderstanding in communication; verbally and physically and create the welcoming atmosphere to the foreign labors' perspective, however, it might not be a cure at the individual level conflicts that caused by the long enduring sentiments of nationalistic and xenophobia.

At the policy level, South Korea seems to move toward the multicultural society. However, practically, the society cannot be transformed progressively like the policies and to change from a long enduring homogeneously nationalistic country into a country with multiculturalism and ethnic diversities seems to be extremely challenging; not only at the state level but also the individual level. Moreover, even though the policies have completely changed to be more open and welcoming to foreigners, the change in the civic society is harder to accomplish. However, with good start and consistent direction, it might be able to guarantee the positive change

in the society. However, it is still a time-consuming process that there is a long way to go for South Korea. Moreover, whether or not South Korea is moving toward multicultural society, South Korea is moving toward peaceful and integrated diversities that the society is making much effort to achieve although it might be rather against their own feelings and beliefs of being ethnically homogeneous and to open their arms and their hearts more widely to the foreign labor who they believe to bring in much more than diversities but prosperity.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

Conclusion

Recent South Korea's immigration policies are highlighted with multiculturalism. It also reveals the government's attempt to attract more foreign labor: unskilled manpower, and highly skilled foreigners, who possess with the desirable potentials to help accelerating the national economic development. However, achieving the multicultural society in the country where strong ethnic nationalism dominates the society is very intriguing. Therefore, the rationales underlying in the policies' purposes then become very interesting to be discussed.

Thus, I have raised three questions: first, why South Korean government aim to achieve multicultural society; second, how South Korea could achieve the multicultural society since it is widely recognized as a homogeneous country; and lastly, whether or not ethnocentric sentiments hinders the approach to multicultural society in South Korea.

Accordingly, I hypothesized that South Korea's immigration policies have progressively changed in order to welcome more labor force due to the economic driven factors. Moreover, the rationale underlying in South Korea's immigration policies that are centered on social integration and multiculturalism is not only to manage the increasing numbers of immigrants but also to solve the humanitarian problems regarding foreign workers and the negative sentiments of the Koreans toward foreigners. Lastly, I reckoned that the strong sense of ethnocentrism and nationalism is likely to be an obstacle to multiculturalism in South Korea.

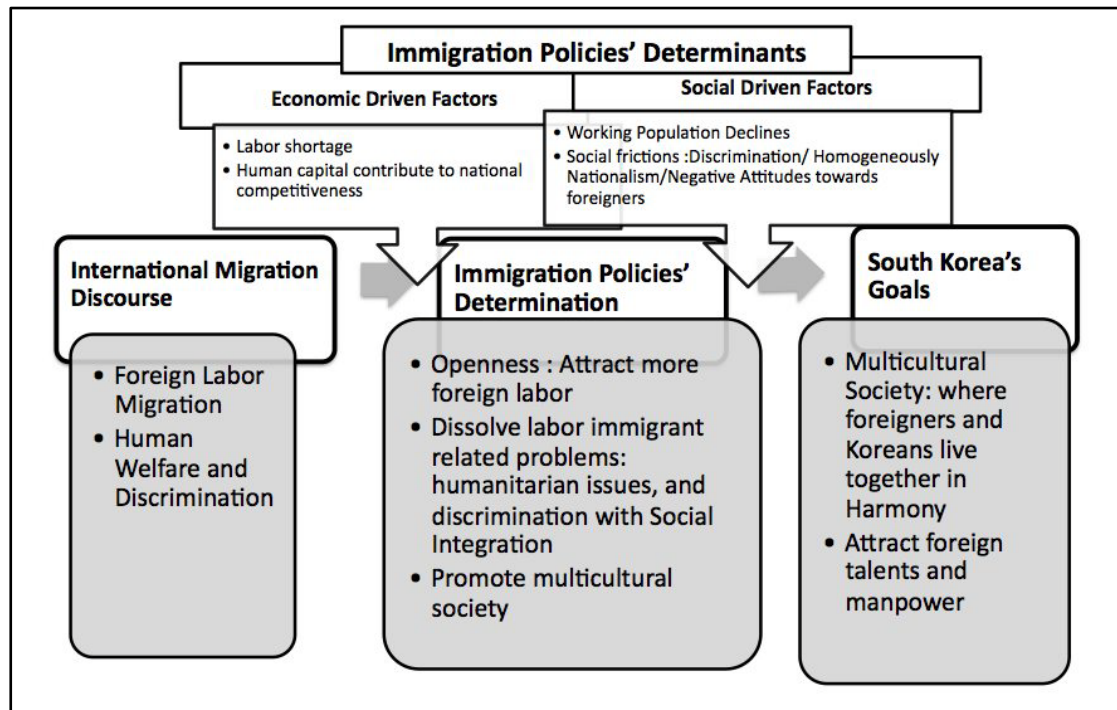
To answer the research questions, I studied South Korea's migration trends and situation as well as the immigration policies that reflect national interests: both state, and civic society. The policies' direction shows its aim to attract more foreign

labor and achieve multicultural society with social integration. Accordingly, I view that the policies' main purposes are to make South Korea a desirable destination for immigration and strengthen the social cohesion where the Korean nationals and foreigners could live together in harmony.

Studying South Korea's recent immigration policies and the society regarding the migration trends, immigration discourse, history and national identity, it reveals the powerful factors that have influenced greatly on the immigration policies. First, the immigration policies of South Korea were shaped by the economic driven factors majorly. Due to the increasing demand of the labor that caused by the labor shortage and the vacancy in the job positions that the national labor shunned, the business sector then needs to search for foreign talents and manpower in order to sustain their productivity. Secondly, social driven factors also greatly influenced South Korea's policies making. Due to the fact that South Korea is now facing with the demographic challenge of the working age population declines, and as the demographic trend shows, it tends to become more seriously in the very near future, therefore, South Korea has turned to pursue the openness in order to attract foreign labors to reflect the demand of the national labor market.

With the need to attract the foreign labor, South Korea are now trying to create a "Pull" factors drawing the immigrants into the country by adjusting the national atmosphere to be more open and welcoming to foreigners. Therefore, to battle with discrimination toward the foreign labor and foreigners and to reconcile social frictions becomes highly significant. Hence, the issues were concerned as a priority once designing the immigration policies and immigration control. South Korea's immigration policies approach and its determining factors are displayed in the following diagram.

Figure 6.1: South Korea's immigration policies' approach and determinants



The rationales to explain why South Korea desires for more foreign labor and attempt to achieve multicultural society is that South Korea needs to acquire more working population in a short time in order to serve an immediate need of the business sectors in fulfilling the vacant positions that the Koreans deny such as those 3Ds jobs: dirty, dangerous, difficult, and jobs in small and medium sectors. Moreover, the declines in population and the fast aging society that results in the declines of the working age population might worsen the labor shortage in South Korea. Therefore, to prevent the crisis that would cause by the instant shortfall of labor, the working population in the nations that the populations are still young and growing could serve as an optional solution to the problems. In addition, in the fierce competition in the global market, in order to gain more competitiveness, the talent human capitals: regardless of the nationality and ethnic backgrounds, are very tempting to possess. Thus, South Korea now desires for the highly skilled and skilled foreign labors that correspond to the market demand in order to develop the economy with the full

potentials. Moreover, the government also promotes a multicultural society and social integration hoping that would function as a great strategy to attract foreigners into South Korea, as it is widely known as a preferable solution to the nation with large quantity of immigrants.

However, despite the pursuit of the openness, the South Korean government had turned to multiculturalism approach as a mean to create a society where native Koreans and foreigners could live together happily. Practically, with the enduring history of being homogeneously nationalistic, to achieve the openness and the multicultural society might take greater endeavor than of the government to overcome with the societal challenges. Accordingly, South Korea tend to utilize 'social integration' as a tool to mobilize the nation with the ethnic nationalism toward multicultural society as we have seen through the recent policies that has laid the foundation onto the society and designated the action plans to overcome with this challenge. There are policies and programs designed to create mutual understanding among the locals and the new foreign residents. To prepare the citizen for the changing in the society where they have to live peacefully and happily with the newcomers, the policies show its plans to acknowledge the citizens about the multicultural society through public education. Moreover, the policies and programs were also designed to assist the new arrivals with the Korean language and cultural education support so that the immigrants could understand more of the society they desire to fit in. In addition to the language-training program and cultural teachings, South Korea also provides the immigrants with the consultation program. This program aims to assist the immigrants to adjust themselves to their new home and encourage the immigrants' participation in the local communities so that both the native residents and newcomers could gain more acquaintances, understand each other better and be able to live together in harmony.

As previously proposed the question whether the ethnic nationalism or ethnocentric notions would obstruct the attempt to become multicultural, as far as I could answer to this questions, it remains unclear whether or not the ethnocentrism was a cause of discrimination or conflicts between the origins and the immigrants.

Examined the recently occurred problems, they show many conflicts in the society that not only caused by the natives rejecting the immigrants with the discrimination toward race or ethnic backgrounds, however, the rejections were rather affected by the misunderstanding of either in communication and behaviors more than just by the ethnocentric feelings purely. Nevertheless, since the feeling and belief is elusive, the judgment is hard to define. May be, it is just the myth that South Korea is very homogenous and racist and the world's perception of South Korea has been deceived by this myth for too long now. Therefore, to judge whether or not South Korea could overcome with the statement and achieve multicultural society, as they long for might be a time-consuming event.

Suggestions

After the study, I would like to end my thesis with my analysis of the obstacles that might hinder the South Koreans' dream in becoming the desirable destination of immigration where the Koreans and the foreigners could live together happily. Moreover, I have tried to assume the situations and come up with some suggestions that might contribute to the South Korea's effort in moving toward a multicultural society.

The followings are the societal conditions that might obstruct the moving toward multiculturalism of South Korea.

- 1) The strong belief of ethnic nationalism and the pure blood notion that is likely to be a basis of the bias and discrimination toward foreigners
- 2) The lack of knowledge in language, cultural and behavioral differences that cause either misunderstanding or miscommunication between the Koreans and foreigners and might lead to the verbal or physical abuse
- 3) The problems that cause by employers' exploitation of foreign labors regarding the working conditions, immigrant workers' welfare and working environment
- 4) The social conflicts created by the increasing numbers of immigrants involvement with crimes, and the quickly expansion of the residential areas that might

weaken the local culture and drop the property price because the Koreans do not want to live in the place with high density of foreign residents

Although the pure blood notions and the ethnic nationalism still strongly prevails the South Korean society, however, after the economic crisis and with the increasing of the labor demand, the South Koreans need to yield to the openness and the influx of the immigrants. However, there must be some group of people who are against the immigration and still hold the ethnic nationalism notions firmly until they could not agree to the government's intention to transfer the nation to a multicultural society. The conflict that would likely to happen might not only be a cause of the misunderstanding and miscommunication in language and cultures, but also likely to be a result from the discrimination over races. Consequently, it might end with the social segregation. To solve the problem that are caused by pure bias is hard, since the attitudes and sentiments that last could not be diminished so easily as it has been passed through generations over generations. The acknowledgement of the differences in races and cultures might help lessen this conflict. However, it might take a long time in changing the people's attitudes.

Since the Korean society has been a close society that excluded foreigners for a long time, it is hard to integrate the segmented pieces into one. Besides the support of the language and cultural education to the foreigners, the government should also acknowledge the citizens about their own adjustment in attitudes and behaviors to foreigners in order to make the government's achievement more comprehensive. The conflicts in the society are not only caused by the foreigners do not understand the Korean society, but also the Koreans do not understand foreigners. I do not mean that to open to foreigners, the nationals have to be well acknowledged of all foreign cultural differences, but the acknowledgement of the difference is enough. To understand that the variety of people come with variety of differences and those differences are harmless to the nation might create better acceptance to foreigners among the Koreans. Moreover, the government should also point out the advantages the nations could gain from the immigration to the people because without it, it would lead to numbers of economic problems.

The immigration should be a win-win situation for the South Koreans and the immigrant labors; the immigrants could access to a better life in South Korea and the South Koreans could benefit from them regarding the labor substitution and the foreign talents and innovation. However, it might be a long journey of the South Korean's government in achieving multicultural society unless the better understanding between the Koreans and the foreigners can be settled and that is when they can live together happily in South Korea.

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