

Governing Minority Groups in South Korea:

A Case Study of Multiculturalism Policy's Inclusions and Exclusions

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ABSTRACT

Since the mid-2000s, the South Korean government has produced policies around “multiculturalism.” Researchers have actively studied these policies, focusing almost exclusively on what are termed “multicultural families,” i.e. families where wives and mothers are female marriage migrants from other countries. Restricting the research focus in this manner presents a skewed understanding of South Korean multiculturalism and helps to legitimize the government's interest in maintaining a very narrow interpretation of the multiculturalism policies. To address these limitations, this dissertation examines the inclusions and exclusions of three main migrant groups - North Korean defectors, multicultural families, and migrant workers - through the lens of South Korea’s multiculturalism policy.

The dissertation is inspired by the Foucauldian theoretical concepts of governmentality and genealogy; it also draws on anti-colonial nationalism literature to examine South Korea's particularities as a post-colonial society. The primary source of data for policy discourse analysis is textual data, centred around the National Assembly minutes for the last 20 years (1998-2017), which is supplemented by interviews.

The dissertation puts forward three main arguments: First, the notion of multiculturalism was embraced in South Korea to “politely” denote those cultural differences that South Korea has become willing to tolerate but at the same time to subordinate to the Korean nation. This is exemplified by the production of “multicultural families.” Second, in the context of South Korea’s political-ideological landscape shaped by the Japanese colonization and the division of the Korean peninsula, conservative forces have condemned Korean ethnic nationalism and

dominated its multiculturalism discourse while their liberal and progressive counterparts have held onto this nationalism and remained passive, if not mute, on migrant-related issues. Third, this dissertation shows that South Korean multiculturalism discourse has become fraught with conservative forces' preferences for certain types of migrants, i.e. migrants who are politically conservative (or passive), nostalgic for a mythical Korean-ness, and obedient to the existing economic order. Of the three different migrant groups addressed in this study, it is the North Korean defectors and the multicultural families who are generally thought to satisfy these conservative preferences while the migrant workers do not.

This study contributes analyses about multiculturalism policies in a country outside the usual horizon of Western studies of multiculturalism; it highlights the value of considering how South Korea's unique historical, geopolitical, and ideological conditions have shaped its engagement with the multiculturalism discourse.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1-1 Problematization: Why Multiculturalism and How Did It Emerge in South Korea?

In South Korea which is internationally known as one of the most nationalist countries, there are few people who publicly define themselves as nationalists (J. Jeon, 2018, p. 56; Y. G. Lee, 2007, p. 70), and few politicians who reject multiculturalism. Even more interestingly conservative politicians have shown their enthusiasm for migrant-relevant issues. In December 2012, before the 18th presidential election, 47 groups of migrants and mixed-blood¹ Koreans declared their support for Park Geun-Hye,² one of the most conservative presidential candidates. This declaration was the first time that ethnic minorities had come together to publicly express their political opinions in South Korea. In response to their declaration, presidential candidate Park Geun-Hye promised to support migrants' settlement, improve their lives, and nurture their children to become proud members of South Korea (Nam-Kyu Kim, 2012; S.-H. Lim, 2012). Furthermore, celebrities who were ethnic minorities worked on the election polling committee and the presidential transition team for Park Geun-Hye,³ During an interview for this study, a

¹ The term 'mixed blood' is a problematic expression used to refer to a person of biracial descent. In 2004, the U.N. Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) recognized a need to address the South Korean concepts of 'pure-blood (*sunhyeol*)' and 'mixed-blood (*honhyeol*)' in order to reduce racial and ethnic discrimination in South Korea (K. Han, 2007, p. 10). Despite its problematic nature, I use the term mixed blood throughout this dissertation for the sake of consistency. The term effectively reveals South Koreans' strong attachment to bloodline. Furthermore, many studies published in the early 2000s used the term, and it is still occasionally used in South Korea today. Therefore, use of this term can support a more accurate discourse analysis.

² Park Geun-Hye was a conservative party leader, as well as the daughter of former military dictator Park Chung-Hee (presidential term: 1963-1979). She was elected President of South Korea but her term (February 2013-March 2017) was 10 months shorter than other presidential terms, as she was impeached due to a political scandal.

³ For instance, the mixed-blood, musical director Park Kolleen chaired a Special Committee for Youth, and the naturalized, South Korean doctor and professor In Yo-Han, who holds dual citizenship in the U.S and in South Korea, worked on the presidential transition team as Vice-Chairman of a Committee for the National Unity.

female migrant and assembly member of one of the local governments, Yi-Hwa⁴, commented that:

“In general, the issue of multiculturalism is by and large favoured when it comes to relevant opinions or policy. Other members of the assembly and members of the conservative party⁵ have actively supported whatever initiative I have proposed. I have also received positive responses, such as ‘OK, of course,’ whenever I have visited other institutions as an Assembly member. There has been almost no direct hindrance to the drawing up and proposing such policy” (interview, May 18, 2018).⁶

Even in the context of widespread right-wing, xenophobic nationalism around the world, South Korea policy makers do not appear to be showing hostility to its official acceptance of multiculturalism. Native South Koreans’ public opinions appear to be much less divided according to political cleavages; as explained later, this has much to do with the phenomenon of an increasing number of so-called multicultural families (*Damunhwa gajok*),⁷ generally referring to international marriage couples and their children. Intriguingly, conservative policy makers’ enthusiasm includes both declarations and actions that enforce government policies about migrants and their families.

⁴ In this dissertation, I use pseudonyms to protect the anonymity of my interviewees. Please see Appendix A for more information about the interviewees.

⁵ The conservative party mentioned in Yi-Hwa’s interview refers to the Grand National Party (*Hanara* party). See Section 1-3 Use of Terms for a detailed overview of South Korea’s political party system, which includes conservative, liberal, and leftist political parties.

⁶ Following this comment, she added: “But there were some cases in which my proposals were brought to fruition in ways that I did not intend. For example, when I proposed encouraging female marriage migrants (female migrants who come to South Korea for their marriages) to participate in a vocational training program which already existed, a new program was prepared and launched just for these women.” Indeed, her observation demonstrates that female marriage migrants are welcomed but treated separately from native South Koreans.

⁷ Everyday usage of the term ‘multicultural families’ refers to families composed of South Korean men and migrant women who are generally from developing countries. See chapter 5 for the legal definition of multicultural families.

While South Korean conservative force' support for multiculturalism would not be unique in the world, the timing of their explicit expression of enthusiasm towards it is distinct from other countries. Since the 1960-70s, European and North American countries have proclaimed multiculturalism to be a facet of their national branding, using it to promote the social integration of immigrants and aboriginal people. However, at the beginning of 2010, several leaders in European countries declared that their multiculturalism policies had failed, and these leaders attributed such failure to reasons such as a lack of protection of national, traditional cultural values. German Chancellor Angela Merkel declared that 'German multiculturalism has utterly failed' (Weaver, 2010), urging immigrants to contribute to social cohesion. Other political leaders in the Netherlands, Norway, and France echoed Merkel (Malit & Oliver, 2013). British Prime Minister David Cameron took a firm stand against multiculturalism by explicitly contrasting the white British majority with ethnic minorities who were blamed for having failed to assimilate to the country (Gilroy, 2012).⁸ Ironically, since the mid-2000s, South Korean conservative commentators have awkwardly painted a rosy future for South Korean multiculturalism. They have criticized European multiculturalism as a policy failure which invites social unrest, as exemplified by the 2005 French riots. They have also praised U.S. multiculturalism for its ability to unite Americans regardless of their skin color. Canadian multiculturalism is occasionally introduced with its guiding values of tolerance, generosity, and diversity into the country's national identity in the conservative media, however, the conservative force is less interested in it than in U.S. multiculturalism.

⁸ However, opponents in disagreement with such declarations about the death of multiculturalism argue that the real reasons for the leaders' statements was to resolve international and domestic political and economic crises (Gilroy, 2012; Lentin & Titley, 2011, p. 3).

Conservative members of the National Assembly have proactively made continuous attempts to propose new laws or to revise existing laws concerning migrants. Two of Asia's first migrants' rights legislations were pushed forward by conservative policy makers. These included the 2005 revision to voting laws which secured non-South Korean residents' a right to vote in local elections, as well as the enactment of the 2012 Refugee Act, which aimed to guarantee a certain level of social security, basic livelihood security, education, employment, and medical service supports for refugees. In 2009, Yu Seung-Min, a conservative member of the National Assembly, tackled the racial discrimination in the Military Service Act, which contained an Article banning certain groups of mixed-blood South Korean males from active military service (particularly if they were considered white or black men).⁹ Lee Ra (term as a Provincial Assembly member: 2010-2014) and Lee Jasmine (term as a National Assembly member: 2012-2016), who were migrants and the first Provincial Assembly member and the first National Assembly member respectively, belonged to the conservative party. Cho Myong-Chul (term as a National Assembly member: 2012-2016), the first North Korean defector to become a National Assembly member, also belonged to the same party. The conservative party's support for multiculturalism is regularly criticized by xenophobic communities such as the 'Anti-Multicultural(ism) Policy (*Damunhwa Jeongchaek Bandoe*)' and the 'People's Solidarity for

⁹ While the deployment of mixed-blood men into the military services of the recruits or the second militia might appear to privilege or include these men, there is evidence to suggest that Article (65) of the Military Service Act and Article (136) of the Enforcement Decree of the Military Service Act actually aggravate discrimination against them. Both of these articles refer to these men as persons who are 'clearly distinguished in appearance,' 'deemed unfit for military service,' 'sentenced to imprisonment' and characterized by 'disease or mental and physical incompetence.' In addition, their deployment into these services was tied to the color of their skin. Hence, other mixed-blood men whose appearance was indistinguishable from native South Korean men were not eligible for this exemption. Furthermore, the cultural vestiges of South Korea's military dictatorship (1960s-1980s) ensured that South Korean men who were exempted from military service, or who joined alternative services such as the second militia service, were treated as second-class citizens or immature adults in South Korea (National Human Rights Commission in Korea, 2003). Today, more than three thousand mixed-blood, South Korean men are on active duty, and their number is expected to sharply increase in the near future (Sang-Heun Lee, 2019).

Rooting Out Foreigners' Crimes (*Oegugin Beomjoe Cheokgyeol Simin Yeondae*).’ Thus, while U.S. Republicans rallying cry is ‘Make America Great Again,’ in South Korea we do not encounter conservative political slogans that suggest a need to ‘Make the Korean Nation Great Again.’

Although the seed of multiculturalism policy was sown during the Roh Moo-Hyun liberal government (2003-2007), few members of the liberal party and the progressive force have taken the lead or clearly expressed their stances on issues relevant to multiculturalism. This omission has largely gone unnoticed, however, since most research about South Korean multiculturalism has not conducted a close examination of the political forces leading this policy initiative. Likewise, research has not yet examined the timing of the emergence of multiculturalism in government discourse or its political implications. This is likely because multiculturalism, and more broadly pro-migrant (albeit specific groups of immigrants) policy appears to continuously thrive under both liberal and conservative governments. In April 2006, for instance, liberal President Roh Moo-Hyun declared the irreversibility of South Korea’s demographic transformation to a multicultural society (M.-L. Kim, 2015; W.-K. Lim, 2011; Watson, 2012; J. Yi & Jung, 2015). This type of declaration about ethnicities of the South Korean population was unprecedented. Furthermore, the legal term ‘multicultural families’ emerged during liberal President Roh’s tenure, and various plans and policies were introduced in the name of multiculturalism. Then, during the next two consecutive conservative governments (2008-2016), the scale of multicultural policy continued to increase unlike other policies relating to the economy, diplomacy, or North Korea, which altered in direction.

The apparent continuity in multiculturalism policy is deceptive, however. A closer analysis is required to better understand when and how the discursive direction of

multiculturalism policy was shaped. Much research indicates that support for multiculturalism appears to be driven by concerns about population issues, such as low birthrates and the rapid ageing of South Korean society. However, prior to April 2006, government documents rarely referenced multiculturalism as a possible solution to population issues. Therefore, it is essential to investigate why female marriage migrants and multiculturalism emerged as important policy subjects in the latter half of President Roh Moo-Hyun's tenure, and to ask questions about who participated in this sudden emergence. Otherwise, it would be difficult to understand certain phenomena such as why the *Hankyoreh* News (which is typical, progressive and leftist media) produced a higher quantity of media coverage about multicultural or multiethnicity discourse than *Chosun* Daily News (which is typical ultra conservative media) during the 1990s and early 2000s but then saw this trend reversed beginning in the mid-2000s (K. Park, 2014, p. 1581). Relating to this trend, an international NGO activist expressed his discontent that South Korean progressives relinquished their initiative related to migrant issues (J.-W. Lee, 2012). Watson (2010)'s assertion that the South Korean conservatives have effectively 'stolen' and 'colonized' the concept of multiculturalism (p. 340) comes as no surprise in the given situation.

Such idiosyncrasies sparked my interest in this dissertation: How has such a distinctively South Korean multiculturalism developed when multiculturalism is mainly supported by conservative force? And, in this context, how have migrant groups that challenge South Korea's ethnic homogeneity been positioned and positioned themselves politically in this society? Through examining discourses surrounding the emergence of multiculturalism as a governmental problematic, I uncover the singularities of South Korean multiculturalism as a practice of government; I also reveal how migrant groups of distinct backgrounds have been incorporated differently into South Korea. The tendency for conservative political forces to favour

multiculturalism and to take the lead in the development of migrant-relevant policy is rarely found in the Western societies where, generally, conservative force embraces exclusive and aggressive nationalism. Therefore, studying South Korean multiculturalism offers a lesson to other countries that do not fit squarely with Western cases.

First of all, exploring the multiculturalism discourse of South Korea as a newly emerging immigrant-receiving country in Asia provides an opportunity to consider an exceptional case, which departs from the multiculturalism discourse which is typical and particularly present in Western countries, many of which were settler colonies. It is essential to consider the ideological configuration of South Korea prior to conducting in-depth analysis of the technical aspects of South Korean multiculturalism. Since the early 2000s, conservative journalists and NGOs, such as the New Right, have ostensibly argued that nationalism is an enemy to the South Korean society. This viewpoint is deeply rooted in South Korea's historical and philosophical background, and it is affected by South Korea's experiences during the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945) and the aftermath of the Cold War. The ideological aftereffects of these historical events are still influencing perspectives because the Korean peninsula's ongoing division helps to sustain the ideological confrontation in South Korea to this day (S. Snyder, 2003).

Furthermore, Korean-Chinese migrant workers (approximately 0.5 million), accounting for around 40% of the total migrant worker population (approximately 1.3 million in 2019 (KOSIS, 2019e)), are also deeply involved in issue of historical events and South Korean democracy. They are generally second or third generation Koreans who emigrated to China to escape the hardships of life under Japanese colonialism or to join the Korean independence movement in the 1930-40s (J.-H. Choi & Kim, 2016; D. H. Seol & Skrentny, 2009). While testimonies and historical records established that these emigrants had made significant contributions to Korean

independence (D. H. Seol & Skrentny, 2009, pp. 152–153), they were nonetheless neglected or rejected by the South Korean government until the first liberal government (1998-2002) was established. Therefore, due to its distinctive geopolitical conditions and its peculiar ideological spectrum, a case study of South Korea can provide insights into a number of different experiences which have not appeared in traditional immigration countries or in typical sending countries of the developing world.

In detail, I will discuss multiculturalism in relation to three different migrant groups: North Korean defectors, female marriage migrants, and migrant workers. South Korean multiculturalism policy is not about ethnic minorities' cultural diversity or values, and the policy only has a direct connection to (female) marriage migrants. Thus, to fully comprehend the mechanism by which minorities are controlled in different ways, one can learn quite bit from how they are included or excluded from multiculturalism policy but at the same time one also needs to go beyond multiculturalism policy. Because South Korea shares a truce line with North Korea, defectors occupy a peculiar position in South Korean society. North Korean defectors (approximately 30 thousand inhabitants) occupy a relatively unstable position in South Korean society, as sometimes they are considered to be fellow members of a Korean nation, and, other times, they are represented as migrants in the era of multiculturalism. Discourse surrounding them reflects political cleavages which have continued since the territorial division of Korea in 1945. The second group - female marriage migrants (approximately 132 thousand inhabitants) - emerged with a demand for female, migrant brides in South Korea. Their presence has stimulated the development of policies which target both female marriage migrants and their South Korean families, a trend which differs from other countries where individual or family migrations are commonly accepted. The final group –migrant workers (approximately 1.23 million inhabitants,

including undocumented workers)- arrived in response to the country's demand for labour. Unlike in other countries, however, South Korea has a migrant worker policy which seems to favor the recruitment of overseas Korean migrant workers over that of non-Korean migrant workers.

Among these three minority groups, North Korean defectors and female marriage migrants are actively embraced into South Korean society while migrant workers are generally ostracized. Therefore, examining these three groups as research subjects can help to illuminate the diverse mechanisms which determine configuration of inclusion and exclusion in South Korean society. In addition, by examining how discourses about these three groups are intertwined, this study will reveal important discursive convergences and divergences. In sum, a South Korean case study which uses the same theoretical framework to analyze these three groups together offers many opportunities to garner a comprehensive understanding of South Korean multiculturalism.

This study also contributes toward questioning and unsettling taken-for-granted assumptions about multiculturalism by exploring the intellectual process involved in producing contemporary multiculturalism discourse, which is overwhelmingly centres around female migrants' family issues in South Korea. Although most researchers who study South Korean multiculturalism argue that multiculturalism began with the Roh Moo-Hyun liberal government (2003-2007), in this study, I trace President Roh Moo-Hyun's tenure to locate the critical juncture when multiculturalism policy emerged. Instead of approaching South Korean multiculturalism as though the government espoused it from the outset, I explore why the policy surfaced in the second half of President Roh's tenure. Specifically, the intellectual processing which served to justify conceptualizations of mixed-blood Koreans, female marriage migrants

and their families coincided with the jurisdictional competition between the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family to attain a leadership position with regards to the issue relating to these groups as policy objects. In the second half of the President Roh's tenure, there was a series of intense tug of wars among political forces, which included conservatives and feminists who have actively supported multiculturalism and liberals who have been relatively passive. Taking a Foucauldian genealogical approach (Foucault, 1977b) to the study of South Korean multiculturalism discourse, I reveal how feminists and the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family cooperated to push multiculturalism forward when the conservatives began to lead multiculturalism discourse.

Additionally, this genealogical approach towards the analysis of South Korean multiculturalism discourse reveals the features of culture as an object of governance, how it was born and transformed, and how it has been selectively applied to particular minority groups. This is important to understand because, when what we generally call 'culture' enters a realm of government, it becomes a technology which can be used to govern minority groups (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991; M'charek, Schramm, & Skinner, 2014). The term 'culture' in South Korean multiculturalism is clearly different from the notion of culture which is associated with the first liberal President Kim Dae-Jung (1998-2002). President Kim Dae-Jung (1998-2002) is credited with laying the groundwork for the current boom in K-pop culture. This was done by using an arm's length principle to merge a domain of culture with industries.¹⁰ During his tenure, the terms 'multicultural' or 'multiculturalism' were rarely encountered in government documents, but they were used generically to refer to the various subcultures and minority cultures which were all mixed together. As well as, culture was narrowly defined as folklore, referring mostly to

¹⁰ This principle promises support for cultural industries without interference.

traditional costumes, food, and ceremonies. Therefore, up to the beginning of the 2000s, we can see that multiculturalism did not refer to migrants, international marriages, or persons of mixed blood.

With a massive influx of migrants which began in the 2000s, however, organizations in the non-governmental domain occasionally started to adopt the term ‘multicultural families,’ and it generally came to be understood as encompassing: 1) the families of marriage migrants; 2) foreign couples with children; and 3) the families of North Korean defectors (H.-M. Kim, 2008). This trend has subtly transformed and expanded since the government officially introduced the term ‘multicultural families’ through the enactment of the Multicultural Families Support Act in 2008. By analyzing how this discursive transformation occurred, this study illuminates who or what defines ‘culture’ in the context of multiculturalism. In Europe, multiculturalism has ultimately been used as a convenient bashing bag: Racist voices, disguised as critiques of multiculturalism, have been overtly amplified through mass media in the post-colonial period (Gilroy, 2012; Lentin & Titley, 2011, p. 3), a phenomenon that is connected to culturalist, neo-racism (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991). South Korea could offer an Asian case study which is comparable and, at the same time, distinguishable from similar European case studies.

Lastly, exploring South Korea’s multiculturalism discourse over the last 20 years (1998-2017) allows for comparisons to be made between liberal and conservative governments, and it illustrates how policy change is influenced by the different national visions espoused by these governments. Beginning with the first South Korean government (1948-1960) and ending with the 14th government of Kim Young-Sam (1993-1997), the political legacies of pro-Japanese collaboration and a military dictatorship have been carried forward through successive governments. The Kim Dae-Jung’s liberal government (1998-2002) was the first government to

form through a peaceful turnover of power and the ensuing 20 years (1998-2017) saw two consecutive liberal governments and two consecutive conservative governments. Therefore, the analysis of this period when ideas of South Korean multiculturalism emerged and matured shows how political forces promoted different multiculturalism policies to fit their visions about the nation. It also shows how a policy introduced in the former two liberal governments (1998-2007) was subtly changed during the subsequent two conservative governments (2008-2016). The case of the migrant workers discussed in chapter 6, for instance, illustrates how a policy which was once praised by civil society could later become a scandalous policy during the conservative government.

1-2 Why a Single Case Study?

My study of South Korean multiculturalism and its related policies is a single case study which is generally devalued in the social sciences (Firestone, 1993; Flyvbjerg, 2006; Mintzberg, 2005). The definition of a case study is generally assumed to be somewhat ambiguous and messy (Gerring, 2006). Yin (2014) defined the case study as ‘an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident’ (p. 14). According to this definition, spatiotemporal boundedness is an important element in case studies; thus, certain entities, such as nation-states, political parties, or certain phenomena, can be the subjects of case studies. Nevertheless, even if we accept this definition, there are still two additional critiques of case studies as a means of academic inquiry: one, case studies are criticized for their researcher bias (Flyvbjerg, 2006), and, two, they are criticized as being too far removed from scientific generalization (Ruddin, 2006).

With regards to researcher bias, Flyvbjerg (2006) suggests that this concern stems from the erroneous premise that researchers are omniscient (p. 22). Researchers' biases towards research objects are not just a problem of case studies, but rather a problem of all kinds of studies (Berg & Lune, 2012; Flyvbjerg, 2006). At the same time, Berg and Lune (2012) question any scientific conception of pure objectivity. They argue that all research -including quantitative studies which appears to be objective and neutral- cannot be objective because the types of data and the methods used to influence the research outcome. How the data is interpreted is also influenced by researchers' different experiences and perspectives. Therefore, Flyvbjerg (2006) asserts that researchers are social actors in particular societies who perform normative roles. As such, it is unreasonable to expect researchers to maintain neutrality; their expertise is supposed to operate on 'the basis of detailed case-experience' (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 23) instead of on the direct use and application of existing rules.

With regards to the critique that case studies are not generalizable, one fundamental question must be raised: Can the social sciences free themselves from complex contexts? According to conventional understandings, case studies are merely useful for developing a hypothesis which is capable of verifying theories that are not context-specific. This perspective represents a narrow approach to social science, however. Case studies seek learning from fluid societies instead of looking to create 'textbook theories' for novices through the testing of hypotheses and the generalizing of particular phenomena (Flyvberg, 2006, p. 7). Through this learning, researchers can discover how a particular phenomenon deviates from broadly accepted theoretical propositions. In this way, case studies offer the opportunity to test existing theories and to establish a new hypothesis (Bennett & Elman, 2007; Levy, 2008). Hence, the in-depth and intensive observation of case studies can assist researchers in challenging their biases.

It is also important to consider the way in which we define generalization in social science research (Ruddin, 2006). Instead of turning to conventional notions of objective scientific generalization, we might consider the concept of naturalistic generalization developed by Stakes (1982, as cited in Ruddin, 2006, p. 804). Naturalistic generalization incorporates the perspectives of the users/demanders of research, and it enables users to privately transfer knowledge by focusing on the ‘more interpretive processes of general findings, with their heavy dependence on context and reader responsibility’ (Melrose, 2009). Simply speaking, even though case studies are not an efficient source of scientific generalization, which places greater importance on finding propositional knowledge, case studies can contribute to generalization in a different way.

Gerring (2006) and Yin (2014) suggest several instances in which a single case study is more appropriate. These instances include cases that are distinctive or extreme; studies which require a longitudinal approach; or studies that aim to challenge prevailing theories or ideas. This dissertation examines a distinctive case of multiculturalism, which is why it has been restricted to a single case study. Furthermore, in this dissertation, I adopt genealogy as a methodology (Foucault, 1977b) for analyzing 20 years of transformations in multiculturalism discourse and policies in South Korea. Therefore, a longitudinal approach was deemed to be appropriate. Furthermore, South Korea’s geographical condition as an inhabitant of a divided peninsula offers a unique case study. Over a period of more than 7 decades, South Korea has gradually acquired a distinct condition, which has been characterized as that of an ‘isolated hermit kingdom’ (J. Yi & Jung, 2015) or an ‘island country’ (K.-T. Park, 2008, p. 36) surrounded by water on three sides and a ceasefire line to the north. In this geographically confined and ideologically restricted society, multiculturalism policy has grown under the aegis of conservative force. The distinctive

characteristics of this context offer another reason why a single case study was deemed an appropriate methodology. Finally, this dissertation challenges taken-for-granted understandings of the relationships between different ideologies such as multiculturalism and nationalism, multiculturalism and anti-communism, or multiculturalism and (state) feminism which are commonly presumed to be either antithetical or compatible with one another. My attempt to illustrate how South Korea is an outlier in this regard also supports the methodological decision to conduct a single case study.

1-3 Research Questions

I consciously depart from the widely-accepted understanding of South Korea's multiculturalism policies. Rather than treating those policies as a natural and obvious consequence of the increasing number of migrants in South Korea, I propose that the multicultural discourse be understood as part and parcel of the 21st century nation-building project.

My overarching research question is: What governmental visions are projected onto each of the three migrant groups (North Korean defectors, multicultural families, and migrant workers) and what role do these visions play in nation-building during an era of multiculturalism? In addition, a number of sub-questions were posed, which included:

1. How has each of these three migrant groups been problematized, and how do these problematizations relate to specific historical junctures in South Korean modern history?
 - What governmental objectives are reflected in these problematizations and what rationalities have underpinned the objectives?

2. How has each of these three migrant groups' inclusions been represented since multiculturalism discourse emerged at the beginning of the 21st century?
 - What events have helped shape the representation(s) of each of these three migrant groups in multiculturalism discourse?
 - How have the inclusions of the three migrant group been devised and justified? What rationalities have been mobilized in support of these inclusions? By whom?
 - How has South Korean multiculturalism been formulated as a governmentality?¹¹ What role did the idea of culture play in multiculturalism discourse during this process?
3. How has each of these three migrant groups been subjectivised¹² by practices or measures of government?
 - How have ideas about ethnicity, gender, and class affected the ways in which certain groups are subjectivized?
 - Which features of this subjectification are unique to South Korea and how do these features affect the ethnic hierarchy in this context?

In seeking answers to these research questions, I aim to highlight areas which existing research has missed, especially the philosophical and historical background of current multiculturalism discourse and differentiations among migrant groups who are considered objects of multicultural governmentality. Furthermore, by tracing the genealogies of multiple subjects, I also aim to bridge the gap between research studies which focus on a single subject. I therefore expect this

¹¹ The term governmentality is, briefly speaking, semantically composed of two meanings, governing and modes of thought (Lemke, 1992, p. 191). It could be defined as the art of government including the practice of governments and the effects on those who are governed. This concept is dealt with in the chapter 2.

¹² Foucault addresses the process by which people are made up as social subjects and calls this process as subjectification (Foucault, 1990).

dissertation to contribute toward uncovering the governmentality at the core of the 21st nation-building project in South Korea. In addition, this dissertation can contribute to future breakthroughs in multiculturalism studies conducted in other societies where Western case studies do not fit, and it may also contribute to raising new questions about multiculturalism in the West.

1-4 Use of Terms

Before analyzing multiculturalism discourse, it is important to prevent misunderstandings of certain terms by contextualizing their meaning in light of South Korea's specific political circumstances. First, although the South Korean party system resembles competitive bipartisanship between the Republicans and the Democrats in the U.S. (N. Park, 2018), issues such as religion, the death penalty, gay rights, abortion, and gun rights are not essential to distinguishing one political force from another in South Korea (Hermanns, 2009). Each country has a critical issue stemming from its unique political environment: Same-sex marriage was a hot issue for the 2017 federal election in Germany. In Canada, currently issues relevant to Indigenous people, natural resources, gun control, and niqab shape its political landscape. In many developing countries, establishing political systems such as electoral code or issues concerning politicians' corruption is one of the critical issues. In South Korea, political cleavages hinge on defining a national identity in relation to 'significant others' (G. Shin, 2006, p. 185), particularly the U.S. and North Korea (D.-G. Kim, 2010; Suh, 2007). As a significant other, North Korea functions as a black hole that absorbs diverse social issues (W.-T. Kang, 2005b, p. 197) while also serving as a clearer index than public welfare (W. Moon, 2016, p. 52).

Functioning as a black hole means in two senses: First, differences in South Koreans' perspectives on North Korea often determine their fundamental values or their social preferences with regards to other social issues. Simultaneously, when a certain social issue arises, the conservative force will often accuse their counterparts of being pro-North Korea, thereby sending the essence of the social issue and debate into a black hole of partisanship. When this occurs, the original issue evolves into an ideological struggle between the political parties. South Korean citizens' sense of political and national identities are rooted in this matter, therefore, the terms used in this dissertation need to be understood from this perspective. For instance, the term 'Korea' in this dissertation is used only to refer to both North and South Korea together or when analyzing circumstances which arose before the territorial division. Thus, subjects of Korean ethnic nationalism are also presupposed to include not only South Koreans but also other Korean ethnic groups such as North Koreans (25.4 million) (KOSIS, 2019b) and overseas Koreans (7 million in 180 countries) (MofA, 2019).

In addition, in this dissertation, I do not refer to the diverse political parties in South Korea by their names, but rather by their conservative or liberal ideologies. This is because of the relatively short history of democratization in South Korea and because frequent changes to the names of political parties is characteristic of South Korean politics (Steinberg & Shin, 2006, p. 517). Although the two-party system in the National Assembly has a long history since the peninsula's territorial division in 1945, the political parties have changed their names multiple times, and, as a result, the names of the political parties do not clearly reflect their original political identities. For instance, in the last 20 years (1998-2017), we have seen the political party which represents South Korean conservatives change its name from the Grand National (*Hanara*) Party to the New World (*Saenuri*) Party to overcome political crisis tied to a general

election defeat. In addition, the conservative party's opposition, the liberal party has changed its names five times,¹³ and the leftist party has changed its name twice.¹⁴ Furthermore, the multiple, peripheral parties which also engage in this system have changed their political alignments as well by leaving or joining one of the major political parties. Thus, existing studies of South Korea's political party system tend to describe it as a two-party (the conservative party vs. its opposition) or a three-party (the conservative party vs. the liberal party vs. the progressive or leftist party) system which is organized according to ideological orientation (K.-S. Hwang, 2018; H.-B. Im, 2004; B.-I. Kang, 2009; W.-T. Kang, 2005a; M. Kim & Park, 2011). In this dissertation, I use the three-party structure because it promises a more accurate analysis.

The conservative party and conservatives: The conservative party is characterized by an ideological background which is pro-American and deeply associated with the military dictatorship that ruled South Korea during the Cold War. The conservative party approaches the U.S. as an ally who had rescued South Korea from the Communist bloc. This 'alliance identity' (Suh, 2007) comes with a severe hostility toward the North Korean regime.¹⁵ This ideological orientation is known as 'liberal democracy,' and it entails a U.S.-led international order, a

¹³ The names utilized by the liberal party in the last 20 years include: The National Congress for New Politics (the *Saejeongchi Gungminhoeui*), the New Millennial Democratic Party (the *Saecheonnyeon minjudang*), the Our Party (the *Yeollin uridang*), the United Democratic Party (the *Tonghab minjudang*), the Democratic Unionist Party (the *Minju tonghapdang*), and the Democratic Party of Korea (the *Deobureo minjudang*).

¹⁴ The three names used by the progressive and leftist party in the last 20 years include: The Democratic Labor Party (the *Minjoonodongdang*), the United Progressive Party (the *Tonghapjinbodang*), and the Justice Party (the *Jeonguidang*).

¹⁵ In recent years, growing political and economic tensions between the U.S. and China have led South Korean conservatives to demonstrate strong anti-Chinese inclinations, although China is the largest trading partner (D.-G. Kim, 2010).

neoliberal market order, and a plan for the unification of both Koreas which is premised on collapse and absorption of North Korea.¹⁶

With the formation of the first South Korean government (1948-1960), the One State, One Ethnicity policy (*ilgukilmin juui*) was introduced to regulate the issue of ethnic minorities (K.-E. Lee, 2017, p. 57). Under this policy, Korean ethnicity and pure Korean blood were cherished as political concepts, and biracial people called the mixed-bloods (*honhyeorin*) were intentionally excluded from South Korean society through government-support for international adoptions and emigration. Furthermore, Chinese migrants, whose settlement began in South Korea at the end of the 19th century, suffered from both discrimination as well as an absence of proper supporting policies.¹⁷

However, in the mid-2000s, a new, self-proclaimed, conservative force emerged and conservative politicians and scholars' stance about ethnic minorities dramatically changed. They campaigned on turning down Korean ethnic nationalism and putting forward notion of virtues such as human rights, liberal democracy, and globalism. Jeon Jae-Ho (2014) analyzes how these new conservative force equates aggressive and exclusive aspect of nationalism with liberals and progressives' plan for the unification of Korea; the conservative force utilizes those notions to cover up their anti-communism and to blame their political opponents treating North Korea as an equal partner to solve issue of the Korean peninsula. In this context, any analysis of multiculturalism in South Korea requires that these elements should be delicately considered

¹⁶ In 2005, Hong Jun-Pyo, a conservative party leader, suggested replacing the term 'autonomy' with 'liberty' as one of the basic principles (autonomy, peace, and democracy) in the Development of Inter-Korean Relation Act (UFAaTC, 2005b). This was because conservatives placed greater importance on liberty than on national autonomy, which would require collaboration with North Korea.

¹⁷ South Korea is known as 'the only country where China town does not exist' (P.-S. Yang & Lee, 2004). There is a China Town in *Inchen* city in South Korea, but the majority of the stores and restaurants are run by South Koreans (H.-Y. Jeong, 2007).

because the conservatives' critiques of Korean ethnic nationalism and their support for multiculturalism (which is generally considered antithetical to nationalism) are much more prominent than the perspectives of any other political force in the policy-making process.

The liberal party and liberals or progressives: South Korean liberals and progressives define themselves as successors of the anti-Japanese and pro-democratic movements (D.-C. Kim, 2018, p. 250), who have formed a nationalist vision which resists the U.S. and advocates for national autonomy (Suh, 2007). Conservatives tend to denounce this nationalist vision as anti-American and pro-North Korean. Furthermore, liberal and progressive forces are also criticized for their support of a federal system as a means of unification. Since the 1960s, North Korea has continuously proposed the establishment of a federation which maintains one nation, one country, two systems, and two governments under the umbrella of a united military and diplomatic power. Liberal President Kim Dae-Jung (1998-2002) launched the Sunshine Policy, a North Korean-friendly policy which shares this vision of a federation. In this regard, Snyder (2003) asserts that Francis Fukuyama's proclamation of 'the end of history,' meaning the complete triumph of liberalism over communism, does not apply to the South Korean case. Instead, Snyder (2003) contends, the Kim Dae-Jung liberal government chose instead to fight against vested interests by ending anti-communist hegemony in South Korea and accommodating North Korea by underlining their shared Korean ethnicity (Y. S. Choi, 2017; S. Snyder, 2003).

Unlike the conservative party, the liberals and progressives have commonly sought egalitarianism instead of elitism, as well as income-led growth, which lays more weight on the distribution and redistribution of wealth. However, as some scholars indicate, they have hesitated

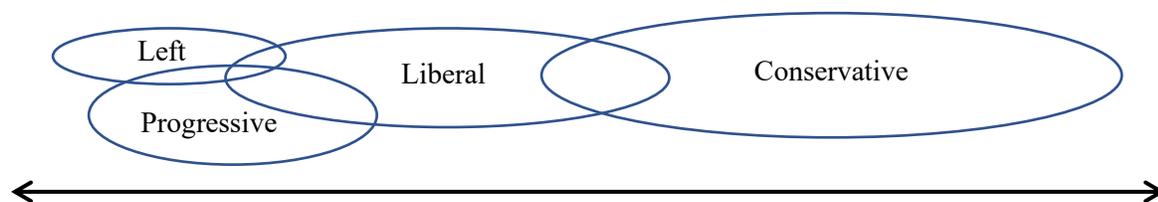
to broaden their horizons when it comes to multiculturalism. One reason liberals and progressives are thought to take a passive stance on multiculturalism is their concern about the inter-Korean relationship (M.-O. Kang, 2014; Watson, 2010). Since the territorial division of the Korean peninsula in 1945, political platforms in support of ethnic unification have been very popular for garnering public sympathies. For this reason, it is thought that South Korean liberal and progressive forces have not yet developed a way for multiculturalism to fundamentally transform the national identity going forward. Thus, they cooperate on multiculturalism policy, but they rarely attempt to take the lead on this policy.

In addition, the distinction between the liberals and the progressives is not clear. Some studies of South Korean political party formation do not distinguish between the two terms, liberal and progressive, and they often call the Kim Dae-Jung (1998-2002) and Roh Moo-Hyun (2003-2007) liberal governments as the progressive governments as well (Doh-Chull & Jhee, 2005; D.-G. Kim, 2010; K.-M. Kim, 2009). In order to offer a more accurate analysis, in this dissertation, I use the terms ‘liberal members of the National Assembly or ‘members of the liberal party’ to refer to anyone who directly influences the policy-making process in the National Assembly. I use the term ‘progressives’ to refer to anyone who engages in the policy-making process as a member of civil society and/ or an NGO.¹⁸

¹⁸ The development of political actors in this context would differ from other societies, which have a longer or much more stable history of democracy. For instance, in Canada, it is easy to distinguish Liberals from Conservatives and from progressive politicians in the New Democratic Party (NDP) or the Green Party. At the same time, members of the NDP have occupied a significant number of seats in the House of Commons. Following the 2016 general election in South Korea, however, the two major conservative and liberal parties occupied 245 seats of the 300 seats while the *Bareun mirae* Party, representing moderate conservatives, took 38 seats. The Justice Party, representing leftist force, took only 6 seats. The development of a diverse ideological spectrum in civil society has been a challenge in South Korea because of the deep entrenchment of anti-communism in society. Although civil society has seen explosive development since the 1990s, it has not sufficiently specialized yet.

Leftists: I purposely distinguish leftists, including leftist feminists, from other progressive actors because their support for multiculturalism and their criticism of Korean ethnic nationalism are worth examination. Left-wing political ideologies are not considered influential enough to impact the policy-making process.¹⁹ This is because, historically, leftist forces have not been able to develop in South Korea due to conservatives' fear of North Korean influence or intrusion (Steinberg & Shin, 2006, p. 521). Also, because of the territorial division, South Korean leftists' national identity is sometimes thought to be similar to that of liberals and progressives, who are more moderate and sympathetic towards North Korea (Suh, 2007). Nevertheless, I contend that it is worth examining how their active support for multiculturalism has been unexpectedly realized in practice while conservatives argue for the need to embrace multiculturalism and discard nationalism.

Figure 1. Major South Korean Ideological Orientations



*Constructed by the author based on *Kyungnyang Daily* (K.-S. Hwang, 2018), *Sisain* (Cheon, 2017), *Munhwa Daily* (Y.-H. Kim, 2018), and a PhD dissertation about the political party system in South Korea (Jung-Hwa Lee, 2016).

While, on the surface, multiculturalism policy mainly appears to be concerned with female marriage migrants and their families, in everyday life, media productions, and policy

¹⁹ The approval rating for the current leftist party, the Justice Party, is only single digits (3%-9% in 2019) (Realmeter, n.d.).

notes in South Korea, the term multiculturalism is used flexibly. It is therefore necessary to explain how I use the term multiculturalism in this dissertation.

Multiculturalism: While the term multiculturalism is widely used to describe or explain the characteristics of a society where a variety of cultures coexist, it nevertheless has multiple, contested meanings.²⁰ The ways in which multiculturalism has been conceptualized vary by society because the term interacts with the distinctive conditions of each society. In Canadian academia, multiculturalism tends to be defined in three ways: to refer to demographic reality characterized by significant ethnic or cultural heterogeneity; to refer to an ideal of equality and mutual respect against racism; and to refer to policies implemented by the government for achieving Canadian national values (X. Chen, 2014). Though these three key points (ethnically diverse milieu, tolerant attitudes towards cultural diversity, and related government policies) are implicitly contained across societies, diverse backgrounds reflect differing opinions in other societies (Heller, 1996; Nishikawa, 2006; Watson, 2010). Banting and Kymlicka developed an index which can be used to monitor and score countries on their multiculturalism policy. The index comprises eight indicators which tell us what types of social environments call for multiculturalism, and what aims and concrete policies are linked with multiculturalism. The eight indicators include: legislative affirmation, school curriculum, media representation, exemptions

²⁰ Ryan (2010) cited one example which highlights confusion caused by plural concepts of multiculturalism in the public sphere: “A 1995 Ekos poll took the trouble to ask Canadians: ‘Are you more likely to think of multiculturalism as ...’ 70% responded that multiculturalism was for them ‘a reflection of diversity in society,’ while just 25% considered it primarily as ‘a government policy or program’ (Musto 1997, p. 27. as cited in Ryan, 2010)”. Therefore, favoring multiculturalism would not equate to supporting multicultural policy (Ryan, 2010, p. 9).

from dress codes, allowing dual citizenship, funding for ethnic organizations, minority-language education and affirmative action (Tolley, 2016, pp. 4–6).

Although terms such as multicultural, multiculturalism, and multicultural society are used interchangeably in day-to-day life in South Korea, and ‘multicultural families’ is now a legal term, social consensus about the definition of multiculturalism has yet to be achieved. To better understand what South Korean multiculturalism is, how it works, and for what purposes, this dissertation analyzes the discourses surrounding support policies for North Korean defectors, female marriage migrants and their children, and migrant workers. The support policies for each of these social groups (based on the North Korean Refugees Protection and Settlement Support Act, the Multicultural Families Support Act, and the Act on the Employment, etc. of Foreign Workers) belong to the Ministry of Unification, the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, and the Ministry of Labour. By tracing the antecedents, births, and transformations of these policies, and by focusing on the tug of war between political forces, in particular, this dissertation offers a robust picture of South Korean multiculturalism.

1-5 Chapter Outline

Chapter 2 offers a literature review which contemplates the limits of existing research, as well as a theoretical framework and a methodology which can serve as effective tools to overcome these limits. The literature review reveals that most studies of different migrant groups have been conducted by focusing on each one separately with little effort to examine these groups as part of a broader landscape of South Korean multiculturalism. Therefore, efforts to find common governing rationalities cannot but face obstacles. To overcome this limit,

Foucault's notion of governmentality is introduced as an effective framework for dismantling taken-for-granted research assumptions. In addition, I examine anti-colonial nationalism, which has been still influential in South Korea since the Japanese colonial era, and conservative force's antagonism toward Korean ethnic nationalism. Genealogy is introduced as another theoretical framework for analyzing the antecedents of South Korean multiculturalism and 20 years of discourses surrounding multiple groups of migrants.

Before discussing each of the migrant groups, Chapter 3 examines the antecedents of South Korean multiculturalism. In doing so, it reveals the foundational rationalities which support conservatives' advocacy for multiculturalism and, conversely, liberals' passivity towards it. This chapter first explores the political competition leading up to the late 1990s in regard to *minjok*, which means subjects of Korean ethnic nationalism. Subsequently, the chapter examines the ideological collision which occurred after the late 1990s and pitted conservatives against other political forces; this collision occurred between South Korean post-nationalism, as conceptualized by conservatives, and the anti-colonial and anti-American nationalism of liberals and progressives. The analysis of the ideological configuration reveals how the conservative party pre-empts opportunities to frame the concept of multiculturalism while liberals and progressive have not been able to actively adopt it.

In the following two chapters, I analyze discourses associated with migrants who have been welcomed as new members of the South Korean society: North Korean defectors and female marriage migrants. Chapter 4 offers an analysis of discourse concerning North Korean defectors, a group which holds a distinct social position as migrants who are both ethnically similar to South Koreans and symbolically representative of South Korea's main adversary. As the chapter illustrates, North Korean defectors' unique social position is effectively utilized to

control their inclusion in South Korean society. At the initiation of conservative force, intellectual processes and technologies communicate a series of ideal characteristics which North Korean defectors are expected to perform; these include upholding conservative political values, social traditions, and economic obedience to the capitalist order. In a similar vein, female migrants and their families are also embraced by South Korean society. At the beginning, people in the category of ‘mixed-bloods’ received more public and political attention than female marriage migrants. This trend swiftly changed, however, because of legislation in support of ethnic minorities. As a result, governmental practice conceptualizes these female migrants as non-political, family-oriented, and maternal beings who comply with the existing South Korean political economic order. As noted in the Chapter 5, feminists and femocrats who are affiliated to the Ministry of Gender Equality and Families legitimize the ways in which these migrant women are problematized and conceptualized. In addition to these findings, these chapters also reveal how both North Korean defectors and female marriage migrants (and their families) were given new names which were considered value-neutral in the South Korean context. From a South Korean-centric perspective, the act of renaming the defectors as ‘People Seeking a New Land (*saeteomin*),’ and the female migrants and their families as ‘Multicultural Families (*damunhwa gajok*)’ was considered a gesture of goodwill that was meant to kindly, generously embrace them.

Chapter 6 focuses on another migrant group, whose experiences completely deviate from the aforementioned analysis: migrant workers. Unlike the other two groups, migrant workers are considered politically, socially, and economically disobedient beings; thus, their claim to belonging to South Korean society is thought to be very limited. Nevertheless, as chapter 6 notably illustrates, South Korean liberal and progressive forces, which have maintained a

relatively passive attitude towards other migrant groups, play active roles in efforts to improve the treatment of migrant workers. Such efforts have centred on two initiatives: One was to align migrant workers' status with their actual roles as workers. The other was to assume a national responsibility for Korean-Chinese workers (migrant workers from China who are ethnically Korean). Both initiatives are important for rectifying errors which were made by the previous conservative governments who held a narrowly-defined, exclusive notion of South Korean-ness. Although the accomplishments of the liberal governments were contorted by the two conservative governments which followed, the efforts made by these liberal governments can be interpreted as manifestations of rationalities of a liberal government which aspires to become an advanced and democratic state.

Lastly, in Chapter 7, I draw conclusions about South Korean multicultural governmentality based on my findings in the previous chapters. I suggest that we consider 'the contemporaneity of the unctemporary' (Bloch, 1985) when it comes to study of multiculturalism in South Korea where anti-colonial nationalism is an ideological pivot of liberal and progressive forces. I also warn that competition among migrants for the higher spot on the ethnic hierarchy could become bitter due to the unique process of subjectification in South Korea. Finally, I wrap up this dissertation by making suggestions for the political and academic domains.

CHAPTER 2 Literature, Theoretical Framework, and Research Design

2-1 Literature on South Korean Multiculturalism

In this chapter, I critically review existing research pertaining to North Korean defectors, female marriage migrants and their families, and migrant workers. In order to contribute to multiculturalism studies, I uncover blind spots, relationships, and severed links in the existing research by asking how ethnic minorities have been considered, how their inclusions have been imagined, and how discrimination against them has been addressed or not.

2-1-1 North Korean Defectors

Studies about North Korean defectors are primarily conducted based on the assumption that emphasizing and cultivating cultural homogeneity between the two Koreas is a means of solving problems faced by the defectors in South Korea. Researchers who study matters relating to Korean unification or the inter-Korean relationship are interested in the defectors, and they explore defector' motives for defection, and the process through which they arrive in South Korea; such level of attention to the journeys of defectors is rarely found in studies about other migrants. The reason for this focus seems to be the need to grasp contemporary conditions in North Korea in order to prepare for a future relationship with the country. Studies which focus on defectors who already reside in South Korea mainly deal with the discrimination that defectors have experienced in South Korea, their identity crisis, and the social networks which help the defectors adapt to South Korean society (W. Jeon, Yu, & Lee, 2011; J. W. Kang, 2013; Haw-Soon Kim, 2010; S.-K. Kim, 2017; H.-Y. Lee, 2012). These studies generally assume that defectors are not very different from South Koreans because they are members of a Korean nation, the same people. They commonly suggest the need to cultivate cultural homogeneity,

reinforce Korean ethnic unity, and promote South Koreans' tolerance of North Korean defectors as a means of enhancing defectors' sense of belonging and addressing the issues of discrimination and identity crisis which defectors commonly face in South Korea. Consequently, the focus of defector-related issues is turned away from the political domain and toward an ethnic and cultural identity one. In the end, this approach acts as a barrier to empirical research on the defectors, and, at the same time, it can lead to ignorance about the reality which often sees them being administratively lumped into the category of multicultural families.

Recently, there have been efforts to deal with North Korean defectors through a multiculturalism lens which, as an analytical framework, is meant to understand the defectors' diverse identities (W.-O. Choi, 2012; D.-W. Kang, 2007; Hyun-Jung Kim & Park, 2016). In other words, the main purpose of employing multiculturalism as an analytical lens is to underline the fact that the defectors have been living in significantly different societies for 7 decades and to highlight the difficulties which defectors share in common with other migrants in South Korea (W.-O. Choi, 2012). These future-oriented studies are premised on the idea that North Koreans and South Koreans will one day live in harmony and that multiculturalism, as an ideological orientation, is a means of reconciling both Koreas.

These studies, along with those which assume a future when non-Korean migrants will coexist with North and South Koreans, seem to require more creativity. Park Young-Ja (2012) considers North Korean defectors (or people from North Korea) and other migrants together based on the assumption of a Korean unification in the future. According to her, cultivating and reinforcing the homogeneous ethnic identity with North Korea is valid for generating a peaceful coexistence with North Koreans, but simultaneously, an alternative lens is also clearly required in order to prepare for increases in the population of non-Korean migrants. Thus, she argues that

it would be more worthwhile to adopt inter-culturalism as an ideological orientation rather than multiculturalism. According to her understanding, multiculturalism allegedly promotes pluralism and expands freedom based on culture, consciousness, and psychology (Y.-J. Park, 2012, p. 303). On the other hand, she thinks that inter-culturalism has potential for revitalizing mutual dependence, penetration, and the pursuit of unity with diversity. Although her understanding of inter-culturalism differs from Winter's (2011) interpretation, which underlines the bi-national aspects of inter-culturalism. Nevertheless, Park contributes to a broadening of the imagination with regards to gearing up for future challenges. Specifically, her objective is to figure out how to juggle two projects together, that is, how to seek national reconciliation with North Korea and build a society that is willing to embrace diverse ethnicities, cultures and values; nevertheless, the distinction she found between inter-culturalism and multiculturalism remains confusing. She also admitted that inter-culturalism could be another name for 'Quebec version of multiculturalism' (Y.-J. Park, 2012, p. 326) which increases the risk of segregation among ethnic groups by placing more weight on pluralism than on the cultivation of shared identity. While, Park's (2012) understanding of multiculturalism may be unusual, as for example, it does not accept Kymlicka's (1995) understanding of multiculturalism, which drawn on Taylor's 'politics of recognition,' her attempt to address these issue proves that there is increased academic interest in locating an alternative ideology (to multiculturalism or inter-culturalism) which can serve as an analytical framework for studies of North Korean defectors. Such studies have yet to produce a concrete, alternative perspective and strategy for establishing a stable and sustainable relationship with North Korea in a context of increasing numbers of migrants. At the same time, there are hardly any attempts to delve into contemporary relations between the defectors and other migrants.

In sum, it is clear that the direction of research about North Korean defectors has gradually shifted from an emphasis on cultural homogeneity toward the adoption of a multiculturalism lens. Nevertheless, there is still controversy about how to define the defectors. Therefore, defector-focused research remains unclear in direction. One reason for leaving its direction hazy can be that North and South Korea's relationship is considered uncertain and controversial. Kim Jiyeon (2015) points out that currently embracing the defectors as either co-ethnic Koreans or another migrant group seems unimportant due to the relatively small number of North Korean defectors (approximately 33 thousand). However, if the two Koreas were to unify, the number of North Koreans would be quite sizable, constituting around one third of inhabitants on the Korean peninsula: North Korea's total population is 25.4 million and South Korea's population is 52 million (J. Kim, 2015, p. 110). Besides, the Ministry of Unification, which is in charge of the administration of the defectors, proclaims that North Korean defectors are not multicultural beings, but one people with South Koreans (T.-H. Kang, 2015). Thus, existing studies about the defectors have maintained a certain distance from general existing studies about multiculturalism. Nevertheless, in policy discussions, defectors are frequently held as a standard for deciding what type of or how much supports should be offered to other migrants. This is not only because they are Koreans, but also because they are the first migrants to be intentionally addressed by the South Korean government. In the end, although the defectors have not been considered directly or sufficiently as an important subject of multiculturalism policies, their presence functions as a benchmark for evaluating how non-South Koreans have been considered and treated throughout modern history.

2-1-2 Female Marriage Migrants

Most studies about female marriage migrants (which have been spotlighted as beneficiaries of multiculturalism policies) have dealt with government policies tailored to the females' and their families' life cycles based on the premise that those women deserve a warm welcome from South Koreans. The scope of study topics is large, ranging from the marriage brokerage businesses which influences the beginning of the women's married lives (J. Y. An, 2019; D. Y. Kim, 2015; Yu & Chen, 2016), to the family welfare policies which support their relationships with husbands, parents-in-law, children, and neighbors (Chang, 2017; M.-K. Lee & Ahn, 2018; Rhee, 2008; Y.-S. Song & Lee, 2019). In particular, research has sought to promote female marriage migrants' integration into society through the study of fraudulent marriages; domestic violence; marital counselling programs; childbirth and childcare supports; social networks; job training and employment support for females; biracial children as multicultural children who have poorly adapted to school; Korean language barriers; psychological instability; identity crisis, and even multicultural families' lifestyle choices, such as their dietary habits (H.-S. Kim, 2010; H.-K. Lee, 2013; J.-H. Lee, Ju, & Cho, 2013; S.-O. Kim & Kim, 2016; Song, 2018). Nevertheless, there have been continuous criticism from activists and volunteers that those excessive supports can lead the females to be dependent and provoke a reverse discrimination sentiment from South Korean natives (Yi-Hwa, interview, May 18, 2018).

Another notable aspect of the studies about female marriage migrants focuses on structural pressures which neoliberalism, nationalism, or patriarchy place on female marriage migrants (Chiu, 2019; K. Kim, 2017; Piper & Lee, 2016). Research from fields such as law, clinical counselling psychology, sociology, cultural anthropology, and women's studies reveal that, because of structural pressures, female migrants face (physical or emotional) violence not only in their patriarchal households (H.-C. Chang, 2015; Suyeon Park & Morash, 2016), but also

in the society, where they have been objectified by South Korean natives (Kwon, 2013; S.-J. Lee, 2004; S. Lee & Cha, 2013). Studies commonly find that the female migrants are regarded as maternal bodies that bring necessary human capital to South Korea. They are expected to play a submissive role in patriarchy, support financially impoverished South Korean households, or compensate for declining fertility rates in South Korea. In order to understand female migrants' lives, researchers recommend taking a transnational perspective that assumes the nation as a socially structured entity and places importance on the ties which connect people and organizations across national borders (Faist, 2000, p. 190). From this perspective, it is possible to connect females' roles as wives or mothers in South Korean households and as workers who connect their home countries to South Korea in the neoliberal world order (Piper & Lee, 2016). In order to challenge the structural pressures imposed on the females, and to contribute to a culturally diverse society, it is often recommended that global citizenship or cosmopolitanism be adopted as a guiding ideology by the government or educational authorities (Hye-Sun Kim, 2006; B. Koo, 2013; H.-Y. Park, 2012).

Meanwhile, keeping pace with the rising number of female marriage migrants' children, multicultural education and, particularly, philosophy of education represent another notable and growing research area. Interestingly, there have been continuous attempts to combine multiculturalism and Korean nationalism. Even though female marriage migrants are transnational beings, after settling down in South Korea, these women and their children come into contact and become concerned with Korean national issues, such as peace in the Korean peninsula, political conflicts which pivot on the treatment of North Korea, and democracy. Such national issues have been caused by differences between the political and national visions of South Korean conservatives and liberals or progressives. Conflicts stemming from these issues

still significantly impact the development of democracy in South Korea. Thus, in many cases, researchers interested in multicultural education in South Korea have been reticent to recommend directly adopting multiculturalism as the philosophical foundation of South Korea's educational policy because it is assumed to be incompatible with the Korean national issue (B.-S. Park, 2009; Lim & Jeong, 2014; Olneck, 2011; S.-W. Kang, 2010; Yang, 2007). Concretely speaking, some insist that multiculturalism seeking to coexist with diverse ethnicities and cultures is at odds with Korean ethnic nationalism highlighting Korean national identity and national unity (H.-W. Cho, 2011; B.-S. Park, 2013). Therefore, an ideological challenge of multiculturalism is considered as a matter of choice between uniformity and diversity or between particularism and universalism (Y.-J. Yang, 2007). In this situation, in order to prevent the children of migrant parents from becoming disoriented on the national issues while simultaneously preparing them for a much more ethnically diverse future, researchers have proposed several alternative approaches, such as open nationalism (Cho, 2018; Chu, 2009), civic nationalism (C.-G. Kim, 2010; H.-K. Jeon, 2014; Noh, 2018), or Korean-style multiculturalism (Yoon, 2008). Although many of these approaches suggest reconciling multiculturalism and nationalism, a concrete alternative which is capable of resolving the latent conflicts between these two ideologies has yet to be developed. This might be a reason why South Korean liberal and progressive forces have remained passive on migrant-relevant issues.

In sum, research and policymaking concerned with female marriage migrants and their children have either ignored or underestimated the influence of Korean ethnic nationalism, which is still an important variable in the South Korean context. South Korea has been and still is being shaped by the legacies of its territorial division, and many migrants, including female marriage migrants, belong to the Korean diaspora. Globally, there are 7 million Korean compatriots,

which is more than 14% of South Korea's total population and the 8th largest diaspora in the world (Mofa, 2019). While they are disseminated across 176 countries, approximately 90% of this population resides in four regions: China, the U.S., Japan, and the Commonwealth of Independent States (the CIS) (J.-S. Kwak, Ye, Jang, So, & Moon, 2011). Therefore, Korean ethnic nationalism deserves closer exploration on various fronts because it influences both South Korean natives and migrants who share Korean ethnic roots. Nevertheless, in many cases, the studies about female marriage migrants adopt cross-sectional approaches which portray the unique character of Korean nationalism as primarily 'an ethnic nationalism based on pure-blood ideology' (H.-M. Kim, 2007, p. 103) which can incite violence toward migrants. On the other hand, research engaged in pedagogy for the next generation tends to investigate ways of striking a delicate balance between multiculturalism and Korean nationalism. Despite such efforts, many of these proposals have remained abstract.

2-1-3 Migrant Workers

The research on non-Korean migrant workers (who constituted approximately 0.8 million of the 1.3 million migrant workers, or about 60%, in 2019 and who mostly come from China and Vietnam) (KOSIS, 2019a) overwhelmingly focuses on labor policies while ignoring the ideological context which shapes the policies or the characteristics of the workers. The pros and cons of related labor policies are evaluated in order to improve the workers' human rights in general. In detail, the studies explore topics relating to labour policy (such as Employment Permit System: EPS), industrial accidents, job stress, and work visa (E-9)-related issues (Gray, 2007; Hasan, 2011; J. J. Shin, 2017). The E-9 visa is offered to workers who do not have Korean ethnic roots, and it generally authorizes migrants to engage in 3D (dangerous, difficult, and dirty)

jobs which are in heavy demand in South Korea. Researchers make attempts to uncover how migrant workers have been mistreated and discriminated under those policies. Although transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and from time to time, Korean nationalism,²¹ are briefly recommended as possible analytical frameworks and proper orientations, philosophical ideas surrounding the place of non-Korean migrant workers are generally discussed much less.

Studies about Korean-Chinese migrant workers (who constituted approximately 0.5 million of the 1.3 million migrant workers, or about 40%, in 2019 (KOSIS, 2019e)),²² tend to shed light on the needs of cultivating Korean ethnic culture which is dissimilar to the approach to issue of other migrant workers. While Korean-Chinese group, known as *Joseon-jok*, have primarily resided in the Yanbian Autonomous Prefecture in China, which shares frontiers with both North Korea and Russia, approximately one fourth of this group live in South Korea, mostly as migrant workers. Issues relating to Korean-Chinese migrant workers are often considered in terms of (Korean) ethnicity and not as workers' issues. Thus, studies about these migrants reveal that Korean ethnicity -more than social position- is a key factor linking Korean-Chinese migrants with South Korean society. Therefore, a distinguishing feature of these studies is a focus on Korean-Chinese workers' identity crisis and social isolation, which they experience in South Korea (Hyun-Jeong Lee, 2001; Joowhee Lee, 2014). In details, sociological, anthropological, political, and legal studies have focused on preventing the isolation of Korean-Chinese migrants by emphasizing the sense of Korean homogeneity. By doing so, the discrimination they face

²¹ Interestingly, some studies argue that Korean nationalism can provide a basis capable of contributing to non-Korean migrant workers' lives in South Korea if nationalism is refined to be more inclusive and attached to individual liberty (D.-J. Jang & Hwang, 2007). I include a discussion of this proposal in chapter 6.

²² There are two Korean ethnic groups affected by the Employment Permit System in South Korea which I discuss at length in chapter 6: Korean ethnic in China and the CIS. However, Korean-Chinese are the majority of Korean ethnics outside the Korean peninsula (95%) who have benefited from the EPS (Y.-J. Choi, 2018, p. 328) and who have typically engaged in discourse of South Korean multiculturalism. Thus, I examine the discourse about Korean-Chinese people in primarily Chapter 6.

from South Koreans is expected to be resolved (T.-H. Kwon, 1997; Soyoung Park, 2015; Seol & Skrentny, 2009). In this regard, studies of Korean-Chinese migrant worker issues tend to be explored separately from issues facing other migrant workers and rather, the studies are much like studies about North Korean defectors.

Ultimately, the research on Korean-Chinese migrant workers aims to improve their social integration, however, the literature is still very divided on whether or not these migrants are subjects of multiculturalism discourse in South Korean society. Therefore, it is worth exploring the rationalities which justify researchers' different understandings of Korean-Chinese workers in relation to multiculturalism. They are sometimes studied as subjects of multiculturalism with an objective of leading South Korea to be more tolerant and migrant-friendly country (An & Woo, 2015; Geon-Soo Han, 2008; W. Jeon et al., 2011; Kong, 2013); other times, they are represented as subjects who are co-ethnic Koreans instead of subjects of multiculturalism (J.-E. Lee, 2012; T.-H. Moon, Choi, Bae, & Choi, 2018; W. Park, 2011).²³ The latter is on the premise that multiculturalism only applies to non-Korean migrants and instead, Korean-Chinese migrants are members of Korean nation. Therefore, Korean-Chinese' cultural historical common ground with South Koreans is emphasized (J.-E. Lee, 2012; W. Park, 2011). Nevertheless, a final intention of studies of Korean-Chinese migrants in the both perspectives is enhancing their social integration into South Korean society.

In sum, research on migrant workers can be divided into two subsets: research on non-Korean migrant workers and research on Korean-Chinese migrant workers, who account for approximately 40% of the total migrant worker population today. This distinction between

²³ There are news articles casting a question about if Korean-Chinese people are overseas Koreans or foreigners (T.-S. Yang, 2011) and reflecting on regarding Korean-Chinese people as multicultural beings (S.-A. Jang, 2016).

migrant worker groups is a fundamental concept, as it shapes everything from the research topics and ideological frameworks employed in these studies, to the recommendations which are put forth to promote cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, and/ or Korean ethnic nationalism. Rarely, however, do these studies question or attempt to reveal the political rationalities which justify this distinction between non-Korean migrant workers and Korean-Chinese workers. Instead, the differential treatment of non-Korean and Korean-Chinese migrant workers has been taken for granted. Thus, the potential effects or risks involved in treating these two groups differently have not been considered carefully.

Thus, as demonstrated above, discussions about the different types of migrants may take up multiculturalism (or cosmopolitanism) or Korean ethnic nationalism as an analytical framework for debate or as an ideological orientation for resolving existing problems. These become apparent when considering the tendency toward comparative studies. South Korean multiculturalism or female marriage migrants are generally studied comparatively with cases from countries such as the U.S, Canada, France, or the U.K (S.-J. Han, 2008; B.-R. Kim, 2009; H.-Y. Kim, 2011; R.-M. Lee & Jang, 2010). Those studies are thought to offer opportunities to learn lessons from those societies which have previous experience with multiculturalism. On the other hand, not surprisingly, studies of North Korean defectors look to Germany for a comparative case study (Bleiker, 2004; S.-H. Choi, 2010; Jwa, Lee, & Ji, 2016). Through Germany's experience with unification, South Korean researchers expect to find a way to reduce negative side-effects of national unification, such as social division. In the case of migrant workers, South Korea is often compared with Japan, a country which is frequently cited and criticized for its use of Nikkeijin labourers (workers of Japanese descent from Latin America) (Abella, 2009; Skrentny, Chan, Fox, & Kim, 2007). South Korean researchers try to avoid the

problems identified in the Japanese case study, namely, the isolation of Nikkeijin despite their Japanese ethnicity. In conclusion, different countries are employed as comparisons depending on the research subjects. It reveals how different blueprints are attached to each type of migrant in South Korean society.

Table 1. Detailed Summary of the Literature Review

Groups	Female marriage migrants	Migrant workers		North Korean defectors
		(Non-Korean) migrant workers	Korean-Chinese migrant workers	
Typical Study purposes	Social integration by helping adaptation	Protecting workers' rights/ To be an advanced country	Preventing marginalization as second-class citizens	Social integration by recovering Korean ethnicity
Typical Concerns	Family-oriented welfare policy	Labour related system maintenance	Policy related to Overseas Koreans	Government aids, Preparation for unification
Common Assumptions	New members of South Korean society, mothers of South Korean children	Temporary residents	Korean ethnicity shared with South Koreans	(New) members of South Korean society or future Korean society
Common Representations of the problem	Maladjustment, domestic violence, children's education	Racism, labour exploitation, job stress, deportation	Discrimination, identity crisis, otherization	Maladjustment, identity crisis, isolation
Employed concepts or ideology	Multiculturalism, transnationalism, imperialism, patriarchy	Transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, racism	Korean ethnicity, Korean nationalism	Korean singularity, legacy of the Cold War, Korean nationalism

Comparisons	The U.S., Canada, France, the U.K.	Japan	Germany
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As such, few attempts have been made to examine these groups together and to ask why some groups are unquestionably governed by multiculturalism policy while others are only occasionally or feebly governed by multiculturalism policy in South Korea. For instance, studies of female marriage migrants and non-Korean migrant workers often make efforts to recognize and understand the transnational attributes of these two migrant groups. Studies about them have regarded the relationship between multiculturalism and Korean ethnic nationalism as a zero-sum game, which sees one ideology being introduced or implemented at the expense of the other (H.-W. Cho, 2011; T.-W. Kim, 2012; J.-H. Kwak, 2003). On the other hand, studies about migrants of Korean ethnicity have rarely questioned if emphasizing a concept of Korean ethnic homogeneity is a convincing solution for the current problems faced by migrants of Korean ethnicity or not. Therefore, despite their contributions, the apparently naturalized segregation among these studies makes it impossible to question how different migrant groups are positioned differently on the hierarchy of inclusion and can serve as a hindrance for looking at the big picture of South Korean society in the era of multiculturalism. Thus, unless those taken-for-granted research assumptions are critically examined, modified or even abandoned, the current trend toward fragmented research outcomes would be continuing.

To dismantle these assumptions and bridge the research outcomes, I intentionally shift the focus away from those who have been governed toward those who have governed and their purposes, in other words to study up (doing research about politicians and government policies), rather than study down (doing research on marginalized social groups). There have been changes

over time in the specific subjects or the related issues which attract the attention of the government and the public in South Korea. Nevertheless, there remains fierce competition among political forces which seek to dominate migrant issues. Thus, I employ a longitudinal approach in this dissertation instead of a cross-sectional approach to detect continuity and consistency in discourse of relevant policies. I do not aim to argue whether different considerations or assumptions for different migrants are necessary or legitimate. I identify the political rationalities that justify the variable treatments of different migrants, and I analyze the underlying aims of policies which are relevant to these migrants. According to Nader (1969, as cited in Gusterson, 1997), there are significant advantages to shifting research interests away from the underdog and toward the people or groups which have power and authority. Nader suggests that, as a methodology, this ‘studying up’ can help to render ordinary people knowledgeable about the power mechanisms which directly influence them (Gusterson, 1997). Although there are general barriers to studying up, such as accessing informants or navigating inner conflicts of researchers who used to sympathize with the underdog (Gusterson, 1997), in this study, I sought to limit these difficulties by fully utilizing the National Assembly minutes which vividly depict politicians and bureaucrats’ voices.²⁴

2-2 Theoretical and analytical framework

2-2-1 Anti-colonial nationalism

2-2-1-1 *Nationalism*

Hart and Negri (2000) claim that nationalism stopped functioning progressively after the independence of the global south, however, the fact that nationalism, in resisting colonialism, was one of the strongest forces in 20th century international politics still has relevance in present-

²⁴ See 2-3-1 Data source section for a detailed overview of it.

day South Korea. Nationalism contributed to the fall of empires; it ended colonialism, and it played a role in bringing down the Federal Communist States (the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia) (Barrington, 2006, p. 3). Furthermore, the tenacious vitality of nationalism has recently been reconfirmed during the COVID-19 pandemic, as we witness a resurgence of both academic and political interests in nationalism. Despite its historical and political weightiness and vitality, researchers tend to criticize and guard against nationalism due to its cohesive and exclusive nature (this is particularly common among those who study immigration issues). Since World War II, most theorists have tended to generalize and define nationalism as a certain type which is untestable or far removed from the reality (Breuilly, 1946, p. 36). However, without elaborate attention to the various facets of nationalism, and approaching the next phase of colonialism theorized as ‘neo-colonialism’ (Nkrumah, 1965), this generalization causes oversimplified understandings of nationalism, and results in only a couple of questions about nationalism being commonly raised (Furedi, 1994, p. 19): Does nationalism exist or not? Is it strong or weak?

Since the mid-20th century, there have been many attempts to analyze nationalism. However, these studies have been criticized for their Western-centric perspectives. Scholars, such as Hans Kohn (1944), for instance, propagated dichotomous understandings of nationalism as either ‘civic’ or ‘ethnic’ by using a modernist (instrumental) approach which assumes nationalism to be a modern invention. According to this simplistic classification, civic nationalism refers to a nationalism developed in the Western societies (the UK, France, the US, and Switzerland) that is rational, tolerant, progressive, and democratic. Ethnic nationalism, on the other hand, mainly refers to Eastern European nationalism that is authoritarian and exclusively based on a sense of inferiority vis-a-vis Western society (Kohn, 1944). According to

Brubaker (1992), upon examining the histories and politics of citizenship-laws, and nationhood in France and Germany, he discovered two types of nationalism: One type based on the republican model of citizenship formed by civil contract in France, the U.S. and Switzerland, and another type of nationalism which was based on an ethnic model of citizenship that relied on blood relations. Brubaker's approach followed a top-down approach to nationalism which represented typical understandings of nationalism at the time. However, afterward, Brubaker himself criticized these oversimplified generalizations as 'manichean dichotomous distinctions' (R. Brubaker, 2004). Furedi (1994) also raised doubts about the dichotomous approach to classifying nationalisms, asserting that advocates of imperialism began to characterize nationalism as demonic and subversive by using specific terms, such as 'frustrated, quasi, and extremist' (Furedi, 1994, p. 11). In a similar vein, Garth (2006) has suggested that harsh criticism of nationalism was part of propaganda spread by victorious and non-nationalist powers in World War II in order to control nationalist movements in those countries that were defeated in World War II.

In the case of this dissertation, it is my position that anti-colonial nationalism is a valid theoretical framework for studies of South Korea, a society that was colonized by Japan at the beginning of the 20th century and is under the heavy influence of American imperialism. In what follows, I examine the general attributes of anti-colonial nationalism understood as 'theatres of nationalism and discourses of nationality' (Kodsy, 2015). And I contrast the general attributes with the unique features of anti-colonial nationalism in South Korea.

2-2-1-2 Anti-Colonial Nationalism in the Post-Colonial Era

Post-independence states do not develop their national identities in a vacuum. Their identities come from sites where communal understandings of self, as historical beings, have accumulated (Suny, 2006). Thus, to study nationalism *qua* nationalism without considering the specific time, space, and subjects of nationalism would be useless (Furedi, 1994, p. 21). Therefore, to understand global south nationalisms, anti-colonial and anti-imperial histories need to be taken into account. In this context, Snyder (1968)'s attempt to categorize nationalisms according to their regional characteristics helps to establish common ground for understanding nationalisms developed in regions that were once colonized. Unlike 'fissiparous nationalism' in European societies and 'melting-pot nationalism' in the U.S. (L. L. Snyder, 1968), Black nationalism in Africa, anti-colonial nationalism in Asia, and politico-religious nationalism in the Middle East were developed against the 19th century imperialism which was driven by Britain, America, Germany, Italia, and Spain. Although these nationalisms in the global south have different developmental trajectories, their nationalist appeals could mobilize the general public to unite for a common cause, such as the restoration of national autonomy through national independence.

Although many countries' struggles for independence from colonialism bore fruits and imperialism retreated after World War II, many scholars have continued to assert the need for unabated public resistance to neo-colonialism. These newly-independent countries in Africa, Asia, and Middle East continue to be plagued by the aftermath of political and economical subjugation to the former colonial powers (Bhabha, 1990; Mignolo, 2007; Side, 1978; H.-C. Son, 2006; Spivak & Morris, 2010; Uzoigwe, 2019). This phase in the colonized countries' histories is defined as 'neo-colonialism' by Nkrumah (1965) which is the last but the most dangerous stage of colonialism because of the insidious nature of its control over the former colonies. The

majority of those independent countries have maintained the territorial borders which were forced onto them by colonizers. Those borders do not correspond with their national memberships, national homelands, or national cultures; this fact contributes to even new forms of nationalism (Barrington, 2006, p. 15). For examples, Britain planted the seed of conflicts with its so-called divide and rule colonial strategy which left Kashmir divided among Pakistan, India, and China. Likewise, the seed of genocide was sown in Rwanda by the Belgian colonial empire and its negative colonial legacy. The ongoing tragedy of the Rohingya minority in Burma is not exceptional and offers yet another example of the contemporary effects of colonialism in this part of the world.

Today, however, the frontline of anti-colonial nationalist struggles is not easily discerned. A crucial reason why this frontline remains largely invisible is that imperialists powers co-opted anti-colonial nationalism when they were faced with the inevitable end of formal colonization. Empires transformed their colonial strategies in response to ever-changing colonial situations (Breuilly, 1946, p. 125). Anti-colonial nationalists' political participation in imperialist countries was partly allowed in some areas (Byon et al., 2006). In Ireland and Algeria, natives were ostensibly allowed to participate in the policy-making processes in imperial Britain and France. After World War I, natives established bodies of self-government in India and Indonesia with permission from their respective colonizers, Britain and the Netherlands. In fact, suffrage was given to natives in the colonies. In Africa (the Gold Coast, Dahomey, Togoland and Nigeria), rights to issue newspapers or hold rallies at the local level were to some extent permitted. Likewise, co-opting nationalism in this way was a clever choice to weaken the radical anti-colonial movements and to restrict the cohesive power of these movements (Furedi, 1994). In the

end, it gave imperialists time ‘to establish the most favorable terms for transition’ (Furedi, 1994, p. 226).

The system of collaboration that was established by empires in colonized societies offered imperialists favourable terms, which they were able to maintain after the colonial period (Breuilly, 1946, p. 12; Nkrumah, 1965). Collaboration is essential for making imperialism work effectively in colonized societies (Breuilly, 1946, p. 128). Particularly, indirect rule would have been impossible without a collaborative network involving native elites or so-called ‘alien middlemen’ (Furedi, 1994, p. 22). In a case in Africa, Falola (2001) draws attention to the birth of ‘Black Englishmen,’ whose identities parallel their imperial rulers (p. 30). Anglo-Indians, whose community grew in the early 19th century, also have a dual, cultural background steeped in both Western and Indian traditions. They were fluent in English and enjoyed European lifestyles. This allowed them to earn wealth and power, and, at the same time, their Anglo-Indian identity set them apart from people whose identity was exclusively Indian (Sen, 2017). The collaborators who created their own class, a class of Western-educated natives, continue to do so today (Breuilly, 1946, p. 125). Because colonies were controlled with the help of those native collaborators, there does not seem to be a clear-cut relation between colonized countries and empires. Therefore, anti-colonialism cannot be exclusively equated with pure anti-imperialism (Furedi, 1994, p. 22). Through the system of collaboration, finally colonized societies gradually became more Westernized as societies.

Given its experience as a colony during the 20th century, South Korea shares much in common with other colonies; the influence of pro-Japanese collaborators, for instance, is one example of the lasting effects of colonialism in South Korea. However, in the post-independence context, there are a number of distinctive points that require close attention. First, unlike other

imperialisms, Japan did not rely too much on indirect colonial rule due to its geographical proximity. Thus, while under the direct rule of Japan, Koreans were not allowed political participation including suffrage rights (Byon et al., 2006; H. Park, 2017). Secondly, unlike other Western empires of the 20th Century, Japan was a country that had been defeated in World War II. Thus, Korea did not experience a period in which Korean ethnic nationalism was significantly manipulated or directed by the Japanese colonial government (Byon et al., 2006; H. Park, 2017). This differs from experiences in other countries such as India, Burma, and the Philippines, where imperialists granted suffrage, as well as some rights to political participation, freedom of speech and the press. Thus, Koreans' political participation (and needless to say collaboration) in the Japanese colonial government is clearly and negatively evaluated as 'anti-national' (Byon et al., 2006). Third, the territorial division of the Korean peninsula was designed for the sake of the U.S. and the Soviet Union during the post-World War II readjustment process. In this circumstance, South Korea was not able to relish their 'nationalism's glory' that in the post-independence context those nationalists were publicly recognized as heroes, and social institutions and cultures were reshaped with full nationalist confidence in the newly independent countries (Falola, 2001, p. 108).²⁵ Meanwhile, the first South Korean government was composed of pro-Japanese collaborators who were sheltered by the trusteeship of the US army's military government. Namely, the first South Korean government after the country's liberation from Japan was under the 'protection' of the U.S. against the perceived communist threat. For nearly half a century thereafter, South Korea was governed consistently by the successors or advocates

²⁵ For example, Kim Gu, the President of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea (a center of Korean independence movement) in Shanghai, and other members of the Provisional Government did not get credit for their pro-independence activities. Kim Gu was ultimately assassinated after the independence in 1949 by a member of a pro-Japanese organization that received protection from the first South Korean (pro-American) government. Like Kim Gu, many other prominent pro-independence activists fell into oblivion, suffered hardships in South Korea, or went to North Korea to avoid oppression from the South Korean government. Thus, the pro-American government took the lead in reshaping social institutions and cultures.

of the pro-Japanese collaborators. For this reason, there had always been a relatively clear division between the successors of pro-Japanese collaborators and the anti-colonial nationalists as political forces in South Korea; this dynamic has changed since the emergence of post-nationalism.²⁶

2-2-1-3 Anti-Colonial Nationalism and Post-Nationalism

Furedi (1994) warns that disparaging anti-colonial nationalism without national consensus on the value of the anti-colonial movement is merely a victory of imperialist interpretation since imperial historiography tends to join forces with the ‘parochialism of postmodernism’ (Furedi, 1994, p. 12). His warning is noteworthy given that, in South Korea, there are academic and political trends toward utilizing some concepts from post-modern theories to positively interpret the Japanese colonial era.²⁷ Against this background, it is worth noting how concepts affiliated with post-nationalism have been used in South Korea and, in the end, help to build a foundation for South Korean multiculturalism.

After the rise and fall of the 20th century nationalisms, what has been termed as post-nationalism emerged with the expectation that it would address the errors and limitations of nationalism. Buell (1998) claims that post-nationalism emerged along with globalization and the increased fluidity of capital beyond national borders. As well as, from the perspective of global politics, post-nationalism has also meant a transition from national political units towards

²⁶ Japanese occupation of Korea remains the most humiliating memory to South Koreans (Tsuyoshi & Kazuhiko, 2008, p. 213). The IMF Emergency Loan (1997-2001) is ranked as the second, the Korean War (1950-1953) is the third.

²⁷ One example of such re-interpretation and revisionist writing of the Japanese colonial era is Park Yu-Ha’s *Comfort Women of the Empire* (2013), in which she criticized patriarchal and ethno-centric interpretations of history. In her book, a relationship between the ‘comfort women’ who were sexual slaves exploited by Japanese imperialism and Japanese soldiers is re-defined as a comrade-like relationship. Some other scholars pointed out that Park highlights spontaneity and agency of the ‘comfort women,’ ostensibly following the steps of feminists who apply sexual self-determination theory to sex-workers. Lee Hun-Mi (2017) claims that post-modern historical epistemology is misused in Park’s book.

transnational political units, such as the EU (Tonkiss, 2017). Philosophically, Kearney (2004, p. 230) found that post-nationalism solicits hermeneutical openness to what used to be sanctified as nationalism, nationality, nation or nation-state, just as post-modernism allows people to build cosmopolitan identities. It goes beyond ‘modern versions of narrow nationalism’ and advance toward greater ‘tolerance of otherness’ (Heller, 1990). Thus, post-nationalism tends to be considered as an open, progressive ideology guaranteeing diversity in a society and fueling prosperity beyond national borders (Foran, 2017). In this vein, in 2015, when Justin Trudeau, the Prime Minister of Canada, declared his vision for Canada, he stressed a globalized or cosmopolitan perspective that suggested: “there is no core identity, no mainstream in Canada. ...Those qualities are what make us the first post-national state” (Robson, 2016).

Despite such optimism, there are still concerns that post-nationalism overlooks the significance of the nation as a political unit, and particularly, in societies outside the West, where the political meanings of post-nationalism may be quite different from what Canadian scholars take for granted. For instance, Miller (1993) expresses his concern that African societies have moved directly from pre-nationalism or Pan-Africanism toward post-nationalism. He asserts that any intermediate phase designed to discuss, form social consensus, and resolve national issues such as arbitrarily drawn territorial borders in Africa caused by imperialists, should have occurred prior to the birth of post-nationalism. Puri (2004) has argued that, in the Caribbean, reframing the issue of cultural hybridity into a post-nationalist agenda risks obfuscating the preferential treatment imperialist give some former colonies over others. Although cultural hybridity, as a concept, has been historicized as a panacea for unitary culture or cultural purity, examinations of gender and class inequalities demonstrates that post-nationalism has played a role in covering up or maintaining the status quo: The Anglophone Caribbean has been cherished

while the rest of the Caribbean has been marginalized. Namely, Puri (2004) asserts that the nation-state continues to be an important axis for arbitrating social and economic power. Moreover, Halev (2007) expresses concerns about the instrumental usage of the concept of post-nationalism in Germany. He claims that, although advocates of liberal democracy seek post-nationalism, what advocates actually want is to separate people's identities from the state or politics. Doing so, he argues, would detach German nationalism from the responsibility for national wrongdoings, such as the Holocaust, and reframe that history or memory as the wrongdoing of a certain group in Germany. In this sense, the nation is still meaningful, both as a political analytical category and as a significant political unit which can produce and fix inequalities among nations.

Another problem of promoting post-nationalism is its adverse effect: People who have felt a sense of deprivation amid the rise of post-nationalism would crave for reminiscences of nationalism. Fukuyama (2018) interprets this phenomenon as a new crisis of identity. According to him, white people, particularly farmers and labourers, feared the fading away of their identities in a surge of globalization and multiculturalism. They craved a rigid social group tying them with a collective identity with clear moral criteria and a political aim. This phenomenon is apparently the background of a rise in white nationalism. In this circumstance, the right-wing utilizes the fear and resentment of those who have felt uncomfortable with the leftist intellectuals' extreme forms of political correctness, as a source of the new identity politics. In reality, its manifestation is that people vote for Brexit and Donald Trump with his iconic catchphrase 'Make America Great Again.' As a result, it appears that on the way to post-nationalist societies, ironically seeking post-nationalism gave birth to populist and xenophobic

nationalism. Along with the recent COVID-19 pandemic, countries' tendency to become insular and the parochial shutting off the doors could be reinforced more than ever.

On the other hand, in South Korea where Korean ethnic nationalism had largely been 'sanctified' (J. Bae, 2017), since the late 1990s, post-nationalism has attracted the attention of scholars and elicited three different types of academic responses (S.-R. Hong, 2007). The first response comes from a group of scholars who intend to deconstruct nationalism from the postmodern perspective (S.-R. Hong, 2007). Mainly led by leftist scholars and activists, including feminists, this response grapples with issues which were neglected by the meta-narratives of nationalism, imperialism, and colonialism in South Korean modern history (H. E. Kim & Choi, 1998). They argue that Korea nationalism deepens and conceals class or gender inequality. This academic perspective was innovative at a time when diverse minority voices were being neglected in South Korea.

However, there was also concern about whether this approach emulated a new trend in American Studies, which was decentering the nation and substituting it with 'a putative cultural unit' (Buell, 1996, p. 91). Specifically, Rowe (1998) and Shapiro (2001) warned that scholars may be helping to universalize American interests by transitioning from research topics in traditional studies (such as critical ideological studies, colonial studies, traditions of anti-colonial activism studies, and materialist criticism) toward cultural studies (such as ethnic studies, women's or gender studies, as well as postmodern and post-colonial theories). Furthermore, in making this transition, scholarship might ultimately reinforce American hegemony at the international level and contribute to neo-colonialism. Although any generalization of this tendency would be hasty, this point is worthy of consideration in South Korea because its academia, particularly its social sciences, has overwhelmingly relied on American academia for

its content (S.-M. Hong, 2008; Jong-Young Kim, 2015). Hong Seong-Min (2008), a scholar who studies governing through knowledge in international politics, conducted a study which found that more than 90% of university professors in social sciences departments in Seoul²⁸ received their PhD degrees in the U.S.

The second response of academics to post-nationalism is also introspective, however, as it contemplates the specificity of post-colonial societies which do not conceal their unresolved issues stemming from the colonial era (K.-C. Yoon, 2006). Therefore, this academic group aims to recast Korean ethnic nationalism instead of deconstructing it. In other words, it embraces general critiques of nationalism, but it is wary of the dangers of employing Westernized approaches to nationalism (Cho, 2011; J. Lee, 2012; C.-G. Kang, 2016). Eckert (1999) asserts that South Korean post-nationalists might ‘feel empowered’ (p. 371) by overturning the existing discourse about nationalism, which has been unquestionably considered sanctified, and laying more weight on feminism or materialism to analyze grassroots’ lives as they put nationalism aside. However, Eckert (1999) criticizes those attitudes by asserting:

‘postnationalist scholars should take this self-knowledge to heart and resist the temptation of trying to smooth out what Kant called the “crooked timber of humanity,”²⁹ Rather we should relish all the crooks and irregularities of our subject and strive to capture them as fully and accurately as possible for the historical record’ (p. 371).

This criticism warns of a tendency among South Korean post-nationalists to uncritically regard post-nationalist values as universal ones (S.-B. Kim, 2001). As well as it also requires

²⁸ In South Korea, there are approximately 200 universities which offer four-year, undergraduate degree programs; one quarter of these universities can be found in the capital city of Seoul.

²⁹ This expression originates from Immanuel Kant’s assertion that, “out of the crooked timber of humanity, no straight thing was ever made.”

consideration of a tendency to approach society's distinctive characteristics as features of post-colonial societies because the societies would be under 'overt or subtle forms of neo-colonial domination' (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1995, p. 2).

In addition to the above two responses from academia, there is a third response, which is actively employed by South Korean conservatives (Jeon, 2018; N. Park, 2016, p. 167), equates Korean ethnic nationalism with barbarism (S.-R. Hong, 2007, p. 151) or fanatical tribalism (Young-Hoon Lee, 2019). This response deserves attention because of its contribution to current discourses of South Korean multiculturalism. At first glance, conservatives' antagonism to nationalism appears similar to leftists' critiques of nationalism. Both are critical of nationalism and, furthermore, they currently promote multiculturalism by placing it in opposition to nationalism. However, in practice, this conservative perspective engages with unique aspects of South Korea's context, such as its precarious relationship with North Korea and the Red Scare which stemmed from the division of Korea. More concretely, the conservative notion of post-nationalism is analogous to a nouveau-riche nationalism (Gil-Soo Han, 2015), which mimics white nationalism and centers on a South Korean-ness that conservatives define according to its compliance with a U.S.-led international political and economic order. Hence, it seems necessary to investigate political rationalities underpinning conservatives' critique of nationalism (and advocacy for multiculturalism). Consequently, any study of South Korean society which draws on (anti-colonial or post-) nationalism as a theoretical framework must have a careful understanding of who embraces or criticizes Korean ethnic nationalism and for what purposes.

2-2-2 Governmentality

2-2-2-1 *Power and Governmentality*

In order to uncover the rationalities that underlie particular policies, governance processes, and attributes of South Korean multiculturalism, I employ the concept of governmentality, which stems from Michel Foucault's critical study of politics and ethics. Although this dissertation focuses on multiculturalism policy in South Korea, it is not an 'evidence-based' policy study (Bacchi, 2016). Evidence-based policy studies rely on the assumption that social problems exist objectively and that researchers conduct studies to solve them. On the other hand, governmentality studies rely on the assumption that social problems are politically construed; thus, researchers are encouraged to analyze how 'evidence' which appears to be objective relies on epistemological and ontological assumptions about 'true knowledge' or 'reality' (Bacchi, 2009, pp. 252-254). Therefore, evidence-based problems are not transparent from the perspective of governmentality. Furthermore, Lasswell (1951) suggests that there are four types of policy studies, which include multidisciplinary, problem-oriented, contextual, and normative studies, however, the majority of current policy studies tend to depend on rational and positivistic foundations (Bacchi, 2009; Stone, 2012). Taking a different path, this dissertation is premised on the assumption that social issues are not objective, but rather politicized, and I employ a governmentality approach which focuses on the conditions or circumstances under which policy problems are produced.

To understand governmentality, it is first important to understand how Foucault characterized the form of power which is typical of modern liberal society from the sovereign power, which was wielded in the past by absolute monarchy (Dean, 2010; Foucault, Senellart, Fontana, Ewald, & Davidson, 2007; Mills, 2018). Sovereign power can force people into compliance by displaying the ability to take one's life away (Foucault, 2003, p. 247). Under this

power, people are exposed to fear of death; they come to control themselves, and; in the end, they submit to oppressive systems, such as the penal system (Foucault, 1977a). However, in modern liberal society, power which threatens people's lives and violently forces them into subjugation no longer comes into significant use. Rather, life emerged as an essence of political strategy and death came to be regarded as the reverse side of those rights that render social beings secure, maintained, or develop in their life (Foucault, 1990).

Foucault devised the concept of governmentality in order to analyze the different power dynamics of modern liberal society. He introduced the concept in his lectures on control at the Collège de France in 1978 and 1979. Governmentality is defined by Foucault (2007) as:

“...the ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics, that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit complex form of power that has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument.” (p. 144).

Governmentality is an outcome of Foucault's attempt to draw a comprehensive map of power in liberal society.³⁰ To do so, he needed a history revealing what types of power and strategies have affected the transformation of relations among human subjects, societies, and approaches to rule (Dean, 2010). Foucault noticed that authorities had shifted to 'indirect mechanisms of rule' to address their ambitions and concerns with controlling the lives of individuals and organizations (Miller & Rose, 1990, p. 9), and that this shift had appeared along with liberalism in the 18th

³⁰ Lemke (2016) asserts that the term governmentality stems from the combination of the two words 'govern' and 'mentality' (p. 191). *Senellart* rejects this idea, however (Foucault et al., 2007). He argues that governmentality is derived from the word 'governmental,' just as 'musicality' is derived from the word 'musical' (p. 399). Walters (2012) also disagrees with Lemke's perspective, recommending that governmentality should not be considered a derivative of the word 'mentality' (p. 164).

century (Rose, O'Malley, & Valverde, 2006). Thus, for Foucault, liberalism is not an ideology, nor a reality, but rather a political project which strives to create a society which can or may one day exist.

In liberal society, Foucault categorizes power over life into two distinct types: disciplinary power and biopower (Foucault, 1990). This is meant to be a paradigm shift in the exercise of power. The former is a power ruling people's bodies as if they were machines. That is to say, bodies are reborn as useful and pliable through surveillance and regulation, which efficiently absorb the bodies into the control regime (Foucault et al., 2007). Foucault refers to this system as anatomo-politics (Foucault, 1990, p. 139). The latter power over life- biopower- is a power which controls people's bodies as if they were one human species (Foucault, 1990, p. 137). This power no longer seeks to regulate intact and whole bodies. Instead, authorities, such as the state, determine standards of normality or soundness in society, and patterns of knowledge and control become interlinked to maintain that standard. Moreover, socially and economically calculable percentages of abnormalities are then determined and controlled in a society through safety apparatuses (Foucault et al., 2007, pp. 4–6). Namely, biopower aims to maintain acceptable conditions in society, instead of pursuing absolute prohibition or restriction, by drawing on scientific knowledge such as quantification, statistics, calculation, and prediction. Foucault considers this to be a key aspect of biopolitics which come about in reality through the exercise of biopower (Lemke, 2016). Foucault appears to treat biopower as superior to disciplinary power (Foucault, 1990). Regardless of their relation, the most significant aspect of Foucault's idea of power is the shift focus away from 'make them die or let them live' toward 'make them live or let them die' (Foucault, 2003, p. 247).

Specifically, categorizing human beings into different kinds, instead of regarding people as individual beings, means that human beings' bios are targeted as objects of governance. This perspective manifests as a set of governing behaviors which aim to transform and re-align environments in order to ensure the wellbeing and vitality of the population. This is referred to as biopolitical behavior, and it is considered the essence of modern immigration policy in the era of globalization (Dean, 2014). In the same vein, Chen and Thorpe (2015) claim that immigration policy epitomizes biopolitics. Immigration policy is a reflection of how the biological essences of human beings, such as life, race, and ethnicity, are brought into realms of knowledge and power. In these realms, bios became objects of control, regulation, and governance that are statistically measurable (Foucault et al., 2007, pp. 4–6). Certain populations are selected, and, the extent to which their lives should flourish or not is determined. Thus, there is the risk of legitimizing racism, what Turner termed 'racialized (imperial) nationalism' (Turner, 2017, p. 39).

As analyzed above, the biopolitical perspective is a configuration of rationalities which govern populations in modern liberal societies (Lemke, 2016; Mills, 2018; Turner, 2017). According to Foucault, power is not an institution, structure, or strength that can be implemented, endowed or transmitted by agents. Instead, power is expected to be exercised in interactions in unequal, fluid relations between numerous points (Foucault, 1990). Namely, biopower is understood to be a ubiquitous network (Mills, 2018, p. 14) and the technologies of biopower are what bring this power to life. Thus, unlike previous zero-sum approaches, which understand power as something which one can take away from another, 'networks of power' highlight how the microscopic attributes of power result in 'specific types of relationships among individuals' (Larner & Walters, 2004, pp. 31–33).

Consequently, people are living in networks of power or governmentality which implicitly steer people's behaviors and thoughts. Yet, it ironically means that people have a certain level of freedom, to the extent that people at least feel that they can follow their free wills. Being governed by governmentality referred to as 'conduct of conducts' (Foucault, Burchell, Gordon, & Miller., 1991) or the 'art of government' (Lemke, 2016, p. 191) signals that people's behaviors and thought are implicitly steered. This understanding of governmentality (and power) focuses on self-conduct which reflects on the practice of governments and their effect on those who are governed. Indeed, if somebody has freedom, there is room for the exercise of power by institutions, processes, analyses, and strategy (Foucault et al., 2007, p. 108) to subordinate the person.³¹ This is how governmentality functions in liberal society. Furthermore, government is viewed as a rational activity launched by multiple and diverse authorities or agencies in order to shape people's behaviors or conduct individuals by guiding them (Lemke, 2016, p. 191). In doing so, various techniques and knowledge are employed to achieve certain goals (Boyce & Davides, 2004; Dean, 2010; N. Rose et al., 2006).

2-2-2-2 Governmentality and Subjectification

In order to apply governmentality as an analytical framework, a structural understanding is necessary; From a structural approach, governmentality can be understood as a combination of political rationality and technologies, which, together, practise government (Dean, 2010; Foucault, 1981; N. Rose & Miller, 1992). Political rationality is generally divided into two

³¹ Gong (2011) offers an explanation about a mechanism of governmentality by utilizing Foucault's lecture in October 1979 at Stanford University '*Omnes et singulatim: Towards a criticism of political reason*'. According to Gong, making a person who has decided not to speak speaks by physical violence is not power but coercion. However, if the person is persuaded and spontaneously changes their mind about speaking, it would be a result of the person's spontaneity or freedom which has been subordinated by power (Gong, 2011).

categories: systemic thoughts and intellectual processes (Lemke, 2016). When a subject is introduced and recognized within a particular discursive field, people generally arrive with presuppositions about what ideas or approaches are ideal for this subject. These are called systemic thoughts, and they are formed through calculation, the defining of purpose, and the employment of knowledge (Lemke, 2016, p. 191). People come to rely on systemic thoughts thanks to an intellectual processing of reality (Lemke, 2016, p. 191). This intellectual process is carried out through agencies, procedure, institutions, and legal forms, and it renders perceived problems as worthy of notice. On the other hand, other problems or thought which are behind the rationality would remain unproblematic. In the end, any systemic thought which has undergone intellectual processing becomes a political rationality. Political rationalities are inscribed onto technologies, such as morals, churches, schools, and administrations, and they influence the general population's view of the world (Foucault, 1981, p. 226). Therefore, these rationalities are produced, disseminated, defended, or disrupted through the technologies which allegedly govern the general public's everyday life (Lemke, 2016, p. 191). This entire process -from the systematic conception of a particular thought to its inscription (political rationality) onto technologies- is referred to as the practice of government.³²

The practice of government creates particular types of human beings who voluntarily subject themselves to somebody or something else through self-censorship. Foucault calls this process subjectification (Foucault, 1990), and, through this process, we insert ourselves into a well-established political program which operates in society. In other words, to explore

³² However, in employing the concept of governmentality into policy study, we need to beware of a pitfall that could potentially trap researchers. Walters calls attention to the inclination to consider 'Foucault's toolbox' as an already prepared set, which is applicable in any contexts (Walters, 2011, 2015). He argues that researchers would be overwhelmed by Foucault's oeuvre, and exposed to a pitfall that binds themselves with given knowledge by Foucault.

subjectification means exploring how political rationalities and technologies function on those who are governed. Again, it means exploring how the configurations of the rationalities and technologies work to effectively subordinate people. For instance, neoliberal governmentality creates the homo economicus type of human being, who is different from the classical idea of homo economicus (Foucault, Senellart, & Burchell, 2008, pp. 291–297). In the past, homo economicus lived in a world in which exchanges of equivalents were possible; nevertheless, in the era of neoliberalism, the new homo economicus lives in a world in which neoliberal economic principles are expanding to other social areas (Lemke, 2001, p.197). In the neoliberal world, people generate interests by themselves through competition, and, moreover, individually and collectively work for maximum utility through endless self-reform (Foucault et al., 2008, p. 147). As a result, social benefit and effectiveness are maximized (Foucault et al., 2008, p. 231). According to Foucault’s understanding, neoliberalism as a form of governmentality is not merely ideological rhetoric, but a new political program which creates new types of people and states.

2-2-2-3 Multicultural Governmentality

In applying Foucauldian ideas to the question of multiculturalism, multiculturalism can also be understood as a new political program, or a ‘multicultural governmentality’ (Chen, 2014, 2019). In doing so, we might regard the particular forms of ethnic identities which stem from liberal, conventional wisdom in multicultural societies as inventions of a desirable ‘healthy identity’ (X. Chen, 2016, p. 279). As a governmentality, multiculturalism has been analyzed for its capacity to mobilize a range of knowledge, axioms, strategies, and techniques to achieve particular nation-building ends (X. Chen, 2019, p. 86). To build a nation, governmental activities aim to mould the emotional and mental conducts of both minoritized Others and the dominant groups in any given society. In the end, ‘desirable human capital’ (X. Chen, 2015, p. 84) is

nurtured and public emotions towards cultural Others are acquired through the configuration of social relations (X. Chen, 2016, p. 291). In the case of Canada, where colonization historically involved competition between settlers from the U.K. and France and, today, we encounter a typical, multiracial country, Chen (2014) claims that multicultural governmentality helps to disguise the standard, white norm. By orchestrating multicultural rationalities and strategies, Canadian multicultural governmentality helps to depoliticize the unequal distribution of power as a cultural issue. That being so, by bringing multicultural governmentality to the forefront, and seeing ethnic identities as natural and inherent features of human beings, racial, ethnic, and cultural absolutism or determinism can arise.

In order to study multicultural governmentality in South Korea as a political program, it seems important to take into consideration a key element forming a critical cleavage in South Korean society: the Korean ethnic nationalism which has thrived in this country. South Korea is one of many Asian countries that suffered from colonialism though its colonial experiences have peculiarities such as being colonized by Japan which is a neighboring country and a defeated country in World War II. The nationalism that arose in the colonial era has since played a pivotal role in shaping the world views of progressive and liberal forces in the country who are supposed to actively respond to issue related to multiculturalism. Understanding the unique characteristics of nationalism in South Korea is therefore helpful for better understanding its multicultural governmentality.

2-2-3 Genealogy

To challenge taken-for-granted assumptions about migrants and dismantle the dramatized origins of multiculturalism, I employ Foucault's analytical approach, genealogy. Genealogy has

multiple definitions and purposes; however, it is commonly concerned with the emergence of truth, theory, knowledge, and a priori displays that do not completely agree with pre-existing and projected plans (although it is not about searching origins or constructing a linear development). Genealogy examines a concept by tracing -and disrupting- the historical and philosophical framing of the dramatic origin of its formulation. Saar (2008) offers three differentiating features of genealogy and history: thematic scope, explanatory mode, and the stylistic forms of genealogy. By analyzing Nietzsche's *Genealogy of Morals*, Saar suggests that: 'genealogies appear as drastic narratives of the emergence and transformations of forms of subjectivity related to power, told with the intention to induce doubt and self-reflections in exactly those ... readers whose (collective) history is narrated' (Saar, 2008, p. 312). Walters (2012) has also attempted to categorize genealogy according to research purposes, revealing discursive and ad hoc processes of descent and emergence; shedding light on the cognitive limitations of human beings, such as binary opposition and selective memory, and; aiming to unearth hidden and excluded stories from the mainstream. In addition, Miller and Rose (1992) highlight how genealogical studies lay weight on the contingent turns of history which produce a specific way of thinking. Nevertheless, in reality, limiting the definition and implications of genealogy is a challenge since its definition is not fixed. Foucault himself used the term genealogy interchangeably with history or genesis (1977, p. 114). Thus, in what follows, only the aspects of genealogy which have implications for my study are intensively examined.

Foucault wants to understand how given and acquired understandings of particular objects (that is, unquestionable beliefs about these objects and their self-evident knowledge) become detached from their plausible historical frameworks and can be revealed as merely one of many ways to understand these objects (Foucault, 1977c). To do so, genealogy, by priority,

seeks to dismantle stereotypes with respect to interpretations of events that emerged at a particular stage of a historical process. Among the broken fragments of those interpretations, genealogy seeks to analyze the roles and effects of forces which lead to the emergence of events. Therefore, according to Foucault (1977b), history is a process of non-linear development and the historical beginning of something is not immutable and inevitable. Rather, history is often the outcome of contingencies which arise from discords with other things. It is far from perfection, stability, or harmony. Therefore, seeking the divine origins of things is impossible, and, even if it were possible, it would not carry historical significance. Instead, genealogy analyzes power which exists as a capillary form, and it nurtures the details and contingencies that accompany beginnings (Foucault, 1977b, p. 144). Foucault recommends conducting an analysis that considers subjects as an intentionally-composed and explains a process of how the subject came to be historically constituted. In this sense, genealogy is defined as a type of historical approach that can ‘account for the constitution of knowledge, discourses, domains of the object, etc.’ (Foucault, 1977c, p. 117). In this process, genealogy requires history. However, for genealogy, tracking the history of an object is not an ultimate purpose, but an indispensable process to reveal the vanity of its origin in order to ascertain properties of modern domination.

In this regard, a synergetic effect is expected when the genealogical approach is employed as a methodology for governmentality studies. Genealogy is arranged by Foucault as a ‘critical historical-philosophical project’ (Walters, 2012, p. 114) which is useful for ‘uncovering mutation’ (Walters, 2011) by de-dramatizing the history of a current and often taken for granted representation of a problem (Bacchi, 2009, p. 11). Governmentality is also important for interrogating governing art and creating empirical maps of historical-philosophical lineages that draw on political rationalities and techniques (Rose, O’Malley, & Valverde, 2012). In this sense,

genealogy pairs well with governmentality studies. Without this genealogical base, governmentality studies risk overlooking the contingent and ad-hoc attributes that can underlie a combination of thoughts and techniques.

2-3 Methodology

2-3-1 Data sources

The main source of data for this research is textual data, which is supplemented by in-depth, semi-structured interviews with diverse actors involved in policy makers, policy deliverers, and policy recipients. I chose texts containing official government visions, propaganda, or documents that revealed critical and synthetic interactions among policy makers, bureaucrats, and relevant organizations. In-depth, semi-structured interviews highlight the organizational or individual practices and offer knowledge where official and disclosed literature sources cannot.

2-3-1-1 Government Documents and Newspapers

The National Assembly minutes for the last four governments from 1998 to 2017 constituted one of the main data sources because the National Assembly is a typical venue where the relevant discourse expressed by political parties, bureaucrats, and other stakeholders is straightforwardly revealed. By thoroughly tracing the minutes of 20 years of National Assembly meetings, this study was able to present the voices of politicians, bureaucrats, and external experts, such as NGO activists. When a new act or system was proposed, the policy debates surrounding its subject and scope revealed an intense tug-of-war. I used key words such as a term ‘residents leaving North Korea (*bukhan italjumin*),’ that is commonly used in government documents, and ‘people escaped from North Korea (*talbukja*),’ and ‘people seeking a new land (*saeteomin*)’, terms that are commonly used in public, to locate the relevant minutes and then

analyze the discourse surrounding North Korean defectors; ‘marriage migration (*gyeolhon iju or gyeolhon imin*),’ ‘marriage migrant women (*gyeolhon iju yeoseong*),’ ‘migrants (*iminja*),’ and ‘multicultural (*damunhwa*),’ ‘multicultural families (*damunhwa gajok*)’ for female marriage migrants and their families; ‘migrant workers (*iju nodongja*)’ and ‘foreign workers (*oegugin nodongja or oegugin geulloja*)’ for migrant workers, and; ‘Korean-Chinese (*joseonjok*)’ and ‘overseas Koreans (*dongpo*)’ for Korean-Chinese migrant workers. In order to avoid missing the National Assembly Minutes which dealt with the relevant issues, I used additional comprehensive key search words, such as ‘foreigners (*oegugin*),’ ‘migration (*imin*),’ and ‘mixed-blood (*honhyeol*).’ Over 466 minutes were generated using these keywords. I reviewed 218 of the minutes closely associated with this study. These include minutes from the Assembly’s plenary sessions, standing committees, subcommittees, inspections of government offices, and public hearings.

I also reviewed a variety of government-published texts on relevant websites to understand official position of the government. The official websites of ministries, the National Assembly Library, the National Archive, the Roh Moo-Hyun Archive, and the Policy Research Information Service & Management are included. The relevant ministries included the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, the Ministry of Unification, the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Health and Welfare. From these ministry websites, I found the government’s long-term visions, official plans, and formal positions on minorities (e.g., Plan for the Social Integration of Female Marriage Migrants, the Mixed-Blood, and Migrants; The Review of the Multicultural Educational Plan). In addition, I searched through the relevant documents of several sub-organizations which are officially affiliated with those relevant websites. These included, for instance, *Danuri* (a portal site for marriage migrants); the

Settlement Support Center for North Korean defectors, and; the Employment Permit System (for migrant workers). The documents or records found through these sub-organizations' websites included the specific instructions for long-term plans as well as progress reports detailing implementation or changes. The National Assembly Library and the National Archive of Korea offered periodical publications from the National Assembly Research Institute, Presidents' speeches, descriptions of government's events, pamphlets, and photo materials. The private foundation Roh Moo-Hyun Archive offered entire documents, including policy reports, administrative affairs, white papers, photo materials, and visual materials. Because Roh Moo-Hyun's presidential term (2003-2007) was carried out when multiculturalism policy was being actively discussed at the governmental level, the documents offered by this archive helped to detect subtle developments and changes in the liberal government's initial attitude towards multiculturalism. Lastly, the Policy Research Information Service & Management (PRISM) is a government agency which awards research contracts. Generally, it is university research teams and government research institutes that are awarded the contracts and publish the research reports available here.

I utilized a website published by the Korea Legislation Research Institute and the Korea Law Translation Center to locate and read not only the content of relevant laws and acts but also insights into transformations in these regulations. Both sites offer access to all existing South Korean laws, acts, and regulations. They also arrange them chronologically from inception and offer the rationales for each transformation. I used the Korea Legislation Research Institute to analyze transformations in the Multicultural Families Support Act, the Act on the Treatment of Foreigners in Korea, the North Korean Refugees Protection and Settlement Support Act, and the

National Security Law, and I used the Korean Law Translation Center website to find the official English translation of terms.

I reviewed newspaper articles published between 1998 and 2017 to understand responses of the general public and interest groups. I located these articles using the comprehensive newspaper database of South Korea and filtering with two keywords: ‘multicultural (*damunhwa*)’ and ‘foreign workers (*oegugin nodongja*).’ Using the keyword ‘multicultural,’ generate 160,273 articles over a period of 20 years; I added a second key search term: ‘foreign workers.’ I made the decision to select this latter search term based on the premise that being well-informed of news articles that included the keyword ‘migrant workers’ would also serve the aims of this study. Although the issue of migrant workers has not frequently been paired with a notion of multiculturalism in government documents, it was this issue which first drew the public’s attention. Subsequently, in the mid- 2000s, female marriage migrants emerged as the policy subjects of multiculturalism debates. Thus, I determined that, by adding the keyword ‘migrant worker’ to the keyword ‘multicultural,’ my search filters would effectively distinguish analytical articles from simple advertisements. In the end, 6,676 news articles were filtered using the database system named KINDS (Korea Integrated News Database System: a hub for existing news media). Forty-seven newspaper titles, including local presses, and five broadcasting companies are registered in the database. Nevertheless, three main newspapers (*Chosun Ilbo*, *Jungang Ilbo*, and *Donga Ilbo*), which apparently offer conservative perspectives, are not members of the database. To address this limitation, I visited the websites of those three newspapers, and I conducted searches using the same keywords used through KINDS to extract relevant news articles. I read all of the articles to map out key issues and themes relating to multiculturalism discourse. I directly cited some of them in this study.

2-3-1-2 In-depth and Semi-Structured Interviews

In order to grasp the grounded experiences of various actors, I conducted 24 in-depth, semi-structured, open-ended qualitative interviews in South Korea between May and June 2018. Most of the interviews were conducted face-to-face and lasted between one and two hours in duration. My interviewees can be divided into three categories: 1) those involved in policy making: one local assembly member, one senior assistant to a national assembly member, and four public officers (n = 6); 2) those involved in policy implementation: two heads of the Multicultural Family Support Centers, three school teachers who are taking charge of multicultural classes (*damunhwa gyosil*), three NGO activists (one activist for North Korean defectors, another who advocates for female marriage migrants, and the other for migrant workers), and one volunteer (n = 9) and; 3) those who are targets of politics: two North Korean defectors, three female marriage migrants, and four migrant workers (n = 9). With the intention of conducting a comprehensive discourse analysis, I recruited interviewees whose engagement in policy fell into one of three categories: policy formulation, delivery, or recipient. Through literature reviews, I figured out who would be the most appropriate interviewees given my research questions. I recruited some of them by contacting acquaintances who had first-hand knowledge or experiences in the corresponding institutions. In other cases, I contacted potential interviewees directly by email or telephone after locating their personal contact information in policy documents or news articles. I used pseudonyms to protect the anonymity of my interviewees. All interviews and transcriptions were conducted in accordance with guidelines provided by the Carleton University Research Ethics Board.

2-3-2 Analysing discourse

Discourse is not only complexly associated with tangible texts, but also with thoughts and practices in socially constructed reality (Grant, Keenoy, & Oswick, 1998, p. 12), therefore, it is not transcendent nor ideal, but worldly, engaged in physical human experiences, and rooted in societies which have changed their own histories. Discourse is constructed simultaneously through language and as a part of social political actions. Thus, the discursiveness and dynamic characteristics of discourse as a praxis should be interpreted to sustain the empirical and theoretical in the specific contexts where discourse is embedded in time and space. Foucault elaborates on this property of discourse in his book *Order of Discourse* (1981), where he states that ‘in every society, the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed by a certain number of procedures’ (p. 52). Therefore, discourses are not immune to the interdependent relationship between knowledge and power. In addition, Foucault conceived of discourse as violent (Foucault, 1981, p. 67) because some forms of knowledge are inevitably subjugated to power in a certain discourse (Foucault, 1990, p. 81). Against this background, the right to question the plausibility of knowledge, power, and their effects becomes important (Foucault, Lotringer, Lochroteh, & Kant, 1997). To exercise this right, it is essential to comprehend the attributes of a particular discourse as inclusion to a single system of formation.

In this dissertation, I analyze policy discourse which is well-armed with telegraphic speech, metaphors, and synecdoche which are so concise and symbolic but carrying high level of information that effective communication or persuasion is enabled in a limited time (Stone, 2012). Furthermore, to effectively compete in policy, policy actors frequently utilize emblematic means such as polarized words or binary pairs. Binaries can simplify complicated relationships

by excluding one's opponents or establishing hierarchies (Bacchi, 2012).³³ Likewise, the policy process is a competitive arena employing diverse 'language of prudential discourse' (Majone, 1989, p. 17). Therefore, there is a need for elaborate analyses which reveal how understandings of policy issues are shaped through discourse and for what purposes. Pal (1993) demonstrates that policies are associated with the reestablishment of political language and discourse and Majone (1989) as well insightfully claims: 'as politicians know only too well but social scientists too often forget, public policy is made of language.' Therefore, analyzing policy discourse during the policy development process is meant to examine the human praxis of language performances.

My study, in this sense, comes up with 'what is connoted in what has been denoted' (Gasper & Apthorpe, 1996, p. 3) by analyzing policy discourse drawn from 'policy-stating, -arguing and -justifying' (Gasper & Apthorpe, 1996, p. 1). The analysis of policy papers or speeches, in particular, ultimately displays values and presumptions that are implicitly embraced (Hearn & Michelson, 2006). Therefore, through policy discourse analysis, I expect to explore ways in which to frame problems so that they may be fixed (Gasper & Apthorpe, 1996, p. 8). I not only analyze government documents, news articles, and relevant research studies, but also National Assembly Minutes and interviews that I conducted in 2018. It aids in revealing the substance of the propaganda inscribed in a diversity of discourses, including speeches and arguments, as well as in the actions of politicians, bureaucrats, and other relevant actors.

Concretely, I chose to manually code the aforementioned data in order to maximize the advantages of a discourse analysis which focuses on three different groups over a 20-year period

³³ Foucault also identified three different features within the system of exclusion (1981): 'taboo,' which limits the object of speech; 'ritual,' which limits the circumstances of speech, and; 'privilege and right,' which limit who can speak.

(1998-2017). Using the same theoretical and analytical frameworks, I analyzed discourses relating to each of these three groups, and I brought these analyses into conversation with one another in order to grasp the multicultural governmentality. Although this analysis focused mainly on the most recent 20 years, I traced discourses back to when the Korean peninsula was divided (1945) in order to examine the antecedents of South Korean multiculturalism. Thus, this study takes approximately 7 decades of discourse into consideration. Thus, to gain a comprehensive view of the three groups' histories, the creation of a large-format display board proved to be essential during the analysis. On this board, I developed a large, chronological table comprising four columns (one column for South Korean modern events, and one column for each of the three groups). This table proved to be invaluable for organizing, coding, identifying themes, and analyzing the data. In the margin of the table, I noted how events in modern history influenced each of the three groups respectively and how these groups interacted with each other. The display board also contained visualizations and concept maps which were drawn while brainstorming, and it remained in place during my research in order to promote insightful explorations of the interpretations and 'serendipitous encounters' (Carmel, Mark, Maggie, & Adam, 2018). I continuously developed and repeatedly modified my interpretations of the data as I compared and integrated the discourse data for each of the three groups. This process would have been impossible on a computer screen, which can only provide fragmented views -rather than broad overviews- of the data (Bazeley, 2007, p. 8).

Because this study is a rare attempt at analyzing the discourses of all three of these groups together, it was imperative to have a process in place which was capable of analyzing the sequential and relational landscape relevant to each of the three groups. In this regard, analytic and interpretative activities are more necessary than descriptive thematic coding of data that may

lead to a ‘coding fetishism’ (Bazeley, 2007, pp. 8–10). As such, I systematically read the aforementioned data, and I selected the sections which were most relevant to and suitable for my theoretical and analytical frameworks, filtering out impractical data which appeared relevant to multiculturalism. Subsequently, I familiarized myself with the data through continuous readings and note-taking, thereby developing my interpretations with the research questions in mind. This process is called immersion (Dierdre, Aileen, & Esther, 2019), and it helped to fully develop a picture of the sequential and relational landscape. Although digital analysis software packages can be useful for data management, these packages are weak in their capacity to stimulate cognitive function (Carmel et al., 2018).

CHAPTER 3 Antecedents of South Korean Multiculturalism

3-1 Introduction

South Korea is a country which possesses some of the most intense, nationalist sentiment (Cuming, 1997). However, although one would expect a strong rejection or denial of multiculturalism here, multiculturalism-related policies have been gradually expanded since the mid-2000s without serious opposition. Furthermore, conservative policy makers have attempted to take the lead in shaping policies relevant to such migrant groups as North Korean defectors and multicultural families. In other societies, one might expect that the emergence of migrants, ethnic minorities, and their rights-related issues might garner interest from liberal or progressive political forces, particularly in the early stages of such a demographic change. Following this stage, we might also expect most political forces (including conservatives) to compete with one another to determine the direction or the extent of immigration policy. However, this has not been the case in South Korea, where migrants have found their enthusiastic advocates among conservative force, and, still today, the voices of other political forces have not been pronounced.

It is my contention that South Korean form of multiculturalism is grounded in, and shifts within, an idiosyncratic spectrum of modern, South Korean political ideologies which have been shaped by different national visions on the relationship between North and South Korea. In modern history, Korean ethnic nationalism has been reinforced through distinctive experiences, such as its history of colonization, its territorial division in the wake of the Korean War, and its pro-democracy movement against the U.S.-backed military dictatorship. Thus, the acceptance of, or openness to, foreigners in South Korea is considerably influenced by a Korean ethnic nationalism which is resistant to foreign powers and seeks Korean ethnic unity. Indeed, this

nationalism has a clear, dichotomous perspective on insiders and outsiders, and it is not likely to favor multiculturalism. However, existing literature on South Korean multiculturalism does not give much consideration to modern South Korean history as a possible antecedent of current multiculturalism discourse. Instead, it regards multiculturalism discourse as if it emerged in the 2000s in response to external pressures, such as the influx of migrants. At the same time, Korean ethnic nationalism has simply been assumed to be a barrier to -rather than an essential variable of- multiculturalism. This approach cannot explain conservative policy makers' amity towards multiculturalism in South Korea, a position which emerged in the mid-2000s and now has a legacy of approximately fifteen years. Therefore, analyzing South Korean multiculturalism discourse as a governmentality that belongs on a continuum of South Korean history can help to overcome partial or biased analyses of multiculturalism policy.

In this chapter, I analyze the characteristics of Korean ethnic nationalism (which is distinguished from the South Korean nouveau-riche nationalism that has developed since the 1990s), and I examine how the nationalism and political conflicts surrounding it have contributed to shaping the current-configuration of advocacy groups for multiculturalism. As I will show, these ideological sediments in South Korean history help to determine the diverse sociopolitical experiences of immigrants in South Korea today. Specifically, immigrants' inclusions into South Korean society can be determined according to the political orientation or national vision which advocates have formed through historical events in South Korea. Without understanding the convoluted process of how political ideologies have been convergent or divergent as centred around the territorial division, Korean ethnic nationalism, and the relationship with North Korea (G. Shin, 1998, p. 151), efforts to understand the experiences of each migrant group will be severely limited.

Specifically, this chapter explores three inter-related questions about the antecedent conditions of South Korean multiculturalism: 1) What was Korean ethnic nationalism like before the territorial division in 1945? And, how has the Korean nation been represented by different political forces since the division? 2) What rationalities were adopted in the process of forming these diverse representations of the Korean nation, and what intellectual processes justified these rationalities? 3) How have these processes contributed to the foundation which supported the emergence of multiculturalism in South Korea? And what latent risks could be embedded in this foundation? I believe asking these questions can help us to better understand the foundations of contemporary discourse of South Korean multiculturalism.

3-2 Korean Ethnic Nationalism

Generally, many researchers have experienced difficulties explaining Korean ethnic nationalism in English. One of the reasons leading to these difficulties is that the core concept of the nationalism, Korean *minjok* (G. Shin, 1998) is actually not equivalent to the most commonly used English term, nation. In many cases, Korean *minjok* is variously translated into English as the people, ethnicity, the nation, and the race, depending on purposes of research or contextual necessities in research. Such ambiguity has generally to do with Koreans' belief in inborn attributes of Korean blood-based ethnicity passed down since the beginning of the Korean nation (B. W. Kang, 2006).

There are several different opinions pointing out different historical moments as the birth of Korean national identity; Pankaj (2015) puts importance on a historical literature, the *Samgukagi*, written in the 12th Century which outlines a distinguishable Korean identity (p. 79). Porteux (2016) takes into account Korea's relationship with China in its early history and

Lankov (2015) points to the Korean people's experience during Japanese colonization. In academia there are some competing opinions about the origin of Korean *minjok*, but the popular understanding holds that on the October 3rd, the National Foundation Day, 4352 years ago (2333 before Christ), Korean *minjok* formed its nation (Phillips, Yi, & Kim, 2016). Based on this popular perception, although dynasties changed, people, cultures, and languages have been relatively continuous up to now, and the main figures engaged in those elements are thought of as the origin of Korean *minjok*. On the other hand, the English term 'nation' generally recalls European historical experiences which are dotted with accounts of nationalist movements between 'unification' and 'separatist' nationalism (Renan, 1990; Shin, 1982, p. 165). Or nation is synonymous with narration engendered from inventing anthems and national flag (Mosse, 1993, p. 13). Therefore, those backgrounds do not accurately match with that of Korean *minjok*.

Scholars have attempted to understand Korean ethnic nationalism from one of two perspectives: primordialism and modernism (S.-R. Hong, 2006; Y.-H. Shin, 2015). From a primordialism perspective, Koreans' pre-existing shared identity is ethnic and based on the notion of pure Korean blood.³⁴ According to Han Kyung-Koo (2007), it is a myth that Korea is a pure blood nation, however, he recognizes that the influx of diverse migrants did not occur intensively until the beginning of the 1990s. The public's understanding of the origin of Korean *minjok* and historical processes which allow Korea (both North and South Korea) to remain ethnically homogeneous create practical misunderstandings. For example, ethnic Koreans who

³⁴ The term 'the pure blood' which attain general currency in South Korea reveals South Koreans' strong attachment to bloodline. The blood oriented custom categorizing people by invisible and hypothetical blood came from Japanese colonial science (J. Y. Jung, 2012). Unlike the Western imperialism, Japan was in a dilemma that they are not able to distinguish themselves with race or appearance from Asian colonies thus they developed forensic medicine about blood type to highlight on their ethnic superiority (J. Y. Jung, 2012, p. 518). Currently, it has no scientific authority in a field of forensic medicine, however it was a cutting edge sciences of those days and there still exists remnants of the colonial science in some of East Asian countries, including the two Koreas, Japan, Taiwan, and China as an interest in bloodline (J. Y. Jung, 2012, p.513).

are citizens of China are sometimes asked whether their identities are Korean or Chinese by some South Koreans who do not understand that one person can have multiple identities with different configurations of citizenship and ethnicity. Furthermore, the primordialist concept of Korean *minjok* contributes to forming either a collective confidence or guilty conscience. When the terrorist responsible for the Virginia Tech Massacre in 2007 was revealed to be a 1.5 generation South-Korean American, Seung-Hui Cho, not only South Korean media sources but individual South Koreans in their online social networks offered an apology to American society, treating Cho as a Korean for whom they are collectively responsible (Choe & Norimitsu, 2007; Hua, 2007). Similarly, when Fleur Pellerin, who was an adoptee from South Korea, was appointed as France's Minister of Culture in 2012, numerous South Korean media sources referred to her by her Korean name, Kim Jong-Sook, highlighting the fact that she was of Korean descent rather than other aspects such as her life in France.³⁵ These examples clearly demonstrate that the concept Korean *minjok* is based on an expanded version of consanguinity. Even though this notion of ethnic homogeneity based on pure Korean blood is a myth, until recently, it has significantly influenced the mentality of the South Korean public³⁶ and has been used as a rationalization for national pride beyond individual identity.³⁷

³⁵ A South Korean NGO, Korea Image Communication Institute, working for the improvement of the South Korean image in the international sphere, awarded Pellerin the prize praising her contribution to promoting the South Korean image.

³⁶ The result of the survey reveals that more than 60% of South Korean respondents agree that 'we are very proud of maintaining a singular ethnic lineage of Korea for a long history' (I.-J. Yoon, Song, Kim, & Song, 2010).

³⁷ When the Korean concepts of 'pure-blood (*sunhyeol*)' and 'mixed-blood (*honhyeol*)' were pointed out by the U.N. Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), in response, the South Korean government asked CERD to take into account South Korea's historical distinctions (United Nations, 2007): 'As an ethnically homogeneous State, the Republic of Korea has been traditionally unfamiliar with the problems of ethnic minorities' (Article (43)). The official document also stated that 'The principle of the 'pure-blooded' [is] based on the Republic of Korea's pride in the nation's ethnic homogeneity...' (Article (44)).

From the perspective of modernism, however, definitions of the Korean *minjok* involve shared historical experiences in which the *minjok* concept was effectively utilized. Korean ethnic nationalism stemming from the *minjok* identity is thought of as an ideology leaning toward a bottom-up ideology from the grassroots. Shin Yong-Ha (2015) claims that an origin of Korean modern nationalism started at the later part of the *Joseon* Dynasty around the 18th century when a Realist School of Confucianism (*Silhak*) as a social reformism began in order to overcome anachronistic aspects in the Dynasty (p. 251). The Realist School of Confucianism is regarded as an intellectual foundation for Eastern Learning (*Donghak*) Peasant Revolution in the late of the 19th century (Ki, 2012). This revolution included grassroots' anti-feudalist aspirations, which mainly aimed to abolish systems of social status and to develop anti-imperialist sentiment by being extra vigilant with regard to foreign powers (Bell, 2004, p. 126; C.-S. Lee, 1963, p. 274); furthermore, the revolution later contributed to the anti-Japanese movement (1910-1945). Korean activists for independence under colonialism developed Korean ethnic nationalism in opposition to Japanese assimilation policies by drawing on the concept of the Korean *minjok*. This systemized idea about the Korean ethnic origin and the people is thought to have contributed to the development of Korea's national historiography (Pankaj, 2015, p. 81). Consequently, Korean ethnic nationalism was born of shared historical experiences which, in the beginning, centered around grassroots' desires for social reformation and the abolition of the class status system, and, ultimately, evolved into resistance against external powers including Japanese imperialism. Memories of suffering or grief can strengthen ties more effectively than memories of happiness (Renan, 1990, p. 19), thus the nationalism allowing for Koreans to consider themselves oppressed people is still unabated. It would be one of the reasons why the Korean *minjok* concept encompasses South Koreans, North Koreans, and the second and third generations of overseas

Koreans who directly or indirectly share the historical memories of sufferings. Lim (2010) coined the term ‘victimhood nationalism’ drawing on similarities between the nationalisms of Korea and Poland in order to explain the mechanism of an epistemological binary reinforcing solidarity amongst ‘self-claimed victims’ (p.1). Until now, South Korea often describes itself as a ‘shrimp among whales’ when it comes to South Korea’s geo-political situation surrounded by superpowers (Porteux, 2016, p. 10).

In sum, current Korean ethnic nationalism has evolved from both bases, primordialism and modernism; the nationalism draws on Koreans’ belief on pre-existing shared identity which has been developed and reinforced through historical events on the way to be socially modernized (Y.-H. Shin, 2015, p. 223). The Korean *minjok* concept has granted popular legitimacy to political power in South Korea. That is to say, people settling down in the Korean peninsula had formed a collective identity resembling a kinship and the people sharing this identity had gone through historical processes struggling with ruling class or superpowers surrounding the peninsula. Thereby, a collective resistant spirit has been naturally formed as a characteristic of its nationalism. Korea’s liberation from Japan on August 15, 1945 was followed immediately by its territorial division ten days later. This division, which was the result of a strategic decision made by the U.S. and the Soviet Union, was initially considered to be a temporary measure, but it was soon consolidated by the Cold War. After the division, in the September of 1948, the first South Korean government was established, under the strong influences of the U.S., that Nkrumah (1965) pointed out the most toxic neo-colonial country influencing the diverse spheres, of economy, politics, religion, ideology, and culture. Since then, South Korea’s ruling power (the government which has succeeded pro-Japanese collaborators, the military dictatorship, the ruling party, and their advocates) and its opposition forces have

engaged in continuous battles to determine which force truly represents the Korean *minjok* (S.-R. Hong, 2006).

3-3 Political Competition Surrounding Korean Nationalism: 1945 to the Mid-1990s

After nationalist liberation from Japan on August 15, 1945, the concept of Korean *minjok* was employed by both the South Korean ruling power and its critics as a means of justifying their different, political, national visions. It is perhaps intuitive to expect that different political forces will compete with one another to assert their legitimacy or authenticity as representatives of the nation, the public, or the people. Where collectivism is secure, as is the case in South Korea, this competitive tendency could be conspicuously reinforced. Putting significant weight on ‘we’ or ‘our’ instead of ‘I’ or ‘my’ considerably contributes to the power of the concept of Korean *minjok* in politics (Tangherlini & Pai, 1998, p. 1). Therefore, Craig (1993) claimed that, when the concept of ‘nation’ becomes associated with mass politics, it evolves into an intrinsically controversial one because the nation itself becomes the ultimate purpose of any claims, and Korean modern history typifies it (p. 215): the concept *minjok* was deeply engaged in mass politics throughout the 20th century.

However, this competitive tendency was interrupted by an unusual variable. Domestic political conflicts surrounding the territorial division and the unique geopolitical condition of the Korean peninsula sowed the seeds that would decide who would take the lead in multiculturalism discourse in the 21st century. For instance, in the 1980s, the U.S.-sponsored military dictator Park Chung-Hee strategically appealed to *minjok* and the ‘unity of the nation’ to demand the general public’s sacrifices for his developmentalism. The government declared North Korea to

be a major national enemy, and it presented the North Korean people as Korean *minjok* who needed to be saved by the South Korean regime. At the same time, the radical, student activist group *Chamintu* (Fight for National Autonomy and Democracy) appealed to *minjok* in order to fight against the dictator Park Chung-Hee in the name of ‘national liberation’ from dictatorship and foreign interference (G. Shin, 1998, pp. 148–149). In this latter case, the *minjok* was thought to include North Korea and did not exclude the North Korean government. Thus, in spite of their different national visions, the Park Chung-Hee dictatorship and the activist group *Chamintu* mirrored each other in their rhetoric about Korean *minjok* (G. Shin, 1998, pp. 148–149). I analyze below how the South Korean ruling power (which continuously retained political power following the end of the dictatorship and until the mid-1990s) and its opponents simultaneously utilized Korean *minjok* in opposing ways during the period after the territorial division of Korea and before the emergence of post-nationalism.

3-3-1 The Ruling Power³⁸

The U.S. military apparatus, which was established right after Korean liberation from Japanese colonialism (1945), upheld the existing social order built under colonialism. Consequently, South Korean ruling power adopted political rationalities of colonialism, pro-Americanism, and anti-communism. Pro-Japanese collaborators who sought positions in the South Korean government were supported by the U.S. military apparatus for the sake of administrative efficiency. Thereby, ironically, after gaining independence, nationalist and anti-

³⁸ The ruling power generally refers to a force which has held vested interests in South Korean society since its liberation from Japanese colonialism (1945) (D.-C. Kim, 2013, 2015). Today, their successors form South Korea’s conservative force. Political power transferred from the traditional ruling power to its critics for the first time in South Korea when the 15th Kim Dae-Jung liberal government (1998-2002) rose to power. Therefore, in this section, the term ruling power refers to the military and conservative governments, as well as the conservative parties and supporters which governed South Korea before the Kim Dae-Jung liberal government.

colonial activists who had contributed to Korean independence were persecuted by collaborators who had been loyal to the rule of Japanese imperialism and who turned themselves into pro-Americanists (M.-G. Kang, 2006). When the first presidential election in South Korea was held in 1948 (before the election in North Korea), politicians who sought a united government with North Korea did not participate in the election in protest against establishing a single government in South Korea (M.-G. Kang, 2006). They vilified the U.S. for instigating a South Korean separate government and hindering the purge of the pro-Japanese collaborators (M.-G. Kang, 2006). However, under the aegis of the U.S. and the first South Korean President Rhee Syung-Man (1948-1960), anti-communist campaigns targeting North Korea was conducted and the Red Scare within South Korean society was reinforced.

When it came to the concept of Korean *minjok*, understood as Korean consanguinity, the ruling powers had maintained, through an intellectual process setting up a binary approach to the Korean *minjok*, a contradictory attitude towards North Koreans; North Koreans who were in North Korea were collectively considered to be harmful beings,³⁹ threatening the pureness of the Korean *minjok* (S.-R. Hong, 2006), meanwhile, North Koreans who defected from North Korea had received an enthusiastic welcome as members of Korean *minjok* from the South Korean ruling power. Since the first North Korean defector was recorded⁴⁰ in 1962, although the number of the defectors was small,⁴¹ they had been treated as patriots or veterans. They are legally

³⁹ North Koreans (or South Koreans who did not support the South Korean military dictatorship) were called as *ppalgangi*, which stems from a partisan term meaning ‘communists’ in South Korea. This frame is still to some extent valid in South Korean politics.

⁴⁰ The number of North Korean defectors who have entered South Korea since the division of North and South Korea totals 33,658 (MoU, 2020), thus the number of North Korean defectors currently living in South Korea is less than that. While there were some South Koreans who defected to North Korea, their exact number has not been confirmed.

⁴¹ Since the territorial division to the 1990s, the total number of North Korean defectors was 947. Later on the number skyrocketed (1,043 in 2001, 1,142 in 2002, 1,285 in 2003, and 1,898 in 2004) (MoU, 2020).

referred to as *Gui-soon ja* (or *Gui-soon Yong Sa*), which could be translated as a warrior who was an enemy but who voluntarily returned to and were loyal to South Korea. This term reflects South Korean ruling power's antagonistic approach to North Korea as an enemy under the influence of the Cold War. In those days, the defectors' motives were mainly political.⁴² The compensation for their defecting was not only material aid, but also fame. As a result, the technically ongoing war and regime rivalry with North Korea converted North Koreans into threats to South Korea's national security and its national identity. At the same time, North Korean defectors who abandoned North Korea were seen as Korean *minjok* heroes.

In this context, both North Koreans and other overseas Koreans who carry the label of Korean *minjok* have faced accusations whenever the ruling power has sought political gain. This demonstrates that, for the ruling power, the concept of Korean consanguinity serves as a tool which is more effective than any biopolitical subject for disseminating their Red Scare-based political rationality. The number of spies from North Korea decreased as time passed, and, in response, the conservative force started to create spy cases to simulate a South Korean Red Scare (H.-G. Han, 2014). Since the 1960s, the political manipulation of 'manufacturing spies (*gancheob-jojak*)' (Choe, 2016; S.-Y. Park & Seo, 2014) has continued to influence South Koreans in the run up to politically critical junctures, such as elections. Before the presidential election in 1967, five cases of North Korean espionage were announced; likewise, prior to the presidential election in 1971, Korean residents in Japan were accused of spying. These attempts at political manipulation only intensified before when the 7.4 North-South Joint Statement was

⁴² Until the late of 1960s, the GNP in North Korea was higher than South Korea's. In the 1970s, the GNP in South Korea overtook the GNP in North Korea though the gap was negligible (W.-C. Yang, 2011, p. 36)

announced in 1972.⁴³ In this ‘gentlemen’s agreement,’⁴⁴ both North and South Korea agreed not to send spies, as they were thought to be wasteful and ineffective. Following the agreement, the number of real spies dispatched from both sides is thought to have decreased considerably.⁴⁵ According to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, formed under the Roh Moo-Hyun liberal government (2003-2007), it is estimated that no more than 30-40 of the 1,000 spy cases announced by the National Security Planning Agency (NSPA) between 1972 and the 1990s were in fact real. The rest of the accusations involved Overseas Koreans in Japan, South Koreans whose relatives had defected to North Korea, or political opponents of the South Korean conservative government who were accused of being spies sent from the North or of taking orders from the North while living in South Korea. Since the 1990s, the number of North Korean defectors in South Korea has grown; thus, they have been targeted, instead of overseas Koreans, and falsely accused as infiltrators by the National Security Planning Agency (NSPA), which was under the ruling power’s command (H.-G. Han, 2014). Consequently, innocent people categorized as Korean *minjok* became victims of political intrigue. After the late 1990s when the

⁴³ Because this statement was signed on July 4th, 1972, it was officially named the ‘seven [the seventh month] four [the fourth day] North-South Joint Statement.’

⁴⁴ In the era of détente, a new international, political environment emerged, and the governments of North and South Korea tried to revise their previous policies toward each other. In addition, in South Korea, a worker who burned himself to death triggered a movement of workers’ resistance against the dictatorship. The 7.4 North-South Joint Statement was born in this atmosphere to appease the public. The statement is meaningful, as it is the first statement between the two Koreas. However, its commitment to reconciliation and cooperation between two Koreas was not upheld until the late 1990s.

⁴⁵ During the 1950s-60s, North and South Korea dispatched an estimated 20 thousand spies. After the 7.4 North-South Joint Statement, the number of spies plunged. The size of the NSPA did not shrink, however. Thus, NSPA stakeholders would have needed to produce their own spies, so-called ‘made in South Korea’ spies, in order to sustain the NSPA (H.-G. Han, 2009, pp. 82–85).

liberal force took power for the first time, these spy cases were exposed as manipulated scandals (H.-G. Han, 2014).⁴⁶

The ruling power did not completely abandon or neglect the concept of Korean *minjok* as a pure-blood ideology. This becomes evident upon examination of the One State, One Ethnicity (*ilgug ilmin juui*)⁴⁷ policy, which aimed to exclude mixed-blood Koreans from South Korean society. Since the Korean War (1950-1953), mixed-blood children were considered tragic by-products of the War, more specifically evidence of the contamination of Korean *minjok* by foreign bodies, as they were thought as descendants of sexually exploited South Korean women by the U.S army or sex workers throughout the Korean War (post-1950s) (H. Yang, 1998, p. 131). It reveals patriarchal aspect of Korean ethnic nationalism that reifies females' sexuality as men's property (H. Yang, 1998, p. 130). At the time, a general name denoting mixed-blood individuals was *Honheyola* meaning the mixed-blood children.⁴⁸ Not only the children, but also their parents (generally South Korean mothers) had been stigmatized and suffered from racial bigotry in South Korea. When the majority of the mixed-bloods were infants or children, the ruling power forced them into international adoption abroad (mainly the U.S.) under the policy of One State, One Ethnicity. Furthermore, until the 1970s, the government also recommended

⁴⁶ Since the June 15th North-South Joint Declaration in 2000, accomplished under the South Korean liberal government, the influence of those political intrigues has eased and the reliability of the National Intelligence Service has gradually diminished than before the 2000s.

⁴⁷ This policy encouraged international adoption for the purposes of 'cleaning the mixed-bloods (*honhyeora cheongso*)' (K.-E. Lee, 2017).

⁴⁸ The informal term for mixed-bloods was '*tuigi*', an offensive slang word indicating hybrid livestock. This expression changed to 'the mixed-blood children (*honhyeora*)' but the expression '*a* (children)' when used to refer to adults was also criticized for defamation of character; therefore, it was changed to 'mixed-blood person (*honhyeorin*)'. While the shift in terminology from '*tuigi*' to 'mixed-blood person' occurred before the 2000s, the offensive expressions are still used occasionally (Shinyoon, 2004). Today, the terms 'multicultural children' or 'the second generation of multicultural families' are widely used. I discuss this transformation in terminology in Chapter 5.

emigration to mixed-blood adults (K.-E. Lee, 2017, p. 57).⁴⁹ Korean ethnicity was still the subject of biopolitical practices until then. In sum, the government's active measures to intentionally exclude the mixed-bloods from South Korean society reflect the patriarchal and racist perspectives which aimed to preserve the purity of the Korean bloodline.

To sum up, the political rationalities of the ruling power were apparently based on pure-blood ideology. However, they were more significantly influenced by anti-communism, which demonizes the North Korean regime, and the development of pro-Americanism. In practice, this has led the ruling power to favor North Koreans who have defected from their main adversary's regime. In other words, for the South Korean ruling power, anti-communism trumps Korean ethnic ties because North Korea poses a threat to South Korea's pro-U.S. regime. This tendency continues today in the era of multiculturalism.

3-3-2 Progressive Political Oppositions

The nationalist activists who struggled for Korea's national independence also had to lead the post-liberation movement against the ruling power. This fact would help to shape the distinct configuration of advocacy groups for South Korean multiculturalism today. Generally, when colonies gain independence, anti-colonial nationalists seize power and establish their own nationalist governments. Anti-colonial nationalists in South Korea, however, were unlike those in other newly independent countries because they had to develop their political rationalities according to the dictates of the ruling power. Therefore, it is worthwhile to trace the historical

⁴⁹ Thus, policy of the South Korean dictatorial and conservative governments relating to overseas Koreans was criticized as a 'rejection policy' (J.-S. Kwak et al., 2011, p. 48). I analyze this issue in chapter 6.

development of these rationalities and to consider how they are connected to multicultural discourse today.

In the 1950s and 60s, the post-liberation movement which followed anti-Japanese nationalist sentiments evolved almost seamlessly toward class struggles for labour and a democratic movement in the 1970s. Grassroots (*minjung*) in South Korea, although this term reflects class consciousness, was not raised as a contrasting concept of blood-based ethnicity (*minjok*). Rather grassroots (*minjung*) was considered to fall ‘squarely within’ *minjok* based on Korean ethnicity and the narrative of national resistance (Tangherlini & Pai, 1998, p. 10).⁵⁰ Capitalists in that time were pro-Japanese collaborators or those who received privileges from the collaborators, hence, the demonstrations against capitalists were for democracy, victory in class struggles, and national autonomy (Tangherlini & Pai, 1998, p. 7). Consequently, South Korean anti-colonial nationalism was able to merge smoothly with the labor movement based on class consciousness.

In the 1980s, the post-liberation and labour movements evolved into a democratic movement against the U.S.-backed military dictatorship. The movement communicated its demands through key slogans, such as ‘anti-dictatorship and democratization’ and ‘anti-foreign power, national sovereignty, and unification of fatherland (M.-S. Kang, 2006).’ Anti-foreign power was, in this case, meant to eliminate the political influence of the U.S. (Dong, 1987, p. 247). Particularly, when the 1980 massacre in *Gwangju* city conducted by the military dictatorship and fomented by the U.S. occurred, this massacre became a trigger to inflame anti-Americanism in South Korea. Anti-Americanism became an oppositional keynote of the

⁵⁰ One of the most progressive and considered left-leaning newspapers in South Korea is titled ‘*Hankyoreh*’ meaning one Korean ethnicity or Korean nation. It was established to resist the dictatorship in 1982.

dictatorship's anti-communism targeting North Korea (S.-K. Lim, 2008). Moreover, as the university student movement developed, the territorial division of the Korean peninsula was highlighted as a critical factor hindering democratization in South Korea while the U.S. was blamed for the territorial division.

To sum up, as a core concept of Korean ethnic nationalism, *minjok* represented a pivot in the ideological pillars enshrined by the progressive political opponents of the ruling power during the 20th century. At first glance, it appears that there are biopolitical inclinations toward Korean consanguinity. However, this understanding is not precise because the subject of Korean ethnic nationalism is almost identical to the subject of progressive movements, such as the anti-Japanese movement, the labor movement, anti-Americanism, and the pro-democracy movement against the U.S.- sponsored dictatorship. Thus, Korean ethnic nationalism was considered the backbone of grassroots movements till the 1980s (J. W. Kang, 2013). Hence, advocating the nationalism tended to be regarded not as past-oriented but practically valid (J. Lee, 2012; H.-S. Park, 1997).

Despite their political opposition, both the ruling power and their critics seemed to treasure the concept of Korean *minjok* (Grinker, 1998, p. 160). This can explain why, currently, South Korean liberal and progressive forces do not actively respond to multiculturalism as a relevant issue. However, this cannot sufficiently elucidate why and how the current conservative force has come to be preoccupied with multiculturalism as a relevant issue today. The current configuration of advocacy groups for multiculturalism is still not explicable. I discuss the intellectual process behind this configuration in the following section.

3-4 Laying the Foundation for Multiculturalism: The Late 1990s to the Present

In the late 1990s, South Korea went through a series of social and political transformations. These stemmed from a massive influx of migrants and a change in the political regime, which involved the transfer of power from a conservative to a liberal government for the first time in 50 years. In this transformative atmosphere, post-nationalism (*tal minjok juui*)⁵¹ emerged and became considered an underlying rationality of South Korean multiculturalism. The first liberal government which had succeeded anti-dictatorship and pro-democracy movement was established in December 1997. The institutional supports of the liberal government and democratization steadily took root in South Korea, and, as a result, civil society grew rapidly, and various voices in the civic sector began to be reflected in the government's policies. More specifically, the second liberal government from 2003 to 2007 sought 'democracy for minorities' (S.-P. Park, 2012, p. 178) and made enormous efforts to listen to NGOs' voices so much as being called as 'the Republic of Committees (*wiwonhoe gonghwagug*).'⁵² This atmosphere in domestic politics was considered a chance to prepare to counterattack anachronistic politics typifying pro-Cold War and anti-unification of the conventional power, that is conservatives (Levin & Han, 2002, p. 100).

However, beginning in the late 1990s, an unexpected ideological configuration emerged in South Korea alongside post-nationalism. This configuration not only included productive debates about Korean ethnic nationalism in the progressive camp, but also a fascination with

⁵¹ In South Korea, scholars translate post-nationalism using the term *tal minjok juui*. 'Minjok juui' means nationalism in general, and 'tal' means taking off, escaping, shedding, or casting off.

⁵² The nickname 'the Republic of Committees' used to be cited by the political opponents for denouncing employing professionals and NGO activists as advisers through various committees for government operation.

post-nationalism in the camp that had deep roots in the conservative ruling power of the last fifty years. In the next section, I analyze multiple responses to the concept of post-nationalism and I examine how this ideological configuration implicitly affects multiculturalism discourse.

3-4-1 Discussion About Post-Nationalism in Academia

According to leftist scholars and activists, although South Korea nationalism seems to contribute to ensuring social progress, it rather deepens or conceals class or gender inequality (H. E. Kim & Choi, 1998). Due to excessive emphasis on Korean national issues such as the unification of Korea and autonomy from the U.S., minorities' voices had not been represented and their concerns had been put on the backburner within the nationalistic movements (H.-J. Jeong & Hanhwang, 2003). In 1992, Yun Geum-I, a young female sex worker in a US military camp town was savagely murdered by an American soldier. Her death triggered not only explosive anti-American movement but also a feminist movement which criticized Korean nationalism (Y.-J. Jeong, 2005; H. E. Kim & Choi, 1998). Sex workers, particularly on US military camps, have been one of the most marginalized groups in South Korean social hierarchy in general. However, after Yun's death, she was referred to as an 'innocent daughter (or sister) of Korean *minjok* (*sungyeolhan minjogui ttal*)' (Y.-J. Jeong, 2005). Yang (1998) analyzes how that contamination of South Korean women's sexuality by foreign men hurt South Korean men's self-respect and inflamed anti-American sentiment because women's sexuality is considered property of men. Since that time, the axiom that 'feminism and nationalism are the antinomic offspring of modernity' has garnered greater legitimacy (H. E. Kim & Choi, 1998, p. 7). In this regard, the leftist groups' endeavours to amplify voices of 'the meaningless' had started by deconstructing 'the central,' criticizing inherent risks and limits of nationalism, and seeking a new start for postmodern history (G.-B. Kim, 2001, pp. 36–37). In the end, as democratization has matured,

their efforts were beneficial for not only boosting the feminist movement but also responding to various minorities' voices.

The other introspective response to post-nationalism seeks to recast nationalism, instead of deconstructing it, by inheriting a resistant spirit capable of overcoming the potential perils of nationalism. This response aims to recognize the particularities of Asian politics which developed with anti-colonial nationalism; thus, it warns of the dangers of employing Westernized critical approaches to nationalism (Cho, 2011; C.-G. Kang, 2016; J. Lee, 2012). Kang Chul-Gu focuses on the reality that South Korean academia has been excessively relying on Western countries, in particular to that of the U.S. and Britain where resistant nationalism is not well-liked (M.-G. Choi, 2013). In order not to miss singularities of Korea, Choi Jang-Jip (2004) and Kim Ki-Hyup (2008) argue to separate nationalism into an ideology and a historical product or phenomenon. Specifically, according to Choi (2004), even though nationalism as an ideology was rejected, the reality caused by nationalism would not disappear; rather, in doing so, understanding the main sources of historical conflicts at critical junctures in East Asia would become impossible. Namely, these opinions warning adopting the Westernized perspective of nationalism agree on that post-nationalism emerged from outside Korea does not accurately apply to the Korean context. Furthermore, there are perspectives questioning intentional mistranslation of English 'nation' into Korean '*minjok*' in order to tarnish Korean ethnic nationalism (C.-G. Kang, 2008; M.-S. Ko, 2008).

Despite the popularity of post-nationalism on the political left, the heated discussions which the progressive camp of academia once had about post-nationalism have cooled since the mid-2000s due to the geo-political realities facing South Korea and the absence of alternatives (Jeon, 2018, pp. 57-58). The debates have seemingly moved on to political terrain. Conservative

force in particular actively utilizes media outlets to publicly advocate for post-nationalism and criticize Korean ethnic nationalism. This is likely to be a response to the Kim Dae-Jung and Roh Moo-Hyun liberal governments' policy on seeking unification with North Korea. It is therefore necessary to clarify how political forces come to develop political rationalities according to their own national visions. And, by doing so, we can see the foundational rationalities which support or challenge South Korean multiculturalism today.

3-4-2 Liberal Forces Relying on the Nationalism

The Kim Dae-Jung liberal government (1998-2002) is recognized as the first government to officially validate Korean *minjok* as a catalyst for peace on the Korean peninsula. This is unlike the positions of previous (military or conservative) governments (M.-S. Ko, 2008). The President Kim Dae-Jung and the North Korean Reconciliation and Cooperation Policy, called the Sunshine Policy⁵³ are inseparable (H. Kim, 2016). Moon Cheong-In, a scholar in international politics, who mapped out the Sunshine Policy as an emblematic engagement policy for North Korea elucidates its three pillars: peaceful coexistence through termination of hostility, peaceful exchanges for restoration of common national identity, and peaceful unification avoiding unilateral absorption (C. Moon, 2001, p. 184). Park Myung-Lim (1997) determines that the prior North and South Korea relationship was stuck in an interface dynamic between hostility and dependence which is beyond the reciprocal relationship. Two actors (North and South Korea) look at each other as if they look into a mirror thereby an actor's hostility is transferred to the other and vice versa (M.-L. Park, 1997). Through this persisting process, tensions between the

⁵³ The title of the engagement policy, Sunshine, was borrowed from Aesop's fable, the Wind and the Sun. The moral of the fable is that warm sunshine instead of strong wind, can strip the traveler of his cloak. President Kim was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2000 for promoting the adoption of the Sunshine policy.

two actors escalated and because of it the two ended up intertwining with each other in an already formed hostile symbiotic relationship. Therefore, as a technology, the Sunshine Policy was endorsed in order to shift this vicious cycle toward the peaceful management of the territorial status quo.

President Kim's government sought oneness in the North-South relationship, a goal which was expressed as 'among ourselves or among Korean insiders (*uri minjok kiri*).' While, on the surface, this phrase appears to be exclusive and reactionary, South Korean conservatives actually considered it to be radically subversive because it transforms South Korea's adversarial relationship with North Korea into a partnership on the Korean peninsula. This phrase is the premise of the first agreement of the North-South Joint Declaration in 2000⁵⁴ and it connotes 'reassurance of cooperative self-initiative in resolving the question of Korean unification' (Moon, 2001, p. 180) on a premise that external interventions between the two Koreas were largely responsible for the territorial division (G.-H. Lee, 2013). Conservatives suppose that this phrase implies the U.S. and Japan as external powers and regards Korean national autonomy with North Korea as an ultimate goal (C.-G. Lee, 2018), thus a future unified Korea would not align itself with a liberal international order centered around the U.S. For these same reasons, South Korean conservatives criticize the second Article of the North-South Joint Declaration (2000). The second Article is 'for the achievement of reunification, we agreed that there is a common element in the South's concept of a confederation and the North's formula for a loose form of federation. ...' The practical implication of this Article is that sovereignty, right of

⁵⁴ The first agreement of the North-South joint declaration in 2000 is 'the South and the North have agreed to resolve the question of reunification independently and through the joint efforts of the Korean people, who are the masters of the country.' In this context, 'through the joint efforts of the Korean people' actually translates in Korean to through the joint efforts among Korean insiders (*uri minjok kiri*).

national defense, and diplomatic rights in North and South Korea are separately respected provisionally (Y.-P. Hong, 2005, p. 12; Jong-Seok Lee, 2002). From the conservatives' perspective, the North Korean government is merely an illegal, anti-government organization, and, as such, mutual respect between the two Koreas is considered to be suspicious and subversive.⁵⁵ Therefore, the voice calling for improving the relationship with North Korea or the unification of Korea, which seems nationalistic to outside observers, has been domestically denounced and reviled as communist and leftist by South Korean conservatives. Likewise, although bringing Korean *minjok* (ethnic nation) to the forefront, instead of a certain ideology, seems to run the risk of appearing past-oriented and isolationist (DeWind, Kim, Skeldon, & Yoon, 2012), the notion of Korean *minjok* as a political subject implies more than its literal meaning in the South Korean context.

Therefore, as a legacy of the context in which the Red Scare was utilized as a grave systemic thought of control, there is a generally accepted political formula in South Korea: 'pro-North Korea=progressive=left wing' and 'anti-North Korea=conservative=right wing' (Joongangilbo, 2009). The liberal governments that launched and implemented the Sunshine Policy have been denounced as 'pro-North Korea (radical) leftist (*chinbug jwapa*)' governments by South Korean conservatives.⁵⁶ The term 'Pro-North Korea (*chinbug*)' indicates that the liberal government holds a soft-line policy for North Korea, and the term 'leftist (*jwapa*)' refers to the

⁵⁵ For conservatives, a unification plan involves absorbing or assimilating North Korea into South Korea (also called democratizing) instead of supporting coexistence with North Korea and recognizing its communist regime.

⁵⁶ Other derogatory expressions for the liberals and progressives are 'leftists subordinating to North Korea (*jongbug jwapa*)' and 'pro-North Korea leftists (*jwa ppal*)'. Both are composed of a political orientation, left-wing, and an attitude towards North Korea. Recently, new expressions, 'feminists subordinating to North Korea (*jongbug femi*)' and 'gays subordinating to North Korea (*jongbug gay*)' were invented. On the other hand, derogatory expressions referring to conservatives include 'naturalized Japanese raiders (*tochag waegu*)'. This expression was created in the early 1990s; though, recently, at the beginning of the 2019, it began to be widely used to criticize contemporary conservative politicians.

progressive social and economic policies implemented by the government, which include reinforcing income redistribution and social welfare, policies which are not favoured by conservatives (J.-I. Kang, 2008). The biopolitical construction sought by the liberal force seems to strengthen ties with North Korea. Furthermore, these ties could be incorporated into political progressiveness in the South Korean context due to the ongoing war between the two Koreas. Consequently, this formula demonstrates the incorporation of ethnic nationalism and leftist ideas (K.-M. Hwang, 2015).

The Sunshine Policy which was formed under this circumstance would be distinguished from the German counterpart, the Ostpolitik (Eastern policy in Germany), although the Sunshine Policy was inspired by it (Dae-Jung Kim, 2009). Between East and West Germany, they did not experience a ‘fratricidal war’ (K.-S. Kim, 2001, p. 27), visiting each other was to some extent allowed (K.-S. Kim, 2001, p. 27), and East Germany was highly dependent on foreign capital. Those conditions would have to some degree contributed to lessening ideological conflicts or the Red Scare. Also, ethnic nationalism in Germany had been half willingly and somewhat reluctantly attenuated after Germany's defeat in World War II (H.-B. Jung, 1996, p. 358), hence in the process of the Ostpolitik, sovereignty of each other was recognized according to the German Basic Treaty (1972) and this principle had insistently continued in spite of the turnover of political powers. Simultaneously, the European Community had expanded in those days, thus, a new identity as a member of the European Community had gradually been substituted in place of a traditional ethnic identity (H.-B. Jung, 1996). Thus, according to a survey in 1972, only 1% of West Germans selected unification as one of the most important political issues (H.-B. Jung, 1996). On the other hand, among South Korean political forces, ideological conflict surrounding North Korea as a political subject and its related subjects such as national security or the alliance

with the U.S. has been unabated. Thus, depending on regime change, inter-Korean policy has oscillated. However, in practice, religion, gender, sexual minority and immigrant issues have not yet functioned as political cleavages in South Korea (H.-S. Jung et al., 2016, pp. 103–104; W. Moon, 2016, p. 47). As a result, anti-colonial or resistance nationalism which centres around a concept of Korean ethnicity has been considered a key factor in the realization of democracy in South Korea (E.-H. Park, 2009), unlike Germany where ethnic nation is considered a culprit of totalitarianism harming democracy (H.-G. Park, 2008, p. 503).

However, one of the vulnerabilities of the Sunshine Policy was that it would unintentionally hold back its advocates and create opportunities for the conservatives whenever issues extending beyond Korean nationalism arose; prominent examples of such issues include human rights in North Korea and multiculturalism in South Korea. Due to the non-interference principle of the Sunshine Policy, political interference between the two Koreas is avoided and each other's independence is respected (Levin & Han, 2002, p. 52). This principle is thought to be valid until any form of official political integration is accomplished as a final stage. However, this non-interference principle gives ammunition to conservatives whenever tensions arise in the relationship between North and South Korea or between North Korea and the U.S. or when human rights issues in North Korea are highlighted internationally. Rhetorically, conservatives prioritize universal human rights and they use this rhetoric as a political tool to criticize the North Korean regime, particularly at politically critical junctures that need domestic political conflicts or moments of rising tensions between the U.S. and North Korea.⁵⁷ On the other hand, the successors of the Sunshine Policy who have rhetorically relied on ethnic and cultural

⁵⁷ In chapter 4, I analyze in detail how the conservatives utilize the concept of human rights as ammunition, and how they use this to subject North Korean defectors. At the same time, I discuss how the successors of the Sunshine Policy encountered difficulties in finding a justification for their defector-relevant policies.

homogeneity with North Korea had difficulties in finding a justification for embracing multiculturalism. This is because Korean ethnic nationalism is premised on distinctions between Koreans insiders and non-Korean outsiders even though it is just political rhetoric.

3-4-3 The Conservative Force's Discourses in the Build-Up to Multiculturalism

3-4-3-1 Conservative Force that Borrow Concepts from Post-Nationalism

The conservative force found new intellectual ammunition in post-nationalism, and they borrowed theoretical concepts from it when the Sunshine Policy developed during the two terms with liberal governments (1998-2007). Apart from their anti-communism, one of the weaknesses of the South Korean conservative force is thought to be their lack of philosophical background (J.-I. Kang, 2008; Levin & Han, 2002, p. 81). Due to the collapse of the Soviet Union and the liberal government's soft-line policy towards North Korea, the influences of anti-communism have been gradually attenuated in South Korea (Y.-M. Kim, 1999, p. 47).

Thus, since the late 1990s, post-nationalism -which was introduced along with post-modernism- has been actively employed by South Korean conservatives (Jeon, 2018; N. Park, 2016, p. 167). For instance, in order to protest against the liberal President Roh Moo-Hyun (2003-2007)'s Sunshine Policy, which emphasizes Korean *minjok* unity in order to build a cooperative relationship with North Korea, conservatives began to use post-nationalism to denounce the historical role of Korean *minjok*. This strategy was led by the New Right, a conservative civic organization which defined itself as a 'patriot camp' (Ahan, 2006). In this context, what South Korean conservative force ostensibly presents as patriotism is likely interpreted as serving 'liberal democracy and the (liberal) market economy,' key elements of the U.S. system (B.-C. Lee, 2014). Such political rhetoric, in the end, is thought to be placed at the

forefront in order to serve as an antipode to not only the social and economic policy developed by South Korea's liberal government, but also to North Korean communism (B.-C. Lee, 2014).

While, the contents of these political arguments are clearly distinct on the surface, the conservatives' attitude towards nationalism would become indifferent toward the leftists' critiques of nationalist fervour in South Korea. Prior to the 1990s, *minjok* (nation)-based concerns were only questioned by leftists, such as Marxists in (South) Korea, who associated nation with capitalism (N. Park, 2016, p. 165). According to the conservative force's self-proclaimed post-nationalists, Korean *minjok* is a relatively contemporary concept as well. They argue that the *minjok* was fictionally formed and far removed from an axiomatic familialism centered around *Dangun*,⁵⁸ a biological ancestor (Y.-S. Kim, 2019). In order to reinforce their claims about fictionality of *minjok* (nation) and maleficence of nationalism, conservatives often cite Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Community* (2006); for example, we see an invocation of Anderson in a testimonial of 'Korean Modern History' written by the New Right (a conservative think tank): '*minjok* is an imagined community, [thus] a history of Korea which has been written centred around *minjok* is an imagined history (M.-S. Ko, 2008).' The *Chosun Ilbo*, which is the most right-leaning media, often cites Anderson as well; 'Korean *minjok* did not exist 100 years ago. ... [because] Anderson asserted that print capitalism and invention of newspapers written in the mother tongue contributed to creating nationalism (Han-Soo Lee, 2007).' Likewise, conservative scholars and media outlets have cited literature rejecting the primordialism or perennialism of a nation and advocating the instrumentalization of a nation.

⁵⁸ In North Korea, the *Dangun* is believed to not only be a biological origin but also a pivotal figure for North Korea's state ideology: *Juch'e* or self-reliance, sustaining North Korean society. Justification for the first leader, Kim Il-Sung's regime was found in *Dangun*'s existence (Armstrong, 1995).

Against this background, South Korean conservative force developed a dichotomous confrontation between the state and the *minjok* (nation) by asserting the fictionality of *minjok* which resembles on the surface Hans Kohn (1944)'s dichotomy between civic nationalism and ethnic nationalism. If Kohn's formulation is applied to the South Korean case, it could be said that South Korean conservatives push for a civic nationalism in the Western societies which seeks universality through human rights, and a liberal market economy or civic identity. On the other hand, South Korean liberals and progressives push for ethnic nationalism which is considered a fundamentally exclusive and aggressive ideology (Young-Hoon Lee & Park, 2006, p. 13). Through this narrative, the state such as the Republic of Korea is a concrete substance while the Korean *minjok* is a figment of the imagination. However, this was allegedly meant to delegitimize the anti-feudalism and anti-colonialism which are anchored to the notion of Korean *minjok* because, according to this dichotomy, a state (the Republic of Korea, or South Korea) which was established after liberation from Japan in 1945 is represented as a symbol of civilization; on the other hand, the Korean *minjok* that is struggling for the liberation (understood as a Korean ethnicity or nation which includes both North and South Koreans) is represented as a barbaric subject (S.-R. Hong, 2007, p. 151). Furthermore, by locating the origin of South Korea in 1948, this narrative acknowledges pro-Japanese collaborators as the founding fathers of South Korea while simultaneously minimizing the accomplishments of the Korean independence activists.⁵⁹

Other aspects of the New Right's official discourse which seemingly differ from Western conservatives' voices include its emphasis on universal human rights; individual dignity and

⁵⁹ In 2015, the Park Geun-Hye conservative government tried to introduce a government-authorized textbook which would standardize the history textbooks for middle and high school students. This act was criticized as an attempt to distort the history of anti-Japanese struggles and disguise pro-Japanese collaborators as the founders of South Korea.

freedom; international solidarity, and its future-oriented view of history (S.-T. Yang, 2008, p. 12). Although such discourses appear to be progressive, when they are selectively applied to specific social issues in the South Korean society, these function quite differently.

Universal Human Rights

The New Right addresses universal human rights, but it only focuses on human rights issues that are relevant to North Korea, and it aligns itself with neo-conservatives in the U.S (J.-I. Kang, 2008). Thus, it works as a means of suppressing the North Korean regime and deepening the Red Scare in South Korea.⁶⁰ Ko Myong-Seob (2008) argues that South Korea's modern history, which has been mainly dominated by conservative force, can be roughly characterized by the process of statism, synonymous with anti-communism which demolished Korean ethnic nationalism seeking peace and unification. Thus, when the New Right draws on notions of post-nationalism to advocate for human rights, they are in fact engaging in anti-communist measures that demonize the North Korean regime while simultaneously proclaiming the superiority of

⁶⁰ According to annual surveys conducted by the Korean Institute for National Unification, the majority of South Korean people acknowledge human rights issues in North Korea; nevertheless, they simultaneously have a positive perception of the stability of the North Korean regime (Sang-Sin Lee et al., 2018, pp. 64–65). In 2020, 60.4% of South Koreans said that some of the practices of human rights NGOs should be banned because they escalate tensions between the two Koreas, interrupt their dialogues, and do not offer practical help to the North Korean people (KBSnews, 2020). When it comes to North Korean nuclear threat, 47.5% of respondents expressed concern about it but only 16.5% of respondents thought that war was likely (Sang-Sin Lee et al., 2018, pp. 18, 65). These views indicate a big change in perspective as compared to surveys in the 1970-80s which found that 70-80% of South Koreans were concerned about a possible invasion from North Korea (J.-H. Kim, 2015, p. 54). This change in perception can be attributed to the inter-Korean summit in 2000. Since then, positive impressions of North Korea have increased significantly in South Korea. Under the Roh Moo-Hyun liberal government (2003-2007), 79.9% of respondents said that they saw North Korea as a partner (J.-H. Kim, 2015, p. 87). Although this perception diminished under subsequent conservative governments (2008-2016), it recovered once again under the current Moon Jae-In liberal government. Thus, after the inter-Korean summit in 2018, 85.6% of South Koreans said that they were in favor of North Korean leader Kim Jong-Un visiting South Korea (Hwan-Bo Jeong & Heo, 2018).

capitalism and the U.S.- centered political order. Park No-Ja (2016)⁶¹ views the conservatives' post-nationalism as the 'Republic of Korean-ism (*daehanmingug juui*),' which is a 'witch-hunting (*manyeo sanyang*)' weapon used against 'leftist nationalists (*jwapa minjog juuija*)' in South Korea (p. 166).

Individual Liberties

Secondly, the New Right claims that the collectivism evoked by the notion of Korean *minjok* infringes upon the values of individual dignity and freedoms (Young-Hoon Lee & Park, 2006; Min, 2005), and, in practice, this claim is thought to function as a theoretical basis for facilitating a laissez-faire approach to the labour market (Jayasuriya, 2014; S.-H. Jeong, 2008; B.-C. Lee, 2014). Although it is not unique that conservative force advocates for neoliberal market reforms, South Korean conservatives act as though they are leftists by pointing to Korean ethnic nationalism as a culprit of attenuating class struggles. Lee Young-Hoon, who is a key member of the New Right, expresses concerns that nationalism is purposely overused as a means of covering up other social problems, such as class struggles (Young-Hoon Lee & Park, 2006, p. 393). Kim Dong-Chun (2018) analyzes South Korean anti-communism which was injected by the U.S. as anti-communist liberalism sharing a significant common ground with neoliberalism such as prioritizing personal property right, preferring private company-led economy, and labelling anti-market forces such as labor union and socialism as enemies. Therefore, this liberalism views Korean ethnic nationalism typifying 'grassroots nationalism' (Porteux, 2016) as

⁶¹ He is a naturalized Korean, and a professor of Korean studies at the University of Oslo in Norway. He ran for the National Assembly as a candidate for the leftist party in 2012.

an obstacle to deepening capitalism (D.-C. Kim, 2018). Furthermore, by virtue of the principle of the Sunshine Policy calling for treating North Korea as an equal partner, the possibility of dominating North Korea has been reduced. In comparison to economic cooperation with North Korea, economic colonization of other developing countries seems more beneficial from the perspective of the South Korean conglomerates (N. Park, 2016, p. 167).

Future-Oriented Views and International Solidarity

Third, the New Right asserts that international solidarity and a future-oriented historical view are necessary for replacing self-deprecating and nationalist historical perspectives (Yun-Hee Lee, 2005, p. 18). These attitudes mainly apply to the U.S. and Japan, however. In this context, the self-deprecating historical perspective refers to efforts to unearth the historical truth, which was purposely hidden by the Japanese colonial government and the past dictatorship. Han Sang-Kwon (2013) presents suspicion that wrongdoings by pro-Japanese collaborators, who are the roots of the current South Korean conservatives, can be watered down by anonymizing Korean *minjok* in Korean history. Lee Young-Hoon, a conservative professor renowned for his pro-Japanese and post-nationalist perspectives (in South Korean context), gave a public lecture in 2015 in which he argued that: ‘a fundamental enemy that we should fight against is Korean ethnic nationalism, ... the nationalism is a quasi-religion (*yusa jonggyo*) dominating Koreans’ (M.-L. Kim, 2015). As a response of this speech, Jeon Woo-Yong, a progressive historian denounced Lee’s statement is identical to the pro-Japanese collaborators’ mindset under Japanese colonialism (M.-L. Kim, 2015). The conservatives’ emphasis on international solidarity as well mostly concerns improving diplomatic relationship with the U.S. and Japan. For example, in 2016, the Obama administration consistently and straightforwardly pressed the

South Korean Park Geun-Hye conservative government (2013-2016) to downplay the historical conflict with Japan which resulted from Japanese military's use of sexual slavery and the victimization of the so-called comfort women (Tisdall, 2015). As a result, the South Korean conservative government imposed silence on these victims by coming up with political rhetoric which emphasized reconciliation, future-orientation, and international solidarity; according to some observers, the actual winners were Japan and the U.S. (Tisdall, 2015).

As a result, although South Korean conservative force has seemingly reflected on nationalism, shedding new light on perspectives which leftist and progressive force generally concern, they have been obsessed with aftermath of the Cold War, and they have practiced neoliberal and neo-colonial orders.

3-4-3-2 Foundation of Multiculturalism Built by Conservative Force

Another unusual characteristic of South Korean conservative force, which needs a closer look, is their ostensible friendliness toward multiculturalism. In many cases, this interest is accompanied by critiques of their political opponents' nationalistic character. One ultra-conservative commentator, Jee Man-Won, offers a colonial modernization rationale for supporting multiculturalism, asserting that South Korea's modernization was made possible by virtue of Japanese colonial rule. According to him, as the Japanese enlightened Korean people during colonialization, it would not be a problem that South Koreans help poor people from developing countries who are willing to assimilate into South Korean society (Jee, 2011a). Jee also argued that Muslim culture may be accepted in South Korea rather than 'commies

ppalgangi)’ who have been destroying South Korean state identity.⁶² The ‘commies’ in this context refers to North Koreans and South Korean pan-progressive forces including liberals, progressives, and leftists. Furthermore, when the conservative media criticized xenophobic voices and cyber-terror attacks on Lee Jasmine (the first female marriage migrant who became a conservative member of the National Assembly), supporters of the liberal and progressive parties were accused of being racists for attacking, defaming, and excluding her (C.-K. Oh, 2012). Interestingly, the conservative media cried xenophobia over a quote made by leftist scholar Jin Jung-Kwon, who is generally well known for his harsh condemnation of conservative force. Likewise, when conservatives discuss multiculturalism as an ideology, the rationales which are used to justify their support for multiculturalism frequently emphasize tolerance of certain types of migrants and criticism of their main opponents.

If we consider Wendy Brown’s insights on the discourse of tolerance (2006), it is possible to see how the conservative media’s enthusiastic support for Lee Jasmine, along with their emphasis on tolerance as an essential virtue of the globalized world, could risk depoliticizing issues concerning migrants. According to Brown (2006), in a society which places high importance on people’s ability to tolerate differences, tolerance can be seen as a practice that offers an absolute solution to social problems, and, conversely, a lack of tolerance can simply be blamed for causing problems. In the end, any other elements which contribute to social problems become invisible, and political struggles relating to the power dynamics which underlie these problems can be disguised as cultural issues. Ryu Geun-II, an influential conservative

⁶² This comment was a part of his opinion about a large-scale massacre that a Norwegian terrorist Breivik killed 77 innocent people in 2011. Jee said that the act of terror was committed for the sake of protecting the Norwegian national identity against Muslim culture. Interestingly, Jee added that Muslims (who are willing to assimilate themselves to South Korean society) were rather acceptable in South Korea, but the communists were not (Jee, 2011b). This comment illustrates, to an extreme degree, South Korean ultra conservatives’ peculiarly strong anti-communism.

figure and former editor-in-chief of the *Chosun Ilbo* (the most right-leaning media source), expressed his concern about xenophobia which targeted Lee Jasmine in his column. Ryu described her as: ‘a Filipino lady who unfortunately became a poor widow in South Korea. However, she was honorably elected as a National Assembly member of the Republic of Korea. It was not only her individual victory but also an expansion of South Korea’s tolerance’ (G.-I. Ryu, 2012). South Korean natives were also urged to be cosmopolitans in the era of globalization, as Lee Jasmine’s election was regarded as an opportunity to enhance South Korea’s prestige in the international community (D.-G. Ryu, 2012). Other conservative media also join in the celebration of her election as a conservative member of the National Assembly, often highlighting her role as a mother of South Korean children and as a daughter-in-law who supports her late husband’s parents. Notably, only the roles she holds within her South Korean household are presented as valid reasons for her to deserve a warm welcome from society.

South Korean conservatives incline towards U.S.- style multiculturalism, thus Brown’s (2008) warning that the effects of tolerance can be exaggerated when they meet liberalism or individualism which is the ethos of the U.S. is noteworthy. Despite serious problems with racism or xenophobia in the U.S., South Korean conservative figures often cite the U.S. as an exemplary model of multicultural society. Byun Hee-Jae, a conservative journalist has claimed that the U.S. is a successful example of multiculturalism because Italian, German, Spanish, Indian, Jewish, Japanese, and South Korean migrants have all maintained their own identities while simultaneously contributing to U.S. values (Byun, 2011). He did not include Black Americans or Muslims in his assertion, however, and the mention of U.S. values refers to a U.S.-led liberal democracy and capitalist market system. Lee Chun-Geun, a researcher at a conservative think tank, also promotes U.S.-style multiculturalism to the public (2018). His understanding of U.S.

multiculturalism is almost mythological. Lee asserts that black and white people can be one *minjok* (ethnic nation) as long as they do not have different thoughts (C.-G. Lee, 2018). He added that North and South Koreans who share the same bloodline are not necessarily justified in belonging to the same *minjok* because according to him, sharing the same thoughts is more important for defining belonging to the same nation even when races and bloodlines are different. Lee has added that North Korean communists and their advocates cannot belong to the same *minjok* as South Koreans. For these reasons, there seems to be a willingness to embrace migrants as long as they do not hurt highly-coveted conservative values, such as anti-communism, which align with a U.S.-led international order.

Consequently, although the conservative force' discourse of post-nationalism ostensibly resembles the leftists' advocacy of post-nationalism, their advocacy of post-nationalism is apparently similar to 'nouveau-riche nationalism,' which reflects pariah capitalism and a tendency to mimic white supremacy (G.-S. Han, 2015, p. 23). The expression 'yellow skin, white masks' has been used to characterize this nouveau-riche nationalism (S.-B. Ha, 2012). Since the 1990s, nouveau-riche nationalism (which is interchangeable with nouveau-riche racism) has grown along with economic development in South Korea, and, currently, it renders traditional, Korean ethnic nationalism much weaker (Gil-Soo Han, 2015). In detail, the conservative force' post-nationalism as their ideological ammunition is, in practice, fraught with antipathy towards the North Korean regime, tolerance that is restricted to a certain type of migrants, and admiration for the U.S.-led international order. These narratives have been disseminated through various technologies, such as academic studies and mass media.

3-5 Conclusion: The Conservatives' Ideological Re-positioning

Before the late 1990s, the ruling power and its opponents shared the rhetoric that the Korean *minjok* (ethnic nation) deserved to be cherished. However, this has completely changed due to the ideological flip-flop of conservative force. Liberals and progressives continued to justify their support for *minjok* as a necessary measure for combatting external superpowers. The ruling power, on the other hand, narrowed their definition of *minjok* to South Koreans only in order to support their fight against North Korea. Eventually, the ruling power abandoned the notion of *minjok* by deploying anti-communism as a political rationality which mimicked that of neo-conservatives in the U.S. politics. In this process, South Korean conservatives adopted a concept of post-nationalism which could be used as a tool to justify their political practices which rejected North Korea, obeyed the U.S.-led international order, and filtered out migrants which they deemed to be undesirable. It is therefore understandable that South Korean conservatives find themselves disoriented by U.S. President Donald Trump's overtures toward North Korea. On the other hand, President Trump has gained 'an unlikely fan base' among progressives and liberals in South Korea because of his gestures towards reconciliation with North Korea, which began in 2018 (Taylor, 2018; V. Kim, 2019).

As a result, at first glance, the discourses of Korean ethnic nationalism and the intellectual processes surrounding the concept of *minjok* might appear to be irrelevant to multiculturalism. Nevertheless, taking these unique contextual conditions into account is essential to understanding South Korean multiculturalism as a governmentality. Considering the increasing number of migrants in the 21st century, nation building appears to be an engaging project that can boost the conservatives' political profits. Therefore, since the 2000s, conservative politicians have actively supported and implemented multiculturalism policies. In

following chapters, I will draw on the South Korean ideological configuration analyzed in this chapter to examine the multicultural governmentality entrenched in discourses about each migrant group. Specifically, I will analyze how the conservatives dominate migrant-relevant discourses that incorporate, subjugate, or exclude the migrants.⁶³

⁶³ Hereafter, I will use the English word ‘nation’ to refer to the *minjok* unless there are particular reasons to distinguish between them.

CHAPTER 4 Projecting South Korean-ness onto North Korean Defectors

4-1 Introduction⁶⁴

In the era of multiculturalism, despite the North Korean defectors' relatively small numbers (approximately 30 thousand) and their ambiguous status in South Korea, their presence plays a pivotal role in influencing a certain standard to judge other minorities' statuses in South Korea. Since the division of Korea in 1945, North Koreans who defected for political or economic reasons have been accepted by South Korea. According to the South Korean Constitution, North Korean defectors' legal status is considered equal to that of South Korean citizens.⁶⁵ At the same time, North Korean defectors are the first migrants and minorities which the South Korean government consciously supported.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, due to more than 7 decades of territorial division on the peninsula, even today; North Korean defectors' social status in South Korea is not apparent; socially, they are considered neither foreigners nor South Korean citizens. Yet, policy makers' remarks in the era of multiculturalism seem to disregard this

⁶⁴ Research on North Korea is conducted by universities, as well as national and private research institutes. The Korean Institute for National Unification is an official, national institute, where experts work to collect and analyze data from a variety of sources, including satellite data, intelligence collected by foreign embassies which have established diplomatic ties with North Korea (165 countries), surveys of North Korean defectors, and interviews. Researchers can draw on this data for their studies, something which I also do in this thesis.

⁶⁵ South Korea's Constitution, which was enacted in 1948 after the territorial division and before the Korean War, does not contain specific articles which outline North Korean defectors' legal status in detail. However, Article (3) of the Constitution defines the territory of South Korea as the territory of the Republic of Korea 'consisting of the Korean peninsula and its adjacent islands.' Furthermore, the National Security Act, which was enacted in December 1948 to protect the Republic of Korea from 'anti-government organization,' indicates that the North Korean government 'fraudulently uses the title of the government or aims at a rebellion against' South Korea. In a nutshell, the Republic of Korea would be the only legitimate government in the Korean peninsula and North Korea, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, would be an anti-government organization. On the other hand, the liberals and progressives claim that Article (3) of the Constitution needs a future-oriented interpretation which takes into account Korean territory after-unification. Therefore, they argue that the Article (3) about Korean territory needs to be considered provisional.

⁶⁶ There is overseas Chinese migration to South Korea, which started in earnest at the end of the 19th century. However, until 2005 they have lived through difficulties in South Korea from not only discriminations but also absence of the right of permanent residence.

ambiguity, indicating instead that the defectors' position within South Korea's ethnic hierarchy has already been decided, particularly in relation to other migrants. Conversations led by conservative members of the National Assembly meetings illustrate this idea: "We [South Koreans] can assimilate [North Korean defectors] because they are unlike Southeast [Asians]" (FATaUC, 2008, p. 30); "They [the defectors] should be more cared for and institutionally supported than multicultural families" (SoNA, 2015, p. 19),⁶⁷ Likewise, the defectors are often mentioned as a yardstick which policy makers reference when policies are discussed for other ethnic minorities. In addition, the defectors seem to be given more consideration in the ethnic hierarchy in South Korea, at least from policy makers' perspectives.

However, despite these special considerations given to North Korean defectors, the defectors' maladjustment to the South Korean society began to emerge as a serious social issue during the mid-2000s. The seriousness of the defectors' maladjustment is evident in their suicide rate, which is three times higher than that of South Koreans (Min-Ju Lee, 2018).⁶⁸ It is also apparent in the rate at which they became victims of fraud, which is 44 times higher than that of the South Koreans (J.-O. Jang & Lee, 2006, p. 72), and in their growing rates of re-defection to

⁶⁷ The other members from the liberal and progressive parties either sympathized or took no count of it.

⁶⁸ The rate of suicide in South Korea is 25.6 per 100,000 in 2018. This figure is the highest among OECD member countries and South Korea has ranked the first place for 13 years.

North Korea and migration to third countries (H.-Y. Lee, 2015).⁶⁹⁷⁰ Allegedly, North Korean defectors' maladjustment stems from their Korean national identity, which generates an expectation that South Koreans will recognize their Korean brotherhood. When this expectation fails to manifest in reality, however, it ends up deepening the defectors' frustrations in South Korean society (Hyun-Joo Lee, Moon, & Park, 2012). Likewise, when the defectors are treated as multicultural families, their disappointment grows. This in itself demonstrates that multiculturalism in South Korea has not been perceived as a means of equal coexistence for diverse cultures and it is in fact stigmatized in specific ways vis-à-vis the majority.

Therefore, it is worth examining the apparent mismatch between the special considerations given to the defectors and the realities which they face; likewise, it is also worth studying what the term, 'culture' within multiculturalism discourse indicates when the defectors are discussed in association with multiculturalism. Thus, in this chapter, I explore how South Korean institutions characterize defectors, and I specify how they are conceptualized politically, economically, and socially. This exploration will help to determine the conditions which affect

⁶⁹ Accurate statistics do not exist because speaking their mind about going back to North Korea in public is wrongdoing which would violate the National Security Law. Besides, when North Korean defectors who already have South Korean passports travel abroad (to go back to the North), their destinations cannot be tracked by the South Korean national organizations. However, when this issue was initially mentioned in the National Assembly hearing for establishing support policy for the defectors in 2004, a member of Lawyers for a Democratic Society, Kim Seung-Kyo stated '70% of North Korean defectors want to leave South Korea' based on an investigation conducted by a progressive political party, Democratic Labor Party (UFAaTC, 2004, p. 17). Jang Young-Dal, a liberal member of the National Assembly as well concerned that 33.3% of the defectors want to go back to the North and financial aid given to them for their settlement in South Korea could be used for their re-defecting to the North (UFAaTC, 2004, p. 17). According to a progressive news media (*Ohmynews*), 70-80% was estimated (E.-M. Shin, 2015) and *Joongang Daily News*, which is conservative, cited that 22.9% of the defectors have thought occasionally or frequently going back to the North (J.-S. Bae, 2018). In 2017, the New York Times, interviewing a defector, Kwon Cheol-Nam, who publicly requested the South Korean government to send him to the North, reported for the recent 5 years, 25 defectors went back to North Korea (Choe, 2017). Ju Seung-Hyun, who is a North Korean defector and who has a PhD in political science in South Korea, estimated around 5000 defectors have left South Korea, among them around 150 defectors are speculated to go back to the North (Hyun-Ja Kim, 2018).

⁷⁰ From 2004 to 2014, around four thousand North Korean defectors had applied refugee status in the U.S, Canada, and European countries. The majority of them were supposed as the defectors re-migrating from South Korean citizenship (H.-Y. Lee, 2015, p. 18).

the defectors' inclusion into South Korean society, and it will contribute toward an enhanced understanding of the conditions which influence the inclusion of other migrants, such as female marriage migrants; and migrant workers. In this process, I examine the attributes of multicultural governmentality that permeate defectors' lives. It is my view that this exploration is an important step toward discovering the implications of governmental strategies which concern diverse migrants and form part of South Korea's 21st century nation-building project. Although the defectors occasionally form multicultural families (despite criticism from those who consider the defectors to be members of the Korean ethnic nation, not members of multicultural families), they are tightly associated with the issue of inter-Korean relations, which has long been the most controversial political cleavage in South Korea. Thus, defector-related policy discourses reveal sharp differences between political forces in terms of their political rationalities and national visions.

Therefore, I ask: 1) What rationalities have justified South Korea's national objectives in relation to North Korean defectors since the territorial division of the peninsula?; 2) How have these rationalities influenced multiculturalism discourse, particularly when those who take the lead in discourses about the defectors and multiculturalism are the same?; 3) How have these rationalities met certain desires and how have these desires been represented? 4) How have the defectors responded to these discourses by changing their characteristics to resemble particular types of human beings? Foucault calls this process subjectification (Foucault, 1990). Has their Korean ethnicity affected their subjectification, particularly in the era of multiculturalism? By answering these questions, this analysis helps us to understand how social inclusion is created among North Korean defectors, a supposedly leading force in the development of migrant-relevant policy in the era of multiculturalism. My analysis is based on textual data outlined

previously and four interviews with the following people: Ji-Won, a North Korean defector who entered South Korea in 2001 because of economic difficulties in North Korea; Soo-Young, a defector who requests her repatriation to North Korea; Ho-Chan, a South Korean NGO activist who supports defectors' education, and; Sang-Eun, an elementary school teacher in charge of a special classes of non-South Korean students, which include North Korean children. I chose to uncover these voices which have long existed under the radar in South Korea because of South Korean-centric views of the world which emphasize anti-communism and the Red Scare. Two of the defectors which I interviewed expressed self-identifications which were either tied to North Korea or to a unified Korea (which was his hypothetical vision for a future Korea). Thus, these interviewees are not North Korean defectors who are likely to be praised as exemplary citizens in South Korean society. Ho-Chan and Sang-Eun engage in work which requires them to interact with North Korean defectors and other migrants. Therefore, their interviews are useful for discovering how governmentality regulates North Korean defectors relative to other minorities in South Korea.

4-2 North Korean Defectors

4-2-1 Changing Perspectives towards North Korean Defectors

Since the mid-1950s, there have been slow and subtle changes to the ways in which North Korean defectors have been conceptualized in South Korea and these changes have been represented in different processes of naming. Naming is a political act which reveals underlying power relations, such as who is eligible to grant an identity to whom and what is expected from them (Butler, 1997, p. 36). In South Korea, the government's changing visions of North Korean defectors is notable upon considering how the terms for describing the defectors have changed and how the government departments in charge of the defectors have changed along with the

expectations of the defectors. For instance, up until the 1980s, North Korean defectors were called ‘enemy people who submit or obey without defying (*guisoon ja or guisoon yongsu*).’ These terms connote ‘enemy’, ‘being returned to’, ‘loyal to South Korea’ and ‘heroes.’ Furthermore, it was the Ministry of Patriots and Veterans Affairs that was the designated authority in charge of matters relating to defectors. These modes of relating to defectors were similar to the refugee discourse found in the Western liberal societies during the Cold War era. Between the 1940s and the 1970s, Western societies welcomed dissidents from the Communist bloc for the purpose of propaganda which suggested the superiority of liberalism. This period later came to be called the ‘golden age’ for postwar refugee (Whistaker, 1998). In the 1990s when South Korea’s social stability and economic superiority than North Korea were accomplished, the terms used to refer to defectors were traded for the less aggressive and less militarized term ‘compatriots who submit or obey without defying (*gui-soon dong-po*)’ (S.-H. Lee, 2013), and the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs began to work with the defectors instead of the Ministry of Patriots and Veterans Affairs. These changes reflect how North Korean defectors were first regarded as warriors or heroes and later as dependent welfare recipients (S.-H. Lee, 2013, p. 6).

The annual influx of the North Korean defectors grew rapidly beginning in the late-1990s, and the terms used to describe them became more value-neutral. This illustrates how the South Korean government began to view North Korea as a partner, instead of an enemy, in the quest for Korean unification. There were 71 defectors in 1998, 148 in 1999, 312 in 2000, and 1894 in 2004.⁷¹ The sharp increase had been caused by not only development in South Korea, but also the collapse of the socialist market economy and continuous natural disasters in North Korea

⁷¹ In 2018, the population was a total of 23,043 female and 9,104 male defectors in South Korea (BBCKorea, 2018).

(D.-H. Kim, 2005).⁷² In order to brace for growing number of the defectors, South Korea enacted the North Korean Refugee Protection and Settlement Support Act in 1997. In this Act, ‘the North Korean Refugee’ is referred to as *Bukhan ital jumin*, meaning ‘resident escaping (or deviating) from North Korea.’ Compared to previous terms starting with ‘*Gui-soon*,’ *Bukhan ital jumin* seems neutral because it emphasizes the South Korean government’s responsibility to defectors as residents in South Korea (Seung-Hyun Lee, 2013). The government department responsible for the defectors shifted as well in 1998 to the Ministry of Unification. It demonstrates that the South Korean government no longer considers North Korea to be a rival regime, but rather a partner for Korean unification. In the case of defectors, they also began to be perceived as human resources for the future Korean unification (Seung-Hyun Lee, 2013). In brief, throughout the modern history of South Korea, defectors have been conceptualized according to their utility for the South Korean government.

4-2-2 Neither Multicultural Families, Nor South Koreans

Since the 2000s, the conceptualization of North Korean defectors has shifted somewhat due to the influence of unprecedented social and political changes, which include improvements in the North and South Korean relationship and an influx of migrants. In 2005, the Ministry of Unification suggested calling the defectors ‘People seeking a new land (*Saeteomin*)’ –which, from a South Korean perspective, has a less political and a more tolerant connotation. This measure was a gesture of goodwill which formed part of Sunshine Policy (embracing policy

⁷² Following the great, five-year famine (1994 to 1998) in which 340,000 people starved to death (Jea-Hoon Lee, 2010), the number of defectors increased each year until 2012. The number of the defectors has decreased along with improved North Korea’s economic conditions since 2012 when Kim Jong-Un, the Leader of the Workers’ Party of Korea, came into power (North Korea GDP, n.d. Retrieved from <https://tradingeconomics.com/north-korea/gdp>). The South Korean conservatives’ opinion about decreasing number of the defectors is that restriction became tighter under the Kim Jong-Un’s regime (Smith, 2018).

toward North Korea) practices for improving ties with North Korea. And, most recently, since the mid-2000s up to now the term ‘multicultural’ or ‘multicultural families’ indicating female marriage migrants and their families has paired with North Korean defectors in some cases, but not always. For example, one of public broadcasting companies, MBC, aired a TV show titled as ‘Multicultural, Hope Project: We are Korean (*damunhwa huimang peulojegteu: ulineun hangugin*)’ (from 2010 to 2014) and its cast included multicultural families and North Korean defectors. However, there seems to be few clear rationalities determining the relationship between North Korean defectors and multicultural families, other than perhaps their status as outsiders to various degrees.

According to legal definitions, North Korean defectors and multicultural families are two distinct minority groups. The North Korean Refugees Protection and Settlement Support Act defines ‘North Korean defectors’ as ‘Persons who have their residence, lineal ascendants and descendants, spouse, workplaces, etc. in the area north of the Military Demarcation Line and have not acquired any foreign nationality after escaping from North Korea.’⁷³ In the case of multicultural families, a legal definition is either a family comprised of immigrants by marriage and persons who have acquired nationality of South Korea or a family comprised of a person who has acquired nationality of the Republic of Korea (by acknowledgement) and a person who has acquired nationality of the Republic of Korea (by birth) (Multicultural Families Support Act §2 (1)). Shortly, families comprised of a marriage migrant or naturalized South Korean and a person who has acquired South Korean nationality by birth or by naturalization are called

⁷³ It is noteworthy that the colloquial term ‘North Korea (*bughan*)’ is used in the Act, instead of the official name ‘Democratic People’s Republic of Korea’. For the government of South Korea, using the official name ‘Democratic People’s Republic of Korea’ would amount to recognizing North Korea as a sovereign country and contravening the Constitution of South Korea.

multicultural families. Therefore, between the two minority groups, North Korean defectors and multicultural families, legally there is no common ground.

While the two minority groups are legally distinct, a variety of administrative practices render North Korean defectors and their children de facto multicultural families in some situations. In the Ministry of Health and Welfare and the Ministry of Education, for instance, defectors fall into the subcategory of multicultural families (MoEaHRD, 2006; MoHaW, 2019). Similarly, the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, which is in charge of the Multicultural Families Support Act, has claimed that North Korean defectors are a part of the multicultural (-al) in South Korea (T.-H. Kang, 2015). Although the Ministry of Unification which is in charge of the administration of the defectors, proclaims that North Korean defectors are not multicultural families but one people with South Koreans (T.-H. Kang, 2015), the Ministry, too, pairs the defectors and multicultural families together in areas where there are events needing cooperation with the private sector, such as visiting the demilitarized zone (DMZ) or the War Memorial of Korea, and participating in camps for education about the unification of Korea. Therefore, as of now, the two groups, multicultural families and North Korean defectors, are defined to be legally different, but, in practice, they are treated as one single category when it is deemed necessary.

On the other hand, the relationship between North Korean defectors and South Korean citizens also stands in limbo due to the unstable nature of the relationship between the North and South Korea. In opinion polls, for example, less than 5% of South Korean respondents saw North Koreans as ethnically distinct (J.-H. Park, 2018, p. 4) regardless of whether the same ethnicity is considered a main reason of the unification or not.⁷⁴ It would be because, since the

⁷⁴ As a justification of the unification, the ethnic homogeneity is chosen by 26.9% in 20s, 24.2% in 30s, 29.5% in 40s, 28.1% in 50s, and 48.6% in 60s and higher (J.-H. Park, 2018, p. 4).

territorial division in 1945, although nationalisms in the two Koreas have developed in mutually exclusive manners, the two Koreas have played the ‘zero sum game’ (Koh, 2015, p. 3). Namely, both nationalisms are centred around the Korean ethnic identity in order to attempt to absorb one another. The two Korean relationship is described as a ‘Siamese twins’ (Bille, 2016; Selig, 2003; Seo, 2016) relation considering each other as one half of an immaculate Korean nation and fatherland. On the other hand, it is also undeniable that the sense of the ethnic homogeneity has gradually grown weaker and more diluted in South Korea, particularly among the younger generations (Campbell, 2016; Steven, 2015); the concept of nouveau-riche nationalism is useful for understanding this phenomenon. Those ambiguous understandings are likely owing to the institutionally and epistemologically unfixed relationship between North and South Korea, and it continues to today. In 2018, surrounding the political issue of the signing of the 4.27 *Panmunjom* Declaration by South Korean president Moon Jae-In and North Korean Chairman of the State Affairs Commission Kim Jong-Un, the conservative party in South Korea raised the question of whether or not North Korea was an independent state. Kim Ui-Kyom, a spokesman for the current South Korean President Moon, responded by stating that the issue of how to define North Korea is not only legally complicated but also unproductive (Y.-I. Han, 2018). Jo Kook, a senior secretary for civil affairs for President Moon, emphasized the ‘special relationship (not relations between nations, but special relations established temporarily in the course of pursuing unification),’ by citing Article (3) in the Development of Inter-Korean Relations Act (Y.-I. Han, 2018).⁷⁵ Furthermore, Kim Min-Jeun, a political science professor at

⁷⁵ The relationship was codified in March 2006 in the Development Inter-Korean Relations Act. Article (3) ‘Inter-Korean Relations’ of the Act is composed of 1. Inter-Korean relations ‘are not relations between nations’, but ‘special relations’ established temporarily in the course of pursuing unification and 2. Inter-Korean trade shall not be regarded as international trade, but as intranational trade. This demonstrates that the Sunshine Policy is considered an interim measure regarding each other as respectively independent entities until the unification is accomplished.

Kyonghee University said that whether North Korea is a state or not is a never-ending topic (Seong, 2018). Therefore, controversies around how to define the defectors are likely to continue.

Table 2. Transformations of North Korean Defectors' Names, Relevant Acts, and Government Departments in Charge

Year	Name	Definition	Act	Ministry
since 1962	<i>Guisoon ja</i> (or <i>Guisoon Yong Sa</i>)	A person (or warrior) who was an enemy but who voluntarily returns to and submissively obeys South Korea	The Act on the Special Protection and Support of <i>Guisoon ja</i> and Persons of Distinguished Services to the State (1962) The Special Compensation Law for the <i>Guisoon Yong Sa</i> (1979)	Ministry of Patriots and Veterans Affairs
1993-1997	<i>Guisoon</i> Compatriots	Compatriot who was an enemy but who voluntarily returns to and submissively obeys South Korea	The Act on the Protection of <i>Guisoon</i> Compatriots (1993)	Ministry of Health and Social Affairs
1997	<i>Bukhan ital jumin</i>	Resident escaping from North Korea	The <i>Bukhanitaljumin</i> Protection and Settlement Support Act (In English, the Act is introduced as the North Korean Refugee Protection and Settlement Support Act)	Ministry of Unification
2005~	<i>Saeteomin</i>	People seeking a new land		
The mid-2000s~	Multicultural families	Roughly indicating non-South Korean residents		

*Referred from (Seung-Hyun Lee, 2013) and revised.

To sum up, currently, defectors find themselves located at a conceptual crossroads, where they can be considered multicultural families and/or South Koreans. This crossroads reveals how the defectors have been considered from a South Korean-centered perspective and how the notion of culture within multiculturalism discourse plays a role in making sense of the differences of others relative to South Koreans. Indeed, migrants who are not firmly recognized as South Korean citizens but whose long-term residence is recognized as inevitable generally

invoke the term ‘culture’ in South Korea.⁷⁶ As such, even though the South Korean government enthusiastically welcomed the defectors in the past as a means of propagating anti-communism across South Korean society, North Korean defectors today are likely to be located between South Koreans and (foreign) migrants, who are subjects of multiculturalism. Nevertheless, this is the result of a South Korean- centered perspective on the defectors, and, as such, it does not sufficiently address their actual sense of belonging to South Korea or the rationalities which are mobilized to support this. Thus, it is necessary to understand who the defectors actually are by focusing on the defectors’ motives for choosing South Korea.

4-2-3 North Korean Defectors in the 21st Century

Although the legal status of North Korean citizens remains unchanged in South Korea, the motives which drive them to defect have diversified. Most experts agree that, prior to the 1990s, when the number of defectors was small, North Koreans defected mainly for political reasons, and, since the 1990s, their motivations have been mainly economic (M.-S. Jang & Lee, 2009). As such, in practice, they have come to be unofficially regarded as a group of migrant workers in South Korea (W. Jeon et al., 2011, p. 220). Ji-Won, a North Korean defector states that, since the 2000s, the popularity of South Korean dramas or pop songs has helped to stimulate North Koreans’ curiosity about South Korea,⁷⁷ leading younger generations to defect (interview, May 18, 2018). Most recently, defectors’ motives have also included the desire to expose their children to a globalized education or to shirk the responsibilities associated with

⁷⁶ The term ‘culture’ scarcely appears associated with migrant workers, however. This suggests that, among migrants, they are excluded from multiculturalism discourse in South Korea. I discuss this in Chapter 6.

⁷⁷ In the 2000s, the most available method to enjoy South Korean pop culture was compact disks smuggled through China. In the 2010s, USB substituted for compact disks.

problems relating to their businesses (Hyun-Ja Kim, 2018; Y.-J. Lee, 2018; E.-M. Shin, 2015).⁷⁸ Soo-Young, another North Korean defector interviewee, added that North Korean defectors' dissatisfaction or maladjustment in South Korea has been growing, keeping pace with these changing reasons for North Koreans' defection (interview, May 4, 2018). Despite some criticism generally highlighting human rights violations faced by the defectors in North Korea, the shift from political reasons to economic reasons and again to reasons of social and emotional well-being as motives of North Korean defectors is considered common (K. Jung & Choi, 2018).

The recent trend of increasing female's participation among the defectors' influx is interpreted as part of the feminization of migration, a global phenomenon which involves a rise in the proportion of female migrants worldwide (H.-Y. Lee, 2012). Since 2002, female North Korean defectors have constituted more than half of defectors, reaching 78% of the entire defector population (female: 1981, male: 573) in 2007, and 86% of the population (female: 969, male: 168) in 2018 (KOSIS, 2018b). One noticeable trend in the rise in female defectors is the skyrocketing number of female defectors who are in their 20s and 30s accounting for 70% of the annual influx of defectors (KOSIS, 2018a). This phenomenon is explained by North Korea's economic situation since the 2000s. Compared to male North Koreans who have official jobs which are generally regulated by the North Korean government, females are informal but essential breadwinners, taking part in economic activities within the 'unlegal (*bi-beob*)' grey zone (Y.-J. Park et al., 2018, p. 127). Therefore, female North Koreans have more motives to

⁷⁸ Reasons of North Koreans' defecting from North Korea have been practically diverse, however, they are still officially and legally lumped into together as North Korean defectors because legal migration from North Korea to South Korea is impossible. In other words, due to unfixed relationship between North and South Korea, the entire defectors are, regardless of what made them defected from North Korea, considered indiscriminate and different from other migrants.

cross the border between North Korea and China, and North Korea is implicitly allowing economic activities such as serving as pedlars near the border (S.-J. Park, 2014).⁷⁹

Likewise, the characteristics of the defectors have changed in the 21st century. Thus, it is worth asking: As a net migrant-receiving country, is South Korean society cognitively ready to accept the defectors as migrants who have various motivations for moving to South Korea? Or is the society still stuck in its memories of the Cold War? In what follows, I analyze how unresolved desires of 20th century South Korea, such as, the conservative force' desire to build a unified Korea by eradicating North Korea, are reflected in the current expectations placed on North Korean defectors. I also consider the possible side-effects caused by the mismatch between said expectations and the defectors' real identities.

4-3 Criteria for the Inclusions of North Korean Defectors

4-3-1 Political Modes of Inclusion: Vocal Actors

4-3-1-1 Victims of Human Rights Violation?

One of the political rationalities that the liberal government upholds in its policies concerned with North Korea is the principle of non-interference, which helps to define the defectors as quasi-foreigners when they are outside of the Korean peninsula. This principle was introduced during the Kim Dae-Jung liberal government (1998-2002) and formed part of the Sunshine Policy, along with non-denunciation and non-criticism (Haggard, 2012). The Sunshine Policy's principles are influenced by a Habermasian perspective, which queries all that has circulated as unquestionably normal and agrees to disagree about what constitutes normality in a certain society (Jürgen Habermas, 1982, p. 231). The theoretical foundation for the Sunshine

⁷⁹ Soo-Young said that the many cases of the frequent border crossings to serve as pedlars are overlooked by North Korean guards patrolling the border (interview, May 4, 2018).

Policy was developed by key figures who were similarly influenced by the immanent critiques of Habermas (1987); these figures included the Minister of Unification and others who simultaneously held important posts in the liberal government (Moon Cheong-In, Jeong Sae-Hyun, and Lee Jong-Seok) and Song Du-Yul, a disciple of Habermas, as well contributed to the process to produce the policy. Therefore, instead of adopting a transcendent standard such as human right-based approach (S.-S. Park, 2015), the liberal and progressive forces try to contextualize North Korean defectors' issue and pursue Korean peninsularization through understanding the singularity of the two Koreas in relationship with one another (J.-S. Kim, 2007). In September 2000, as a manifestation of the non-interference principle, 63 long-term communist prisoners who were spies sent to the South were repatriated to the North by the Kim Dae-Jung liberal government (J.-M. Park, 2013). In the same vein, in an interview with the BBC on October 24th, 2000, President Kim Dae-Jung declared that releasing North Korean people from the threat of starvation and fear of war would significantly improve their human rights (as opposed to engaging in direct interference with their human rights issues) (Y.-M. Choi, 2000). According to this perspective, when it comes to the defectors residing outside South Korea, liberals and progressives upholding a principle of non-interference do not consider defectors to be South Korean citizens out of respect for North Korea sovereignty. Instead, they temporarily consider the defectors to be quasi-foreigners who are immune to South Korean sovereign power.

However, in domestic politics, and particularly when the North and South relationship is strained, the principle of non-interference has given conservative force ammunition with which to claim that universal human rights are viciously ignored by liberal and progressive forces. The conservatives often cite the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to reinforce their stance

when they bring up the human rights issue related to North Korea.⁸⁰ Their contention is that North Korean defectors are political refugees running away from the brutal human rights violations of an anti-government organization (understood as the North Korean government) (H. Shin & Lee, 2018).⁸¹ Since, from the conservatives' perspective, regardless of whether the defectors are inside or outside of South Korea, they are South Korean citizens who are entitled to be protected by the South Korean government. Furthermore, the conservatives continuously presume the conventional approach towards North Korea, and they expect that when the North Korean government collapses, the defectors will govern the Northern area of Korea (UFAaTC, 2005a, p. 50). The conservative President Lee Myung-Bak (2008-2012)'s presidential transition team tried to abolish the Ministry of Unification during the process of reshuffling his cabinet⁸² and the President kept domestically and internationally declaring throughout his tenure that South Korea would seek the universal values of mankind and break away from passive approaches towards North Korea on human rights issues.⁸³ The next conservative President Park Geun-Hye (2013-2016) followed the same route. In the meantime, the liberals and progressives could not do anything but vote against the conservatives' actions or just give up the vote on

⁸⁰ However, the conservative force' humanitarian approach towards North Korea is not consistent. For instance, when people in the North have suffered from natural disasters, such as flooding, the liberal and leftist parties have proposed resolutions to help North Korea and to send humanitarian aid. However, conservative members of the National Assembly have opposed the adoption of such resolutions, arguing that the aid may be handed to the North Korean military (NAPS, 2016). Likewise, the conservative force brings up human rights mainly against the North Korean government.

⁸¹ However, according to the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, North Korean defectors are not considered political refugees because since the end of the Great Famine in 1998, the North Korean government has not treated its defectors as political prisoners taking their economic difficulties into consideration (G.-S. Kim, 2004).

⁸² There were two Ministries which were almost abolished by the presidential transition team, the Ministry of Unification and the Ministry of Gender Equality (G.-S. Kim, 2008), which had been established by the liberal president Kim Dae-Jung. These attempts in the end foundered due to outcries from liberal and progressive parties and NGOs.

⁸³ President Lee Myung-Bak urged international intervention to the human rights of North Korea, in 2008, as a representative of South Korea on the United Nations Human Rights Council, and, in 2011, as a keynote speaker at the 66th UN General Assembly.

issues related to North Korean defectors outside of South Korea. This is because they considered maintaining an open dialogue with North Korea to be a top priority, since it is considered a fundamental way to resolve disputes relating to the Korean peninsula, including human rights issues in North Korea. For example, in 2011, the conservative party tried to pass the Resolution on Overseas North Korean Defectors' Human Rights in the National Assembly, and, in 2013, it proposed revisions to the North Korean Refugees Protection and Settlement Support Act in order to legally expand the scope of the definition of defectors. Although the liberal and progressive members of the National Assembly opposed the proposition or abstained from voting on it, over time, they were unable to prevent the expansion of the legal definition of defectors due to the increasing number of children born outside of North Korea.⁸⁴

In reality, this human rights-based approach, which addresses North Korean defectors as victims who, without exception, have fled to South Korea, is reminiscent of how Western liberal countries used to regard inhabitants of Communist bloc countries as 'captive people' (Whistaker, 1998). Such imagery had served as an effective ideological tool for propaganda, and for this reason, the human rights-based approach towards North Korean defectors also needs to be questioned. This approach would conceal the various identities of the defectors and the reality that their human rights could be violated in South Korea. Soo-Young, a North Korean defector interviewed for this study, considered herself to be a North Korean citizen because she involuntarily gained South Korean citizenship through forced conversion by the South Korean National Intelligence Service (NIS: known to do the conservatives' bidding) (interview, May 4, 2018). When she was temporarily working in China in 2011 to earn money for her medical

⁸⁴ Prior to its revision in 2017, the North Korean Refugee Protection and Settlement Support Act stipulated that only North Korean children born in North Korea were eligible for South Korean government support.

treatment, she was deceived and kidnapped by the human traffickers who disguise themselves as brokers.⁸⁵⁸⁶ Since then, she has ceaselessly been requesting the South Korean government repatriate her to North Korea. She has been trying to gain international support for her case, as an issue of human rights violations on the part of South Korea. Her case offers clear evidence that North Korean defectors' identity can be distinct from what South Korean conservatives have assumed.

Besides, with the conservatives' human rights-based approach and the liberal and progressives' non-interference principle, there are North Korean defectors whose identities have fallen somewhere in between these two camps. Ji-Won, a defector who migrated due to economic difficulties and holds South Korean citizenship, described his identity as a citizen of the future united Korea instead of belonging to either current North or South Korea (interview, May 5, 2018). He said it was pity that some North Korean defectors support the conservative force in exchange for pay. He also expressed concerns about a possible souring of the relationships between those conservative-backing defectors and other ordinary defectors, as well as between South Koreans and North Korean defectors, since South Koreans' views of North Korea could deteriorate as a result of these actions (interview, May 5, 2018).⁸⁷

More specifically, when North Korean defectors express identities that do not match South Koreans' typical expectations, their human rights would not be protected by anyone,

⁸⁵ The brokers who render the defectors' entry to South Korea possible are generally composed of North Korean defectors who have already received South Korean citizenship, South Korean Christianity missionary groups, or human rights NGOs. They are suspected to be abetted by or at least connected to the South Korean NIS (C.-H. Cho, 2007).

⁸⁶ The brokers cheated her by saying that she could earn money more quickly in South Korea and return to North Korea after her medical treatment. Nevertheless, when she migrated to South Korea with the help of brokers, she found out that she was not able to go back to North Korea. In her case, the brokers were in fact human traffickers.

⁸⁷ I asked him whether he thought that South Korean liberal and progressive forces should engage more in issues relevant to North Korean defectors. He answered that the liberal and progressive forces would not be able to take action on those matters if they wanted to maintain the relationship with North Korea; it is sad though inevitable.

regardless of the position they occupy on the political spectrum. Namely, South Korean liberals and progressives are not fully ready to deal with the defectors' various identities as well.

Currently, Soo-Young has received supports from South Korean religious groups and some progressive activist NGOs, including groups deemed illegal by the National Security Law (interview, May 4, 2018). However, before her CNN interview in 2015, Soo-Young's efforts to look for help had largely failed. She contacted several South Korean NGOs, but conservative organizations did not trust her and assumed that she was mentally ill. Progressive organizations suspected that she was a spy sent by the NIS.⁸⁸ Progressive organizations also worried that if they were seen to be on her side, the South Korean public would misjudge them as pro-North Korean organizations, which are illegal in South Korea. In other words, Soo-Young's identity as a North Korean citizen is too risky to be accepted in South Korea. Hence, the neglect of her human rights had caused so much suffering that she had tried to commit suicide several times.⁸⁹ The reason why she had an interview with CNN, instead of South Korean media, was that no domestic media outlet was willing to deal with her case at the time, as they considered it a political risk that they would be falsely accused of being pro-North Korea. Actually, some supporters (including pastors) helping her were investigated by the NIS for violation of the National Security Law and detained (Seung-Hyun Lee, 2015).

⁸⁸ Due to the Article (8) of the National Security Act which can imprison for 'not more than 10 years' 'any person who makes contact with a member of an anti-government organization or a person who has received an order from it, by means of a meeting, correspondence or other method ...', the progressive NGOs doubted Soo-Young whose identity is a North Korean and hope is going back to North Korea as a bait manipulated by the NIS to enmesh the NGOs' activities or activists in difficulties.

⁸⁹ In the National Assembly, her case was discussed, and the liberal members emphasized that she was not a spy but a victim of human trafficking who should be sent to her family in the North (FAaUC, 2015b). However, because South Korea has no legal basis for the repatriation of defectors, her chances of repatriation appear to be limited despite having support from the Lawyers for a Democratic Society, one of the most progressive organizations in South Korea.

While diversities among North Korean defectors have been ignored, there have been cases that North Korean defectors had been ‘produced’ (as the interviewee Ji-Won emphasized) by cooperation of the South Korean National Intelligence Service (NIS) and the news media, particularly at some politically critical junctures. Mainstream media effectively releases news about North Korean defectors in order to realign themselves with the conservatives but when the defector cases were revealed as false or fabricated, few media outlets issued corrections (C.-I. Kim, 2019). This repetitive process has likely escalated misunderstandings about North Korean defectors and contributed to deepening the demonization of North Korea. In this process, the universal virtues of human rights have been effectively used as a veil to cover up cases of fabricated defectors (Ji-Won, interview, May 5, 2018; Ryall, 2018). In a recent instance, on April 8, 2016, a high-profile news outlet reported a mass defection of North Korean restaurant workers, drawing South Koreans’ attention to the matter just five days ahead of the 2016 general election in South Korea. However, later on, some waitresses publicly demanded their repatriation to North Korea because the South Korean NIS had kidnapped them (Hancocks, Kim, & Seo, 2018; O’conner, 2018). In 2019, international lawyers belonging to International Association of Democratic Lawyers and the Confederation of Lawyers of Asia and the Pacific called the waitresses’ defection an abduction and recommended that the South Korean government send them back to the North (Choe, 2017; Ji, 2019). There are other multiple defectors who, for reasons similar to those of Soo-Young and other fabricated defectors, have either publicly protested their unmet need for repatriation to North Korea or have been privately looking for ways to go back to North Korea (Carney, 2017; Hass, 2018).

Consequently, although South Korean conservative force has put North Koreans' human rights at the forefront of their international and domestic discourse, in reality, regarding all defectors as political refugees and victims of only North Korean human rights violations carries a risk of neglecting breaches of their human rights in South Korea. At the same time, when prevention of the human traffickers' 'business' (C.-H. Cho, 2007) connecting with the NIS is not perfect, the non-interference principle which liberals and progressives have hold turns to be useless to protect the defectors' human rights from violation inside and outside of South Korea. Furthermore, when North Korean defectors' identities do not match South Koreans' stereotypes that have been formed since the division of Korea, those defectors are thoroughly ostracized from both the right and left political wings in South Korea. In other words, not only do they receive scant public attention, but their identities are also denied in South Korea, a place where they expect to find a Korean brotherhood and a homeland based on ethnic nationalism.

4-3-1-2 Subjects Dedicated to the Liberal Democracy⁹⁰

The conservatives place great emphasis on the concept of 'liberal democracy' as a South Korean national identity because it is almost synonymous with anti-communism in South Korea (D.-C. Kim, 2018). During their first re-socialization process, North Korean defectors do not have opportunities to experience diverse perspectives because they are quarantined in government institutions which generally reflect this conservative standpoint. For the first phase in South Korea, the defectors are conjunctionally interrogated by the NIS and the National Police Agency. During this phase, the defectors have to be closely scrutinized and judged whether they

⁹⁰ The term 'liberal' in 'liberal democracy' has evolved as a politically symbolic term which has been used as an ammunition against socialism or communism recalling the North Korean regime.

are North Korean defectors, North Korean spies, or Korean-Chinese who covet the government aid to defectors (S.-J. Choi, 2012). This process appears sensible given the reality that both Koreas are still technically at war. However, while in the investigation center, which is notoriously known as the ‘South Korean Guantanamo’ (S.-S. Kim, 2014), the defectors are in danger of being held in solitary confinement without access to a lawyers during the entire investigation process, which can take anywhere from 2 to 6 months. According to a survey of their experiences while under investigation, 43% of respondents said that they felt fearful of the words and actions of the NIS officers; 23% said that they experienced being ignored and talked down to; 17% reported being verbally abused, and; 1% said that they were physically assaulted (S.-S. Kim, 2014).⁹¹ Thus, the coercive investigation of the defectors, who do not know the South Korean social system or their proper rights in South Korea, including their right to access lawyers, renders defectors obedient to the NIS officers. It is clearly dissimilar from the process that the East Germans faced when allowed to settle down in West Germany, having to go through only a few days of administrative processes (Jae-Hoon Lee, 2010). At the same time, the private sector in West Germany was charged with assisting in the East Germans’ resocialization (Jae-Hoon Lee, 2010).

After this investigation, the defectors are sent to the North Korean Refugee Protection Center, where regulation and surveillance continues. Some the defectors liken the center to a

⁹¹ There are some cases of defectors who have committed or attempted suicide in the investigation center (S.-S. Kim, 2014). In an interview, one defector who had attempted suicide in the center reported that he had been forced into solitary confinement for a month because he would not falsely confess that he was a spy (S.-S. Kim, 2014). Likewise, although the NIS as a security apparatus appears necessary in South Korea, the NIS has been seriously criticized for forming a cartel of conservative political power which dismantles democracy (I.-H. Kim, 2013) through electoral intervention and the fabrication of North Korean defector and spy cases. Therefore, the liberal and progressive political forces have continuously advocated for the withdrawal of the NIS’s authority for domestic investigation. In the last ten years (2008-2018), it is the police, not the NIS, which has caught 71% of the criminal cases relating to public security (E.-R. Seo, 2017).

prison (Jae-Hoon Lee, 2010). Here the defectors must undergo a process called ‘social adjustment training’ including classes about South Korean society, democracy, and capitalism. In the center, their lives are strictly regulated. Use of the internet and cellphone is regulated under the name of protecting the defectors from North Korean spies. The defectors wear a uniform, and, even if they defected with family members, they are separated on the basis of gender in the center. Some defectors who have their relatives in South Korea are only allowed to meet them at the appointed time. After completing the program in the center (it takes three months or longer), the defectors are released to the society.⁹² However, they are continuously protected by local policemen for five years or longer for safe settlement and integration in South Korean society (Lee, 2010). From the defectors’ point of view, the police officers’ protection is often considered to be surveillance (Y.-B. Cho, 2016). Without hesitation, Soo-Young offered her opinion about how the policemen’s protection hinders the defectors’ capacity to socialize with diverse people.

“What kind of employers are willing to hire those defectors who are always under the surveillance of the police? It must be very uncomfortable to have policemen incessantly going in and out of their workplace. Furthermore, South Korean people are reluctant to communicate with me. So, the defectors end up becoming isolated. That’s why I had difficulties asking for help from progressive NGOs for a long time (interview, May 4, 2018).”

Before her entry to South Korea, Soo-Young was not aware of all these processes such as scrutinization, trainings, and surveillances.

⁹² The defectors must spend a minimum of five months in quarantine (this entire process can last nearly one year) in the investigation center and the North Korean Refugee Protection Center.

Meanwhile, South Korean conservative groups and U.S. NGOs working on North Korean human rights issues have provided various supports to North Korean defectors (L.-I. Jeong, 2012; Kwak, 2016), which actually have the effect of socially isolating defectors. The supports include financial supports serve as compensation for defectors who take anti-communist or pro-American stances (L.-I. Jeong, 2012). Some of the supports are designed to encourage the defectors to establish NGOs which denounce human rights issues in North Korea or aim to destabilize the North Korean government (L.-I. Jeong, 2012). However, those radical movements by the defectors' NGOs actually arouse antipathy against the defectors in South Korean society. In the end, such supports estrange them from South Korean liberals, progressives, and other North Korean defectors who do not support those movements. Ji-Won gave an example of one acquaintance, Ji Seung-Ho,⁹³ a North Korean defector who was praised by US President Donald Trump's 2018 State of Union address:

“He was a pure-hearted friend. But since he was supported by the conservative side to build an NGO working for human rights issue in North Korea, he became an iconic defector. Probably his physical disability made him stand out. But, unfortunately, our relationship (Ji and other defectors) was falling apart (interview, May 5, 2018).”

During the two conservative governments in South Korea (2008-2016), the mobilization of defectors' groups became more obvious. The NK Intellectuals Solidarity, a Seoul-based NGO that considers itself a think tank comprised of intellectuals who are North Korea defectors, was allegedly mobilized to manipulate South Korean media by circulating false news online for the sake of conservative force' political profits (I.-S. Hwang, 2013). Meanwhile, in the case of the

⁹³ Ji Seung-Ho was recommended by the conservative party and elected as a proportional, representative member of the National Assembly in the 2020 general election.

North Korean defectors who are uneducated to assail the North Korean government, they have been called into for political rallies advocating the ultra-conservatives' voices (S.-H. Kim, 2016). They have engaged in those political rallies in return for money or goods worth 20~30 thousand won (around \$22~34 CAD). The hosts of the demonstrations make the defectors hold the South Korean flag, the American flag, and occasionally the Israeli flag as symbols of Christianity (as it is understood by South Korean conservatives), foretelling the emergence of a Christian far-right in South Korea (W. Yi, 2017). Their participation in these rallies as a part-time job has become an object of ridicule in the South Korean society. One of my interviewees, Ho-Chan, who is a South Korean NGO activist devoting himself to the defectors' education, bemoaned that North Korean defectors have been re-socialized in South Korea as a 'stupid crowd (*umaehan salamdeul*)' by the conservative force (interview, June 18, 2018).

To sum up, upon arrival in South Korea, North Korean defectors are systemically re-socialized as loyal subjects of a liberal democracy which, in the South Korean context, is synonymous with an anti-communist society (D.-C. Kim, 2018). This re-socializing process supports several scholarly insights into modern citizenship. According to Hindess (2000), citizenship plays a role in dividing the world's populations: People who reside in a particular state territory are protected while discrimination against others who do not belong to any state is justified. In addition, there is a teleological discourse of citizenship which acts as a technology of population management by promising the isolated people the possibility of becoming citizens as long as they behave docilely (Hindess, 2000, p. 102). Foucault's analysis of neoliberalism as a form of government rationality (instead of as an ideological rhetoric) also appears to support this viewpoint (Lemke, 2016). Foucault suggests that neoliberalism renders people self-regulated. Consequently, people voluntarily develop into docile bodies. In much the same manner, North

Korean defectors learn that their validation as exemplary South Korean citizens is conditional upon their willingness or capacity to align with conservative expectations of them. Therefore, the defectors' already passive attitude toward social participation because of divergent cultural values⁹⁴ is exacerbated. Therefore, it is not surprising that, Cho Myung-Chul, the first North Korean defector who became a National Assembly member, was a conservative party member who pledged strong allegiance to the party.⁹⁵

4-3-1-3 Latent Adversaries

As an extant legacy of the South Korean dictatorship, anti-communism practically and ceaselessly controls North Korean defectors' lives in South Korea. In the anti-communist atmosphere, North Korea is not a dialogue partner at all, but rather an enemy which could arbitrarily attack South Korea. Defectors are therefore often blamed for their North Korean origin, particularly when tensions between the two Koreas escalate. As a result, defectors feel pressure to censor their own words and actions, and some display strong feelings of hostility towards North Korea in public to avoid uncomfortable situations in South Korea. Soo-Young (the defectors interviewee cited before) said that her friend, another defector, was sentenced to six-months imprisonment because the defector told one of her South Korean colleagues that the neighbors were warm-hearted in her North Korean hometown (interview, May 4, 2018). The South Korean colleague reported the defector to the police and the defector's remark was judged

⁹⁴ Defectors are often shocked and frustrated about the culture or social atmosphere which allows the South Korean public to publicly criticize politicians, including the president (Hwa-Soon Kim, 2018). When President Park Geun-Hye was impeached in March 2017, the defectors felt that South Korean citizens were too aggressive. According to a survey, 62.1% of North Korean defectors think that South Korean citizens need stronger law and order to regulate them instead of more rights for the people (J.-J. Lee, 2018).

⁹⁵ In 2013, Cho proposed a bill to extend defectors' period of police officer protection from 5 years to 8 years. The bill failed to pass due to opposition, however.

in court as a praise for an anti-government organization (North Korea) by the National Security Law.⁹⁶ This Law as a powerful technology was created in 1948 under the pretext of seeking out spies from North Korea. It was arbitrarily abused by the dictatorship to crack down on pro-democracy movements, and it was used to give the death penalty to the pro-democracy activists. Although the influence of this Law has waned, its continued existence has made the South Korean people have doubts about North Korean defectors, which puts the defectors in a defensive corner. Ji-Won said that, while being called a ‘commie’ might be a prank to South Koreans, it is feared by defectors (interview, May 5, 2018). This atmosphere implicitly and continuously forces the defectors to prove themselves capable of meeting the expectations of South Korean society.

Producing false cases of espionage serves as another technology which is used to control North Korean defectors and score political points for conservative force. This technique abuses the defectors’ insecure status in South Korea whenever there is a political need for a heightened sense of national security. During election periods, for instance, the South Korean NIS has been known to produce fake spies in the same manner that it has produced fake defectors (H.-Y. Choi, 2016), that is, by working together with the conservative media to disseminate reports at politically critical junctures. In order to prepare evidence for those spy cases, the NIS has directly threatened (or bribed) targeted defectors or the acquaintances of the targeted ones to make them give false testimony (Y.-M. Kim, 2015; Heo, 2014b). Thus, such techniques not only

⁹⁶ According to the Article (7) of the National Security Law, anyone who gives pro-North Korean opinions or impressions ‘shall be punished with imprisonment for not more than 7 years.’ Article (8) also stipulates that people who communicate in any methods with the people who fall under Article (7) shall be imprisoned even longer, but not more than ten years. In 2015, during conservative president Park Geun-Hye’s tenure (2013-2016), a National Assembly member from the progressive party (*tonghab jinbo dang*), Lee Seok-Ki, was indicted under this law and given a nine-year sentence (Choe, 2015). Today, he is still serving his sentence, and his political party has since been dissolved by the Park Geun-Hye conservative government, a first in the constitutional history in South Korea.

drive a wedge between the defectors and the South Korean public, but also among defectors in South Korea.

Consequently, conservative force, who collaborate closely with the NIS and conservative media, have regarded North Korean defectors as highly useful political beings throughout South Korean modern history, and, in the 21st century, defectors continue to live in a South Korea that is trapped by the vestiges of the Cold War. In other words, both the ideological interpretation of refugee criteria and the Cold War imagery of desirable refugees (Whistaker, 1998) influence South Korean society today. Furthermore, given that this configuration of political powers has continued since the territorial division, it looks difficult for the defectors to find a breakthrough on their own because of the technically ongoing war and existing tensions. Since the defectors are by default perceived as being connected to North Korea, situating themselves into the ultra-right wing in South Korea becomes the safest surviving strategy.

4-3-2 Social Modes of Inclusion: An Assemblage of Reminiscence

4-3-2-1 Not Migrants, But Blood Relations

Policy makers are divided in their opinions on North Korean defectors who reside outside of South Korea; debates about whether the defectors are South Koreans or foreigners are highly scripted according to the policy makers' political orientations. This is not the case for defectors who reside in South Korea, however. Almost all policy makers treat defectors residing inside South Korea as special beings who fit outside the categories of migrants or welfare recipients. In the Unification, Foreign Affairs and Trade Committee held in September 2006, Choi Jae-Cheon, a National Assembly member from the liberal party worried that if the government cared less about the defectors' social adaptation, "North Korean defectors [residing in South Korea] would turn into migrants" (UFAaTC, 2006a, p. 31). In the government inspection in October 2015, a

conservative National Assembly member, Kim Young-Wo stated that “North Korean defectors are not simply subject to the welfare policy, but they are also [a symbol of] the unification in advance” (FAaUC, 2015b, p. 12), which is a rhetorical expression describing the defectors. These two typical remarks illustrate systemic thoughts behind how North Korean defectors are considered special beings who deserve more attention than other migrants. Although the defectors are social minorities who have been aided by the South Korean government, discourse about the defectors who reside in South Korea is overwhelmingly imbued with an attachment to Korean ethnicity. Regardless of their ideological inclinations, policy makers’ perceptions of North Korean defectors are similar.⁹⁷ Markus Bell (2019) observed this aspect and argued that Korean ethnic makes the defectors ‘acceptable refugees’ unlike the Yemeni refugee to South Korea.⁹⁸

Nevertheless, the special treatment to North Korean defectors would cause unexpected troubles even if the treatment is the outcome of the South Korean government’s intention to be more inclusive. As an attempt to embrace the North Korean defectors as members of the South Korean society, in 2005, the Ministry of Unification under the Roh Moo-Hyun liberal government suggested a new name be used to refer to the defectors: *Saeteomin*, meaning ‘people for a new land.’ The new term was the finalist in a contest hosted by the Ministry of Unification to remove the negative impressions and political discomfort which previous terms, such as *guisoon ja*, are likely to connote (enemy people who submit or obey without defying). Nevertheless, this new name was criticized for having been selected without meaningful

⁹⁷ A symbolic leftist politician, Roh Hoe-Chan, as well described North Korean defectors as ‘[a symbol of] our future we have met in advance’ (H.-C. Roh, 2018).

⁹⁸ In 2018, South Korean society went into an uproar when 560 Yemeni refugees arrived in the country. The New York Times criticized the social response for exposing South Koreans’ ‘Trump-ian overtones’ (B. Seo, 2018).

consultation with North Korean defectors (Hyun-Joo Lee, 2005). As a result, some North Korean defectors plainly voiced their opposition to the new name,⁹⁹ arguing that it ambiguously represented their identity and made them sound like second-class citizens who were not the same as South Koreans (S.-W. Park, 2007). Consequently, by the end of 2008, the Ministry of Unification recommended that the name *Saeteomin* not be used (G.-W. Lee, 2012). Nevertheless, the same attempt to change the naming of defectors occurred again. In 2017, the Seoul City Government made another attempt to look for a name for the defectors with the same rationales and ‘resident having a new dream (*Saekkum jumin*)’ was decided as a new name. However, this attempt ended without official announcement of the contest winner because a rejection of the new name was expected (J.-H. Ha, 2017; S.-G. Hwang, 2017). These kinds of repetitive government blunders demonstrate how technologies devised according to the South Korean centered perspective can wander off point and backfire.

There are two points about the defectors’ re-naming process which are worthy of further discussion. First, this tendency to re-name seems to reflect how South Korea’s experience of the Cold War has influenced its collective mentality. Naming is political (Butler, 1997; Parkin, 1988). Hence, changing the names of objects after political upheavals or memorizing historical events is commonplace in other societies as well. For example, after the Bosnian War or the German reunification, the street names recalling previous histories were changed for the purpose of building a new national identity (Azaryahu, 1997; Robinson, Engelstoft, & Pobric, 2001). Surrounding the controversies about ethnic identity, there has been a naming issue about the use

⁹⁹ The new term was rejected by the Association of North Korean Defectors, which, with (allegedly) 15 thousand members, is regarded as the biggest organization of its kind. This organization took measures to ban the use of the term *Saeteomin* from their website (M.-B. Lee, 2019). Furthermore, on multiple occasions, news media, such as a Radio Free Asia in South Korea (which mainly delivers news about North Korea and the defectors) also reported that the defectors held indifferent or negative views of the new term.

of Hispanic or Latino in the U.S. (Rodrigues, 2014). However, in the case of South Korea, the motivation to name seems to originate in the Cold War mentality (Osgood, 1961). This mentality sharply separates us from them, and it implies that we are the ‘good, kind, and fair’ while they are the ‘bad, cruel, and unfair’ (Osgood, 1961, p. 13). Thus, in the South Korean context, any references to ‘them,’ – which is likely understood to mean ‘communists’ -are thought to be capable of drawing unwelcome attention. Therefore, as a so-called unwritten law and an administrative custom in South Korea, particular expressions, such as defection, division, North Korea, or any other term that evokes memories of the Korean War and its aftermath are avoided in the South Korean civil service (GEaFC, 2007b). Thus, it is possible to surmise that the special treatment which South Koreans give to defectors (including their re-naming) is an avoidance strategy which South Koreans utilize to cover up or to forget their contemporary history. Therefore, even when defectors’ special treatment is touted as a gesture of goodwill premised on Korean consanguinity, practices such as the re-naming of defectors still function as technologies which bring the defectors’ identity into alignment with a collective mentality -typically anti-communism- while simultaneously distancing them from any identity which they might have developed in North Korea. Naming is essentially a collective and relational act (Connelly, 1995), and, as Nikolas Rose (1999) suggests, it serves two core functions: To identify a subject by means of a collectivised identity and to separate a subject from any place it does not belong (p. 46).

Secondly, the process, used to select a new name for defectors also merits some discussion since it sets defectors apart from other migrants in South Korean society. In 2004, the Ministry of Unification conducted a survey and held both an electronic public hearing and an online contest to select a new name for defectors which would change negative perceptions about

them. Approximately 1500 people participated in this initiative, and, after considering five final options, 53% voted for the name *Seateomin*. The rate of participation does not appear impressive, however, it is notable that the same attempt to change the naming of defectors occurred again. In 2017, the Seoul City Government made another attempt to look for a name for the defectors with the same rationales and ‘resident having a new dream (*Saekkum jumin*)’ was decided as a new name. However, this attempt ended without official announcement of the contest winner because a rejection of the new name was expected (J.-H. Ha, 2017; S.-G. Hwang, 2017). Generally, encouraging people to participate in decision making which was previously restricted to bureaucracy can be understood as a practice which supports democracy, power distribution, and equality. Nevertheless, holding a competition which encourages ordinary people to participate in the selection of a new name can also be understood as a technology which instils South Korean state interests in both North Korean defectors and South Korean participants.

Indeed, in governmentality studies, such participative decision making would be interpreted as a way to make participants feel empowered and to transfer the responsibility for the decision to them. Carey (2009) for instance, claims that ‘(a risk of) instrumentalisation’ is entrenched in participation (p. 30). This risk makes participants feel that they are part of a society; thus, those who participate in any process and outcome are forced to surrender to the governmentality without reserve. Carpentier (2018) also sees participation as a *modus operandus* for aligning participants’ interests and needs with the general interests of a society. In this sense, participation could be considered closer to engagement. Park Eun-Ah (2017) also draws on a governmentality perspective to argue that transforming the names given to defectors serves as a technology which conceals their North Korean-ness. From this perspective, those who participated in the competition held by the Minister of Unification, along with the consumers of

the new name *Saeteomin*, could be seen as attempting to remove North Korean-like identities from North Korean defectors. However, as the Boaty McBoatface controversy recently revealed, ‘minimalist participation ... through the contest model’ is not always strong enough to implement the selected outcome (Carpentier, 2018, p. 25). For this reason, the term *Saeteomin* is only used occasionally and informally today since, in 2008, the Ministry of Unification decided to discontinue its official use.

Likewise, although it is not always successful, the South Korean government, regardless of each government’s ideological inclination (conservative or liberal), has continued to offer special treatment of North Korean defectors based on kinship. However, it is the same sense of kinship that forms the basis for defectors’ disappointment in their new lives in South Korea. Defectors generally complain about the South Korean public’s indifference to them (Kirk, 2016). This is because, unlike other migrants, North Korean defectors see South Korea as another homeland and expect there to be a Korean brotherhood based on ethnic nationalism (Hyun-Joo Lee et al., 2012). Thus, as a matter of course, North Korean defectors are disappointed about being equated with multicultural families in South Korea. Meanwhile, since the territorial division, South Korea has adapted to the ever-changing global environments, such as neoliberalism, and it has developed its own nationalism coined as *nouveau-riche nationalism* (Gil-Soo Han, 2015, p. 23), which mimics white supremacy. Against this background, some defectors who have re-migrated to America, Canada, and other European countries make their opinions clear that discrimination against them by natives in other countries is more endurable than discrimination by South Koreans. The defectors are aware of that the discrimination in other countries is against colored people and the defectors can be a part of ‘other colored minorities’ (J.-Y. Song, 2015). However, in South Korea, the defectors were discriminated on account of

their North Korean origin by South Koreans whom the defectors thought as the same Koreans and expected an welcome from (S.-Y. Cho, 2012). As a result, the defectors' high expectation about the brotherhood has turned to frustration when confronted with the stark reality of South Korean society.¹⁰⁰

To sum up, North Korean defectors have been treated differently from other migrants because they are Korean blood brothers deserving of special privileges. However, this specialized treatment, which includes gestures to rename the defectors, is rooted in a South Korean-centered perspective that is influenced by a Cold War mentality and a South Korean, nouveau-riche nationalism. In the end, privileges given to defectors as gestures of goodwill are premised on blood relations; however, as this section illustrates, the ultimate goal of such privileges is to conceal defectors' North Korean-ness and to steer their interests and needs in a direction which serves the interests of South Korean society. Any failure to meet this goal can lead defectors to encounter a stark reality and to harbour ideas of leaving South Korea. In this circumstance, the defectors' frustration in South Korea only deepens.

4-3-2-2 Nostalgic Beings of Korean Ethnicity: Female Defectors

Since the beginning of the 2000s, the number of female North Korean defectors has skyrocketed. Marriage is considered by all of policy makers to be one of the most effective ways to quickly integrate female defectors into South Korean society (UFAaTC, 2006b). Most of these women are not highly educated and have little decent work experience. Therefore, they often fall

¹⁰⁰ Western people's discrimination would be covert as compared to South Koreans' overt discrimination towards North Korean defectors, thus it may be one of the motives for their re-migration. However, for the defectors who first moved from North Korea to South Korea before deciding to move to other countries, it is difficult to think they would have enough prior experience in Western countries to know this before re-migrating.

into the most vulnerable category of economic actors in South Korea (E.-M. Hong, 2016).¹⁰¹ In 2006, members of the National Assembly amended the North Korean Refugees Protection and Settlement Support Act to include a new Article on ‘Special Cases concerning Divorces’. Under the revised Act, defectors who have legally maintained their marital relationship with North Korean spouses residing in North Korea can file for divorce when ‘it is unclear whether his/her spouse lives in South Korea.’¹⁰² When this issue was discussed, there was almost no political controversy and the revision was rapidly put to the vote and passed (NAPS, 2006). From the female defectors’ side as well, marriage could be considered a way of officially strengthen their belonging in South Korea. According to Youm and Kim (2011), female defectors are inclined to form their social network in South Korea for the purpose of looking for partners, and Lee Hwa-Jin (2011) noted that at the initial stage of female defectors’ settling down, they show ‘partner-oriented’ and ‘family-oriented’ tendencies.¹⁰³

In the South Korean marriage market, female North Korean defectors are advertised as traditionally sexualized and ethnically Korean bodies, particularly in comparison with female marriage migrants from other countries. In other words, by bringing nostalgic and traditional images of (mythical) Korean women to the forefront, marriage agencies justify and stimulate distorted desires to exploit female defectors. They are generally depicted as women who embody traditional Korean values: women who respect traditions, such as the men’s dominance over women, obedience to their parents-in-law, and, a disposition toward a family-oriented, innocent,

¹⁰¹ 60% of those females were in their 20-30s and 55% of them were economically inactive in 2006 (UFAaTC, 2006b, p. 30).

¹⁰² Apart from this exception, North Korean defectors cannot technically divorce their North Korean spouses because their spouses are considered South Korean citizens under the South Korean Constitution. Thus, technically, their agreement on the divorce would be essential without this exception.

¹⁰³ Lee Hwa-Jin (2011) found out that after going through the initial stage, the female defectors have a tendency to move forward to ‘the reflexive self-oriented or the relational stage.’

submissive, and dependent character (S. Kim, 2015, p. 238). Female defectors are also portrayed as lonely and helpless because, under the circumstances of a divided Korea, they ‘do not have a family and hometown to go back (or run away) to unlike foreign women’ (S. Kim, 2015, p. 247). Conversely, the hardships and risks that female defectors endured to defect are valued as their strength and ability to be self-sufficient (O, 2018). Their government housing is advertised as an advantage for suitors who are financially challenged (Y.-H. Jang, 2014). As well as, their Korean ethnicity is advertised as an advantage in marriage because it offers not only seamless communication and cultural similarity, but also blunt assurance against mixed-blood in future generations; agencies straightforwardly advertise that ‘[marriage with the female defectors can] prevent mixed-blood children’ or ‘protect [Korean] pure-blood’ (S.-J. Park, 2014).

Depending on how female, North Korean defectors are depicted, the marriage market can be seen as part of a technology which steers these women toward serving in roles which South Korean society expects them to perform. These are traditional, maternal roles which support South Korean men’s families and produce their babies. This popular image of marriage is normative; nevertheless, it is far from accurate.

Over the last 20 years, practices of marriage migration management have entered the realm of national security alongside other rationalities of border control (D’Aoust, 2014). This is particularly true in European countries, where marriages between European and non-European citizens have been targeted by a governmentality of marriage migration management that mobilizes the Western values of romantic love as a technology which associates intimacy with citizenship (D’Aoust, 2013). From the marriage migration management perspective, female, North Korean defectors’ marriages to South Korean men offer at least two potential benefits to South Korean society: 1.) They could help to address the urgent social issue of low marriage and

birth rates in South Korea, and; 2.) They could serve to relieve the South Korean government from its duty to subsidize the living costs of these women. Marriages have the potential of rendering female defectors part of a family. Thus, with marriage, government supports for these women can be reduced to a question of family welfare. Furthermore, because it is the traditional, maternal role in the family that figures more prominently than any other political or economic role that the female defectors could play in society, these women gain distinct advantages by advertising themselves as traditionally sexualized and ethnically Korean bodies which fulfil the preferences (fantasies) commonly found among South Korean men, who are the ones that drive demand in the marriage market. This trend contrasts with European marriage markets, where non-Europeans must display the Western values of romantic love to earn the citizenship of their host countries(D' Aoust, 2014).

The distorted and exploitative fantasies which are layered upon female defectors and which satisfy South Korean males who have experienced difficulties in finding spouses are similar to the compensation mentality of colonized men whose masculinity has been belittled (hooks, 1981). The fantasies are coated in an attachment to Korean ethnicity or disguised as Korean ethnic value. Thereby, South Korean males who think their masculinity has been undervalued in the marriage market exaggeratedly oppress the female defectors to recuperate their maleness. Therefore, although the number of female defectors is smaller than that of other female marriage migrants, there are matchmaking companies that specialize in female defectors;¹⁰⁴ some of these are run by the defectors. In the end, the female defectors are doubly

¹⁰⁴ There are few significant studies about the marriages of female defectors. This is likely because, as a research topic, female defectors' marriages are situated in a blind spot between the topics of multiculturalism and Korean nationalism. In studies of multicultural families, these marriages are briefly mentioned, and, in studies of the defectors, they are described as a small part of North Korean defectors' lives. Therefore, it is difficult to locate existing studies which focus on issues relating to the marriages of female defectors (S. Kim, 2015).

oppressed by South Korean society, which is more indifferent to them than expected, and by men, who experience a sense of deprivation within the society.

On the other hand, female North Korean defectors consider themselves to be quite different from other female migrants in South Korea. Nevertheless, because of gender roles, some aspects of government policies designed for female defectors have started to resemble the policies for multicultural families. The female defectors feel upset when they notice that they are treated as if they are female marriage migrants who are described in advertisements, such as ‘Single farmers and old bachelors, marry Vietnam women’ (G.-J. Park, 2012). Nevertheless, for the government of conservative president Park Geun-Hye (2013-2016), North Korean defectors’ childbirth was encouraged at the government level and various supports were offered (H.-M. Kim, 2007). Those are almost identical to supports that were granted to multicultural families, including caregiving service for the mothers and infants and a childbirth grant. In 2014, the North Korean Refugee Foundation, which advocates for defectors’ economic self-reliance and social integration, launched a support center dedicated to female defectors (UNITV, 2014). The center was titled as ‘*Chakhan*¹⁰⁵ Mother Center’ which emphasizes the value of maternity. Eventually, the female defectors are, regardless of how they look themselves, utilized as carriers of nationalistic wombs for ‘begetting the nation’ (S. Moon, 1998) as with other female marriage migrants.

To sum up, the outdated views of women which predominate in South Korean patriarchy have been projected onto female defectors in the most exaggerated manner. The Korean ethnicity

¹⁰⁵ When the North Korean Refugee Foundation introduced this center, they stated that *chakhan* was coined with Sino-Korean words ‘*chak*’ meaning settlement and ‘*han*’ meaning South Korea. But ‘*chakhan*’ in Korean language phonetically means ‘kind (good)-hearted.’

of these women is instrumentally utilized as a demonstrable advantage in the marriage market when competing with (non-Korean) female marriage migrants who form multicultural families. This comparative advantage indicates that female marriage migrants are fundamentally considered to be inferior and outsiders. However, the emphasis which is placed on the female defectors' Korean ethnicity ends up generating experiences of double oppression. Like other female marriage migrants, the female defectors are expected to perform the roles of wives to South Korean men and mothers to South Korean children. Nevertheless, unlike their non-Korean counterparts, female defectors are also expected to be equipped with traditional, Korean qualities which are closer to myth than to reality.

4-3-2-3 Human Assets for the Korean Unification: Adolescent Defectors

Adolescent North Korean defectors are both a symbol of Korean ethnic distinctiveness (that is, a hypothetically, inherent set of characteristics which are unique to Koreans) and a potential human asset for unification. Such ideas considering the adolescent defectors 'assets for the unification' or 'future leaders for the age of the unification' (Pyun, 2015) are used to justify the differential treatment of adolescent defectors and other adolescent migrants. In 2014, for instance, the conservative President Park Geun-Hye declared that 'unification is a bonanza' which should be understood as an investment in the future instead of a cost (K.-J. Jeong, 2014).¹⁰⁶ A few days after Park's speech, the government gave elementary schools one hundred won (around \$1,125 CAD) in aid for each North Korean defector child. Sang-Eun, an interviewee who teaches the 'Multicultural Class (*Damunhwa Gyosil*)' in an elementary school, recalled that the immediate aid was unprecedented, surprising, and actually beneficial for the

¹⁰⁶ This remark was criticized by liberals and progressives for being indicative of only economic interests without suggesting concrete methods of unification (H.-N. Kim, 2019).

child defectors (interview, June 19, 2018). Although there were other children in his class who also shared Korean lineage (e.g. Korean-Chinese or Korean-Russian children of multicultural families), they had not yet been offered this type of aid.¹⁰⁷ Thus, it appears that the defector students receive special treatment because of their North Korean origin.

While adolescent defectors are ostensibly offered various supports and attentions, their legal definition as a group is very limited because it is significantly influenced by inter-Korean relations. Before its amendment in 2017, Article (24)-2 of the North Korean Refugee Protection and Settlement Support Act limited the eligibility for government supports, such as education, to adolescents defectors who were born in North Korea.¹⁰⁸ In 2013, the conservative party attempted to broaden this definition to include adolescents who were born in ‘third countries,’ a move which is not surprising given the party’s history of responses to issues concerning North Korea. On the other hand, liberal and progressive members of the National Assembly, who tend to respect North Korean sovereignty and treat defectors residing in the third countries as quasi-foreigners, abstained from voting (SoNA, 2013). The Act was ultimately amended in 2017 due to the rapid diversification of the adolescent population. Nevertheless still, today, there are adolescent defectors who reside in South Korea as stateless persons without legal protections.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, the process of legally defining adolescent defectors continues to be influenced by

¹⁰⁷ Interviewees engaged in education, such as Ho-Chan and Sang-Eun, said that there are many financial sources supporting the adolescent defectors, unlike other adolescent migrants, such as scholarships from private companies, private foundations, and religious groups. One student benefitted from multiple scholarships.

¹⁰⁸ Most adolescent defectors are born in North Korea and defect to South Korea with their parents. However, because North Korean defectors are spending longer and longer periods of time outside the Korean peninsula, a growing number of adolescent defectors are born in the third countries, such as China.

¹⁰⁹ If children and adolescents were admitted to settlement support facilities with other adults, such as their grandparents, they were excluded from available benefits. Indeed, they become ineligible for full legal support and protection.

inter-Korean political relations. As such, the process does not reflect the reality which adolescents face.

From a biopolitical perspective, which views human beings as a population that is to be subjected to statistics, regulation, and control, it is possible to discern differences in the process for adolescent and adult defectors. When adult defectors enter South Korea, for instance, the government makes them live (Foucault, 2003, p. 241) by offering supports that are justified by their Korean ethnicity and their North Korean origin. However, when adolescent defectors enter South Korea, the government does not define them or their guaranteed level of state supports until first considering its relationship with North Korea, negotiating with South Korean political forces, and addressing other, relevant technical issues, such as Chinese citizenship.¹¹⁰

In addition, South Korean policy makers often have inaccurate perceptions of the realities which are faced by adolescent defectors, thereby worsening their lives in South Korea. Policy makers who are far-removed from the front lines continuously expect adolescents to perform (imaginary) Korean-ness. When the issue of North Korean defector students' maladjustment in schools has been discussed, Kim Young-Wo, a member of the conservative party, remarked that to solve their maladjustment in schools, "our [Korean] unique sentiments ... can be highlighted as advantages of the adolescent defectors" (FAaUC, 2015b). This remark demonstrates that the mythical singularity of their Korean ethnicity is considered advantageous for them. However, Ho-Chan, an interviewee and NGO activist who runs an alternative school which treats

¹¹⁰ Government departments, such as the Ministry of Unification, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, use different categories to classify these adolescents according to their circumstances; they respectively use the following terms: adolescent defectors, adolescents of immigration background, and adolescents of multicultural families. For the sake of administrative efficiency, adolescents are also occasionally categorised according to their country of birth: North Korea, China, and South Korea (Ki-Young Lee & Kim, 2015, p. 96). Legally, however, adolescent defectors cannot be born in South Korea since the defector label does not apply to second generation defectors.

adolescent defectors as multicultural students,¹¹¹ explains that the inherent Korean-ness of adolescent defectors is an unrealistic, but common, fallacy (interview, June 18, 2018). Many of them have multiple or ambiguous identities because many of them were not born or raised in North Korea but in China (or other countries) and their parents' backgrounds are also diverse.¹¹² As Ho-Chan noted, North Korean defectors' path to defect to South Korea is long and troubled, for example, one defector had spent 22 years in China before arriving in South Korea. It was long enough to give birth to children and raise them in other countries.¹¹³ Thus, many of the adolescent defectors have multiple identities, and they can struggle with the Korean language.

The diversification of adolescents' identities and cultural backgrounds is not properly reflected in educational support either. In practice, services for adolescent defectors continue to function based on stereotypical images of Korean-ness, and they have not caught up with the new reality. Sang-Eun, a teacher cited earlier, noted that, every year, there are couple of North Korean defector students in his multicultural class, but overall, it is the children of multicultural families that make up the vast majority of students. From Sang-Eun's perspective, there are no noticeable differences among his students. They do not get along with native, South Korean students, and they are not fluent in Korean, and their parents are, by and large, labourers working in an industrial complex near the school. One year, Sang-Eun recalls, one of his students participated in a regional Korean Speech Contest and received the award. Soon afterwards, he

¹¹¹ This school is an unorthodox alternative school that allows adolescent defectors and the children of multicultural families to study together. Ho-Chan said that he had not participated in any interviews before but that he agreed to the interview because my research was not about North Korean defectors, but rather multiculturalism. Alternative schools for the adolescent defectors do not generally include the children of multicultural families.

¹¹² Their parents' backgrounds can be classified by several cases: both North Korean defector parents, a single North Korean defector parent whose North Korean spouse is in North Korea, a single North Korean defector whose spouse is a Chinese in China (or other foreigners), a North Korean defector and a South Korean, or a North Korean and a marriage migrant etc.

¹¹³ Residing in China, many defectors are known as facing dangers such as kidnapping or human trafficking (Y.-S. Jung, 2018).

notes, the organizing committee withdrew the award because the winning student was a North Korea defector. The contest's award criteria assumed the stereotypical idea that all defectors were students who spoke fluent Korean. However, when the student first arrived in Sang-Eun's class, s/he was not able to speak Korean (interview, June 19, 2018). Likewise, many adolescent defectors deviate from typical imageries of Koreans; thus, depending on their backgrounds, some of the adolescents' differences can be significant enough to define them as a different ethnicity. Ho-Chan, the same NGO activist cited earlier, also argued that, unless the adolescent defectors are regarded as multicultural beings, any efforts to improve their lives in South Korea would turn out to be in vain.

Many North Korean defector students fail to be educated in regular South Korean schools, and, instead, they attend alternative educational institutions which are specialized for defectors.¹¹⁴ However, these alternative educational institutions for adolescent defectors also overstate a mythical Korean-ness, and they hardly consider multiculturalism in their education. In many cases, these alternative schools have connections with religious foundations (these are usually conservative, Christian organizations since these are more closely associated with organizations of North Korean defectors), and they generate their operating budgets in a number of ways. Ho-Chan critically noted that the adolescents' Korean-ness is exaggerated and advertised by making them sing songs, such as 'Our wish is to be reunified,' in public "as if the young defectors were panhandlers" used to generate more funds (interview, June 18, 2018). It would be difficult to denounce all the alternative schools. However, what is noteworthy is the fact that the official educational mission of most of the alternative schools is to educate the

¹¹⁴ Approximately 20% of defectors attended alternative schools in 2018 (MoU, 2018). However, this percentage would increase if stateless adolescent defectors were taken into account along with adolescent defectors who are not fully supported by law and those who hold Chinese citizenship.

adolescents to become human assets for the unification of Korea. In addition, those students who are excluded from regular South Korean schools can be educated when they present their Korean-ness, rather than their individual and unique character, to donors.

While supports for adolescent defectors might appear to be humanitarian, they are clearly not immune to inter-Korean politics. At the same time, stereotypical understandings of this group render both its diversity and its increasingly multicultural identities largely invisible. Indeed, supports for adolescents do not seem to reflect their realities, nor do they recognize the varied or ambiguous identities which stem from their diverse cultural backgrounds. Whether these adolescents are recognized as legitimate defectors or cherished as human assets needed by South Korea, there is almost no room to acknowledge their growing otherness. As a result, a compelling attribute of the adolescent defectors is assumed to be, in South Korea, only their availability as human assets for unification.

4-3-3 Economic Modes of Inclusion: Recognized Citizens that Bolster the South Korean Economy

As analyzed above, North Korean defectors occupy the lower class of South Korea's social stratification; however, government supports given to North Korean defectors during their initial phase of settlement are considered excessive when compared with the supports offered to other minorities (H.-Y. Lee, 2015). The North Korean Refugees Protection and Settlement Support Act contains a range of measures which aim to promote the stable settlement of defectors.¹¹⁵ These include an endowment fund for settlement, housing, grants to purchase

¹¹⁵ The amount or value of these supports has declined relative to the amounts given in the past when defectors were scarce (M.-J. Jeong, 2009). In the early 2000s, the total amount of initial financial aid (including housing) was around 3 thousand won (\$34.1 thousand CDA); this amount decreased to 2 thousand won (\$22.7 thousand CDA) in

household items, employment promotion subsidies, tuition exemptions for primary and secondary schools, and tuition support for universities. Despite these initial supports, North Korean defectors still earn monthly incomes which are much lower than those of South Koreans. In 2018, for instance, a defectors' average monthly income is less than 2 million won (\$2.2 thousand CAD), which is approximately 74% of the average South Korean income.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, these supports have still been enough to garner claims of reverse discrimination against South Koreans who occupy the lowest income bracket (S.-K. Kim, 2017) although most policymakers justify the supports with claims that the defectors had to overcome greater difficulties than other migrants in order to come to South Korea and the supports are justified as privileges of 'the unification in advance' (J.-H. Hwang, 2018). Therefore, although each political force has its own vision for the unification of Korea, the defectors are commonly regarded as an important population. This is due not only to their Korean ethnicity, but also to their North Korean origin since other overseas Koreans, such as Korean-Chinese or Korean-Russia migrants, are not treated in the same way as the defectors.

Despite all the supports and attention given to North Korean defectors, they are still likely to be situated in a lower social strata during their initial phase of their lives in South Korea; furthermore, their lives can become increasingly isolated. After being released from the North Korean Refugee Protection Center, each defector household is given housing in the public rental apartments, where the lowest income groups in South Korea generally live (W.-Y. Lee, 2003). However, in some specific areas where the number of North Korean defectors has

the 2010s (Jin-Seo Lee, 2017). Other financial supports are now given under specific conditions, such as, for instance, when they are hired and when they enter universities.

¹¹⁶ In the 2011, a defectors' average monthly income was the equivalent of merely less than 60% of the average monthly income for South Koreans. Since 2015, the income gap has shrunk, with defectors earning approximately 67-74% of South Koreans' income. Currently, the unemployment rate for defectors' (6.9%) is higher than it is for South Koreans (4.2%) (NKRF, 2019).

increased, South Korean residents' dissatisfaction with defectors has also increased (W.-Y. Lee, 2003), and they are prone to move out of these neighbourhoods. In the end, the spatial concentration of the defectors accelerates. Currently, 65% of defectors reside in the rental apartments located in Seoul, Incheon, and Gyeonggi-do province (M.-H. Im, 2015). Even when the defectors do move out of the public rental apartments at their own expense, their situation does not differ much. North Korean defectors as low-income earners are likely to form their enclaves in neighbourhoods on the outskirts of urban areas. South Korean residents in those areas are again prone to move out of these neighbourhoods and then the spatial concentration of the defectors accelerates (M.-H. Im, 2015). As a result, the defectors complain that their residences do not differ much from their community lives in the North Korean Refugee Protection Center because, in their daily lives, they can rarely communicate with South Korean natives (M.-H. Im, 2015).

Specifically, South Koreans' residential flight could be explained in part by cultural difference, but also by South Koreans' feelings of reverse discrimination. South Korean natives cite cultural differences – such as speaking habits, drinking culture, and waste disposal- to explain their dissatisfaction with sharing neighborhoods with North Korean defectors. Interestingly, reverse discrimination is also identified as a cause. South Korean residents in the public rental apartments complain that most of the residents are recipients of basic income and that the defectors have received more favours from the government (W.-Y. Lee, 2003). Besides, some South Korean residents are men of national merits and their descendants. Men of national merits include soldiers and policemen who accidentally die or are injured while assuring national security. They include veterans who have been injured or killed in the Korean War (1950) and other military conflicts between the two Koreas. Therefore, they and their families would feel

that they sacrificed themselves for South Korea's national security (generally against North Korea) but their contributions to South Korea being depreciated (W.-Y. Lee, 2003, p. 48).

Likewise, the causes of this residential segregation are multi-dimensional.

In order to overcome this unfavourable situation, North Korean defectors make efforts to achieve economic self-reliance, however, ordinary defectors have experienced setbacks in their economic integration and this is similar to the predicament that migrants experience in other countries. Guo (2009) analyzed Canadian cases of non-recognition of foreign credentials, particularly among migrants from developing countries. Epistemological and ontological misperceptions of difference and knowledge amplify the idea that foreign credentials are deficient, inferior, invalid, and incompatible in the receiving society. In addition, commitments to positivity and universality cause this idea to endure. In the end, migrants in Canada end up in workplaces where they are less threatening to Canadian-born citizens' careers.¹¹⁷ Similarly, in Germany and the UAE, migrants who possess professional qualifications also find that institutions legitimately give their qualifications a lower rank in comparison with natives' qualifications (Bauder, 2005; Malit & Oliver, 2013). Although the majority of North Korean defectors have limited work experience and educational background, even when defectors do have decent work experiences in North Korea, their credentials are hardly recognized, nor do they contribute to promotions or higher salaries in their jobs in South Korea (Sun et al., 2005, pp. 41–44, 147). Even though North Korean defectors have professional qualifications as doctors of

¹¹⁷ With regards to the recognition of migrants' credentials and work experience, only 24% of foreign-educated, university-level migrants were able to find jobs in a regulated occupation matching their academic profiles (Houle & Yssaad, 2010, p. 18). This figure is much lower than it is for Canadian-born counterparts (62%) (Houle & Yssaad, 2010, p. 18). In both credentials and work experience, migrants from the Philippines and South Korea tend to fair much more poorly than those who come from other countries (Houle & Yssaad, 2010, p. 27). An immigrant employment study conducted in Toronto in 2012 found that job applicants who have Asian-style names are offered 45-60% fewer job interviews than applicants with Anglicized names (TRIEC, 2018). Second generation of migrants appear to have more opportunities and achievements in the job market than their first-generation parents; however, this finding seems to be limited to women (W.-H. Chen & Hou, 2019).

Korean traditional and Western medicine, translators, and teachers, few of them may be able to work in the same field in South Korea.¹¹⁸ Those who are qualified technicians generally work in 3D (dangerous, difficult, and dirty) jobs which South Korean people generally avoid. There lies the government's tendency providing administrative and financial supports to steer the defectors toward areas of the labour market - such as agriculture- which have a high demand for labour but are typically rejected by South Korean workers. Hence, many of the defectors' co-workers are likely to be migrant workers whose Korean speaking ability is insufficient to communicate. Thus, the defectors' isolation in their workplaces and their sense of deprivation in South Korea has been deepening.

North Korean defectors also experience setbacks in their economic integration because of mechanisms which makes rich defectors even richer, and poor defectors even poorer. A few defectors who had been well educated in North Korea and engaged in higher-status professions in North Korea (senior military figures, professors, journalists and other similar positions, for instance) can have opportunities to find quality jobs in South Korean society (L.-I. Jeong, 2014). Interestingly, the rich-get-richer mechanism existing among the defectors is likely similar to past mechanisms which, in the aftermath of the Cold War, differentially validated defectors according to the importance of the secret information they provided about North Korea when they defected (Ho-Chang, interview, June 18, 2018; M.-J. Jeong, 2009). For instance, when Cho Myong-Chul, who was a professor in the Kim Il-Sung University, one of the most prominent universities in North Korea, was elected in 2012 as the proportional representative member of the National Assembly, many ordinary defectors do not to acknowledge him as their representative because

¹¹⁸ Between 2000 to 2004, approximately 4,700 defectors arrived in South Korea. Only 128 (2.7%) of these were categorized as professionals, and just two of the professionals were able to find work in their field (E.-N. Kim, 2005).

he was thought to be a person having vested interests in North Korea as well (P.-G. Lee, 2012; S.-W. Kim, 2012). As a result, wealth becomes polarized among the defectors, and the social isolation of defectors who occupy the lowest-income bracket deepens.

In sum, although the government encourages North Korean defectors' economic self-reliance, as it is thought to prove their contribution to the South Korean society (FATaUC, 2012, p. 16), in reality, defectors are continuously segregated from South Korean natives as low-income earners in the workplace and in terms of residence. The North Korean origin of the defectors appears to advantage them through special privileges; however, in practice, the defectors are deployed to spaces which South Korean natives shun. This is similar to the way in which migrants are generally, and institutionally, segregated and deployed to spaces which economically benefit natives.

4-4 Conclusion: Fixating on North Korean Defectors' South Korean-ness

Although, at present, North Korean defectors' social position tends to oscillate between that of Koreans and multicultural beings according to circumstances, their characteristics have nonetheless been fixed by a narrowly-defined South Korea-ness. After more than 7 decades since the territorial division (1945) without ordinary and regular communication with North Korea, current discourse surrounding the defectors offers indisputable elements of who they were before the 21st century (Korean blood brother or migrants). For these reasons, defectors' social status has remained ambiguous with regards to precisely who they are and what they will be.

Therefore, abstract and universalist concepts, such as human rights, anti-communism, or ethnic values, have been widely deployed as powerful systemic thoughts which substitute concrete policy debates. In this circumstance, even the liberal government's efforts to establish a novel

relationship with North Korean defectors through acts of renaming also falls under the influence of the Cold War mentality. Unless there are changes in the current circumstances, whereby ‘security and inter-Korean relations’ are still ‘dominated by strategic and geopolitical issues’ (Bleiker, 2004, p. 37), giving new names to the defectors will not be able to generate a new relationship. Furthermore, the defectors’ fluid social status would continuously be availed of for the conservatives’ political gain in South Korea.

Within those given conditions, North Korean defectors occupy a specific position on the citizenship hierarchy which is determined by their political, social, and economic contributions to South Korea. To be recognized as South Korean citizens who are ranked higher than migrants from other countries, they are expected to show that they are: politically conservative and antagonistic towards North Korea; culturally and ethnically Korean enough to integrate into society, and; economically self-reliant enough to obey the order of South Korean economy. If a defector fails to meet at least one of these expectations, they would risk sliding down on the ethnic hierarchy and being assigned a lesser value than other migrants, such as marriage migrants. When this occurs, the defectors are labelled ‘multicultural’ (since the term has less to do with culture than it does with indicating a non-South Korean ethnicity). Therefore, the defectors can be motivated to subjectivize themselves according to the expectations as a strategy of not only well-adaptation but also self-defence in South Korea.

In terms of multicultural governmentality, it is important to understand that the political, social, and economic characteristics which North Korean defectors are expected to display helps to reveal the citizenship hierarchy of non-South Koreans, although the above-noted representations are far removed from the defectors’ unvarnished identities. Because of the ideological spectrum in South Korea, it is the conservative force who actively dominates

discourses about North Korean defectors and other migrant-relevant issues. Therefore, those characteristics which defectors are expected to perform are also those which embody the conservative force' desires and political aims. Furthermore, just as the social position of North Korean defectors lays precariously between that of Koreans and multicultural families, the notion of culture which is embedded in the concept of multiculturalism has less to do with any general reference to folk or popular cultures, and more to do with the characteristics of non-Koreans. The desirability of certain characteristics is also projected onto other migrants. As such, taking this context into account can reveal how South Korean multicultural governmentality significantly impacts the identification of other ethnic minorities.

CHAPTER 5 Producing and Regulating Multicultural Families

5-1 Introduction

Since the late 1990s, the ideological flip-flop exhibited by South Korean conservative force in regard to their conceptualization of a Korean nation has caused an idiosyncratic configuration of political ideologies: The nationalism closely tied to Korean blood-based ethnicity is criticized by both leftists and conservatives in South Korea, and this tendency potentially influences discourses about multiculturalism in South Korea. Among the progressive forces, the feminist movement has been guarded about Korean ethnic nationalism's emphasis on ethnicity and traditional culture (H. E. Kim & Choi, 1998). This does not differ much from other Western societies where nationalism is considered the culprit of discrimination towards ethnic minorities and can be deployed to enforce patriarchal power relations (Stasiulis & Yuval-Davis, 1995). However, interestingly, Korean ethnic nationalism has been more aggressively critiqued by conservatives. Conservative groups including conservative think tanks, conservative media, and research institutes under conglomerates, for example, the Samsung Economic Research Institute tend to utilize rhetorical expressions such as future-orientation, human rights, or globalization as a counter discourses against Korean ethnic nationalism (M.-O. Kang, 2014).¹¹⁹ For instance, recently, on the March 1st Independence Movement Day in 2019, liberal President

¹¹⁹ In other countries, such as Canada and Australia, we can see the entrepreneurial use of multicultural discourse, which has been reinforced in the era of neo-liberalism (Abu-Laban & Gabriel, 2002; Mu, Brien, & Watson, 2003). In these countries, the value of racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity is interpreted as a trade-enhancing commodity and a competitive advantage in the global marketplace. Thus, market-oriented, privatizing policies in these societies aim to stimulate the flow of investors and tourists by utilizing a multicultural workforce. In South Korea, multicultural discourse which draws on this entrepreneurial logic can also be found; however, this discourse is more about how to make the best use of a cheap labour force (migrant workers) than it is about selling South Korea's diversity.

Moon Jae-In, who is considered to be one of the few progressive leaders (Fisher, 2017), urged Japan to apologize for wrongdoings committed during the colonisation. South Korean conservative scholars, such as Lee Young-Hoon and Lee Woo-Yeon, severely criticized the President's address for driving totalitarian rule and argued that it resembles North Korea's attitude towards Japan (Hyun-Ji Kim, 2019; Jin-Young Kim, 2020). At the same time, South Korean leftists, such as the scholar Choi Jang-Jip and journalist Hong Sae-Hwa, have also criticized the President's address for propagating 'official nationalism (*gwanje minjogjuui*)' and stimulating ideological conflicts in South Korea (Sung, 2019). Their comments have been enthusiastically cited by multiple conservative media sources which argue that nationalism is archaic, outmoded, and dangerous (C.-G. Lee, 2018; Han-Soo Lee, 2007). This case typically demonstrates the ways in which Korean ethnic nationalism has been unwelcomed by both sides (the leftists and the conservatives), and, at the same time, provides a glimpse of how conservatives can take advantage of criticisms of nationalism.¹²⁰

Such a sweeping rejection of nationalism in South Korea would not only tarnish Korean anti-colonial, anti-imperialist struggles, as many progressive historians fear (J. S. Kim, 2007; K.-H. Kim, 2009; M.-L. Kim, 2015), but would also operate as a smokescreen for the conservatives' political manipulation of multiculturalism (M.-O. Kang, 2014; Watson, 2010). When nationalism is generally criticized, it typically develops into a discussion of whether the nation is an actual being (Han-Soo Lee, 2007) or whether nationalism is still worthwhile today (C.-H. Ahn, 2006). However, I suppose it is necessary in South Korea's case to shift those narratives that are fixated on nationalism toward conversations concerned with the latent risks of the leftists' and

¹²⁰ On the contrary, in 2008 March 1st, the conservative President Lee Myung-Bak delivered a speech about the need to shift away from a 'close-minded' nationalism to an 'open-minded' one; his speech bred liberal and progressive public's resentment because it was construed as being pro-Japanese. It seemed as if the President Lee was pressing South Koreans to forget Japan's wrongdoings without calling Japan to account (M. -O. Kang, 2014, p. 11).

conservatives' antagonism toward Korean ethnic nationalism, and, their consequent amity towards multiculturalism. In this sense, I expect this chapter to support a shift away from discussions that focus on whether or not the ethnic Korean nation is fictional. Rather, the chapter draws attention to the ways in which opposition to ethnic nationalism, promotion of multiculturalism, and conservatism are connected in South Korea, whereby the ethnic nationalism is perceived by the conservatives as the manifestation of 'the fundamental adversary (*jujeok*)' of South Korea (Y.-J. Kwon, 2015). Therefore, accurate analysis of multiculturalism discourse requires close examination of the contexts in which the concept of multiculturalism has been promoted or criticized and by whom.

This chapter offers a genealogy of multicultural families to question the conventional academic approach that places female marriage migrants at the center of multicultural discourse in South Korea and unearth the hidden effects of this conventional approach. Although the term multiculturalism only became a buzzword in the mid-2000s when the number of female marriage migrants rapidly increased,¹²¹ an analysis of earlier discourses about persons of mixed-blood and other types of migrants in South Korea reveals how these past narratives have merged with contemporary multiculturalism discourse and influenced the current notion of multicultural families. Nonetheless, the majority of multiculturalism studies have not laid sufficient weight on the past narratives influenced by Korean ethnic nationalism. Instead, they took an ahistorical and simplified stand antithetically locating female marriage migrants as only subjects of

¹²¹ Since the beginning of the 2000s, the number of female marriage migrants had continuously increased: 6,945 in 2000 and 30,719 in 2005, but, after 2005, this trend had deflected into a decrease due to changes in the legal system and policy, such as intensified visa screening, various legislations including the Act on the Regulation of Marriage Brokerage Businesses (Hyun-Sik Kim, 2018). Recently it began to increase again, and in 2018, the number of female marriage migrants reached 16.6 thousand (KOSIS, 2019c). At the beginning of the 2000s, Korean-Chinese took up the largest ratio, however, since 2010, the number of Vietnamese females reached 30% followed by Chinese females, including Korean-Chinese females (KOSIS, 2019d). The total number of female marriage migrants since 2000 was 380 thousand (Y.-H. Moon, 2019). An increase of multicultural families by 3.04% in 2035 and 5.11% in 2050 is expected (Sam-Sik Lee, Choi, & Park, 2009).

multiculturalism. In doing so, the South Korean distinctive reality and policies in regard to female marriage migrants and their families became invisible: unlike the policies which have gradually developed for other migrants, such as North Korean defectors and migrant workers, multiculturalism policy developed rather suddenly. Thus, understanding how the official definition of multicultural families and how government policy called as multiculturalism policy were produced is important to closely analyze what determines the inclusion and position of these families in South Korean society. Furthermore, through this analysis, the roles and definition of the culture within the concept of multiculturalism will be clarified, specifically, what intentions behind the use of the term, culture, and the benefits its use brings. In addition, it is noteworthy that the strategies that feminists have employed to protect female marriage migrants in this process of multicultural policy development share significant common ground with the conservatives' perspective on multiculturalism. Thus, it is indispensable to clarify how others have capitalized on the strategies utilized by advocates of female marriage migrants' rights in unexpected ways.

Specifically, the chapter addresses three main questions. First, I examine how South Korean natives distinguished and regarded international marriages and persons of mixed-blood descent before multiculturalism discourse emerged. I underline the rationalities which have supported these practices, and I highlight those who have not been considered in this manner. Secondly, I explore the emergence and development of multiculturalism discourse since it began to garner public attention. I examine who shaped this discourse and how. I also analyze how diverse policy objects have been represented. In doing so, I find a distinct-South Korean feature of the rationality which legitimizes multiculturalism discourse in this context. Thirdly, I analyze the mechanisms which reinforce the representation of multicultural families and govern them. By

answering these questions, I reveal how multicultural families are subjectivized and what roles they are expected to fulfill in South Korea.

To provide a more accurate analysis of the sudden development of South Korean multiculturalism discourse and the bureaucratic order which contributes to it, I utilize three interviews as supplementary data: Han-Soo is a public official in the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family who has experience working on female marriage migrants' early settlement, Hae-Young is a leftist, feminist activist with 20 years of experience working on issues concerning female migrants and Jong-Min is a minister, at the same time, a head of one of the Multicultural Family Support Centers in *Daegu*. This chapter examines inter-ministrial conflict and competition between the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (MoGEaF) and the Ministry of Justice on policies to regulate female marriage migrants. Feminist non-governmental organizations also play an important role in that context. Therefore, I chose to interview an actor in each of these groups: a public official (MoGEaF), an experienced feminist activist (NGO) as well as the head of the Center for integrated information about how multicultural discourse affects multicultural families' lives

5-2 Problematizing Others Before the Mid-2000s

This section offers an overview of groups which were marginalized prior to the mid-2000s. I begin with several of the lesser known groups, such as the mixed-blood descendants considered by-products of the Korean War and foreign husbands of South Korean women, before moving onto the other groups, multicultural families composed of female marriage migrants attracting the public attention.

5-2-1 Invisibilizing Others

Although the term multicultural families currently recalls couples composed of South Korean men and foreign women, there are other types of international couples in South Korean modern history, foreign men and South Korean women, that have hardly been welcomed. For instance, following South Korean liberation from Japanese colonialism (1945), the U.S. army took up station in South Korea; shortly thereafter, South Korean sex workers came to reside in the military camp town. Until the 1980s, many of these sex workers were minors or victims of human trafficking (Heo, 2014a). They were controlled, and the South Korean military dictatorship hailed them to be patriots engaged in earning U.S. currency. In South Korean society, however, these workers were treated with contempt. Their mixed-blood children, who were thought as descendants of the sex workers or South Korean women who were sexually exploited by the U.S army, were considered tragic and shameful by-products of the Korean War, as they personified the contamination of the Korean nation by foreign bodies (H. Yang, 1998, p. 131). With this perception, and under the pretext that the mixed-blood children should be sent to their fathers' lands, the majority of the mixed-bloods, were forcibly adopted (as infants or toddlers) overseas under the policy of One Nation One Ethnicity (*ilgug ilmin*), and emigration was recommended by the government for the mixed-blood adults until the 1970s (K.-E. Lee, 2017, p. 57). This policy is a typical example of how the government wielded biopower to exclude the mixed-bloods from society, viewing these individuals as biopolitical objects and members of a different species instead of as persons. People of mixed-blood descent who stayed in South Korea face severe discrimination because of the color of their skin and the supposed background of their birth.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, another type of international couple has emerged: the couple composed of South Korean women and foreign migrant workers. However, this type of

couple has not garnered much public or government attention even though their offspring are shunned as due to the stronghold of patriarchal ideas in South Korean society. International marriages between male migrants (generally low-skilled and low-paid labourers from developing countries) and South Korean women has increased due to the globalization of the labour market. Until the late of 1990s, this type of couple was more commonplace than couples which formed between South Korean men and female marriage migrants. Despite the growth in this phenomenon, there were no governmental efforts to conceptualize or frame it with notions such as multiculturalism. Administrative support for them was also inadequate. For example, up to the early 2000s, a person who was eligible to receive F-2 dependent visa was deemed a '(South Korean) citizen's wife'; this androcentric perspective placed couples composed of male migrants and South Korean women in a predicament (Jae-Hoon Yoon, 2001).¹²²

Considering these cases which rarely drew attention reveal a common determinant of inclusions for international couples and the mixed-blood people in South Korean society: the patriarchal notion that females are the property of men and pure-blood ideology. In other words, male foreigners whose partners are South Korean women were not considered members of South Korean society. Their children were also exposed to bigotry because of their paternal lineage. Therefore, until the number of female marriage migrants increased, the South Korean government and the public had few incentives for seriously considering not only international marriages but also a concept of multiculturalism.

¹²² To address gender imbalances in their rural populations (details are in the next section), since the early 1990s, local governments have made efforts to get South Korean men in rural areas to marry Korean-Chinese women. For the sake of administrative convenience, in 1993, the Enforcement Decree of the Immigration Act was revised to specify the qualifications for the F-2 visa.

5-2-2 Korean Ethnic Reunion by International Marriages

In the 1990s, South Korea experienced the arrival of a new type of migrant: the female marriage migrant. This was caused by the South Korean domestic pull factors, such as gender imbalances in the populations of rural areas, and international push factors, such as the feminization of migration (J.-H. Ahn, 2012; H.-M. Kim, 2007). Since the era of industrialization in South Korea began in the 1970s, the urban population has rapidly increased and demand for female labour in urban areas has grown (H.-W. Cho, 2011). Along with this, the South Korean female population has become more educated, their economic power has increased, thus the conventional belief that women must marry has weakened among young South Korean women (A. E. Kim, 2012). Rapid urbanization created a gender imbalance, which continuously worsened, among the younger populations in rural areas. Thus, beginning in the 1990s, local governments introduced campaigns to ‘Get Rural Bachelors Married’ (Geon-Soo Han, 2008). Along with rapid economic development in South Korea, this phenomenon has attracted Asian women from surrounding countries to South Korea (Hye-Sun Kim, 2006). Many Southeast Asian countries have a traditional tendency for female family members to bear the responsibility to support their families financially (Y. Kim, Kim, & Han, 2006, p. 114). Therefore, the influx of those women is considered a part of feminization of migration, specifically the trend of global hypergamy (Constable, 2005) which has opened the door for women to achieve a higher economic status; thus, this seems to work as the push factor with respect to female marriage migrants migrating to South Korea where they are in demand as brides.

Nevertheless, during the liberal President Kim Dae-Jung’s tenure (1998-2002), international marriages were considered more as a union of two persons of Korean ethnicity (Soon-Hyung Lee et al., 2006, p. 17) than a multicultural phenomenon. The population of

marriage migrants increased noticeably;¹²³ however, the majority of female marriage migrants were from the Korean diaspora in China at the time (Soon-Hyung Lee et al., 2006). Korean-Chinese migrants are generally descendants of Koreans who emigrated to China to escape the hardships of life under Japanese colonialism or to join the Korean independence movement (J.-H. Choi & Kim, 2016; D. H. Seol & Skrentny, 2009). Until the beginning of the 2000s, many South Koreans considered them to be members of the same Korean nation; thus, when they tried to recover their South Korean nationality and claim their ‘rights to return home’ in 2003 (J.-M. Song, 2004),¹²⁴ 73% of South Korean people supported their right to live in South Korea (S.-H. Cho, 2003c). Therefore, when the international marriages between South Korean men, and Korean-Chinese women were encouraged or arranged by several local governments, the marriage was conceptualized as reunion of Korean people, thus, discussion about cultural differences or multiculturalism was rarely found in government documents.

Interestingly when the terms multiculturalism or multicultural were used in the government sectors, unlike today, they were used differently as a generic term used to indicate something else. In other words, the terms referred to either various subcultures or folklores which do not related to marriage migrants. The first document employing the term ‘multiculturalism’ in the National Archives of Korea was a government research document commissioned by the Korea Publication Ethics Commissions (a special corporation under the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism) and conducted by a professor in the Department of ethical culture and a high school teacher. It was a research study titled ‘Study about the changing consciousness of adolescents and adults about sex: for the forward-looking sex culture in the era

¹²³ In 1990, there were 4,710 international marriages (H.-K. Han, 2009), and, in 1998, there were 12,188 (I.-J. Yoon, 2008a).

¹²⁴ This claim formed part of a movement urging the South Korean government to reform the Act on the Immigration and Legal Status of Overseas Koreans. I discuss this issue in detail in chapter 6.

of multiculturalism' (S. H. Koo, Lee, & Sim, 2001) published in 2001. In this document, the term 'multicultural' refers the situation that various subcultures and minority cultures are mixed up due to rapidly developing information technology, globalization, and democratization. The authors mainly consider youth culture, specifically with respect to teenage prostitution, pornography addiction, and homosexuality. One of the purposes of this research is to establish an ethical alternative based on moral pluralism in order to resolve social problems brought up by rapidly changing sex culture in the teenage population. In this research, the term multiculturalism is not adopted to deal with ethnic minorities whatsoever. Another document that employed the expression 'multiculturalism' in 2001 was about introducing an exhibition held at a museum in Los Angeles. The exhibition explores traditional funeral cultures from all over the world and the goal of the sponsor, the Korean Culture and Information Service, is to teach the world about Korean culture, and its funeral culture in particular. In this case, culture is defined in a narrow sense as folklore, such as traditional costumes, food, and ceremonies. Therefore, up to the beginning of the 2000s, we can see that multiculturalism did not refer to migrants, international marriages, or persons of mixed-blood.

5-2-3 Mixed-Bloods Who Share Korean Ethnic Roots

5-2-3-1 Apathy Towards International Marriages

During the second liberal President Roh Moo-Hyun's term in office (2003-2007), the ethnicities and cultural backgrounds of female marriage migrants became more diverse, and most researchers argue that South Korean multiculturalism began with this liberal government. Nevertheless, it is hard to find remarks about international marriage or multiculturalism in the first half of this presidency. Shortly before the beginning of President Roh's tenure, calculations of the total fertility rate recorded the lowest number of births (crude birth rate: less than 1.2 in

2002) at that time (KOSIS, 2002).¹²⁵ Thus, the existing research indicates that the main factor boosting multiculturalism discourse during the Roh Moo-Hyun government was population issue such as the low birthrate, the ageing society, and the shortage of labour (A. E. Kim, 2012). However, when closely checking the government documents out, it is found that the government did not directly connect those issues with international marriages at the beginning. In the ‘100 Government Projects (*100dae gugjeong gwaje*)’ which the government published at the start of President Roh’s tenure, a policy for balance between work and family was suggested merely as a solution to the low birth rate (PCoPP, 2006). The Presidential Committee on Ageing and Future Society was established in February 2004, yet there was no reference to female marriage migrants, multiculturalism, or foreigners in either the announced purpose for establishing the committee or in the inaugural address of Commissioner Kim Young-Ik. In 2005, the first plan for the low birth and aging society, known as the *Saeromaji* Plan, was established. This plan made no specific reference to immigrants or female marriage migrants as well. That is to say, even though the Roh government is often viewed as the first government to secure a foothold in the current discourse of South Korean multiculturalism, it is noteworthy that, for more than the first-half of President Roh’s tenure, the government did not pay much attention to either multiculturalism or female marriage migrants.

South Korean patriarchy can be considered one of the main factors which prevented the liberal government from proactively considering multiculturalism policy sooner. South Korea’s nationalist patriarchy has deep roots across society. Keeping pace with increasing number of female marriage migrants, in March 2005, the President Roh Moo-Hyun mandated the Ministry of Health and Welfare to study German nationality laws including ‘jus soli’ and relaxed

¹²⁵ In 2018, the world’s lowest birth rate was 0.98. Declines in birth rate continue today (KOSIS, 2018c).

requirements for naturalization (Nam-Kook Kim et al., 2012, p. 211). In the following month, in the Year Start Meeting at the Ministry of Justice (hereafter, the MoJ), the President encouraged an alternative approach to current Korean ethnic nationalism (Nam-Kook Kim et al., 2012, p. 211). Likewise, there were efforts made towards a more progressive definition of Korean nation (*minjok*) during President Roh Moo-Hyun's tenure. However, those efforts did not bear fruit¹²⁶ and the following incident sheds some light on the limited progress in assuaging Korean ethnic nationalism: In a meeting in 2004, Kim Young-Ik, a commissioner of the Presidential Committee on Aging and Future Society, presented successful practices that improved childbirth in North Europe and France (Y.-I. Kim, 2010). He recalls that the cordial atmosphere of the meeting quickly changed when the Minister of Finance and Economy presented findings that the increased birthrates in those countries resulted from an increased number of children born out of wedlock and to migrant families (Y.-I. Kim, 2010). Specifically, due to the obsession with Korean blood-based nationalism and the myth of a traditional patriarchal family, solutions for the population crisis had centered on a social welfare policy targeting South Korean females until spring of 2006. This was a passive approach to preventing the supposed growth of the non-Korean ethnic population in South Korea, a strategy which resembles the biopolitical regulation of past policies, such as One Nation One Ethnicity.

5-2-3-2 Tolerance of Mixed-Bloods

Nevertheless, in the early 2000s, incessant immigration and a growing number of children born to new immigrants would lead society to respond (before the government) to matters relevant to the mixed-bloods. Those who first attracted the South Korean public's

¹²⁶ The conclusion of the January 17th 2006 meeting discussing policy about foreigners was that the 'policy of fostering immigration will be postponed for a while and will be discussed later if the birth-rate does not improve' (B.-J. Kim, 2008, p. 95)

attention were the mixed-bloods with Korean ethnic roots. At the beginning, a vague distinction was made between the mixed-bloods who had been living in South Korea since the Korean War (1950) and a newer generation of mixed-bloods who were descendants of the international marriages which had proliferated since the 2000s. Then, in 2003, the Christian NGO Hi Family¹²⁷ suggested that the term ‘second generation multicultural families’ replace the term ‘mixed-blood child.’ Although this organization does not work directly with international marriages or adoptions, it presented a petition to the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) of Korea¹²⁸ arguing that the term ‘mixed blood child’ infringed on human rights and the connotations attached to the tragic legacies of the Korean War.¹²⁹ Song Gil-Won, a pastor and a representative of the Hi Family, commented that “a long time has passed since the War... there lies still discrimination against the mixed-blood because of different appearances” (CGNtoday, 2003) and that, just as the term African-American substituted the term negro in the United States, the term ‘second generation multicultural families’ should replace the term mixed-blood children in South Korea (Joongangilbo, 2003). At the time, however, the term multicultural families was not prevalent yet; there was another attempt in the educational circle as well. In March 2006, ‘*onnurian*’ was suggested as an alternative term for ‘mixed-blood children’ by the North Jeolla Province Ministry of Education (S.-I. Kim, 2011). This term is a compound word comprised of the pure Korean word ‘*onnuri*,’ which means the whole world and the English suffix ‘-ian’.

¹²⁷ Under the slogan ‘family like church and church like family,’ the Christian NGO ‘Hi Family’ was established for boosting happiness among families (“Introduction of Hi Family,” n.d.).

¹²⁸ The NHRC was founded in 2001 under the liberal government of South Korea. Discussion about setting up the NHRC was triggered in the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993 and was an outcome of the UN’s continuous suggestions to establish a national human rights institution in every country.

¹²⁹ Guest speakers for the proclamation ceremony of the ‘second generation multicultural families’ were not only mixed-blood youth, but also middle aged mixed-blood individuals who were born near the Korean War (1950). They continue to assert that they and their families are victims of bigotry which stems from South Korean people’s mythical belief in the superiority of pure blood, and they should therefore be supported by the government.

While this expression is rarely used today, through these attempts, we can see an initial social interest in incorporating mixed-blood people, rather than other migrants such as female marriage migrants and migrant workers, into the South Korean society.

Korean response to Hines Ward, a successful American football player with Korean ethnic roots, offers a clear example of how the rationalities which underlie interests in mixed-bloods are conventional and nationalist, and far away from conventional pluralistic ideas about multiculturalism. Ward, whose father is African American and mother is South Korean, was named MVP of the U.S. National Football League's Super Bowl in February 2006. His subsequent visit to South Korea and the reflections he offered about South Koreans' obsession with Korean pure-blood are considered to be the first trigger of a broader interest in the idea of multiculturalism in South Korea (Geon-Soo Han, 2007; K. Han, 2007; H.-M. Kim, 2007). However, discourse about him and his mother was fraught with conventional narratives mixed with excitement about a Korean's success story in the U.S., a country which South Koreans have highly admired. In response to the enthusiastic interest in Ward, various media outlets released news articles about his success story and his mother's struggles, efforts, and dedication to raising her son in the U.S. In the media, his mother's way of disciplining Ward was by and large labeled 'typical,' 'strict' and 'Korean-style,' and she was also labeled a 'strong,' 'devoted,' and 'Korean mother' (J.-E. Jang, 2006; Y.-S. Koo, 2009; N.-W. Son, 2010). Although Hines Ward's success in the U.S. seems, at a glance, an opportunity for South Koreans to reflect on pure-blood ideology, the enthusiasm toward him was still nationalist. Thus, Bae Ki-Chul, who is a mixed-blood Korean and a leader of the Korea Federation of International Families (an organization for the Korean mixed-bloods), claimed that the interest in or warmth toward the mixed-bloods is only proffered to those who have succeeded (M.-Y. Kim, 2006). Furthermore, he argued that the

mixed-bloods who have been living in South Korea since the Korean War (1950) suffer from bigotry as much now as they ever had in the past.

Not surprisingly, in the various narratives encouraging tolerance to the mixed-bloods, it is hardly noted that their cultures may be different from the mainstream culture of South Koreans in which case, South Korea would need to change its national vision to a multiethnic or multicultural society. Even though the term multiculturalism is used, it instead indicates certain types of South Korean children who, except for their different skin colours, should reflect South Korean hypothetical virtues. Accordingly, in multiculturalism, the term culture functions to reinforce the idea that they would not be a threat to the dominant South Korean culture unless they denied traditional Korean qualities and other cultural homogeneities. According to Brown (2012), such conditional inclusion is permitted for those who are tolerated only if they stay in the given boundaries that were set up by the tolerant, who have power as members of dominant society. Thus, discourse surrounding the mixed-bloods ‘confers supremacy, beneficence and normalcy upon the tolerant’ (Brown, 2012, p. 6) South Korean natives.

Nevertheless, the very existence of the mixed-bloods cracked the idea of Korean ethnic homogeneity; it therefore appears unquestionably necessary to call for the general population to treat them with kindness. Increasing interests in the mixed-bloods, along with the influence of post-nationalism introduced in the late-1990s, led South Koreans to reflect on the myth of pure Korean blood. Such reflections have provided opportunities to consider the duties of global citizenship and to pay attention to female marriage migrants’ offspring who can mitigate the low birth rate. However, the sudden warmth toward them, without consideration of systematic and fundamental changes of society, can raise warning bells; requesting individuals to be kind to mixed-blood citizens and denouncing individuals’ narrow-minded bigotry toward them could

function to depoliticize and water down the sociopolitical structure which has been robustly entrenched in the society and justified, or at least connived to discriminate against them. One progressive journalist, Kim O-Jun (2006), asserted that abruptly requiring individuals' kindness and warmth towards the mixed-bloods, triggered by Hines Wards' arrival, could simplify and suppress fundamental social problems. He further argued that, without critically reflecting on the existing educational system which teaches the idea that pure blood is superior, and without attempting to build social consensus about the unscientific and exclusive nature of the concept of pure-blood, the media was doing nothing more than attributing discrimination against the mixed-bloods to individuals' personalities. Namely, Kim tried to separate individuals' domain where personal enlightenment about how to meet the new type of South Koreans is required, and domain of society where social responsibilities to the minorities should be fulfilled. This perspective, which was rarely found in South Korean press at the time, echoed Wendy Brown's critique of the emphasis on tolerance within the multiculturalism discourse. She suggests that, as a virtue, tolerance is acceptable for various belief systems in a community when these beliefs do not have public significance (Wenedy Brown, 2006, pp. 31–32). However, when individuals with certain attributes or socially marginalized identities are subjects of tolerance, the liberal discourse of tolerance tends to conceal the structural problems which produce social issues and depoliticizes them (Brown, 2006, pp. 45-48).

Although attention centred on the mixed-bloods, from the outset, the drawing up and publicizing of so-called multiculturalism policy saw the Roh Moo-Hyun liberal government making some effort to bring about changes to prevailing notions of South Korean national identity. For instance, the government developed the supports necessary to facilitate the acquisition of South Korean citizenship for six different categories of mixed-blood groups: those

who reside outside of South Korea due to childhood abandonment by South Korean men;¹³⁰ those who are born of male, U.S. soldiers and female, South Korean sex workers; those who are born of foreign female sex workers and South Korean men; those who are born of Vietnamese women and South Korean soldiers (during the Vietnam War); those who are born of male, migrant workers and South Korean women, and; the offspring of female marriage migrants (PCoSI, 2006, p. 83). These details come from two main plans (*Plans for the Social Integration of Marriage Immigrants* and *Plans for the Social Integration of Mixed Bloods and Migrants*), which were announced in the Presidential Committee on Social Inclusion on April 26, 2006. On that day, liberal President Roh Moo-Hyun declared that South Korea was on an irreversible path toward becoming a multicultural society. The plans made it clear that, in the name of multiculturalism, the government would not only address female marriage migrants and their offspring, but also other, ‘diverse’ groups whose difference are problematized vis-à-vis Korean-ness. Although these plans (particularly the *Plans for Social Integration of Marriage Immigrant*) were criticized for how they considered female marriage migrants as substitutes for South Korean women in order to address the problem of low birth rates, it is worth noting that the Ministry of Justice was designated as the main authority in charge of the policies stemming from both of these plans. The Ministry of Health and Welfare was also expected to play a significant role because anti-discrimination, human rights improvement, and poverty alleviation were targets of the plans. In addition, at the time, more straightforward terms, such as female marriage migrants and the mixed-bloods, were still used instead of the term multicultural families.

¹³⁰ Some of South Korean men’s unfaithfulness causes abandoned children. While residing in developing countries, such as the Philippines and Vietnam, for the purposes of business or study, some South Korean men deceive women in these countries into thinking that they will get married. When the women have their babies, however, the men sever contact with the women and return to South Korea without taking responsibility for their children or the women.

Although the term multicultural was occasionally found, the two Plans did not attempt to define multiculturalism or multicultural.¹³¹

Likewise, ethnic minorities in South Korea were not sufficiently considered as a subject for governance until half-way through Roh Moo-Hyun's presidency (2003-2007), and, when they finally were, it was initially the group described as mixed-bloods. The concept of multiculturalism appeared along with them; however, the discourse about the mixed-bloods was dotted with accounts of traditional Korean qualities. Thus, at the time, the concept of multiculturalism was thought to encourage the peaceful, productive coexistence of people with different skin colours. Namely, the Korean ethnic roots of the mixed-blood population could draw the interest of the public and the government, nevertheless, such interest does not manage to change dominant South Korean culture or to reconfigure South Korean national identity. Female marriage migrants as mothers of the mixed-blood children had been highlighted as well. However, unlike today, the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family appeared not as a ministry in charge of this group but as one that passively cooperates with the Presidential Committee on Social Inclusion.

5-3 Producing Multicultural Families

To some extent, the mixed bloods discourse analyzed above is quite different from current multiculturalism discourse. One such difference can be found in the shift in emphasis from mixed bloods to female marriage migrants. Along with this shift, the Ministry of Gender

¹³¹ The May 2006 Education Support Plan for Multicultural Children offers one exception to this tendency to omit definitions of multiculturalism from official government documents. In this plan, multiculturalism was defined as an ideology which is 'opposite to nationalism' and 'recognizes various cultures and their own unique characteristics in a society'. With the exception of this document, there has been almost no attempt to define multiculturalism in the governmental sector or to create social consensus about it over the last two decades.

Equality and Family (hereafter, the MoGEaF) became the relevant ministry instead of the Ministry of Justice (hereafter, the MoJ) and the Ministry of Health and Welfare. To better understand the role of political rationalities in generating these differences and transformations in discourse over the period of two consecutive conservative governments (2008-2016), I conducted a detailed investigation into the policy making process, and focused specifically on discussions and the enactment of the Multicultural Families Support Act (the MFSA).

5-3-1 Placing Female Marriage Migrants in the Spotlight

A conflict around administrative jurisdiction emerged between the MoGEaF and the MoJ. The MoGEaF, despite its fewer number of employees and smallest budget of all the ministries,¹³² managed to convert female marriage migrants into the most significant issue under the jurisdiction of multiculturalism policy. The Roh Moo-Hyun government had in fact designated the MoJ to be the authority which would deal with all issues relevant to migrants, including those pertaining to female marriage migrants (Nam-Kook Kim et al., 2012). Therefore, the Act on the Treatment of Foreigners in Korea (hereafter, the ATRK) had already been brought into force in May 2007 and placed under the jurisdiction of the MoJ. Although it had been publicly declared that the main purpose of this act was to help female marriage migrants adjust to South Korean society (LaJSC, 2007, p. 5), the MoGEaF sought to introduce a new act for female marriage migrants, which would belong to the MoGEaF. It was likely to be a strategy to win the conflict around administrative jurisdiction. Although the establishment of the Ministry of Gender Equality (the ministerial predecessor of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family) in 2000 was considered a huge step forward in the South Korean feminist movement, its actual power has

¹³² According to an empirical survey which ranked ministries according to power, in 2005, the MoJ ranked 6th and the MoGEaF placed 21st among the entire 21 ministries. The rankings were determined by budget and staff scale, the president's support, jurisdiction, and professionalism etc. (C.-O. Park, 2005, p. 19).

remained weak due to its inherent limits (H.-K. Roh, 2019). The establishment of the Ministry of Gender Equality (hereafter, the MoGE) was more of a political gesture of the Kim Dae-Jung liberal government. Its jurisdiction was originally drawn from the Ministry of Health and Welfare's policies for promoting women's interests: domestic violence, sexual violence, and support for the Japanese military sex slaves. Its small and ambiguous jurisdiction remained even after it evolved into the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family.¹³³ Due to its limited jurisdiction, there were not many projects that could be accomplished in practice without support from other ministries. According to Han-Soo who was a public official in the MoGEaF,

“Vying for leadership is very common because surviving is an utmost task for public organizations. In this regard, the MoGEaF has had difficulties because it cannot complete many projects without support from other ministries. For instance, projects concerning visa issuance to female marriage migrants often originate as immigration issues and can therefore be directly affected by the MoJ (interview, June 6, 2018).”

Nevertheless, as a government ministry, the MoGEaF wanted to secure and expand its jurisdiction and policy area. Against this background, the MoGEaF and its supporters (feminist groups) they laid claim to issues concerning female marriage migrants. They lobbied relevant organizations, public officers, and the public at large in order to win the inter-ministry conflict with the MoJ (T.-H. Hwang, 2012).¹³⁴

¹³³ The current MoGEaF was originally established as the Ministry of Gender Equality in 2000 and it has oscillated between the former and the latter depending on the whims of cabinet reshuffling. In 2006, the MoGEaF made an attempt to draw youth policies from the Ministry of Health and Welfare for more budget, however this attempt failed (Min-Jeong Lee, 2006) by facing criticism that female issue is limited into family issue. In December 2007, conservative president Lee Myung-Bak announced that the MoGEaF would be abolished; therefore, for the MoGEaF, looking for new policy subject was the most urgent task at the time.

¹³⁴ The MoGEaF's understanding of multicultural family-relevant issues is not always rational. For instance, in 2007, during the most intense moments of the jurisdictional conflict between the MoGEaF and the MoJ, the MoJ found that 40% of marriage migrants were not able to speak Korean properly, so the MoJ attempted to make the

One of the advantages given to the MoGEaF during the turf war over multiculturalism policy was a public-private-partnership (PPP) for female marriage migrants, who were regarded as an emerging customer base for a cosmetic conglomerate, Amore Pacific. In a race to occupy a potential policy area, one general strategy is to launch relevant projects in the policy area (S.-O. Yoon, 2005, p. 165). In this context, the MoGEaF conducted an investigation into female marriage migrants' lives in South Korea. This project started with a proposal from Amore Pacific, one of the biggest cosmetic companies in South Korea, to bring the MoGE into long-term cooperation on issues concerning female marriage migrants. In 2005, this company paved the way for the MoGE to dedicate itself to issues concerning female marriage migrants. The Amore Pacific promised to make a 5-year donation (total \$1.175 million CAD) as a part of the Women's Development Fund in the Ministry (Amorepacific, 2008). This was the first instance of a partnership in South Korea between the government and a private enterprise, defining the characteristics of the project from the outset (Amorepacific, 2008). This PPP was regarded as a good chance for the MoGEaF to secure and enlarge this jurisdiction,¹³⁵ and it allowed Amore Pacific to establish a new customer base of female marriage migrants by drawing on the project data.

Furthermore, leftist NGOs, including feminist NGOs that were instrumental in South Korean state feminism, spared no effort in supporting the MoGEaF's struggle to defeat the MoJ

Social Integration Program including Korean language learning program compulsory for acquiring South Korean citizenship. However, the MoGEaF opposed the program, criticizing its useless regulation of the migrants and feminist NGOs as well protested against implementing the program (T.-H. Hwang, 2012). However, according to Han-Soo (a public official of the MoGEaF), the program started anyway in 2014 by the MoGEaF after receiving various supports, including financial support from the MoJ.

¹³⁵ In August 2004, the Ministry of Planning and Budget recommended that the MoGE abolish the Women's Development Fund to reduce redundancies of general accounting. Feminist groups, total 39 groups on a national scale, presented a joint statement to protest against the recommendation (A39FG, 2005). Under this circumstance, the PPP with Amore Pacific was considered very important.

and to pioneer policy areas pertaining to female marriage migrants. The NGOs dedicated to migrants' human rights advocacy shared the idea that the MoJ was an inappropriate ministry for the protection of female marriage migrants' maternity. A representative of the Korean Migrant Workers Human Rights Center, Jeong Gui-Soon, supported the introduction of a new act for female marriage migrants because the MoJ had been notorious for excessively cracking down on undocumented migrants (GEaFC, 2007a). One feminist NGO, the Women Migrants' Human Rights Center of Korea (WMHRCK) also made efforts in support of the ratification of the new act belonging to the MoGEaF (GEaFC, 2007a). In practice, leaders of the MoGEaF are not only susceptible to the interests of their subordinates, but also to those of feminist NGO activists because of the partnership between the MoGEaF and the feminist NGOs, a typical case of state feminism (Won, 2006; Y.-J. Hwang, 2009; Shin, 2011). The birth of the MoGE was one of the long-cherished ambitions of feminist movement, and it was accomplished through the initiatives of feminist NGOs. Furthermore, due to its small and ambiguous jurisdiction and a shortage of staff (E.-K. Kim, 2008), the MoGEaF has come to rely on NGOs for professional activists and nation-wide organizing. This relationship became well-established during the two consecutive liberal governments (1998-2007)¹³⁶ (S.-S. Shin, 2011), thus, when the conflict between the MoGEaF and the MoJ began in earnest, feminist NGOs led several protests to support the MoGEaF. An interviewee, Hae-Young, who is a representative of a leftist feminist NGO for female migrants, also expressed her distrust of the MoJ and her trust in the MoGEaF. She explains:

¹³⁶ Particularly, the feminist movement considered the Roh Moo-Hyun liberal government, to be a 'successful insider (*seonggongjeog naebuja*)' because of the government's proper response to the movement's opinions (Bae, 2007, p. 209).

“When the MoGEaF was mainly in charge of multiculturalism policy, there would be a variety of limitations. However, the Ministry of Justice cracking down on migrants cannot be trusted. And female marriage migrants can be an important human resource capable of assisting and helping other migrants when they are in need because these women can learn the Korean language and culture more efficiently in their relatively stable South Korean homes than migrant workers or refugees. Thus, it is necessary that the MoGEaF takes more responsibility in multiculturalism policy (interview, May 30, 2018).”

The trust which feminist NGOs place in the MoGEaF, and their mistrust of the MoJ have affected policy decisions. Han-Soo, a public official from the MoGEaF cited earlier, suggests that, to unify the migrant-relevant policies and augment for administrative efficiency, over the last 10 years, the MoJ has had to make attempts to integrate and streamline migrant-relevant policies, ranging from the regulation of international marriage agencies and visa issuance to migrant settlement. However, these attempts repeatedly failed due to the notoriety of the MoJ’s crackdowns on undocumented migrants. In 2016, the Ministry of Public Administration and Security also attempted to unify the scattered migrant-relevant policies, but it failed because of stern opposition by the MoGEaF and its supporters. Consequently, leftist and feminist NGOs push the MoGEaF to make a breakthrough for the protection of female migrants’ human rights. These voices were in alignment with the MoGEaF’s interest in expanding its jurisdiction.

However, typical for PPP projects, the support which conglomerates and feminist NGOs offer the MoGEaF could produce negative side-effects, such as the absence of a state-level goal. Conflicts between ministries are negative sum games because each ministry’s primary interest stays within a narrow ministry goal instead of a broader state-level goal (Hee-Sun Lee & Yoon,

1999). This side-effect could be even worse in the case of South Korea because, from the outset, multiculturalism discourse began with influences of the conglomerate and the NGOs, which have little reason to consider state-level vision such as how to reconfigure South Korean national identity which requires society-wide consensus. For a country like South Korea where maintaining a single ethnicity has been considered one of national pride for a long period, state-level deliberations on how to redefine its national identity in the era of multiculturalism would be more important and urgent than offering tangible though limited supports for the ethnic minorities.

5-3-2 Narrowing-Down and Smoke-Screening Immigrant Families

Toward the end of Roh Moo-Hyun's presidency (2003-2007), a series of meetings were hosted by the Gender Equality and Family Committee in the National Assembly to deal with bills which were proposed almost simultaneously and for seemingly overlapping target groups. These bills included: the Mixed-Blood Families Support Act (proposed by Kim Chung-Hwan, a conservative member of the National Assembly), the Immigrant Families Support Act (proposed by Ko Kyung-Haw, a conservative member of the National Assembly) and the Multicultural Families Support Act (proposed by Jang Hyang-Sook, a liberal member of the National Assembly). During these meetings, which took place between June and December 2007, those persons proposing the bills and their supporters competed to persuade other members of the National Assembly. This period was marked by the run up to the presidential election in December 2007, and the MoGEaF was concerned about being eliminated as a ministry;¹³⁷ thus, at these meetings, the ministry focused on enlarging its administrative jurisdiction. It did this by

¹³⁷ The MoGEaF was slated to be abolished by the presidential transition team for the next Lee Myung-Bak conservative government though these attempts in the end foundered due to outcries from liberal and progressive parties and NGOs.

ensuring the passage of any act that might fall under its jurisdiction and raise its chances of surviving as a ministry (T.-H. Hwang, 2012).

First, it is necessary to understand why the bill which directly considers the mixed-bloods, who are supposed to be welcomed within biopolitical continuum of Korean ethnicity, was not favoured in the meeting hosted by the Gender Equality and Family Committee. In this bill proposed by a conservative National Assembly member Kim Chung-Hwan, the term, “mixed-blood families,” was defined as ‘persons with one parent or sibling who is of a different race or ethnicity’, and it centered around individuals of mixed-blood instead of international married couples or families. The bill encompassed both mixed bloods born of the Korean War and those coming from recent marriage immigration as objects of public accountability. Thus, instead of MoGEaF, it was proposed that the Ministry of Health and Welfare will be in charge of setting up anti-discrimination policies, providing anti-discrimination education to public institutions and schools, and offering housing assistance and job-seeking supports. Kim claimed that in order to differentiate his bill from the other two bills (the Immigrant Families Support Act and the Multicultural Families Support Act), his bill was more important because it dealt with public issues and addressed the mixed-bloods who had been living in South Korea since the Korean War (1950), whereas the other two bills dealt with ‘family issues (*gajog munje*)’ stemming from ‘marriages in the private sphere (*sajeogin yeongyeog gyeolhonui munje*)’ (GEaFSC, 2007, p. 20). Participants (including the Minister of the MoGEaF) agreed with this argument and decided to separate the discussion of the bill ‘the Mixed-blood Family Support Act’. However, when this bill was suggested and tabled by the next government in 2011 and 2012, it was rejected with the justification that the Multicultural Families Support Act had

already passed, and the policy objectives overlapped. Although it drew the public's attention, and it was proposed prior to the other two bills, the mixed-bloods bill was eventually withdrawn.

The MoGEaF became the ministry responsible for the other two bills, the Immigrant Families Support Act and the Multicultural Families Support Act, based on the assertion that female migrants' maternal role in their South Korean families was the most urgent issue in need of protection. This assertion was presented by the MoGEaF to differentiate the proposed bills from the Act on the Treatment of Foreigners in Korea (the ATFK), which had already been enacted the month before and belonged to the MoJ. Although all participants in the hearing¹³⁸ recognized that the ATFK covered female marriage migrants (GEaFC, 2007a), they stressed the fact that female marriage migrants embody the role of being 'a mother to their South Korean children (*hangug janyeo ui eomeoni*)' and fulfil 'the status of women in families (*gajog guseongwon eseo yeoseong*)' (GEaFC, 2007a, p. 6). Besides, the MoGEaF aimed to provide female marriage migrants with services according to their family life cycle. The conservative National Assembly member, Ko Kyong-Hwa, and the liberal National Assembly member, Jang Hyang-Sook, who respectively proposed the two bills underlined the need for maternity protection along with Kim Min-Jung, the policy director of a leftist, feminist NGO known as the WMHRCK. Yang Seung-Joo, a public executive from the MoGEaF, also indicated that marriage migrants and their families -not individual migrants- were the primary objects of the newly proposed bills. They strategically narrowed the policy area down to a small and limited topic to effectively claim their jurisdiction (Brehm & Gates, 1997). In a nutshell, all participants in the hearing, except those from the MoJ, agreed that the maternal roles played by female marriage

¹³⁸ 'Hearing for the enactment of support act for the mixed-blood, immigrants, and multicultural families' held by the MoGEaF in June 2007.

migrants in their families were more important than the roles of migrant workers or the rights and duties of new South Korean citizens.

There was also competition between ‘the Immigrant Families Support Act’ and ‘the Multicultural Families Support Act’ as possible titles for the new act. In the end, the latter of the two titles won with the argument about whether there was a need to spread a ‘smokescreen (*yeonmag*)’ to cover up the fact that female marriage migrants are immigrants (GEaFC, 2007b, p. 7). In a Gender Equality and Family Subcommittee meeting in the National Assembly on November 14th, 2007, it was recognized that the two bills focused on almost identical groups of people: families that were composed of (female) marriage migrants and were formed since the 1990s in general (GEaFC, 2007b). Nevertheless, Jang Hyang-Sook, a member of the liberal party who proposed the bill titled the Multicultural Families Support Act, asserted that use of ‘multicultural families’ could mitigate the risk of social stigma and discrimination against migrants and their families. The premise of her argument is that the term ‘multicultural families (*damunhwa gajog*)’ sounds more value-neutral than the terms ‘immigrant (*imin*)’ or ‘immigrant families (*iminja gajog*),’ which stigmatize these populations as permanent outsiders. The majority of the participants in the subcommittee went along with Jang’s justification (GEaFC, 2007b, pp. 6–9): “[The term immigrant family] sounds negative and intolerant,” “[The term immigrant family] would not be welcomed by migrants’ husbands and children because it indicates that their wives and mothers came from somewhere else,”¹³⁹ and “therefore, covering [the straightforward expressions] to a degree would be necessary.” Since when the term multicultural families was introduced by the Christian NGO Hi Family, some researchers have pointed out the pitfalls that

¹³⁹ This statement reveals how the term ‘multicultural families’ is considered appropriate for female marriage migrants themselves and more so for their families; at the same time, it demonstrates that South Korean family’s social life is primarily valued through hiding migrant identity.

can result from use of the term; these include: ignoring the wrongdoings of the marriage broker business, fixating on a dichotomous distinction between Korean families and ethnically diverse families, and concealing the existence of other minorities with the umbrella term ‘multicultural family’ (H.-U. Jang, 2011). Nevertheless, usage of this term has received positive feedback from the participants, without consideration on predictable confusions caused by using the ambiguous term, in regard to its capacity to prevent the worst levels of stigma.

The idiosyncratic ideas that using the term ‘immigrant’ is not value-neutral but negatively labels migrants as a stigma closely resembles rationalities underlying the practice of renaming North Korea-related subjects as a gesture of goodwill. When the new name ‘people seeking a new land (*saeteomin*)’ was given to defectors, it was designed to avoid directly referencing terms, such as ‘North (Korea)’ or ‘defecting’ which South Koreans feel uncomfortable. This line of thinking can be understood as the result of a Cold War mentality which clearly distinguishes enemies or allies (Osgood, 1961). This Cold War mentality also offers a framework for judging that which is ‘neutral’ and ‘normal’ (Osgood, 1961, pp. 13-14). Therefore, terms like ‘immigration’ or ‘immigrant’ can serve to lump together groups of people who can then be labelled abnormal in South Korea while ‘multicultural families’ offers a more neutral and milder expression. That is to say, the expression ‘multicultural’ was employed as if it is a code word concealing words that have been implicitly tabooed in South Korea due to its historical background.¹⁴⁰ Park Seung-Joo, the Vice-Minister of MoGEaF, supported the term ‘multicultural families’ by directly indicating that terms - such as refuge, division, and migration - serve as reminders of the Korean War and its aftermath, and, as such, they are typically considered taboo

¹⁴⁰ Some terms are tacitly considered taboo to use in South Korea based on unspoken social consensus since the Korean War, such as *Inmin* (people), *Dongmu* or *Dongji* (comrade), and *rodong* (labor or work in light of mental or physical efforts to make a living). Instead, *Kukmin* (nation), *Chingu* (friend), and *Geunro* (labor or work in light of diligent work) are preferred as substitutes in South Korea (H.-G. Kim, 2016).

and avoided in the administrative field. Although immigrants who have arrived in South Korea since the late 1990s do not have anything to do with refugees from the Korean War, the members of the National Assembly agreed that the term ‘immigrant’ was at risk of being considered dishonourable or shameful. Thus, they preferred ‘spreading the smokescreen’ to hide the straightforward term (immigrant family), and to substitute it for the euphemistic and all-embracing term ‘multicultural families.’

In addition, this mentality which argues the need to substitute the term ‘immigrant’ with ‘multicultural’ resembles a norm of whiteness in racist contexts. It offers a dichotomous view of people or a form of nouveau-riche nationalism (Gil-Soo Han, 2015). Jong-Min, an interviewee who heads one of the Multicultural Family Support Centers in *Daegu*, explained how discrimination is already deeply entrenched in the term multicultural families.

“There is a tendency for couples composed of a South Korean and a white person to be called international marriages while couples composed of a South Korean and a migrant from Southeast Asia are called multicultural families. Thus, they (immigrant families) do not like to be called multicultural families, especially their children, who are mocked at school for being ‘multicultural’ (interview, May 24, 2018).”

Evidence of this racist perspective can be found as well in the polarization between and discrimination against multicultural spaces in South Korea; *Seorae* Village, a well-known French community, and Little Tokyo have been considered attractions in South Korea. However, the *Ansan* Special Multi-Cultural Village Zone where migrant workers concentrate and the Korean-Chinese Street in *Daelim-dong* are often considered crime-ridden districts because of their portrayals in the media in recent crime films. Therefore, what decides migrants’ inclusion in South Korea could be explained by the South Korean nouveau-riche nationalism (or nouveau-

riche racism) which mimics white supremacy entrenched in white nationalism. As a result, the term multiculturalism in South Korea only pertains to migrants who are poor, blue-collar, or non-white from developing countries. Thus, the culture within this term connotes those whom South Korean people reluctantly coexist with, and if possible, would shun. Therefore, although the expression, multicultural, has been often considered gesture of South Korean goodwill toward these migrants, it functions in practice euphemistically and implicitly to cover up and institutionalize a nouveau-riche racism.

The bill was eventually named the Multicultural Families Support Act (MFSA) instead of the Immigrant Families Support Act, and the legal term ‘multicultural families’ in the MFSA was defined in the narrowest manner possible: a subset of policy object – South Korean citizens’ families. A notable aspect of this process is that the MoGEaF which is supposed to speak for the ethnic minorities played the central role. Jang Ha-Jin, the Minister of the MoGEaF, confirmed that the MFSA targets only ‘our citizens’ and focuses on the provision of services tailored to the different life stages of their ‘families’ (LaJC, 2007b, pp. 23–24). Her affirmation was designed to prevent conflicts during the passage of this bill in return for jurisdiction over other migrants, such as refugees, undocumented migrants, migrant workers, and their children. When the Act on the Treatment of Foreigners in Korea (ATFK) was discussed in the National Assembly a few months before, opposition to the ATFK was strong among members, particularly conservative members of the National Assembly. In their objections, they reasoned that South Korean society was not yet ready to support foreigners who, as defined by the ATFK, ‘do not possess the nationality of the Republic of Korea and who legally stay in Korea for the purpose of residing in

Korea.’¹⁴¹ Therefore, to gain full approval from the National Assembly members to pass this bill, the MoGEaF led the way by narrowing down the definition of multicultural families. In the end, despite the initial expectation that this bill could offer a breakthrough on migrant issues that the MoJ had thus far tightly controlled, the policy objects of the MFSA were officially defined in the narrowest manner possible, that is, as families comprised of a marriage migrant (or a naturalized South Korean) and a person who had acquired South Korean nationality at birth.¹⁴² In the end, the ambiguity of the term ‘multicultural families’ served to single out certain groups of migrants, such as (female) marriage migrants, who can produce offspring that are considered second generation South Koreans and new members of South Korean society. In doing so, the stated purpose of the Act was to improve the quality of multicultural families’ lives and to achieve social integration by assisting members of multicultural families in leading their stable family lives. As a result, discourse of multiculturalism was narrowed down yet again to reproduction of South Korean population as one of family issues.

In sum, in the course of passing the MFSA, the public attention given to mixed-bloods smoothly shifted toward female marriage migrants and patriarchal stereotypes which expected female marriage migrants to perform family-centered maternal roles in South Korean families; these roles then became fixed and reinforced, particularly by active involvement of the MoGEaF and its supporters. This was the result of a distinctive South Korean context: The MoGEaF’s bureaucratic need to survive as a ministry motivated it to take the lead on this matter in conjunction with non-governmental forces. Meanwhile, passivity on the part of liberals and

¹⁴¹ When the bill, ‘Immigrant Family Support Act’ was discussed as well, the majority of the National Assembly members balked at the idea that the term ‘immigrant Families’ might encompass migrant workers, refugees, and children of undocumented migrants.

¹⁴² The definition was revised later on and the current legal definition of multicultural families refers to families comprised of a marriage migrant (or naturalized Korean) and a person who has acquired South Korean nationality by birth (or by naturalization).

progressives, who are supposed to take the lead in issue of ethnic minorities, was not conducive to establishing a clear vision about non-Korean ethnicities at this time. As a result, the MFSA passed by a unanimous vote in March 2008 and it provides an overview of the implementation of a support system for multicultural families, as well as the type, content, and boundaries of support to be made available: protection of and support for victims of domestic violence, support for health management before and after childbirth, childcare and education, and the provision of information about daily life and educational supports including family counselling, couples' relationship education, and parenting education. The main contents of South Korea's multiculturalism policy are different from typical multiculturalism policies in Western literature. There are no stipulations about the importance of cultural heritage, the legitimacy of maintaining one's heritage, or government programs to support such matters. It can be said that legislating the act put in place the legal basis for the continuous and ongoing support of the family life of multicultural families generally composed of female marriage migrants and South Korean men.

5-4 Regulating Multicultural Families

Unlike other policies, such as the welfare policy or the policy toward North Korea, which were abolished or changed direction during the two consecutive, conservative governments (2008-2016) which followed the decade of liberal governments (1998-2007), multiculturalism policy continued to thrive. During this time, conservative force' advocacy for multicultural families became more obvious and systematic. According to Pal (1993)'s empirical examination of how programs of Canadian multiculturalism policies represent governmental interests, what the government wants to accomplish can be inferred by tracing the flow of funding because funding is an efficient means by which to satisfy governmental plans. In South Korea, 4.4 billion

won (around \$5.03 million CAD) was allocated to multiculturalism policy in 2007, and, after the MFSA was passed, this allocation rose to 58.1 billion won (around \$80.44 million CAD) in 2010 under the Lee Myung-Bak conservative government. A year later, in 2011, the multiculturalism budget reached 92.6 billion won (around \$128 million CAD). For both governmental departments and NGOs in South Korea, the term ‘multicultural’ became an effective buzzword for securing government grants (Ji-Hyun Yoon, 2010).

Unlike the liberal governments that came before them, the consecutive conservative governments (2008-2016) were able to actively respond to issues relevant to female marriage migrants because the conservatives had assigned more value to the South Korean-centered identity than to the Korean-ethnic identity. Moreover, the bureaucratic efforts by the MoGEaF to secure its administrative jurisdiction were also made during these two consecutive conservative governments. Thus, the conservative governments candidly conceptualized female marriage migrants as necessary human resources who produced second generation South Koreans. In the research regarding the population crisis conducted early in conservative President Lee Myung-Bak’s tenure (2008-2012), female marriage migrants were considered a solution to low birthrates and an ageing society (NARS, 2010). This approach contrasts starkly with the hesitation which the Roh Moo-Hyun liberal government exhibited on this same issue early on in its government. In fact, the liberal governments also used to be criticized for their tendency to view female migrants and their children as timely and indispensable human assets for the future of South Korean society (H.-M. Kim, 2008). However, after officially passing the MFSA in 2008, this perspective became more obviously exposed, fixed, and reinforced as the act offered a foothold and supports.

5-4-1 Mothers in South Korean Families

After the MFSA was enacted, there were a couple of calls¹⁴³ to expand the scope of the legal definition of ‘multicultural families’ or to establish a fundamental act to integrate all migrant-related acts in order to re-establish the identity of South Korean society (GEaFSC, 2011, 2015). However, these attempts ended up foundering in the face of bureaucrats’ opposition. In detail, the stern opposition to bringing about changes in the existing the MFSA was from public officials of the MoGEaF and (senior) staff directors in the Gender Equality and Family Committees of the National Assembly. The opposition was based on the view that there already existed legislation for various ethnic minorities (the ATFK, the MFSA, and the North Korean Refugees Protection and Settlement Support Act, for instance), and social consensus on multiculturalism was insufficient. That is to say, the suggestions aimed to develop social consensus and integrate existing acts; however, those suggestions paradoxically collapsed due to a lack of social consensus and the pre-existence of relevant acts. Furthermore, in addressing complaints about the narrow definition of multicultural families, the MoGEaF claimed that they were in charge of the female marriage migrants but not the entirety of multicultural phenomena (GEaFSC, 2015, p. 32). The MoJ volleyed its responsibility for this type of discussion back to the MoGEaF as well (GEaFC, 2017, p. 14; LaJSC, 2015, pp. 25-27). In addition, when Kim Hee-Sun, a liberal member of the National Assembly, proposed the establishment of a Social Integration Fund for Foreigners, which would include a large scope of migrants (LaJSC, 2015b), the MoGEaF did not cooperate to establish the fund. One explanation for this opposition was that multicultural families were already supported by the Gender Equality Fund of the MoGEaF, which is for South Korean citizens (LaJSC, 2015b). Likewise, once the MFSA applied its

¹⁴³ These calls were made mainly by Lee Jasmine, a female marriage migrant who was elected as a conservative member of the National Assembly, and other conservative members whose local constituencies have high migrant populations.

leverage as an Act under the MoGEaF, the MFSA was utilized as a pretext to evade alternative discussions of multiculturalism. The ministries avoided taking responsibilities for any attempts to change the status quo. The conservative members of the National Assembly did not make persistent attempts to revise the Act or to establish an alternative act either; at the same time, it was not easy to seek the support of other members who were contented with the MFSA. Therefore, although there were a few calls to revise the MFSA, there has been little progress on discussions of multiculturalism up to now.

For reasons of administrative efficiency, the MoGEaF also made use of its discretion in regards to the issue of multicultural families, but this practice reinforced the stereotype of multicultural families and female marriage migrants as only deserving of assistance because of their family status. An example can be found in the mergers which have occurred between relevant institutions. When the older Healthy Family Support Centers were merged with the Multicultural Family Support Centers for the sake of administrative efficiency, the majority of the experts planning and pushing the merger forward were composed of social welfare and family welfare experts instead of experts on multiculturalism (GEaFSC, 2014). When another merger occurred between the Migrant Women's Emergency Support Center (a crisis hotline offering urgent referrals for domestic and sexual violence and sexual workers) and the *Danuri* Call Center (a center for resolving multicultural families' domestic difficulties) as well, a department in charge of the hotline for the female migrants' safety in emergencies moved to the Division of Multicultural Family in the MoGEaF, which mainly works on all-around domestic issues including consultations on fraudulent marriages¹⁴⁴ filed by South Korean male spouses

¹⁴⁴ Compared to perceptions of fraudulent marriage in other countries, such as Canada which has a binary frame of the Canadian victim and the evil foreign marriage fraudsters (Gaucher, 2018), South Korea still maintains popular ideas of victimized foreign brides from developing countries. However, due to the growing number of divorces

(G.-Y. Han, 2017). As a result, as independent policy subjects, only female migrants belonging to South Korean families were left but female migrants were disappeared. Thus, it is not surprising that when female marriage migrant Lee Jasmine was elected as a conservative member of the National Assembly, she also presented herself as the daughter-in-law of the Republic of Korea and the mother of South Korean children (J.-M. Sun, 2012).

Furthermore, although progressive and feminist NGOs significantly contributed to the empowerment of the MoGEaF, its projects were not always in alignment with NGO interests in creating a multicultural society. Instead, the MoGEaF contributed to the dissemination and legitimization of the patriarchal stereotypes of female marriage migrants through a legislation bearing the term multiculturalism. The Minister of the MoGEaF was entitled to designate the Multicultural Family Support Centers¹⁴⁵ and training institutions for professional personnel as well. The number of the Multicultural Family Support Centers has increased (current number of all centers: 218), the roles and responsibilities of the Centers broadened,¹⁴⁶ and the Centers have merged with existing NGOs dedicated to female migrants. One interviewee, Hae-Young, remarked that there are only a few organizations left in solidarity with her NGO, which thoroughly maintains its feminist identity. All across the country, individual, feminist NGOs dealing with migrant issues have gradually merged with the Multicultural Family Support Centers that receive stable government funding. Hae-Young explained the reality that there is

between South Korean men and foreign women, binary conceptions of innocent (old and poor) South Korean grooms and evil (young) foreign women have been gradually spread by xenophobic groups.

¹⁴⁵ This right to designate the centers was transferred to the local governments beginning in 2012.

¹⁴⁶ Services provided by the Centers to multicultural families vary; providing basic information about South Korea, education for social adaptation, job training, counselling for family or marital issues, education for parents, services and education about pregnancy, nutrition, and child rearing, support for school life, etc. Among their many services, their education of children continues to gain prominence.

almost no place left for female marriage migrants to turn when they face serious dangers and must ask for help.

“Here is almost the last place where the female migrants can be protected. Those females who call us for help generally complain of their experiences in other institutions, such as the Multicultural Family Support Center. The Center told the women that their difficulties could be attributed to ‘the way Koreans are, [thus they] should endure more.’ When we are protecting those female victims, occasionally their South Korean spouses or relatives come here and aggressively threaten us by damaging our properties. Honestly speaking, sometimes I fear being injured or even killed by them (interview, May 30, 2018).”

Female migrants face a variety of difficulties, including struggles stemming from poverty or age gaps between spouses.¹⁴⁷ Other serious problems faced by these women can also include: domestic violence; physical, emotional, or sexual abuse; unjust treatment under patriarchy, and; isolation from their families due to language and cultural barriers. Nevertheless, ‘the way Koreans are’ in the interview implies that old-fashioned, patriarchal orders force women to endure and accept these conditions. This case is a typical example of how female migrants are conflated with and subsumed under their ‘multicultural families.’ Consequently, the Multicultural Family Support Centers, which were supposed to establish stable support services primarily for female migrants, have ironically encroached on the feminist NGOs’ field of activities.

¹⁴⁷ The distribution of age gaps among spouses in South Korea has been documented as follows: Couples with a 11~15-year gap (21.6%), 16~20-year gap (36.2%), and 21~25-year gap (29.8%). In addition, the average period of time between from their couples’ first meetings and their weddings is 4.4 days; 29.2% of couples take only 1 day between meeting and marrying (D.-H. Seol, Han, Park, & Sim, 2017).

Meanwhile, although the mixed-bloods are probably considered the most acceptable of the ethnic minorities from a biopolitical perspective in South Korea, there is generally a lack of policy goals. One of the causes of this is that the discourse of multiculturalism has developed around the MoGEaF (Cha, 2019; GEaFSC, 2013). The purpose of this Act is to help multicultural families enjoy stable family lives, contribute to their quality of life, and improve their integration into society. This purpose cannot fully meet the needs of the second generation of multicultural families, particularly the adolescents called ‘multicultural adolescents (*Damunhwa cheongsonyeon*)’ (K.-M. Yang, Jang, & Jeong, 2019, p. 22). The absence of goals caused policy inconsistency and implementation gaps and ended up eroding multicultural education for understanding cultural diversity¹⁴⁸ into one-off programs: charitable, sporadic, and overstating responses to impending matters (Cha, 2019). In practice, public services for the second generation of multicultural families are dispersed to multiple ministries (Cha, 2019; GEaFSC, 2013): for instance, the Ministry of Health and Welfare is mainly in charge of services relating to births and upbringing; the Ministry of Education is in charge of the children’s school lives and learning, and; the MoGEaF takes charge of immigrant adolescents¹⁴⁹ through the Multicultural Family Support Centers. In the case of the multicultural adolescents whose number has been increasing (while the total number of native South Korean adolescents has been decreasing) are influenced by multiple legislations without a control tower.¹⁵⁰ Thus, it is difficult

¹⁴⁸ The Ministry of Education offers guidelines for multicultural education; however, multicultural education tends to be imparted according to the decrees of each local government. Particular schools designated as ‘multicultural specialized schools’ also develop their educational content autonomously.

¹⁴⁹ Immigrant adolescents are generally the adolescents who were born in foreign countries and migrated to South Korea with their mothers (or fathers) when they remarried South Korean partners.

¹⁵⁰ In 2018, the total number of the second generation of multicultural families was 222 thousand, and more than half of them are preschool children (115 thousand) (K.-M. Yang et al., 2019). Multicultural students in elementary and middle schools take 2.5% of South Korean students (S.-J. Oh, 2019). They are generally influenced by the Multicultural Families Support Act, the Juvenile Welfare Support Act, the Act on the Treatment of Foreigners in Korea, and the Enforcement Decree of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

to bring about fundamental and structural changes in multicultural education (Cha, 2019; K.-M. Yang & Park, 2013). Unless the discourse of multiculturalism goes beyond the family-oriented and maternal orientation, such question will be continually arise: Where have all the multicultural youth and twenty-somethings disappeared to (Y.-I. Jeong, 2018)?

5-4-2 Citizens Who Disregard Politics

After the MFSA was passed and the Lee Myung-Bak conservative governments rose to power (2008-2012), there was an attempt to link anti-communism to the issue of immigration. Female marriage migrants have been directly affected by it because around two-thirds of those who apply for naturalization are marriage migrants and over 80% of these are female. Under the conservative government, the liberal governments' Sunshine Policy on inter-Korean relations was abolished. A suspension of the dialogue and escalation of military tensions ensued. In March and November 2010, there were North Korean military provocations, and, in response to this national security crisis, the conservative government introduced a new step in the naturalization process which required migrants to take an oath to uphold South Korea's liberal democratic system in 2011. Introducing the oath, the MoJ announced that over 93% of naturalized migrants in South Korea are from countries, such as China and Vietnam, which describe themselves as communist (J.-E. Jung, 2011). The naturalization test and interview were also revised, requiring migrants to answer a greater number of questions about their convictions regarding liberal democracy. In the South Korean context, conservative force regards the term 'liberal democracy' as a primary value in the U.S.- led international order (B.-C. Lee, 2014). Therefore, the oath was a means of verifying migrants' ideologies. Nevertheless, in this regard, the MoGEaF cannot but go along with or acquiesce to it because of limits of the Ministry's jurisdiction.

Although, to date, there have been no clear signs of hostility in regards to the political orientations of female marriage migrants and multicultural families, the expectations for multicultural families in South Korean society do not generally include roles or activities in the political field. In 2015, under the Park Geun-Hye conservative government, an article about the purpose of the MFSA attempted to include multicultural families' roles and responsibilities in the fields of politics, economy, society, and culture.¹⁵¹ Although this article declaring the purpose of the Act did not include concrete contents, the assertion was nevertheless met with stern opposition from conservative National Assembly members, a staff director of the Legislation and Judiciary Committee, and the Vice-Minister of the MoGEaF. One conservative National Assembly member, Roh Chul-Rae, argued that the guarantee of cultural life or leisure activities is enough for multicultural families.¹⁵² Kwon Yong-Hyun, the Vice-Minister of the MoGEaF, supported conservative member Roh's argument, by suggesting that, for multicultural families, stable family life in South Korea should take precedence over any other aspects; thus, the political rights and responsibilities need not be stated and as such are not an urgent issue to be addressed (LaJS, 2015, p. 9; p. 35). Although liberal members supported the Act's inclusion of political roles as the due rights and duties of citizens, as a result, the purpose of the Act was finally revised in all other areas except for multicultural families' roles and responsibilities in politics.¹⁵³ This case clearly reconfirms the roles the South Korean society expects multicultural

¹⁵¹ In the previous version of the Act before December 2015, the purpose of the Act was 'to help multicultural family members enjoy a stable family life, and therefore contribute to the improvement of the quality of life of multicultural family members and their integration into society'.

¹⁵² Article (7) of the MFSA stipulates the types of programs that the state and local governments shall promote: 'programs for family counseling, marital education, parenting education, family life education, etc. ...'

¹⁵³ Article (1) of the MFSA stipulates the purpose of the Act: 'the purpose of this Act is to help multicultural family members enjoy a stable family life and fulfill roles and responsibilities as members of society, and therefore contribute to the improvement of the quality of life of multicultural family members and their integration into society.' Article (3)-2 addresses master plans for multicultural families. It states that a master plan shall consider how to promote 'multicultural family members' activities in all areas including economy, society and culture.' It does not mention the area of politics, however.

families to perform and how they are ethnicized instead of being considered citizens who carry out all their duties and responsibilities. A remark by Lim Joong-Ho, a senior staff director in the Gender Equality and Family Committees in the National Assembly, starkly demonstrates how the government views multicultural families: "...[multicultural] phenomena need to be cured (*chiyu*) in order to accomplish social integration." (GEaFC, 2012, p. 40)

Consequently, female marriage migrants could be forced to choose to either be apolitical beings who dedicated themselves to their families or guardians of the existing political system. Those female migrants can be at risk of becoming stigmatized as national security threats in the future when conservative force needs another influential political cleavage capable of substituting the Red Scare of the Cold War. This point was illustrated by the condemnation of Lee Jasmine (a conservative National Assembly member). A bill was proposed to guarantee the basic human rights of children of undocumented migrants in 2014 by Jung Chung-Rae, a member of the liberal party. However, the conservative media erroneously credited Lee Jasmine with tabling the bill and criticized her for it. They argued that, if the bill passed, it could cause a riot in South Korea akin to the 2005 French riots (K.-W. Jeon, 2015). Moreover, whenever she raised her voice in opposition to the mainstream conservative party on issues such as, the appointment of public officials, she was also singled out and criticized by conservative media. Thus, she was known as the conservative party member who was simultaneously hated by conservative and progressive online platforms (Shinyoon, 2015). She also expressed her embarrassment at public disapproval with her becoming a politician, since, prior to taking office, she had received applause when appearing as a guest on TV shows (Y.-H. Cho, 2015). Unfortunately, this phenomenon whereby female marriage migrants are forced to be apolitical could continue and worsen under South Korea's current conditions; both the conservative force

and the MoGEaF benefit from the narrowing of roles or expectations for female marriage migrants while the liberals and progressives are indifferent to the issue of multiculturalism.

5-5 Conclusion: Limitations of the Multiculturalism Discourse

As the discourse about the term multiculturalism grew, the meaning of culture in multiculturalism took on a subtly different subtext, and in the end, it reached conditions that favoured migrants. In the late-1990s, when the concept of multiculturalism did not pertain to immigration, the culture straightforwardly meant subcultures or folk cultures. However, in the mid-2000s, the mixed-bloods attracted the South Korean public's attention, and the term culture began to be used to refer to their skin colour on the premise that the mixed-bloods can also embody traditional Korean values. Since the process to enact the MFSA began, the main object of South Korean multiculturalism shifted toward female marriage migrants, and the meaning of the notion of culture changed again: it began to closely align with families composed of (female) migrants from developing countries. Going through the two conservative governments (2008-2016), the roles which female marriage migrants and their families were expected to perform were clarified and reinforced: They were increasingly expected to play the role of mothers to the South Korean children in their families, who are supposed to be compliant to South Korean existing orders. Specifically speaking, they were subjectified as socially South Korean family-centred, economically invisible belonging to their families, and apolitical beings.

One notable feature about multicultural governmentality is that multicultural families' subjectification was legitimized by the MoGEaF, which was supposed to speak for minorities. It

was caused by an idiosyncratic ideological configuration which is unique to the South Korean context. Unlike in other societies, there is a clear disparity between the conservatives' proactive attitude toward multiculturalism and the liberals and progressives' inactivity on this matter. Under these circumstances, feminist NGOs empowered the MoGEaF to push for the protection of female migrants' rights, and a cosmetics company made a timely donation to the MoGEaF in the hopes of attracting new consumers. The enactment of the MFSA was considered essential for the survival MoGEaF and the enlargement of its administrative jurisdiction. Thus, this ministry took the lead in promoting its passage by reinforcing those stereotypes of multicultural families which best aligned with South Korean conservative policy makers' perspectives. Consequently, while liberals and progressives -who were supposed to make proactive efforts in support of female marriage migrants- kept their silence on this relevant issue, the MoGEaF, feminist NGOs, and conservative force contributed to the regulation of multicultural families by limiting their roles to family life. As a result, South Korean multiculturalism policy does not contain stipulations about the cultural heritages of ethnic minorities, the value of cultural diversity, or the government's duty to promote these values. The main contents of the policy focus on family welfare services; those services required for bearing, rearing, and educating children are given specific attention. Unless the ideological configuration in South Korea changes, the tendency to limit multiculturalism discourse is likely to last for some time.

CHAPTER 6 Controlling the Migrant Worker Threat to South Korean Society

6-1 Introduction

Migrant workers of the 1990s brought the first statistically demographic changes to South Korea, however, they were not officially recognized as workers until 2003 and they have not been considered subjects in discourse of South Korean multiculturalism. Instead, they were officially recognized as quick and convenient trainees (Y.-S. Chung, 2019, p. 7). This was due to legislation which, beginning with the first South Korean government, the Rhee Syng-Man government (1948-1960), prohibited low-skilled workers from migrating to South Korea over a period of approximately 5 decades (Won-Sook Kim, 2010; G.-S. Yu, Seol, Lee, & Kim, 2012). Because of delays in transforming this policy and responding to demands of migrant workers in specific fields of the South Korean industries, migrant workers during this period were highly exploited and their human rights were severely violated (Y.-S. Chung, 2019; K.-T. Park, 2008). A new system called the Employment Permit System (hereafter, the EPS), which was expected to transform the old migrant worker legislation and was supported by progressive labour field and experts (Rai, 2015; Yu et al., 2012, p. 53), was conceived and finally enacted during the two consecutive liberal governments (1998-2007). However, the EPS is, today, criticized as a form of ‘modern slavery’ after the two consecutive conservative governments (2008-2016) (T.-J. Lee, 2013, p. 70). To date, migrant workers have not been mentioned as a target population of South Korean multiculturalism although the workers (1.37 million) (S.-J. Lim, 2019) account for 58%

of the immigrant population (2.36 million) in 2019.¹⁵⁴ From 1998 to 2017, terms such as ‘culture’, ‘multicultural’ or ‘multiculturalism’ never appeared to be discussed in the Environment and Labor Committee of the National Assembly where migrant worker relevant issues are mainly discussed.¹⁵⁵

Against this background, this chapter analyzes the discourse surrounding migrant workers and relevant policies centred around the liberal and progressive forces’ advocacy for the workers. In the chapter 4 and 5, I unveiled how conservative force has taken the lead in setting the social agenda by mobilizing plausible assertions about post-nationalism and severely criticizing the Korean ethnic nationalism perspective which liberals and progressives supposedly hold. However, in this chapter on migrant workers, we finally have the opportunity to look into the political rationalities of the liberal and progressive forces when it comes to migrant workers. Therefore, this chapter is essential to understanding the broader landscape of multicultural governmentality. Under this circumstance that advocacy configuration is overturned, one question worth asking is whether or not the rationalities that support the political actors’ attitudes towards other migrant groups (North Korean defectors and multicultural families) also apply in the case of migrant workers. Examining this, I argue, would elucidate some inclusionary and exclusionary logics of South Korean multicultural governmentality. In addition, it would help to foresee emerging social conflicts in the era of multiculturalism.

¹⁵⁴ The migrant workers take 7% of the number of South Korean workers, 27million (KOSIS, 2020).

¹⁵⁵ In 2014, in the Environment and Labor Committee of the National Assembly, the need to educate South Korean employers about multiculturalism was brought up just once, but this opinion was not echoed (EaLC, 2014a, p. 33).

In doing so, I also analyze discourse about Korean-Chinese¹⁵⁶ migrant workers because rationalities justifying the privileges given to them distinguish the South Korean case from the other cases. They are roughly 554 thousand in number and account for around 40% of the number of migrant workers (KOSIS, 2019e). At the same time, they are the biggest beneficiary of the EPS.¹⁵⁷ According to the conventional market competition model, anti-immigrant sentiment is due to an acute competition between native and migrant workers in the domestic job market (Facchini & Mayda, 2008; O'Rourke & Sinnott, 2006). However, this realist perspective is not well-suited to explaining South Koreans' response to migrant workers (J.-I. Cho, 2011). Although competition in the labour market does gradually increase,¹⁵⁸ other elements, such as historical attributes and national identity, are likely more pertinent for explaining this sentiment toward migrant workers in South Korea (J.-I. Cho, 2011; S. E. Ha & Jang, 2015). Korean-Chinese migrant workers who possess the characteristics of both overseas Koreans and migrant workers would be applicable to this case. Due to their Korean ethnicity, it could be supposed that the EPS is utilized as a biopolitical technology materializing attachment to the group who shares Korean blood-based ethnicity into the policy. I analyze if the EPS functions in this way through

¹⁵⁶ There are two Korean ethnic groups affected by the EPS: Korean diaspora in China (2 million) and the Commonwealth of Independent States (the CIS) (half a million). However, Korean-Chinese are the majority of Koreans who have benefited from the EPS (95%) (Y.-J. Choi, 2018, p. 328) and who have typically engaged in discourse of South Korean multiculturalism. Thus, I explore discourse about Korean-Chinese migrant workers in this chapter.

¹⁵⁷ Korean-Chinese migrants with the worker's status in South Korea account for around 40% of migrant workers (KOSIS, 2019e). Among Korean-Chinese migrants, those who migrated via the EPS (as the H-2 visa holders) are 25% of the total number of migrant workers (KOSIS, 2018d). Until 2007, more than 50% of migrant workers migrated via the EPS were Korean-Chinese migrants (Seol, 2012). However, because other types of visas permitting Korean-Chinese people to work in South Korea (such as F-1 for family visitors and F-5 for permanent residents) developed, the ration of the H-2 visa holders is decreasing.

¹⁵⁸ As is the case in other Asian countries, South Korea has developed a state-centered industrial policy which does not see considerable overlap in the labour markets yet which employ migrant workers and those which employ native workers (J.-I. Cho, 2011; D.-H. Seol, 2012). Generally migrant workers are allowed to work in the manufacturing, construction, service, agricultural, dairy, and fishing industries.

discourse about how Korean-Chinese migrant workers have been historically conceptualized and categorized.

Therefore, this chapter explores the discourses surrounding the birth and transformation of migrant worker policies centered around the EPS, and the privileges given to Korean-Chinese workers. Specifically, I analyze 1) the rationalities which shape the manner in which migrant workers have been problematized as well as the strategies which have utilized to rectify this problematization. And I ask, 2) Why are Korean-Chinese migrant workers considered distinguished from other migrant workers and what implications do these discourses and practices have for South Korean multiculturalism? 3) How has the conservative force conceptualized and controlled migrant workers, highlighting how migrant workers have been distinguished from other migrants and governed accordingly? 4) How have migrant workers been subjectivised in the end through policies which were undergoing continuous revision under the two conservative governments (2008-2016)? Through answering these questions, I expect to see whether the conservative force's tendency to actively but arbitrarily mobilize notions of post-nationalism and multiculturalism (while the political opposition remains silent) also applies to the migrant workers' issues, and; if not, what rationalities support the distinct approaches which these political forces take when addressing issues relating to migrant workers. In the end, we can foresee the yardstick which will be used to demarcate insiders and outsiders in the South Korean society and determine the direction of nation-building in the 21st century.

In the process of looking for answers to these questions, I utilize three interviews as supplementary data: Cheol-Soo, who is from Tibet, has been residing in South Korea for more than 20 years. He was previously an industrial trainee and foreign worker and currently holds the status of spouse -rather than permanent resident -of a South Korean woman; Jin-Yong is a

Korean-Chinese migrant who participated in a Korean-Chinese social movement which demanded South Korean citizenship in 2004. Lastly, Sang-Hee is a South Korean expert who has worked to screen migrants in the Korean Immigration Service for more than 15 years. I chose the two migrant workers who have participated in movements that revealed the political rationalities of the liberal policymakers. Besides, their different perspectives, stemming from their ethnicities, on the relevant policies, could offer chances to appraise the rationalities undergirding the policies closely. Finally, I chose Sang-Hee because of his job as a gatekeeper who can inform about what the government expects from migrant workers.

6-2 Background

6-2-1 The Influx of Migrant Workers

The distinct trajectory and slow speed at which immigration policy in South Korea has developed can be explained by its strong attachment to ethnic homogeneity, as well as its dense population. Unlike other immigration countries, such as Canada or Australia, where there are smaller populations but larger territories, South Korea has a much denser population.

Particularly, when the Immigration Control Law was enacted in 1963, South Korea had the fourth densest population in the world, with 297 persons per square kilometer (Won-Sook Kim, 2010). Government controls on the population encouraged South Korean people to emigrate and naturalize in host countries (Deok-Ju Kim, 1998) and discouraged immigration to South Korea until the 1990s (Won-Sook Kim, 2010). Notwithstanding such efforts, South Korea still holds the third highest population density (512/Km²) in the world in 2019 (with exception of city-states and self-governing dominions) (WPR, 2019). Therefore, to analyze the discourse on policies relevant to migrant worker, it is essential to understand the structural causes of labour market needs.

Since the 1990s, rapid democratization and the growth of a well-educated population have created a structural gap in the South Korean labour market (K.-T. Park, 2008, pp. 71–73). With democratic movement during the 1980s, wages rose and working conditions improved, particularly for workers in large corporations; small and medium-sized enterprises, however, were not generally able to keep up with these trends. Consequently, polarization increased between the corporations which needed white-collar workers and the small and medium-sized enterprises which hired blue-collar workers. During this same period, educational attainment also rose rapidly among South Koreans. College entrance rates, which hovered around 30% in the 1980s, rose to approximately 80% at the beginning of the 2000s (K.-T. Park, 2008, p. 71). South Korean job seekers no longer wanted to find jobs in small and medium-sized enterprises, and it aggravated labour shortages in those enterprises, particularly, the so-called 3D (difficult, dangerous, and dirty) jobs encountered a need for migrant workers (B. Lee & Kim, 2011). In the meantime, hosting the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Olympics, immigration in South Korea was relaxed in order to attract travelers. Migrant workers have steadily arrived since then. Even though their visas did not allow them to work in South Korea, they continued to work as undocumented migrants. The South Korean government had noticed their economic activities, but acquiesced to some extent (E. A. Chung, 2019, p. 5). As a result, in 1994, the number of documented migrant workers was about 20 thousand (the number of undocumented workers: 50 thousand), and in 2000, the number of the documented workers increased to over 108 thousand (the number of undocumented workers: 200 thousand) (Y.-A. Oh, Heo, Kang, Kim, & Shin, 2012).¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁹ However, by virtue of the EPS, the number of undocumented migrant workers remained the same (200 thousand) in 2005 while the number of documented workers increased fivefold, 500 thousand. In 2019, the number of migrant

Another significant element which explains the increase in migrant workers including Korean-Chinese workers in the 1990s is the establishment of diplomatic ties between South Korea and its neighboring countries after the end of the Cold War (K.-Y. Lee, 2000; Kwak, Ye, Jang, So, & Moon, 2011). After South Korea's normalization of diplomatic relations with countries in the Communist bloc, including China and the CIS, the number of migrant workers from those areas skyrocketed.¹⁶⁰ Among them, Korean-Chinese people, known as *Joseon-jok*, who have South Korean relatives or any connections have rapidly migrated at the time. According to the census bureau of the Yanbian Autonomous Prefecture where Korean-Chinese people have concentrated down in China, their population in Yanbian was approximately 2 million in the 2000s (J.-H. Choi & Kim, 2016, p. 173). Around one fourth of this population could be found residing in South Korea as migrant workers, marriage migrants, international students, or visitors (J.-S. Kwak et al., 2011, p. 1). In 2019, there were roughly 728 thousand Korean-Chinese people in South Korea, roughly 554 thousand of which are migrant workers (KOSIS, 2019e).¹⁶¹

workers reached 863 thousand and the undocumented migrant worker as well increased to 390 thousand (B.-D. Cho, 2020).

¹⁶⁰ Before the Korean-Chinese diplomatic normalization in 1992, Korean-Chinese people residing in South Korea were mere 2 thousand (Y.-P. Kim, 2006). Right after the normalization, the number reached to 31.5 thousand and in 2006 the number skyrocketed to 230 thousand (J.-B. Oh, 2007). This number was 10% of Korean-Chinese population in China. South Korea and Vietnam also normalized their diplomatic relationship in 1992. In 1993, the number of Vietnamese workers was only 400, but in the next year, the number increased to 6.7 thousand, and in 2000, it reached 20 thousand (Y.-A. Oh et al., 2012, p. 99). In 2019, the number of Chinese migrant workers took first place and reached more than 1 million, and the second place is Taiwan workers (198 thousand) followed by Vietnamese workers (197 thousand) (J.-R. Kim, 2019).

¹⁶¹ The actual number of Korean-Chinese workers who have engaged in economic activities would be more because many of them are marriage migrants or relatives who work while holding tourist visas in South Korea. Currently, Korean-Chinese residents of South Korea are roughly categorized into four groups: The elite and intelligentsia; owners of small and medium-sized businesses; self-employed workers, and; 3-D workers (J.-E. Lee, 2012). This chapter focuses on the fourth group of Korean Chinese residents. It analyzes discourses which address them as migrant workers in a context of the EPS, and it compares them to discourses which address other (non-Korean ethnic) migrant workers.

6-2-2 Antecedents of the Employment Permit System

At the beginning of the 1990s, in order to satisfy domestic labour market demands for migrant workers in a manner that limited these workers' access to labour rights, the Industrial Trainee System (hereafter, the ITS) was established. In other words, the workers allowed to work in South Korea by the ITS held visas for industrial training and internships instead of work visas. When the ITS began in October 1991, it was only for companies investing abroad and needing to train foreign workers (G.-S. Yu et al., 2012, p. 23). The System went through some revisions to expand the number of eligible companies, and in the end, relaunched in 1993 to address workforce shortages in small and medium-sized businesses (G.-S. Yu et al., 2012, p. 28). Although their legal status remained as trainees, the migrants were in reality workers. Only health insurance and industrial accident compensation insurance were granted to those who had trainee status even though compliance with those were practically tenuous (K.-T. Park, 2008, p. 77). Therefore, migrant workers had little motivation to heed the numerous restrictions imposed on the trainees in the ITS. As a result, the number of undocumented workers in South Korea skyrocketed from 48,281 in 1994 to 148,048 in 1997 (Y.-S. Chung, 2019, p. 4).

The disparity between migrant workers' actual roles and their legal statuses resulted in human rights blind spots. For example, the workers were prohibited from going out; they were locked up in their dormitories, and their passports were confiscated by their employers (D.-J. Shin, Lee, & Jeong, 2000). Their work hours also reached up to 80 hours per week (K.-T. Park, 2008, p. 103; S.-W. Yang, 2005). In response, in 1994, thirteen victims of industrial accidents went on strike demanding compensation for industrial injuries and overdue wages (K.-T. Park, 2008, p. 104). In 1995, Nepalese workers escaped from captivity and went on strike in

Myeongdong Catholic Cathedral in order to call attention to the physical assaults and verbal abuse they had suffered (G.-S. Yu et al., 2012, p. 37). The series of strikes in the mid-1990s was the first trigger for announcing migrant workers' presence in the South Korean society. Many private organizations, such as the Joint Committee for Migrant Workers in Korea, sprang up in the mid-1990s to help the migrant workers and urge the government to develop policy for migrant workers (K.-T. Park, 2008, p. 105). Within this context, the Kim Dae-Jung liberal government (1998-2002) seized power.

However, although the Kim Dae-Jung liberal government was expected to mitigate the labour crisis, it was not able to free itself from the neo-liberal economic order due to the aftermath of the 1997-98 Asian financial crisis. The external and internal economic autonomy of the government saw unprecedented decline during this period as a result of conditions set by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and U.S. pressures which were communicated through the IMF (B.-C. Lee, 2013; S. H. Park, 2017). The fundamental economic structure of South Korea was subsequently transformed according to neo-liberal economic principles (K. Y. Shin, 2010), which, in turn, heightened the degree of labour market flexibility and exacerbated the difficulties confronted by migrant workers. A new influx of migrants was prevented and voluntary departure from South Korea was induced (Won-Sook Kim, 2010). In addition, in order to overcome the financial crisis, the government implemented a subsidy that encouraged domestic companies to substitute undocumented migrant workers with South Korean workers (K.-T. Park, 2008, pp. 82–83). Nevertheless, ironically, this policy confirmed the indispensability of migrant workers in South Korean industries because, despite the government subsidy, the companies still had difficulties hiring South Korean workers who did not want to engage in 3D jobs (K.-T. Park, 2008, pp. 82–83). Afterwards, as soon as the economy recovered, the number of undocumented

migrant workers rapidly increased again (Won-Sook Kim, 2010). Therefore, this was the moment when the need for migrant workers became apparent in South Korea.

Despite many challenges, the Kim Dae-Jung liberal government took some credit for its effort to lay the foundations for a general migration policy in South Korea (Won-Sook Kim, 2010; J. Song, 2016). In 1999, the Act on the Immigration and Legal Status of Overseas Koreans was passed which guaranteed overseas Koreans would receive diverse services relating to their entry into and departure from South Korea, economic activities, and medical insurance benefits. This Act includes what Korean-Chinese migrants were allowed to do in South Korea and how they can meet required conditions for the F-4 Overseas Korean visa.¹⁶² In 2001, Jeong Dae-Chul, a member of the liberal party emphasized the need for a permanent residency system for the Chinese nationals who had been residing in South Korea for generations (LaJC, 2001), and this system was enacted in 2002. The ideas of adopting the Employment Permits System (the EPS) was proposed twice (in 2000 and 2002) by the liberal party as well, although it failed due to oppositions from the Ministry of Justice, economic bureaucrats, enterprises, and the conservative party (J. Song, 2016, p. 8). Likewise, although the Kim Dae-Jung liberal government failed to endow migrant workers with a worker status (B. Lee & Kim, 2011, p. 440), liberal policy makers and the Ministry of Labour, under the Kim government, continued its efforts to replace the ITS with the EPS (J. Song, 2016) and the next Roh Moo-Hyun liberal government (2003-2007) succeeded it.

¹⁶² The first version of the Act backfired on Korean-Chinese residents who were excluded from the Act. Beneficiaries initially stipulated in the Act were people who had South Korean citizenship before they emigrated. Therefore, the Korean-Chinese who emigrated before establishment of the South Korean government in 1948 were excluded. They filed a constitutional appeal and finally won in December 2001. They are now included in the act.

6-3 Controversies of Migrant Workers' Inclusion

6-3-1 Workers

Advocate of the EPS was a manifestation of the Roh Moo-Hyun liberal government's utilitarian and humanitarian desires. This is revealed in the message that President Roh's sent to the Chairmen of the National Assembly in July 2003 before the 241st provisional session of the National Assembly:

“Adopting the EPS cannot be postponed anymore. For the sake of securing a smooth and rational supply and demand of manpower for small and medium-sized businesses, a legitimate employment system is indispensable. ... Treating foreign workers who came for their Korean Dream as though they are criminals, we cannot stand tall in the era of liberalization and globalization” (Won-Sook Kim, 2010).

The President's message clearly revealed what the liberal government aimed to achieve through the EPS. It is not only for lessening the labour shortage but also for protecting migrant workers whose status were trainees from human rights violations. At the same time, the government sought to establish a legitimate migrant employment system in order to be a respected member of the international community. Nevertheless, conservative policymakers were fiercely opposed to adopting the system; hence, from the beginning of the Roh Moo-Hyun government, all National Assembly meetings related to migrant workers were dotted with intense arguments for and against adopting the EPS.

Specifically, EPS advocates adopted political rationalities which underscored the essential role of the EPS in maintaining South Korea's status as the 13th largest economy in the world and this is attributed to a utilitarian aspect of Korean ethnic nationalism. Shin Gye-Ryun and Lee Jae-Jeong who proposed the EPS in 2000 and 2002 and other members from the liberal

party regularly credited the EPS with virtues, such as ‘human rights (*ingwon*)’, ‘national prestige (or honor) (*gukga wisin*)’, ‘attention of the world (*segye imok*)’, and ‘universal standards (*bopyeonjeok gijun*)’ (EaLC, 2003a, 2003c; NAPS, 2003). They also responded to opponents’ concerns about domestic economic issues by suggesting a political rationality that the protection of the universal values of human rights would promote long-term national interests in the age of globalization (EaLC, 2003a). Likewise, national prosperity has been admired by the EPS advocates, and this admiration fuels sensitivity to national prestige in the international society. This collective desire to be a strong country with interests in global standards has been referred to as advanced-state nationalism (Park, 2017, p. 386) and it is due to the small country identity that South Koreans have developed by objectifying themselves as a country squeezed between big powers (Park, 2017, p. 385). In addition, Lee and Kim (2011, p. 430) also suggest using the concept of utilitarian nationalism to explain the relation between South Korean democracy and the EPS. They argue that the South Korean democracy deeply involved in tension between utilitarian nationalism and liberal individualism ‘still cherishes the (“myth” of) a national whole primarily for utilitarian purposes’ (B. Lee & Kim, 2011, p. 450). Park Seo-Hyun (2017) argues that from South Korean liberals and progressives’ perspectives, if it is useful to draw international acclaim and garner the status of an advanced country by reaching global standards, the boundary of the national whole could be expanded so as to include migrant workers.

As EPS advocates, the Roh Moo-Hyun liberal government and the liberal party have approached the migrant workers’ issue with a cosmopolitan perspective, thus, progressive civil society supported them. In 1999, the Minister of Culture under the Kim Dae-Jung liberal government awarded a prize to Minod Moktan, an undocumented migrant worker from Nepal, for winning a singing contest (D.-J. Ko, 2009). In 2003, Moktan, who was also labour activist

and a founder of the multinational rock band named Stop the Crack Down, was invited to participate in the festival for Human Rights Day (D.-J. Ko, 2009) where the liberal President Roh Moo-Hyun also participated in.¹⁶³ Likewise, the consecutive liberal governments were motivated to guarantee migrant workers' rights and comply with universal values, such as human rights. When concerns about the increasing number of undocumented migrants were brought up by the conservative National Assembly members, advocates from the civil society responded to it. For example, Kim Hae-Sung, a leader of the Joint Committee with Migrant in Korea, called for a cosmopolitan outlook and an acknowledgement of the numerous undocumented Koreans in the U.S. and, particularly, in Japan, where Koreans account for the greatest number of undocumented residents (EaLC, 2003b). Progressive advocacy groups, such as the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions,¹⁶⁴ the Federation of Korean Trade Unions, Lawyers for a Democratic Society, and progressive NGOs who advocated for migrant workers agreed with the tenor of the EPS (K.-T. Park, 2008, pp. 108–109) and exerted pressure on policy makers by filing petitions to pass it (NAPS, 2003).¹⁶⁵

It is noteworthy that the two liberal governments that had drawn on Korean ethnic nationalism to justify their support for the Sunshine Policy (an engagement policy towards North Korea) had simultaneously propelled the EPS for migrant workers into alignment with efforts made by progressive/ leftist sectors of civil society. In some sense, it appears to be somewhat contradictory that a government which seeks the peninsularization of the national issue based on

¹⁶³ Minod Moktan was, however, deported in 2009 under the conservative government after his 18-year sojourn (M.-Y. Lee, 2018).

¹⁶⁴ The Korean Confederation of Trade Unions was for a time deemed an illegal organization due to its radicalness (B.-S. Kim, 2014). In 1999, the Kim Dae-Jung liberal government granted legal status to the confederation. On the other hand, the Federation of Korean Trade Unions has been considered a relatively business-friendly and government-friendly organization.

¹⁶⁵ On the contrary, opposition groups such as the Korean Federation of Small and Medium Businesses made efforts to dissuade policy makers from introducing the EPS (T.-J. Lee, 2013).

the premise of Korean national singularity would exert itself to promote migrant workers' rights. However, according to Ha and Jang (2015), there is no apparent correlation between perceiving migrants as a threat and national identity or pride in the case of South Korea. Through their research based on face-to-face survey, they claim that it appears necessary to distinguish between two types of national pride (S. E. Ha & Jang, 2015, p. 55); the first type is similar to patriotism involving positive feelings about collective accomplishments, such as economic development, democracy, and international recognition; the other type pride involves beliefs of national superiority over others. The case of South Korean liberal governments is likely closer to the first type of national pride (Ha & Jang, 2015, p. 61). As a result, although national authority can be set aside when international codes, such as human rights, are placed high enough on the agenda (Sassen, 1998), what South Korean liberal and progressive forces showed in the EPS case is that international standards do not serve as a substitute for national authority.

6-3-2 National Threats

While South Korean conservatives typically dominate multiculturalism discourse, their tolerant attitude towards the migrants (North Korean defectors and female marriage migrants) is not applicable to migrant workers. When the conservatives actively embrace the two groups of migrants, concepts of post-nationalism and multiculturalism are commonly mobilized, stressing the importance of universal virtues, such as human rights and international recognition (M.-O. Kang, 2014). When it comes to issues relating to North Korean defectors in particular, the conservatives have tended to criticize liberal and progressive forces' discourses of Korean ethnic nationalism as being exclusive and narrow-minded (M.-L. Kim, 2015). Yet, about issues

concerning migrant workers, they have displayed intolerance and emphasized South Korean society-centered values, such as socio-economic stability and national safety in South Korea.

The first reason that conservative members of the National Assembly gave for not supporting the adoption of the EPS was their concern that migrant workers' political engagement would cause a national security crisis. Although the EPS dealt only with the hiring process, industrial quotas in employment, and employment insurance (policies which did not explicitly reference migrant workers' political rights in South Korea), the conservative members assumed that guaranteeing labour rights to migrant workers would offer them stable lives in South Korea, which would result in their eventual interventions and activities in the political realm. The migrant workers' political engagement -as either a cosmopolitan or a worker- was considered the potential culprit of political agitation and disturbance in South Korea (CIaEC, 2003). In 2003, when the South Korean government decided to dispatch troops to Iraq at the request of the U.S., antiwar protests against this decision occurred frequently. Ahn Dong-Seon, a member of the conservative party, severely criticized the migrant workers' participation in those demonstrations, arguing that the migrant workers 'who do not have patriotism (*aeguksim*)' do not have the right to engage in South Korean politics (EaLC, 2003b, p. 18). Ahn denounced the Roh Moo-Hyun liberal government as well for wanting to be commended by the world for protecting the rights of migrant workers instead of protecting South Korean social stability. Due to this pressure, two leaders of migrant workers' movement, Shamal Tapa (Nepalese) and Moniruzzaman Masum (Bangladeshi), were deported by the Ministry of Justice in 2004 due to their participation in the antiwar and workers' rights demonstrations. Their actions as world citizens were decried as anti-South Korean actions and even as a terrorist threat to national security (Masum, 2004).

The second political rationality which produced opposition to the introduction of the EPS presumed that, as more rights were granted to migrant workers, fewer gains would be available to South Korean businesses. They argued that, by adopting the EPS, the liberal government was neglecting its duty to protect small and medium sized-businesses and the job opportunities of ordinary South Koreans (EaLC, 2003b, 2003c). That is to say, the conservative force suspected that the EPS would induce a rise in wages and put South Korean workers into competition with migrant workers. At the same time, the conservative force assumed that the labour rights of migrant workers are not basic rights which must be guaranteed, but rather a privilege to be granted by South Koreans. Kim Yong-Kyun, a member of the conservative party claimed that the rights to collective action for improvement of labour conditions should not be granted to the migrant workers and that there was a need to eliminate ‘sentimental humanitarianism (*gamsangjeog indojuui*)’ when it comes to migrant workers (LaJC, 2003, p. 5). Those counterclaims surrounding the EPS demonstrate that conservative force considered a relationship between migrant workers’ rights and South Korean economic interests a zero-sum game.

In addition, when it comes to the labour rights of migrant workers, the conservative members demonstrate their narrow and South Korean centered-nationalist perspectives. They thought if the labour rights of migrant workers have to be protected, their bloodline closeness to South Koreans could be a benchmark for the level of the rights. Kim Yong-Kyun arranged groups of workers into hierarchical order and accorded them varying degrees of labour rights in South Korea. South Koreans were located at the top of the hierarchy of rights protections, followed by the North Korean defectors, overseas Koreans, and ‘pure foreigners (*sunsu oegugin*)’ (LaJC, 2003, p. 12). This tendency to judge people according to their bloodline proximity to South Koreans is noteworthy for its lack of reference to universal virtues,

international standards, or human rights; this represents a significant shift since conservatives generally use these concepts as ammunition when it comes to issues concerning other minorities such as North Korean defectors or female marriage migrants.

Until the EPS was passed in July 2003, what most concerned by the conservative National Assembly members was not the migrant workers' political engagement or their impact on the domestic labour market analyzed above, but rather the possibility of migrant workers' permanent residence in South Korea. This reflects a biopolitical view of the conservative force. The conservative members claimed that the EPS would flagrantly bring about migrant workers' settlement by granting more rights to the workers (EaLC, 2003b). According to their opinions, the workers' permanent settlement in South Korea would promote the alliance of alienated groups and 'miscegenation (*honhyeolhwa*)' (CIaEC, 2003, p. 6). This remark stands in stark contrast to conservative members' comment that children of female marriage migrants are 'children of our country' (LaJSC, 2007, p. 6). In other words, when the second generation of multicultural families have South Korean fathers, they would be considered South Korean children. But, if their fathers are foreigners, the children would not be welcomed, although the children are also legally recognized as the second generation of multicultural families. This type of antithetical attitude towards children of female marriage migrants and children of (male) migrant workers reflects a patriarchal bloodline ideology. Thus, the EPS was regarded by the conservative force as a risky system that would generate fundamental demographic changes in South Korean society that extend beyond industry. Thus, the duration of work permits EPS assumed was persistently discussed as a means of preventing the workers' permanent residence. Consequently, short-term rotations, composed of three years of work and one compulsory break outside South Korea, were decided on as the principle to prevent migrant workers' settlement (A.

Kim, 2016, p. 86). This regulation was changed little by little with subsequent governments, but the principle of discouraging settlement remains. As a result, the EPS was designed not to allow permanent settlement for low skilled migrant workers.¹⁶⁶

Consequently, conservative members of the National Assembly regarded migrant workers as national threats because migrant workers' characteristics deviate from the conservative force' South Korea-centric perspective and corporate-friendly attitude. When the conservative force took the lead in supporting the North Korean defectors and multicultural families, it was because the two groups were probably not supposed to bring substantial changes to the existing South Korean political, economic, and social orders. Therefore, their permanent settlement as new South Korean citizens was not taken as a serious problem by the conservative force. However, the probability of migrant workers' political engagement and their social class as workers which would be against the business-friendly climate and deviate from the conservative force' preferences. Furthermore, the fact that the majority of migrant workers are male workers from developing countries¹⁶⁷ was considered a threat to the South Korean society. Therefore, migrant workers were thoroughly ostracized by the conservative force unlike female marriage migrants and North Korean defectors. Conservative force argued that worldwide acclaim for their treatment of migrant workers was useless and South Korea has not yet developed enough to take care of migrant workers' rights. Thus, as long as South Korean small and medium-sized businesses were protected, they argued, they were willing to tolerate international condemnation for their treatment of migrant workers.

¹⁶⁶ Despite this strict principle, Korean-Chinese workers have more opportunities to settle down in South Korea through the Act on the Immigration and Legal Status of Overseas Koreans.

¹⁶⁷ The majority of migrant workers who have an E-9 visa given through the EPS are male workers (95%). The Korean-Chinese workers (H-2 visa holders), male workers are slightly more than female workers, the ratio of 5.5 to 4.5 (KOSIS, 2016).

6-3-3 Political Compromise: Temporary Foreign Workers

While the majority of progressive NGOs and relevant experts advocated for the introduction of the EPS, political exchange and compromise with the conservative force saw the EPS degenerate into a half-baked policy thereafter. In order to appease the conservative force and pass the EPS, compromises were made on roughly three premises of the EPS: a decrease in the number of undocumented migrants; restrictions on their right to exercise collective action, and; the systematic prevention of migrant workers' permanent residence (EaLC, 2003a, p.5). Once these compromises had been made, on July 31st, 2003, the EPS was passed in the National Assembly by a vote of 148 in favor, 88 against, and 9 abstentions (NAPS, 2003).¹⁶⁸ It went into effect the following year in August 2004.

A short-term rotation principle was set up as a direct and indirect prevention against migrant workers' permanent residence (A. Kim, 2016, p. 86) and thoughts supporting it were based on ideas that regard migrant workers as consumable or replaceable bodies. Quick rotations with 'new and young (*saeloun jeolmeun*)' workers were considered to be more profitable than the long-term hiring of experienced employees because their work is considered unprofessional (LaJSC, 2003, p. 19). According to Jeon Jae-Hee a member of the conservative party, migrant workers were preferred if they had 'a healthy body, the ability to communicate in the Korean language, and were kind-hearted' (LaJSC, 2003, p. 19). While the South Korean government has always aimed to attract foreign professionals and foreign investors to become new members of society (Won-Sook Kim, 2010), government documents, plans, and statements barely welcome the settlement of migrant workers. This illustrates that what migrant workers achieved through

¹⁶⁸ Generally, voting results in the National Assembly are close to unanimous because the ballots are sent out after finishing full debates and arrangements among the National Assembly members. Only politically sensitive issues show keen competition at the ballot stage.

the EPS was worker status, which should already have been granted to them, but they were not recognized as people who could one day be members of South Korea's multicultural society. This divisive attitude is criticized as a replicated or inverted orientalism (O.-S. Lee, 2002), and it is claimed that patriarchy and racism cultivated it (K.-T. Park, 2008, pp. 136–137). In December 2011, a liberal member Hong Young-Pyo claimed that any way forward on the issue of migrant workers' settlement would need to be discussed again (EaLC, 2011, pp. 12–13). However, Hong's remark returned no echo.

Likewise, because migrant workers are thought of as consumable bodies that will disappear one day, the terms, culture or multiculturalism are hardly found at all in policy discourse about migrant workers. This absence of concern about the culture, along with implications of the culture analyzed in the previous chapters, connotes that the culture in South Korean multiculturalism has to do with South Korea's preference or needs when it comes to migrants. Even if a particular type of migrant group discomfort South Koreans, it may be, to some extent, endurable under the name of seeking multiculturalism until the migrants lose their usefulness. However, in the case of migrant workers who are politically, economically, and socially intolerable, there would be almost no motive to assume a situation where South Koreans have to coexist with them.

Nevertheless, the re-alignment of the migrants' legal status with their actual roles was appraised as a significant accomplishment in South Korean context as many experts point out (Chun & Han, 2006; K.-T. Park, 2008; W.-S. Kim, 2010) and the EPS was internationally recognized as well to be an advanced means of managing migrant workers. Bringing their legal status into agreement with their roles as workers was expected to bring foundational changes to the outmoded immigration principle prohibiting the migration of low-skilled workers which had

lasted for fifty years since the first South Korean government. And, through the EPS, migrant workers could re-claim their worker status along with the three primary labour rights which they are guaranteed in theory despite the difficulties which still remain when trying to make these claims in practice (Won-Sook Kim, 2010).¹⁶⁹ Migrant workers' recruitment, entry, job assignments, residency, and departures were all managed by the government; hence the entire process became more transparent. Employees could work basically for three years. When employers request the Ministry of Labour to grant permission for their employees to work more, an additional one year and ten months is given to the workers.¹⁷⁰ As a result, ten years after the introduction of the EPS, the proportion of undocumented migrant workers plunged from 80% (around 400,000 workers) in 2003 to 16.3% (208,000) in 2014 (Kook, 2014). The EPS was highly rated by the International Labour Organization in 2010 as a pacesetter migrant management system in Asia. It was also awarded the UN Public Service Awards in 2011 (MoEL, 2011).

6-4 The Inclusion of Korean-Chinese Migrant Workers

6-4-1 An Intersectionality Between Ethnic Koreans and Migrant Workers

While there were positive responses to the EPS, an outsider's perspective reveals a problematic feature contained within it: It granted various privileges to Korean-Chinese migrant workers. In 2012, the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) gave recommendations to improve South Korea's human rights record and one of the recommendations was to eliminate discrimination clause based on nationality in the EPS (CERD,

¹⁶⁹ These basic rights were formally allowed to industrial trainees under the ITS as well, but it was practically impossible to exercise them. The EPS increased the possibility of exercising the labour rights.

¹⁷⁰ The total maximum period of migrant workers' employment is four years and ten months, and this is less than the five years which is required to receive permanent residency.

2012). The EPS categorizes migrant workers into two groups: General workers with E-9 visas, and Korean-Chinese workers with H-2 visas. The two groups, E-9 and H-2 visa holders, have different rights and opportunities. For example, with few exceptions, general workers were hardly granted the right to change workplaces while Korean-Chinese workers had no restrictions on workplace mobility (G.-S. Yu et al., 2012, p. 64). The eligibility to freely change workplace for migrant workers has been considered one of the biggest privileges because without this freedom, the three primary labour rights and other relevant concessions found in the EPS are of little value (T.-J. Lee, 2013). H-2 visa holders have also more opportunities in the service industries, thus it makes relatively difficult for E-9 visa holder to find their positions in those areas (D.-H. Seol, 2012, p. 124). Therefore, Seol (2012) argues that the EPS has apparently functioned as a policy for Korean-Chinese migrant workers in reality. He shows that, since the 2004 introduction of the EPS, a steady inflow of Korean-Chinese migrants began, and, by 2007, more than 50% of migrant workers were Korean-Chinese migrants. Moon (2015) and Chung (2019) also agree that Korean-Chinese migrants working in South Korea became the center of policy-makers' attention since, at the beginning of the 2000s, the two liberal governments laid the foundation for migrant-related policies.

Basically, non-South Korean citizens are indirectly controlled by visa categories (E. A. Chung, 2019). In this regard, the privileges given to the H-2 visa holder, mainly Korean-Chinese migrant workers, seem to have a tendency to build hierarchies among non-South Korean citizens. An interviewee, Cheol-Soo, from Tibet who is a spouse of South Korean woman and resided in South Korea for more than 20 years, understood the privilege accorded to Korean-Chinese migrants as a technology of divide and rule:

“Around the beginning of the 2000s, when we were in danger of eviction from our factory (the factory was included in a redevelopment zone), we fought together against the government at first. But soon the Korean-Chinese workers left us like a tide that ebbs away. I felt betrayed. But I know that the government always does a great deal to help them. I think it is a clever way to divide workers. ...Due to a record of my participation in the movement, I have failed to get permanent residency even though I am a father of three South Korean children”

According to him, in general Korean-Chinese workers are likely to have been promised something else from the government when migrant workers have difficulties. During the crack down on undocumented migrant workers in 2005, the Ministry of Justice launched a voluntary departure program, which offered amnesty and guaranteed re-entry to undocumented Korean-Chinese migrants workers who left South Korea for a period (J.-S. Kwak et al., 2011, p. 129). This programme was not open to any other migrant workers. Lim Jong-In, who was a member of the liberal party, also concerned that if Korean-Chinese migrant workers have special treatment even when the Ministry of Justice cracks down undocumented migrant workers or not (LaJC, 2007a). Such privileges granted to them have occasionally been criticized as racial discrimination.

An analysis of the political rationalities which justified the decision to grant special privileges to Korean-Chinese migrant workers reveals how these migrants were perceived by EPS advocates among the South Korean liberal and progressive forces. According to Brubaker (1992), historical experiences and specific cultural idioms shape the ways in which we understand the relationship between citizenship, foreigners, and policy. They help a society decide what is politically important or beneficial to the state. Therefore, interpretations of

Korean-Chinese migrant workers' privileges could vary depending on South Korean society's specific historical and contemporary experiences, as well as the state-level implications of these Korean-Chinese workers. In particular, if the Korean-Chinese workers are considered Koreans who could be equal to South Korean citizens as members of Koreans, granting them privileges could be interpreted as a form of affirmative action. Similarly, if they are considered to be politically important beings at a state-level, the privileges could be justified as well. On the other hand, if they are deemed to be foreigners who are no different from any other migrant worker arriving in South Korea, then, according to citizenship, the privileges given to them would be interpreted as discrimination. Therefore, judging whether the privileges granted to Korean-Chinese migrant workers are discriminatory or not effectively hinges on deciding whether Korean-Chinese workers are to be categorized as general migrant workers or as members of Korean nation who deserve benefits. This judgement would be based on a policy rationale of likelihood of integration into South Korean society. Finally, to understand what factors influenced the political rationalities of the liberal and progressive forces, it is essential to reflect on how policy relevant to overseas Koreans (including Korean-Chinese migrants) might have been implemented throughout modern history.

6-4-2 Incompatible Attitudes Towards Korean-Chinese Migrants

6-4-2-1 Diaspora-phobia

South Korean policy relating to overseas Koreans appears to be tied to the process of democratization. In spite of South Koreans' allegedly strong attachment to their Korean ethnicity, by and large, diasporas including the Korean-Chinese diaspora had received very little

attention prior to the Kim Dae-Jung liberal government (1998-2002) (MoJ, 2008, p. 5-6).¹⁷¹ Since the end of the Korean War (1950-1953), overseas Koreans and international adoptees from South Korea had been encouraged to settle and naturalize in their host countries (Deok-Ju Kim, 1998).¹⁷² From the beginning of the 1970s, the overseas electorate were disfranchised as well (H. Choi, 2003). In short, the South Korean governments, which were dictatorial, aimed to facilitate overseas Koreans' assimilation into their host countries. Therefore, at the time, policy for Korean diasporas was criticized as a 'rejection policy (*gimin jeongchaek*)' and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who was in charge of the policy, was criticized for its 'diaspora-phobia (*dongposahoe gipijeung*)' (J.-S. Kwak et al., 2011, p. 48). These above actions were driven by a systemic thought that considered blocking external pressures from the overseas Koreans who were exposed to liberalism and democracy in their host countries as a necessary measure to maintain the dictatorship (MoJ, 2008, p. 6). It can explain why overseas Korean had such high expectations of the Kim Dae-Jung and Roh Moo-Hyun liberal governments.

Although previous South Korean governments had basically abandoned Korean diasporas, the governments made certain exceptions based on the Cold War mentality for their own political gains. The Korean-Japanese diaspora offers a past example of this, and the Korean-Chinese diaspora (or Korean-Chinese migrants in South Korea) offers a more recent set of exemplary cases. Since struggles between the North and South Korea began, the South Korean dictatorial governments have advocated the Korean Residents Union in Japan, composed of Korean-Japanese migrants who supported the South Korean regime. The South Korean

¹⁷¹ Needless to say, before 1992 when diplomatic relations between South Korea and China were established, Korean-Chinese diaspora was not of interest to the South Korean government.

¹⁷² South Korea did not permit dual citizenship until 2010; thus, naturalization simultaneously meant renunciation of South Korean citizenship. Since May 2010, dual citizenship has been allowed in exceptional cases, including South Koreans who obtain dual citizenship at birth.

government falsely accused members of the other group of Korean residents in Japan -the Pro-Pyongyang Federation of Korean Residents- of being spies who were supporting North Korea (H.-G. Han, 2004). In other words, due to systemic competition with North Korean regime, the South Korean government transplanted the Cold War mentality into the Korean diasporas in Japan.¹⁷³ This method of exploiting overseas Koreans continued up until the 615 Joint Declaration in 2000, carried out by liberal President Kim Dae-Jung and North Korean leader Kim Jong-Il. It helped steadily improve the relationship between the two Korean-Japanese resident groups (J.-S. Kwak et al., 2011, p. 17).¹⁷⁴ Nevertheless, following the establishment of diplomatic relations between South Korea and China in 1992, it was still possible to detect those strategies for political gains. In the two most recent conservative governments (2008-2016), for instance, members of the Korean-Chinese diaspora, as the conservative government has done to North Korean defectors, were either directly or indirectly implicated in cases or other political intrigues involving false accusations of espionage. In spy cases which have been proven or suspected of being false (such as the Won Jeong-Hwa spy case under the Lee Myung-Bak conservative government and the Yu Woo-Seong spy case under the Park Geun-Hye conservative government), members of the Korean-Chinese diaspora were portrayed by the South Korean National Intelligence Service as alleged collaborators of the spies or informants. In addition, most recently conservative media and online platforms have spread fake news which

¹⁷³ Overseas Koreans and their descendants in Russia and the CIS who emigrated in the 1930s and 40s under the Japanese occupation have called themselves '*Goryeo-In* (*Goryeo* people),' a name originating from one of the dynasties which existed before 1392 on the Korean peninsula. This name selection was strategic because, if they had identified themselves as *Chosun-In* (North Koreans) or *Hankook-In* (South Koreans), they could have been blamed or politically abused by either North Korea or South Korea (H.-W. Park, 2019).

¹⁷⁴ The Roh Moo-Hyun liberal government also began to help overseas Koreans undergoing difficulties in their host countries. This included, for instance, Korean residents who were threatened with eviction from the Utoro district in Japan (Remember Utoro" Netizens' active participations Jeong, 2007). The support for the Korean-Japanese diaspora in Utoro was a bit controversy at the time in South Korean society because the diaspora is affiliated with the Pro-Pyongyang Federation of Korean Residents in Japan (H.-L. Lee, 2019). This kind of controversy abated but continues to this day.

reports that Korean-Chinese people receive orders from the Chinese government to manipulate South Korean public opinion in support of the current Moon Jae-In liberal government. This controversy has earned the nickname ‘China Gate.’ Consequently, we can see how the meaning of being conservative in South Korea is far removed from notions of an ethnic Korean brotherhood; indeed, overseas Koreans can find that their Korean ethnicity puts them at risk under the conservative power (N. Park, 2018).

6-4-2-2 Responsibility for the Korean Nation

The government’s attitude towards the Korean Chinese diaspora seems to depend on the level of democratization since it was the two liberal governments (1998-2007) that set up an overseas Korean policy aimed at fulfilling historical responsibility for them. In this regard, the political rationality which influences how South Korea relates to the Korean-Chinese diaspora is, to some extent, rooted in historical responsibility. Specifically, during Japanese colonial rule, they engaged in armed struggle and paid their taxes to the Provisional Government of Korea in Shanghai.¹⁷⁵ On this account, Korean-Chinese people have occasionally been called the ‘descendants of (Korean) independence activists’ (Won-Seok Kim, 2003; MoJ, 2008) and even liberal President Roh Moon-Hyun has referred to them in this manner (Ryo, 2013). Thus, exceptional privileges for them used to be justified and widely supported by South Koreans. For instance, during the crack downs on undocumented migrant workers in 2003, Korean-Chinese migrant workers who were in danger of deportation appealed to the South Korean government

¹⁷⁵ South Korean conservatives have sought to establish that the birth of South Korea as a legitimate state occurred during the Rhee Syng-Man government (1948-1960), which held power after the territorial division of the Korean peninsula. Liberals and progressives, however, insist on locating the origins of the modern government in the Provisional Republic of Korea Government, which was in Shanghai from 1919 to 1948. The Preamble to the South Korean Constitution starts with ‘We, the people of Korea, proud of ... upholding the cause of the Provisional Republic of Korea Government, born of the March First Independence Movement of 1919 ...’

for recognition as descendants of South Korea (S.-H. Cho, 2003c). These appeals were supported by civil organizations including the far-left movement known as the Workers' Solidarity (S.-H. Cho, 2003c). However, there was an opinion that making an exception for undocumented Korean-Chinese workers was racial discrimination against other migrant workers according to the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights (S.-H. Cho, 2003a). Interestingly, this opinion came from the Ministry of Justice, who tightly controlled migrant workers. The Ministry adopted the concept of racial discrimination in order to unexceptionally crackdown on all undocumented workers. In sum, the rationality which justifies the various privileges in the EPS that South Korea provides to Korean-Chinese migrant workers partly stems from the historical role they played in Korean resistance to Japanese colonialism and the sense of indebtedness -or at least a feeling of responsibility.

In addition, the privileges which Korean-Chinese migrants are granted in South Korea are not only justified by a common history, however. Their potential necessity for building a bridge between North and South Korea in the future was contemplated (J.-S. Kwak et al., 2011). As in other countries, diasporas are generally considered important human assets for linking their countries of origin and destination. Because of the unique condition of Korea with its territorial division, the South Korean liberal government has expected Korean-Chinese migrants who have interacted with both Koreas to play specific roles (Won-Sook Kim, 2010; J.-S. Kwak et al., 2011). Sang-Hee, an interviewee as an immigration examiner who used to engage in inspections and interviews for permanent residency recounted her experience in the Korean Immigration Service:

“In the interview for permanent residency, there are implicitly different levels of questions. Let's say, type A is the easiest, the next is type B, and the most difficult is type

C. Type C would not actually be easy for uneducated South Koreans either. For female marriage migrants and Korean-Chinese, types A or B are asked in general. ... In the case of Korean-Chinese people, we surely ask what they think about the benefits of Korean unification.”

Giving Korean-Chinese migrants the role as ‘a buffer’ between the two Koreas (J.-S. Kwak et al., 2011, p. 12) is similar to the vision of a ‘Northeast Asia Hub State’ conceived by the two liberal governments (1998-2007) (Kwak et al., 2011, pp. 49-50). This vision aimed at becoming an advanced country that would lead Northeast Asia by utilizing overseas Koreans. This also seems as a manifestation of the utilitarian aspect of Korean ethnic nationalism and accepting and accommodating those Korean-Chinese migrant workers as well relies on this vision.

From the perspective of the Korean-Chinese migrants as well, South Korea is not just any other destination, but rather a country where they feel belonging to some extent. The Movement for Recovering Nationality, which lasted for almost three months in 2003, clearly demonstrates this aspect of their migration. In 1999, the Act on the Immigration and Legal Status of Overseas Koreans¹⁷⁶ was passed. According to the initial version of the Act, the definition of overseas Koreans was restricted, hence, the majority of Korean-Chinese nationals who emigrated before the South Korean government was established in 1948 was excluded.¹⁷⁷ In response, Korean-Chinese migrant workers began two different movements against the South Korean government (J.-M. Song, 2004): one which aimed to reform the Act on the Immigration and Legal Status of Overseas Koreans, and the other aimed to recover their South Korean nationality and claim their

¹⁷⁶ According to the Act, overseas Koreans were allowed to access benefits in immigration and sojourn, financial transactions, health insurance, and above all, larger opportunities for employment and other economic activities.

¹⁷⁷ The restricted definition of overseas Koreans was due mainly to Chinese diplomatic pressures on the Kim Dae-Jung government. In China, ethnic minorities’ movements for separation and independence are a politically critical issue.

rights to return home (J.-M. Song, 2004). A Korean-Chinese interviewee, Jin-Yong, who remembers these movements reflected:

“If South Korean citizenship had been given to us, it would have been great although I would have felt a bit guilty with China. Actually, what we really wanted was the right to work in South Korea conveniently. ...My colleagues and my uncle who have worked in South Korea experienced discrimination. It is really infuriating because we are all Koreans. But still I think South Korea is a better place to work than other countries” (interview, June 1, 2018).

More than 2,500 Korean-Chinese migrants went on a 16-day hunger strike, which lasted until November 2003 when liberal President Roh Moo-Hyun visited a Korean-Chinese church where they had staged a sit in (Jeonhong, 2003). At the time, the South Korean people expressed support for Korean-Chinese migrants as well.¹⁷⁸ Finally, in February 2004, the Act was revised to include two million Korean-Chinese migrants and half a million Koreans in the CIS. Shortly thereafter, the South Korean government institutionalized a broad range of conveniences which offered them a temporary suspension on the deportation of undocumented workers, a larger range of employment opportunities, and a simplified employment process (J.-S. Kwak et al., 2011).

Nevertheless, due to their Korean identity, although they are the privileged migrant workers in South Korea, their level of disappointment, frustration, and feelings of betrayal which they experience in South Korea is higher than it is among other migrant workers (D. H. Seol &

¹⁷⁸ 73.3% of South Korean respondents supported Korean-Chinese migrants' right to live in South Korea; 89.1%, approved of their right to free movement, and; 77.4% supported an amendment to the Act on the Immigration and Legal Status of Overseas Koreans (S.-H. Cho, 2003b).

Skrentny, 2009, p. 161). This seems in the similar vein with North Korean defectors' case: the defectors experience high levels of disappointment with South Korean society in spite of the fact that they are more privileged than other migrants (J.-Y. Song, 2015). Jin-Yong also said that he was about to deny my request for the interview because he was not 'a multicultural' (interview, June 1, 2018). Namely, although on the surface, Korean-Chinese migrant workers have primarily engaged in economic activities in South Korea and the South Korean government has also supported them through economic measures, their privileges granted by the government and their high level of disappointment illustrate that interactions 'between the economic and the cultural' can be decisive elements (Park, 1994, as cited in Meyers, 2000) in South Korean policy for migrant workers.

In sum, the rationality which led the liberal government to set up the EPS blended its will to become an advanced country by adhering to universal standards in migrant worker policy and its will to rectify the previous government's undemocratic and inhumane policy of rejection towards overseas Koreans. In other words, the EPS involved the simultaneous pursuit of universality and national exceptionality. Through the EPS, migrant workers could at least match their legal status with their actual role. And, most importantly, the EPS made government institutions more responsible than ever for addressing migrant workers' issues. This has been thought to illustrate the grassroots and utilitarian aspect of Korean ethnic nationalism which seeks the status of an advanced-state. At the same time, the relationship between South Korean society and Korean-Chinese workers also improved to a certain degree because greater respect was accorded their exceptionality. While it may appear to be discriminatory, the liberal and progressive forces' political rationality can be justified as a process by which Korean ethnic

nationalism assumes responsibility for an historical issue. Consequently, adopting the EPS, although the system has still conflicting aspects, was thought to be an improvement which was accomplished by the two liberal government's nationalistic response to migrant worker issues.

Because of their Korean ethnicity, Korean-Chinese workers are not generally integrated into multiculturalism discourse (despite their worker status). However, the progressive news media has occasionally questioned whether Korean-Chinese people are subjects of multiculturalism. They claimed that Korean-Chinese migrants are neither foreigners nor multicultural families but rather Korean compatriots (S.-A. Jang, 2016). This claim is only understood when the news media sees the discriminatory aspects in South Korean multiculturalism. Through this perspective towards Korean-Chinese migrants and multiculturalism, an outline of an epistemological ethnic hierarchy could be revealed to some extent: the compatriots are placed at a higher position than multicultural families, which in turn have a higher rank than migrant workers who do not share the Korean ethnicity.

6-5 Cessation of the Controversies: Subjectification of Migrant Workers

Under the following conservative governments (2008-2016), the EPS was succeeded, however, technically and repeatedly revised. Among the revisions, I focus on two of the EPS clauses which clearly reveal the political rationalities of the conservative governments: The Loyal Worker Re-entry Scheme and the Departure Guarantee Insurance.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ The Loyal Worker Re-entry Scheme is basically designed for non-Korean workers, holders of E-9 visa. However, when Korean-Chinese workers cannot change their H-2 visa to F-4 overseas Korean visa or F-5

6-5-1 Loyal Workers

By restricting changes of workplace, ‘the Loyal Worker Re-entry Scheme’ is thought to offer a convenient method for simultaneously meeting two main goals: 1) Benefitting from experienced workers, and; 2) Preventing workers’ permanent settlement (T.-J. Lee, 2013). Basically, workers who migrate into South Korea through the EPS can work for three years, and they can extend their contracts for an additional one year and ten months if their employer makes such a request to the Ministry of Labour. Through the revision of the EPS in 2012, once workers complete their contracts and qualify as loyal workers, they can come back to work in South Korea after spending three months in their home countries. Thereby, migrant workers can work up to a maximum of nine years and eight months in total, but they cannot apply for permanent residency, which requires a minimum of five years of continuous residence in South Korea. President Lee Myung-Bak, who represented himself as a CEO president leading a business-friendly government, introduced this scheme as part of efforts to increase the nation’s economic productivity (B. Lee & Kim, 2011, p. 443).

One notable aspect of the re-entry scheme has to do with how the migrant workers’ loyalty is determined. Within this scheme, changes of workplace constitute a primary determinant for judging whether or not workers are loyal and it optimizes the efficient deportation of undocumented migrant workers. Lee Tae-Jung (2013) argues that the conservative government exploited a vulnerable aspect of the EPS – namely, the restriction placed on migrant workers’ capacity to change their workplace. This restriction, despite accomplishments of the

permanent residency visa, due to their insufficient qualifications, they have to leave after nine years and eight months which is the same maximum time period for other migrant workers.

EPS, was considered to be one of the greatest challenges to workers' rights from the outset.¹⁸⁰ Officially, it is possible to change workplaces under specific circumstances, however, these circumstances are seriously limited. Physical fatigue and pain caused by long work hours, poor sleeping quarters, and a worker's fear of an accident reoccurring do not count as proper causes to change workplaces (D.-S. Kim, 2018). The effects of this restriction became worse during the conservative government by setting up the Loyal Workers Re-entry Scheme (T.-J. Lee, 2013). When migrant workers cannot bear to keep working in their assigned workplaces, and therefore leave without permission, they become undocumented migrant workers who are targeted by the government. According to Lee & Kim (2011, p. 446), 63.8% of migrant workers have considered changing their workplaces but the vast majority of them is aware of the difficulty this poses.¹⁸¹ Therefore, the Loyal Worker Re-entry Scheme functions as a means of reinforcing the poisonous clause of the EPS.

What is worse, in August 2012, the Lee Myung-Bak conservative government decided not to provide a list of recruitment companies to migrant workers seeking new positions (T.-J. Lee, 2013, p. 70) and this decision made crackdowns convenient. If migrant job seekers fail to be hired by employers within three months of leaving a workplace, they become undocumented helplessly. This illustrates how the conservative government cleverly nullifies the rights stipulated in the EPS by forcing the workers to be obedient and by easily pinning the undocumented worker label on them. In 2012, 2014, and 2015, the UN Committee on the

¹⁸⁰ Progressive organizations who advocated for a work permit system instead of the EPS opposed particularly its clause limiting permissions for changes of workplace. However, as Seol (2012) demonstrates, arguments in favour of a work permit system garnered little public support at the time. Thus, the Joint Committee with Migrants in Korea gave critical support to the EPS with the clause.

¹⁸¹ According to one survey, the majority of workplace changes are not attributable to character flaws among the migrant workers. Rather, migrant workers are motivated to change workplaces because: the 'work is too challenging (28.4%)' and the 'pay is not properly given (22.3%)' (T.-J. Lee, 2013, p. 72).

Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Amnesty International, and the International Labour Organization repeatedly and strongly recommended that these restrictions on migrants' changes of workplace be revised (Y.-S. Chung, 2016). However, there has not yet much progress.

6-5-2 Squeezed Oranges

The Park Geun-Hye conservative government (2013-2016)'s revision of the Departure Guarantee Insurance in 2014 is yet another example of policy which has exacerbated the situation of migrant workers by treating them as expendable. The Departure Guarantee Insurance stipulated in the EPS was first devised as a means to properly pay retirement benefits to the workers (Woo, 2015). A large number of small and medium-sized entrepreneurs find themselves in a tight financial situation, and, as such, employers purchased an insurance policy when hiring the workers in order to prevent the non-payment of retirement benefits. The employers paid monthly insurance premiums and migrant workers who worked for more than one year were eligible to receive the benefits. However, in 2014, a condition was added to stipulations about the period of payment. It stated that: '...the period of payment shall be within 14 days of the departure of the insured persons, etc. from the Republic of Korea...' (Woo, 2015) Thus, according to new regulations in the Act on the Employment, etc. of Foreign Workers, migrant workers can receive their retirement benefits after their departure. This revision aims to reduce the number of undocumented migrant workers. Nevertheless, in reality, it has since been abused by employers who utilize it to avoid paying proper retirement benefits to those workers who have already left South Korea (Y.-S. Chung, 2019, pp. 13–14). In addition, as liberal party member Jang Ha-Na has noted, when migrant workers request changes of workplace, they have to wait for two or three months until they can start their new jobs, which makes it very difficult

to afford the cost of living without any income (EaLC, 2014b). Jang has argued that this insurance would be condemned by the international community, and migrant workers from Nepal and Uzbekistan filed a constitutional appeal, claiming that it was an infringement of their property rights (G.-Y. Kim, 2016). However, the South Korean Constitutional court did not rule in their favor by presenting social problems caused by undocumented migrant workers.

Consequently, repetitive revisions of the EPS outline preferences with regards to the character of migrant workers, particularly who are not Koreans, in South Korea. It favors workers who are economically beneficial and who voluntarily leave South Korean society. These are the workers who diligently work without calling into question about their workplace conditions; they do not consider permanent residence even if they work for approximately ten years in South Korea, and; they leave while waiting for their retirement benefits. These characteristics have been reinforced through the intentional distortion of the EPS. As a result, after the conservative government, the EPS turned into a system that brings to mind the forced labour and human trafficking of migrant workers (T.-J. Lee, 2013, p. 70).

For Korean-Chinese workers as well, although they are still the primary beneficiaries of the EPS, restrictive measures increased with the conservative government. For instance, when the workers' age is over 55, their re-entry as H-2 visa holders became almost impossible. Instead, they can apply a C-3 short term visit visa, but this does not allow them to engage in any economic activity. And since 2011, H-2 visa requirements became tighter (e.g. submission of a medical report with more mandatory tests). Consequently, migrant workers have been required to prove their usefulness as healthy bodies. Besides, exceptionalities that used to be given when it came to crackdown and deportation, became slim. Therefore, Korean-Chinese workers expressed

their discontent with their demotion from compatriots to foreign workers (Y.-P. Kim, 2006; Y.-R. Kim, 2014).

6-6 Conclusion: Excluding Migrant Workers Threats

The analysis of discourses relating to migrant workers in South Korea reveals a well-rounded picture of South Korean multicultural governmentality which is specifically supported by South Korean conservative force. According to the analysis, migrant workers are thought to bring unrest to the society because they are generally assumed to be politically and economically disobedient, as well as non-Korean males who would be able to be partners of South Korean women. That is to say, the workers' political, economic, and social characters deviate from the conservatives' preferences for shaping the future of South Korea. Korean-Chinese migrant workers have been relatively privileged though when their status is only limited to unskilled workers and does not have to do with multicultural families, they would not be favoured by the chief advocates of multiculturalism, the conservatives. Overall, it is demonstrated while the conservative force has acted as if they were cosmopolitans seeking post-nationalism and multiculturalism for North Korean defectors and multicultural families, their attitudes toward migrant workers are nevertheless inconsistent.

On the other hand, nationalist attitudes held by South Korean liberal and progressive forces have helped to generate positive practices that have benefitted migrant workers and lead the way on relevant issues and achievements, such as the EPS. Specifically, aspirations of becoming an advanced-state were rooted in Korean ethnic nationalism and efforts to correct errors made by the previous governments were rooted in the disposition to take historical

responsibility for the Korean-Chinese diaspora. This historical responsibility is interpreted in two different ways. One is an attachment to Korean ethnicity, and the other is a desire for democratization in the South Korean context. Although outside observers would regard the attachments to Korean ethnicity and the privileges granted to Korean-Chinese migrant workers as discriminatory, these privileges serve as technologies which oppose the previous conservative governments' intentional ostracism of overseas Koreans. Thus, these privileges are also a reflection of the liberal and progressive forces' political rationalities relating to democratization as a countermeasure of anti-communism. Son (2013) indicates that, to some extent, the privileges granted to Korean-Chinese workers carry positive implications for now. As achievable sample policies, these privileges appear to present the way forward on policy for migrant workers in general (Y.-S. Son, 2013). This is noteworthy in the peculiar South Korean context. When the Ministry of Justice cracked down on undocumented workers, it claimed that making an exception for Korean-Chinese workers is racism by citing the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights.

CHAPTER 7 Conclusion

7-1 Introduction

‘The old is dying and the new cannot be born.’ -Antonio Gramsci

South Korea faces a paradoxical situation that is unlike that which can be found in other countries which also seek multiculturalism: The influx of diverse migrants has produced an urgent need for a new paradigm. The conservative political forces have responded to this need with a particular configuration of inclusions and exclusion, while, in contrast, their counterparts have been reluctant to challenge Korean ethnic nationalism. The nationalism which dominated 20th century thought has slowly lost its influence in the 21st century, however. Losing influence of the nationalism has had apparently positive effects, among which the amplification of voices previously marginalized such as those of migrants. Nevertheless, considering the territorial division and the distinctive ideological configuration formed by this geopolitical condition, it is not clear that South Korea is prepared to embrace an alternative to Korean ethnic nationalism. Within this context, the conservative force regularly and intentionally adopts some concepts of post-nationalism in order to criticize and overturn existing discourses of the nationalism and actively advocate a language of multiculturalism. In the meantime, in response to increasing numbers of migrants since the mid-2000s, relevant policies have been hurriedly established by the South Korean government. However, there have been few efforts to build social consensus around the notion multiculturalism. Consequently, South Korea has been criticized for having policies which fall under the banner of multiculturalism while it fails to engage in broader societal conversations about multiculturalism.

In analyzing South Korean multiculturalism discourse, I strived to record, as Eckert (1999) suggested, ‘all the crooks and irregularities’ in the discourse and to ‘capture them as fully and accurately as possible’ instead of feeling ‘empowered’ by overturning the existing discourse about nationalism (Eckert, 1999, p. 371). I have chosen Foucauldian genealogy as a method to grasp the crooked reality of multiculturalism discourse in South Korea. In doing so, I aim to go beyond existing studies that limit themselves to supra-historical or ahistorical accounts. In addition, I understand the concept of nation ‘as a practical category’ (Brubaker, 1996, p. 7) that exists in continuous dialogue with real politics in the South Korean context. This approach deviates from others which commonly deal with nationalism as a specific substance or an entity which is set in stone or stands alone. I have also considered South Korean multiculturalism as a governmentality. In other words, I have conducted a thorough analysis of South Korean multicultural governmentality in a context in which the issue of Korean ethnic nationalism functions as one of the most significant practical political cleavages.

Therefore, attempts to weaken Korean ethnic nationalism can have implications for multiculturalism which are very different from those which might emerge from similar efforts in Western countries. In order to contemplate the specificity of post-colonial societies’ risks as these are concealed in unresolved issues stemming from the colonial era (K.-C. Yoon, 2006), I tried not to lay weight on existing debates about whether or not the Korean ethnic nation is fictional. Instead, I have focused on how discourses which stigmatize Korean ethnic nationalism as old-fashioned and aggressive can manipulate discourses of South Korean multiculturalism. I explored conservative force’ ways of thinking about 21st century nation-building, and I highlighted their assertions that the Korean nation is false and, therefore, all related historical and political issues are also false. Furthermore, I illustrated how, by making these assertions,

conservative force were able to set benchmarks that would determine migrants' inclusion to South Korean society and why liberal and progressive forces have relinquished their initiative on multiculturalism. Finally, I examined the core mentalities which have shaped these benchmarks, and how these have been represented in relevant policies.

7-2 Research Summary and Implications

7-2-1 Multicultural Governmentality

By conducting a genealogical analysis of the antecedents of South Korean multiculturalism, this study revealed an ideological spectrum establishing a base which structures present-day discourse relating to multiculturalism: conservative force abandons Korean ethnic nationalism while liberal and progressive forces remain passive on multiculturalism. Korean ethnic nationalism is commonly understood to be an anti-colonial nationalism which is supported by South Korean liberals and progressives and has to do with Korean consanguinity to some extent, particularly with regards to Korean national issues. This rationality was reinforced in South Korea by historical events, such as the Japanese occupation, the Korean War, and territorial division of the Korean peninsula.

On the other hand, conservatives have shown an interest in the concept of post-nationalism since the late-1990s. Although their use of this concept is based on systemic ideas, such as anti-communism, and it has been critiqued for demonizing Korean ethnic nationalism associated with the North-South Korean relationship, the concept is frequently cited when it comes to South Korean multiculturalism. Namely, conservative force utilizes the concept of post-nationalism to reinforce anti-communism, and this practice decisively distinguishes the underlying political rationalities of South Korean multicultural governmentality from the

rationalities of other societies, where the introduction of post-nationalism often helps to overcome the exclusions which stem from nationalism. My analysis illustrates differences in how different types of migrants -North Korean defectors, female marriage migrants, and migrant workers- are governed by various technologies harbouring these political rationalities. The empirical evidence presented in this study reveals coherent governmental tendencies applied to each group of migrants, and it helps us to foresee the nation-building strategy projected by South Korean conservative force, who has dominated discourse concerning multiculturalism. Meanwhile, other political forces which comprise the ideological structures of South Korea indirectly allow the conservative discourse to persist.

My analysis of the governance of North Korean defectors clearly exposed the contours of South Korean multicultural governmentality propped up by conservative force' political rationalities. These rationalities appear to be built upon universal human rights and future-orientation or international solidarity, but, in reality, they are involved in the U.S.-led international order, anti-communism, a Cold War mentality, and the liberal market order. Such rationalities have helped shape the standards which determine North Korean defector's inclusion to South Korean society. North Korean defectors are unexceptionally regarded as human rights victims in the hands of (only) North Korea and political refugees because of the intellectual processing (i.e., entrenching the Red Scare) carried out by the conservative intelligentsia, conservative media, and NGOs dedicated to North Korean human rights issues. Under this oppressive atmosphere not recognizing the defectors' diverse identities, the defectors are implicitly and strongly pressed to prove their South Korean-centric or anti-communist subjectivities in order to be recognized as sound South Korean citizens. Extensive scrutiny and training in the Settlement Support Center for North Korean Refugees and continuous

surveillances of the defectors in society serve as technologies which reinforce conservatives' rationalities and disseminate them throughout society. Additionally, the defectors' adaptation to the liberal market order, which is close to the neoliberalism, is highly recognized. At the same time, nostalgia for traditional Korean-ness or the patriarchal order is also projected onto the defectors, particularly those who are female and adolescent. Consequently, conservatives' preferences for existing orders, such as the U.S. centered-international orders, liberal market orders, and traditional Korean conventions, function to filter and evaluate whether or not certain North Korean defectors deserve to belong as insiders to South Korean society.

Although South Korean liberals and progressives have taken a political stance which opposes that of conservatives, they are nevertheless not immune to the Cold War mentality which creates fear of accepting the otherness of non-South Koreans. This situation has generated the peculiar idea that, when renaming populations as a gesture of goodwill, it is best to avoid indicating migrants' otherness (or non-South Korean-ness). One example of this idiosyncrasy can be found in the language used to refer to North Korean defectors. Straightforward terms, such as immigration, refugee, division, or North Korea are commonly avoided while roundabout terms which hide defectors' non-South Korean identities have been adopted. The new term used to refer to defectors – *Saeteomin* (people seeking a new land)- is euphemistically utilized at the expense of objectively revealing migrants' identities or accounting for how defectors see themselves. This naïve gesture of goodwill, which is considered unpolitical and value-neutral in the South Korean context, equally applies to female marriage migrants who are generally welcomed by the society. When the concept of the 'multicultural family' was coined, endorsed, and disseminated, female marriage migrants were similarly required to hide their non-South Korean-ness and specific expressions, such as immigration, were to be avoided.

Interestingly, in the process of conceptualizing those females, feminist groups and the MoGEaF (the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family) unintentionally echo conservatives' rationalities. Since the number of female marriage migrants began to increase in the 1990s, feminist NGOs have devoted themselves to representing underprivileged females by overcoming not only patriarchy, but also the Korean ethnic nationalism. Two consecutive liberal governments (1998-2007) established a foundation for feminists' voices to be translated into government policy; in this respect, the greatest achievement was setting up the Ministry of Gender Equality (the ministerial predecessor of the MoGEaF). Feminist groups and the MoGEaF have maintained an inseparable association; as the smallest and weakest ministry, however, the MoGEaF had to strain to the utmost to expand its administrative jurisdiction. Therefore, to avoid ministerial conflicts with the Ministry of Justice which is in charge of immigration issue and to smoothly pass an act exclusively belonging to the MoGEaF, narrowing the broad range of migrant-relevant issues down to matters relevant to female marriage migrants as mothers of South Korean children and members of South Korean families was necessary. In particular, the females' family-oriented and maternal aspects as South Korean housewives was strategically beneficial to securing jurisdiction of the MoGEaF.

Thus, although the concept of post-nationalism espoused by conservative force was patriarchal, South Korean-centric, and framed according to nouveau riche-nationalism resembling white nationalism, feminist groups and the MoGEaF acquiesced to, and sometimes approved of, their ideas. Furthermore, after the Multicultural Families Support Act was enacted, femocrats in the MoGEaF and their constituencies contributed considerably to the fixing and reinforcing of conservatives' rationalities. They did this through practices of bureaucratic shirking and discretion under consecutive conservative governments (2008-2016). That is to say,

efforts to achieve a breakthrough for (female) migrant-relevant issue led feminist groups end up with engaging in conservatives' rationalities for female marriage migrants and their families. As a result, the euphemistic and value-neutral (in the South Korean context) name 'multicultural family' was given to them. The re-labelling of North Korean defectors and female marriage migrants offered a South Korean-centric conception of these populations.

However, liberal and progressive forces that acted quite passively in regards to the issue relative to North Korean defectors and multicultural families made the exception of progress on policy relating to migrant workers, who had been completely neglected in multiculturalism discourse. Thus, we can garner a more concrete understanding of South Korean multiculturalism by comparing the rationalities which underpin liberal and progressive advocacy for migrant workers' human and labour rights, on one hand, with the rationalities which conservatives offer to justify the ostracization of these migrants.

Conservatives' presuppositions and representations of migrant workers completely differ from those they attach to North Korean defectors and the female migrants. Migrant workers are not generally considered to meet the preferences which conservative force looks for in the defectors and female migrants: politically conservative (or non-political), nostalgic for mythical Korean-ness, obedient to South Korea's existing orders, such as adaptive to South Korean market economy (which is close to neoliberalism). Therefore, conservatives were strictly opposed to the Employment Permit System (EPS) sought by liberals and progressives because it stably guarantees, at least migrant workers' labour rights, and increases the likelihood of their settlement. Instead, conservatives suggested that there was a zero-sum relation between migrant workers' rights and South Korean small- and medium-sized businesses' profits. Furthermore, conservatives proposed that (male) migrant workers be regarded as threats which brought the

spread of the mixed-bloods to South Korean society; this, of course, was a contradiction and incompatible with conservatives' advocacy concerning female marriage migrants. As a result, migrant workers have been straightforwardly called foreign workers (*oegugin geulloja*) without any discussion of new names.

It is worth noting that, because of Korean ethnic nationalism, liberal and progressive forces responded passively to issues pertaining to North Korean defectors and female marriage migrants; at the same time, they played a leading role in the issues relevant to migrant workers. The liberals and progressives made attempts to persuade conservatives and the general public to support their thought which suggests a sense of universal responsibility for underprivileged migrant workers. South Korea, they claimed as well, could stand tall and be a member of an international community of advanced countries in the world only if it fulfills this responsibility; they also suggested that, over the long-term, economic growth could be accomplished as well. This desire to be advanced and recognized in the international area and, at the same time, utilitarian is thought to be another aspect of Korean nationalism.

On the other hand, the EPS did offer preferential treatment to Korean-Chinese migrants, who make up a large proportion of the migrant worker population in South Korea. This fact can simply be understood as a manifestation of the liberal government's obsession with Korean consanguinity, however, it could also be understood as belonging on a continuum of democratic development in South Korea. Korean diasporas, including the Korean-Chinese community, were generally formed under the Japanese occupation (1910-1945) and significantly contributed to the birth of the South Korean government. Nevertheless, following liberation, the South Korean dictatorship and the conservative government intentionally abandoned or ignored the diaspora in order to isolate South Korea. The ideological conflict which persisted in the

aftermath of the Cold War between North and South Korea was implanted into the diaspora as well; hence, some overseas Koreans were made into political scapegoats when the Red Scare needed to be heightened in South Korean politics. Beginning in the late-1990s, the two consecutive, liberal governments began to pay attention to Korean diasporas with historical responsibility. Therefore, nevertheless the EPS privileges for Korean-Chinese migrants can be interpreted as ethnic and racial discrimination against non-Korean migrant workers, at the same time, it can be understood as discharging historical responsibility as another aspect of Korean ethnic nationalism.

Overall, 'the contemporaneity of the uncontemporary' (Bloch, 1985), a concept which is frequently cited to describe South Korean society as a model of late economic development and democratization, is useful for offering an in-depth understanding of South Korean multiculturalism today. It refers to any national issue which could have been resolved before the 21st century, such as how to build a sound relationship with North Korea and the Korean diaspora, but has remained as an issue while, concurrently, multicultural phenomena have emerged. That is to say, debates about South Korean multiculturalism must go beyond discussions of declining birth rates and the feminization of migration, two surface phenomena which are prominently discussed in South Korean multiculturalism studies.

Deeper engagement must explore why multiculturalism discourse has been smoothly embraced and actively propagated by conservative force in South Korea. It must also raise questions about the hidden impact of this phenomenon. Otherwise, we cannot understand why feminist or leftist-inspired research studies on minorities unwittingly contribute to the production of patriarchal outcomes and South Korean-centric policies. Unless multiculturalism is recognized as an ideology which participates in an ideological competition that has endured since the

beginning of the modern history, researchers who focus on non-Korean migrants will continue to produce outcomes which are incompatible with the results of researchers who focus on ethnic Korean migrants. As if the two types of migrants live separately in different societies, the first set of researchers would argue for a more cosmopolitan approach, without noticing how their good intentions for these minorities could become skewed in reality, while the second set of researchers would suggest reinforcing Korean cultural homogeneity. Therefore, without dismantling a taken-for-granted tendency, such as exclusively highlighting female marriage migrants as subjects of multiculturalism, it is difficult to discern any consistency in the rationalities which apply to the entire migrants and South Korean natives.

Consequently, this governmentality study as the empirical mapping of historical and philosophical traces (N. Rose et al., 2006) in the governance of multiple types of migrants reveals a consistency: migrants who are politically conservative, or at least politically powerless beings, are preferred by conservative force who has led discourse of multiculturalism in South Korean society. Socioculturally, migrants who are nostalgic for mythical Korean-ness or tradition (such as patriarchy), or who are at least likely to preserve it, are also acceptable. In addition, conservatives favour migrants who are willing to adapt or surrender themselves to the liberal market economy, which is neoliberal in nature. These particular preferences in political, social, and economic arenas, which shape the conditions determining whether or not certain migrants are welcomed as new members of South Korea, are formed at the instigation of South Korean conservative force. These conditions are being solidified by governmental rationalities and technologies that, together, help to mould particular types of human beings and govern them. The conditions will function in the future, when migrations are still more diverse in type and character than they are today, as standards in evaluating migrants' political, sociocultural, and

economic inclinations and positioning them on an ethnic hierarchy in South Korea. The ethnic hierarchy which is according to the conservative rationalities likely composes of South Koreans (at the top), and then, in descending order, North Koreans, female marriage migrants, Korean-Chinese migrant workers, and non-Korean ethnic workers (although the ranks of the defectors, the female migrants, and Korean-Chinese workers would be contentious and changeable).

Against this background, dual meanings of South Korean multiculturalism are revealed: On one hand, it refers to a group of outsiders who have a connection with Korean ethnicity (marriage migrants who will produce Korean children, Korean-Chinese migrants, and North Korean defectors). On the other hand, multiculturalism is also connected with policies that are meant to provide family welfare services, such as peri-natal services and children's education, but not typical programs for maintaining cultural heritage.

Another interesting finding about multicultural governmentality is that the notion of 'culture' functions as a unique, conditional residency permit (or label) which is offered to migrants when they satisfy the preferences described above. In particular, when migrants demonstrate that they are willing and/or capable of adequately meeting certain preferences, 'culture' acts like a permit which they are granted. Thus, as a signifier, culture indicates the conditional approval of migrants' settlement in South Korea. In a similar manner, the word 'multicultural' can be interpreted as a reference to the coexistence of many migrants who have been conditionally approved to stay in South Korea. Furthermore, the expression 'multicultural' also acts as a code word, which, when attached to a particular migrant group, connotes one's deservingness of life in South Korea as long as the preferences have been satisfied.

As addressed in the paragraph above, these preferences reflect South Korean conservative force' preferences for migrants with a particular set of political, social, and economic

characteristics. Thus, individuals or groups of migrants who are unable or unwilling to satisfy these conditions cannot be offered 'culture' as a limited permit. When this happens, migrants can become vulnerable to the dangers of violence, hatred, intolerance, and exclusion (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991, p. 17). At this point, it is worth noting that South Korean natives and white people from advanced countries are not required to demonstrate their capacity or willingness to satisfy a set of social preferences because South Korean multiculturalism discourse is dotted with *nouveau-riche* racism (that is, *nouveau-riche* nationalism) from the outset.

Thus, in South Korea, the term 'culture' is, to a certain extent, used quite differently from how it is used in Europe. According to Balibar and Wallerstein (1991), culture tends to 'function like nature' (p.21) in European countries. Since the word 'race' has become 'a taboo object' (M'charek et al., 2014), the term 'culture' has replaced it in discourse about the immigration complex. In South Korea, however, the word culture serves as a signifier which has more to do with preferences for certain types of migrants, and less to do with substituting the taboo term, such as race. This is because South Korea's preferences already harbour *nouveau-riche* racist attributes and classism. Nevertheless, government multiculturalism policy relies on these preferences to act as the most critical yardstick for determining migrants' inclusion into South Korean society.

Thereby, North Korean defectors or Korean-Chinese migrants who tend to align their ethnic identities with South Koreans, they disagree with how 'culture' acts as a conditional residency permit. Similarly, female marriage migrants and their children also feel uncomfortable with the term culture, even as they fall into the legal category of multicultural families. Policy discussions about non-Korean migrant workers, on the other hand, rarely make use of the terms 'culture' and 'multicultural' because, as unskilled (male) workers, these migrants deviate from

the South Korean conservative force' preferences for migrants with certain political, social, and economic characteristics.

In short, in Europe, just as an encounter between the word culture (a novel euphemism for race) and a particular racist, social environment produces a new surface for social management (T. Bennett, 2007), in South Korea, the term culture acts as a conditional residency permit which, on its own, produces as a new surface for social management. Subsequently, a hypothetical ethnic hierarchy can be built upon this new surface.

7-2-2 Ethnic Hierarchy

In the previous section, I addressed the particular hierarchical ordering which is introduced by conservative rationalities. From a migrant-centered perspective, however, the hierarchical ordering would differ significantly because of the role played by migrants' identities. North Korean defectors and Korean-Chinese migrants who suffer from discrimination in the South Korea offer one example of this. As analyzed in the chapter 3, the defectors' Korean ethnicity and North Korean origin can work to their advantage to garner great attention from the public, and especially from policy makers. Nevertheless, the defectors' identity mixed with those elements can also produce an ever-greater sense of deprivation in South Korean society. The unstable North-South Korean relationship can turn the defectors into the most isolated group of people at any time when tensions rise (N. Park, 2016, p. 38). Soo-Young, the defector interviewee cited before, complained that, in practice, defectors are ranked lower than female marriage migrants and Korean-Chinese migrants because of police surveillance and the National Security Law, which have heightened the Red Scare. North Korean defectors describe themselves as 'the untouchables', and they describe the Korean-Chinese migrants as 'second-class citizens' (Jin-Soon Lee, 2018). Korean-Chinese workers have also expressed their anger at

South Koreans' discrimination (D. H. Seol & Skrentny, 2009, p. 161), although the EPS offers them a range of privileges. They think that South Koreans exclude them because of their poverty despite their Korean consanguinity (N. Park, 2016, p. 39). In short, the order of ethnicities within the ethnic hierarchy in South Korea can be perceived differently according to migrants' subjective point of view or ethnic identities. Thus, the hierarchy is not completely explained by objective conditions such as migrants' given race, ethnicity, or gender.

Therefore, the ethnic hierarchy in South Korea offers migrants some scope to elevate their social statuses on their own. Brown (2006) articulates that governmentality guides and steers people's desires in private and social political sectors (p. 8). Besides, governmentality emphasizes that freedom, used as a virtue against unreasonable controls and regulations, ironically become one of the conditions that force people to internalize it as another the compulsory (Brown, 2006). Thereby, migrants can be competitively motivated to occupy the highest status because the conditions determining migrants' status in the ethnic hierarchy are not utterly ascribed, but rather acquired to some extent at will. Supposing a migrant is unsatisfied with her given social position, she can make efforts to be the embodiment of anti-communism or Korean cultural convention and receive greater recognition as a sound member of South Korean society. In this manner, migrants' practices of self-censorship and subjectification are reinforced. Similar examples of this can be frequently found; North Korean defectors who talk tough and take strict stances on North Korea when making guest appearances on TV shows; Lee Jasmine, who is a Filipino South Korean and was an elected member of the conservative party, when she introduced herself as 'the Republic of Korea's daughter-in-law (*daehanmingugui myeoneuri*)' and 'a mother to the Republic of Korea children (*daehanminguk ai eomma*)' (J.-M. Sun, 2012), and; media outlets which implicitly scold maladjusted female marriage migrants through news

releases that utilize the voices of female migrants who have successfully settled down as a wives, daughters-in-law, and career women (H.-I. Cho, 2013). Migrants' efforts to raise their status in the ethnic hierarchy carry one latent danger, however: they broaden the ideological distance between migrants and South Korean (native) liberals or progressives, thereby engendering conflicts between them.

Taking for granted the existing ethnic hierarchy, whose structure is determined by migrants' capacity to reflect certain political, social, and economic inclinations, has produced a trend toward marginalizing those migrants who do not, or cannot, demonstrate these inclinations. Similarly, diverse policy agendas which do not reflect these same inclinations have also been neglected and marginalized in discussion fora. First of all, as I analyzed in Chapter 6, non-Korean ethnic migrant workers who do not meet the three inclinations are completely excluded from multiculturalism discourse. This tendency will continue until the EPS is revised to modify the principle of short-term rotation, which prevents migrant workers' permanent residency. Likewise, migrants who deviate from at least one condition - manifesting, for instance, political progressiveness, disobedience to old Korean conventions or the economic order, are also exposed to the danger of being neglected.

Secondly, political agendas in need of social consensus have also been put aside because of the existence of the hierarchy. For instance, the issue of whether to consider the special treatment accorded Korean-ethnic migrants as affirmative action or discrimination against other migrants has not yet been sufficiently debated. Efforts to draw society-wide consensus on this issue are essential in South Korea given that there are 7 million Koreans overseas, a number that is equivalent to more than 14% of the total population of South Korea (Mofa, 2019). Furthermore, Korean-Chinese migrants are frequently the targets of hate speech and politically

abused. Therefore, the issue of building relationships with overseas Koreans is an important one that requires continuous discussion. Otherwise, confusion will remain about whether they are foreigners, compatriots, or multicultural families. Furthermore, what type of nation or state South Korea needs to be with various migrants, and what roles South Koreans, who are invariably ranked highest in the ethnic hierarchy, need to play as members who are equal to other migrant members of South Korean society have not been deliberated yet.

7-3 Research Contributions and Suggestions

In dismantling a unilinear view which assumes nationalism is an unquestionably conservative force that is hostile to multiculturalism, I discovered that transnational characteristics are intrinsic to any nationalism, as they influence a national member's identity. This is because national identities always need a counterpart. Victimhood nationalism, for instance, cannot be explained without its victimizer (J. Lim, 2010). This means that nationalisms are formed on the premise that the nation has its counterparts; thus, nationalism itself is a transnationally-formed ideology which is limited by its given time-space; thus, unconditional critiques of nationalism which transcend time and space are as dangerous as unconditional admiration for nationalism. Imprecise criticisms of nationalism lead us to overlook a crooked reality in post-colonial societies and to simply regard all barriers to multiculturalism as nationalism. For instance, when South Korean conservatives refer to the *Imagined Communities* (Anderson, 2006) to criticize Korean ethnic nationalism, they overlook Anderson's warning that assimilating 'invention' (which is equivalent to imagining or creation according to Anderson), into 'fabrication' and 'falsity' when it comes to the existence of a nation (p. 6). Rather, Anderson (2006) was aware of 'the actual inequality and exploitation' (p.7) within and between nation-

states and severely criticized Gellner (1983)'s perspective that an authentic community which is far removed from a nation exists alone. Therefore, in order to look squarely at the crooked reality in South Korea, I did not approach nationalism as an enemy of multiculturalism, nor did I assume that nationalism boosts multiculturalism in the South Korean context. Instead of assuming nationalism to be the main culprit or a solution, I focused on discerning what has happened in South Korean multiculturalism discourse. I asked why a concept of post-nationalism has been espoused by conservatives as a counterpart of the nationalism and how this affects multiculturalism. Based on my findings, I make some suggestions.

I recommend that researchers, who study multiculturalism, immigration policy, or ethnic minorities in Asia, or in post-colonial societies like South Korea, turn their academic attention to non-Western societies more than they do today. Many researchers are well-meaning in their efforts to directly help migrants or to grasp the global phenomenon which brought these migrants to South Korea. However, when it comes to South Korean multiculturalism, it seems necessary to be critical when adopting Westernized perspectives to avoid missing any chances to grasp the peculiarities of the Korean peninsular context. Study about immigrant policy or ethnic minority policy in other Asian societies would be of great help because, even if those societies do not use multiculturalism as a policy term, many Asian societies have suffered from complicated national issues stemming from imperialism, colonialism, or territorial division which South Korea has been experiencing. For instance, although Vietnam was united in 1975, there remain conflicts between people from the North and the South, and the government has also managed 54 different ethnic groups. Thus, looking into the Vietnam government's policy to address ethnic and national issues could offer some lessons to South Korea.

Similarly, India is a country that also has a history of colonization and territorial division. It hosts multiple, ethnic groups, and there are 216 different languages which are spoken and/or written by more than 100 thousand inhabitants. The Indian Constitution recognizes 22 of these languages as official. Despite this linguistic diversity, India maintains a national identity that pivots on its culture and social system. Thus, as is the case of India, there are adequate reasons for researchers to pay attention to multiculturalism, even when a country has not explicitly declared multiculturalism to be its national brand. Finally, the recent conflict between Hong Kong and China offers another relevant case study. The political rationality which China presents is that integrating Hong Kong is about bringing to an end the so-called century of national humiliation by the west (Fifield, 2019). This case could provide an opportunity to foresee how the grassroots' desire for democracy and a rationality for national autonomy propagated by rulers can collide. These instances may appear to be minimally related to questions of multiculturalism. Nevertheless, because discourse of South Korean multiculturalism is deeply implicated in the 20 century-events, academic lessons can be found. Thus, I recommend that future studies of multiculturalism or ethnic diversity be based on both the transnational and contextualized perspectives which are organically interrelated.

To learn lessons from outside the West, it seems necessary to, first, suspend judgement on the relationship between nationalism and multiculturalism. It is also necessary to understand the localized nature of nationalism (or multiculturalism) in the West. Dichotomous understandings of the relationship between nationalism and multiculturalism are intuitive. However, if we do not look closely at the attributes of nationalism and its counterpart, we can encounter unexpected outcomes. One example of this, presented in Chapter 5, is South Korea feminists' efforts to boost multiculturalism are marginalized and restricted by conservatives'

nation-building plan. Jeong Hyun-Baek (2003)¹⁸² worries about the internalization of mainstream feminism in the Western societies, which has declared itself to be separate from nationalism. She warns that, if the feminist movement in South Korea chooses to completely break away from Korean ethnic nationalism and avoid participation in a nation-building process, the movement will be stuck in a subculture of women and the patriarchal repression of women will be reinforced. In a similar vein, Park No-Ja,¹⁸³ a professor of Korean studies at the University of Oslo, asserts that if the Korean nation (*minjok*) concept is necessary to overcome South Korean-centric perspectives and progress toward peace and disarmament on the Korean peninsula, the concept *minjok* can be of significant utility and value (N. Park, 2015). Particularly, its utility and value are essential for advancing low wage workers' rights to work in peace, pursue happiness, and ultimately build a new nation after *minjok* (N. Park, 2015). Therefore, instead of directly applying Westernized dichotomous understandings of nationalism and multiculturalism, it is essential that each case be approached critically and in a manner which takes the historical and geopolitical conditions into account. Otherwise, as the South Korean example illustrates, the left-wing and the right-wing could speak with one voice on a particular matter, and the outcome might unexpectedly make things worse.

To prevent this from occurring, I recommend paying particular attention to the political cleavage, which has been most decisive in distinguishing a country's political forces. In this manner, the historical and geopolitical conditions can serve as critical elements that influence government policy which is relevant to ethnic minorities. For instance, in South Korea, the characteristics of Korean ethnic nationalism and the peculiarities of its counterpart (which

¹⁸² Jeong Hyun-Baek was a sociologist and the Minister of the MoGEaF from July 2017 to September 2018.

¹⁸³ He is a naturalized South Korean who ran for the National Assembly in 2012 as a candidate of the leftist party.

denounces this nationalism) have been decided and reinforced through a relationship with the influential or neighbouring countries of the U.S., Japan, and North Korea. To this day, the dynamics which they influence impact the lives of ethnic minorities living in South Korea. Consequently, ethnic minorities' lives cannot be considered immune to or separate from the critical political cleavages formed by a country's unique historical and geopolitical elements.

Considering long-standing, relational terms could provide alternative understandings of ethnic minorities' issues and their treatment by governments. This approach would not offer immediate solutions to the problems; however, it could help determine the fundamental causes of certain social phenomena, which would be an essential first step toward solving the problem. For instance, when the peace icon Aung San Suu Kyi was severely criticized for her involvement in the tragedy of the Rohingya people, much of the media presented the heroine's downfall and the brutality of the Rohingya massacre as a case of nationalist persecution of Muslim minorities. However, this perspective does not explain why Burmese, pro-democracy activists, who are supposed to be sensitive to the minorities' rights, have supported the National League of Democracy led by Suu Kyi. To begin to understand this puzzle and trace a fundamental solution, it is first necessary to locate this traumatic relationship between the Burmese and the Rohingya minorities. Within a history of British colonialism, the colonizers utilized the Rohingya peoples to control Burma efficiently. Thus, Burma's current tragedy is associated with how the hatred toward migrants, which was brought to Burma by the British, has transformed into a hatred of Muslim minorities. Similarly, in the case of the Philippines, it may be challenging to understand the high approval rating for President Rodrigo Duterte given his inhumane remarks and treatment of women, sexual and ethnic minorities. However, if we consider Filipinos' widespread disillusionment with the long-standing and corrupt, hereditary elites who have dominated the

Philippines since Spanish colonialization, it is possible to understand why the people have supported this president at their own peril.

In Western societies, multiculturalism and immigration policy are not immune to their geopolitical conditions either. For instance, the U.K.'s decision to leave the E.U. is an outcome of English nationalism which partly formed out of the relationship between the E.U. and the U.K. as a member state. People in the lower-income brackets have felt left out and have become particularly sensitive to competition from the migrant workers of other E.U. member states. Consequently, low-income Britons turned against immigration and refugee issues and aligned with pro-Brexit groups. In this nationalist atmosphere, the welfare benefits of E.U. migrants were limited and border controls grew more restricted. Last January, the Commons rejected proposals for child refugee protection rights through the Brexit bill. Thus, English nationalism formed through its interactions with neighbouring countries and with the E.U., and this nationalism directly and indirectly influenced its multiculturalism policies.

Likewise, in the U.S., President Trump assiduously wooed his potential supporters by degrading migrants (particularly those from Mexico) and promising to construct a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border. His strategy was straightforward and intuitive: It used the proximity of Mexico and the presence of a Mexican diaspora in the U.S. to promote secular nationalism and garner support. Consequently, this strategy successfully created a sense of community among low-income, white men, who demanded that their dignity be restored (Fukuyama, 2018). As a result, nationalism is interwoven with geopolitical relationships and can be connected to multiculturalism.

Canada also shares a border with the U.S. and offers another destination for Mexican migrants. As such, this country has also been influenced by the relationship between the U.S. and

Mexico. After President Trump's election, some Canadians expressed concerns about a sudden increase in the number of Mexican migrants, who were deciding against the U.S. as a destination (Kassam, 2016; Zavis, 2017). Indeed, since 2017, the number of migrants, refugees, and temporary workers from Mexico has increased in Canada, and, in 2018, it reached more than 400 thousand new arrivals (Haren & Masferrer, 2019). Similar events have occurred before: Since the September 11 attack in the U.S. and the subsequent Iraq War, the number of Muslim migrants has risen in Canada, as many have left the U.S. to avoid the anti-Muslim atmosphere. American war resisters have also sought refugee status in Canada. Against this background, it is clear that Canada's neighbouring countries impact the country's nationalism or multiculturalism. Especially today, when xenophobic and populist nationalism has grown under the pretext of public health concerns, understanding multiculturalism policy requires that its relation to other countries – each with their dynamics of nationalism and multiculturalism- be taken into account.

Political cleavages stemming from other factors, such as gender, religion, or social class, can also influence multiculturalism policy in society. When this is the case, it is essential to consider the attributes of relevant government ministries as important variables. Chapter 5 analyzed discourses relating to female marriage migrants, as well as the strategies that the MoGEaF utilized to survive and expand its jurisdiction as a ministry. It revealed that, even when a president or a ruling party changes, the roles and authorities of government ministries are not easily transformed. Indeed, they are often reinforced due to path dependency. Thus, careful consideration of ministry interests, inter-ministerial conflicts, overlapping jurisdictions, and ministry relationships with interest groups is required when analyzing multiculturalism policies dispersed across multiple ministries (as is the case for policies concerning multicultural families in South Korea).

While any study of multiculturalism should consider existing political cleavages as essential variables and eschew dichotomous perspectives on multiculturalism and nationalism, it is also necessary to underline that none of this legitimizes nationalism. Critiquing the generalization of Western perspectives on nationalism (or post-nationalism) does not mean that other types of nationalism found in different regions of the world are, in fact, excellent or recommendable. Balibar and Wallerstein (1991), noted a fine line between ‘dying for one’s fatherland’ and ‘killing for one’s country’ (p. 47). In this study, I analyzed how Korean ethnic nationalism has functioned in modern history and how it is inadequate to apply Western post-nationalist perspectives to the South Korean context. However, this analysis does not aim to validate nationalisms outside of time and space. Nietzsche condemned anti-Semitism and German nationalism while also maintaining a critical position on Semitism (Duffy & Mittelman, 1988; Nietzsche, 2011, pp. 346–347). According to Jin (2008), Nietzsche did not take one side or another; instead, he critically examined how nationalism functions in confrontations between Semitism and anti-Semitism, thereby contributing insights which help in ‘overcoming the dichotomy of good nationalism/ bad nationalism’ (p. 275). From this perspective, it is therefore necessary to shift the focus away from the idea of good versus bad nationalisms and to move toward analyses of how a particular understanding of nation and nationalism functions in practice. This approach could help dismantling, dichotomous understandings of nationalism and multiculturalism.

One theoretical suggestion for dealing with the concept of nation in the South Korean era of multiculturalism is to start expanding understandings of Korean-ness, that is, to further broaden the hypothetical state or quality of being Korean (*minjok*). Instead of plotting to overthrow Korean ethnic nationalism on the assumption that it is the main threat to

multiculturalism, I suggest continuously integrating separate migrants into the (unfixed and ever-changing) boundary of Korean-ness as a means of diluting the conservatives' South Korean-centric perspective. With regards to Korean-ness in South Korea, one conclusion which stems from my analysis in this thesis leads me to recall the ship of Theseus raising a critical question: When all the parts of an object are replaced piece by piece with new components, is the object you are left with in the end fundamentally the same as the original object?¹⁸⁴ This is a kind of a thought experiment though I suppose an implication of the ship of Theseus is compatible with Renan's metaphor about the existence of a nation as 'a daily plebiscite' (1990, p. 19) and Bhabha's declaration that national identity is inherently hybrid and ambivalent as such (1990). My point about how to perceive Korean nation (*minjok*) and its nationalism is this: endless challenge against a Korean-ness until nothing old remains of the Korean-ness; doing so will challenge South Korean-centric perspective, adding cosmopolitanism piece-by-piece until solidarity with all underprivileged sectors of society is accomplished.

Practical suggestions for administration are certainly required as well. Here I offer two suggestions. First of all, I suggest that multiculturalism and its relevant policy need to be discussed outside of the MoGEaF to avoid limiting multiculturalism discourse to maternal and family-centric discourses. I suggest merging the MoGEaF and the National Human Rights Commission of Korea (NHRCK) to establish a Ministry of Human Rights (a tentative name) that focuses mainly on the rights of various minorities, including women, sexual minorities, and migrants as well. Instead of administering welfare services to a given policy subject, such as multicultural families, this new ministry would monitor whether there are government policies

¹⁸⁴ In Greek mythology, this ship belonged to the Athenian hero, Theseus, and it was preserved by Athenians for a long time in praise of his grandness. Whenever a piece of the wooden ship rotted, however, it was replaced with a new metal piece. Over the years, this practice continued, and, eventually, the ship was entirely made up of metal.

that violate human rights or erode cultural diversity. Founded in 2001 by the Kim Dae-Jung liberal government, the NHRCK deals with various human rights issues and discrimination against minorities in South Korea. Recommendations made by the commission are not legally enforceable, however. A merger would therefore elevate the effective status and impact of the NHRCK. The merger would also strengthen the jurisdiction and authority of the MoGEaF and contribute to broadening multiculturalism discourse in order to include female marriage migrants, all other migrants, and other minority affairs. And, once South Korea creates a competent ministry in charge of immigration (such as the Ministry of Immigration), the Ministry of Human Rights could serve to deal professionally with issues relating to migrants' human rights and cultural conflicts.

Secondly, I suggest there is a need to adopt 'representative bureaucracy' (Krislov, 1974) in the administrative domain. Representative bureaucracy aims to secure opportunities for diverse social groups (based on race, ethnicity, and gender) to participate directly in administration. As a system of proportional representation in the legislative body, representative bureaucracy would encourage the participation of disadvantaged groups in the administrative domain and permit their representatives to keep close watch over the ways in which bureaucratic discretion steers policies. In this manner, representative bureaucracy would offer a means to prevent bureaucratic shirking and discretion in the ministry which deals with migrant issues. Furthermore, representative bureaucracy would offer vital support in legislation and budget settlement, particularly in the National Assembly Secretariat. Formally, the official role of the Secretariat is to support policy makers. In practice, however, technical experts in the Secretariat are heavyweights which dominate the entire legislation process. These heavyweights are nearly all men (133 out of 139 members in 2017) who are high-level officials occupying positions such

as senior specialists, specialized committeemen, and deputy directors-general (Jin, 2017). With their expertise, they can influence the whole legislative process, beginning with the drafting of bills; the continuous revision of bills to avoid ministerial conflicts, and; the final formulation of bills. I suggest that there should be other experts involved in this process, whether these are migrants currently eligible to participate in the process or persons who can represent migrants' positions and defend their interests.

APPENDIXES

Appendix A

Interview List

	NAME	(Self-identified) ETHNICITY	CHARACTERISTICS	DATE (yr: 2018)
Policy Makers (n = 6)				
1	Han-Soo	South Korean	Public officer of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family	June 1
2	Sang-Hee	South Korean	Public officer of the Korean Immigration Service	June 15
3	Yi-Hwa	Naturalized South Korean ¹⁸⁵	Previous Local assembly member	May 18
4	Myong-Hwa	South Korean	Senior assistant to a national assembly member	June 15
5	Seo-Jin	South Korean	Public officer of the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism	May 14
6	Jeong-Ah	South Korean	Public officer of <i>Daegu</i> Metropolitan City Hall	May 21
Policy Deliverers (n = 9)				
7	Jong-Min	South Korean	Pastor and head of the Multicultural Family Support Centers in <i>Daegu</i>	June 12
8	Hae-Young	South Korean	Feminist activist working for female migrants	May 9
9	Ho-Chan	South Korean	NGO activist working for North Korean defectors	June 18
10	Sang-Eun	South Korean	Elementary school teacher teaching the Multicultural Class in <i>Chilgok</i>	June 19
11	Jun-Ha	South Korean	NGO activist for migrant workers	May 18
12	Seong-Min	South Korean	Head of the Multicultural Family Support Center in <i>Gyeongsan</i>	June 12
13	Sae-Hyun	South Korean	Elementary school teacher teaching the Multicultural Class in <i>Hwaseong</i>	May 4
14	Mee-Lang	South Korean	Elementary school teacher teaching the Multicultural Class in <i>Daegu</i>	May 28
15	Soo-Bin	South Korean	Volunteer for female marriage migrants	June 5
Policy Receivers (n = 9)				
16	Soo-Young	North Korean	North Korean defector	May 4
17	Ji-Won	North Korean defector	North Korean defector	May 5

¹⁸⁵ For the reason of ensuring anonymity, I do not specify Yi-Hwa's ethnicity.

18	Cheol-Soo	Tibetan-South Korean	Migrant worker	May 1
19	Jin-Yong	Korean-Chinese	Migrant worker	June 1
20	Linh	Vietnamese-South Korean	Female marriage migrant	June 10
21	Trang	Vietnamese-South Korean	Female marriage migrant	May 17
22	Li Na	Chinese (Han Chinese)-South Korean	Female marriage migrant	June 2
23	Abdullah	Syrian	Migrant worker and refugee	May 31
24	Sergei	Russian	Migrant worker	May 30

Appendix B

Research Participant Recruiting Materials

Email and Letter Invitation

Subject: Invitation to participate in a research project on the South Korean multiculturalism

Dear Sir or Madam,

My name is Yihyun Ryu, and a PhD student in School of Public Policy and Administration at Carleton University, Canada.

I would like to invite you to participate in my research project entitled “Governing Ethnic Minorities: the case of multiculturalism in South Korea.” I am conducting this research with the aim of understanding how the South Korean government has formulated multiculturalism and how it has assigned particular roles to ethnic minorities. I aim to understand policies of Korean multiculturalism as part of the nation-building project in the 21st century as opposed to as a natural consequence of the increasing number of foreigners in Korea. I aim for this research to contribute to a better understanding of the purpose of governmental policies of multiculturalism and how such policies influence ethnic minorities residing in the South Korea.

This interview will be conducted over 60-90 minutes in the Korean language and, with your permission, will be recorded by the interviewer's personal voice recorder. All audio files will be encrypted and saved in the researcher's personal computer, which will be secured with password during the duration of the research. During the course of the research, only the researcher will have access to these recordings. After all of the interviews are conducted and transcripts are produced by myself, audio files will be deleted permanently from the computer.

My research will analyze participants' opinions about Korean multiculturalism policies, as well as their experiences with these policies. There may be a slight possibility that you may feel uncomfortable expressing your personal opinion, or this interview may evoke unexpected emotional responses. If necessary, I will try to arrange to have counselors available. You have the right to decline to answer any question and to request that the interview be suspended. You also have the right to withdraw from this study after your interview has been conducted. Should you decide to withdraw, the information you have provided will be destroyed immediately.

Given the nature of recruitment methods, interviewees will not be anonymous in the process of recruitment. However, the content of all interviews will be recorded with pseudonyms to protect the confidentiality of participants. I will be the only person able to link interview contents with your name and I will do my best to protect your personal information.

I hope this interview will provide an opportunity for you to reflect on your experiences related to multicultural policies and that in the long run, this research will provide an opportunity to critically understand Korean policies of multiculturalism and suggest ways of improving policies affecting minorities.

Finally, if you would like to raise any concerns or have questions on the interview and overall research processes, please contact me and/or my supervisor.

Name: Yihyun Ryu

Affiliation: PhD student, School of Public Policy and Administration, Carleton University

Email: yihyunryu@cmail.carleton.ca

Supervisor name: Xiaobei Chen

Affiliation: Associate Professor, Sociology, Carleton University

Email: xiaobei.chen@carleton.ca

Tel: (613) 520-2600, ext. 3990

Consent Form

Title of research project: Governing Ethnic Minorities: the case of multiculturalism in South Korea

I, _____ volunteer to participate in a study titled: “Governing Ethnic Minorities: the case of multiculturalism in South Korea.” This research aims to investigate how the South Korean government has formulated multiculturalism as a part of nation-building project and how to assign particular roles to ethnic minorities and control them.

This interview will be conducted over 60-90 minutes in the Korean language and will be recorded by the interviewer's personal voice recorder. All audio files will be saved in the researcher's personal computer, which will be secured with password during the duration of the research. During the course of the research, only the researcher will have access to these recordings. After all of the interviews are conducted and transcripts are produced, audio files will be deleted permanently from the computer.

This research questions Participants' opinions about Korean multiculturalism and related policies, and how the interviewees have experienced difficulties on the process of conducting their works/managing their lives in South Korea. You might feel uncomfortable exposing your personal opinion, or this interview may create unexpected emotional eruptions. In any circumstance, you have every right to decline answering any question, and to request suspension of the interview. If necessary, I will try to arrange to have counselors available. You also have right to withdraw from this study after your interview has been conducted. Should you decide to withdraw the information you have provided will be destroyed immediately.

Given the nature of recruitment methods, interviewees will not be anonymous in the process of recruitment. However, the content of all interviews will be recorded with pseudonyms to protect the confidentiality of participants. As a researcher, I will do my best to protect your personal information and confidentiality

I hope this interview will provide an opportunity for you to reflect on your decision surrounding citizenship and that in the long run, this research will provide the basis for more immigrant-favorable changes to immigration policies.

This project was reviewed and received ethnics review and clearance by the Carleton University Research Ethics Board (REB). If you come up with any concerns or inquiries, please contact Carleton University REB. If you need any assistance given the barrier of geographical distance and language, I would like to assist you to contact them

Contact information:

Professor Andy Adler, Chair
Research Ethics Board
Carleton University Research Office
Carleton University
1125 Colonel By Drive

Ottawa, Ontario K1S 5B6
Tel: 613-520-2517 E-mail: ethics@carleton.ca

Finally, if you would like to raise any concerns or have questions on the interview and overall research processes, please contact me and/or my supervisor.

Researcher Name: Yihyun Ryu
Affiliation: PhD student, School of Public Policy and Administration, Carleton University
Email: yihyunryu@mail.carleton.ca

Supervisor name: Xiaobei Chen
Affiliation: Professor, Sociology, Carleton University
Email: xiaobei.chen@carleton.ca
Tel: (613) 520-2600, ext. 3990

Thank you very much for participating in this research.

All the best,

signature of participant

Date

signature of researcher

Date

Interview Questions

1st group: service providers

Opening interview questions: Open ended, non-sensitive, general questions to build rapport

1. Could you briefly tell me about your work?
2. When and how did you start your work?

Research related questions: open ended

1. How do you define multiculturalism/multicultural family/multicultural society?
2. What is the main mandate of (corresponding institution)? Which service(s) currently provided are aimed at achieving the organization's vision, or objective? What else is required to effectively achieve the vision or objective? What are some of the barriers to achieving the vision/objective in your workplace or in Korean society?
3. What is the most important goal of your work with (corresponding institution), and which aspect of the work is critical for you as a social worker/volunteer/teacher/activist?
4. What are some of the unique characteristics of the service users (multicultural families) compared to other similar institutions?
5. Tell me what you do for "multicultural families"? What are some of the issues, tensions, conflicts you have experienced in working for the families?
6. What are some of the issues, tensions, or conflicts you have experienced while working for multicultural families?
7. People talk about Jasmin Lee (an elected member of the National Assembly), Yi La (a proportional representative member of the national assembly), and Kolleen Park (a member of the Commission on Presidential Transition) as examples of Korea's multiculturalism. What do you think about that?
8. What do you think of the trend of North Korean defectors being considered a group of multicultural families when it comes to administrative services? How about Overseas Koreans?
9. Looking back at when you began working with (corresponding institution), what changes might have seen in Korean policies of multiculturalism?
10. What kind of social effects/impact/consequences would you expect to emerge 20 years from now due to Korean multiculturalism?

2nd group: service users

1. How do you define multiculturalism/ multicultural society¹⁸⁶ and multicultural family/?
2. Out of the services that you've used, which do you think is the most necessary for multiculturalism? What else do you think is necessary for the advancement of multicultural society? What stands in the way of moving toward the multicultural society (either to you personally, or in Korean society?)
3. In your experience, was the gap between what you expected before coming to Korea and what you faced in reality difficult to adjust to?
4. Have you experienced conflict with Korean family members, friends, or acquaintances? If so, how and where did you find a solution to such conflict?

¹⁸⁶ In South Korea, as of now, terms such as multicultural, multiculturalism, and multicultural society are used interchangeably in day-to-day life.

5. What is the worst experience/comment/question that you have faced in Korea, either from your family members, acquaintances, or public officers? What has been your most pleasant/unpleasant encounter with a Korean?
6. Have you had any interactions with other groups such as foreign workers, refugees, international students, or North Korean defectors?
7. People talk about Jasmin Lee (an elected member of the national assembly), Yi La (a proportional representative member of the national assembly), and Kolleen Park (a member of the Commission on Presidential Transition) as examples of Korea's multiculturalism. What do you think about that?
8. What do you think of the trend of North Korean defectors being considered a part of multicultural families when it comes to administrative services? How about Overseas Koreans?
9. Looking back at when you began working with (corresponding institution), what changes might have seen in Korean policies of multiculturalism?
10. With respect to your life in Korea, what issue concerns you the most?

3rd group: policy makers

1. How do you define multiculturalism/multicultural family/multicultural society?
2. What are the prominent visions/objectives of (corresponding department/office)? Which policies have developed with the aim of accomplishing these visions/objectives? What else is necessary to increase the effectiveness of the policies? What are some of the barriers to achieving the vision/objective in your workplace or in Korean society?
3. What do you think is the most important goal or objective of your work with (corresponding department/office)? Which aspect is critical for you as a policy maker/assistants to members of the national assembly?
4. What do you think are unique characteristics of multicultural policies compared to other policies in the process of policy making?
5. Tell me what you do for their families? What are some of the issues, tensions, conflicts you have experienced in working for the families?
6. What are some of the issues, tensions, or conflicts you have experienced while working for the family?
7. People talk about Jasmin Lee (an elected member of the national assembly), Yi La (a proportional representative member of the national assembly), and Kolleen Park (a member of the Commission on Presidential Transition) as examples of Korea's multiculturalism. What do you think about that?
8. What issues (either in Korea or internationally) do you think have influenced Korean multicultural policies? Which social issues or policies are most closely associated with Korean multicultural policies?

9. Do you interact directly with service users (foreign workers, marriage migrants, and NK defectors) throughout the policymaking process? How about with the third sector such as various NGOs?
10. What do you think of the trend of North Korean defectors being considered a part of multicultural families when it comes to administrative services? How about Overseas Koreans?
11. Looking back at when you began working with (corresponding institution), what changes might have seen in Korean policies of multiculturalism?
12. What kind of social problems would you expect to emerge 20 years from now due to Korean multiculturalism?

Closing general questions

Participants will be asked if there is anything else that they would like to add to the discussion.

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