

Building a Policy Paradigm for Korea's Transition to Multiethnic and Multicultural Society (V):

The Achievements and Future Challenges of the Korean
Government's Multicultural Society Policies

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Building a Policy Paradigm for Korea' s Transition to Multiethnic and Multicultural Society (V) : The Achievements and Future Challenges of the Korean Government' s Multicultural Society Policies¹⁾

1. The Development of Multicultural Society in Korea

Recently, Korean society has witnessed the terms ‘multiculture’ and ‘multicultural society’ put to frequent use. Multicultural society can be descriptively defined as a society in which people of various ethnic and cultural backgrounds including immigrants are accepted as significant social groups and various issues related to them attract increasing social concern. Only lately has Korean society seen this kind of development.

Korea began to transit to a multicultural society in the process of globalization in the late twentieth century. From the mid-1980's onward, when transnational migration became easier, the inflow of foreign workers aroused social debates, and issues related to their human rights emerged as a social concern (Kim et al., 1995; Kim et al., 2008: 50-52; Lee, 2010: 11-13). It is the rapid increase of immigrants for permanent residence that has been the single most important reason for the rise of

1) This report is a summary of *Building a Policy Paradigm for Korea's Transition to Multiethnic and Multicultural Society (V)* which includes the summaries of the results of six topics and a reanalysis of them.

serious and widespread social concern in multicultural or multicultural society. Unlike the foreign workers who are expected to leave Korea after temporary residence at the margin of Korean society, immigrants for permanent residence can reside legally for an extended period of time, if in very limited ways, and even acquire Korean citizenship. They are mainly consisted of marriage-based female immigrants as ‘wives and mothers of Koreans’ and Korean-Chinese as ‘Korean descendants’. The Korean society, which has long held a strong belief in Korea’s ethnic and cultural unity, has felt obliged to recognize such immigrants’ profound ties to Korea, thereby accepting the fact that their existence and the resulting change in Korea’s population composition should concern Koreans.

〈Table 1-1〉 Changes in the Composition of Foreign Residents:
2001-2010²⁾

Year	Total	Students		Specialized Manpower		Unskilled Manpower		Marriage-Based Immigrants	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
2001	501,958	7,998	1.59	20,610	4.11	119,907	23.89	24,949	4.97
2002	609,797	11,308	1.85	24,155	3.96	128,229	21.03	34,710	5.69
2003	656,380	13,928	2.12	22,431	3.42	291,572	44.42	44,416	6.77
2004	728,339	17,023	2.34	21,729	2.98	295,121	40.52	57,069	7.84
2005	747,467	24,797	3.32	24,785	3.32	173,549	23.22	75,011	10.04
2006	910,149	38,649	4.25	29,011	3.19	231,773	25.47	93,786	10.30
2007	1,066,273	56,006	5.25	33,502	3.14	442,677	41.52	110,362	10.35
2008	1,158,866	71,531	6.17	37,304	3.22	511,249	44.12	122,552	10.58
2009	1,168,477	80,985	6.93	40,698	3.48	511,160	43.75	125,087	10.71
2010	1,261,415	87,480	6.94	44,320	3.51	513,621	40.72	141,654	11.23

Source: The Ministry of Justice. Statistical Annals on Entries and Departures and Foreigner Policies.

2) In this table, foreigners are classified according to their visa types, but since there have been multiple changes in the classification of visa types, a coherent standard could not be applied. See ‘Appendix’ for the changes.

Though Korea's interest in multicultural society arose due to the increase of those immigrants who had blood ties to Korea, the dynamic progress of transnational migration has made it necessary to pay attention to the immigrants who have 'no particular ties to Koreans and Korean society'. The existence of marriage-based immigrants and foreigners of Korean descent leads over time to a kind of 'chain migration' in which their relatives 'with no direct tie to Koreans' including their children also migrate to Korea. In addition to unskilled immigrant workers and marriage-based immigrants who are usually married to Koreans of lower socio-economic statuses, the number of specialized manpower and foreign students are rapidly increasing who may be seen as contributing more to economic development and globalization. The Korean multicultural society is developing more dynamically as various groups of immigrants with widely different citizenships, economic backgrounds, or ties to Korea are making their appearance in Korea.

2. The Development of Policies for Multicultural Society

2.1 The Period of Policy Agenda Formation (the 1990s): The Emergence of the Issue of Immigrants' Human Rights

It was not until the early 1990s that Korean society became concerned for such issues as immigrants' human rights, their welfare level, their adaptation to Korean society, and the Korean systems of citizenship, education, and culture in conflict with their existence in Korea. In the

late 1980s when Korea had not yet established proper institutions for the inflow of foreign manpower, foreign workers began to flow in Korea illegally and suffered from various violations of human rights such as delays in wage payment, poor labor conditions, violence by employers and so on. Social concern for foreign workers widely spreaded as their miserable conditions became publicly known through various media, and religion-based groups in civil society were formed to support them. The government, however, did not take any official measures to ameliorate their grievous conditions (Lee, 2010: 13-15).

In the late 1990s, the government finally began to take actions for the immigrant problem, first in the context of women policies. Movements took place to revise the existing nationalization law based on the patrilineal *jus sanguinis* system in reaction to the issues of the citizenship acquisition of foreign men married to Korean women and their children. The nationalization law was eventually revised in 1997. Also raised in the late 1990s was the issue of foreign women who flowed in Korea with the entertainment visa and were engaged in amusement businesses including prostitution. In response to such issue, the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (then the Ministry of Gender Equality) in the early 2000s began to provide the interpretation services for foreign women subject to sexual violence and prostitution and create shelters for them (Kim et al., 2006; Lee, 2010: 15-16). Yet, such projects, targeted for only a small portion of immigrants who were under special circumstances, did not address more general problems they faced regarding their human rights and their adaptation to Korean society, nor were they adopted as major policy agenda at the government level.

2.2 The Period of Policy Formation (the early and mid-2000s): The Increase of International Marriages and Attempts at Policy Response to Marriage-Based Immigrants

The mid-2000s was a turning point in immigrant-related policies as the Korean society became more concerned for those immigrants who had close ties to native Koreans and who became numerically significant. As international marriages between Koreans and foreigners, especially Korean males and foreign females, increased rapidly, such issues as human rights violation during the marriage process, family conflicts after marriage and immigration, child development environment and so on arose as major social concerns and policy tasks. The government's response became quicker as the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism (then the Ministry of Culture and Tourism), and the Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (then the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development) began to provide Korean language education services for marriage-based female immigrants and launch projects to assist in their adaptation to Korean society around 2005 (Kim et al., 2006: 200-203). The government's policy response, however, fell short of systematic policies with specific long-term directions, as the government carried out only separate individual projects which were mainly consisted of those projects proposed by non-governmental organizations under governmental promotion.

The announcement in 2006 of the "Plan to Support the Social Integration of Marriage-Based Immigrants' Families, Mixed-Race People,

and Immigrants,” which was a government-wide comprehensive plan, was constitutive of a great turning point that transformed the existing policy configuration mainly made up of fragmented unit projects. As the plan put forward the vision of ‘the social integration of marriage-based female immigrants and the realization of an open multicultural society’, the concept of ‘multicultural society’ was finally brought up at the level of public policy. The plan addressed a variety of major issues such as various difficulties immigrants faced during the process of international marriage, the protection of the foreign victims of violence, the stable settlement of marriage-based immigrants, children’s adaptation to school, the economic poverty and welfare of foreigners, social prejudices against foreigners, and so on. The government moved quick to find policy alternatives to solve these problems, and all the relevant ministries drew up own policy plans. The Marriage-Based Immigrant Family Support Centers (currently the Multicultural Family Support Centers), specialized institutions for supporting marriage-based female immigrants, also began to be instituted.

〈Table 2-1〉 The Progress of the Implementation of Multicultural Society Policies: 2006-2009

Year	Key Implementations
2006	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Announcement of the “Plan to Support the Social Integration of Marriage-Based Immigrants’ Families, Mixed-Race People, and Immigrants (April, 2006; jointed by 12 ministries and 2 committees)• Creation of the Multicultural Family Support Centers (then the Marriage-Based Immigrant Family Support Centers)• Announcement of “Measures for Educational Support for the Children of Multicultural Families” (May, 2006; Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology [then Ministry of of Education and Human Resources Development])• Enforcement of “Operation Guide” about local governments’ foreigner services (August, 2006; Ministry of Public Administration and Security [then Ministry of Government Administration])

Year	Key Implementations
2007	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enactment and Enforcement of “The Basic Law for the Treatment of the Foreigners Who Lives in Korea” (enacted on May 17th, 2007 and enforced on July 18th, 2007)
2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enactment and Enforcement of “The Multicultural Family Support Law” (enacted on Mar. 21st, 2008 and enforced on Sep. 22nd, 2008) Announcement of “Measures to Strengthen Lifecycle-Based Tailored Services for Multicultural Families” (Nov., 2008; Ministry of Health and Welfare [then Ministry of Health, Welfare, and Family]) Announcement of “The First Basic Plan for Foreigner Policies (2008-2012)” (Foreigner Policy Committee)
2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Announcement of “Comprehensive Measures for the Improvement of Multicultural Family Support” (joint measures by the Prime Minister’s Office and relevant ministries)
2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establishment of “A Basic Policy Plan for Multicultural Family Support” (joint plan by the Prime Minister’s Office and relevant ministries)

2.3 The Period of Policy Maturation (The late 2000s): The Formation of the Concept of Multicultural Family and the Development of the Bases of Policy Execution

Multicultural society policies whose main goal was to achieve the social integration of immigrants in the late 2000s have been estimated to make remarkable progress. In particular, the official use of the concept of ‘multicultural family’ in public policies brought about a great change in terms of multicultural society policies in their entirety. As a full-charge post—the Multicultural Family Division—was installed in the Ministry of Health, Welfare, and Family on March, 2008 and the Multicultural Family Support Law was enacted on March, 2008 and enforced on September, 2008, multicultural family support policies began to be dominant in multicultural society policies in general.

In the meantime, the introduction of “The Basic Law for the Treatment of the Foreigners Who Lives in Korea” (enacted on May 17th, 2007 and enforced on July 18th, 2007) provided a firmer ground for ‘foreigner

policies' which were different from multicultural family support policies in their format but overlapped in their content. More and more ministries became ardently involved in these two sets of policies, to the point that they were criticized to be too competitive with one another.

〈Table 2-2〉 Policy Directions Taken by Various Ministries

Ministry	Divisions in Charge	Target	Direction
Gender Equality and Family	Multicultural Family Division Welfare Support Division Teenage Independence Support Division	Multicultural families Multicultural adolescents Female immigrant victims of violence	General management of multicultural family support Support of multicultural adolescents Support of female immigrant victims of violence
Education	Education and Welfare Policy Division	Children from multicultural families and native students	Support of schooling children from multicultural families
Justice	Foreigner Policy Division Social Integration Division	Foreigners	General management of foreigner policies
Public Administration and Security	Local Administration Division	Foreigners	Support of foreigners in their settlement in local communities
Culture, Sports, and Tourism	Culture and Art Education Division The National Institute of the Korean Language Others	Foreigners and natives	Enhancement of multiculturalism Development of Korean language textbooks
Employment and Labor	Foreign Manpower Policy Division	Foreign workers and marriage-based immigrants	Employment support Career counseling and training
Food, Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries	Rural Society Division	Marriage-based immigrants	Farming education

Source: The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family and other relevant ministries (2011. 3. 11), The 2011 Enforcement Plan in the Basic Plan for Multicultural Family Support Policies (2010-2012)

The number of organizations that directly carried out policies in localities also greatly increased. The number of the Multicultural Family Support Centers, 21 of which were installed across the country in 2006, increased to 38 in 2007, 80 in 2008, 100 in 2009, 159 in 2010, and 200 in 2011 (only government-budgeted centers counted), so that they covered almost the entire nation. The number of the organizations running the social integration programs under the direction of the Ministry of Justice, which was installed for the first time in 2009, sharply increased from 20 in 2009 to 77 in 2010 and 150 in 2011. Organizations that carried out individual projects the ministries of the ministries of the central government or local governments also grew to a significant extent.

Budgets rapidly increased as well. According to the data regarding the annual enforcement of The First Basic Plan for Foreigner Policies (2008-2012), the budget spent in social integration as a multicultural society policy was more than doubled in just two years, from 33.6 billion won in 2008 through 60.7 billion won in 2009 to 71.3 billion won. The percentage of the budget for multicultural society policies in the total budget for foreigner policies (made up of the budgets for immigration control, the invitation of foreign manpower, and multicultural society) also increased greatly with 45% in 2008, 57.6% in 57.6%, and 64.2% 2010.

3. An Overview of Multicultural Society Policies

3.1 The Types and Purposes of Multicultural Society Policies

The multicultural society policies for social integration can be divided into two major types: multicultural family policies and foreigner policies. The former aim to “contribute to the improvement of the quality of life of multicultural family members and their social integration by enabling them to lead a stable family life” (Article 1 of the Multicultural Family Support Law); the latter aim to “contribute to the development of the Republic of Korea and social integration by enabling foreigners living in Korea to adapt to Korean society and fully accomplish their potentials and by making a social environment in which Korean people and foreigners understand and respect each other” (Article 1 of the Basic Law for the Treatment of the Foreigners Who Lives in Korea). Thus these two policies are different from each other to the extent that the former focus on family life and the quality of life, while the latter focus on individuals’ adaptation and achievement of their potentials. Yet they have in common the ultimate purpose of contributing to ‘social integration’.

Policies for the subgroups of immigrants such as foreign workers, specialized manpower, and Korean descendants focus primarily on streamlining the rules related to qualifications for entry and residence, but also make small contribution to social integration in that they partly deal with various difficulties which these subgroups face during their residence.

3.2 The Targets of Multicultural Society Policies

Marriage-based immigrants and their children constitute such a main target of the multicultural society policies for social integration that these policies are not very different from general policies for marriage-based immigrants and their children except that they also cover foreigners in general including tourists and short-term residents.

‘Multicultural family’ is a concept characteristic of Korean society as it was constructed in the process of coping with a situation where the number of the immigrants who were to be family members of Koreans increased significantly when family unit immigration was very limited. It is also a category of policy targets. As an official policy concept, multicultural family refers to only a small part of population among various types of immigrants residing in Korea. The concept is unique to the extent that it is applied to individual immigrants only when they are related to native Koreans. In other words, the immigrants who have marital or parent-child relationships with native Koreans are included in the category of multicultural family regardless of their acquisition of Korean citizenship, while the rest are not included in it unless they acquire Korean citizenship, nor are considered to be the target of multicultural family policies. Individual immigrants’ relation to policies can completely change when there are changes in their family relationships due to divorce, death, etc.

Before the revision of the Multicultural Family Support Law in 2011, only those who acquired Korean citizenship by birth could be family members, and this was criticized as too narrow a *jus sanguinis* conception of nation. The revision has expanded the coverage of

multicultural family policies by allowing foreigners who have family relationships with naturalized citizens to be included in the category of multicultural family. Yet, the basic principle that determines the targets of active social integration based on the relationship with native Koreans is still maintained.

3.3 Policy Tasks for Different Groups of Immigrants

Multicultural society policies may be divided into two major categories. One consists of policies that aim to establish a social order in which social members of various backgrounds can coexist; the other is made up of policies that aim to support immigrants by eliminating a variety of difficulties that immigrants face in their everyday lives as ethnic, cultural, social and economic minorities. The policies to support immigrants include basic supports for adaptation beginning with Korean language education, multilingual services, employment supports, healthcare supports, welfare, cultural enjoyment supports as well as supports for family relationship and child rearing and education. Another important policy task is to cope with discriminations and human rights violations against immigrant minorities due to their ethnic and cultural differences from the mainstream society.

The basic supports for adaptation, multilingual services, the removal of discriminations, and the protection of human rights are targeted to foreigners in general, especially the foreigners who have legitimate residence qualifications. These services are also provided for specific categories of foreigners such as marriage-based immigrants and Korean descendants, in ways tailored to these groups and by more active policy

tools.

On the other hand, employment supports, healthcare supports, and supports for family relationship and child rearing and education are limited to certain groups of foreigners. Employment supports are provided for such foreigners as marriage-based immigrants and Korean descendants who have familial ties to native Koreans. Healthcare supports deserve some attention in that they are provided for different groups of foreigners from different perspectives: for marriage-based immigrants from the perspective of maternal health and for foreign workers from the perspective of working conditions. Supports for family relationship and child rearing and education are only provided for marriage-based immigrants and their family members. Employment supports and child rearing supports can be said to be the strongest social integration policy of all the multicultural society policies. Policies to support immigrants constitute the core of multicultural society policies which are currently effective in Korea, and they are implemented in ways tailored to different categories of foreigners.

Policies for international students and specialized workforce deserve a few comments. These groups are approached mainly in terms of the simple provision of conveniences, while the other groups of foreigners are approached in terms of social integration through support. Though the government actively induces the inflow of foreign specialized manpower by allowing dual citizenship for them, it maintains a lukewarm attitude towards their social integration. In this sense, the current policies for these groups of foreigners are self-contradictory.

4. The Achievements and Limitations of Multicultural Society Policies

4.1 Achievements

The formation of multicultural society policies has in itself great significance in Korean society which maintained the 'myth' of Koreans' pure historical homogeneity and denied ethnic and cultural plurality. That the government has officially recognized the existence of foreigners and responded to it is a 'historic event' of great social significance. The government has enacted various laws for multicultural society and established and implemented relevant policy plans. The central government has created various organizations in full charge of multicultural society policies, and local governments have been quickly following suit. Various systems implementing policies on the spot are also expanding. School curriculums, which have critical influence on people's attitudes, have begun to include subjects about multicultural society. These subject. how to understand multicultural families and multicultural children's lives, and how to get rid of prejudices against them, and achieving some degree of visible success³⁾. As legal,

3) According to the results of an analysis of the curriculums and textbooks of national language, social studies, morality, manual training/home, and physical education (Cheong et al., 2011), the 2007 revised morality curriculum for the ninth grade includes the subject of 'understanding other cultures and overcoming prejudices', while morality textbooks for elementary schools include the subjects of immigrant women (*Everyday Guide*, 3-1, 49-50), multicultural society receptiveness (*Morality*, 3-2, 46-65; *Everyday Guide*, 3-2, 44-65; *Morality*, 6, 140-142), understanding other cultures (*Morality*, 6, 134-139; *Everyday Guide*, 6, 114-127), and multicultural family children (*Morality*, 6, 162; *Everyday Guide*, 6, 146). We can see that considerable attention is paid to multiculturalism in these morality textbooks. Textbooks for social studies also address multicultural families and their children's lives from the perspective of human rights (Topic 1).

institutional, and organizational grounds are laid, social concern for the existence of immigrants and various difficulties they face is growing, and social awareness of the need to change institutions and practices in conflict with the development of multicultural society is expanding.

4.2 Limitations

4.2.1 Uneven Development of Different Policies for Different Groups and Areas

Current multicultural society policies have given almost exclusive focus only on some of a whole variety of issues raised by the increase of immigrants. In particular, the targets of multicultural society policies have been limited to only a small portion of foreigners who have familial ties to native Koreans. It is not an exaggeration to say that other groups than multicultural family members including marriage-based immigrants and naturalized citizens have been almost excluded from policy targets.

4.2.2 Absence of Measures for Dark Corners in Social Integration

4.2.2.1 Social Segregation of Immigrant Workers

Some of prior studies predicted that social isolation of immigrants from the mainstream society would be the greatest challenge in the development of multicultural society (Seol et al., 2009). The problem of social isolation is likely to be more serious for non-marriage-based immigrants than for marriage-based immigrants who have familial ties to

native Koreans. A comparative analysis of the social relationships of marriage-based immigrants and immigrant workers, based on the results of 'Topic 3' and 'Topic 5', shows that, unlike marriage-based immigrants, immigrant workers strongly tend to have social relationships with their compatriots and develop few social relationships with Korean colleagues in their workplaces. In particular, the analysis shows that Korean descendants including Korean Chinese are highly likely to form closed networks with their compatriots.

However, such deepening separation between immigrant workers and the mainstream society has yet to be addressed as an important policy task. Though immigrant workers constitute the numerically biggest group of immigrants, they have only attracted social attention as the industrial manpower, not as the main target of social integration. And their relation to the mainstream society has not been addressed even when policy concerns for the social integration of immigrants are rapidly growing.

A modicum of policy concerns for foreign workers have been shown by the Foreign Worker Support Centers that carried out consultation, education, and cultural events for them, but this program has been handed over to local governments. The only policies for foreign workers are pre- and post-employment safety and health trainings and basic industrial health services for foreign workers in small businesses of less than 50 employees . Though a project to publish guidebooks for Korean descendants has been implemented, it remained almost nominal as no more than 70 million won has been spent from 2008 to 2010.⁴⁾

4) It is not an exaggeration to say that the publication of guidebooks is the only project to support Korean descendants. Though the Korean Descendant Resident Support Center is run, its spending was only 16 million won for three years and all it provided were deputy conferences and employee training sessions (Topic 1).

Policies are not reaching foreign workers from the perspective of social integration in spite of their numerical size. It is primarily because they cannot reside permanently in Korea and should leave after temporary residence under the current immigration system. Even if individual foreign workers are temporary residents, however, they permanently reside in Korea collectively and account for the growing percentage of Korea's total population due to the structural conditions of the Korean labor market. Also, many of them are likely to illegally extend their stay after the permitted length of residence.

Hence, unless the government drops the current basic policy direction of excluding foreign workers from the targets of the social integration, many of them are likely to be put in the dark corners in social integration and the separation between the mainstream society and them may well exacerbate to lead to a major social conflict.

4.2.2.2 International Students' Human Rights and Their Adaptation to Life

Immigrant workers are not the only group of immigrants who are excluded from the targets of the social integration. Also excluded are international students whose number is drastically increasing in recent years. This may be because both international students and the destination country do not feel a need to pay high costs for social integration and because they do not place too much burden on the destination country as they have different social, economic backgrounds from immigrant workers.

Yet, the relation between the international students and the mainstream

society and their influence on the social integration are changing rapidly since the educational migration spreads to various social classes, not just limited to a few elites who may make considerable contribution to the socio-economic development and cultural enrichment of the destination country and have positive influence on its foreign relations and since two-step migration (employment after graduation in the destination country) begins to expand. As the Australian case shows, international students in Korea are not free from racial discrimination and human rights violation.

4.2.3 Few Opportunities for Immigrants to Be Recognized as Legitimate Social Members

Actual multicultural family support projects mainly focus on assisting marriage-based immigrants, especially marriage-based female immigrants, facilitating initial adaptation to life in Korea and alleviating various difficulties they face in their child rearing. It is true that these supports are very helpful for them and enhance their Korean language skills which are the basis of social integration. Language proficiency, however, is not a sufficient but only necessary condition for social integration which requires many other conditions. The findings from survey of marriage-based female immigrants presented in 'Topic 3' show that the current education programs and services provided by multicultural family support policies did not have as significant effects on their social integration as expected. This is due to the fact that these programs and services focused on marriage-based immigrants' initial adaptation regarding Korean language education and child rearing and were not

sufficient for a higher level of social integration including the formation of their relationships with native Koreans and their active participation in socio-economic activities.

The focus on supporting immigrants' initial adaptation is problematic because it would not be sufficient to achieve one of the final goals of multicultural society policies, that is, their becoming legitimate, full members of Korean society. Under the current policies, native Koreans tend to play active role in implementing various support projects, making immigrants mere passive policy targets. This reinforces one-way relationship between native Koreans and immigrants in which the former help and the latter get helped, preventing the opportunities for immigrants to raise themselves to be competent full members of Korean society.

4.2.4 Lukewarm Measures for the Social Integration of the Second Generation

Multicultural social integration requires not only the social, economic integration of first-generation immigrants but also the proper development and educational achievement of their children so that they can overcome their parents' social, and economic marginalization. For this reason, many countries take an active interest in supporting immigrants' children for social integration, and the Korean government, too, is putting a good deal of spending in this area.

One problem is that various policies are developed and implemented taking as a main target those children who were born to Korean fathers and foreign mothers and grow in Korea. As a matter of fact, however, there are a considerable number of children who have foreign

citizenships because their parents entered Korea through chain migration or because their parents are naturalized citizens. The number of such children is rapidly increasing as remarried marriage-based immigrants and naturalized citizens grow in number.

Children who have foreign citizenships and grew in foreign countries for a considerable period of time have lots of difficulties in schooling. The government has tried to solve problem by setting up special classes or establishing alternative schools for them, but there have not been enough of them. A more fundamental problem is that Korea maintains an educational system based on a strict distinction between Koreans and foreigners. Thus such children are likely to drop out of school without the full right to education. Few governmental efforts have been made to find appropriate jobs for such foreign children who have distinct backgrounds. The tendency has already occurred that such foreign youth have not accumulated appropriate human capital required in the Korean labor market and ended up in low-wage unskilled jobs.

4.2.5 Passive Measures to Create a Social Environment in Favor of Multiculturalism

‘Interculturalism’ has risen as an alternative paradigm to overcome the conflict between assimilationism and multiculturalism. As it shows, another axis of social integration in multicultural society is to change the institutions of the mainstream society and mainstream members’ consciousness and attitude in favor of the development of multicultural society, though it is also important for immigrants to make active efforts to adapt to Korean society. Policy efforts in this direction are urgently

required, provided that both marriage-based immigrants and immigrant workers usually cannot develop social relationships with native Koreans and that they point to Koreans' discriminatory attitudes towards them, along with their poor language skills, as a main reason. Korean Chinese give an interesting example in this respect. They are proficient in Korean language, but usually form their own closed relationships. This shows that factors other than Korean proficiency are involved in the development of the relationships between immigrants and native Koreans, and it is no doubt that the mainstream society's attitude towards immigrants is a very important factor.

Many studies on Koreans' receptiveness to immigrants and the development of multicultural society have pointed out various problems such as Koreans' prejudices and discriminatory attitudes towards immigrants, their unwillingness to accept immigrants as full members of Korean society and form relationships with them, and their dual receptiveness in which they show different attitudes towards immigrants depending on the nationality and cultural capital of immigrants (Kim et al., 2007; Min et al., 2010). Unless these problems are solved, it is difficult to create a society where different groups of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds coexist and there is possibility that conflicts among diverse social groups will deepen as they enter into direct interaction with one another under a discriminatory environment.

The government is addressing these issues by implementing various projects and programs under the policy goal of 'promoting natives' understanding of multiculturalism'. But this has not yet received sufficient attention as shown in the fact that the government has put much less spending in Koreans' receptiveness to multiculturalism than in

supporting immigrants' adaptation. And actual projects implemented by the government have largely ended up in one-time, lip-service events, lacking systematicity and professionalism.

5. Policy Proposals

5.1 A Turn to More Genuine Multicultural Society Policies from Simple Immigrant Support Policies

Ultimately, multicultural society policies must be comprehensive ones to maximize positive aspects of multicultural society, while preventing and responding to negative problems that can be caused by the existence of immigrants. To go in this direction requires to move away from existing foreigner policies and multicultural family support policies that address only some of multicultural issues to comprehensive policies that take the diversity of multicultural society seriously.

Of course, we must not overlook immediate supports for immigrants who are likely to face a variety of discriminations and difficulties, and these supports should continue to be a central part of multicultural society policies. what is more important is, however, that multicultural society policies should develop in the direction of completely reconstructing the existing social and cultural order by responding to the increasing variety of population composition and the resulting social, cultural dynamism. In conclusion, multicultural society policies should move away from the existing policy paradigm centered on specific targets such as foreigners or multicultural families to a new paradigm with emphasis on a general reconstruction of social order.

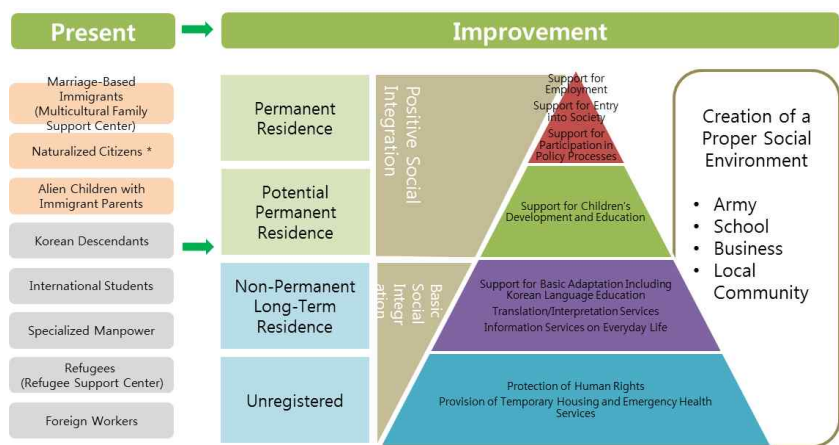
5.2 Redefining Policy Targets Based on a Multidimensional Model of Social Integration

Though direct immigrant supports must be a central part of multicultural society policies under a new paradigm, more important is how to define immigrants in ways in favor of multiculturalism. Existing foreigner policies and multicultural family support policies are based on the classification of immigrants into marriage-based immigrants, foreign workers, visiting workers of Korean descent, Korean descendants, international students, specialized manpower, and refugees, depending on their respective residence qualifications. They also select main targets of social integration efforts according to immigrants' relationships with native Koreans. While those immigrants who meet such condition receive extensive supports for social integration, those who do not receive only supports targeted for foreigners in general but are excluded from the social integration efforts. In short, most immigrants are not the targets of the social integration policies only because they do not have any familial ties to native Koreans, even if they have great social, cultural, and economic influence on Korean society as real residents in Korea. As the current social relationships of immigrant workers reveal, most immigrants are likely to face social segregation which is the biggest challenge to multicultural society, but there have been little policy response.

An alternative to solve this problem may be to reclassify immigrants into permanent residents, potential permanent residents, and non-permanent long-term residents, set an appropriate degree of social integration for each group, and develop proper measures for each. Since all long-term residents including foreign workers have decisive impact on

social integration, they must be considered a main policy target and deserve forward-looking policies which aim to improve their basic communication skills, assist in their adaptation to life, promote their social relationships in their everyday lives, prevent discriminations against them, and protect their human rights they are not just industrial manpower but also legitimate members in their workplaces and communities.

Regarding the basic social integration, a similar approach must be taken for all the long-term residents who can stay for an indefinite period of time, permanent residents, and naturalized citizens. But they also need to receive more extensive supports for more positive social integration by helping them find jobs, enter into society, and participate in policy processes so that they can become full members of Korean society.



[Figure 1] Targets of Multicultural Society Policies and a Multidimensional Model of Social Integration

In defining policy targets, the fact also must be taken into account that the numbers of family immigrants and those immigrants who are likely to reside permanently such as specialized manpower in specific areas, international students⁵⁾, Korean descendants, and immigrant workers with special qualifications⁶⁾ are increasing. Since more of them are likely to reside permanently due to more opportunities for permanent residency and the permission of dual citizenship, more attention must be paid to them. It will be appropriate to not only give them supports for basic social integration but also expand some of the supports for their positive social integration such as supports for their children.

5.3 Attempts at Positive Social Integration by Immigrants' Social Participation

Genuine social integration can be advanced by encouraging social members of diverse backgrounds to actively engage in various societal

5) The student visa itself does not allow the holder permanent residence, but it appears that the number of those international students who will have permanent residence after employment will increase.

6) They include such foreigners in specialized occupations as executives in large corporations and IT technicians who have the E-7 visa. There is no limit to the length of their stay, and they can acquire permanent residency relatively easily. In contrast, those foreign workers who came to Korea through the work permit or visiting work systems can stay for no more than five years and had little possibility of acquiring permanent residency or citizenship. But the Ministry of Justice announced in Oct. 2011 that foreign workers could the E-7 visa if they were employed in manufacturing, construction, and agriculture/fishery/livestock raising for more than four years within the past ten years; they were younger than 35 years old; they had at least bachelor's degrees; they had at least technician qualifications or their pays for the past year were more than the average; and they had at least the third degree of Korean proficiency or completed the social integration programs (<http://www.yonhapnews.co.kr/bulletin/2011/10/12/0200000000AKR20111012132300372.H.TML?did=1179m>). When this measure is implemented, young, well-educated alien workers can stay legally for an extended period of time and acquire permanent residency.

areas and deepen their relationships. Only when such a process is activated, social development based on diversity is possible and multicultural society can develop in a positive direction. To realize this possibility requires to go beyond simple supports for immigrants' initial adaptation to society and their family lives; it requires to enhance their ability to become full members in various societal areas, eliminate an environment in disfavor of their activities, and expand their opportunities to participate in various areas based on their linguistic and cultural particularities. Such measures should be the central goal of multicultural society policies.

To achieve this goal, it is necessary to redesign the functions of such service organizations as Multicultural Family Support Centers which currently focus on immigrants' initial adaptation. They should go beyond the provision of Korean language education to develop various programs to enhance immigrants' competence for economic and social activities and increase their chances to use their special linguistic and cultural endowments for various activities in diverse societal areas. It is particularly necessary to increase opportunities for mutual education and common activities between mainstream members and immigrants which would make it possible for them to create horizontal relationships. It, then, would be important to support civic organizations where members of various background engage in common activities. Creating mechanisms through which representatives of immigrants can participate in central and local committees related to immigrant policies will also contribute to the establishment of immigrants' position as legitimate social members at the official level and deepen social relationships between mainstream and immigrant members.

5.4 Strengthening Efforts for the Social Integration of the Next Generation

The foreign youth who were born in foreign countries and grew there for a considerable period of time are a litmus test to measure how well Korean society responds to issues related to immigrant children's educational achievements and their labor market participation. As such, it is necessary to change the existing educational system based on a strict distinction between citizens and non-citizens in a more flexible direction. The current system, which authorizes school principals to decide on the permission of non-citizen children's transfer/admission, could violate their educational rights. To secure them their educational rights, it is necessary to make the permission of their transfer/admission obligatory rather than principals' discretion and revise Article 19 of the Enforcement Ordinance of the Elementary and Secondary Education Law as follows: "Principals must permit their transfer/admission unless there are any special reasons for refusal." The issue of not giving foreign youth preferential treatment in college admission after their naturalization must also be resolved. Mutual diploma recognition also has to be made between Korea and main foreign countries.

Along with these changes in the educational system, it is also necessary to expand micro-level supports to minimize foreign students' educational gap due to migration. Among other things, programs for initial adaptation programs, special classes and so on have to be drastically increased as demand overwhelms supply. In particular, installation standards must be set for special classes, and schools meeting the standards must be made to install special classes. If there is no

sufficient demand in individual schools, the education office will have to arrange special classes for several schools combined.

Currently, curriculums for foreign youth are developed by individual teachers in individual schools, and this needs to be corrected. Programs tailored to students need to be developed, while the effort to enhance teachers' professionalism has to be made by reeducating teachers and training preliminary teachers.

Since immigrant children reveal great variability in their ability to adapt to school depending on their ages and Korean language skills, a fine-grained approach is necessary. While younger children should be made to be integrated into regular school education as soon as possible, it seems that those older children who came to Korea in their late adolescence are likely to receive vocational training through separate complementary schooling and pursue vocational career paths earlier than later. In particular, since the majority of foreign youth are those in their late adolescence who are not likely to pursue further education, as the age distribution of youth citizenship applicants shows, it is very important to provide them with many opportunities to know about the conditions of the Korean labor market conditions and develop skills and knowledge necessary for employment. For this purpose, we must go beyond establishing institutions such as Dasom Korean School, developing the kind of occupations and curriculums that allow them to manifest their particularities, training specialized lecturers for this task, and arranging appropriate translation/interpretation systems. Provided that it must be too difficult for them to participate the existing labor market, it should be a central task to develop such occupational sectors as transnational trading so that immigrant children can take advantage of

their special backgrounds and expand demands for their specialties themselves.

5.5 Building a Social Environment for the Development of Multicultural Society

It is important to construct a social environment in favor of immigrants and their diverse backgrounds in order to prevent various social problems possibly caused by the development of multicultural society and develop its cultural diversity in a positive direction. But this has been largely ignored by existing foreigner policies and multicultural family support policies. Multicultural society policies based on a new paradigm have to set the construction of a favorable social environment for immigrants as a central goal.

5.6 Establishing Support Systems for Immigrants' Adaptation to Basic Life

A considerable number of immigrants are non-permanent long-term residents such as foreign workers who have a limited period of residence and are vulnerable to human rights violations. It is a fundamental element of multicultural society policies to secure basic human rights for immigrants including those mentioned above and enable them to lead a basic life as residents in Korea. Sufficient basic services must be provided for immigrants' adaptation to basic life, as they have to live in Korean society for a considerable period of time and meet with Koreans in their communities and workplaces, whether they are marriage-based immigrants, naturalized citizens, permanent residents, international

students, specialized manpower, or foreign workers. It is necessary to construct an integrated service system by connecting Multicultural Family Support Centers, Foreign Worker Support Centers, Korean Descendant Residence Support Centers, and foreigner support organizations run by some local governments. It is possible to consider a plan to integrate these organizations into comprehensive multicultural society centers which would support various groups of immigrants and enhance the wider society's multicultural receptiveness.

5.7 Strengthening Measures to Secure All Immigrants Human Rights and Their Children Educational Rights

One of the most weakest aspects of existing policies has to do with the prevention and redressing of discriminations against immigrants in general and the protection of unregistered residents and refugees who are likely to be placed in the blind spot of human rights. It is necessary to establish an immigration control guideline that can deal with serious human rights violations regardless of the victim's residence qualification.

Since civil organizations are no less important than government policies in protecting the human rights of unregistered residents, the government has to help them provide the victims with temporary housing and emergency health services. As the authorities' consciousness of human rights is more important than physical infrastructure in protecting human rights and preventing discriminations, efforts must be made to enhance the human rights consciousness of public officers, especially in the immigration office, police, and court.

Besides, a forward-looking approach has to be made to the educational

rights of the children of unregistered immigrants. In 1992, the Korean government joined the UN Child Rights Treaty which specifies children's educational rights in their residing countries without any discriminations. Though it has revised relevant laws from the early 2000s onward to observe the treaty, the educational rights of children and teenagers with foreign nationalities, especially unregistered immigrant children, have not been protected. The government must insert a special clause in relevant laws such as the Enforcement Ordinance of the Elementary and Secondary Educational Law and the Multicultural Family Support Law to secure unregistered immigrant children educational rights and prepare an alternative to replace the foreigner registration number in the educational administration.

5.8 Activating Local Policies through the Development of Governance

Central government policies may not sufficiently respond to local diversities or local special agendas which require local competence. The governance approach deserves attention as it aims to promote cooperation among various sectors in the region including the local government and strengthen their competence throughout the whole process of policy decision and implementation. Vitalizing local level governance requires the leadership of the local government to develop local resources and combine local competences in those areas the general policies of the central government cannot address well. In response, the central government needs to encourage such efforts by the local government by funding some local projects and introducing incentives for excellent local projects, etc.

It is also very important that civil society should not limit itself to being a service supply partner to the government, central and local, but enhance its professionalism and show its competence in defending, criticizing, and monitoring policies and educating ordinary citizens. The civil sector can play a significant role in dealing with violations of the human rights of unregistered residents and other problems that are generated in the blind spot of government institutions. To strengthen the competence of the civilian sector and promote its activities requires creating support programs for civic organizations which enable them to take up those tasks that may not be easily carried out by the central and local governments and that are specific to the region in question. Regarding the implementation of government-subsidized projects such as Multicultural Family Support Centers, the civilian sector can be also vitalized by specifying the roles of the government-civilian committees and creating a system of monitoring and feedback at the civilian level for the projects funded by the central or local governments.

What has been usually overlooked in the existing multicultural society policy governance is the issue of immigrants' policy participation as core stakeholders. The policy participation of permanent residents beginning with marriage-based immigrants should be a central goal of multicultural society policies, and mechanisms to do this should be reinforced. Immigrants' policy participation has been highly perfunctory. To overcome this, it may be desirable in the long run that immigrant communities rather than the government select their own representatives. In the areas where foreign workers are concentrated, it would be possible for them to directly put forward their opinions regarding policies and projects affecting their lives.

5.9 Creating Mechanisms for Ordinary Citizens' Participation in Multicultural Society Policies

It is important from the perspective of policy governance to go beyond the view of problems in multicultural society as concerned with immigrants alone to recognize them as the ones the local society as a whole has to solve together. A valuable lesson is provided by the multicultural symbiosis project in Japan in which civic organizations accept immigrants as their members and pursue common goals and engage in problem-solving together. When social members with various backgrounds act together for common goals, not only can participants enhance their social competence, but multicultural society can develop in a positive direction. Hence, the government needs to consider various measures to vitalize civic organizations in which social members from various backgrounds act together.

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