

PROSPECTS FOR A MULTICULTURAL KOREAN SOCIETY:  
MINORITY POLITICS WITH A FOCUS ON AFRO-KOREANS

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2018

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Thesis submitted to the  
Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts  
in  
Asian Studies

by  
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Boğaziçi University

2018

## DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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## ABSTRACT

### Prospects for a Multicultural Korean Society: Minority Politics With a Focus on Afro-Koreans

This thesis looks into the potential towards a multicultural South Korean society and possible improvement of minority politics with a focus on Afro-Asians in South Korea. The main research question is to what extent the Afro-Asian community can define a multicultural South Korea and challenge the nationalist discourse. It is aimed to look into the government policies to be able to understand the inclusion and exclusion mechanisms of the state towards the minorities and look into the limits of the multicultural policies towards this minority group. It will be maintained that although there has been an inclination to adopt multicultural policies for the integration of mixed-race individuals living in South Korea, its sphere of influence has been significantly limited and an effective policy-making is an important step for achieving multiculturalism. The implied policies do not necessarily change the public opinion and attitude towards multiculturalism. Although Koreans' view on foreigners, multicultural family and mixed-race individuals seem to be positive, there is still discrimination against them, decreased in its intensity. Hence, it will be argued that there are complex layers to multiculturalism in South Korea when the state-led policies, public opinion and personal biographies of mixed-race Koreans looked into. In other words, there are different value systems attached to certain multi-ethnics in South Korea as celebrity and non-celebrity cases highlight. As the multicultural policies took initiative in the late 1990s, due to the influx of migrants, this thesis will look into the initiation of these policies until today in South Korea.

## ÖZET

### Çok Kültürlü Kore Toplumunun Geleceği:

#### Afro-Koreliler ve Azınlık Siyaseti

Bu tez Güney Kore’deki çok kültürlülük söylem ve politikalarının azınlık siyasetine olan katkısını Afro-Koreli bireylerin topluma eklemlenmesine odaklanarak anlatmaya çalışacaktır. Bu tezin ana araştırma sorusu Afro-Koreli topluluğun çok kültürlü bir Güney Kore toplumunu ne kadar tanımlama gücü olduğuna ve milliyetçiliği ne kadar değiştirebileceği üzerinedir. Bu tez, Afro-Korelilerin ve diğer çok kültürlülük söylemi içine girebilecek bireylerin toplumdaki yerini ve bu söylemin sınırlarını Güney Kore hükümet politikaları üzerinden anlamaya çalışacaktır. Görülecektir ki çok kültürlülük söylemiyle başlatılan hükümet politikalarının etki alanı sınırlı kalmıştır. Bu nedenle devletin daha etkili politikalar geliştirmesi gerekmektedir. Bu politikalar aynı zamanda kamuoyunun yabancılara, göçmenlere ve farklı etnik kökenleri bir arada bulunduran bireylere karşı olan dışlayıcı tavrını çok fazla değiştirmemiştir. Kamuoyunun fikri, hükümet politikaları ve farklı etnik kökenleri bir arada bulunduran bireyler Güney Kore’deki bu söylemi incelemek için önemli elemanlardır. Çünkü devletin hazırladığı medya tarafından desteklenen farklı etnik kökenlere sahip ünlü bireylerin dahil olduğu etkinlikler, kamuoyunun fikrini değiştirmiştir. Bu farklı değer sistemleri, Kore toplumunun bu bireylerin toplumda kabul ya da reddetme mekanizmalarını belirlemiştir. Çok kültürlülük üzerine hazırlanan politikalar 1990’larda başladığından, bu tez bu yıllardan günümüze kadar olan politikaları inceleyecektir.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank all of my professors in the MAAS program who have supported my academic interests and dissertation topic. Without their encouragement and support, it would have been difficult to complete this academic journey. I would like to especially thank Professor Selcuk Esenbel and Dr. Hyun Woong Hong for their guidance and patience. I would also like to thank my Korean language instructor, Hwa Cheon Lee who has taught me Korean for two years with enthusiasm. She has been significant in increasing my fondness for the Korean language and culture. I have learned a lot during my two years in the MAAS program and I am very thankful for studying with great scholars and graduate students.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my parents who have supported my academic career no matter what. Their support have encouraged me to start a second masters degree in Asian Studies although I did not know much about the geopolitics, culture or the language of East Asian countries. I am always grateful for having their support and guidance throughout my academic journey.

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## GLOSSARY OF NON-ENGLISH TERMS

Chunghwadae	Blue House also known as the presidential mansion.
Gijichon (or kijichon)	U.S. military camptowns in Korea.
Honhyeol	Literal meaning is “mixed-blood” Koreans.
Hyolt’ong	Lineage or bloodline
Hwagyo	Ethnic Chinese residing in Korea.
Ilminjuui	Ideology of “one people” supported by Korea’s first president Syngman Rhee.
Joseonjok	Ethnic Koreans residing in China.
Jus sanguinis (Latin: right of blood)	A principle of nationality law by which citizenship is not determined by place of birth but by having one or both parents who are citizens of the state.
Minjok	A word that connotes nation, ethnic group and race.
Minzoku	Japanese term connoting ethnic group, race and nation.
Mulatto	In its current usage, covers someone who is of varying fractions of African and European heritage. Not all racially mixed persons view this as a positive designation. Its original meaning has negative connotations; many believe the word is derived from the Spanish mulato for mule, the infertile hybrid between a donkey and a horse.
Munhwa	Culture
Segyehwa	Globalization
Seonggyeok	Personality
Tanil (danil) minjok	Monoethnic people also connotes nation based on pureblood similar to one-drop rule in the US.

Twiggi or ainoko

Derogatory words used to indicate mixed-blood children.

Yanggongju

Literally meaning “western princess” or “Yankee whore”, a derogatory word to describe a Korean woman’s relationship with an African-American serviceman.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Beige Britain: A new race is growing up. It's not black, it's not white and it's not yet officially recognized. Welcome to the mixed-race future. (Younge, 1997 as cited in Song, 2015, p.74)

The public image regarding to mixed-race individuals has always been related to negative responses from the dominant groups in various nations around the globe.

Race has been a discursive category not a biological one and an organizing category of

...ways of speaking, systems of representation, and social practices (discourses) which utilize a loose, often unspecified set of differences in physical characteristics – skin color, hair texture, physical and bodily features etc. – as *symbolic markers* in order to differentiate one group socially from another. (Hall, 1992, p.298)

The most popular discourse regarding the mixed race individuals are that they seem to be “out of place” or having “no place to call home” (Root, 1992; Tizard & Phoenix, 1993 as cited in Mahtani, 2005, p.77). The mixed raced individuals have been stigmatized as “torn and confused” about their racial identity (Ifekwunigwe, 1999; Nakashima, 1996 as cited in Mahtani, 2005, p.77) or these individuals were experiencing in-betweenness. In this dissertation, it will be seen that Afro-Koreans were neither completely Korean nor completely African-American. The image of the mixed-race individuals is socially constructed and only by deconstructing the system of racial order the mixed race identities can be understood.

After more than 20 years of the Guardian headline there is some official recognition of mixed-race individuals in Western European countries and the US.

The election of Barack Obama as the US President and his racial background incited the recognition of mixed-race identity and the post-race debates. The mixed-race individuals were recognized and included in England and Wales Census for the first time in 2001 under the ‘mixed’ group category (Song, 2015, p.75) and these individuals were able to choose from sub-categories of mixed, White and Black Caribbean, White and Asian, White and Black African. When the academic studies in the US and UK are considered, it has been maintained that “...academic research on mixed-race people in Britain has not kept up with the demographic reality (and diversity) of ‘mixedness’ in many urban, and even less urban parts of Britain” (Song, 2015, p.76) and in the US there were manifold academic studies done both qualitatively and quantitatively.

Race has been an important factor in defining the nation around the world and mixed-race identities have been a global issue. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the visibility of mixed-race children was a signifier of “genetic deterioration of the nation and of the human race itself”. One of the most prominent examples of this was the one-drop rule in the US that even if the individual carries one drop of sub-Saharan African blood he would be considered as non-White. This meant that this individual would be segregated from the White Americans and be at the bottom of the racial hierarchy.

In 1960s, there has been a biracial baby boom in the US and it is understood that the racial identity of the American nation could not be reduced to Black and White anymore. It has been realized that the racial reality of the U.S. will be “colored” in the future. As the U.S. Bureau of the Census (1992) predicted that in 2050 “the representative face of America will no longer be white” (Root, 1996, xiv). Even the special fall issue cover of *Time* Magazine (1993) featured a mixed-race

individual who is not an actual living person but created through computer technology as “The New Face of America” (see Figure 1).



Fig. 1 Special fall issue cover: The new face of America

Source: *Time*, 1993

<http://content.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,19931118,00.html>

This woman in the *Time* Magazine represents the multiethnic future of the US. James

Gaines, the editor, states that:

The woman on the cover of this special issue of Time does not exist – except metaphysically. Her beguiling if mysterious visage is the product of a computer process called morphing – as in metamorphosis, a striking alteration in structure or appearance. When the editors were looking for a

way to dramatize the impact of interethnic marriage, which was increased dramatically in the US during the latest wave of immigration, they turned to morphing to create the king of offspring that might result from seven men and seven women of various ethnic and racial backgrounds... The highlight of this exercise in cybergenesis was the creation of the woman on our cover, selected as a symbol of the future, multiethnic face of America. A combination of the racial and ethnic features of the women used to produce the chart, she is: 15% Anglo-Saxon, 17.5% Middle-Eastern, 17.5% African, 7.5% Asian, 35% Southern European, and 7.5% Hispanic. (Ifekwunigwe, 2004, p.2)

The multicultural future also proves true for the UK, South Korea and many other countries as the intensification of movement is changing the world populations.

A multicultural, multi-ethnic and multi-racial future ahead of us but coming to terms with this diversity has not been easy for the nation-states. Much of sociological work shared the assumption that nationalism is a homogenous ideology but differences in class, ethnic origin, gender and other factors affected societies for a long time. As Penrose said, “Pluralism, not homogeneity, is the fundamental human characteristic of the countries which make up our world” (1994, p.31). To be able to shape the national identity, racial constructs and orders are reproduced all the time and boundaries are constructed in society. Penrose maintains that the “social construction of *specific* nations is necessary because the *general* category of nation is the central organizational unit of the current world order” (1994, p.30). To be able to understand the racial constructs and discrimination in society, it is enlightening to look into the literature on the racialization of White and Black identities. In the literature of racialization it has been argued that Whiteness was the signifier of the dominant group and unchallenged norm, but Black identity is indicating color “is always particularizing, whereas white is anything really, not an identity, not a particularizing quality, because it is everything – white is no color because it is all colors” (Mac an Ghaill, 1999, p.69). The problems and pathologies of mixed-race are

“framed in such a way as to indicate that these problems are somehow intrinsic to the group rather than dependent on social processes” (Olmide, 2002 as cited in Ali, 2003, p.4). Therefore, it could be said that dominant racial discourses and social processes are creating discrimination against multi-ethnic identities even today.

To solve the question of racial discrimination, from 1950s to 2000s there has been a general transformation in the policy discourse in the Western world. In 1950s and 1960s there were ‘simple’ policy discourses of racial inequality which changed into focus on selection, socialization and social mobility through local authority and anti-racist initiatives in 1970s and 1980s that changed into the ‘complex’ policy discourses of social exclusion and the de-racialization of policy in 1990s and 2000s (Mac an Ghaill, 1999, p.134). In the 1980s, racism took a cultural turn that differences in culture became the discriminatory factor (Mac an Ghaill, 1999, p.70). As it will be seen, there are complex layers to multiculturalism and social inclusion of multi-ethnics in which race, class and gender intersect in South Korea as well.

South Korea has been a country that had taken pride in its ethnic homogeneity. However, the intensification of movement and globalization in the 1980s had a significant impact in the public sphere. In other words, modern nations are all “cultural hybrids” in which the discourse of “one people” was a myth in all over the globe (Hall, 1992, p.297) and this had an impact on South Korea. South Korea is receiving immigrants and needs to recognize its minorities. As Ifekwunigwe maintains, the false belief in racial homogeneity needs to be gradually replaced by the acceptance of mixed-race identities and multiraciality (2004, p.8). In-Jin Yoon’s (2010) survey of demography states that “multicultural minority” groups include migrant workers, migrant brides and biracial individuals (bi-ethnic or mixed-race individuals). Although the political rhetoric shifted towards ‘multiculturalism’, racial



discrimination in daily life is still evident. Therefore, the main research question of this dissertation “to what extent the Afro-Asian community can define a multicultural South Korea and challenge the nationalist discourse” is an important issue. There are examples in the literature on ethnic identity and social struggle in South Korea, but it is important to locate and explore minority politics based on the specific characteristics and context of South Korea with regards to policy-making towards a multicultural society from the initiation of policies in 1990s until today.

Currently, South Korea holds the largest Afro-Asian population in the East Asia. Amerasians, who are the children of U.S. servicemen and Asian women, constitute over one million people which is approximately 2% of the Korea’s overall population and within that number Afro-Asians are even less (Reicheneker, 2011, p.6) but they are very visible in urban areas. This subject intrigued me academically because there is a puzzle: It is taken for granted that the South Korean society is quite homogenous, hence encounter with Afro-Asians in the South Korean public sphere was unexpected. In national identity formation in colonial and postcolonial Korean society has differed from that of many other nation-states due to the very weak presence of a real or imagined ethnic minority (Seol and Seo, 2014, p.12). Therefore, Korean national identity was formulated without the construction of an “internal minority” such as Muslims in China or the Ainu in Japan, which is considered the most unique characteristic of modern Korean history (Seol and Seo, 2014, p.12).

The perception of race is important in defining Korean national identity. For a long time, Korea has been exposed to foreign invention and this has been influential in shaping the racial ideology and order. Japanese colonialism (1910-1945), the American missionaries in the mid-1880s and the U.S. military in Korea

most noticeably United States Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK, 1945-1948) and Korean War (1950-1953) were some of the sources that have been significant in defining the term 'race' in Korean imagination. During the Japanese colonial period (1910 - 1945), Koreans used the notion of "Korean blood" to define a nation based on ethnic homogeneity. This was a defense mechanism against the Japanese assimilationist laws. In other words, Korean ethnic nationalism was a means of resistance. American missionaries came in 1880s and their presence was crucial in perceiving the U.S. as a "white" country as Koreans were in contact with White missionaries and diplomats. Koreans were also impressed by the wealth of Americans and looked up to Western values and ideals. During the Korean War (1950-1953), the U.S. military in Korea continued to reflect their racial ideologies and constructed a "White America" by injecting anti-Black sentiments to Korean people. In Korean culture whiteness (as in skin color) has been valued as it represented its people's purity since the Three Kingdoms Period of 57 B.C. to A.D. 668 (N.Y. Kim, 2008, p.27). Therefore, a form of colorism has existed as Koreans have traditionally preferred lighter skin, identified with aristocrats who do not need to labor in the sun, to the darker skin associated with peasants. But with the American military, colorism was strengthened as Koreans were biased against African-American servicemen from 1950s onwards. The racist notions in the U.S. during the 20<sup>th</sup> century were reflected to military camptowns in Korea as most of the facilities were segregated according to the Black-White racial binary.

In modernizing South Korea, control of the population was a key concern of the developmental state under President Syngman Rhee (1948-1960). The children of African-American soldiers and Korean women were exposed to racial discrimination in the context of President Syngman Rhee's discourse of nationalism that drew upon

an ideology of “one people” (*ilminjuui*), which legitimized his authoritarian leadership (E.J. Kim, 2010, p.31). According to Shin (2006), “the ideology of “one people” borrowed its power from anticolonial era nationalist historiography that posited Korea as an ethnically homogenous nation based on unbroken ancestry and shared bloodline (as cited in E.J. Kim, 2010, p.31-32). These children symbolized the subordinated status of Korea under the US military rule and posed as a threat to ethnically homogenous nation-state. To eradicate this threat and polluting element to Korean nation, transnational adoption of the children who were fathered by the American servicemen was initiated during the Syngman Rhee period. These mixed-race children were mostly sent to the U.S. for adoption. In the 1960s, President Park Chung Hee (1963-1979) wanted to solve the issue of transnational adoptions and child abandonment but until the 1970s the adoptions continued.

The existence of foreigners, immigrants and mixed-race individuals still pose a challenge to the social constructions of the nation and people in South Korea. The social construction of the nation based on ethnic homogeneity is seen as legitimate and naturalized in people’s minds. But, the South Korean state-led multiculturalism is trying to keep its national unity by gradually moving away from its the hegemonic discourse of ethnic nationalism. Ahn maintains

This change in the (major) targeted mixed-race groups encapsulates how the characteristics of the state’s governing racial minorities have changed throughout the Korean history: while racial others had been (almost completely) erased from the national imagery due to their racial impurity in modern-day Korea, they begin to be included in the national imagery of contemporary Korea because of irresistible flows of global migration today. Hence, the current discursive explosion of multiculturalism in Korea is significant, as it indicates that multiculturalism had become an umbrella term dealing with different types of racial others as well as newly emerging types of Koreans. (2014, p.395)

If the South Korean governmental policies cannot reverse the public opinion towards multiculturalism, mistreatment of foreigners and discrimination against mixed-race Koreans will continue and the unity of the nation will fade away. As Penrose maintains

Categories can be used to effect positive change but they can only do so if we are prepared to alter the categories at the same time. Only by simultaneously employing the concepts of nation, people and place to redefine one another in ways, which reflect heterogeneity and fluidity, can we hope to reduce the inequality that these concepts have so consistently generated. (1994, p.46)

In South Korea multiculturalism is clearly a debated issue as the initiation of multicultural policies from the late 1990s demonstrates.

South Korea officially recognized the discourse of multiculturalism in 2005. National Football League (NFL) player<sup>1</sup> Hines Ward's visit to South Korea defined the multicultural moment in 2006. Hines Ward's father is an African-American serviceman during Korean War and his mother is a Korean woman. His presence was significant as the government and public welcomed him and his mother (see Figure 2). This turned out to be a big mass media event to brand South Korean multiculturalism. It is also interesting that Hines Ward was used as a means for the implementation of multicultural policies for the children of foreign brides from Southeast Asia (Kosians) and not children of American servicemen (Amerasians). Nevertheless, Ward's agency opened up a discussion about mixed-race identity in South Korea and increased the public awareness towards multiculturalism.

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<sup>1</sup>A NFL player is a professional American football player.



Fig. 2 Hines Ward's visit to South Korea with his mother in 2006

Source: *ESPN*, 2004

<http://www.espn.com/nfl/news/story?id=2394894>

With regards to state-led policies multiculturalism is used as an umbrella term in which the policies included the multicultural families of migrant wives and their mixed-race children. The multicultural policy measures did not target the Amerasians or migrant workers. The policies were a pragmatic solution for the demographic issues such as low birth rate and aging society. Therefore, Amerasians and migrant workers were absent within these policies and the sphere of influence of the multicultural policies was limited. Multiculturalism is not wholeheartedly embraced in South Korea yet, as it stayed in rhetoric and did not change the public attitudes towards multi-ethnic individuals. The only change in public opinion happened depending on multi-ethnic individual's socioeconomic background such as Hines Ward. Hines Ward being a successful "half-Korean" from the U.S., an

advanced society, altered the public opinion towards Afro-Koreans. As it will be seen, there are different value systems attached to certain multi-ethnic individuals. Multiculturalism discourse is not static and has complex layers with regards to social inclusion and exclusion in South Korea. Watson argues that multiculturalism in South Korea is a “paradox”. He consciously emphasized, “For many South Koreans, the development of multiculturalism is a paradox in the sense that it ‘conflicts with received opinion’ about embedded assumptions of racial and ethnic homogeneity” (2012, p.235-236). Watson further claims that if this particularistic view on race, ethnicity and national identity is not problematized, the debates on multiculturalism will reinforce “the exclusionary boundaries between Korean and ‘foreigner’” (2012, p.236). Hence, Watson believes that the education agenda and beliefs about race and ethnicity need to be challenged and go beyond “...the limit of current paradoxical and often counterproductive government initiatives” (2012, p.236). Discrimination against mixed-race individuals, migrant workers and brides continue in everyday life in the spheres of education, employment and military. Culture of colorism has been a defining element of this discrimination that darker the skin color of the individual more the racism has been experienced.

There was a similar experience of colorism in Turkey with regards to Afro-Turks. In Turkey, there is a minority of Afro-Turks whose roots could be traced back to 15<sup>th</sup> century in Ottoman Empire, but most of the Africans came via Zanzibar and from places such as Niger, Saudi Arabia, Libya, Kenya and Sudan to the Ottoman Empire in the second-half of 19<sup>th</sup> century through slave trade to farm cotton, tobacco and vegetables in Çukurova, Manavgat, Dalaman, Menderes and Gediz (Afro Türkler Dayanışma Derneği, n.d.). Most of the slaves were emancipated after working in the plains for nine to ten years and moved to Aegean and Mediterranean

region where they formed villages and worked in agriculture. Also, some of this population came from Crete due to the population exchange between Greece and Turkey in 1923 and they settled around İzmir where they are still mostly populated today in addition to Aydın and Muğla (Aktas Salman, 2008). Africans living in Turkey became Turkish citizens with the establishment of Turkish Civil Code in 1926 and it is estimated that there are up to 100,000 Afro-Turks living in present-day Turkey (Secker, 2017). The exact number of Afro-Turks is not known as many internally migrated to cities such as Istanbul and preferred to married to white Turks. Most of the Afro-Turks assimilated and they have Turkish names, speak Turkish and mostly identify themselves as Muslims (Nimer & Aupiais-L'homme, 2017). It has been maintained, “Besides the skin color, nothing remained” (Nimer & Aupiais-L'homme, 2017). Nimer and Aupiais-L'homme (2017) called this as a “double ‘loss of identity’ which occurs as a result of deportation and enslavement, followed by displacement in the late Ottoman Empire and assimilation policies in the Turkish Republic, which contributed in burying the various original and syncretic cultures of this community”. Based on Nimer and Supiais-L'homme's research which includes face-to-face in-depth interviews with Afro-Turks, they have expressed their experiences with colorism in Turkey such as African people are seen as beggars, criminals or backward. In everyday life Africans live in Turkey feel the ‘us and them’ divide as one of the interviewees of Simsek (2017) maintained in the metro Turks do not want to sit together with Africans and added that “My skin color should not touch with his skin color”.

Joel Migdal's state-in-society approach is useful to think about the interaction and relationship between policies and public opinion in South Korea. His approach is different in the sense that state-in-society approach is “...the process of interaction of

groupings with one another and with those actual behavior they are vying to control or influence” (2004, p.23). Therefore, a dynamic process changes the goals, interests and the promoted rules of the certain groups. According to Migdal,

Like any other group or organization, the state is constructed and reconstructed, invented and reinvented, through its interaction as a whole and of its parts with others. It is not a fixed entity; its organization, goals, means, partners, and operative rules change as it allies with and opposes others inside and outside its territory. (2004, p.23)

For Migdal, the image and practices of the state gains importance within its relation to society. State and society are not fixed entities, they constantly change their structure, goals, rules within their interaction and relation hence Migdal maintains, “they are constantly *becoming*” (2004, p.57). The state is part of the society and the officials of the state are members of the larger society but the distinctive patterns of the interactions between the state and society is important. The multicultural policies in South Korea also came with the need of integrating the multiethnic population within this interaction the policies came about. It has been common sense that the state is above society, but for Migdal that's not the case. South Korean state needs to increase the awareness towards multi-ethnics in its territory and the society needs to be involved in the dynamics of policy-making and discourse of multiculturalism.

To make some of the main terminology clear in the upcoming chapters, when it is referred to mixed-race individuals in South Korea two types of individual groups could be identified for the purposes of this dissertation. Firstly, the children of American servicemen who served in Asia and Asian women are referred to as “Amerasian”. The term “Amerasian” is an officially accepted term in the US in 1980s to denote a person born in Asia (such as Japan, Vietnam, Philippines South Korea) to a US military father (whose heritage could be White, African-American or Hispanic) and an Asian mother. This term is the most inclusive term to refer to



anyone racially mixed of Asian ancestry, which was first coined by Pearl S. Buck.<sup>2</sup> To indicate the children of African-American GIs and Korean women's children the terms Black Amerasian, Afro-Korean and Afro-Asian will be used interchangeably throughout this dissertation. The term Asian and Korean American will not be used because it denotes diverse groups of people in the US as the category 'Asian American' includes Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Indian and Vietnamese, and others. Also, Korean Americans are not necessarily the offspring of the American servicemen during the Korean War. The Amerasian children were also derogatorily called "mixed-blood" (*honhyeol*), which connotes the racial discrimination against the biracial individuals, as it will be explained in Chapter 5. Secondly, children of Korean men and South East Asian women are called "Kosians". This quote from Ahn summarizes the difference between Amerasians and Kosians:

While the increasing number of Amerasians (mostly white mixed-race and black mixed-race) indicates the presence of the US Army and uneven power relations between the USA and Korea after the Korean War in 1950, the rise of 'Kosians' today represents inter-Asian migration and the neoliberal economic turn after the economic crisis in 1997. (2014, p.395)

As a remainder of this dissertation, the second chapter mentions the methodology, objectives and research questions. The third chapter is the literature review on race, race relations, mixed-race studies and multiculturalism. The fourth chapter will discuss the influence of Japanese colonial period, American missionaries and U.S. military on Korean's perception of race and national identity. The fifth chapter is on emergence of the mixed-race children in the U.S. military camptowns in Korea during the 1950s and it will focus on the inability to incorporate the mixed-race children to the Korean nation and transnational adoptions of the mixed-race

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<sup>2</sup> Pearl S. Buck (b.1892-d.1973) is a prominent American author who lived in China, wrote on Asian cultures and was an advocate of Asian and mixed-race adoption. She adopted seven children including Amerasians and one Afro-Asian.

children. The sixth chapter will talk about the discourse of multiculturalism and (state-led) multicultural policies in South Korea. The status of foreign workers, migrant brides from Southeast Asia and Amerasians will be explained. Also, the turning points in multicultural policies will be presented.

## CHAPTER 2

### METHODOLOGY, OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this dissertation to be able to see mixed-race identity in relation to Korean national identity and multiculturalism in South Korea, I have looked into the personal stories and accounts of mixed-race celebrities and non-celebrities on racial discrimination in Korea; laws on nationality; immigration and multicultural policies; surveys on public opinion on Korean national identity, attitudes towards foreigners and multicultural policies; statistics on transnational adoptions, foreign workers and brides, mixed-race children (Amerasian and Kosian) from various sources and interview excerpts in relation to social discrimination against the mixed-race individuals at school, workplace and military.

The first-hand experiences of Amerasians and Kosians have been significant in pointing out the idea that multiculturalism has stayed in rhetoric and did not trickle down to public opinion. The personal stories of the mixed-race individuals are important to be able to understand how public attitude towards some individuals were positive and some were negative. Both mixed-race celebrities and non-celebrities elaborate on their experiences of racism in everyday life in South Korea. Some of the positive cases were Hines Ward's visit to South Korea in 2006 and the professional basketball players Moon Tae-Young and Moon Tae-Jong who gained Korean citizenship to be able to play in the national team. These cases were welcomed in Korean society, as all of them were successful "half-Koreans" from U.S. (an advanced society), which is valued by the public. In the case of non-celebrity accounts, Doolan's (2012) interviews of Amerasians' experiences in South Korea and Yeo's (2016) interviews with Korean elementary teachers' on

multicultural education will be helpful in order to understand discrimination towards mixed-race individuals in different fields of everyday life. I have also looked into news articles and excerpts to refer to personal stories of foreigners and mixed-race individuals' racial discrimination in South Korea.

## 2.1 Korean laws and policies on nationality and multicultural families

The Korean laws and policies are significant in understanding the social exclusion of mixed-race individuals especially Amerasians in the legal realm. As race and “Koreanness” is defined through multicultural policies and Nationality Laws in South Korea, the law will be made use of and turning points in multicultural policies will be shown.

The Nationality Law adopted in 1948 by the South Korean Interim Government under The United States Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) and the principle of *jus sanguinis a patre* which means a child can have Korean citizenship if the father is a Korean national accepted as the main form of acquisition of citizenship at birth (C. Lee, 2017, p.3). Before the 1991 revision in Family Law and 1998 revision in Nationality Law, only individuals fathered by Korean citizens were able to gain citizenship (see Appendix B, Article 2(1)). Individuals without Korean fathers who were born before the Nationality Law revision done in 1998 did not have the right to be part of social welfare, education and healthcare as they were not considered as Korean citizens. Only in 1991, a revision in the Family Law allowed Korean women to register their children into the family register without the permission of the male head of the family. The revision in Nationality Law in 1998 allowed bilateral *jus sanguinis* meaning that Korean mothers can also pass down citizenship right to their children if the child was born

after January 1, 1998. South Korean law defined who is Korean and who is not Korean and mixed-race children born before 1998 were alienated from the country they were born in due to the patriarchal constructions of citizenship and family. In addition, the current Nationality Law makes the foreign spouses dependent on her Korean husband and his family to obtain Korean citizenship as the husband guarantees the foreign spouse's identity with the state such as her residence, continuation of marriage and when the document of naturalization is applied for (H. Yang, 2011, p.69-70). The Nationality Law is suggesting adaptation to the Korean family structure as the foreign spouse needs to learn Korean language and culture demonstrated the assimilationist side of Korean multiculturalism and the male-centered family structure still remained intact in these international marriages.

The multicultural policies and regulations regarding to immigrants, foreign brides and their multicultural families were also significant in understanding the social inclusion and exclusion mechanism in South Korea. Multicultural Families Support Act (see Appendix D and E), established in 2008 (and revised in 2016), was the only legal regulation manages the multicultural families, as other regulations were policies. The aim of the Multicultural Families Support Act was to provide support for the members of a multicultural family to have a secure family life and to promote social integration. This support included raising social awareness, orientation for newly arrived foreign wives, support for equal family relationship, support for victims of domestic violence, support for children at school, multi-language service for the foreign wives (H. Yang, 2011, p.78). It is important to note that the intention of this act was to support "the (multicultural) family" rather than the betterment of the human rights conditions of the foreign wives. Both this act and policies will show that multiculturalism was catered to foreign wives and their

mixed-race children, Kosians. In other words, the law and multicultural policies were used as a means to include a certain multicultural family consisting of Korean men, foreign brides from Southeast Asia and their mixed-race children. Even though an inclusive term multiculturalism is used, its effect was significantly limited as migrant workers and children of American servicemen was not directly included to the content of policies.

## 2.2 Surveys on national identity, foreigners and multicultural policies

Surveys done by other academics and researchers will be used in this dissertation.

Korean General Social Survey (KGSS) from 2003 and 2007 will be made use of to be able to understand the public opinion on national identity, foreigners and multicultural policies. This survey is done by Sungkyunkwan University annually and the 2003, 2004 and 2007 KGSS contains information on Korean national identity, attitudes towards foreigners and multicultural policies. According to Yoon, Song, and Bae the results show that the civic factors (such as sense of belonging, citizenship and respect for Korean institutions and law) were more important than ethnic roots (2008, p. 331). However, the data actually showed that the ethnic factors were as significant as the civic ones between 2003 and 2007 (Yoon et al., 2008, p.331).

Another survey used in this dissertation is the Korean Multicultural Acceptability Index (KMAI) conducted by Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (MOGEF) between December 2011 and January 2012, which reveals that approximately 30 percent of Koreans surveyed had positive views on the coexistence of various cultures (Junmo Kim, Yang, & Torneo, 2014). According to KMAI, low-income groups had lower levels of accepting multiculturalism but younger people

and better-educated groups had higher levels of accepting multiculturalism. To add, Seol and Seo (2014) has conducted a survey on social distance felt towards the minority groups in South Korea in 2010 which consisted of 665 people on ten university campuses. This survey measures the social distance of the seven minority groups mentioned by using the Borgardus social distance scale.<sup>3</sup> The scale asks people the extent to which they would be accepting of each group. Their results showed that a hierarchical ranking of the ethnic and social minorities including mixed-race individuals, foreign wives, North Korean refugees, migrant workers, ethnic Koreans from China, Joseonjok (Chinese people living in Korea) and gays and lesbians. To be able to measure the hierarchical nationhood, Seol and Seo made a score chart in 2012 in which ethnic and social groups are the least and most favorable including Korean Americans, foreign spouses, North Korean refugees, *Joseonjok* (ethnic Koreans who live in China), migrant workers, disabled people, mixed-race individuals, gays and lesbians, *hwagyo* (Chinese people living in Korea). Seol and Seo's hierarchical nationhood scores demonstrated that there was a favorable public perception of mixed-race individuals and foreign spouses. Some of the least favorable groups included migrant workers. This chart has been quite useful for my research to be able to understand to what extend the multi-ethnics are socially included and the public attitude towards minorities. The variance in responses to surveys on social inclusion and exclusion of multi-ethnics and national identity also shows the inconsistencies with public attitude in everyday life.

To be able to understand the changes in public opinion, Seol and Seo's concept of "hierarchical nationhood" will be useful. Hierarchical nationhood will be used to understand the social inclusion and exclusion of multi-ethnic individuals in

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<sup>3</sup> Borgardus' (1925) social distance scale is a measure of people's willingness to participate in social contacts of varying degrees of closeness with members of diverse social groups such as racial and ethnic groups.

everyday life. Seol and Seo call the different value systems attached to certain identities' social inclusion and exclusion, which has a certain hierarchical order in Korean society as "hierarchical nationhood". The public opinion and attitude were not consistent towards the multi-ethnic individuals and mostly changed according to socioeconomic background of the mixed-race individual. Therefore, public opinion is important to look at to be able to understand its discrepancies with the multicultural policies.

### 2.3 Research questions

The research questions of this dissertation include the following:

- To what extent Afro-Asian community can define a multicultural South Korea and challenge the nationalist discourse?
- What does being a mixed-race individual connote in 'ethnically homogenous' South Korea?
- How the individuals from this background are integrated into the society in the age of multiculturalism and globalization?
- What are the government policies to include the multiethnic individuals and is it working or still there are discriminatory remarks from society?

The central research questions will try to be answered in each and every chapter of the dissertation step by step in detail, relying mostly on secondary sources with utilizing qualitative research methods. My theoretical framework includes multiculturalism, discourse on nation-state, policy-making, critical mixed race studies, minority identity and politics in South Korea.

South Korea is picked as a case to deconstruct the common idea that Korea is an ethnically homogeneous state. Cultural and racial plurality among nation-states



will be present and multiculturalism is a necessity in today's global world. Identities of immigrants and mixed-race individuals have been of concern not just in South Korea but also in many countries. South Korea is yet to be a multicultural society. There is a long way ahead to tolerate, adjust and live together with multi-ethnic individuals in South Korea. The case of South Korea could be a field to experiment for a solution on the global issue of racial discrimination against immigrants and other multi-ethnics. That is why the South Korean case is a valuable testing ground to be able to observe the shift the discourse of ethnic nationalism, which is so embedded in people's mind, to multiculturalism.

All in all, this dissertation is a qualitative research based on secondary resources that utilizes first-hand experiences of multi-ethnic individuals, Korean laws on nationality, multicultural policies, surveys on public opinion done by other researchers and statistical data on transnational adoptions, foreign spouses and workers. The discrepancies between state-led multicultural policies, personal accounts of multi-ethnics and public opinion will be linked to the fact that in South Korea there are different value systems with regards to social inclusion and exclusion.

## CHAPTER 3

### LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review looks into the general overviews of race, race relations, mixed race studies and multiculturalism in the Western countries (such as US, Canada and Western Europe) and in South Korea. It is aimed to show that in South Korea's multiculturalism has been a recent phenomenon when it is compared to Western countries such as the U.S., Canada and Western Europe. Therefore, the South Korean experience significantly differed from its Western counterparts. In the general overview of race studies, the emergence of first academic research on mixed-race studies and critical race studies will be seen. Secondly, in the general overview of multiculturalism both the academic trends in Western countries and in South Korea will be mentioned.

#### 3.1 A general overview of race, race relations and mixed race studies

The issue of race and race relations has been discussed in the U.S. within the research of the Atlanta Sociological Laboratory and the Chicago School. Atlanta University social scientists conducted research on the social, physical and economic condition of African-Americans between 1895-1924 (Wright, 2002, p.15). During these years, this data was annually presented to the Atlanta University Conference on Negro Problems. W.E.B. Du Bois who was part of the Atlanta Sociological Laboratory wanted to avoid "descriptive analyses of human behavior" and focused on empirical studies with the census type data (Wright, 2002, p. 26). Du Bois' academic vision made the Atlanta Sociological Laboratory's research more

systematic, which also improved the Atlanta University Conference on Negro Problems. Du Bois' academic research reflected on the lack of opportunities in education and employment for African-Americans in the US. It is maintained, Du Bois provided "a portrait of life 'within the veils' of prejudice, discrimination, and racism where one's identity was determined largely by the 'color line'" (Schaefer, 2008, p.423-424). Du Bois is still considered as a leading voice in the African Americans' quest for dignity, respect, and acceptance within the larger U.S. society.

The Chicago School (1892-1960) analyzed race relations between Black and White Americans and emphasized "a pattern of race relations that was cyclical and involved conflict, accommodation, competition, and assimilation" (Schaefer, 2008, p.269) Robert E. Park was an important figure in Chicago School and his research was significant in the analysis of racial relations and mixed-race studies. Park presented the concept of "the marginal man" in 1928 (Tizard & Phoenix, 2002, p.43). This concept was applied to the "hybrid" people who are in between the two cultures they belonged to. According to Park, the marginality was not reducible to racial mixing but encompassed a wider cultural and moral dimension:

Ordinarily the marginal man is a mixed blood, like the *mulatto* in the USA or the Eurasian in Asia, but that is apparently because the man of mixed blood is one who lives in two worlds, in both of which he is more or less a stranger...It is in the mind of the marginal man that the moral turmoil which new cultural contacts occasion manifests itself in the most obvious forms. (1928, p.893)

Park believed that the social position of mixed-raced individuals such as *mulattos* made them more ambitious. He used the personal backgrounds and success of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. du Bois who were "mixed-bloods" as an example of the positive outcome of mixed-race identity. Park (1931) also emphasized the possible positive sides of mixed-parentage.

Robert E. Park's argument on the marginality of mixed-raced individuals taken up by his colleague Everett Stonequist (1937) who did an analysis on the psychological difficulties of being mixed-race in the US. In contrast to Park, Stonequist did not believe there were positive sides to being a mixed-race person and possible advantages of mixed-parentage. Stonequist argued that there is a "life cycle in marginality" and there were three phases in this cycle (Tizard & Phoenix, 2002, p.44). In the first phase, the mixed-race individuals are not conscious of their difference from the dominant group. In the second phase a crisis occurs, for instance they get rejected from society in some way and understand their position within society. Through painful experience(s), the mixed-race individual could choose to assimilate or if possible try to adjust to the white population via "passing" as white (Tizard & Phoenix, 2002, p.44). Apart from these studies until the 1950s, the American sociologists were involved in working on the idea of melting pot (or assimilation of the different cultures) (Tizard & Phoenix, 2002, p.43) rather than the issue of the mixed-race individuals. In the 1960s the idea of melting pot was replaced by the salad bowl metaphor in which rather than assimilating, different ethnic groups can co-exist in their separate identities like the ingredients in a salad (Thornton, 2012).

In the mid-1970s, the critical race theory became an important framework as a sub-branch of the race relations. The 1960s was a time when the civil rights movement was happening and new theories and strategies were needed to challenge the "subtler forms of racism that were gaining ground" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p.4). Critical race theory builds on the insights of two movements, critical legal studies and radical feminism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p.4). This field includes the European and American theorists such as Gramsci, Derrida, W.E.B. Du Bois,

Martin Luther King and also historical events such as the Black Power movement. One of the reoccurring themes in critical race studies is the social construction of race in which races comes about from social thought and relations (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p.7). The social construction of race also points out that race is not objective, inherent or fixed and also they correspond to no biological or genetic reality but races are categories that society invents, manipulates or retires when convenient (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p.7). According to Delgado and Stefancic, as politics has a personal dimension or involved in the private sphere, “it should come as no surprise that critical race theorists have turned critique inward, examining the interplay of power and authority within minority communities and movement” (2001, p.51). Therefore, the critical race theory was interested in intersectionality, which means how certain combination of variables such as race, class, nationality, sexual orientation plays out in various settings (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p.51). In this thesis in defining mixed-race identities (Afro-Koreans and Kosians) the intersectionality becomes an important concept to be able to understand racial discrimination and complex layers in the implication of multiculturalism in South Korea.

With regards to mixed-race studies today, most studies of the mixed population in Britain and the US has been concerned with Black-White ‘mixture’ and very little is known about the forms of racial prejudice and discrimination experienced by mixed people (Aspinall & Song, 2013, p.16). Evidence from surveys in the US and the UK indicate that, increasingly, people with mixed origins are far more likely to reject a monoracial identity and embrace a mixed identity (Small & King O’Riain, 2014, p.ix). There is similar evidence for people of mixed origins in Germany, the Netherlands, and France. The social acceptance of mixed origins has

increased significantly across the US and UK. However, in East Asia people of mixed origins have often been rejected and the regulations towards refugees and migrants have been rigid. People of mixed descent who are products of the long Western military presence in Japan and Korea, or the presence of other ethnic groups are often seen as problematic in Japanese and Korean societies, which are based on a strong ideology of racial purity. As the South Korean case demonstrates, with increased globalization these patterns are changing.

### 3.2 A general overview of multiculturalism

Charles Taylor (1994) describes multiculturalism as “the politics of recognitions” which means the cultural majority group recognizing minorities having equal rights and values. This recognition also means that the majority group would be willing to provide the maintenance and survival of the minority groups for peaceful coexistence. In 1960s, Banting and Kymlicka maintained that there has been a trend towards the “increasing recognition of minority rights, whether in the form of land claims and treaty rights for indigenous peoples; strengthened language rights and regional autonomy for sub-state national minorities; and accommodation rights for immigrant-origin ethnic group” (2013, p.582) in the Western democracies. Since the 1970s, multiculturalism has been official policy in several Western nations.

Multiculturalism was firstly adopted as an official discourse in Australia and Canada in the 1970s. The reason why Australia and Canada adopted multiculturalism was due to the immigration of Asians and it was not possible to assimilate them (Rattansi, 2011, p.44). In the 1960s, the African Americans’ struggle to end racial discrimination became a cultural struggle and a demand for self-respect through the slogan of “Black Is Beautiful” in the US (Rattansi, 2011, p.51-52). Other minorities

such as Mexican Americans, other Hispanics, and American Indians also demanded cultural recognition. To battle racial discrimination, affirmative action was implemented in the 1960s. The affirmative action in the U.S. meant the race conscious admissions for the minorities both in education and employment. In other words, affirmative action is a policy that aims to include the minorities' enrollment, activity, or membership, with the intention of diversifying a certain environment such as a school or workplace (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p.141). Political correctness in the 1990s emphasized that each ethnic and national group has the right to maintain and preserve its cultural distinction and integrity, and that one does not need to assimilate to the American society. Therefore, it was only in the 1990s that multiculturalism entered to the public vocabulary and adopted in the school and university curriculums in the U.S (Rattansi, 2011, p.52).

At the height of the first wave of literature on multiculturalism, between the late 1980s and mid-1990s, it has been argued in favor of accommodating the distinct ways of life of minority communities (Shachar, 2007, p.115). Rattansi claims that multiculturalism in the West either caused or exacerbated a "triple transition" that is

An unraveling of the nation state, as hitherto placid substate national minorities such as the Scots and Welsh in the UK and the Basques and Catalans in Spain make separatist demands, which the state also loses power to the EU and global institutions; deindustrialization in the previous urban manufacturing heartlands of major European cities where the initial migrants of the post-WWII era settled to meet the demands of economic expansion; and retrenchment in previously generous welfare provisions. (2011, p.38)

Recently, right-of-center governments in several Western European countries demonstrated that there has been a retreat in multiculturalism (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010). In the 2010s, many Western European leaders such as Angela Merkel, David Cameron and Nicolas Sarkozy have expressed that the multicultural approach has failed in their countries (Weaver, 2010; "State multiculturalism has

failed,” 2011; “Nicolas Sarkozy declares,”2011). It is also notable that before the press releases of these European leaders, the 2008 *White Paper*, which was approved by the Council of Ministers representing all member states of Council of Europe, officially stated that multiculturalism has failed whether there was a left-wing or right-wing party ruling (Kymlicka, 2016). Today, it is clearly observed that discrimination against refugees and xenophobia significantly increasing in many parts of the world mostly fuelled by terrorism and Islamophobia. There is a growing tendency to limit immigration to Western Europe and the U.S. within the context of Trump administration and Brexit (Abbas, n.d.; Demir, 2017; Illing, 2017; Mudde, 2017; Taub, 2016). The motto in the Trump rallies, pro-Brexit gatherings and campaigns of right-wing populist parties throughout Europe “I want my country back” was a sign of this anti-immigration attitude. Rattansi argues that “without new, more democratic and egalitarian forms of intercultural governance, the rising tide of the Far Right could become a flood that will severely strain the opportunities for multi-ethnic civility in the period of financial austerity, rising unemployment, and severe cutbacks in public services...” (2011, p. 40-41). Rattansi points out to a different perspective called “interculturalism” which could be a solution as not all citizens need to subscribe to the same narrative of the nation’s history but “all nations are divided over their own histories and solutions to most practical issues that arise in multiethnic contexts do not need this sort of tight consensus” (2011, p.366-367). This type of a society will need to come in terms with differences in gender, age, nationality, race and other identities and “...it must move away from a world which privileges ethnicity and faith above all other forms of identification” (Rattansi, 2011, p.371).



Will Kymlicka also contributed to the multiculturalism debate through his work on “multicultural citizenship” in multinational states that have “restructured themselves to accommodate significant sub-state nationalist movements, usually through some form of territorial devolution, consociational power-sharing, and/or official language status (e.g. UK, Spain, Belgium, Canada, Switzerland)” (2011, p.282). In these multination states, ideas about homogenous national citizenship has been challenged by the regional minorities and led to adoption of multicultural citizenship. In multination states similar to other western states, there are immigrant populations and anxiety about the impact of immigration on social cohesion and integration so these states have experienced calls for a renewed emphasis on citizenship (Kymlicka, 2011, p.282). Kymlicka emphasizes that for the new citizenship agenda of the multination states a multinational conception of citizenship based on human rights need to be promoted to be fair, inclusive and effective. He maintains, “if the citizenship agenda is to be effective, we need a more multinational conception of citizenship, and a more multicultural conception of multinationalism” (2011, p.282). Kymlicka suggests that although his model of multicultural citizenship has its own risks, he believes that immigrants becoming citizens through their inclusion to sub-state national groups (such as English, Welsh or Scottish in the UK context) have more waging power in multicultural conceptions of nationhood. But rather than solely adopting multicultural citizenship model, Kymlicka claims that in the future it is likely to see a mixed model of citizenship a postnational model of citizenship that on the one hand the minorities identify themselves as ‘British’ without identifying themselves with other ‘home nations’ of Britain and be neutral bystanders, on the other hand sub-state national groups promote a multinational model (2011, p.290).

### 3.3 A general overview of multiculturalism in the South Korean academia

In South Korea, multiculturalism is a recent phenomenon. There have been practices that naturalized ethnic homogeneity and nationalism (G.S. Han, 2007; Shin, 2006) before the adoption of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism was only recently recognized as the official discourse in 2005 and in the aftermath there has been a significant increase in the academic research on this issue. The adoption of multiculturalism as an official discourse meant that South Korean national identity that was based on ethnic homogeneity was changing. This has been significant because before the adoption of multiculturalism as an official discourse, the category of race has been ignored in South Korea compared to other categories such as gender and class because South Korea used to be thought of as a mono-racial country (Ahn, 2012, p.103). In other words, this also signified that the concept of race is recognized in South Korea as multiculturalism works on a category of race. Multiculturalism was adopted as a counter concept that opposed mono-ethnicity but the essence of multiculturalism was not necessarily embraced which would be recognizing diverse cultures and values (H.M. Kim, 2007, p.103).

Most of the studies done on Korean society were based on gender and class without mentioning race but in the Western societies social change has been generally explained by the intersection of race, gender and class (Ahn, 2012, p.103). But with the adoption of multiculturalism as the official discourse, the category of race became valid in analyzing Korean society as cultural diversity significantly increased with the influx of migrants in the 1990s. Racial discrimination became a social issue with the adoption of multiculturalism discourse, although foreigners, mixed-race individuals and migrants were experiencing racism in their everyday lives even before that. One of the reasons why racial discrimination did not get the

attention from Korean society was that being a mixed-race individual was something to be ashamed of (Ahn, 2012, p.104). However the influx of migrants in the 1990s created a social concern to incorporate the increasing numbers of foreigners, migrants and multi-ethnic individuals. For instance, Yoon (2004) maintains that there has been minority movements in the aftermath of the democratization and labor movement in the 1980s, which included North Korean refugees' human rights movement, disabled people movement, sexual minority movement, and migrant workers' movement (as cited in Ahn, 2012, p.105). But the minority rights movement had shown progress with appropriating multiculturalism in their movement and the movements' scale expanded significantly from mid-2000s onwards (Ahn, 2012).

Before 2005, Korean scholars have shown an interest towards multiculturalism in the fields of Education, English Literature and Political Science but their concerns were theoretical rather than practical (Ahn, 2012). But it was after 2005 that academics actively engaged in the research of multiculturalism within the fields of Sociology, Education and Political Science (Ahn, 2012). The Korean Sociological Association even included special sessions on multiculturalism since 2010 that demonstrates the scholarly interest in this subject (Jung Kim, 2012). The articles published from 2005 to 2010 concerned about the state policies towards migrant women (H.M. Kim, 2007; N.K. Kim, 2007; H.K Lee, 2008; Soon-yang Kim & Shin, 2007); multicultural citizenship and Korean society (H. Choe, 2007); multicultural education for multicultural families (H.M. Kim, 2007; Yoon, 2009; Soon-yang Kim & Shin, 2007); Koreans' attitude toward minorities (Yoon et al., 2008); the demographic changes in South Korea and shift towards a multicultural society (A.E. Kim, 2009b; A.E. Kim, 2009a; A.E. Kim, 2010a; A.E. Kim, 2010b;

G.S. Han, 2007; Y. Lee, 2009; Yoon, 2010; Seol, 2010; H.K. Lee, 2010; N.K. Kim, 2009). Among this literature Yoon's analysis of Korean multiculturalism differs, as it has been one of the first articles, which emphasizes the efforts of NGOs rather than focusing on the state in South Korean multiculturalism. His main point is that Korean multiculturalism was not solely state-led or citizen-led but it was a "policy network" between the government and NGOs. The article presents a policy recommendation that there should be "stepwise multiculturalism" that combines the ideals of citizen-led multiculturalism and the practicality of state-led multiculturalism. In addition, it is worth mentioning Yoon et al.'s work on the public attitude towards foreigners, minorities and multiculturalism and also people's willingness to support the government policies towards multi-ethnic individuals. To be able to detect this the authors used a set of large-scale sample surveys on South Koreans' notions of national identity, attitudes toward foreigners and ethnic minorities and social distance towards these minority groups. Yoon et al. conclude that South Korean public was more open and tolerant toward foreigners and immigrants living in South Korea. Although their results maintain that the Korean public became more tolerant towards multi-ethnic individuals, the discrimination against certain multi-ethnics continues even its less intense than before.

In 2010s, the literature focused on multicultural policies (K.H. Yang, 2013; S. Lee, 2012; Shin, 2013; Chung, 2010; Ahn, 2013; Moon, 2015; Yun & Park, 2011), media discourse on multi-ethnic individuals in multicultural Korea (Yi & Jung, 2015; Ahn, 2018; Ahn, 2014; Sookyung Kim, 2012; K. Park, 2014), multicultural education and curriculum (Watson, Park, & Lee, 2011; Yeo, 2016; H.R. Kim & Oh, 2012) and experiences of biracial individuals (especially Afro-Asians), migrant brides and foreign workers in South Korea (K.J. Lee, 2015; H.A. Kim, 2016; Seol

and Seo, 2014; Doolan, 2012; C.S. Kim, 2011; Pedroza & Mosler, 2017; Seol, 2012). In the aftermath of the 2010s, academics looked into multicultural policies in-depth and they were critical of the policy implications that the policies were encouraging cultural assimilation. To add, in the 2010s, Korean academics' interest in media representation of multi-ethnic individuals and diversity in South Korea became visible within the context of visit of Hines Ward. For instance, Ahn (2014) has worked on the discourse analysis of Hines Ward's visit through various media sources. Her work on mixed-race identity and definition of Koreanness uses Hines Ward's case and how it opened up a space to talk about the marginalized mixed-race individuals within multiculturalism and globalization in South Korea. In 2010s, the challenges faced within multiculturalism and policy implications were discussed in the literature. One of these challenges included the implementation of multicultural curriculum. The interviews conducted with teachers by Yeo (2016) and Watson et al. (2011) show that there was reluctance towards implementing the multicultural curriculum and teachers believed that they did not have the means to be multicultural educators.

Most of the articles from 2005 to 2010 focused on the challenges of multiculturalism in Korea, foreign brides and the policy implications. Some of these accounts included policy suggestions for the future, as well. From 2010s onwards, academic studies focused on similar issues dealt in the mid-2000s but also the research area was expanded to media discourse, mixed-race identity and multicultural education. Some of the articles from both the mid-2000s and 2010s were critical of the usage of multiculturalism in South Korea as the academics believed that the meaning of multiculturalism as in embracing cultural diversity was not realized (G.S. Han, 2007; Ahn, 2013; Watson, 2012) since multiculturalism

discourse was used as a political rhetoric to incorporate the migrants, solve the labor shortage and aging population (Shin, 2013). In other words, multiculturalism did not yet become a constructive and analytical concept for transforming the Korean society (G.S. Han, 2007, p.32).

In sum, this section has provided a general overview on race relations, critical race theory, mixed-race studies and multiculturalism, discussing the academic trends in the US, Canada, Western Europe and South Korea. In the Western countries, adopting multiculturalism has been a challenging issue. However there is an ongoing debate about whether there is a retreat of multiculturalism in the Western countries as more populist and right-wing parties are gaining support with strict immigration policies especially with the Syrian refugee crisis. Finally, it has been shown that Korean academic research is currently concerned with the use of multiculturalism as a political slogan or rhetoric; assimilationist policies towards foreigners, migrants and mixed-race individuals; and the implication of multicultural curriculum in public schools. Korean academics are aware that South Korea is in the course of becoming a multicultural society but has not yet become one. The future of the academic studies in South Korea will be dealing with the question of embracing the essence of multiculturalism as the recognition of different cultures, solving the inefficiency of multicultural policies, and conducting comprehensive and detailed surveys on the public opinion on multiculturalism.

The next section will be about the effect of perceptions of race in Korean national identity.

CHAPTER 4

PERCEPTION(S) OF RACE

IN KOREAN NATIONAL IDENTITY AND DISCOURSE

“Our ethnic homogeneity is a blessing”, a South Korean worker says casually and without hesitation in an interview with The New York Times in November 2009. (S.H. Choe, 2009)

...social constructions of *specific* peoples play a critical role in generating, refining and maintaining the social construction of the *general* category of nation. (Penrose, 1994, p.28-29)

This chapter elaborates on the nation-state building in South Korea and the perception(s) of race in Korean national identity. Korea was exposed to foreign intervention for a long time and the racial ideologies of the Japanese and Americans had an impact on nation-state building and the racial ideology. Nation-state building was a challenging period for the early nationalists as Korea was colonized by Japan. During the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945) Koreans resisted against the Japanese rule by asserting that they were different than Japanese and did not want to assimilate. The concept of “Korean blood” was used as a means to distinguish themselves from the other Asians. The early American influence on the Korean perception of race was initiated with the Protestant missionaries. Later on American military dominance in Korea was significant in effecting the ideas regarding to the colorism in South Korea today. The South Korean delegate’s answer to questions about the usage of terms such as pureblood and mixed-blood in the South Korean report to the Committee on Elimination of Racial Discrimination at the United Nations (Geneva) in 2007 summarizes the historical legacies attached to Korean national identity:

Historically, Koreans had not differentiated between ethnicity and race. Faced with imperialist aggression in the first half of the twentieth century, the Republic of Korea had constructed its own concept of unitary identity. After liberation from the Japanese imperialists in 1945, the unity of the Korean nation was generally taken for granted. The strong sense of ethnic unity and nationalism had been a crucial source of inspiration during the transition to modernity in the Republic of Korea. Being sandwiched between great world powers, the development of a sense of cultural homogeneity had not been done as a means of aggression, but rather as a defense system to ward off the imposition of ideas of superiority by others. (Cheng, 2010, p.56)

In the present-day, South Korea is a country known for its ethnic nationalism whether it was a defense system against foreign powers or not. As the quote after the chapter title maintains, Korean people took pride in their racial homogeneity. In a recent survey done by the Korea University, respondents gave an average score of 3.77 on a five-point scale (5 being “strongly agree”) to the statement “I am proud of having long maintained a racially homogenous nation” (Yoon et al., 2010 as cited in Shin, 2013, p.369).

Particular notions of race and nation are voiced by different groups of people at different times and at different spaces. South Korea like any other nation-state implemented categories of inclusion and exclusion with setting legal limits on nationality and citizenship. Omi and Winant maintains that

...racial formation as the socio-historical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed...racial formation is a process of historically situated projects in which human bodies and social structures are represented and organized. (1994, p.55-56)

It is important to see these categories in order to understand how race defined over time through hegemonic discourse, which is enhanced by the state policies.

In the postwar era during the 1960s and 1970s, President Park Chung Hee (1963-1979) triggered Korean nationalism and ideas of racial purity to erase the bad memories of colonization, imperialism and invasions (N.Y. Kim, 2008, p.25). As a



part of this campaign President Park nationalized the Korean language by changing the curriculum and removing the *Hancha*, which is the Korean language system based on Chinese characters (N.Y. Kim, 2008, p.25). The positive perception about ethnic homogeneity and national unity remained in the school curriculums until 2000s. Although multicultural values tried to be implemented in education after the mid-2000s, it has been discovered recently that in a national textbook the statement of “Korea is racially homogenous nation” was written (Hwang, 2009). These expressions about ethnic homogeneity are still “indoctrinating Koreans into a kind of ethnic monotheism and leaving little room for the acceptance of social heterogeneity” (Shin, 2013, p.369).

#### 4.1 The influence of Japan on Korean national identity and perception of race

As it has been mentioned, Korean national identity has found its meaning through the influences of Japanese colonialism and the US military dominance. In this subsection, the Japanese influence to Korean national identity and perception of race will be mentioned.

Korean ethnic nationalism emerged as a defense and survival mechanism during the Japanese imperialism (1910-1945) and protection against assimilationist policies. Hong Yi-Sup’s book *Korea’s Self-Identity* has a quote that summarizes the racial identification as a basis for nation building during the resistance towards Japanese colonial period:

Colonial nationalism is designed, first of all, to cast off the yoke of political domination imposed by an alien race and to remove a condition of economic, cultural, and mental enslavement. *The struggle for liberty by a race naturally stimulates its dedication to racial unity.* (1973, p.235)

Korea lost its rights as a sovereign with the Protectorate Treaty (1905) and the Japanese annexation of the 1910. But even before that from 1895 to 1905 Korea's Patriotic Enlightenment Movement (*Aeguk kyemong undong*) began in response to protect the newly won independence from China and regain rights once Japan assumed power in 1905. N.Y. Kim argues "this *sui generis* movement was the first in Korea's history to grapple with the subject of 'the nation'" (2008, p.23-24). The elites and the people formed the backbone of the modern Korean nationalism. On the one hand, the elite was publishing their ideas in newspapers, journals and textbooks. On the other hand, the peasants who were discontent with Korea's opening up to Japan initiated the peasant-led Tonghak ("Eastern Learning") Rebellion in 1894 which signified that nationalism was realized among the masses (Schmid, 2002 as cited in N.Y. Kim, 2008, p.24).

The early Korean nationalists maintained that bloodline (*hyolt'ong*), personality (*seonggyeok*) and culture (*munhwa*) were fundamental elements of the unitary nation (Shin, 2013, p.373). The imagined conception of "Korean blood" (*hyolt'ong*) unified the Korean nation under the idea of "unitary nation" (*tanil minjok*), which is a term connoting ethnic homogeneity. The national identity based upon the mythical idea of keeping the Korean blood pure as "consanguinity serves as a symbolic point of resistance against outside powers' intrusions..." (N.Y. Kim, 2015, p.288). To justify the ethnic homogeneity as a basis of the nation, the early Korean nationalists reinvented the Tan'gun myth (Shin, 2013, p.372), which is the founding myth of Korea dates back to 2333 BC (5000 years ago). More specifically, a 1908 piece by Sin Chaeho who wrote on Korea's national identity brought up the old foundation myth of Tan'gun (N.Y. Kim, 2008, p.24). The myth involves two animals, tiger and bear, want to be human and the god's son Hwanung gives them

challenges. At the end, tiger gives up and bear transforms into a woman for enduring the challenges. She marries Hwanung and their son is named as Tan'gun. It has been maintained, "Based on a masculinized construction of the nation as patrilineal family, writer Sin sanctified Tan'gun as the originator, the bloodline, of the Korean nation" (N.Y. Kim, 2008, p.24). So, Koreans are essentialized as direct descendants of Tan'gun created an uninterrupted indigenous genealogy. This enforced the idea that Korean nationalism based on shared ancestry and blood should remain uncontaminated from foreigners.

Moreover, the social Darwinist motto of survival of the fittest 'races' was a base to support a biological view of the nation or ethnic nation (*minjok*) in East Asia in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and Korea was no exception. In Korea this motto was understood as keeping the bloodline pure in a "time of world struggle" (*Sobuk hakhoe wolbo*, 1908 as cited in N.Y. Kim, 2008, p.24) for the *tanil minjok* – "the single ethnic nation" (Shin, 1998 as cited in N.Y. Kim, 2008, p.24).

The term *minjok*, which connotes the racial or ethnic-based nation in South Korea, was derived from Meiji Japan's usage of *minzoku* (M.D. Lee, 2012, p.9). The influential sources for *minzoku* was the Western nation-state building process in which the German concept of *Volk*, English *nation* and the French *people* emphasized the significance of a distinct national people (M.D. Lee, 2012, p.55). Apart from the distinct national people, Nakamura Kyushiro listed the necessary ingredients for *minzoku* namely: a common ancestral blood lineage; historical and spiritual unity; common culture, religion, language and custom; a sense of community; a common state structure that increases the sense of shared economic interests; a sense of economic or industrial community (as cited in Doak, 2001, p.91). When the listed necessary ingredients of nation-state building looked through,

it was not surprising that nationalism included racist elements. As George Mosse (1995) argued “...it was through nationalism that racism was able to transform theory into practice” (as cited in Shin, 2013, p.371). The Korean case has also demonstrated that this intricate link between nationalism and racism was still there. Ahn maintains,

Even though the concept of race is not an essential one, but socially constructed, there is a force that makes people consider it as something essential. What matters is that this essentializing force also creates a social structure for controlling the citizens and reproduces the social order according to an essentialized idea of race. It is in this moment that racial projects turn into racism. (2013, p.42)

This idea of the unitary nation emerged during the Japanese colonial period to distinguish Koreans from the Japanese people. Japan’s assimilationist policies towards Koreans ended up with further “racializing” the Korean notion of nation (Shin, 2013, p.372). The Japanese assimilationist policies included turning the Koreans into “imperial subjects” under the policies of *naisen yuwa* (fusion of Japanese and Koreans) and *naisen ittai* (Japanese and Koreans as one body) (Shin, 2013, p.372). These policies further triggered the Korean ethnic nationalism especially the Japanese assimilationist policies were based on *nissen dosoron* which maintained Koreans and Japanese are coming from a common origin but Koreans had a subordinate position with respect to Japanese from ancient times onwards (Shin, 2013, p.372). Japan also started the imperial subjects movement (*kominka*) that forced Koreans to change their names into Japanese names, use only Japanese language and worship Shinto (Shin, 2013, p.372). However, all of these policies became a source of resistance to Japanese imperialism and fueled the idea that there are sharp ethno-cultural differences between Korea and Japan. In other words, the national consciousness of Korean people was strengthened through Japanese

imperialism rather than weakened and it made them believe that they have a distinct and homogenous ethnic identity.

Furthermore, Japan and Korea have been influenced from the color hierarchies of the Western European and American racism. N.Y. Kim argues before the European contact Japanese depicted the Blacks in descriptive, non-pejorative ways (2008, p.31). For instance, during the Meiji period, artist Hashimoto Sadahide “sympathetically depicted African Blacks as dignified on his Yokohama Prints” (N.Y. Kim, 2008, p.31). Japan had its color hierarchies before foreign contact and a Confucian racial model of a nation’s “proper place” (Dower, 1986, p.266). But after contact with Europeans, Japan did not just rely on their own (color) hierarchies but adopted Euro-American racial ideologies about certain groups such as Blacks were seen inferior group. It could be understood that the West was very influential in constructing the ideas about race in Asia especially with the introduction of “caricatured and dehumanizing portraits of Blacks” (N.Y. Kim, 2008, p.36). In the Korean case it has been argued that Koreans were “primed racially for the White-over-Black order” and accepted this hierarchy due to

- (1) Korean and Japanese color hierarchies,
- (2) Confucianist notions of groups’ proper places,
- (3) Blood-based constructions of the nation since the Enlightenment Movement,
- (4) Previous encounters with elite Whites,
- (5) Colonial Japan’s scattered introduction of Euro-American racial ideologies, and
- (6) A lack of anti-racist movement history and discourse (notwithstanding racialized national oppressions). (N.Y. Kim, 2008, p.37)

In Korea, Confucianism ordered the certain relationships namely between king (state) and people, parent and child, husband and wife, the older and younger, and male friends of different status (e.g., age, class, region) (N.Y. Kim, 2008, p.30). It has been maintained “although ‘race’ is not an explicit part of this doctrine, it fits

neatly into the naturalization of hierarchies that is at the heart of Confucianism and that is paralleled in Western racism” (N.Y. Kim, 2008, p.30). Hence, when it is looked through in this perspective Korea was influenced by the Western-style modernity pursued by Japan and Euro-American political-economic development, values and racial paradigms (Russell, 1991 as cited in N.Y. Kim, 2008, p.32).

In the next sub-section, the influence of the U.S. in Korean perception of race and national identity will be explained in detail.

4.2 The influence of the U.S. on Korean national identity and perception of race  
Korea was exposed to American racial ideologies and Western values before the Korean War. The US influence in Korea goes back to the 1880s when Korea was pressured to modernize. King Kojong signing a treaty in 1882 with the U.S. symbolized Korea’s opening up to the West for the first time in its history. The American Protestant missionaries were close with the court during this time period. The American missionaries were so successful that Korea became one of the “best mission fields in Asia” (N.Y. Kim, 2008, p.33). That is why the spread of Christianity in Korea coincided with the Japanese colonial period.

In the 1880s, Koreans mostly communicated with White Americans who were diplomats or missionaries. Therefore the American national identity in Koreans’ perspective was racialized. It is claimed that “In countries like the US that do not share one blood ancestry, Koreans have racialized these nations based on their majority or ruling group: Americans are thus Whites” (N.Y. Kim, 2008, p.26). During the US military occupation in Korea, American reference point of whiteness ensued (N.Y. Kim, 2008, p.49). N.Y. Kim claims “Koreans were primed for White American dominance over their country by their own cultural valorization of the

color white and light skin as well as the Confucianist naturalization of hierarchy” (2008, p.48-49). Koreans have traditionally preferred lighter skin, identified with aristocrats to the darker skin associated with peasants. It is even used as a metaphor “porcelain-white jade-like skin” to describe lighter, pale skin tones (H.A. Kim, 2016, p.45). Although, the Japanese colonial period and the U.S. racial ideologies have influenced the notions of race and color in Korea, the culture of colorism has been there even before that. Colorism is defined as “allocation of privilege and disadvantage according to the lightness or darkness of one’s skin” (Burke & Embrick, 2008, p.17) and refers to the system of discrimination that people experience differently based on the lightness or darkness of their skin tone and other external traits (Russell, Wilson, & Hall, 1992 as cited in H.A. Kim, 2016, p.45). Therefore one’s race was an influential marker that strengthened ethnic identity and this was also influential in defining the nation. Nadia Y. Kim maintains

Korean society’s emphasis on ethno-nationality and ranking by blood was fundamentally informed by the White/light and Black/dark ideologies introduced by US militarization and by the Americanesque cultural saturation of the peninsula. Indeed, Korean society’s native ethno-national category system corresponded well with the Western powers’ nineteenth century Darwinism in suggesting a dominant White West, an Asian middle, and an African bottom. (2015, p.279)

Koreans were also impressed by the wealth of Americans as they brought in medical supplies, doctors, and funds to build hospitals and colleges (N.Y. Kim, 2008, p.35). The missionaries in Korea were actively caring medically, educating, schooling, Christianizing Korean society, sending Koreans to the US and supporting the anti-Japanese movement (N.Y. Kim, 2008, p.49). Hence, Koreans felt indebtedness and gratitude towards the American missionaries. During the Korean War as well the older generation in Korea has fond memories of the American servicemen. As Korea was a poor country in need of food, supplies, medical care the

US military catered these basic needs to Korean people. Through these experiences, Koreans started to admire the Western modernity and looked up to the Western ideals. It could be said that Koreans admired “whites” not just because of their skin color but also their “symbolic power” meaning their cultural and economic capital (I. Lee, 2009, p.4).

In the Korean national imagination, Korea was always exposed to external powers such as China, Japan and the US. These external powers always reminded Koreans of their inferiority (N.Y. Kim, 2008, p.45). Within the context of US military occupation in Korea, it has been claimed that Koreans felt inferior to (masculine) White America. This was a response to the White-led US military state and simultaneous representations through American mass media culture (N.Y. Kim, 2008, p.44). The US Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) between 1945-1948 followed by the Korean War (1950-1953) marked this period. As the U.S. army’s arrival was more institutionalized than the American missionaries, the feelings of inferiority and inequality intensified among Korean people (N.Y. Kim, 2008, p.49). Although Korea admired the American culture and modernity, this intensification in inequality and sense of inferiority brought the desire of sovereignty especially through the 1970s.

With the US military occupation, American cultural influence significantly increased in Korea even could be stated as “American Fever” (N.Y. Kim, 2008, p.38). During the late 1950s, mass media especially through military television called American Forces Korea Network (AFKN)<sup>4</sup> and radio broadcasting heavily influenced the Korean culture and national identity. Many South Korean students and professionals came to like American culture and wanted to learn English. Americans

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<sup>4</sup> In 1997, AFKN became AFN Korea.



also reinforced anti-Black stereotypes through the mass media during their military presence in Korea and Asia in general. N.Y. Kim explains the effect of US military and their “cultural” imperialism in Asia, which brought “structural racism” in two ways: “by ruling over a non-White country (e.g. South Korea) and by introducing a White-over-Black order” (2008, p.40). Therefore, South Korean society in this time period perceived the American society as a “White-over-Black nation”. It is notable that only after 1961 Black people appeared in Korean literature (Kang, 1991 as cited in N.Y. Kim, 2015, p.278).

During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the US system of racial classification was particularly rigid which was based on descent. Since the 1950s in the US, the question of civil rights for Black Americans was on the political agenda and there has been disillusionment with the process as “both Whites who feared that positive discrimination gave an unfair advantage to Blacks, and amongst Blacks who felt that the civil rights movement had not given them real equality” (Rex, 1996, p.124). At this time period, there was increasing hostility towards Blacks from the White population and Blacks were in discontent because the civil rights movement did not bring equality to the American society. McClain DaCosta maintains with the ban on slavery, other means of controlling African Americans and maintenance of white dominance happened through Black Codes<sup>5</sup> and segregationist Jim Crow laws (2007, p.4). Jim Crow laws were a collection of state and local statutes that legitimized the anti-Black racism between 1870s and the mid-1960s in the southern states. The term “Jim Crow” is a reference to a black character in an old song and was the name of a popular dance in 1820s but this character came to represent African-Americans negatively as uneducated and dishonest in the 1830s (Hansan, 2011). In the 1880s,

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<sup>5</sup> The Black Codes were laws passed by Southern states in 1865 and 1866 in the United States after the American Civil War with the intent and the effect of restricting African Americans' freedom, and of compelling them to work in a labor economy based on low wages or debt.

Jim Crow came to represent the practices and laws related to the separation of Blacks from Whites. Under Jim Crow laws, the state focused on how much black ancestry one had and to identify the subjects of racial exclusion any degree of known African “blood” (even one drop) made one a black person (McClain DaCosta, 2007, p.25). This one-drop principle was dominant in racially classifying the Blacks in the aftermath of slavery and protecting the White privileges. In *Plessey v. Ferguson* decision of 1896, racial segregation in public spaces (such as schools, churches, restaurants, public transportation and bathrooms) was accepted within the idea of “separate but equal” (Rex, 1996, p.14). The post-WWII era, the civil rights struggles of 1950s and 1960s pointed to the contradiction of America promoting democracy abroad but mistreating the minorities especially the African-Americans at home (Bonilla-Silva & Ray, 2015, p.62). Only after the 1960s, the African Americans in the US could demand for their rights and increase their representation in the public sphere.

The U.S. racial ideology and racial segregation of African-Americans was completely reflected in the military camptowns in Korea. African-Americans were depicted as slaves, primitive, animalistic, dirty and criminals. White U.S. servicemen would tell stories about the African Americans’ inclination of rape and murder to inject anti-Black sentiments to Korean people (M.D. Lee, 2012, p.97). The racial discourse on African-Americans was dispersed in the form of English-Korean dictionaries, caricatures or through the U.S. military television and radio in Korea. Even in the military camptowns, Korean prostitutes refused to serve the African-American soldiers because “Women who sold sexual services to black men were themselves labeled ‘black’”. Being labeled “black” meant that these women would be outcast from “white” districts...” (Doolan, 2012, p.36). The Psychological

Operations unit of the Eighth Army (EUSA) assessed the Korean locals' faulty condition in racial discrimination against Blacks:

This [increased Korean] involvement [in racial confrontations] normally assumes three forms of progression. First, the Koreans aggravate racial problems [existing on post] by discriminatory practices. Second, they are often the injured party during black/white confrontations, suffering physical and/or property damage. Third, they demonstrate, often violently, against U.S. troops in general and against blacks in particular... Discriminatory practices by the Koreans are usually of a passive nature rather than one of violence. In the clubs, such practices include poor service, unfriendliness, and sometimes refusal to even serve black soldiers. Among business girls, such practices take on two forms. Some of the business girls refuse to associate with blacks. Some also discriminate against Koreans who do associate with blacks and consider those Koreans to be of lower status than those who go only with white soldier[s]. Polarization has developed to the point that some girls are called 'black' because of their frequent association with blacks. (as cited in Moon, 1997, p.70)

During the 1970s, there were conflicts between the Black and White US soldiers and also between local Koreans residents and Black servicemen in the U.S. military bases. Moon explains that

Most such incidents take place in places of entertainment such as Korean nightclubs in the near vicinity or entry/exit gates of the U.S. compounds, or in the alleys and pathways offering ingress and egress to and from the clubs. A careful review of such incidents reveals that a large number, if not a majority, of such clashes arise from feelings by black servicemen that they are being discriminated against in some respect by either white servicemen or by Korean service personnel working in the various Korean clubs... More specifically, investigations reflect that black charges of discriminatory practices in Korean clubs relate to the performance of three functions by club proprietors and their managers and personnel. These are: 1) alleged or real discrimination against black servicemen in the service of food or beverages on club premises; 2) alleged or real discrimination by bona fide hostesses working in the clubs against black servicemen in their entertainment or dancing functions on club premises; and 3) alleged or real discrimination against black servicemen by club management in the selection of types of music played within the clubs. (1997, p.70-71)

The facilities in the military camptowns were racially segregated in Korea. For instance there were clubs, which were entertainment spaces for the G.I.s, only served African-American soldiers. The separate and unequal treatment of White

soldiers towards Black servicemen could be also understood from the fact that Black Americans were given more dangerous duties and were in the front line during the operations in the demilitarized zone but the White GIs were assigned less dangerous missions in Seoul (Sturdevant & Stoltzfus, 1993 as cited in N.Y. Kim, 2015, p.287). It has been claimed that even though Koreans did not understand the anti-Black nicknames given to the African American soldiers, they would repeat these hostile names without completely understanding its meaning in the 1970s (Moon, 1997). The Black servicemen responded to this treatment by either resisting the local biases or abused their power over Koreans by adopting the stereotypes about them which signified African-American soldiers' oppression by the Korean people and their reactionary methods against this maltreatment (N.Y. Kim, 2015, p. 287-288).

As these examples demonstrate, the racist dimensions of American society were replicated in the US military camps in Korea; and the camptown residents were internalizing anti-Black racism (K.J. Lee, 2015, p.18). Even the local Koreans admitted, "...much of their discrimination against blacks was defensive, necessitated by the black-white polarization that existed among the ranks of U.S. military personnel" (Moon, 1997, p.65). The Korean bar and club owners would be afraid that by accepting blacks would alienate the white servicemen as they were the dominant group among the GIs. Therefore, the racial problems would be bad for the local businesses in Korea.

In conclusion, even today in South Korea, people are hostile or biased towards the darker skin colored individuals. Due to this historical legacy Korean people still have an inferiority complex (*yoltung uisik*) towards whites and a superiority complex (*uwol uisik*) towards blacks and Southeast Asians (Bang, 2008 as cited in Shin, 2013, p.385). South Korea has established a racial hierarchy that is

based on whiteness being the utmost value. Even today it is not surprising that most of the Koreans would define their society as ethnically homogenous based on a sense of shared bloodline and common ancestry. The Korean population takes pride in racial purity of their nation because this is seen as legitimate means to distinguish themselves from other Asians and foreigners. Shin maintains that "...race has served as a marker that strengthens ethnic identity, and ethnic identity, in turn, has been instrumental in defining the Korean nation" (2013, p.371). This perception of the race and ethnic identity is so embedded in people's mind that ethnic nationalism is normalized in Korea.

This chapter has discussed the Japanese and the U.S. influence on the Korean national identity, perception of race and colorism. The national consciousness of Koreans increased with the Japanese colonial rule and Koreans believed that they are ethnically a unique nation from Japan, China and all other Asian nations. Koreans were also affected from the US racial ideologies and colorism that they developed bias towards the African-Americans and darker skinned nationals. This idea of the nation and culture of colorism have been so ingrained in people's mind that immigrants and mixed-race Koreans are discriminated against today. Hence, this chapter contributes to understand the significance of being a mixed-race or colored individual in South Korea.

The next chapter will focus on the emergence of mixed-race children, the US military camptowns and its effect on nation-state building in Korea.

## CHAPTER 5

### EMERGENCE OF THE MIXED-RACE CHILDREN IN SOUTH KOREA

Struggles over ethnic or regional identity...are a particular case of the different struggles over classifications, struggles over the monopoly of the power to make people see and believe, to get them to know and recognize, to impose the legitimate definition of the divisions of the social world and, thereby, to make and unmake groups. (Bourdieu, 1991, p.221)

This chapter will discuss the emergence of the mixed-raced children in the U.S. military camptowns and its effect on Korean national identity. Since these children were born out of the union of American GI soldiers and Korean women during the Korean War, the years 1950s to the 1970s will be selected as the time-period for the analysis. The children of American servicemen in Asia and Koreans are referred to as “Amerasian”. Amerasian is a legal term accepted in the US and the official definition was formalized by Public Law 97-359, more commonly known as *The Amerasian Act of 1982* and the definition of Amerasian is as follows “fathered by a US citizen...in Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, or Thailand”, after December 31, 1950, and before October 22, 1982” (Doolan, 2012, p. 19).

The idea of ethnic nationalism in Korea has been strengthened with the emergence of the mixed-race children. The existence of the mixed-race children has been problematic for the Korean state as the first president Syngman Rhee adopted the national discourse based on ethnic nationalism. During the 1950s and 1960s, Korea was one of the poorest countries in the world and the government did not have the means to establish a social welfare system to include these children as well. Therefore, many Korean children up until late 1970s were sent for adoption mostly

to the U.S. Although President Park Chung Hee tried to remedy this situation in the mid-1960s, the numbers of the transnational adoptions continued to increase.

The sub-sections of this chapter will discuss the challenges of the existence of mixed-race children to national identity and transnational adoptions that the emergence of mixed-race children has also strengthened the idea of ethnic-nationalism ever more.

### 5.1 The U.S. military camptowns and mixed-race children in Korea

The U.S.-ROK Mutual Defense Treaty became effective in 1954 and provided the means for the management of the camptown system in Korea (Moon, 1997, p.28).

The US military camptowns (*gijichon* or *kijichon*) in Dongducheon and Songtan represented the “antithesis of what the ideal Korean nation should be” (Cheng, 2010, p.50) as it has undermined the ideal of national sovereignty and homogeneous society. Katherine S. Moon describes the camptowns as “neither America nor Korea” that possessed the elements of “America and Korea with language store signs in both languages and US military slogans and logos on dolls wearing traditional Korean dress” (1997, p.7).

The relationship between the G.I. soldiers and the Korean women has been a very important factor in shaping the national identity. Katharine S. Moon called her book “Sex among Allies” (1997) reflects on how U.S. was a crucial ally for Korea during the Cold War and the sex work in camptowns was a way to keep the diplomatic relations in good terms although prostitution has always been illegal in Korea. The Korean women in relation with the G.I. soldiers signified “Korea’s subordinated status to the U.S. military and both pro-U.S. and anti-U.S. nationalist battles are waged on the *yanggongju* (western princess or Yankee whore) body”

(Mitchell, n.d.). The *yanggongju* is seen among the locals as someone who is contaminated by the foreigners. Kim maintains that the *yanggongju* in the popular culture has been represented as the victim of U.S. imperialism and her victimization serves as a metaphor for a nation “raped” by the U.S (H.S. Kim, 1998). That is why the biracial children of the G.I. soldiers and Korean women are stigmatized, as the children were the products of the inferior position of Korea compared to the US and they were misfits in the national identity. The mixed-race children’s lineage (*hyolt’ong*) was the basis for discrimination and exclusion as they were considered to have “polluted or bad bloodlines” (E.J. Kim, 2010, p.175).

The Afro-Asian population since the Korean War has been discriminated against for generations. They are derogatorily called “mixed-blood kids” (*twigi* or *ainoko*<sup>6</sup>) (Seol and Seo, 2014, p.13). The children born out of the relationship between the G.I. soldiers and Korean women during the Korean War were labeled as “twigi” which is a word used for hybrid animals. In an article from *The New York Times*, a 53-years-old woman gives the account of how her mother was expelled from her family after she gave birth to a mixed-blood kid due to rape by an American soldier (S.H. Choe, 2009). The strong reactions can be explained by the ethnic nationalism and belief of homogeneity of the nation-state in South Korea. Reasons for women’s social exclusion were legitimized through “male humiliation” which is “the privilege of the masculine nation form” (M.D. Lee, 2012, p.89).

In the militarized zone, the presence of the G.I. babies was clear and to consolidate the military camptown prostitution, Korean government initiated the “Camptown Purification Act” in 1971 (Doolan, 2012, p.36-37). Another aim of this

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<sup>6</sup> In Japanese “ainoko” means mixed-race children or half-Japanese and used during the US occupation of Japan and refers to children of US servicemen. Under Japanese rule in Korea, this word is used to connote children born between Korean and Japanese couples in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. But later on Koreans often used this term in reference to Amerasian children. Currently in Korea, *ainoko* is considered as an old-fashioned expression in referring to mixed-race children.



legal action was to “improve the quality of American G.I. life” in Korea and formally organize the camptown prostitution for the American soldiers. Although President Park tried to prevent and punish prostitution through Prostitution Prevention Law of 1961, it remained as a political act and an effort to clean up the political chaos and also enhance Park’s image as a morally upright leader in the aftermath of the Syngman Rhee rule (Moon, 1997, p.41-42). The government’s position became favorable towards the regulation of the prostitution in military camptowns in the 1960s-1970s. The Ministries of Justice, Interior and Social Welfare and other related agencies established special districts of prostitution from 1962 onwards (Moon, 1997, p.42). To continue the good relations with the U.S., President Park Chung Hee established the “Camptown Clean-Up Campaign” to increase the hygiene of the camptown sex industry between 1971-1976 (M.D. Lee, 2012, p.89). The *Chunghwadae* (Blue House) was in charge of the program in which medical screenings and prostitution etiquette classes were given to the participants (M.D. Lee, 2012, p.89). Being a prostitute in the military camptown was shown as a way of patriotism as the women were contributing to the relations with the U.S. and national security (as the US presence was thought to be deterrence for the North). A camptown sex worker tells about the etiquette classes in the 1970s that

During every “Etiquette and Good Conduct Lecture”, the local mayor or local public information officer or public peace officer would...give us the introductory remarks. They would say, “All of you, who cater to the U.S. soldiers, are patriots. All of you are nationalists working to increase the foreign exchange earnings of our country.” They said that we are servants of the nation and that we should live and work with pride. And then they told us not to show humiliating things (behavior) to the U.S. soldiers, to maintain our dignity as Korean women. (Moon, 1997, p.103)

It was clear that the state officials officially managed the prostitution of Korean women although Korean government never formally acknowledged involvement in

the camptowns (S.H. Choe, 2017). Cheng argues that the Korean women served in the camptowns emphasized their role in “protecting the nation” through their sexual labor (2010, p.68). Indeed, these Korean women had become instrumental to make life better for the U.S. soldiers in Korea and called as “sexual ambassadors” in the 1970s whose marginal status in society was relatively elevated when the nation was under pressure (Cho, 2008, p.107). These ideological transitions in the status of women in military camptowns caused Korean women to feel in between, neither belonging to Korea nor the US. Moon maintains that the Korean women in camptowns were “Korean in birth but no longer Korean in body or spirit” (1997, p.3). Thus, US military was “a site of oppression at the intersection of nation, ‘race’, and gender” (N.Y. Kim, 2015, p.285).

In the 1980s and 1990s, there were protests about the US military abuses of Koreans especially towards Korean women that were triggered with the democratization process in South Korea, which led to anti-Americanism (Cheng, 2010, p.62). Korean women “resisted the hegemonic glorifications of White American men” due to the mistreatment towards Korean women and also the violent nature of American soldiers (N.Y. Kim, 2015, p.285). Especially the killing of the camptown sex worker Yun Kumi in 1992 triggered the protests among public on U.S. crimes against Koreans (Moon, 1997, p.31). A coalition of 46 different Korean organizations stated in a letter to the commander of the second division (November 1992) that

This (crime) has been presented as an accidental homicide, committed by one individual soldier... However, we the people believe that this is an example of how American soldiers treat Korean women. American troops have been stationed in Korea for over forty years, and the recent reality is that crimes of rape, robbery, theft, and violence committed by American soldiers have become a daily occurrence and chronic problem. (Moon, 1997, p.31)

The next sub-section shows that many of the mixed-race children were sent away for adoption in Western European countries or the U.S. to keep the purity of the nation intact.

## 5.2 Transnational adoptions of mixed-race children

The children out of wedlock were clearly a visible issue that signified the “national degradation” (Doolan, 2012, p.40) which signified the American military presence and “the gendered nature of the relationship between the US and Korea” (Doolan, 2012, p.40). The existence of mixed-blood children (*honhyeol*) was a challenge to the homogenous ethnic identity of the Korean nation and reminded Korea of the “unwanted evidence of the national subordination of women’s bodies for state building” (Hwang, 2015, p.504). As the mixed-race children’s fathers were American, these children were not considered Korean.<sup>7</sup> Hence removing the presence of this threat to purity and imagined homogeneity in Korea seemed legitimate.

The Afro-Korean babies were so stigmatized that Eleana Kim maintains in South Korea “racial purity is a deeply entrenched social fetish” (2009, p.9). *Korea Times* as cited in Hwang demonstrates this obsession with racial purity in the two excerpts from 1974 and 1978 respectively,

There is a new race of sufferers who have shouldered the weight of sins committed by a strange turn of history. Born “by accident” amid the chaos of the Korean War, darker- or lighter –faced Koreans fathered by aliens are coming of age to bear the poignancy of ‘sins’ they never committed. With a long tradition of homogeneity, Korean society is not particularly favorable to alien-looking appearances in its ordinary life. (2015, p.518)

People call the mixed-race ‘the sad leftover of the Korean War,’ which sounds rather romantic and too sentimental to express the true situation... they experience severe treatment in Korea. Perhaps it is severer in Korea than in any other country because this country takes pride in its 5000-year-long

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<sup>7</sup>According to the Nationality Law, until the 1998 revision, citizenship is given to individuals whose father is Korean.

history of homogeneity. In addition, people know a large portion of the mixed-races were born out of wedlock of a union between American soldiers and Korean mothers engaged in shady jobs. This is what causes the discrimination. One is reminded of the war whenever mixed-race is talked about. But there are those born during the period of the U.S. military government between 1945 and 1948, though very small in number, and thousands of younger persons who have continuously been born in the vicinities of U.S. military camps since the war. (2015, p.518-519)

Another example of the stigmatization and marginalization could be given through a Black-Amerasian's childhood memory. During his childhood this person remembers that due to his skin color, he felt like his body was contaminated or dirty

I tried to peel my skin with rocks because I was ridiculed by other children. I thought I could get the same skin color as the others. (Park, 2007 as cited in M.D. Lee, 2012, p.97)

I really like to drink milk, because I thought I could have white skin if I continued to do so. (Park, 2007 as cited in M.D. Lee, 2012, p.97)

As it could be seen through these examples, Korea systematically and ideologically rejected Amerasians. It is thought that when the marginalized part of the population was not visible and the evidence of this was gone it felt more Korean and sovereign (N.Y. Kim, 2015, p.288). As Butler maintains, "the social vulnerability of certain bodies affects how national space, national time and the national subject" could be constituted (M.D. Lee, 2012, p.76). According to Butler

The public sphere is constituted in part by what cannot be said and what cannot be shown. The limits of the sayable, the limits of what can appear and circumscribe the domain in which political speech operates and certain kinds of subjects appear as viable actors. (2004, p. xvii)

The Rhee administration allowed the adoption of Korean G.I. babies as in 1953 US Congress passed the 1953 Refugee Relief Act, which allowed the immigration of 4000 adopted Korean orphans (Doolan, 2012, p.41). President Rhee set up adoptions to abroad especially to the US as soon as US Congress passed the

Refugee Relief Act in 1953. As there were American parents who were willing to adopt these children, President Rhee wrote to the South Korean Ambassador to the UN Ben C. Limb (Im Byung Jik) in 1954:

We are most anxious to send as many of our orphans to the States as possible. In particular we desire to have adopted those children of Western fathers and Korean mothers who can never hope to make a place for themselves in Korean society. Those children should appeal to Americans even more than Koreans. (as cited in Eleana Kim, 2009, p.12)

The exact numbers of mixed-race children were unknown. According to E.J. Kim, the initial adoptions were “an emergency effort to rescue war orphans and ‘mixed-raced’ GI children after the Korean War (2010, p.24). The estimation by The Korean Ministry of Health and Social Affairs in 1954 was that there were more than 400 mixed-race children in Korea and majority of these children were Amerasians in the demilitarized zone (Doolan, 2012, p.40). In contrast to this estimation, an US NGO called “International Social Service (ISS)” maintained that there were more than 5000 mixed-race GI babies in Korea (Doolan, 2012, p.40). It was also alarming that the number of abandoned children increased throughout 1951 to 1964 (E.J. Kim, 2010, p.32). Korean women who gave up on their children were mostly poor widows or single mothers who were afraid of the social stigma and marginalization from the Korean society due to the existence of their mixed-race children.

Due to the absence of a legal framework, the South Korean government established the Child Placement Service after the war in 1954 (Hwang, 2015, p.513). Approximately 3500 Korean children were sent for adoption abroad between 1953-1960 and around 2,270 of them were thought to be mixed-race children (Hwang, 2015, p.513). Since the end of Korean War 140,000 Korean children were adopted globally according to The Korean American Adoptee Adoptive Family Network

(KAAN) (E.J. Kim, 2010, p.22). According to E.J. Kim, the South Korean Ministry of Health, Welfare and Family Affairs (MIHWAF) maintains that a total of 161,665 children were adopted worldwide especially in North America and Western Europe between 1953 and 2008 (2010, p.24).

In the US, transracial transnational Korean adoption increased significantly and became an option instead of the transracial adoption of Black and Native American, which came to a “virtual halt” in the 1970s (E.J. Kim, 2010, p.27-28, see Figure 3). Dorow (2006) argues

Especially in light of the condemnation in 1972 by the National Association of Black Social Workers of placements of black children in white homes as cultural genocide, the adoption of Asian babies has been construed as a safe choice for financially able Americans to adopt more ‘flexibly’ racialized children who not only are more easily assimilated but whose birth parents are less likely to make claims on their children. (as cited in E.J. Kim, 2010, p.27)



Fig. 3 How to adopt Korean babies, Black Amerasian children photographed in Ebony, September 1955  
Source: E.J. Kim, 2010, p.56

The notion of the Korean nation as a family has been more than rhetoric but it has been perceived as a reality among the Korean society. E.J. Kim maintains, “In industrializing South Korea, propaganda campaigns, sterilization programs, the promotion of emigration, and international adoption were all part of a more universal state project to check population growth in the name of modernization and economic development” (2010, p.25). This was an effort to officially define the normative family in Korea, which could be also seen as a form of “state racism” (Foucault, 2003) under Syngman Lee period (1948-1960).

During the Park Chung Hee government (1963-1979), it was quickly realized the international adoptions were a temporary solution as child abandonment posed a serious issue. Hence, the Park administration initiated various programs to encourage family preservation and integrate the mixed-race children to the public schools, and promoted foster care and domestic adoptions (E.J. Kim, 2010, p.73). The “Home Returnee” program was established to find the parents of the children but parents could not be found in Korea, which led to call these children as “ghost children”. In 1964 child abandonment peaked and there was not enough domestic adoption, resulted in sending many children to overseas countries in the mid-1960s (E.J. Kim, 2010, p.73). From 1970s to 1980s was the time when Korean adoption significantly increased and coincided with the upsurge in Korean migrations to the West. Although there were efforts to integrate the Amerasian children to the society through legal arrangements, the most viable option remained as international adoption for these children until the late 1970s (Hwang, 2015, p.515).

South Korea tried to make amends with its past about international adoptions in the late 1990s. The official state narrative about the transnational adoption phenomenon was relying on how Korean War was a tragedy and poverty in the

postwar era forced the overseas adoption as a solution. E.J. Kim argues that the official state narrative erased adoptees' individual pasts "under the production of the 'homogenous, empty time of the nation'" (Anderson, 1991, p.26) by emphasizing the kinship to the motherland rather than individual ties (2010, p.173). This narrative aimed to conceal the painful losses and historical disjuncture that shaped the adoptee subjectivities (E.J. Kim, 2010, p.173).

Overall, many of the first and second generation Amerasians born during the Korean War period left Korea for the US through international adoption. But many of the first two generations of the Amerasians stayed in Korea, too. They have even become visible members of the society such as the singer Insooni and others. The number of the newly born Amerasian babies in Korea and transnational adoptions decreased significantly from 1980s onwards (Hwang, 2015, p.525).

This chapter has discussed the emergence of mixed-raced children and challenges to the Korean national identity and also transnational adoptions as an official state solution. The legacy of the mixed-race children still "haunts" South Korea but as it will be seen in the next chapter the state started to show its recognition of the mixed-race individuals through multicultural policies.



## CHAPTER 6

### DISCOURSE OF MULTICULTURALISM AND MULTICULTURAL POLICIES IN SOUTH KOREA

Difference is thereby given a voice which speaks of problems which transverse the whole society. (Melucci, 1996, p.370)

This chapter will discuss the multicultural policies and multicultural discourse in South Korea and also demonstrate the turning points in the multicultural policies. Multicultural discourse and policies emerged to accommodate ethnic minorities especially the mixed-race individuals and social inclusion and exclusion of these individuals. But, since South Korea has been considered as a homogenous nation-state, it has been imagined that there would not be any racial problems. However with the increase in the foreign population of South Korea, the government started to actively promote multiculturalism and adopted policies to alleviate the condition of foreign brides, mixed-race individuals and migrant workers from 2000s onwards. The application of multicultural policies shows how the category of race is practiced (Ahn, 2013, p.42) and therefore it is important to look into them.

In South Korea, everyday racism is generally based on skin color as darker the complexion the individual is more likely to be discriminated against. Some of the foreigners living in South Korea even got used to the racial discrimination in everyday life. Bonogit Hussain is an Indian professor living in South Korea who was racially discriminated against on a bus explains to *The New York Times*, “To me, it is obvious that racial discrimination is an everyday [everyday racism] phenomenon in Korea, but nobody seems to talk about it in public. Some people judge me to be a

poor migrant worker due to my skin color” (Eun-jung Kim, 2009). Although Hussain wanted to take legal action, there are no laws punishing racially motivated language. Another well-known case was Jasmine Lee who is from Philippines but a naturalized Korean citizen. She was the first person to be appointed to National Assembly by the Liberty Korea Party<sup>8</sup> to defend the rights of immigrant wives in 2012 but she faced racially charged attacks, which depicted a picture that there is still a general insensitivity to multiculturalism in South Korea (Soh, 2015). It has been maintained,

Her election was hailed by some Koreans and observers around the world as path-breaking, but South Koreans’ ethno-nationalistic and xenophobic sentiment was also apparent on internet sites. The protestations ranged from a form of economic protectionism against public funds being spent on foreigners (“Korea gives foreigners benefits which it doesn’t even give to its nationals”) to anti-multiculturalism (“Unlike the United States or China, Korea has been a racially homogeneous country. I don’t know why we need multiculturalism.”). (Moon, 2015, p.14)

In addition, recently about more than 500 refugees from war-torn Yemen wanted to seek refuge on Jeju Island in South Korea in June 2018, created anxiety among public. According to *The Korea Times*, Yemenis first flew to Malaysia and stayed there for 90 days without a visa and if the strict conditions of Korean immigration met, Yemenis were able to seek asylum in Jeju Island (H.K. Kang, 2018). Although the farmers in the island are content that the labor shortage could be solved with the incoming refugees, the public opinion was not so welcoming and Koreans started a protest chanting, “fake refugees get out” as some Koreans suspect that Yemeni refugees are “terrorists in disguise” (J. Lee, 2018). Many Koreans fear that there would be security issues related to terrorism and Islamophobia increased among public with the incoming refugees, which also parallels the current political climate in the U.S. and Western Europe. In Turkey as well, there has been mixed

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<sup>8</sup> Until February 2017, it was known as the Saenuri Party (lit. New Frontier Party).

feelings towards Syrian refugees. Due to Turkey's geographical location, Turkey became one of the countries that have been overwhelmed with the intake of the refugees as a transit country. Turkey currently hosts 3.5 million registered Syrian refugees and efforts have been made to provide humanitarian aid and support (European Commission, 2018). The public opinion towards refugees has not been negative, and the social acceptance of the refugees seems to be high because Turkish citizens perceived the refugees as the ones who are escaping from war and persecution that urgently need help until Syria becomes safe. However, Turkish citizens are also anxious about the incoming refugees. The public poll demonstrates that 71% maintained that the refugees have been an economic burden and 60% complained about their taxes are spent on refugees (Ferris & Kirisci, 2016, p.41).

It will be also seen that although the state adopted multiculturalism, the public opinion sided with embracing the ethnic homogeneity. However, the public opinion seems to change when the personal biographies of certain individuals were presented. Public opinion is affected from the multi-ethnic individuals' socioeconomic background such as class, nationality, skin color, occupation and their status in South Korea whether they are immigrants, temporary visitors or residents. As Hunter (2005) maintains "The intersecting systems of racism and colorism, along with education, income and physical attributes such as hair texture, eye color and facial features, also affect perceptions of who is considered dark or light skinned" (as cited in H.A. Kim, 2016, p.45). Thus, the social and economic capital of the multi-ethnic individual is determinant in changing public attitude. The public attitude towards the successful Koreans such as the NFL player Hines Ward was positive. Through his success in the U.S. and with the help of the Korean media,

Ward was able to create positive feelings among public towards the mixed-race individuals living in South Korea.

It is apparent that not all segments in the Korean society are ready for a multicultural society. Lee Kwang-gyu, Overseas Koreans Foundation chairman maintains, “Korea is so accustomed to a belief in pure-blood nationalism and a homogenous nation that its people don't seem to be prepared to accept or understand a multiethnic and multicultural society” (M.D. Lee, 2012, p.86). Multiculturalism stayed in rhetoric and did not trickle down to the public opinion yet. It will be maintained that there are different value systems attached to certain multi-ethnic individuals. The multiculturalism discourse in South Korea is dynamic and has complex layers with regards to social inclusion and exclusion of multi-ethnics.

The first sub-section of this chapter will briefly talk about multiculturalism in South Korea and include the first incoming immigrants who are foreign workers and brides. The second sub-section is about the social integration of the (Black) Amerasians and multicultural policies. This sub-section will point out that Afro-Asians unlike Kosians (mixed-race children of Southeast Asian wives and Korean husbands from late 1990s onwards) were not included in multicultural policies. This makes their situation unique, as multicultural policies were not really applied to them but mostly applied to Kosians. This contrast will be seen throughout the section.

## 6.1 Discourse of multiculturalism in South Korea

In the 1990s, the Korean state took an active role in enhancing its policies towards minorities and embraced the idea of building a “multicultural society in the age of globalization”( *segyehwa sidae-ui damunhwa sahoe*) (Seol and Seo, 2014, p.13-14). It is important to note that the concept of globalization (*segyehwa*) could be thought

as “Korean style globalization” in the sense that globalization is a means to “enhance Korea’s national competitiveness and simultaneously seeking to preserve and if possible strengthen Korean heritage and culture” (Shin, 2013, p.384). H.O. Park (1996) maintains *segyehwa* was a new “‘language of nationalism’ that demands a ‘de-territorialized national community among Koreans’”. In other words, globalization is an outlet to compete. This concept of globalization (*segyehwa*) introduced under the Kim Young Sam government (1993-1998) and expanded under Kim Dae Jung (1998-2003). This led to globalization in the fields of economy, culture (Korean Wave or *hallyu*), politics and creation of a new national image or “New Korea” (Ahn, 2014, p.394).

In the name of *segyehwa*, the Kim Young Sam government wanted to incorporate the overseas Korean population into South Korean society through a legal arrangement. This was called the Overseas Korean Act (OKA), which recognized the ethnic Koreans who were living abroad to attract foreign investments especially from Korean Americans during the IMF crisis of 1997-1998 (E.J. Kim, 2010, p.179). It is maintained that this law

...utilizes legal categories to define ‘Korean identity’, [but] it also entails the construction of a Korean identity based on ‘primordial’ ethnic ties and the belief in shared blood and heritage. Thus, legal national identity is confounded with ethnic identity. (J.S. Park & Chang, 2005, p.3)

Another effect of *segyehwa* was on education that Kim government proposed to extend English language classes down to the elementary school level.

The discourse of multiculturalism was peaked with the visit of Hines Ward to South Korea in 2006. Ahn calls this media event as “the Hines Ward moment” that it “created and opened the discursive space for racial politics and multicultural issues in Korean society” (2014, p.391). His visit opened up the unspoken issue of mixed-

race individuals especially the unrepresented and repressed Black mixed-race people and racism in South Korean public sphere. Mary Lee claims that the media coverage of Ward in 2006 was “an attempt to achieve some sort of expedited closure on the issue of long-standing discrimination against interracial people” (2008, p.57). The interest of Korean people towards Hines Ward case could be considered as a national project since the government, media and academia worked together to “brand” Korea as a multicultural global power (Ahn, 2014, p.396). Although Korean singer Insooni has a similar background who is a first generation Afro-Korean, as she grew up in South Korea her struggle against racism was not recognized. In addition, Moon Tae-Young and his brother Moon Tae-Jong were Amerasians who grew up in the US and are playing in South Korea’s National Basketball team as they have “powerful Black bodies” who immediately gained Korean citizenship since their Blackness was commodified (“Half Korean Basketballers,” 2011). The recognition of Hines Ward and Moon brothers as successful Korean-Americans coming from the U.S. (an advanced society) also demonstrates the inferiority complex of Koreans and importance of social capital with regards to inclusion and exclusion of multi-ethnic individuals. Hence it leads to the “hypocrisy” of South Korean multiculturalism that the mixed-race Koreans was accepted if they are successful. After the arrival of Ward, a series of anonymous interviews were done with the mixed-race individuals. The interviewees emphasized their suspicion towards multiculturalism, and temporary and limited effect of mixed-race Korean celebrities in mass media that “People are paying more attention to us after Hines Ward came to Korea, but I think many Koreans still discriminate...most people don't know what we have to go through. I’m afraid this kind of attention to our struggle will only be temporary” (Ro, 2006 as cited in M.D. Lee, 2012, p.79). Most of the mixed-race individuals believe

that the public and media attention is a “public fad” (Ro, 2006 as cited in M.D. Lee, 2012, p.79).

Janet Mintzer of the Pearl Buck Foundation<sup>9</sup> also maintains that the conditions of the mixed-race individuals did not change much even though the media focused on the success of the mixed heritage entertainers (M.D. Lee, 2012, p.79). Black Amerasian identity is racialized because White Korean-American celebrities are so present in films and dramas and the representation of Black Amerasians are not included as they are not complying with the “white-washed standard of beauty, and this particular mixture is regarded as beautiful” (Lee Gage, 2007, p.131). Lee Yu Jin is an Amerasian model and actress whose father was a Hispanic American GI soldier has a striking account about the entertainment industry:

For years, Lee Yu Jin kept her secret. Whenever anybody asked – and they did all the time as her celebrity as an actress and model spread- she simply denied the rumors. No, she was not a foreigner. She was Korean. Finally last year [2003] Lee called a news conference and tearfully acknowledged that her father was an American GI. As her fans had long suspected from her 5-foot-9 stature, she was of mixed race. “People ask why didn't I come out earlier and why this is such a big deal,” the 27-year-old said. “It wouldn't be anywhere else, but Korea is still a closed society where people like to talk about the purity of the race.” With their acknowledgement, Lee raised the curtain on what has become a phenomenon in the South Korean entertainment industry. Once considered a national embarrassment, a number of biracial entertainers have become famous in the last few years. Many of them, like Lee, have American fathers.” (Demick, 2004)

The celebrity cases highlight different value systems in multiculturalism and social inclusion in South Korea. These celebrities (such as Hines Ward and Moon brothers) were a means to frame Korea as a multicultural society and by doing so the legacy of U.S. militarization that is the source of the emergence of mixed-race individuals was erased or “forgotten”. Doolan maintains as these celebrities had exotic looks, the

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<sup>9</sup> In 1964, to support kids who were not eligible for adoption, Buck established Pearl S. Buck Foundation (now called Pearl S. Buck International) to address poverty and discrimination faced by children in Asian countries. The foundation provided financial and educational assistance to Amerasian children in several Asian countries.

mixed-race individuals were perceived as “babies of ‘globalization’” rather than “G.I. babies” (2012, p.76-77).

The discourse of multiculturalism disseminated through three channels namely: the mass media or press, government and academia. The term “multiculturalism” first entered into the newspaper articles in the 1990s (Ahn, 2013, p.32). However, the media became more active in publishing about multiculturalism with the official recognition of the concept in 2005. More specifically since 2005, there has been a “multiculturalism explosion” in the newspapers (Ahn, 2013, p.32). According to K. Park’s sample of articles from Korean newspapers such as *Chosun Ilbo* (Chosun Daily News) and *Hakyoreh sinmun* (The Hakyorek News) from 1990 to 2008, three themes were discussed about the immigrants: human rights and discrimination; policies and laws; social service and community events (2014, p.1571-1572). In this sample, the immigrants were portrayed as victims of discrimination, mistreatment and flawed policies (K. Park, 2014, p.1573). Immigrants were also presented as a necessity for the Korean economy rather than a threat (K. Park, 2014, p.1573). The major national daily newspapers namely *Segye Ilbo* and *Dong-A Ilbo* published detailed and in-depth articles about multiculturalism and globalization in South Korea. During 2008-2009, *Segye Ilbo* and *Dong-A Ilbo* featured, respectively, a 65-article series called “The Era of Multicultural, One Family” and a 44-article series titled “Global Korea, Multicultural is Power”. Mass media has been a powerful and influential agent to disseminate and inject the idea of multiculturalism to Korean society. It is clear that there is a heated debate about multiculturalism and the role of media is significant in changing the public opinion towards multiculturalism. In the Figure 4 and Table 1, the increase of the word “multiculturalism” with the official recognition of the concept in 2005 could be seen.



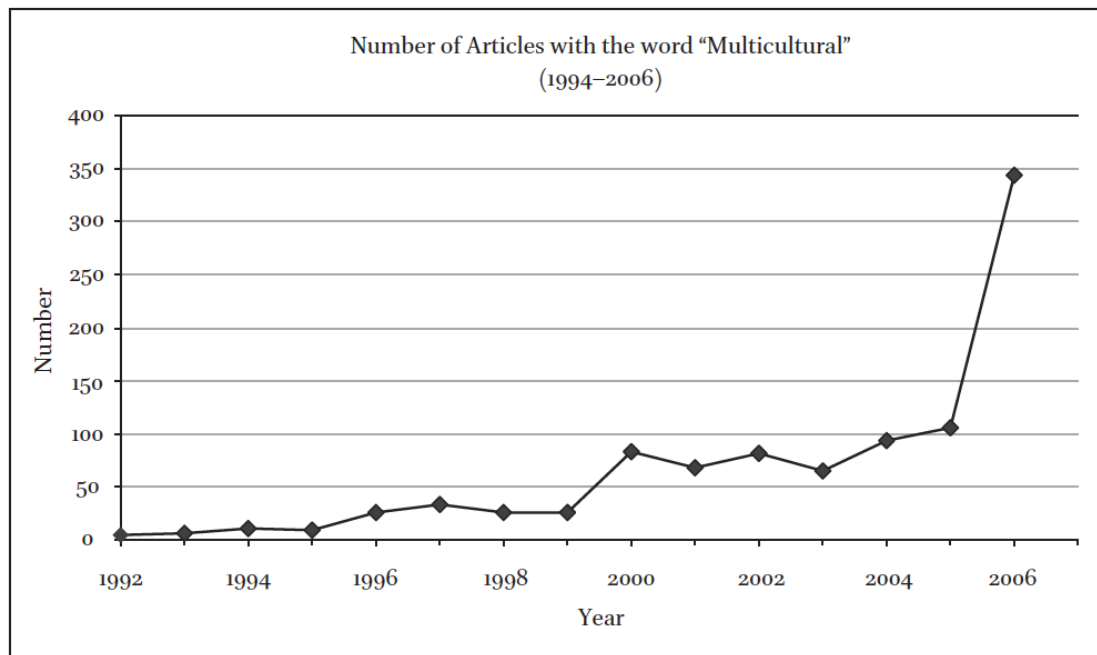


Fig. 4 Number of articles including the word “multicultural” in major South Korean newspapers (Donga, Naeil, Munhwa, Kyunghyang, Hangyoreh, Seoul, Sekye, Kookmin, and Hankook), 1992-2006  
Source: Shin, 2013, p.380

Table 1. Number of Articles Containing the Word “Multicultural” (*Damunhwa*)

Year	Number of Articles
1990-1999	343
2000	137
2001	105
2002	126
2003	134
2004	143
2005	209
2006	511
2007	1,684
2008	7,301
2009	14,437
October 2010	15,268
Total	40,398

Source: Seol, 2010, p.598

South Korea seriously needs to deal with multiculturalism in the age of globalization as the foreign, immigrant and mixed-race populations are significantly increasing with the late-1990s onwards. Therefore the government's role is crucial to change the public attitude towards multi-ethnics in South Korea and socially include them. Government's role is explained in the World Bank report called "Inclusion matters",

The state can intervene for social inclusion through three conduits. The first is to create an enabling environment for social inclusion, such that citizens have the freedom to exercise their choice and innovate for better outcomes and processes. The second is to design legislation, policies, and programs that directly or indirectly affect social inclusion. The third is to ensure implementation and enforcement of the legal and policy framework. All these roles are underpinned by the nature of the state, the degree of openness of the polity, and the vision that the state and citizens share. The strength of both formal and informal institutions is critical for the success of state-led actions. (2013, p.183)

In South Korea, eight ministries are involved in multicultural policy-making process namely Ministry of Health, Welfare and Family Affairs, the Ministry of Gender Equality and also local governments. After the government officially adopted multiculturalism, multicultural institutes, policies and practices including the Committee for Foreigner Policy chaired by the Prime Minister were established (Shin, 2013, p.381-382). Changes to citizenship laws, implementation of multicultural curriculum in public schools, childcare support for multicultural families, language training for foreign brides was some of the ideas to be transformed into policies. These ministries are active in organizing Korean language programs and cultural exposure programs such as festivals to help the foreigners living in South Korea (Shin, 2013, p.388). In other words, the ministries coordinate for their utmost goal of improving life conditions for the multiethnic individuals and decreasing the discrimination against them. It is also important to note that as many

different ministries are involved in multicultural policy-making, these ministries are competing for funds and obtaining the funds by using multiculturalism as a means (Watson, 2012, p.246). Therefore, at the institutional level there is a need to have a “control tower” to solve the overlapping issues and projects related to multiculturalism.

Furthermore, the Korean academics organized conferences and conducted research on Korean multiculturalism. Scholars from sociology, anthropology, Korean literature, family studies, and social welfare studies have done research on foreign brides and mixed-race children. Family and social welfare studies have used their research on multiculturalism for the family health support centers’ planning which are done by government financial support (Yoon, 2009, p.70). In 2007, many universities and national research institutions such as the Korean Sociological Association and the Korean Society for Cultural Anthropology held conferences about multiculturalism (Yoon, 2009, p.68). Also, in the policy-making process scholars, lawyers, religious leaders and civic movement leaders were involved in the legislation of “Plan for Social Integration of Mixed-bloods and Migrants” and “Plan for Social Integration of Marriage Immigrants” (Yoon, 2009, p.79). Therefore Yoon argues it was not just a government-led multiculturalism but it was collaboration between government and NGOs (2009, p.80).

In the next sub-sections the wave of first immigrants mainly the foreign workers and immigrant brides will be talked about. Although this dissertation is focusing on the Afro-Asian community in South Korea, it is important to know about migrant workers and Southeast Asian brides who have triggered the discourse of multiculturalism in South Korea.

### 6.1.1 Foreign workers

With the intensification of movement across borders, South Korea started to accept migrants in the 1990s. The migrant workers were initially coming mostly from various Asian countries such as China (mostly ethnic Koreans), Vietnam, Indonesia, Bangladesh and the Philippines (A.E. Kim, 2009b, p.75). In the mid-2000s, the Korean government initiated the process to establish bilateral agreements for labor migration and foreign workers started coming from different regions in Asia such as Pakistan, Thailand, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Cambodia and Mongolia (A.E. Kim, 2009b, p.77). This did not make South Korea an exceptional country, as it was a global trend to receive immigrants in the 1970s and 1980s. But, South Korea restricted its immigration policy for a long time not to have foreigners inside the country. Until the late 1980s, South Korea was sending workers abroad each year especially to Germany and the Middle East to become miners, nurses and construction workers and during this time period Korea did not receive any foreign migrants. South Korea started to experience a serious labor shortage in the late 1980s as there was an exhaustion of the rural labor surplus; the participation of youth in the workforce decreased with longer schooling; and the boom in construction industry and higher-paying construction work attracted the attention of Koreans who were working in low-paying factory jobs (A.E. Kim, 2009a). In the late-1980s there was also a rise in income, which led to enjoyment of mass consumption and reluctance to do the hard work in manufacturing sector and Korean people opted to work for the service sector (W.B. Kim, 2004). Therefore, to solve the lack of labor in unskilled and manual jobs Korean government accepted the migrant workers in the 1990s. The migrant workers in South Korea worked in low-paying

“3D” jobs (Dirty, Difficult, Dangerous) as better-educated Koreans did not want to engage in less prestigious jobs (Shin, 2013, p.374).

South Korea was not prepared for the increasing numbers of foreign workers and as they were seen temporary there were no immigration policies for workers until 1990s. The government initiated a system for the migrant workers between 1991-2003. In 1991, Industrial and Technical Training Program (ITTP) introduced for the purpose of inviting and training foreign workers employed at overseas Korean companies for six months, which could be extended to one year (Hahn & Choi, 2006, p.5). Through ITTP foreign unskilled workers employed in Korea for the first time. ITTP was ineffective in solving the need of cheap foreign labor and the growing illegal employment in manufacturing sector, thus Industrial Trainee System (ITS) adopted in 1993, which could be thought as an extended application of the ITTP. According to ITS, an allocated number of workers from each country allowed to live and work in South Korea no more than three years (W.B. Kim, 2004). The immigrants were accepted as “temporary trainees” and were expected to leave after three years (Shin, 2013, p.378). The “closed-door” policy became partially open in South Korea with the adoption of these trainee systems. However, ITS system could not solve the severe labor shortages in small firms and an increase in the number of illegal workers created social problems (W.B. Kim, 2004). Employment Permit System (EPS) replaced ITS in 2003 and government implemented EPS until 2006. EPS aimed to protect the migrant workers from exploitation in the workplace (Shin, 2013, p.381). To add, EPS recognized the migrant workers as “workers” not as “trainees” (Shin, 2013, p.381). Even though the conditions of the migrant workers have been alleviated with the EPS, it received criticism as the labor was still cheap, exploitable and prohibited the workers to change their workplaces willingly (Liem,

2009 as cited in Shin, 2013, p.382). It created an unequal relationship between worker and employer. The government combined the previous systems and consolidated its policies under the Employment of Foreign Workers Act in 2006 (C.S. Kim, 2011, p.137-138). According to this legal arrangement, foreign workers cannot stay more than three years for the purpose of work but if the qualified workers meet certain conditions they can extend their visas for two more years and after five years foreign workers need to return their home countries (C.S. Kim, 2011, p.138). The workers can only reapply for entry after six months. Hence, the foreign workers did not have the opportunity for permanent residency and cannot bring their families to South Korea.

In 2007, Korea officially became a receiving country, which meant that Korea started to receive permanent workers as well. The EPS system was renewed in 2010 and included long-term labor contracts; extension of length of employment from three to five years; increased flexibility in the change of workplace; longer period allowed for searching for a new employer after the change of workplace and overall better working conditions (Yoon, 2010, p.527). Although the conditions of labor positively changed, this revision is thought to benefit the employers and did not consider basic human rights of the workers (Yoon, 2010, p.527-528). Yoon claims some of the problems regarding foreign workers included differences between the contract and reality, long working hours, low and overdue wages, verbal abuse, discrimination, exclusion from healthcare and public social welfare (Yoon, 2010, p.528). Although there is rigidity and complications in the legal arrangement for migrant labor, the number of the foreign workers increased significantly from 2005 to 2010 as it could be seen in Figure 5.



Fig. 5 The number of foreign workers by employment type, 2001-2011 by Ministry of Justice, the Republic of Korea  
Source: Shin, 2013, p.379

For the foreign workers, NGOs in South Korea established “Borderless Village” which is a multicultural community in Ansan City located in Gyeonggi Province and since 1998 the village “rearranged its focus to aspects of religion, labor, local area, community, and human rights, and began to aim for a symbiotic community where the migrant workers’ right to live is protected and everyone can coexist without discrimination” (Yoon, 2009, p.84).

Korean workers viewed the foreign workers as a potential threat in the early period of migration from 1990 to 1994. But when the adjustments for migrant workers were intact and migrant workers started to take up the low-wage and low-status jobs that Korean workers were not willing to do, concerns of Korean workers diminished (K. Park, 2014, p.1573). Yoon et al. (2008) claims that if the immigrants’ numbers increased to the extent that the South Koreans way of life would be disrupted and changed, Koreans would be less tolerant towards migrant workers. World Values Survey for South Korea from 2010 shows that 44% of Korean

respondents felt negative about migrant workers living next door (Draudt, 2015). Seol and Seo's hierarchical nationhood scores (2012) show that migrant workers were one of the least favorable groups among the ethnic and social minorities in Korea (2014, p.25). There are mixed feelings felt towards foreign workers, as Koreans are well aware that now immigrants are an integral part of the economy but it is tolerable if the migrant workers live in segregation from the Korean society.

#### 6.1.2 Foreign brides and children of multicultural families (Kosians)<sup>10</sup>

Another source of ethnic diversity in South Korea was the foreign brides who are mostly coming from the Southeast Asian countries in the mid-1990s. International marriages between Korean men and Southeast Asian women and their mixed-race children (Kosians or children of a multicultural family) are exposing South Korea to racial and cultural diversity. The phenomenon of international marriages was uncommon in South Korea until the immigration of foreign brides. As it has been explained in the previous chapters, this was not common in society because it was ruining the purity of "Korean blood" and against the principles of ethnic nationalism. According to Shin, the number of foreign brides will continue to increase because of the "acute shortage of native Korean women that is due to the preference for sons that prevailed in Korea in the 1970s and 1980s" (2013, p.376). This is one of the main reasons why there is a serious imbalance in the male-female ratio. Thus, the significant increase in international marriages is a means to solve several pressing

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<sup>10</sup> Kosians are children of Korean men and women of other Asian nationalities, typically residing in rural areas of South Korea. The prefix "Ko-" is deriving from the term "Korean" and the suffix "-sians" from the term "Asians".



issues such as labor shortage, the imbalance in male-female ratio and low birth rate all at once (Shin, 2013, p.376).

In the mid-1990s, the international marriages significantly increased due to the “shortage of ‘marriageable women’” in the rural areas (Shin, 2013, p.374; see Figure 6). The shortage of the marriageable women could be explained by the internal migrations from rural areas to the cities. It is notable that in the late 1970s rural to urban migration increased significantly to 3.7 persons, which were 1.3 persons in the 1960s (Park & Ahn, 1999 as cited in S. Park, 2009, p.133). Due to socio-economic developments, rapid industrialization and globalization, more Korean women have better education and levels of income by their participation in the workforce. Therefore, more Korean women choose to live in urban areas instead of settling down in rural areas, doing hard labor and taking care of the elderly parents-in-law. As levels of educational attainment of women is increasing, they can afford to be “choosy” when it comes to selecting a partner and many will choose not to “marry down” with a less accomplished or educated male (S. Park, 2011, p.64). Korean women chose to marry at a later age after they have succeeded in their careers. The average age of women getting married was 30.2 in 2017 and the average age that Korean women had their first child was 31.6, which is one of the oldest in the world (Steger, 2018b). It is important to note that phenomena of decline of fertility rate, rapid aging, increasing educational attainment of women and decreasing female population in the rural areas was not unique to South Korea but Japan and Taiwan (also due to one child policy in People’s Republic of China or PRC) were also some of the East Asian countries that experienced a series of similar social transformations that challenged the traditional family in the rural areas.

Year	Total Marriages	International Marriages	% of Total	Foreign Wives	Foreign Husbands
1990	399,312	4,710	1.2	619	4,091
1991	416,872	5,012	1.2	663	4,349
1992	419,774	5,534	1.3	2,057	3,477
1993	402,593	6,545	1.6	3,109	3,436
1994	393,121	6,616	1.7	3,072	3,544
1995	398,484	13,494	3.4	10,365	3,129
1996	434,911	15,946	3.7	12,647	3,299
1997	388,591	12,448	3.2	9,266	3,182
1998	375,616	12,188	3.2	8,054	4,134
1999	362,673	10,570	2.9	5,775	4,795
2000	332,090	12,319	3.5	7,304	5,015
2001	318,407	15,234	4.6	10,006	5,228
2002	304,877	15,913	5.0	11,017	4,896
2003	302,503	25,658	8.2	19,214	6,444
2004	308,598	35,447	11.2	25,594	9,853
2005	314,304	43,121	13.5	31,180	11,941
2006	330,634	39,690	11.7	30,208	9,482
2007	343,559	38,491	10.9	28,580	8,980
2008	327,715	36,204	11.0	28,163	8,041
2009	309,759	33,300	10.8	25,142	8,158
2010	326,104	34,235	10.5	26,274	7,961
2011	329,087	29,762	9	22,265	7,497

Fig. 6 The number of international marriages between 1990-2010 by Korean Statistical Information Service  
Source: Shin, 2013, p.376

As many Korean women migrating from rural to urban areas, delay marriages, have fewer children and are more aware of gender equality foreign brides became significant in survival of rural Korean communities. Korean men from rural areas are relatively low-income, have lower social status, and believe in conservative patriarchal values, often find themselves at the low end of the marriage market. Therefore, foreign brides from developing countries are one of the last available options for the continuation of the traditional rural family and agrarian economy. Hence the rhetoric of pureblood, ethnic nationalism, conservative and traditional values of rural people dissolve as the needs of agrarian economy dictates them to create a multicultural family out of necessity. According to the Korea Immigration

Service statistics in February 2010, the total number of marriage migrants in Korea was 134,426 with 117,148 was females (87.2%) and 17,278 males (12.8%) and most of the foreign brides came from East Asia and Southeast Asian countries such as 30,756 Chinese (26.3%), 30,773 Vietnamese (26.3%), 25,783 Korean Chinese (22%), 9,210 Japanese (7.9%), 6,406 Filipinas (5.5%), 3,395 Cambodians (2.9%), 2,381 Thais (2%), 2,373 Mongolians (2%), and 6,071 from the other nations (5.2%) (Yoon, 2010, p.530). Thirteen percent of all marriages in Korea are international and 30 percent of international marriages alone are between the rural men and foreign brides (M.D. Lee, 2012, p.78).

Most of the marriage migrants are young in their mid-twenties and they generally marry Korean men who are in their late thirties, forties or sometimes much older men. Therefore, the age gap between the foreign brides and their husbands are on average at least eight to ten years. Generally the education of the marriage migrants is at high-school level or lower and only 20% of the migrants received college education (Yoon, 2010, p.530). The college education of the marriage migrants changed according to their nationality as well. For instance 61.3% of Mongolians, 60.5% of Japanese and 57.5% of Filipinas had college education but the majority of Cambodians, Vietnamese and Chinese had less than high school education (Yoon, 2010, p.531). In addition, Yoon maintains that 51% of female marriage migrants with less than elementary education got married to husbands with less or higher high school education, which reflects the education-level gap between the spouses (2010, p.531). The most confronted issues among foreign brides are language barriers; financial insecurity and limited access to social services; and difficulties with educating and raising children (also related to the language barriers).

When a foreign bride comes to South Korea, she receives an alien registration card as her identification and she is not included in the resident registration (M. Kim, 2013, p.465-466). M. Kim explains that the marriage migrant can be only seen in her husband's resident registration certificate after two years of residence in South Korea, which is the requirement for naturalization (2013, p.465). Therefore if a child is born during this time period, the mother's name will not be in official documentation. The two-year wait is a precaution on behalf of the state to prevent women migrants from "buying" Korean citizenship (M. Kim, 2013, p.465). This further demonstrates Koreans' suspicion against immigrants from less-developed countries. This exclusion of migrant wives from government documentation undermines their position in their family and their sense of belonging (M. Kim, 2013, p.465). In 2010, the new Resident Registration Law allowed the foreign brides to be included in the husband's resident registration by request (Park, 2010 as cited in M. Kim, 2013, p.466). M. Kim argues

The change was made primarily to protect the children of marriage migrants from the common misunderstanding that they have only one parent (which is a social stigma). Although this change on the surface seems like an effort to incorporate marriage migrants, it still does not allow them to have their own resident registration. This legal modification, a branch of the state project for marriage migrants, thus constructs ethnicized maternal citizenship. (2013, p.466)

Thus, the legal restrictions made it hard for the migrant women to integrate into the South Korean society.

The number of foreigners living in Korea is over two million of the total population of 51 million and the quarter of this foreign population consists of migrant brides of brokered marriages (Im, 2016). Some of the marriages happen through religious organizations such as Unification Church that matches Korean farmers with women from the Philippines, Thailand, Japan and other Asian countries

(M. Kim, 2013, p.462). The “Getting Rural Bachelors Married” project supported by the local governments and central government in the 1990s also provided the means for international brides to immigrate South Korea, which included the involvement of international marriage brokerage firms. These marriages were sometimes accompanied by illegal international marriage brokerage. In 2008, international marriage brokerage was legalized by an executive order from the Korean government and it is called “Enforcement Rule of the Act on the Management of Marriage Brokerage” (C.S. Kim, 2011, p.62; see Appendix A). According to this legal regulation the marriage brokerage firms need to have an office with an address; they need to deposit certain amount of cash and have insurance; the firm’s documents and contracts need to be translated to the foreign bride’s native language and mandatory training must be done to become a marriage broker. If these rules were to be violated in overseas, Ministry of Health, Welfare and Family Affairs would be notified and sanctions would be given to the specific firm (C.S. Kim, 2011, p.62). However the sanctions remained ineffective because the international marriage arrangements are regulated not by licensing but only registering. Also if the firm violates the rules in one country, they can easily move their business to another country (C.S. Kim, 2011, p.62).

The number of marriage brokers is significantly increasing. According to *Dong-A Ilbo* newspaper, there were almost more than 1000 marriage brokers, which have been increased by 125 in one year in 2010 (C.S. Kim, 2011, p.62). Since the foreign brides were exposed to violence at the rate of life threatening conditions (as some of them did not know their husbands would be old, disabled or mentally ill), there has been a “public outcry condemning international brokers for their illegal and unethical handling of international matchmaking” (C.S. Kim, 2011, p.63). The

marriage brokers need to check the medical reports of the brides and grooms and be open and transparent about this information to both sides to prevent these situations. The profile of the grooms could be misleading for the foreign brides and misunderstandings could end up with verbal and physical abuses both from their husbands and even in-laws.

South Korea is now more exposed than ever to racial and cultural diversity, but this has not been reciprocal with regards to public tolerance towards different cultures and values. Migrant workers, foreign brides and mixed-race children are racially discriminated against and even face life-threatening situations that undermine human rights. Among them, the foreign brides mostly experience human rights abuses due to their language barrier and cultural differences. As foreign wives are seen as the dependents on Korean men, their husbands could abuse them verbally and/or physically. According to *Joongang Daily*, 19-years-old Vietnamese bride Hyunh Mai was beaten to death by his husband due to an argument about her “curfew” in 2008 (Ji, 2010). Foreign wives were sometimes banned by their husbands to use their native language with their children, which cause issues in communicating with their children.

The foreign brides are not protected and not aware about their legal rights as they are coming to South Korea through unlicensed illegal agencies and Korean men pay money to bride’s families in exchange of marriage (Shin, 2013, p.379). The rights of the foreign brides and their children could be summarized as follows in Table 2:

Table 2. Rights of Foreign Brides and Kosians

For Foreign Wives	For Kosian and the Mixed Race
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Eased naturalization process</li> <li>2. Free Korean culture/language class</li> <li>3. “Maternity protection” support through Foreign Wives Support Centers Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (MOGEF): Korean language courses, support during pregnancy and childbirth, childcare courses, all of which incorporate” Korean family customs and culture in the content” so that they may be “utilized in family life and childbirth counseling” (MOGEF website)</li> <li>4. Social welfare support</li> <li>5. Minimum living support if with children</li> <li>6. Supports of pregnancy/birth/raising</li> <li>7. Provision of children-raising tips printed in their mother tongue</li> <li>8. Door-to-door nursing assistance</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Development of multicultural curriculum (public schooling)</li> <li>2. Kosian counseling/mentoring system</li> <li>3. Multiculturalism education for teachers</li> <li>4. After-school classes</li> <li>5. Introduction of Anti-discrimination law</li> <li>6. Amendment of Conscription rules</li> <li>7. Replacement of the word mixed race via public subscription</li> </ol>

Source: M.D. Lee, 2012, p. 108-109

Even some Korean men see their foreign wives as a commodity and feel that they have a right to mistreat the commodity they have “bought” (Hicap, 2009). These brokered international marriages are signifying the migration of poor women for their reproductive nature. But, the divorce rates are increasing among the international marriages and the reason is mostly deception or racism (Kim, 2008 as cited in M.D. Lee, 2012, p.116). Shin warns that the maltreatment towards migrant workers, foreign brides and multi-ethnic children could become a national problem and bring diplomatic tension between Korea and the ‘sending’ countries (2013, p.380).

The government tried to prevent the physical and verbal abuses towards foreign brides by their husbands. Ministry of Justice established mandatory cultural education for Korean men to understand his wife’s cultural values (S. Kang, 2010). One of these efforts was a multicultural program implemented by a NGO called

“Let’s Learn My Wife’s Language” did not have much impact (Yoon, 2009, p.85).

NGOs and local governments are managing cultural centers for the integration of foreign brides and migrant workers into Korean society by providing the opportunity for them to learn Korean, use a computer and help with their job applications.

Women’s groups and NGOs also tried to prevent the human rights abuses based on racial discrimination and protect the multi-ethnic individuals. These groups urged that the population considered as non-Koreans should have equal rights like their counterpart native Koreans. Women’s groups and NGOs insisted for the social recognition of minorities in the public sphere and multi-ethnics such as foreign brides, migrant workers and mixed-race children should be free to live according to their different cultural values (Shin, 2013, p.387). For instance, Women Migrants Human Rights Center is a NGO organization which is promoting human rights; providing welfare for marriage migrants which includes support in maternity protection, childcare support, education; and cultural programs from a gender perspective and a formation of a community where all women can peacefully coexist with equality (Yoon, 2009, p.84).

Furthermore as the number of foreign brides is rapidly increasing, the mixed-race children from the international marriages became significantly visible.

According to the Korean Immigration Service, approximately 51,918 “multi-ethnic children” lived in South Korea in addition to 5845 undocumented children in 2008 (Shin, 2013, p.377). It has been assessed that “nearly a third of all children born in 2020 will be *Kosians*...” and “their accumulated total will soar to 3.3 percent of the population” (Lee et al., 2006 as cited in Shin, 2013, p.377). It is estimated by Ministry of Agriculture that the number of mixed-race children will be 49 percent of



all children in rural areas by 2020 (Shin, 2013, p.380) and an immediate solution is needed towards the racial discrimination against mixed-race children.

Children of the multicultural families (Kosians) are suffering from racial discrimination and it is hard for them to go to school even though they are accepted as Korean citizens by law (Shin, 2013, p.379). As Kosians' fathers were Korean, they did not have a problem to obtain citizenship. The Ministry of Health and Welfare's survey maintains that 17.6 percent of the multiethnic children reported that they were bullied because of their non-Korean looks and mixed-race status (Shin, 2013, p.379-380). But according to The National Human Rights Commission of Korea more than 70% of biracial Korean students made fun of due to their skin color and over 60% of them bullied in the school (H.A. Kim, 2016, p.50). Although in 2007 the Ministry of Education omitted the term *danil minjok* from Korean textbooks in accordance to multicultural policies, the discrimination from peers, teachers and staff continues (Doolan, 2012, p.24). Yeo (2016) has surveyed the Korean teachers in public schools and one of the teachers Ms. Joo commented on the identity issues of Kosian children:

(In our school) there were twin girls who graduated last year. They looked different and spoke (Korean) a bit differently because their mom was from South East Asia. You know, there are lots of benefits for multicultural students in school. However, they insisted that they are not multicultural family until they graduated. I think they thought that there would be some discrimination if they appeared like a South East Asian. I think there exists discrimination against them, even though we (teachers) treated them equally (as we do to Korean students). (p.113)

In contrast, the teachers admit that they have stereotypical views of Southeast Asian immigrants and their mixed-race children. The teachers' views included that the multicultural families have issues in their households and low socioeconomic status.

Yeo (2016) maintains that this negative stereotyping has influenced the teachers' teaching practices. A teacher, Ms. Cho explains,

(Because we have negative images of them) we think that oh, it's weird because they're different from us. We don't think it's ok even though they are different... The biggest problem is the difficulties that multicultural families have created in us a prejudice against them. (For example,) We might assume because his mom is from South East Asia, so, his family might have an economic hardship and he might not doing well in school either... There are some Koreans who complain that our tax money is wasted to help foreigners.... I think the conflict is getting worse because we limit our thinking to believe that multicultural people are the only ones who need our supports unconditionally. (Yeo, 2016, p.117)

The multicultural curriculum stays in rhetoric and the curriculum has been criticized for "aiming to assimilate multicultural families and multiethnic children into mainstream Korean culture" (Shin, 2013, p.388). This is making the life harder for biracial children in South Korea and cannot develop their identities and build positive self-esteem. Multiculturalism should not just be on paper but it should be realized by the general public and this could be done by the means of education. As the president of the Korean Multicultural Congress maintains, "Multiculturalism should not be discussed only at the level of providing welfare for (...) families. Koreans have to accept multiculturalism, and education will play an important role" (Kwon, 2010).

## 6.2 The social integration of (Black) Amerasians and (State-led) multicultural policies

### 6.2.1 The social integration of (Black) Amerasians in South Korea

What makes Amerasians different from the above groups is that they are neither a product of labor shortage in neoliberal economic order nor a demographic solution for the aging society. They were the products of the post-WWII politics. As M.D.

Lee maintains “Amerasians are regarded as an unplanned and regrettable outcome of post-war politics” (2012, p.98). In the case of Afro-Koreans or Black Amerasians, their discrimination in society is two-fold: they were both mixed-race children emerged out of the Cold War politics (like White Amerasians) and had distinctive skin color that exposed them to colorism.

The Amerasians were perceived as foreigners and were not entitled to proper legal rights up until 1998 due to the patriarchal constructions of citizenship and family. This has prevented the Amerasian individuals to become full-fledged citizens of South Korean society. Before 1998, the citizenship right could be only passed down to the child through father. As most of the fathers of the Amerasian children were leaving Korea, the legal status of the Amerasian children remained ambiguous.

The Korean Nationality and Family Laws contributed to racialized understandings of mixed-race Amerasians as “other” and were not legally accepted to Korean society. As the emergence of the mixed-race children was unexpected, there were no legal arrangements to include them. The Nationality Law of 1948 states that only Korean men’s children are able to get Korean citizenship regardless of the mother’s nationality or ethnic background and Korean mothers were not able to do that (H. Choe, 2006, p.102). This demonstrates that the law signified the paternalistic aspect of the Korean state, which based its citizenship on *jus sanguinis*. Although there have been revisions to Nationality Law in 1962, 1963 and 1973, it did not change the patriarchal aspect of the legal terms until 1998 (Doolan, 2012, p.44; see Appendix B).

Before 1998 revision in Nationality Law, the Amerasian children could get citizenship through declaring that the child’s father was a close male kin from mother’s paternal side (either mother’s father or brother) (M.D. Lee, 2012, p.101).

The revision in Family Law in 1991 gave the right to Korean women to have their children onto their family registers without the consent of the male head of the family (Doolan, 2012, p.46). Before this revision legally the head of the household was the male provider. Through 1948 to 1990 the single mothers and their children were not abiding the norm of patriarchal family, hence they were not recognized by the state. This means Amerasian children were not able to get any social welfare benefits, education and healthcare.

Moreover, the revision in 1998 regarding on bilateral *jus sanguinis* was applied to individuals who were born after January 1, 1998 (Doolan, 2012, p.44; see Appendix C). Therefore, Amerasians born before 1998 remained as stateless nonpersons with no legal or social standing in Korea (Doolan, 2012, p.44). Even though the mother lived with her natal family and received benefits through her father's household registration, the Amerasian individual cannot get the same benefits as his father was not Korean (M.D. Lee, 2012, p.102). Also, it was almost impossible for women with mixed-race children to get married let alone adding their children to the new husband's household registry (M.D. Lee, 2012, p.102). As there were no legal rights and no access to public education, healthcare or employment for the Amerasian children in South Korea, Korean women sent their children to the US. If Korean mothers did not have the means to send their children to the U.S., they opted for abandoning their children. Because many Korean mothers believed that abandoning their mixed-race children is a better choice since the Nationality Law gave abandoned children citizenship (see Appendix B, Article 2(2)). The Article 2 of Nationality Law demonstrates that before 1998, an orphan had more legal rights than a child whose mother is Korean (see Appendix B).

In the field of education, the term *danil minjok* (unitary nation based on ethnic homogeneity) was removed from the elementary school Korean textbooks in 2007 to abide with the multicultural discourse. However, Amerasian individuals who were in elementary school before 2007 remember the bad memories attached to the word and exposed to racial discrimination from their friends and teachers. A man called Han in Doolan's interviews, remembers that he heard the word *danil minjok* for the first time in elementary school during a class:

I remember feeling very embarrassed after the teacher explained that it meant all Korean people are pureblooded. A few of the students started whispering and pointing at my direction. The teacher caught on that the class was curious. "Teacher, teacher what about him? Is he apart of danil minjok?" My teacher laughed and she said "No class, he is honhyeol ("mixed blood"). Honhyeols have American fathers, they are American, the minjok is only for Korean people." From that day on everyone would call me Yankee. "Look there's Yankee! There's Yankee! Look at the miguk dwaeji ("American pig")! (2012, p.25)

Han maintained that he just wanted to grow up as a normal child and be Korean like his peers. He was unable to complete his schooling and dropped out of the school in fourth grade. Doolan had another interview with Yookyung who went through a similar experience regarding the word *danil minjok*:

At first I didn't know what danil minjok meant. But then the teacher explained the story of Dangun [Tan'gun]. From that day on, I noticed that everyone treated me differently. I was the only mixed blood at my school. I felt like I had dirty blood, like I was impure. You would think the teacher would know better than to teach something like that when you have a mixed blood girl in the class, but they still taught it. I thought I was Korean before that, but I was wrong. Even though I've never been to America. I still think of myself as American because I am different from other Koreans. (2012, p.25-26)

Another similar account is singer Yoon Mi-rae whose father was an African-American soldier and mother was Korean said that she was discriminated in both the

US and Korea that “In the US, I wasn’t Black enough. In Korea, they called me ‘Yankee’” (John, 2015 as cited in H.A. Kim, 2016, p.48). Yoon Mi-Rae also elaborates on her upbringing after moving to Korea from Texas in which she faced discrimination as a young child that she dropped out of school at the age of 15. Yoon says:

When I came to Korea as a young girl, I had no friends and couldn’t speak Korean...Kids of my age only bullied me. They called me “negro” and shouted, “Yankee, go home” at me. They told me to go back to my country with a ticket they were going to buy me. (“Yoon Mi-Rae returns,” 2007)

These mixed-race students mostly feel like foreigners in South Korea including the Kosians who were Korean citizens by law. Some of these children’s fathers were absent so they cannot study in military base and denied of American citizenship.

For Amerasians with American citizenship, they were allowed to go to military or international schools. One of Doolan’s interviewees, Michael who grew up in Yongsan Army base and attended military school for his primary and secondary education, did not experienced that much racial discrimination because it was a “protective bubble”. He states that the problem is when he left the base; in public spaces he was exposed to racism (Doolan, 2012, p.82). The children in the military base are living with their Korean mothers and American fathers so there were not much problems with racism in there. Another interviewee of Doolan was Minna says that when she left the base without her mother, people stared at her and whispered about her racial identity. Minna said that she understood the meaning of being an Amerasian in Korea as young as six year old when one of her friends mother called her “twiggi” which is a derogatory word for mixed-race children and connoted that the mixed race children are dangerous and morally corrupt (Doolan, 2012, p.82). Although both Michael and Minna have never been to the U.S., they are

not considered Korean because of their looks. They became foreigners and alienated in the country they were born in.

Apart from the military base school another option for the Amerasians' education was The Amerasian Christian Academy in Korea, which was built in 1999 to prevent the racial discrimination and bullying (Doolan, 2012, p.78). The school founder James Kang-McCann maintains that this is an education hub for the Amerasians who gave up on public schooling (Doolan, 2012, p.78). But, the Korean government did not officially recognize the Amerasian Christian Academy as a legitimate primary and secondary degree granting institution (Doolan, 2012, p.79). So, the students from this school needs to take the elementary, middle and high school competency exams. Also if a student is a graduate of Amerasian Christian Academy, since the school is not recognized by the state, it is hard to get admissions to a Korean college.

Furthermore, Insooni established a private alternative boarding school for multicultural children (including immigrants) in Korea called Haemill School in Gangwon Province of Korea in 2013. Haemill means "the sky that has cleared up after the rain" and the school is funded by other charities besides Insooni and provides free education for the students who are graduates of elementary school (Lee, 2015 as cited in H.A. Kim, 2016, p.51). Hines Ward also established the Hines Ward Helping Hands Foundation in Pittsburgh, PA to improve the literacy among the biracial Korean children (H.A. Kim, 2016, p.51). When Ward visited Korea, he met almost 100 biracial Korean children and their stories inspired him to help the mixed-race children in the US. Yoon Mi-rae is telling about her experience as a mixed-race individual through her music (Soyoung Kim, 2013). These initiatives are

significant in transforming the racial discrimination and inequality towards mixed-race children in South Korea and even in the US.

#### 6.2.2 (State-led) Multicultural policies and public opinion

The South Korean government developed ways for mixed race persons to be incorporated in to Korean society through revising Nationality and Family Laws and also multicultural policies in late-1990s and 2000s. The multicultural policy-making has been mostly triggered by the marriages between Southeast Asian women and Korean men. Even the concept of “multicultural family”, denoting the international marriages from the late 1990s onwards, was adopted before officially recognizing the concept of multiculturalism. Kim Hyun Mee reported:

The word “multicultural family” first appeared in government documents at the suggestion of an NGO. In 2003, “Hifamily,” an activist organization focused on families, submitted a petition to the National Human Rights Commission saying that the use of the word “mixed blood” (honhyeol or honhyŏl) was a human rights violation, and sought to replace the term with “the second generation of a multicultural family.” Since 2005, migrant women have been at the center of the Korean government’s attention, and hence started using the word “multicultural family.”... [Beginning in January 2006] “Multicultural family” became the official term used by the government and NGOs, a consensus was reached that systematic support for multicultural families should be provided. (2007, p.103-104)

South Korean society is an aging population due to the significantly low fertility rate and increasing life expectancy, the older part of the population constituted seven percent of the population in 2000 (A.E. Kim, 2010b, p.90). In 2017, South Korea had its lowest-ever fertility rate of 1.05 births per women and to keep its population level stable, the country needs a fertility rate of 2.1 births per woman (Steger, 2018a). In the capital city, Seoul, the fertility rate was only 0.84 (“Procreative struggle,” 2018). The country’s birth rate has fallen below Japan’s and



South Korea is currently the world's fastest-aging developed economy. Andrew Eungi Kim maintains that "if the current population trends continue, the country will make a transition to an 'aged society' in 2019, whereby 14 percent of the Korean population will consist of the elderly, Korea will then become a 'super-aged society' by 2026, when the elderly will make up 20 percent of the population (2010b, p.90). In May 2005, the Roh Moo Hyun government (2003-2008) announced the "Act on Aging and Low-Birth Rate" which aimed to "maintain the proper population composition and to improve its quality in view of maintaining the state's growth" and to "implement appropriate population politics on the basis of reasoned prediction on population change" (Kim, 2007 as cited in M.D. Lee, 2012, p.77-78).

With increasing ethnic diversity and immigration, South Korea adopted "Plan for Promoting the Social Integration of Migrant Women, Biracial People and Immigrants" as the subpart of the multicultural policy in April 2006 (Doolan, 2012, p.59). This policy was a multicultural family support plan that not only included the mixed-race individuals but also the migrant brides and mostly the legal marriage migrants were able to get support through this policy. Although, multicultural family seems like a comprehensive concept, the law specified and limited this term that only the migrant brides and their multicultural families are able to get government support. This meant that this support plan targeted the multicultural families emerging out of this type of international marriages and it specifically did not indicate the children of the U.S. servicemen and Korean women. This policy also included a section called "Improving Social Awareness on Mixed-Race people" that through media it is aimed to increase the social awareness with regards to mixed-race individuals and foreign population (Presidential Committee on Social Inclusion, 2006 as cited in Ahn, 2014, p.396). Roh Moo Hyun government "stressed the need to

stop teaching ethnic homogeneity and enhance the tenets of multiculturalism” (K.K. Han, 2007, p.9). As Minister of Justice Chun Jung-Bae said “South Korea is rapidly transforming into a multiracial/ multicultural society with approximately 850,000 foreign residents,” and warned that the failure to integrate migrants through multicultural policies can lead to serious social unrest as western societies have shown (Yoon, 2009, p.77).

In November 2006, the Roh Moo-hyun government adopted “Foreigners Treatment Act” which became effective in summer 2007 to protect the immigrants and minorities from unjust discrimination based on race, ethnicity, nationality, religion and sexual orientation (Yoon, 2009, p.77). In 2007, The Korean National Assembly also passed the Basic Act that aimed to promote social integration of immigrants and promoted mutual respect between foreigners and Korean nationals (Chung, 2010, p.663). The implementation of this act gave way to a Basic Plan for Immigration Policy and the first plan (2008-2012) included a total budget of 612.7 billion Korean won (approximately 600 million dollars) to be used to achieve four essential goals: “Enhancing national competitiveness with a proactive openness policy; pursuing quality social integration; enforcing immigration laws; protecting human rights of foreigners” (ROK Ministry of Justice, 2009, p.14). The Basic Plan was a guideline that aimed to have a smooth integration of the foreign brides and immigrants emphasizing aspects such as human rights and creating a safe and supportive environment for foreigners to settle in South Korea. It has been maintained by the Ministry of Justice that

The failure of immigrants through marriage to adapt to Korean society undermines the foundation of families and incurs major social costs...Despite their having lived in Korea for a long time, most immigrants through marriage lack sufficient knowledge of the Korean language and culture to live conveniently in Korea...Insufficient understanding of Korean society

exposes migrants through marriage to discrimination and human rights abuses. (2009, p.46)

In 2008, the policies starting from the 2005 were systematically consolidated under “The Multicultural Families Support Act”( *Tamunhwagajok chiwonbop*) to provide welfare benefits to multicultural families such as medical care, schooling, opportunities for cultural and leisure activities and access to social networks (K.H. Moon, 2010; see Appendix D and Appendix E). This is also the only legal foundation that manages the multicultural families (C.S. Kim, 2011, p.xxi). Through building Multicultural Family Support Centers, implications of multiculturalism in South Korea expanded. K.H. Yang maintains that the second phase of the basic plan for Multicultural Family Support Act (2013-2017) envisions a multicultural society and focuses on the education of children of marriage migrants (2013, p.56-57). Korean Culture and Information Service maintains that the government wanted to accomplish four goals with the multicultural policies: helping the foreign wives in settling in smoothly; finding employment as early as possible; provide financial assistance for migrant wives to bring up healthy children in order to increase future global human resources; and to raise awareness of multiculturalism in Korean society (as cited in Shin, 2013, p.382).

These policies targeted to support a specific group, the multicultural families. This also demonstrates the centrality of multicultural families in South Korea. It has been mentioned in the previous chapters, the family as a unit is very important in the Korean nation-state building because the family becomes part of both public and private and it shapes the meaning of the national subject (M.D. Lee, 2012, p.99). Through accepting the foreign brides government acknowledged international marriages as a legitimate means of solving the labor shortage while maintaining a

“relatively” homogeneous society (Shin, 2013, p.382-383). This discursive shift in the policy-making that the multicultural families became the priority rather than migrant workers or Amerasians (Ahn, 2013, p.29) could be explained by the international brides’ contribution to the reproduction of the Korean nation but the foreign workers’ input to the economy seen as temporary and Amerasians were not much considered as a concern for the multicultural policies from its initiation. According to the Ministry of Public Administration and Security statistics, there were 558,538 (49%) migrant workers and the foreign brides constituted 16% of the entire foreign population in 2010 (Ahn, 2013, p.34). As the number of foreign brides significantly increased, the discursive shift in the multicultural policy-making became inevitable.

The discourse of multiculturalism was used as a regulatory tool to manage the increasing racial others namely the migrant workers, female marriage migrants, ethnic Koreans and mixed-race people. It could be observed that Korean government is using the multicultural policies as a means to solve the immediate foreign bride issue hence not all minorities are treated as the same way under the umbrella of multicultural policies. In other words, multicultural policies have been used as a means to solve the demographic problems and it has been pragmatic in nature hence the narrow application of the policies. Therefore it could be said that “Koreanness” is defined through the state-led multicultural policies.

The issues of migrant workers and Amerasians were not solved completely as the multicultural policies were used as a means to solve the immediate issue at hand. Seol and Seo maintain that “although persons of mixed race that fall under the category of multicultural families are supported by the Support for Multicultural Families Act, there are no support policies for children of racial hybridity born in

South Korea of a United States Forces Korea service member and a Korean national” (2014, p.22). Officially patrilineal heritage is emphasized and mixed-race Koreans without fathers are excluded from these policy revisions (Doolan, 2012, p.50-51) which means mostly Kosians were able to get the government support through multicultural policies as many of the Amerasians (without Korean father) born before these regulations were considered as foreigners. Therefore, Amerasians were not considered as Korean citizens, they were regarded as foreigners and also cannot benefit from education, social welfare, healthcare and other essential and basic needs in society.

One of the fields of social discrimination could be seen through the high rate of unemployment among Amerasians. The areas of possible employment are construction and factory work, working at restaurants and military camps. The salaries for these jobs are quite low and they are not sustainable because these jobs happen to be temporary. A survey done in 2002 presents that approximately 56 percent of Amerasians were unemployed and 33 percent was employed in manual jobs and no Amerasian are employed in government (Doolan, 2012, p.21). M. D. Lee (2012, p.85) reveals the unemployment among Amerasians through Park Kyung Tae’s (2007) interviews that

I tried so many things; shoemaker, garment factory, textile factory, doll factory. But they did not accept me. It must have something to do with my appearance. They say, “Sorry, but you are a foreigner. (Male, 45)

I worked in several ironwork factories. Entering a factory was not quite difficult, but I encountered problems after that. Colleague workers were OK, but bosses were not. I decided to immigrate to the U.S., since I do not have much time to live now. (Male, 52)

...my Ameriasian friends working as entertainers pretended that they were original Americans from America. They were afraid of leaving the camptown, and in fact those were the only jobs available to us...(Male, 52).

Due to unemployment, most of the Amerasians are concerned about their large financial debts, living expenses and finding employment (M.D. Lee, 2012, p.86).

Another policy field, which was discriminatory against Amerasians, was education. Only in the mid-2000s, adoption of a multicultural curriculum and eliminating derogatory words refer to the mixed-race individuals implemented. To decrease the discrimination against mixed-race students, universities were obliged to admit a certain number of “mixed-race” students (Shin, 2013, p.382). However, due to ongoing racism many students from a multi-ethnic background cannot continue studying. Amerasian children’s experiences in public schools with regards to bullying, physical and verbal abuse has been shown within the questionnaire done by Park Kyung-Tae on 101 children at the Table 3.

Table 3. Amerasian Students’ Experience in School

Experiences	Yes	No	N/A	Total
I have experiences of being ridiculed by friends.	75.2	24.8	.	100.0
I have experiences of being excluded from friends.	55.4	44.6	.	100.0
I have experiences of being beaten by friends.	33.7	66.3	.	100.0
I have experiences of unfair treatment by school teachers.	43.6	53.5	3.0	100.1
I was totally isolated in school.	35.6	61.4	3.0	100.0
I fought a lot against other students in school.	40.6	56.4	3.0	100.0
I had no friend in school who understood me.	25.7	71.3	3.0	100.0
I have experiences of committing offenses for livelihood.	21.8	78.2	.	100.0

Source: M.D. Lee, 2012, p.84

The teachers have not been much helpful in the schools to motivate and support mixed-race children’s education. Some of the teachers in public schools think that the multicultural education is not their priority or something they have to do as part of their jobs. The teachers are stating in Yeo that they have lots of responsibilities as elementary school teachers and they were feeling sorry that they could not spend

time on multicultural curriculums (2016, p.118). Watson et al. research about teachers' view on multiculturalism demonstrates that the teachers have mixed feelings about the demographic shift in South Korea and feel unprepared and under-resourced as multicultural educators and also not much experience on multicultural curriculum (2011, p.13). Therefore, the multicultural curriculum was implemented superficially. The teachers in Yeo's interviews said that the multicultural curriculum was not for all students but only for the mixed-race children. One of the teachers elaborated,

Because the class (multicultural education) is very superficial, sometimes I wondered myself that if this is making any sense to my students. And teachers wonder themselves if they should do this (multicultural education). (Yeo, 2016, p.118)

Although their accounts seem to be neutral towards multicultural education, the teachers in South Korea recognize the issue in multicultural curriculum in schools. Some of the teachers believe that through their experiences with multiracial students, they can learn diversity and become a multicultural educator (Yeo, 2016, p.123). A positive and unbiased interaction is the key to get along in one classroom with people from different backgrounds. The teachers need to use effective means to transmit cultural diversity and values to the students (Yeo, 2016, p.124). In addition, to enhance multicultural education multi-ethnic background teachers in public elementary school could be employed. This could change the students' attitudes towards multiculturalism and multi-ethnic people in South Korea.

Another field where mixed-race individuals were excluded was military. Mixed-race Korean men were banned from serving in the South Korean military, although military service is mandatory for all Korean male citizens. But with the revisions in 2009, only in January 2011 all able-bodied South Korean men regardless

of skin color or ethnic background started to be recruited for military service (H.A. Kim, 2016, p.44). This policy again mostly targeted the children of multicultural families, Kosians. According to *Yonhap News*, the first mixed-race officers were recruited in June 2012 and the number of multi-ethnic soldiers likely to increase in the near future as it is said that 4,200 males underwent physical examinations for conscription from 2013 to 2015 (“S. Korean Army,” 2012). Although there have been discrimination against the mixed-race men in the military, the army officials are looking to improve current conditions regarding mixed-race soldiers to help them adapt more easily (“S. Korean Army,” 2012). As shown in the Figure 7, Bae Jun-hyeong and Han Ki-yeop are both from multicultural families. Bae’s mother is Vietnamese and Han’s mother is Japanese. The officials maintain that this is the “first time” anyone with such a background to join “the ranks of non-commissioned officers” in South Korean military (“S. Korean Army,” 2012). According to army officials, there are currently 179 soldiers from multicultural backgrounds serving in the army including nine in the Navy and five in the Air Force (“S. Korean Army,” 2012).



Fig. 7 Bae Jun-hyeong (right) and Han Ki-yeop (left) at army training center on June 11, 2012

Source: *Yonhap News*, 2012

<http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/national/2012/06/11/8/0301000000AEN20120611001600315F.HTML>



Moreover, in January 2010 the Ministry of Defense removed the term *minjok* from the military oath and changed it from “To protect the country and *minjok* (pureblooded race)” to “protect the country and people” (Doolan, 2012, p.63). The revision in military laws was done for Kosians as Amerasians are still marginalized and excluded from military service because they were born before the regulations. Even though some of the Afro-Asians have the Korean citizenship, their presence is excluded in the military due to their racial background and noticeable skin color. This demonstrates that Amerasians are still perceived as illegitimate and foreign. In South Korea, the military is considered as an exclusive male club and has a crucial aspect in nation-building as “...defending the nation and family from foreign invasion as well as preserving certain codes of masculine behavior” (M.D. Lee, 2012, p.105). The exclusion of the Amerasians from the military service demonstrates the relationship between “masculinity” and “national belonging” (M.D. Lee, 2012, p.105). When a man joins the Korean army, the sergeant would say, “You come to the army because you are healthy and normal men of the Republic of Korea” or “If you are men of the Republic of Korea, you should come to the army” (M.D. Lee, 2012, p.106). Hence, the mixed-race men were not part of the “normal” masculinity. Doolan maintains,

Thus, they remained a feminized identity, while their Kosian counterparts, who more feasibly passed as “pureblooded Korean” gained a masculinized identity and legitimate access to fully functioning national belonging. (2012, p.62)

The multicultural policies are responsible for the Koreanization of immigrants and mixed-race individuals. Therefore, Shin claims when the nature of the policies looked into, Korea is asking for the minority population to culturally assimilate rather than accepting the diverse cultures and values (2013, p.383). Today,

ethnic nationalism prevails and racial discrimination, marginalization in Korean society ensues. M. Lee argues that

The power of law goes beyond a state's ability to respond to, endorse, or prohibit specific social, cultural, and economic dynamics. Rather, law has the power to outright shape the public reality, manufacturing via its texts certain agents, relations, understandings, and aversions where they did not exist before or were not made prominent in society. In other words, there is an interconnection between the legal imagination and the social one, whereby how mixed-race people are talked about and treated within the family, within schools, on the streets, and so forth is a measure of some intention of governance through policy initiatives or a lack thereof...Amerasians become a-categorical and transient strangers hidden and roaming between the lines of juridical text, bouncing off the discursive limits that define national families and de facto assuming the capacity of 'outsider' or 'other' against which legitimate, national belonging is positioned. The illegitimacy of Amerasians is always already inferred/inscribed by the mark of their absence from politics and affirmed by the restriction of women's sexuality. (2008, p.73-74)

Furthermore, the public opinion and attitude regarding multiculturalism did not drastically change. Most of the Korean people still believe in ethnic homogeneity as a distinguishing feature of the Korean society. According to Yoon et al.'s (2008) interpretation of the 2003 and 2007 Korean General Social Survey (KGSS) the data demonstrates that South Koreans prioritize the civic factors than the ethnic background in Korean national identity. However, the data actually showed that the ethnic factors were as significant as the civic ones between 2003 and 2007 (Yoon et al., 2008, p.331).<sup>11</sup> The KGSS survey done in 2003 and 2007 shows that the features to be Korean includes 'to feel South Korean', 'to be able to speak (South) Korean' and 'to have South Korean citizenship' (Yoon et al., 2008, p.331). The results show that the civic factors (such as sense of belonging, citizenship and respect for Korean institutions and law) were more important than ethnic roots (Yoon et al., 2008, p.331). According to Jiyeon Kim's study almost 80 percent of respondents in 2005

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<sup>11</sup> KGSS survey is done by the Sungkyunkwan University annually and the 2003, 2004 and 2007 KGSS contain information on Korean national identity and attitudes toward foreigners and multicultural policies.

and 2010 believed that Korean bloodline was important to being Korean but that was changed in 2013 that only 65.8 percent and ‘as many as 30.4 percent thought that sharing the same bloodline is not important to being Korean’ (2015, p.209). The respondents were mostly agreeing to cultural assimilation (respect and practice Korean traditions) of the migrants and foreigners. To add, as long as the migrant groups constitute a small proportion of the population they were seen harmless, disadvantaged and powerless minority group (Yoon et al., 2008, p.339-340). Similarly, the Korean Multicultural Acceptability Index (KMAI), survey conducted by Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (MOGEF) between December 2011 and January 2012, reveals that only 36.2% of Koreans surveyed had positive views on the coexistence of various cultures (Junmo Kim et al., 2014, p.108). One-third of the respondents were concerned about foreigners taking their jobs away, increasing the crime rate, and increasing government spending. Surprisingly, those with immigrant family members and experiences in multicultural training showed lower levels of acceptance. The KMAI survey respondents negatively responded to affirmative action for foreign immigrants and policies, which cause a big tax burden. But, they demonstrated positive responses in terms of reflecting foreign immigrants’ opinions in policymaking, allowing citizenship, and providing medical insurance. In terms of class position, low-income groups such as farmers, fishermen, blue-collar workers, and salesmen showed lower levels of acceptance of multiculturalism, but younger people, single people and better educated groups showed relatively more positive takes on accepting multiculturalism (Junmo Kim et al., 2014, p.108). Those who have had more overseas travel and frequently encounter foreigners in their neighborhood, workplaces, and schools also showed higher levels of acceptance of multiculturalism.

Although the results of the survey depict a picture that the different ethnicities have been respected, an article in *The New York Times* says the otherwise. A woman who is married to a Pakistani man in 1994 says that she avoided traveling with her husband through mass transportation due to people's stares. To quote from her "there is a tendency here to control women and whom they can date or marry, in the name of the nation" (S.H. Choe, 2009). There are still mixed feelings about multiculturalism and foreigners in South Korea. For instance, *The New York Times* article gives another account of a woman who is friends with an Indian man says that her parents were very upset for their daughter to be seen with this man. However, the woman maintains that when her cousin married a German, all of her relatives envied her. These examples show the different value systems with regards to social inclusion and exclusion in South Korea.

Seol and Seo have conducted a survey on 665 people on ten university campuses about the social distance felt towards the minority groups in South Korea in 2010. Seven minority groups, in which the authors were interested in, included *Joseonjok*,<sup>12</sup> North Korean refugees, foreign spouses, foreign migrant workers, Chinese people in Korea, gays/lesbians and mixed-race people (*honhyeorin*) and their results is as follows in Figure 8:

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<sup>12</sup> Joseonjok are ethnic Koreans who live in China but occasionally visit South Korea for work. They are also discriminated against in South Korea.

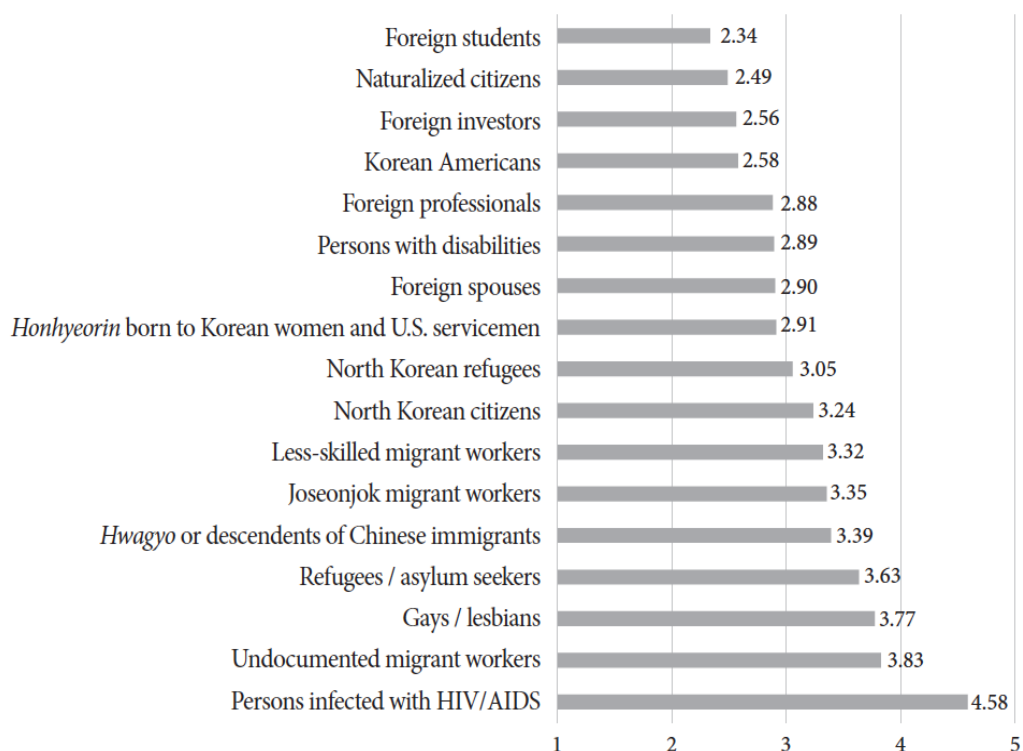


Fig. 8 Korean students' social distance scores toward 17 groups in Korea

Note: Bogardus's (1925) social distance scale is a measure of people's willingness to participate in social contacts of varying degrees of closeness with members of diverse social groups, such as racial and ethnic groups. The scale asks people the extent to which they would be accepting of each group (a score of 1.00 for a group is taken to indicate no social distance). Seol and Seo used the revised version of the Bogardus social distance scale: "As close relatives by marriage" (score 1.00), "As my close personal friends" (2.00), "As co-workers in the same company" (3.00), "As neighbors in the same community" (3.00), "As citizens of my country" (5.00), "Only as visitors to my country" (6.00), and "Would exclude from my country" (7.00).

Source: Seol & Seo, 2014, p.24

Seol and Seo also argues that the statuses of the minority groups has been subjected to change due to changing social, political and economic environments but its important to see how the hierarchical nationhood works on a binary logic of inclusion and exclusion (2014, p.25). The term 'hierarchical nationhood' has been used to demonstrate that how different legal status groups face different degrees of social acceptance. Some of them are more welcomed than the others by the Korean society. In the hierarchical nationhood scores of 2012 (see Table 4), it has been seen

that mixed race groups received a ‘favourable’ public perception and in terms of legal and policy dimensions (Seol & Seo, 2014, p.19).

Table 4. Hierarchical Nationhood Scores of Social and Ethnic Minorities in South Korea, 2012

Social and ethnic minorities in South Korea	Grand average	Legal/policy dimensions					Social dimensions
		Sub-average	Rights to stay and work	Voting rights	Welfare (public assistance)	Social services and/or affirmative action	Public perceptions
Korean American	2.4	1.8	3	2	1	1	3
Foreign spouses	2.8	2.5	3	2	2	3	3
North Korean refugees	2.5	3.0	3	3	3	3	2
Joseonjok	1.6	1.3	2	1	1	1	2
Migrant workers	1.3	1.0	1	1	1	1	1.5
Disabled	3.0	3.0	3	3	3	3	3
Mixed race	2.8	2.5	3	3	3	1	3
Gays/lesbians	2.3	2.5	3	3	3	1	2
<i>Hwagyo</i>	2.0	2.0	3	3	1	1	2

*Note:* Each of the indicators has three basic categories: 1 being the least favorable, 2 being of middling favorability, and 3 the most favorable. In cases where an indicator is eligible for multiple categories, we calculated the average of the points the indicator evaluated.

Source: Seol & Seo, 2014, p.19

According to these results Seol and Seo presents a hierarchical ranking of the ethnic and social minorities respectively:

The disabled > foreign spouses = persons of mixed race > North Korean refugees > Korean Americans > gays/lesbians > Chinese people in Korea (*hwagyo*) > Joseonjok > migrant workers. (2014, p.25)

In South Korea there are multi-ethnic identities but the concept of multiculturalism is not yet fully embraced by the society when the public opinion, multicultural policies’ limited scope and personal accounts of multi-ethnics looked into. According to Shin, the challenge for the Korean society is to realize the ethnic

heterogeneity and also “promote ethnic and cultural pluralism by taming the racist modes of thought implicit in ethnic nationalism” (2013, p.390). The discourse of multiculturalism and state-led policies in South Korea organizes the racial order and the social order is reproduced and managed through racial categories. According to this racial categories and order, the social, economic and political resources are distributed. The curriculum in schools, military, employment and the multicultural family are some of the institutions that are affected from the state-led policies. But the racial order is practiced at various levels in everyday lives of Koreans and this mediates social reality and order. This also significantly changes the education system, family relations and labor practices. According to Ahn, the enacting laws in support of multiculturalism are

...perfect examples of how the actual racial order is now formed and practiced in South Korea. All these practices are demonstrating how the racial state works: it (re)produces social order through racial categories and (re) constructs and (re)distributes the social resources according to this racial order. In other words, the racial order needs to be repeatedly enacted via various institutional and systematic practices. (2013, p.42)

Therefore concepts such as gender, class and race becomes important to understand the inclusion and exclusion in multicultural South Korea.

Overall, multiculturalism in Korea is dynamic and has complex layers to it. Different value systems exist for particular individuals with regards to their race, nationality, status in South Korea whether they are immigrants or residents, occupation, class and gender. Multiculturalism debate is a significant one in South Korean public sphere. It is something that is talked about through law, academia, education and media. The public opinion seems to be slowly changing but the changes regarding the public opinion also depends on the personal biographies and media portrayal of mixed-race people such as Hines Ward. It seems that South

Korean multiculturalism is more of a pragmatic tool to deal with the structural changes in the economy and population rather than recognizing diverse cultures, values and customs. Multiculturalism is a global necessity in today's world and South Korea needs to give a chance to live with the multi-ethnic people and experience cultural diversity.



## CHAPTER 7

### CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have explained the status of mixed-race individuals with a focus on the social integration of Afro-Asians in South Korea within the multiculturalism. It has been maintained that Afro-Asian population is excluded from the multicultural policy-making and the multicultural policies mostly targeted the multicultural families of Southeast Asian wives with Korean husbands and their mixed-race children. Although Hines Ward's visit to South Korea defined the multicultural turn, Ward was used as a means to adopt the multicultural policies for the multicultural families. Ward's visit to South Korea in 2006 was a mass public event and its effect on public opinion and attitude towards multi-ethnics was positive but temporary.

In Chapter Four, perception(s) of race and South Korean national identity and discourse was explained. In this chapter, the impact of foreign nations such as Japan and the U.S. was mentioned. The perception of race and skin color was firstly triggered by the Japanese colonial period and later on with the U.S. military government in Korea. Japanese colonial period was influential in triggering the idea of a Korean nation based on ethnic homogeneity. Koreans used ethnic nationalism as a force of resistance against assimilationist Japanese laws. It has been seen that both Japan and Korea have been affected from Euro-American ideas of race and colorism. Korea traditionally valued whiteness but with the American missionaries and the U.S. military during the Korean War, Korea strongly perceived America as a "White-over-Black" society. The racial discrimination against African-Americans in the U.S. has been replicated in military camptowns in Korea and Koreans also discriminated against the Black servicemen in the 1950s. These two events in Korean

history, Japanese colonialism and U.S. military presence were significant factors in shaping the national identity and perception of race in South Korea.

Chapter Five has discussed the emergence of mixed-race children. The mixed-race children were products of U.S. military presence after the Second World War. These children signified the inferior position of Korea compared to the U.S. Therefore most of these children were sent for adoption to Western European countries or the US. The mixed-race children were unwanted because they posed a challenge to homogeneously ethnic nation due to their recognizable skin color. Therefore, transnational adoptions became a solution to get rid of the evidence of national degradation. Coming to terms with the Afro-Asian identity in South Korea is still hard because these individuals reminded Koreans the tragedy of Korean War.

Chapter Six has analyzed multiculturalism and state-led policies in South Korea. The ethnic diversity in South Korea is significantly increasing with the foreign workers, migrant brides and mixed-race individuals and the exclusionary nature of Korean nationalism has become a significant concern. South Korea officially adopted the concept of multiculturalism in 2005 and from the mid-2000s onwards, state efforts were focused on Koreans and migrant brides not Amerasians or migrant workers. Also, the policies were assimilationist in its nature that it did not recognize diverse cultures and identities. Multiculturalism stayed in rhetoric and the public attitude towards multi-ethnics and foreigners did not significantly change. Even in the aftermath of the establishment of these policies, biracial individuals were teased and discriminated against in schools and have very few job prospects. As Shin maintains,

A considerable number of Koreans seem unready for a multiethnic society and have yet to accept the fact that their country is becoming increasingly heterogeneous. Common responses to multiculturalism in Korea have been

negative because the coexistence of different racial or ethnic groups is recognized as harmful to national unity. (2013, p.389)

Although racist attitudes towards multi-ethnic individuals decreased in its intensity, ethnic homogeneity is embedded in the national consciousness. It was reported in *The Korea Times* that more than 70% of South Koreans hope to embrace multiculturalism but a “a perception gap is now beginning to emerge between elite-led narratives on Global Korea and a South Korean public fearful of losing jobs at a time of economic austerity and national insecurity” (T.H. Lee, 2010). Therefore, there are still mixed feelings towards multiculturalism among South Korean society.

My research suggests that to be able to understand the Afro-Asian identities in South Korea, it is important to look into state-led multicultural policies, personal accounts of multi-ethnic individuals and public opinion. State-led multiculturalism started with the adoption of multicultural policies from late 1990s onwards. The official multiculturalism in South Korea included revisions on Nationality and Family Laws, the recognition of the concept of multiculturalism in 2005 and from mid-2000s onwards policies in support of multicultural families were initiated. Although multiculturalism connotes inclusion of diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds, the state-led policies were indicating that Kosians and foreign spouses were able to benefit from these policies, which left out Amerasians and migrant workers. This could be explained by the shift in the discourse of policy-making from labor to family. But, the multicultural policies failed to improve social inclusion of multi-ethnic individuals as multicultural policies were used as a means to solve the demographic issues such as low birth rate and aging population in South Korean society. In other words, the aim of the multicultural policies was to manage the sudden demographic change in Korean society with the influx of immigrants. Hence,

there is no clear framework of multicultural policies as multiculturalism used as an umbrella term to deal with the racial others. The multicultural policies' content was suggesting cultural assimilation and the meaning of the term multiculturalism was not fully embraced as different cultures and values were not recognized.

Multiculturalism stayed in political rhetoric and did not necessarily brought social change. In other words, multiculturalism was a means to an end rather than a constructive and analytical concept for transforming the society. The question of "what can be done to peacefully co-exist with the multi-ethnics in the future" was not envisioned in the multicultural policy-making. South Korean society is diverse but not yet tolerant of diversity.

Korean mass media was an influential agent in changing the public opinion positively towards multiculturalism. Since the adoption of multiculturalism as the official discourse, there have been many newspaper articles and TV shows to increase the awareness of the Korean society towards cultural diversity. Public opinion and attitude was not static or rigid towards all of the mixed-race individuals. Public opinion and attitude was susceptible to change when the media representation and social capital of the certain multi-ethnic individuals considered. Therefore different value systems applied to certain multi-ethnic individuals, which show that multiculturalism and social inclusion of diverse ethnic backgrounds have been a complex issue. After 2005, the Korean academic community was also active in deeply engaging with the challenges of multiculturalism, multicultural policies and the experiences of mixed-race individuals, migrant brides and foreign workers. Number of academic conferences and publications increased significantly. Government collaborated with academics on the formulation of multicultural policies, as well.

The idea of multiculturalism needs to be injected to everyday lives of the Korean people such as public advertisements and multicultural education could be effective tools to increase the awareness towards multiculturalism. Policy-making alone would not make a country multicultural and the public attitudes towards foreigners, immigrants and mixed-race people need to change to fully embrace multiculturalism in South Korea. Korean people need to envision a future with the fellow multi-ethnic citizens as equals and value diversity in cultures. South Korea is not yet a multicultural society, it has just beginning to embrace and include the immigrants, mixed-raced individuals and foreigners. Academia, media, government and even private businesses and NGOs play an important role in increasing awareness about multiculturalism in Korea. Many South Korean government and academics believe that

Korea is in the beginning stages of becoming a multicultural society. More than one million foreigners now reside in the country, including workers, women who have married Koreans, international students and businessmen... changing the cultural orientation of Korean's long prized ethnic and cultural homogeneity. (Hwang, 2011 as cited in Watson, 2012, p.235)

In terms of directions for future research, on multicultural policies in South Korea in-depth interviews could be done with the mixed-race Koreans and officials in the relevant state departments. Mostly relying on secondary data was one of the limitations of this dissertation. The strengths of the interview include producing data in quantity quickly and combined with observation interviews allow the researcher to understand the meanings that everyday activities hold for people (Marshall & Rossman, 2006, p.101-102). But it should be also considered that the issue of minorities in terms of mixed-race Koreans and migrants is a sensitive issue in South Korea. In the wider public debate, the issue of racism or multiculturalism is not discussed much. It might be hard to reach the officials in the relevant state

departments in South Korea and get their opinion on the everyday and state racism towards the minorities. Hence, the interview questions for the potential interviewees should be crafted well. It would be also interesting to look deeper into other East Asian countries such as Japan and Taiwan that are struggling with low fertility rates, aging population and also trying to get used to the idea of multiculturalism. As these countries have very similar demographic trends to South Korean case, their perspective on multiculturalism could be compared and contrasted with South Korea for future research.

All in all, this thesis is highly relevant considering the current rapid changes that South Korean society is experiencing in the recent years. Globalization and democratization had a significant effect on Korean ethnic nationalism. As it can be seen throughout this thesis, South Koreanness is not a fixed identity. The imagined community defines its other and socially includes and excludes. Still today, South Korea is struggling to accept its new national discourse of multiculturalism. This sense of ethnic pride and sense of superiority could cause serious problems for the Korean society in the near future. So “to what extent Afro-Asian community can define a multicultural South Korea and change the nationalist discourse” is an important question to consider. Policies for handling minorities in South Korea demonstrate an absence of a clear institutional long-term vision for future. At the institutional level, involvement of many different ministries in multiculturalism causes lack of control in managing certain issues and repetition of similar projects. There is no public consensus on how, and even if, either Korea should transform from an ethnic nation to a multicultural one. Despite the prevalent use of the term multiculturalism in South Korea, there is little public discussion or shared understanding as to what it is. Incoherent policies continue to produce human rights

violations and social conflicts towards minority groups in South Korea. Therefore, it is very significant for South Korea to come in terms with ethnic diversity to be able to keep the unity of nation.

APPENDIX A

ENFORCEMENT RULE OF THE ACT

ON REGULATION OF MARRIAGE BROKERAGE AGENCY

[Enforcement Date 15. Jun, 2008.] [Ordinance of the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Family No.21, 13. Jun, 2008., New Enactment]

Article 1 (Purpose)

The purpose of this Rule is to define matters delegated by the Act on Regulation of Marriage Brokerage Agency and the Enforcement Decree of the same Act and matters necessary for their enforcement.

Article 2 (Report of a domestic marriage brokerage business)

(1) A person intending to make a report on a domestic marriage brokerage business under Article 3, Paragraph 1 of the Act on Regulation of Marriage Brokerage Agency (hereinafter the "Act") shall fill out the attached form 1, a report form (including a report form in an electronic document), and submit with the documents under each of the following subparagraphs to the competent mayor (including administrative mayors under the Special Act on the Establishment of the Jeju Special Self-Governing Province and the Promotion of the Jeju Free International City, the same applies hereinafter), county governor, or gu district head (referring to the heads of autonomous gu districts, the same applies hereinafter) of the area where the principal brokerage office is located. In this case, if there are two or more brokerage offices, such report shall be made for each office:

1. Articles of incorporation (Required only for corporations);
2. If the reporting person (executive of a corporation) is a foreigner, a document that proves any subparagraph of Article 6 of the Act does not apply and is issued by the government of his/her country or other agencies with authority OR a statement to the same effect which is written by the reporting person, notarized by a notary, and confirmed by a consulate of the Republic of Korea legation in the corresponding country according to the Act on Notarial Acts Done at Overseas Diplomatic and Consular Missions;
3. List of the employees; and
4. Documentation that proves subscription to guarantee insurance or deposit of money at a financial institution under Article 25 of the Act. This submission may be omitted when the guarantee insurer or financial institution (hereinafter the "guaranteeing



institution") has directly given notice of such a guarantee to the head of si (city)/gun (county)/gu.

(2) The responsible official receiving the report form under Paragraph 1 shall, instead of receiving a copy of the business registration certificate or certified copy of the corporation register (only for corporations), check its content through joint use of administration information under Article 21, Paragraph 1 of the Electronic Government Act. If the reporting person does not agree to this, he/she shall have the reporting person directly submit the document.

(3) When receiving the report under Paragraph 1, the head of si/gun/gu shall issue the attached form 2, a report certificate, without delay, and shall make an entry thereof into and manage the attached form 3, a management register of reports and registrations (including electronic documents).

(4) If there is a brokerage office in two or more cities (including administrative cities under the Special Act on the Establishment of the Jeju Special Self-Governing Province and the Promotion of the Jeju Free International City, the same applies hereinafter), counties, or gu districts (referring to autonomous gu districts, the same applies hereinafter), the head of si/gun/gu receiving a report under Paragraph 1 shall send the report within ten days to the competent head of si/gun/gu where the branch office is located. The competent head of si/gun/gu of the brokerage offices may request cooperation from each other regarding the guidance and supervision of the offices.

(5) The head of si/gun/gu receiving a cooperation request under Paragraph 4 shall respond to it unless there is a special reason not to do so.

#### Article 3 (Report of a change)

(1) The "important matters determined by an Ordinance of the Ministry for Health, Welfare and Family Affairs" in the latter part of Article 3, Paragraph 1 of the Act shall refer to the matters of the following subparagraphs:

1. Trade name of the brokerage office;
2. Number of brokerage offices;
3. Location(s) of the brokerage office(s);
4. Representative and employees of the brokerage office(s);
5. Representative and executives of the corporation (only for corporations); and
6. Matters on guarantee insurance or deposit under Article 25 of the Act.

(2) A party intending to report a change according to the latter part of Article 3, Paragraph 1 of the Act shall submit the attached form 4, a report form for a change (including a report form for a change in an electronic document) with the documents under each of the following subparagraphs to the head of si/gun/gu:

1. Report certificate; and
2. Document substantiating the change.

(3) The responsible official receiving a report form for a change under Paragraph 2 shall, instead of receiving a copy of the business registration certificate or certified copy of the corporation register (only for corporations), check its content through joint use of administration information under Article 21, Paragraph 1 of the Electronic Government Act. If the requesting person does not agree to this, he/she shall have the requesting person directly submit the document.

(4) The head of si/gun/gu receiving a report of a change under Paragraph 2 shall change the report certificate and issue or reissue it. In this case, if the report of a change is about changing the locations of brokerage offices in different cities/counties/districts according to Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 3, he/she shall receive all the report documents as stipulated in Article 2, Paragraphs 1 and 3 from the competent head of si/gun/gu of the brokerage office in the previous location to make records and manage them.

#### Article 4 (Registration of an international marriage brokerage business)

(1) A person intending to make a registration on an international marriage brokerage business under Article 4, Paragraph 1 of the Act shall fill out the attached form 5, a registration application (including a registration application in an electronic document) and submit with the documents under each of the following subparagraphs to the competent special metropolitan city mayor, metropolitan city mayor, province governor or Jeju Special Self-Governing Province governor of the area where the principal brokerage office is located (hereinafter the "mayor and governor"). In this case, if there are two or more brokerage offices, such application shall be made for each office:

1. Articles of incorporation (required only for corporations);
2. If the requesting person (executive of a corporation) is a foreigner, a document that proves any subparagraph of Article 6 of the Act does not apply and is issued by the government of his/her country or other agencies with authority OR a statement to the same effect which is written by the requesting person, notarized by a notary, and confirmed by the a consulate of the Republic of Korea legation in the corresponding country according to the Act on Notarial Acts Done at Overseas Diplomatic and Consular Missions;
3. List of the employees;
4. Document that testifies that a brokerage office is secured in the building indicated in the building register;
5. Copy of a certificate for receiving education under Article 24 of the Act; and

6. Document that proves subscription to guarantee insurance or deposit of money at a financial institution under Article 25 of the Act. This submission may be omitted when the guaranteeing institution has directly given notice of such a guarantee to the mayor and governor.

(2) The responsible official receiving a registration application under Paragraph 1 shall, instead of receiving a copy of the business registration certificate or certified copy of the corporation register (only for corporations), check its content through joint use of administration information under Article 21, Paragraph 1 of the Electronic Government Act. If the requesting person does not agree to this, he/she shall have the requesting person directly submit the document.

(3) The mayor and governor receiving a registration application under Paragraph 1 shall issue the attached form 6, a registration certificate, without delay and make an entry thereof into and manage the attached form 3, a management register of reports and registrations (including electronic documents).

(4) If there is a brokerage office in two or more special metropolitan cities, metropolitan cities, provinces or the Jeju Special Self-Governing Province (hereinafter "cities/provinces"), Article 2, Paragraphs 4 and 5 shall apply regarding notification of registration details among the mayors and governors and other matters.

#### Article 5 (Registration of a change)

(1) The "important matters determined by an Ordinance of the Ministry for Health, Welfare and Family Affairs" in the latter part of Article 4, Paragraph 1 of the Act shall refer to the matters under each subparagraph of Article 3, Paragraph 1.

(2) A party intending to register a change according to the latter part of Article 4, Paragraph 1 of the Act shall submit the attached form 4, a request form for a change (including a request form in an electronic document) with the documents under each of the following subparagraphs to the mayor and governor:

1. Registration certificate; and

2. Document substantiating the change.

(3) The responsible official receiving a request form for a change under Paragraph 2 shall, instead of receiving a copy of the business registration certificate or certified copy of the corporation register (only for corporations), check its content through joint use of administration information under Article 21, Paragraph 1 of the Electronic Government Act. If the requesting person does not agree to this, he/she shall have the requesting person directly submit the document.

(4) The mayor and governor receiving a request for a change under Paragraph 2 shall change the registration certificate and issue or reissue it. In this case, if the request

for a change is about changing the locations of brokerage offices in different cities/provinces, he/she shall receive all the registration documents under Article 4, Paragraphs 1 and 3 from the competent mayor and governor of the brokerage office in the previous location to make records to and manage them.

Article 6 (Reissuance of a report certificate or registration certificate)

If the report or registration certificate is lost or too worn out to use and the marriage broker wishes to have it reissued, he/she shall submit the attached form 7, a reissuance request for the report certificate or registration certificate (including a request in an electronic document), with the documents under each of the following subparagraphs to the mayor and governor or head of si/gun/gu:

1. A letter explaining the reason if the report or registration certificate is lost; and
2. The report or registration certificate if it is too worn to use.

Article 7 (Report of business suspension, cessation, and resumption)

(1) When a marriage broker intends to suspend (including cases where a report or registration of a marriage brokerage business is made but the business does not go into operation, the same applies hereinafter) or quit the business or resume it after suspension according to Article 5 of the Act, he/she shall submit in advance the attached form 8, a report form of the suspension, cessation, or resumption with the documents under each of the following subparagraphs to the mayor and governor or head of si/gun/gu:

1. Original copy of the report or registration certificate;
2. A copy of measures for the users (excluded when resuming the business); and
3. A copy of each of the list of employees and members under each paragraph of Article 11 (only for closing down the business).

(2) When receiving a report on the resumption of a marriage brokerage business under Article 1, the mayor and governor or head of si/gun/gu shall immediately return the report or registration certificate to the corresponding marriage broker.

Article 8 (Display of the report certificate, etc.)

(1) The "matters determined by an Ordinance of the Ministry for Health, Welfare and Family Affairs" under Article 8, Paragraph 1 of the Act shall refer to a guarantee insurance certificate or deposit certificate.

(2) Marriage brokers shall ensure users can easily see the pertinent matters to be displayed as per Article 8, Paragraph 1 of the Act by attaching them according to the size and characteristics of the brokerage office or in other ways.

(3) The "matters determined by an Ordinance of the Ministry for Health, Welfare and Family Affairs" under Article 8, Paragraph 2 of the Act shall refer to the matters under each of the following subparagraphs:

1. Trade name and representative name;
2. Report number or registration number;
3. Business registration number;
4. Address and telephone number of the brokerage office(s);
5. Tables of marriage brokerage fees, membership fees, etc.;
6. Use agreement; and
7. Claim procedures of compensation for damages based on the guarantee insurance or deposit money.

(4) Marriage brokers operating a Web site shall post the matters of each paragraph of Paragraph 3 on the initial page so that users can easily find them according to Article 8, Paragraph 2 of the Act. The matters referred to in Paragraph 3, Subparagraphs 5 to 7 may be posted in a way that allows users to see them in connected screens.

#### Article 9 (Safekeeping period of marriage brokerage contracts)

The "period determined by an Ordinance of the Ministry for Health, Welfare and Family Affairs" under Article 10, Paragraph 3 of the Act shall refer to three years.

#### Article 10 (Scope of false and exaggerated claims and advertisements, etc.)

The scope of false and exaggerated claims and advertisements under Article 12, Paragraph 3 of the Act shall be that of the attached table 1. In this case, claims shall refer to notices at the brokerage office and other locations, or to information written or attached to membership cards and others to publicize the marriage brokerage service to users. Advertisements shall refer to publicizing or otherwise transmitting to the public information on the marriage brokerage service through periodic publications, Internet newspapers, broadcasting, electric telecommunications or other methods.

#### Article 11 (Maintenance of registers, etc.)

Marriage brokers shall maintain registers and ledgers under each of the following subparagraphs, and shall maintain them for three years according to Article 14 of the Act. Nevertheless, if the forms of registers and ledgers are inappropriate for the corresponding business, they may change them by obtaining the approval of the mayor and governor or head of si/gun/gu:

1. List of the employees in the attached form 9; and
2. List of the members in the attached form 10.

#### Article 12 (Standards of administrative measures)

The detailed standards of the administrative measures under Article 18, Paragraph 2 of the Act shall be that of the attached table 2.

Article 13 (Return of the report certificate, etc.)

(1) A party intending to return the report or registration certificate according to Article 5 of the Enforcement Decree of the Act on Regulation of Marriage Brokerage Agency shall return it within seven days of the date when the disposition of business suspension or registration cancellation has been received.

(2) In the event that a disposition of business suspension or registration cancellation is received according to Article 18, Paragraph 1 of the Act and a corporation that has been engaged in the marriage brokerage business is liquidated, the person who used to be the representative of the corporation shall return the report or registration certificate within seven days of the date when the disposition was received.

Article 14 (Register of administrative measures and hearings)

When taking administrative measures per Articles 18 and 19 of the Act and holding a hearing under Article 20 of the Act, the mayor and governor or head of si/gun/gu shall make an entry thereof into and manage the attached form 11, a register of administrative measures and hearings.

Article 15 (Fee)

The fee amounts as stipulated in Article 22 of the Act shall be the same as indicated under each of the following subparagraphs. In this case, the fees shall be paid in the form of revenue stamps from the corresponding local government:

1. Report of a domestic marriage brokerage business or report of a change
  - (a) Business report (new business): 30,000 won
  - (b) Change report: 20,000 won
  - (c) Reissuance of the report certificate: 5,000 won
2. Registration of an international marriage brokerage business or registration of a change
  - (a) Business registration (new business): 30,000 won
  - (b) Change registration: 20,000 won
  - (c) Reissuance of the registration certificate: 5,000 won

Article 16 (Content of education, etc.)

(1) If the Minister of Health, Welfare and Family Affairs or the mayor and governor delegates education to a corporation or group according to Article 24, Paragraph 1 of the Act, the delegated party, content of the delegated education, etc. shall be announced to the public.

(2) The "reasons determined by an Ordinance of the Ministry for Health, Welfare and Family Affairs" under Article 24, Paragraph 3 of the Act shall refer to natural disaster, the concerned person falling ill or getting involved in an accident, an

overseas business trip, and other cases where parties intending to engage in the international marriage brokerage business cannot receive education.

(3) The content, methods, and times of education for international marriage brokers conducted by the Minister of Health, Welfare and Family Affairs or the mayor and governor under Article 24, Paragraph 4 of the Act shall be as delineated in the attached table 3.

(4) Other details necessary for education shall be determined by the Minister of Health, Welfare and Family Affairs.

#### Notes

1. Ministry of Government, The National Law Information Center (2008), Retrieved from <http://law.go.kr/LSW/eng/engLsSc.do?menuId=1&query=NATIONALITY+ACT&x=28&y=40#liBgcolor2>

APPENDIX B  
NATIONALITY ACT

[Enforcement Date 22. Dec, 1976.] [Act No.2906, 22. Dec, 1976., Partial Amendment]

Article 1

This Act shall provide for the requirements for being a national of the Republic of Korea.

Article 2(1) Any person falling under one of the following subparagraphs shall be a national of the Republic of Korea:

1. A person whose father is a national of the Republic of Korea at the time of his or her birth;
2. A person whose father was a national of the Republic of Korea at the time of death, in cases where the father died before his or her birth;
3. A person whose mother is a national of the Republic of Korea at the time of his or her birth, in cases where the father is unknown or has no nationality; and
4. A person who is born in the Republic of Korea, in cases where both parents are unknown or have no nationality.

(2) All of foundlings discovered in the Republic of Korea, shall be presumed to have been born in the Republic of Korea.

Article 3

Any person who falls under one of the following subparagraphs shall acquire nationality of the Republic of Korea, on condition that he or she is an alien who has no nationality or will lose his or her nationality within six months of acquiring nationality of the Republic of Korea: <Amended by Act No. 1180, Nov. 21, 1962>

1. A person who has become the wife of a national of the Republic of Korea;
2. A person who has been acknowledged by the father or mother who is a national of the Republic of Korea; and
3. A person who has been naturalized.

Article 4

When an alien acquires nationality of the Republic of Korea by acknowledgement, the following requirements shall be fulfilled:

1. He or she shall be a minor under the *lex patriae*;
2. He or she shall not be the wife of an alien;



3. One of the parents who acknowledges first shall be a national of the Republic of Korea; and
4. If both parents acknowledge at the same time, the father shall be a national of the Republic of Korea.

#### Article 5

An alien who fulfills the following requirements may be naturalized with the permission of the Minister of Justice: <Amended by Act No. 1180, Nov. 21, 1962>

1. He or she shall have domicile in the Republic of Korea for five or more years consecutively;
2. He or she shall be full twenty years of age or older and have full capacity under the *lex patriae*;
3. He or she shall be of good behavior;
4. He or she shall have sufficient property or ability to secure livelihood independently; and
5. He or she shall have no nationality or shall lose his or her current foreign nationality within six months due to the acquisition of nationality of the Republic of Korea.

#### Article 6

An alien who falls under one of the following subparagraphs and has domicile in the Republic of Korea for no less than three consecutive years may be naturalized without meeting the condition referred to in subparagraph 1 of Article 5:

1. A person whose father or mother was a national of the Republic of Korea;
2. A person whose wife is a national of the Republic of Korea; and
3. A person who was born in the Republic of Korea, and whose father or mother was born in the Republic of Korea.

Article 7(1) An alien who falls under one of the following subparagraphs and presently has domicile in the Republic of Korea may be naturalized without fulfilling the requirements prescribed in subparagraphs 1, 2 and 4 of Article 5 of this Act:

1. A person whose father or mother is a national of the Republic of Korea;
2. A person who has rendered especially meritorious services to the Republic of Korea; and
3. A person who, as the wife of a person who has acquired nationality of the Republic of Korea, has not yet been able to acquire nationality of the Republic of Korea.

(2) In case of permitting naturalization for a person who falls under paragraph (1) 2, the Minister of Justice shall obtain the approval of the President.

Article 8(1) The wife of a person who acquires nationality of the Republic of Korea shall acquire nationality of the Republic of Korea together with her husband, unless there is any contrary provision in her *lex patriae*: Provided, That this shall apply only

in cases where the said wife does not have a nationality or will lose her current nationality within six months of acquiring the nationality of the Republic of Korea.

(2) The same shall apply when a child of a person who acquires nationality of the Republic of Korea is a minor under the *lex patriae*.

#### Article 9

The wife of an alien may not be naturalized unless she applies together with her husband.

Article 10 Deleted. <by Act No. 1409, Sep. 30, 1963>

Article 11(1) Naturalization shall be announced publicly in the Gazette.

(2) Naturalization shall not be effective before the announcement.

#### Article 12

Any national of the Republic of Korea who falls under one of the following subparagraphs shall lose his or her nationality: <Amended by Act No. 1409, Sep. 30, 1963>

1. A person who has married an alien and has acquired the spouse's nationality;
2. A person who has been adopted by an alien and has acquired the parent's nationality;
3. A person who once acquired nationality of the Republic of Korea by marriage, who has acquired nationality of a foreign country by annulment of the marriage or by divorce;
4. A person who has voluntarily acquired nationality of a foreign country;
5. A person with a dual nationality who has renounced nationality of the Republic of Korea with the permission of the Minister of Justice;
6. A person who, as a minor and a national of the Republic of Korea, has acquired nationality of a foreign country by acknowledgement of an alien: Provided, That this provision shall not apply in a case where such a minor has become the wife or an adopted child of a national of the Republic of Korea; and
7. An alien who has acquired nationality of the Republic of Korea and has not lost the nationality of the foreign country even after six months have elapsed.

#### Article 13

When the wife or a minor child of a person who has lost nationality of the Republic of Korea has acquired nationality of the said person, he or she shall lose Korean nationality.

Article 14 (Restoration of Nationality)(1) Any person who has lost nationality of the Republic of Korea under the provisions of Articles 12 and 13 may be restored to nationality of the Republic of Korea with the permission of the Minister of Justice.

(2) The provisions of subparagraph 5 of Article 5 and Article 8 shall apply mutatis mutandis to the cases of restoration of nationality referred to in paragraph (1). [This Article Wholly Amended by Act No. 2906, Dec. 22, 1976]

#### Article 15

The procedures concerning naturalization, renunciation and restoration of nationality shall be determined by the Presidential Decree.

Article 16(1) Any person who has lost nationality of the Republic of Korea shall transfer any rights that may be enjoyed only by a national of the Republic of Korea to a national of the Republic of Korea within one year from the day he or she lost his or her nationality.

(2) In cases of failure to comply with the provisions of paragraph (1), such rights shall be lost.

#### ADDENDUM<Act No. 1180, Nov. 21, 1962>

This Act shall enter into force on the date of its promulgation.

#### ADDENDUM<Act No. 1409, Sep. 30, 1963>

This Act shall enter into force on the date of its promulgation.

#### ADDENDUM<Act No. 2906, Dec. 22, 1976>

This Act shall enter into force on the date of its promulgation.

#### Notes

1. Ministry of Government, The National Law Information Center (1997), Retrieved from  
<http://law.go.kr/LSW/eng/engLsSc.do?menuId=1&query=NATIONALITY+ACT&x=28&y=40#liBgcolor18>

APPENDIX C  
NATIONALITY LAW

(Enforcement Date 14. Jun, 1998.) (Act No. 5431, 13 Dec, 1997., Whole Amendment)

Article 1 (Purpose)

This Act shall provide for the requirements to become a national of the Republic of Korea.

Article 2 (Acquisition of Nationality by Birth) (1) A person falling under one of the following subparagraphs shall be a national of the Republic of Korea:

1. A person whose father or mother is a national of the Republic of Korea at the time of his or her birth;
2. A person whose father was a national of the Republic of Korea at the time of his death, where father died before his or her birth; and
3. A person who is born in the Republic of Korea, where both of parents are unknown or have no nationality.

(2) An abandoned child found in the Republic of Korea shall be recognized as born in the Republic of Korea.

Article 3 (Acquisition of Nationality by Acknowledgement) (1) Where a person who is not a national of the Republic of Korea (hereinafter referred to as a "foreigner") is acknowledged by his father or mother who is a national of the Republic of Korea and falls under the following subparagraphs, the person may acquire the nationality of the Republic of Korea after reporting to the Minister of Justice:

1. The person shall be a minor pursuant to the Civil Act of the Republic of Korea; and
2. At the time of the person's birth, the father or mother is a national of the Republic of Korea;

(2) A person who makes a report under paragraph (1) shall acquire the nationality of the Republic of Korea at the time of reporting.

(3) The reporting procedures under paragraph (1) and other necessary matters shall be determined by the Presidential Decree.

Article 4 (Acquisition of Nationality by Naturalization)

(1) A foreigner who has never acquired the nationality of the Republic of Korea may acquire the nationality of the Republic of Korea through permission of naturalization by the Minister of Justice.

(2) The Minister of Justice shall, after determining whether persons meet the requirements for naturalization under Articles 5 through 7, issue permission of naturalization to the person who meets the requirements.

(3) A person who is permitted naturalization under paragraph (1) shall acquire the nationality of the Republic of Korea at the time when the Minister of Justice issues permission.

(4) Necessary matters for application procedure and determination under paragraphs (1) and (2) shall be determined by the Presidential Decree.

#### Article 5 (Requirements for General Naturalization)

A foreigner shall meet the following requirements in order to acquire permission of naturalization except where prescribed by Articles 6 and 7:

1. A person shall have sustained domicile in the Republic of Korea for five or more years consecutively;
2. A person shall be of majority pursuant to the Civil Act of the Republic of Korea;
3. A person shall be of good conduct;
4. A person shall be able to sustain livelihood with his property, ability or family who lives together; and
5. A person shall have basic knowledge as a national of the Republic of Korea, such as Korean language ability and understanding about Korean custom.

#### Article 6 (Requirements for Simple Naturalization)

A foreigner who falls under one of the following subparagraphs and has sustained domicile in the Republic of Korea for three consecutive years may obtain permission of naturalization though he does not meet the requirements under subparagraph 1 of Article 5:

1. A person whose father or mother was a national of the Republic of Korea;
2. A person who was born in the Republic of Korea and whose father or mother was born in the Republic of Korea; and
3. A person who was adopted by a national of the Republic of Korea and was of majority at the time of adoption pursuant to the Civil Act of the Republic of Korea.

(2) Where a foreigner whose spouse is a national of the Republic of Korea falls under one of the following subparagraphs, he may obtain permission of naturalization even though he does not meet the requirements under subparagraph 1 of Article 5:

1. A person who has sustained domicile in the Republic of Korea for not less than two and a half years consecutively under the state of marriage with a spouse; and
2. A person for whom three years have lapsed after with marriage with a spouse and who has sustained domicile in the Republic of Korea for not less than one year consecutively under the state of marriage.

#### Article 7 (Requirements for Special Naturalization)

- (1) A foreigner who falls under one of the following subparagraphs and presently has domicile in the Republic of Korea may be permitted naturalization without meeting the requirements under subparagraph 1, 2 or 4 of Article 5:

1. A person whose father or mother is a national of the Republic of Korea: Provided That a person who is adopted after he is of majority pursuant to the Civil Act of the Republic of Korea is excluded; and

2. A person who has rendered distinguished service to the Republic of Korea.

(2) Where the Minister of Justice permits naturalization for a person who falls under paragraph (1) 2, he shall obtain approval of the President.

#### Article 8 (Concomitant Acquisition)

(1) Where a foreigner applies for permission of naturalization, his child who is a minor pursuant to the Civil Act of the Republic of Korea may concurrently apply for the acquisition of nationality.

(2) A person who applies for the acquisition of nationality under paragraph (1) shall acquire the nationality of the Republic of Korea at the time when the Minister of Justice issues permission of naturalization to his father or mother.

(3) Application procedures under paragraph (1) and other necessary matters shall be determined by the Presidential Decree.

#### Article 9 (Acquisition of Nationality through Reinstatement of Nationality)

(1) A foreigner who was a national of the Republic of Korea may acquire the nationality of the Republic of Korea through obtaining permission of reinstatement of nationality by the Minister of Justice.

(2) The Minister of Justice shall not issue permission of reinstatement of nationality to a person who falls under one of the following subparagraphs, after scrutinizing a person who has applied for permission to the reinstatement of nationality:

1. A person who has inflicted any harm to the State and society;
2. A person who is defective in conduct;
3. A person who has lost or abandoned the nationality for the purpose of evading military service; and
4. A person for whom the Minister of Justice regards permission for the reinstatement of nationality as inappropriate, for the sake of national security, maintenance of security, or public welfare.

(3) A person who has obtained permission for the reinstatement of nationality under paragraph (1) shall acquire the nationality of the Republic of Korea at the time when the Minister of Justice issues permission.

(4) Necessary matters concerning application procedures and scrutiny under paragraphs (1) and (2) shall be determined by the Presidential Decree.

(5) The provisions of Article 8 shall be applied mutatis mutandis to permission for the reinstatement of nationality.

Article 10 (Renouncement Obligation of Foreign Nationality )

(1) A foreigner who has acquired the nationality of the Republic of Korea but maintains a nationality of a foreign country shall renounce the nationality of the foreign country within six months after the acquisition of the nationality of the Republic of Korea.

(2) A person who does not abide by paragraph (1) shall lose the nationality of the Republic of Korea upon the completion of the time specified: Provided That the person who is under difficult conditions to fulfill the provisions of paragraph (1) despite his willingness and falls under the cases as determined by the Presidential Decree shall be excluded.

Article 11 (Re-acquisition of Nationality)

(1) When a person who has lost the nationality of the Republic of Korea pursuant to Article 10 (2) renounces the nationality of foreign country within one year after the loss of nationality of the Republic of Korea, he may re-acquire the nationality of the Republic of Korea through reporting to the Minister of Justice.

(2) A person who has reported under paragraph (1) shall acquire the nationality of the Republic of Korea at the time of reporting thereof.

(3) The reporting procedures under paragraph (1) and other necessary matters shall be determined by the Presidential Decree.

Article 12 (Selection Option of Nationality for Dual National)

(1) A person who has had the nationalities of both of the Republic of Korea and a foreign country by birth or by dint of the provisions of this Act (hereinafter referred to as a "dual national") shall select one nationality before he reaches his full twenty years of age; and a person who becomes a dual national after he reached his full twenty years of age shall select one nationality within two years pursuant to Articles 13 and 14: Provided That, with regard to the completion of military service, a person who falls under the causes determined by the Presidential Decree shall select one nationality within two years after the cause is nullified.

(2) A person who has not selected a nationality under paragraph (1) shall lose the nationality of the Republic of Korea after the lapse of the specified time.

Article 13 (Selection Procedure of Nationality of the Republic of Korea)

A dual national who wants to select the nationality the Republic of Korea shall renounce his foreign nationality within the period under Article 12 (1), and shall report to the Minister of Justice.

Article 14 (Abandonment Procedure of Nationality of the Republic of Korea)

(1) A dual national who wants to select the nationality of a foreign country may report the willingness to abandon the nationality of the Republic of Korea to the Minister of Justice within the period under Article 12 (1): Provided That, the person referred to in the proviso of the same paragraph of the same Article may report after the cause is nullified.

(2) A person who has completed the report of abandonment of nationality pursuant to paragraph (1) shall lose the nationality of the Republic of Korea at the time of reporting.

(3) Reporting procedure under paragraph (1) and other necessary matters shall be determined by the Presidential Decree.

#### Article 15 (Loss of Nationality by Acquisition of Foreign Nationality)

(1) A national of the Republic of Korea who has voluntarily acquired the nationality of a foreign country shall lose the nationality of the Republic of Korea at the time of acquisition of the foreign nationality.

(2) A national of the Republic of Korea who falls under one of the following subparagraphs shall lose the nationality of the Republic of Korea retroactively at the time of acquisition of the foreign nationality, if he does not report the willingness to keep the nationality of the Republic of Korea to the Minister of Justice within six months after the acquisition of the foreign nationality:

1. A person who has acquired the nationality of a spouse through marriage with a foreigner;
2. A person who has acquired the nationality of an adoptive father or mother through an adoption by a foreigner;
3. A person who has acquired the nationality of a father or mother through acknowledgement by a foreign father or mother; and
4. A minor child or spouse of a person who shall lose the nationality of the Republic of Korea through the acquisition of a foreign nationality, who has acquired the foreign nationality under laws of the foreign country.

(3) For a person who has lost the nationality of the Republic of Korea due to the acquisition of that of a foreign country, where its acquisition date is unknown, it shall be presumed to be the date on which the foreign country first issues a passport to him.

#### Article 16 (Administration on Person in Loss of Nationality)

(1) A person who has lost the nationality of the Republic of Korea (except persons who have reported the abandonment of nationality under Article 14) shall report the loss of nationality to the Minister of Justice.

(2) Where a public official finds a person who has lost the nationality of the Republic of Korea in the pursuit of his duties, he shall notify the Minister of Justice without delay.

(3) Where the Minister of Justice finds a person who has lost the nationality of the Republic of Korea in the pursuit of his duties or has received the report or notification of the loss of nationality under paragraphs (1) and (2), he shall notify the census register office and resident registration office thereof.

(4) Reporting and notification procedures and other necessary matters under paragraphs (1) through (3) shall be determined by the Presidential Decree.



Article 17 (Notification in Official Gazette)

(1) Where the acquisition and loss of the nationality of the Republic of Korea has occurred, the Minister of Justice shall make public notification in an official Gazette.

(2) Matters notified in an official Gazette pursuant to paragraph (1) shall be determined by the Presidential Decree.

Article 18 (Change of Right for Person in Loss of Nationality)

(1) A person who has lost the nationality of the Republic of Korea shall not possess the rights afforded only to the nationals of the Republic of Korea from the time of loss of the nationality.

(2) Where a person has acquired the transferable rights at the time when he was a national of the Republic of Korea, from among the rights under paragraph (1), he shall transfer them to a national of the Republic of Korea within three years unless otherwise prescribed by Acts and subordinate statutes related to the rights.

Article 19 (Reporting by Legal Agent)

With regard to application or reporting under this Act, where a person who wants to apply or report is under the age of fifteen, a legal agent shall act for him.

Article 20 (Adjudication of Nationality)

(1) Where it is unclear whether a person acquires or holds the nationality of the Republic of Korea, the Minister of Justice may determine it through the screening.

(2) Screening and determination procedures, and other necessary matters under paragraph (1) shall be determined by the Presidential Decree.

ADDENDA <No. 5431, 13. Dec, 1997>

Article 1 (Enforcement Date)

This Act shall enter into force six months after its promulgation.

Article 2 (Transitional Measures on Application for Permission of Naturalization)

With regard to a person who has applied for permission of naturalization, reinstatement of nationality, or permission of abandonment of nationality under the previous provisions before this Act enters into force, the previous provisions shall govern.

Article 3 (Transitional Measures on Reinstatement or Re-Acquisition of Nationality)

(1) The amended provisions of Article 9 shall apply to the procedure for which a person who has lost or abandoned the nationality of the Republic of Korea reacquires the nationality of the Republic of Korea.

(2) The amended provisions of Article 11 shall apply to a person who has lost the nationality of the Republic of Korea, among those under paragraph (1), by reason that he does not renounce a foreign nationality within six months after he acquires the nationality of the Republic of Korea.

Article 4 (Transitional Measures on Renouncement Obligation of Foreign Nationality for Person Who has Acquired Nationality)

The amended provisions of Article 10 shall apply to a person who has acquired the nationality of the Republic of Korea before this Act enters into force and for whom six months have not passed from the date of acquisition until the enforcement date of this Act.

Article 5 (Transitional Measures on Selection Option and Procedure of Nationality for Dual National)

The amended provisions of Articles 12 through 14 shall also apply to a person who has had the nationalities of both of the Republic of Korea and a foreign country before this Act enters into force (except those who have obtained permission for the abandonment of nationality): Provided That, with regard to a person who is over twenty years of age as of the enforcement date of this Act, the enforcement date of this Act shall be the starting date for the selection period of nationality under Article 12 (1).

Article 6 (Transitional Measures on Administration and Change of Right of Person in Loss of Nationality)

The amended provisions of Articles 16 through 18 shall also apply to a person who has lost the nationality of the Republic of Korea before this Act enters into force.

Article 7 (Special Cases of Acquisition of Nationality for Persons of Maternal Line by Adoption of Jus Sanguinis to Both Lines of Parents)

(1) A person who falls under one of the following subparagraphs among the persons who have been borne by a mother of a national of the Republic of Korea within ten years before this Act enters into force may acquire the nationality of the Republic of Korea within three years after the enforcement date of this Act through reporting to the Minister of Justice as determined by the Presidential Decree:

(2) Reporting under paragraph (1) shall be done by a legal agent.

(3) A person who failed to report within the period under paragraph (1) due to natural disaster or other unavoidable causes may acquire the nationality of the Republic of Korea through reporting to the Minister of Justice within three months after the removal of such cause.

(4) A person who has reported under paragraph (1) or (3) shall acquire the nationality of the Republic of Korea at the time of reporting.

Article 8 Omitted.

Notes

1. Ministry of Government, The National Law Information Center (1997), Retrieved from <http://law.go.kr/LSW/eng/engLsSc.do?menuId=1&query=NATIONALITY+ACT&x=36&y=31#liBgcolor17>

## APPENDIX D

### MULTICULTURAL FAMILIES SUPPORT ACT

(Enforcement Date 22. Sep, 2008.) (Act No. 8937, 21.Mar, 2008., New Enactment)

#### Article 1 (Purpose)

The purpose of this Act is to contribute to the improvement of the quality of life of multi-cultural family members and the unity of society by helping multi-cultural family members enjoy stable family living.

#### Article 2 (Definitions)

The definitions of terms used in this Act shall be as follows:

1. The term “multi-cultural family” means a family falling under any of the following items:
  - a. A family comprised of a married immigrant under subparagraph 3 of Article 2 of the Framework Act on Treatment of Foreigners Residing in the Republic of Korea and a person who acquired the nationality of the Republic of Korea by birth pursuant to Article 2 of the Nationality Act;
  - b. A family comprised of a person who obtained permission for naturalization under Article 4 of the Nationality Act and a person who acquired the nationality of the Republic of Korea by birth pursuant of Article 2 of the aforesaid Act;
2. The term “married immigrant or naturalized citizen, etc.” means any of the following persons:
  - a. A married immigrant defined in subparagraph 3 of Article 2 of the Framework Act on Treatment of Foreigners Residing in the Republic of Korea;
  - b. A person who obtained permission for naturalization under Article 4 of the Nationality Act.

#### Article 3 (Responsibilities of State and Local Governments)

1. The State and local governments shall develop systems and conditions necessary to help multi-cultural family members enjoy stable family living and shall establish and implement policies therefor.
2. With regard to matters concerning relevant policies on foreigners among policies under this Act, the State and local governments shall each comply with Articles 5 through 9 of the Framework Act on Treatment of Foreigners Residing in the Republic of Korea.

#### Article 4 (Fact-finding Survey)

1. The Minister for Health, Welfare and Family Affairs shall conduct a fact-finding survey on multi-cultural families every three years and announce the results thereof to ascertain the current status and actual conditions of multi-cultural families and to utilize the results thereof in establishing a policy for supporting multi-cultural families.

2. The Minister for Health, Welfare and Family Affairs may request any related public agency, legal entity, or organization to furnish him/her with data as may be necessary for the survey under paragraph (1) or to cooperate in such survey, otherwise. In such cases, the related public agency, legal entity, or organization requested to furnish data or cooperate in a survey shall cooperate as requested, unless there are any exceptional circumstances otherwise.
3. The Minister for Health, Welfare and Family Affairs shall consult with the Minister of Justice with regard to matters relevant to policies on foreigners in conducting the fact-finding survey under paragraph (1).
4. Matters necessary for the participants and method of the fact-finding survey under paragraph (1) and other relevant matters shall be prescribed by Ordinance of the Ministry for Health, Welfare and Family Affairs.

#### Article 5 (Enhancement of Understanding Multi-Cultural Families)

The State and local governments shall take measures, such as education and advocacy activities for understanding diverse cultures, as necessary for preventing social discrimination and prejudice against multi-cultural families and for encouraging members of society to acknowledge and respect the cultural diversity.

#### Article 6 (Provision of Information about Daily Life and Educational Support)

1. The State and local governments may provide married immigrants and naturalized citizens, etc. with fundamental information necessary for living in the Republic of Korea and may also provide them with support necessary for them to receive education for social adaptation and occupational education and training.
2. Necessary matters concerning provision of information and education under Paragraph 1 shall be prescribed by Presidential Decree.

#### Article 7 (Measures for Maintenance of Equality in Familial Relationship)

The State and local governments shall promote programs for family counseling, couple relationship education, parenting education, family life education, etc. to help multi-cultural families maintain a democratic and gender-equal familial relationship. In such cases, efforts shall be exerted to provide specialized service, taking cultural differences into consideration.

#### Article 8 (Protection of and Support for Victims of Domestic Violence)

1. The State and local governments shall endeavor to prevent domestic violence in multi-cultural families.
2. The State and local governments shall endeavor to expand the establishment of counseling centers for domestic violence and protective facilities with interpretation service available for foreign languages to protect and support married immigrants and naturalized citizens, etc. victimized by domestic violence.
3. The State and local governments may provide married immigrants and naturalized citizens, etc. with necessary services, such as interpretation of languages, legal counseling, and administrative assistance, in making statements and finding facts when they terminate a marital relationship due to domestic violence, so that they will not be placed at a disadvantage

due to difficulties in communication and lack of information about the legal system and other relevant matters.

Article 9 (Support for Health Management before and after Childbirth)

The State and local governments may provide married immigrants and naturalized citizens, etc. with necessary services, such as nutrition and health education and provision of helper service before and after childbirth, medical examination, and interpretation at the scene of medical examination, so that they can manage pregnancy and childbirth under healthy and safe conditions.

Article 10 (Care and Education of Children)

1. Neither the State nor local governments shall discriminate against children of any multi-cultural family in providing care and education to children.
2. The State and local governments shall prepare measures for educational support to children of multi-cultural families to help them quickly adapt to school life and the Superintendent of each Office of Education, whether in the Special Metropolitan City, a Metropolitan City or Do, or a Special Self-Governing Province, may provide children of multi-cultural families with supportive educational programs in addition to regular curricula or extra-curricular programs.
3. The State and local governments shall endeavor to provide children of multicultural families with support in care and education before entering elementary school and may provide them with support as necessary for improving their linguistic proficiency to help children develop language skills, such as support with teaching materials for education in Korean language and support for learning.

Article 11 (Provision of Services in Diverse Languages)

The State and local governments shall endeavor to provide supportive services in diverse languages in promoting supportive policies under Articles 5 through 10 to eliminate difficulties that married immigrants and naturalized citizens, etc. may have in communication and improve accessibility to such services.

Article 12 (Designation, etc. of Support Centers for Multi-Cultural Families)

1. The Minister for Health, Welfare and Family Affairs may, if necessary for implementation of supportive policies for multi-cultural families, designate any legal entity or organization that has professional human resources and facilities necessary for supporting multi-cultural families as a support center for multi-cultural families (hereinafter referred to as "support center").
2. Each support center shall carry out the following activities:
  - a. Conducting supportive activities, such as education and counseling for multicultural families;
  - b. Providing information about supportive services for multi-cultural families and advertising such services;
  - c. Interconnecting supportive services for multi-cultural families with those provided by appropriate institutions and organizations;
  - d. Other activities necessary for supporting multi-cultural families.

3. Each support center shall have professional human resources who have knowledge and experience in related areas for carrying out its business, such as education and counseling service for multi-cultural families.
4. The State and local governments may subsidize fully or partially the expenses, any support center designated pursuant to paragraph (1) incurred in carrying out its business activities under subparagraphs of paragraph (2) within the extent of budget. (5) Matters necessary for the criteria for the designation of support centers, the effective period of, and the procedure for, the designation and other relevant matters shall be prescribed by Presidential Decree, while matters necessary for the eligibility criteria for professional human resources and other relevant matters shall be prescribed by Ordinance of the Ministry for Health, Welfare and Family Affairs.

Article 13 (Education of Public Officials Involved in Supportive Services for Multi-Cultural Families)

The State and local governments may conduct educational programs for public officials who engage in any job for supporting multi-cultural families to enhance their understanding of multi-cultural families and improve their expertise.

Article 14 (Treatment of Spouses in De Facto Marriage and their Children)

Articles 5 through 12 shall apply mutatis mutandis to multi-cultural family members who raise children born in a de facto marital relationship with a citizen of the Republic of Korea.

Article 15 (Delegation and Entrustment of Authority)

1. The Minister for Health, Welfare and Family Affairs may delegate part of his/her authority under this Act to the Special Metropolitan City Mayor, a Metropolitan City Mayor, Do Governor, and Governor of a Special Self-Governing Province (hereinafter referred to as the "Mayor/Do Governor") or the head of a Si/Gun/Gu (Gu means an autonomous Gu), as prescribed by Presidential Decree.
2. The State or any local government may entrust a non-profit corporation or organization with some of the business activities under this Act, as prescribed by Presidential Decree.

Article 16 (Support to Non-Governmental Organizations)

1. The State and local governments may subsidize any organization or private individual who carries out supportive activities for multi-cultural families, fully or partially, for expenses incurred in such activities or provide administrative assistance as necessary in carrying out such activities.
2. The State and local governments may assist married immigrants and naturalized citizens, etc. in organizing and operating an organization for mutual aid.

ADDENDA <No. 8937, 21. Mar, 2008>

(1) (Enforcement Date) This Act shall enter into force six months after the date of its promulgation.

(2) (Transitional Measure concerning Support Centers for Married Immigrants' Families) The support centers for married immigrants' families already designated and operated by the Minister for Health, Welfare and Family Affairs, a Mayor/Do Governor, or the head of a Si/Gun/Gu at the time this Act enters into force are deemed to have been designated pursuant to this Act.

#### Notes

1. Ministry of Government, The National Law Information Center (2008), Retrieved from <http://law.go.kr/LSW/eng/engLsSc.do?menuId=1&query=multicultural+families+support+act&x=0&y=0#liBgcolor9>

## APPENDIX E

### MULTICULTURAL FAMILIES SUPPORT ACT

(Enforcement Date 03. Sep, 2016.) (Act No. 14061, 02.Mar, 2016., Partial Amendment)

#### Article 1 (Purpose)

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.

<Amended by Act No. 13604, Dec. 22, 2015>

#### Article 2 (Definitions)

The terms used in this Act shall be defined as follows:

<Amended by Act No. 10534, Apr. 4, 2011; Act No. 13536, Dec. 1, 2015>

1. The term "multicultural family" means any of the following families:
  - (a) A family comprised of an immigrant by marriage defined in subparagraph 3 of Article 2 of the Framework Act on Treatment of Foreigners Residing in the Republic of Korea and a person who has acquired nationality of the Republic of Korea pursuant to Articles 2 through 4 of the Nationality Act;
  - (b) A family comprised of a person who has acquired nationality of the Republic of Korea pursuant to Articles 3 and 4 of the Nationality Act and a person who has acquired nationality of the Republic of Korea pursuant to Articles 2 through 4 of the aforementioned Act;
2. The term "immigrant by marriage, etc." means any of the following persons:
  - (a) An immigrant by marriage defined in subparagraph 3 of Article 2 of the Framework Act on Treatment of Foreigners Residing in the Republic of Korea;
  - (b) A person who obtained permission for naturalization under Article 4 of the Nationality Act.
3. The term "children and youth" means persons aged 24 years or younger.

#### Article 3 (Responsibilities of State and Local Governments)

1. The State and local governments shall develop systems and conditions necessary to help multicultural family members enjoy a stable family life and fulfill their roles and responsibilities as members of society, and shall establish and implement policies therefor. <Amended by Act No. 13604, Dec. 22, 2015>
2. Each of the Special Metropolitan City, Metropolitan Cities, the Special Self-Governing City, Dos, the Special Self-Governing Province, and Si/Gun/Gu (referring to an autonomous Gu; hereinafter the same shall apply) shall have an organization and public officials in charge of



supporting multicultural families. <Newly Inserted by Act No. 11284, Feb. 1, 2012; Act No. 13536, Dec. 1, 2015>

3. With regard to matters concerning policies on foreigners, among those prescribed under this Act, the State and local governments shall comply with Articles 5 through 9 of the Framework Act on Treatment of Foreigners Residing in the Republic of Korea.

Article 3-2 (Establishment of Master Plans for Supporting Multicultural Families)

1. The Minister of Gender Equality and Family shall establish a master plan for policies on multicultural families (hereinafter referred to as "master plan") every five years to support multicultural families.
2. A master plan shall include each of the following subparagraphs:  
<Amended by Act No. 13604, Dec. 22, 2015>
  1. Basic direction-setting for support policies for multicultural families;
  2. Matters concerning development measures in each field for supporting multicultural families and evaluation thereof;
  3. Matters concerning improvement of support systems for multicultural families;
  - 3-2. Matters concerning promotion of multicultural family members' activities in all areas including economy, society and culture;
  4. Matters concerning financial resources for supporting multicultural families and distribution thereof;
  5. Other matters necessary for supporting multicultural families.
3. In establishing a master plan, the Minister of Gender Equality and Family shall, in advance, consult with the heads of relevant central administrative agencies.
4. A master plan shall be confirmed after deliberation by the Multicultural Family Policy Commission under Article 3-4. In such cases, the Minister of Gender Equality and Family shall inform the heads of relevant central administrative agencies, the Special Metropolitan City Mayor, Metropolitan City Mayors, the Special Self-Governing City Mayor, Do Governors and the Special Self-Governing Province Governor (hereinafter referred to as the "Mayors/Do Governors") of the master plan confirmed. <Amended by Act No. 13536, Dec. 1, 2015>
5. If deemed necessary to establish a master plan, the Minister of Gender Equality and Family may request the heads of relevant central administrative agencies to submit data necessary for the establishment of the master plan.
6. The heads of relevant central administrative agencies requested to submit data pursuant to Article 5 shall comply therewith, unless a justifiable ground exists.  
[This Article Newly Inserted by Act No. 10534, Apr. 4, 2011]

Article 3-3 (Establishment and Execution of Annual Implementation Plans) (1) The Minister of Gender Equality and Family, the heads of relevant central administrative agencies, and the Mayors/Do Governors shall establish and execute each year an implementation plan for multicultural family policies (hereinafter referred to as "implementation plan").

(2) The heads of relevant central administrative agencies, and the Mayors/Do Governors shall submit each year the results of the implementation plan for the

previous year and the implementation plan for the next year to the Minister of Gender Equality and Family, as prescribed by Presidential Decree.

(3) Matters necessary for the establishment and execution of an implementation plan, and evaluation of the results thereof, etc. shall be prescribed by Presidential Decree. [This Article Newly Inserted by Act No. 10534, Apr. 4, 2011]

Article 3-4 (Establishment of Multicultural Family Policy Commission) (1) A Multicultural Family Policy Commission (hereinafter referred to as "Policy Commission") under the jurisdiction of the Prime Minister shall be established, in order to deliberate on and coordinate important matters regarding the improvement of the quality of life and social integration of multicultural families.

(2) The Policy Commission shall deliberate on and coordinate the following matters:

1. Matters concerning the establishment and execution of a master plan regarding multicultural family policies under Article 3-2;
2. Matters concerning the establishment of an implementation plan for multicultural family policies, and examination and evaluation of the results thereof under Article 3-3;
3. Matters concerning different surveys and research in relation to multicultural families as well as analysis and evaluation of policies thereof;
4. Matters concerning coordination of and cooperation in various projects in connection with support for multicultural families;
5. Matters concerning cooperation between countries in relation to multicultural family policies;
6. Other matters deemed necessary by the chairperson for social integration of multicultural families.

(3) The Policy Commission shall be composed of not more than 20 members, including one chairperson, who shall be assumed by the Prime Minister, and the following persons shall serve as members:

1. The head of a central administrative agency prescribed by Presidential Decree;
2. A person commissioned by the chairperson from among those who have considerable knowledge and experience in multicultural family policies.

(4) Working committees shall be established under the Policy Commission in order to examine matters in advance for deliberation and coordination by the Policy Commission and to handle matters entrusted therewith, as prescribed by Presidential Decree.

(5) Other matters necessary for the organization, operation, etc. of the Policy Commission and the working committees shall be prescribed by Presidential Decree. [This Article Newly Inserted by Act No. 10534, Apr. 4, 2011]

Article 4 (Fact-Finding Survey, etc.)

(1) The Minister of Gender Equality and Family shall conduct a fact-finding survey on multicultural families every three years and announce the results thereof to ascertain the current status and actual conditions of multicultural families and to

utilize the results thereof in establishing a policy for supporting multicultural families. <Amended by Act No. 9932, Jan. 18, 2010>

(2) The Minister of Gender Equality and Family may request the cooperation of any related public agency, legal entity or organization, such as submission of data he/she may need, in order to conduct a survey under paragraph (1). In such cases, the related public agency, legal entity or organization requested to cooperate in a survey and submit data shall cooperate as requested, except in extenuating circumstances. <Amended by Act No. 9932, Jan. 18, 2010>

(3) The Minister of Gender Equality and Family shall, in conducting a fact-finding survey under paragraph (1), consult with the Minister of Justice about matters relating to policies on foreigners, and the Minister of Education about matters relating to education of children and youth from multicultural families. <Amended by Act No. 9932, Jan. 18, 2010; Act No. 10534, Apr. 4, 2011; Act No. 11690, Mar. 23, 2013; Act No. 13536, Dec. 1, 2015>

(4) Matters necessary for the target and the method of a fact-finding survey under paragraph (1) and other relevant matters shall be prescribed by Ordinance of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family. <Amended by Act No. 9932, Jan. 18, 2010>

#### Article 5 (Enhancement of Understanding of Multicultural Families)

(1) The State and local governments shall take measures, such as education and advocacy activities for understanding diverse cultures, necessary for preventing social discrimination and prejudice against multicultural families and for encouraging members of society to acknowledge and respect the cultural diversity. <Amended by Act No. 11675, Mar. 22, 2013>

(2) In taking measures referred to in paragraph (1), the Minister of Gender Equality and Family shall produce promotional videos and distribute them to broadcasting business entities specified in subparagraph 3 of Article 2 of the Broadcasting Act. <Newly Inserted by Act No. 13536, Dec. 1, 2015>

(3) The Minister of Gender Equality and Family may request terrestrial broadcasting business entities referred to in subparagraph 3 (a) of Article 2 of the Broadcasting Act (hereafter in this Article referred to as "terrestrial broadcasting business entities") to transmit promotional videos specified in paragraph (2) over channels within the programming ratio of non-commercial public interest advertisements prescribed by Presidential Decree as prescribed in Article 73 (4) of the same Act. <Newly Inserted by Act No. 13536, Dec. 1, 2015>

(4) Terrestrial broadcasting business entities may produce and send their own promotional videos other than promotional videos under paragraph (2). In such cases, they may request necessary cooperation and support from the Minister of Gender Equality and Family. <Newly Inserted by Act No. 13536, Dec. 1, 2015>

(5) The Minister of Education, and the Superintendent of each Office of Education, whether in the Special Metropolitan City, a Metropolitan City, the Special Self-Governing City, a Do, or the Special Self-Governing Province shall devise and implement measures to provide education to enhance understanding of multicultural families in schools under Article 2 of the Early Childhood Education Act, Article 2 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, or Article 2 of the Higher Education Act. <Newly Inserted by Act No. 10534, Apr. 4, 2011; Act No. 11690, Mar. 23, 2013; Act No. 13536, Dec. 1, 2015>

#### Article 6 (Provision of Information on Daily Life and Educational Support)

(1) The State and local governments may provide immigrants by marriage, etc. with basic information necessary for living in the Republic of Korea (including information related to learning and guidance for children and youth), and assistance in receiving education for social adaptation, vocational education and training as well as Korean language education to enhance their communication skills. <Amended by Act No. 10534, Apr. 4, 2011; Act No. 14061, Mar. 2, 2016>

(2) In providing education under paragraph (1), the State and local governments shall support education using various methods, such as visiting education and distance education, to ensure no immigrant by marriage, etc. is isolated from education services due to his/her place of residence and home environment, etc., and devise and implement measures to improve the quality of teaching materials and foster expertise of teachers. <Newly Inserted by Act No. 10534, Apr. 4, 2011>

(3) The State and local governments may provide differentiated subsidies to cover expenses needed for visiting education under paragraph (2) in accordance with standards determined and publicly notified by the Minister of Gender Equality and Family, such as household income levels of immigrants by marriage and types of education. <Newly Inserted by Act No. 13536, Dec. 1, 2015>

(4) Where the State and local governments subsidize expenses under paragraph (3), the provisions of Articles 22 through 25 of the Child Care Support Act shall apply mutatis mutandis to applications for subsidies, provision of financial information, and examinations and inquires, etc. <Newly Inserted by Act No. 13536, Dec. 1, 2015>

(5) Multicultural family members such as spouses of immigrants by marriage shall endeavor to ensure immigrants by marriage, etc. receive various education, including Korean language education, necessary to help them adapt to Korean society. <Newly Inserted by Act No. 13536, Dec. 1, 2015>

(6) Other necessary matters concerning provision of information and education under paragraph (1) shall be prescribed by Presidential Decree. <Amended by Act No. 10534, Apr. 4, 2011>

#### Article 7 (Measures for Maintenance of Equality in Familial Relationship)

The State and local governments shall promote programs for family counseling, marital education, parenting education, family life education, etc. to help multicultural families maintain democracy and gender equality in familial relationship. In such cases, efforts shall be exerted to provide specialized service, taking cultural differences, etc. into consideration.

#### Article 8 (Protection of and Support for Victims of Domestic Violence)

(1) The State and local governments shall endeavor to prevent domestic violence in multicultural families in accordance with the Act on the Prevention of Domestic Violence and Protection, etc. of Victims. <Amended by Act No. 10534, Apr. 4, 2011>

(2) The State and local governments may protect and support immigrants by marriage, etc. victimized by domestic violence. <Newly Inserted by Act No. 10534, Apr. 4, 2011>

(3) The State and local governments shall endeavor to establish more counseling centers and protective facilities for victims of domestic violence which provide foreign language interpretation services to protect and support immigrants by marriage, etc. victimized by domestic violence.

(4) When immigrants by marriage, etc. terminate a marital relationship due to domestic violence, the State and local governments may provide them with necessary services, such as interpretation of languages, legal counseling and administrative assistance in making statements and finding facts, so that they will not be placed at a disadvantage due to communication difficulties and lack of information about the legal system and other relevant matters.

#### Article 9 (Medical and Health Support)

(1) The State and local governments may provide immigrants by marriage, etc. with medical services, such as education on nutrition and health, prenatal and postpartum care, and medical examinations, to allow them to enjoy healthy life. <Amended by Act No. 10534, Apr. 4, 2011>

(2) The State and local governments may provide immigrants by marriage, etc. with interpretation service when they receive medical services referred to in paragraph (1). <Newly Inserted by Act No. 10534, Apr. 4, 2011>

#### Article 10 (Care and Education for Children and Youth)

(1) Neither the State nor local governments shall discriminate against children and youth of any multicultural family in providing care and education services for children and youth. <Amended by Act No. 13536, Dec. 1, 2015>

(2) The State and local governments shall prepare measures for educational assistance to children and youth of multicultural families to help them quickly adapt to school life; and the Superintendent in each Special Metropolitan City, Metropolitan City, Special Self-Governing City, Do, and Special Self-Governing Province, may provide children and youth of multicultural families with extracurricular or after-school educational programs. <Amended by Act No. 13536, Dec. 1, 2015>

(3) The State and local governments shall endeavor to support preschool care and education services for members of multicultural families under 18 years of age, and to help such members develop language skills, may provide assistance necessary for improving their linguistic proficiency, such as teaching materials and learning support in teaching Korean language and the mother tongue of their father or mother who is an immigrant by family. <Amended by Act No. 11675, Mar. 22, 2013; Act No. 13536, Dec. 1, 2015>

(4) Principals of child-care centers under Article 10 of the Infant Care Act, heads of kindergartens under Article 7 of the Early Childhood Education Act, heads of all types of schools under Article 2 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and heads of other organizations prescribed by Presidential Decree shall take necessary measures to prevent children and youth of multicultural families from being discriminated against in providing care and education services for children and youth. <Newly Inserted by Act No. 13536, Dec. 1, 2015>

#### Article 11 (Provision of Multilingual Services)

The State and local governments shall, in promoting support policies prescribed in Articles 5 through 10, endeavor to provide multilingual services in order to remove communication barriers facing immigrants by marriage, etc. and improve accessibility to such services.

#### Article 11-2 (Establishment, Operation, etc. of General Information Call Center for Multicultural Families)

(1) The Minister of Gender Equality and Family may establish and operate General Information Call Centers for Multicultural Families (hereinafter referred to as a “call center”), in order to provide multilingual telephone counseling and interpretation services, etc. to immigrants by marriage, etc. In such cases, the call centers and emergency call centers that provide foreign language services under the latter part of Article 4-6 (1) of the Act on the Prevention of Domestic Violence and Protection, etc. of Victims may be operated on an integrated basis.

(2) The Minister of Gender Equality and Family may entrust the establishment and operation of a call center to an institution or organization prescribed by Presidential Decree.

(3) Where the establishment and operation of a call center is entrusted by the Minister of Gender Equality and Family, he/she may subsidize all or part of the expenses incurred in the performance of the entrusted work within budgetary limits.

(4) Matters necessary for the establishment and operation of a call center shall be prescribed by Ordinance of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family. [This Article Newly Inserted by Act No. 12079, Aug. 13, 2013]

Article 12 (Establishment, Operation, etc. of Support Centers for Multicultural Families)

(1) The State and each local government may establish and operate Multicultural Family Support Centers (hereinafter referred to as a "support center").

(2) The State or a local government may entrust the establishment and operation of a support center to a corporation or an organization prescribed by Presidential Decree.

(3) If a person other than the State or a local government intends to establish and operate a support center, he/she shall, in advance, obtain designation by a competent Mayor/Do Governor or the head of a competent Si/Gun/Gu.

(4) Each support center shall perform the following affairs:

1. Providing support programs, such as education and counseling for multicultural families;
2. Providing Korean language education for immigrants by marriage, etc.;
3. Providing information on support services for multicultural families, and promoting such services;
4. Providing linked services with institutions and organizations related to support services for multicultural families;
5. Providing recruit information and job placement services;
6. Providing interpretation and translation services for multicultural families;
7. Other projects necessary to support multicultural families.

(5) Each support center shall have professional human resources who have much knowledge and experience in relevant areas necessary to perform duties such as education and counseling services for multicultural families.

(6) The State and local governments may subsidize all or some of the expenses incurred for the performance of affairs set forth in the subparagraphs of paragraph (4) at the support centers designated under paragraph (3) and for the operation thereof within budgetary limits.

<Amended by Act No. 14061, Mar. 2, 2016>

(7) Necessary matters concerning the criteria for the establishment and operation of support centers, the period of entrustment and designation and procedures, etc. therefor under paragraphs (1), (2) and (3) shall be prescribed by Presidential Decree, and necessary matters concerning qualifications, etc. of professional human resources under paragraph (5) shall be prescribed by Ordinance of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family. [This Article Wholly Amended by Act No. 11284, Feb. 1, 2012]

Article 12-2 (Provision of Refresher Training)

(1) The Minister of Gender Equality and Family or each Mayor/Do Governor shall provide refresher training to improve the quality and capabilities of professional human resources assigned to each support center.

(2) The content, duration, methods, etc. of the refresher training program under paragraph (1) shall be prescribed by Ordinance of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family. [This Article Newly Inserted by Act No. 11284, Feb. 1, 2012]

Article 12-3 (Prohibition of Use of a Similar Name)

No organization other than the support centers under this Act shall use the name “Multicultural Family Support Center” or any other name similar thereto. [This Article Newly Inserted by Act No. 12079, Aug. 13, 2013]

Article 13 (Education of Public Officials Engaged in Providing Support for Multicultural Families)

The State and local governments may provide educational programs for public officials who engage in any affairs related to supporting multicultural families with the aim of enhancing their understanding of multicultural families and improving their expertise.

Article 13-2 (Training of Professional Human Resources for Support Programs for Multicultural Families)

(1) The State or local governments shall endeavor to train professional human resources necessary for supporting multicultural families and promoting programs, such as the education for understanding diverse cultures.

(2) In order to train professional human resources prescribed in paragraph (1), the Minister of Gender Equality and Family may designate and manage an institution or organization, such as a university, college or research center that has appropriate human resources, facilities, etc., as a training agency of professional human resources, as prescribed by Presidential Decree.

(3) The State or local governments may subsidize all or some of the expenses incurred by a training agency for professional human resources designated under paragraph (2), within budget limits.

(4) Criteria and procedures for designation of a training agency for professional human resources under paragraph (2) and other relevant matters shall be prescribed by Presidential Decree. [This Article Newly Inserted by Act No. 11284, Feb. 1, 2012]

Article 14 (Treatment of Spouses in De Facto Marriage and their Children)

Articles 5 through 12 shall apply mutatis mutandis to multicultural family members who raise children born in de facto marital relationships with a citizen of the Republic of Korea.



Article 14-2 (Special Cases concerning Application to Children from Multicultural Families)

Even if a multicultural family breaks up due to divorce or other causes, this Act shall still apply to the children who were once members of the family.  
[This Article Newly Inserted by Act No. 12079, Aug. 13, 2013]

Article 15 (Delegation and Entrustment of Authority)

(1) The Minister of Gender Equality and Family may delegate part of his/her authority granted under this Act to the Mayors/Do Governors or the heads of Sis/Guns/Gus, as prescribed by Presidential Decree. <Amended by Act No. 9932, Jan. 18, 2010; Act No. 10534, Apr. 4, 2011; Act No. 11284, Feb. 1, 2012>

(2) The State or a local government may entrust a non-profit corporation or organization with some of the duties stipulated under this Act, as prescribed by Presidential Decree.

Article 15-2 (Request for Information)

(1) If necessary for the enforcement of this Act, the Minister of Gender Equality and Family or the head of a local government may request the Minister of Justice to provide information necessary to identify the current status of immigrants by marriage, etc. prescribed by Presidential Decree, from among the following information. In such cases, the information that may be requested by the head of a local government shall be limited to the information on the immigrants by marriage, etc. within a competent jurisdiction:

1. Information on alien registration of immigrants by marriage prescribed in subparagraph 3 of Article 2 of the Framework Act on Treatment of Foreigners Residing in the Republic of Korea;
2. Information on applications for naturalization filed by persons who have obtained permission for naturalization under Article 6 (2) of the Nationality Act.

(2) Upon receiving a request for provision of information pursuant to paragraph (1), the Minister of Justice shall comply with such request unless there is good cause.

(3) The Minister of Gender Equality and Family or the head of a local government who has been furnished with information under paragraph (1) may provide such information to relevant support centers prescribed in Article 12 (1) or (3). [This Article Newly Inserted by Act No. 11284, Feb. 1, 2012]

Article 16 (Support to Non-Governmental Organizations etc.)

(1) The State and local governments may subsidize all or some of the expenses incurred by any organization or individual that carries out support programs for multicultural families or provide administrative assistance necessary for carrying out such programs.

(2) The State and local governments may assist immigrants by marriage, etc. in forming and operating an organization for mutual aid.

Article 17 (Administrative Fine)

(1) Any person who violates Article 12-3 shall be subject to an administrative fine not exceeding three million won.

(2) An administrative fine under paragraph (1) shall be imposed and collected by the Minister of Gender Equality and Family or the head of a local government in accordance with Presidential Decree. [This Article Newly Inserted by Act No. 12079, Aug. 13, 2013]

Notes

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